

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Can the U.S. Be Governed?

BY ERNEST CONINE

How does Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's assassination affect the race for the presidency? Are Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon really shoo-ins for the nominations of their respective parties, or has the tragedy created a new situation?

Such questions, muted during the days since the shooting, are now coming into the open.

Important as they are, however, there is another question which could prove of even greater importance in the long run.

Are we willing to give the next President of the United States a chance? Or have we become so divided and bad-tempered that we cannot sensibly be ruled no matter who is elected in November?

If the latter is the case, one must conclude that we are truly a nation in trouble.

The need, clearly enough, is for a government of reconciliation, for a President who can lead us out of the wilderness of fear, bitterness and alienation.

No President in recent memory has been the target of such virulent abuse as Lyndon Johnson, whose fate it was to preside over the confluence of a war turned sour and a complex social revolution at home.

Before he made the decision not to seek reelection, the evidence was plain that Mr. Johnson would not be able to go out among the people who elected him four years ago except at grave potential peril to his life.

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It was equally clear that the poisonous atmosphere would grow worse instead of better as long as he remained in the White House, so he bowed out of the race.

But we still must ask ourselves where is the man who can command the trust and confidence (if not the affection and support) of the dissenters and the anti-dissenters, the black and the white, the poor and the unpoor, the young and the unyoung?

No one, including Robert Kennedy before his untimely death, had convincingly demonstrated any such appeal. The remaining candidates may find the society more split than ever in the aftermath of the assassination.

It is fair to conclude that the fault lies not so much with the leaders as with the led.

All too many people purported to find new evidence in Kennedy's murder that ours is a "sick" society—overlooking the fact that the alleged assailant is an immigrant Arab whose hang-ups have little or nothing to do with Vietnam, poverty or other problems which perplex so many Americans.

It is true, however, that we have become afflicted with the disease of immorality—a disease which is also chronic in the suspect's native Middle East.

In a democracy, it is axiomatic that contending forces must be willing to settle their differences through compromise, and that dissenters must be willing to abide by the will of the majority even while working to convince the majority that it is wrong.

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But the notion has gained currency in the America of 1968 that compromise is a dirty word, and that dissenters have the right, even the duty, to win by coercion and disruption what cannot be won by votes and persuasion—so long as the cause is "just."

The trouble is, of course, that the most heinous crimes are committed by dedicated and "sincere" people who are totally convinced that they are acting in a just cause. Robert Kennedy's killer appears to have been no exception.

The suspect's definition of "just" and "unjust" causes is undoubtedly light years removed from that of campus radicals who preach that a man's supreme duty is to his conscience—and whose consciences tell them to sabotage the draft, to close down universities and generally to impose their own views on society by whatever means is required.

But as he listened to the apologists for violence in the pursuit of justice, the accused youth may well have felt that he was among kindred spirits.

Surely it is time to rediscover the virtues of moderation and respect for the law, even as we work to change that law. Otherwise, a fresh face in the White House won't help.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Witness Eliminates Dancer as 'Girl in Polka-Dot Dress'

BY DOROTHY TOWNSEND

Times Staff Writer

Nineteen-year-old belly dancer Kathy Fulmer is "definitely not the girl in the polka-dot dress" sought for questioning in the slaying of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, the witness who caused the search said Saturday.

"She didn't even fit the description," said Sandy Serrano, 20, the Youth for Kennedy worker who reported seeing a dark-haired girl running from the Ambassador Hotel saying, "We shot him!"

The blond-wigged young dancer gave herself up to the Sheriff's Department Friday, saying she believed she might be the girl police are seeking.

Wearing Blonde Wig

Miss Fulmer told officers she had gone to the Kennedy election victory celebration at the hotel wearing a green dress and a polka-dot scarf. She also wore the blonde bouffant wig, she said.

But Miss Serrano described the young woman she saw as dark-haired and wearing a white dress with small polka-dots.

"You've got to be color-blind to think that's the girl," Miss Serrano said after seeing the dancer.

Miss Serrano was one of a number of witnesses questioned by police following the fatal shooting of Sen. Kennedy. Some said they saw the man they identified as the assassin with a girl in a white dress before the shooting.

An all-points bulletin for the mystery girl was issued by police shortly after noon Wednesday.

Three young women claimed to be the girl in the white dress. Two turned themselves in to police, who refused to give information about

them because of a court-ordered news blackout.

The third was Miss Fulmer, who called Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess' office Friday afternoon. Pitchess said she "seemed sincere in wanting to eliminate herself as someone who was involved (in the murder)."

All three were released without charge.

Detectives at Rampart Police Division and at the sheriff's office said Saturday no other women have come forth claiming to be the polka-dot dress girl.

Miss Serrano, one of the most publicized witnesses

at the Ambassador, said Saturday she is upset that "some people ask if I am a nut."

"I saw what I saw," she said. "At the time I didn't know anything had happened. I was calm."

She said she thinks she did "what Robert Kennedy would have wanted me to do—say what I saw."

She said she has been shown "movies" taken at the hotel following the shooting and that the FBI has questioned her.

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Pleading, Next Step in Sirhan Case, Is Three Weeks Away

BY JERRY COHEN

Times Staff Writer

Barring the unforeseen, Los Angeles County Superior Court Case No. A233421 must wait three weeks for a new development.

The case bearing that number contains the murder charge against the young Jordanian immigrant accused of slaying "Robert Francis Kennedy, a human being."

After Sirhan Bishara Sirhan's indictment late Friday, Superior Court Judge Arthur Alarcon set June 28 for Sirhan's plea to the charge.

He did so during the 24-year-old suspect's arraignment, one of the most unusual and tightly secured court proceedings ever held in this country.

So strict were security precautions that the "court" actually was taken to Sirhan, rather than Sirhan to the court.

The arraignment was held in the County Jail chapel; an altar served as the judge's bench.

Sheriff's deputies and about 100 reporters—even the judge himself—were searched before being admitted.

Sirhan, under heavy guard, entered in a wheelchair. He suffered a

sprained ankle, plus a broken finger and bruises, when subdued in the Ambassador Hotel after Wednesday's fatal shooting.

The tight security was compatible with the massive effort of Los Angeles city and county law enforcement chiefs to prevent an incident that could mar the legal record in the wake of the second Kennedy assassination in five years.

Judge Alarcon added another element to this effort Friday in a three-and-a-half-page order, strictly limiting comment on the case by all persons connected with it and by public officials.

After the arraignment, A. L. Wirin, chief counsel here for the American Civil Liberties Union, complimented court and law enforcement officials for their care in protecting Sirhan's constitutional rights.

Wirin, who had been invited to observe court proceedings, was, in turn, praised by Judge Alarcon "for dedication in this case and concern for the defendant's constitutional rights."

However, the judge rejected Wir-

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in's request that "one or more outstanding lawyers" be appointed to defend Sirhan because the accused is not satisfied with the public defender.

But the judge noted that the rejection was only for "this time" and that the motion might be reconsidered later.

The site of future courtroom proceedings remained uncertain Saturday.

Asked if Sirhan's pleading also will be held in the jail chapel, Presiding Superior Judge Donald B. Wright said that, as of now, "I've not the vaguest notion."

However, he said, he did not "anticipate" such an unusual site would be designated for future court proceedings.

He indicated they probably will be shifted to the Hall of Justice—but with no relaxation in security.

As Wirin passed Sirhan at the end of Friday's 38-minute arraignment, the suspect hissed to him: "Money, money."

Wirin explained Saturday that Sirhan was reminding him of his request about the disposition of four \$100 bills confiscated after his arrest.

Wirin said Sirhan had asked that \$300 be turned over to his mother, Mrs. Mary Sirhan, with whom he lived in Pasadena.

He asked that most of the remainder be made available to him to buy personal necessities in jail.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Assassins Prey on Those Seeking Change

Presidential candidates henceforth will be guarded by the Secret Service, but the tradition of violence and of the gunman remains—feeding the new era of political assassination.

But still there is the tradition of violence and of the gunman feeding the latest era of political assassination. The danger remains — especially, it seems, for those who speak out for change. These, observed NAACP leader Charles Evers last week, do so at risk of their lives.

The bloody history of the United States has included the assassinations of four Presidents: Lincoln, 1865; Garfield, 1881; McKinley, 1901; and John F. Kennedy, 1963.

There was an attempt on President Truman's life in 1950 and

attempts to murder two Presidents-elect: Lincoln in 1861 and Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933. Theodore Roosevelt was wounded in another attempt while campaigning for the presidency in 1912.

The first time an assassination was attempted against a President of the United States was on Jan. 30, 1835, when a crazed house painter shot at but missed President Jackson, who was attending a state funeral at the time.

There were thousands of lynchings in the South. The gun ruled the West. Blood was spilled in the labor struggles in the industrial East.

Civil rights murders occurred regularly in the early 1960's—virtually all unpunished. Hundreds of persons have been killed or injured

in the ghetto uprisings of recent years.

Among the political assassinations that have shaken the nation since 1963:

• Medgar W. Evers, 37, field secretary for the NAACP, shot in the back as he stepped from his car at his home in Jackson, Miss., June 12, 1963.

• President John F. Kennedy, 46, shot to death during a Dallas motorcade, Nov. 22, 1963. Lee Harvey Oswald, his alleged killer, himself was murdered two days later.

• Malcolm X, 39, killed by a band of gunmen in a Harlem hall, Feb. 21, 1965.

• Dr. Martin Luther King, 39, felled by a sniper as he stepped out of his Memphis motel room, April 4, 1968

• Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

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THE GALLUP POLL

Public Sees Gun Controls as Key Curb to Violence

GEORGE GALLUP

PRINCETON, N.J.

A special nationwide survey conducted Wednesday, the day Sen. Robert F. Kennedy was shot, shows the public calling for the registration of all firearms as the best way to curb violence in our society.

President Johnson the same day said he was appointing a commission of distinguished citizens to investigate both the circumstances and causes of physical violence of all kinds in the United States. He appealed to Congress to pass laws that would bring the traffic in guns to a halt.

Trained Gallup interviewers talked to a national sample of 442 people in a special telephone survey conducted Wednesday night.

These two questions were asked first:

What do you think are the causes of violent behavior in this nation?

What steps do you think should be taken to prevent such violence in the future?

In terms of causes, the public chiefly blames our complex society; the fact that the country has waited too long to tackle the basic causes of racial, ethnic and religious prejudice; poor discipline in the home; a lack of respect for authority among youth; a disregard for God and religion.

Here are the steps proposed as ways to help prevent violence in the future:

1—Stricter gun laws (laws to keep guns out of the hands of criminals, the mentally disturbed, minors).

2—Stricter law enforcement (including more police, less leniency on part of courts).

3—Greater security for candidates (including appropriate changes in presidential campaigning).

4—Remove programs of violence from TV.

5—Improve parental control (including courses for parents on how to rear children).

6—Encourage a greater awareness of the importance of ethical behavior (including courses in schools).

7—Improve environmental conditions, such as jobs, education and so forth.

Among those who say "greater security for candidates" are some who think the present type of campaign "barn-storming" should be replaced by other safer ways of campaigning.

As a matter of fact, majority sentiment has been found consistently in favor of a plan whereby the candidates would confine most of their campaigning to TV and radio appearances.

For three decades the voice of the majority of people in this country regarding gun laws has gone unheeded by Congress.

On May 1, 1938, almost exactly 30 years ago, the Gallup Poll reported that 84% of all adults favored a law requiring all owners of pistols and revolvers to register with the government. In the latest survey (1967), 85% would still back such a law.

As of this writing, broad anti-crime legislation has been passed by Congress, including controls over interstate sale of handguns.

But the public, gunowners and nonowners alike, would go much farther than this bill. They favor a law requiring the registration of all guns, a law banning the sale of all guns through the mails, and strict restrictions on the use of guns by persons under 18 years of age.

Record of Purchaser

A law requiring the registration of guns would not prohibit a person from owning a gun—either for sport or protection—but would require that a record be made of the name of the gun purchaser. The purpose of such a law would be to keep guns out of the hands of persons with a criminal record.

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turbed, and others unfit to handle
guns.

Three persons in 10 think only one man was involved in the assassination of Sen. Kennedy, but a greater number, four in 10, think others were involved.

The views expressed at the time of the latest survey, in fact, are closely comparable to those recorded immediately following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in November, 1963.

The question asked and results:

Do you think one man was responsible for the assassination of Sen. Kennedy, or do you think others were involved?

One man responsible	30%
Others involved	40
No opinion	30

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

THE FINAL IRONY

(C) 1968 New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON—The final and bitter irony in the murder of Robert Kennedy is that it virtually assures the nomination of Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon, the old guard he came into the Presidential election to defeat.

His brother's death was different. It liberated political forces which put over many of the social and economic programs he could not get accepted in life. The price was high, but there was at least some consolation in the betterment of the public life.

No such compensation is likely to result from this latest tragic sacrifice. Instead of the new men he wanted for a new age, we are getting the two most familiar candidates in the race. Instead of new policies for Vietnam, we are offered more of the same from Humphrey and even more bombing from Nixon.

Instead of reassuring the dissatisfied elements of the nation, we are rewarding the satisfied. It might, of course, have happened anyway, even if Robert Kennedy had lived, but at least he would have been around to keep fighting for revision.

Kennedy was essential to Nelson Rockefeller's campaign. The New York governor's best hope lay in the Republican Party's fear of Kennedy. The Republicans have to choose their candidate

before the Democrats decide.

So long as Kennedy was in the race, there was always the fear that Nixon might not defeat him, whereas Rockefeller might. But with Kennedy gone, this factor is removed.

Also, the assassination has dramatized again the issue of civil disorder and increased the popular demand for more police and more security in the cities, and this has always

been one of Nixon's major programs. Here again the prospect is for conservative programs to deal with radical problems.

Even the period of mourning helps both Humphrey and Nixon. It has imposed a moratorium on public campaigning, which is the main field of activity for Rockefeller and Senator McCarthy but has left Humphrey and Nixon free to work quietly with their natural allies, the state and county chairmen and the other pros, who will dominate the two conventions.

One of Senator Kennedy's last acts was to appeal to Senator McCarthy to join forces on behalf of the Vietnam policies they favored and against the policies of Humphrey and Nixon, but even the delegates Kennedy won in the Indiana, Nebraska and California primary elections are now likely to go to Humphrey

rather than to McCarthy.

All of this is true despite the fact that the Kennedy-McCarthy combined vote in the primary elections amounted to an impressive criticism if not rejection of the Vietnam policy Humphrey supports. Thus, only a spectacular upsurge of public opinion in favor of McCarthy and the policies he and Robert Kennedy supported could stop the trend.

Probably the only thing that could bring this about would be a dramatic campaign by McCarthy in July, backed by Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. There is just the chance that the assassination will provoke a revulsion against all violence, including the violence of the war, and lead to a demand for new men and new policies. No doubt McCarthy will be trying, after the moratorium, to inspire precisely this result, and the

backing of the last remaining son of the Kennedy family would obviously help.

This possibility has not been overlooked by the Humphrey supporters, who are already suggesting that Edward Kennedy would make a good vice presidential running mate for Humphrey. A McCarthy-Kennedy ticket might seem a better way to support the policies Robert Kennedy came into the race to endorse, but here again the irony of politics

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intervenes, for it is unlikely that the Democratic party would want to put two Roman Catholics on the same ticket.

Nobody, however, can tell at this point what the public mood will be after the emotions of the past week. The American spirit is profoundly disturbed. The assassination has produced a national act of confession and a spasm of self criticism and eloquent pleas for a new sense of purpose and direction.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

CONGRESS

Crime-Control Bill

The controversial crime-control bill approved earlier by the Senate was rammed through the House on the day Sen. Robert F. Kennedy died—retaining provisions authorizing wiretaps by law enforcement officers with court approval.

The steamroller demands for "law and order" from the floor overrode Chairman Emanuel Celler of the House Judiciary Committee, who sought to knock out the wiretap authorization and the Senate-approved erasure of recent Supreme Court decisions erecting safeguards against the extraction of confessions from criminal suspects.

The Senate, pushed by "hardline" members who argued that the Supreme Court had handcuffed law enforcement officers by restricting the admissibility of confessions, eased the rules under which state courts could receive confessions in evidence, and the House concurred.

Sen. Kennedy's assassination was an emotional factor driving the anti-crime bill swiftly through the House. The hardliners stood behind Rep. John B. Anderson (R-Ill.) who declared:

"Let no watery sentiment inhibit the judgment we make this afternoon. He won cheers from the

House floor for opposing Celler's effort to gain reconsideration of the wiretapping and anti-court clauses in the anti-crime bill.

Chairman Celler tried to send the anti-crime bill back to a joint House-Senate conference committee, where he hoped to redraft the section which emasculated the Supreme Court's rulings on confessions over the past decade. The vote against that was an overwhelming 317 to 60.

That rejection opened the way for a Republican-sponsored motion to pass the anti-crime bill as it came from the Senate, and to send it to the White House as drafted by the hardline advocates.

Rifles, Shotguns Exempt

The anti-crime bill prohibits interstate mail-order sales of handguns, but specifically does not prohibit such traffic in rifles and shotguns.

Over-counter sales to minors and non-residents are also banned in the gun-control section.

President Johnson said he was dissatisfied with the gun-control law as passed and suggested that Congress write a more effective one.

The Congress quickly approved legislation to extend Secret Service protection to presidential candidates after Sen. Kennedy was slain.

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When a Good Friend Dies the Memories Linger

BY ART BUCHWALD

When a friend dies, and Sen. Robert F. Kennedy was a friend, thoughts come to you in hazy film sequences, not in any particular order.

The camera pans across the sweeping lawn at Hickory Hill and Bobby Kennedy is walking alone in deep thought. Suddenly he picks up a football and tosses it to his 12-year-old son David. Two minutes later all the guests are in a fierce touch football game with the Kennedys, including Ethel, playing as if it were the most important match in the world. Fadeout.

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Closeup. Bobby in black tie at a party talking intensely about the future of the country. Pointing his finger and saying, "We've got to find an answer to the problems of the nation, not only for us but for our children and our grandchildren. We can't go on the way we're going." Fadeout.

Wide angle shot of the library. It's the night before Bobby is going to announce he's getting into the presidential race. Ted Sorensen reads a draft of the announcement which starts, "I have decided to run for President of the United States." Bobby, laughing, "Aw Ted, do I really have to say that?"

Cut to the Colorado River. Bobby is on a rubber mattress riding the rapids. The rest of the party is in the rafts. The boatman yells, "Sen. Kennedy, don't take the next rapids. They're too dangerous." Bobby won't get back in the boat. The people in the raft yell, "Don't do it, Bobby." Bobby, a glint in his eye, takes the rapids. He makes it, and everyone cheers.

Cut to campfire in the Grand Canyon. Bobby talking about the

plight of the Indians that live in the area and how ignored they are by the rest of the country. He speaks with deep feeling.

Pan to Hyannis Port. A sailboat race. Bobby is the skipper of a two-man crew. Two 14-year-olds in another sailboat slice across the bow and Bobby in a fury yells, "I've got the right of the way." They yell back, "Tough luck," and Bobby shouts, "I'm protesting to the judges." A crew member says, "That should take the wind out of their sails." Bobby says, "You don't joke when you race." Silence for the rest of the trip.

Closeup shot of Bobby wrestling with his children, on the rug; long shot of Bobby walking along the beach alone at dusk.

Fade in on Bobby sitting on the dining room floor with the phone to his ear, chewing out one of his staff for something they shouldn't have said. "I'm the only one in American politics who ever had both labor and business against me."

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Bobby at the funeral of a television producer killed in Jordan, comforting the widow.

Tight shot of Bobby discussing jokes for a Gridiron speech. "You know I can't say THAT about Lyndon."

Bobby and Ethel. Ethel and Bobby, Bobby and Ethel, Ethel and Bobby. The images go so fast, it's hard to fix them in your mind.

And finally, the last scene, only this time the camera is on a small television screen and you stare in disbelief as your friend is lying on the floor of a hotel kitchen corridor in Los Angeles. Somehow you know without seeing the printed titles that it is THE END.

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Eight More Good Reasons for
Stronger Gun Legislation!

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Justice Staff Pays Tribute to Kennedy

WASHINGTON (AP) — Several hundred staff members of the Justice Department remembered Sen. Robert F. Kennedy Saturday in the courtyard of the building where he started his public career as a junior lawyer in 1951.

Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, who served as assistant attorney general when Kennedy held the top office for more than three years, reminded former co-workers and friends that soon "Bob Kennedy will pass this place which he loved so well for the last time."

Clark told the government officials and workers that "Robert Kennedy stood for life as few of us have and this is how we must remember him."

Former Solicitor General Archibald Cox spoke of the late senator's "love for his fellow men" and belief in the capacity of his fellow men.

The chauffeur who drove official cars for the last nine attorneys general recalled his early experiences with Kennedy. Thomas H. Williams remembered that before "somebody gave the Kennedys a big dog named 'Brumus,' who was bigger than both of us, the attorney general sat with me in the front seat."

Williams recalled that one day, while the limousine was pulled up for a traffic light, he heard a nearby motorist ask out loud, "Who are those two little boys in the front seat of that big car?"

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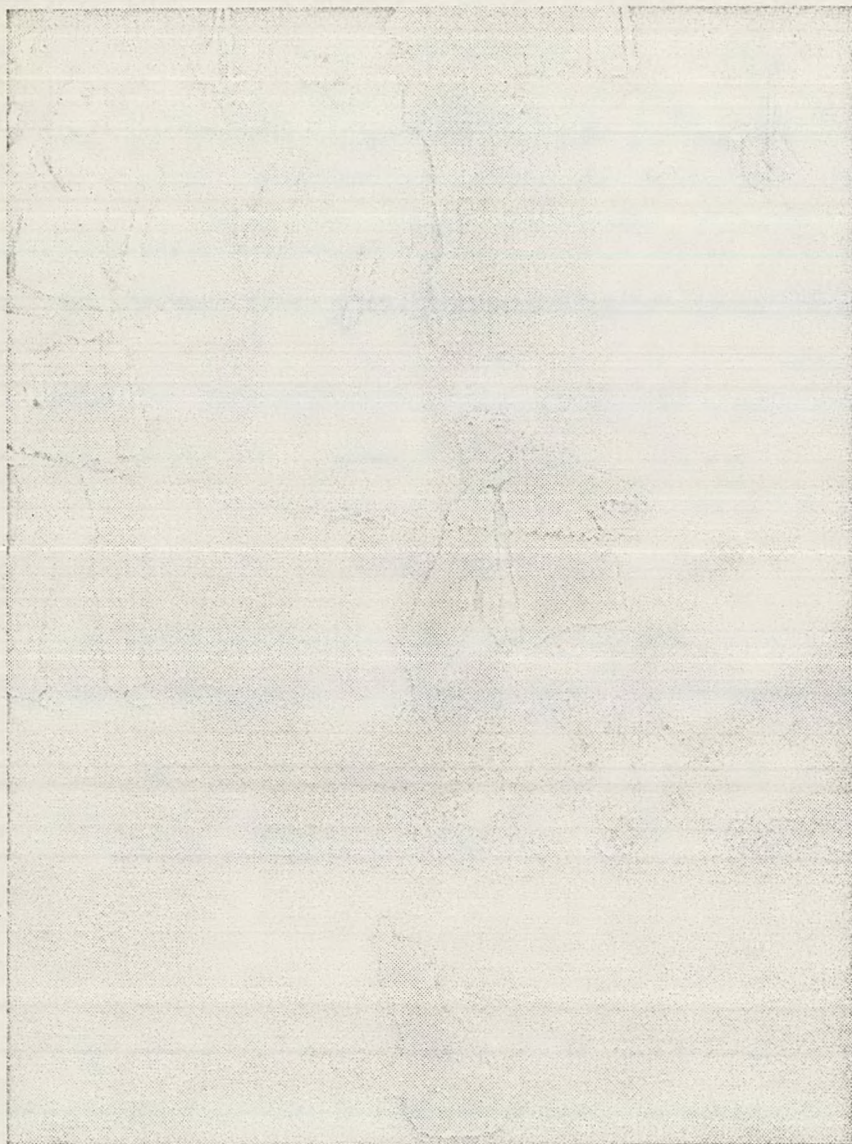
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FLOWER FOR PRESIDENT KENNEDY — John Kennedy Jr. places a flower on the grave of his father, President John F. Kennedy. Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy, Caroline and John walked to the grave after the burial of the children's uncle, Sen. Robert Kennedy, at nearby site.

(A) Wirephoto

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Grieving Ethel Kennedy Holds Own Tears, Consoles Others

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Through-out a day and long night of public grieving, Ethel Kennedy never cried as she followed her slain husband to the grave.

"We'll cry later," she told a friend after tragedy struck her husband.

Like Jacqueline Kennedy four and a half years ago when John F. Kennedy was assassinated, the widow of Robert F. Kennedy bore her ordeal with upright courage.

As she left the grave site after kissing the dead senator's coffin in farewell, Ethel Kennedy was on the brink of tears but they didn't fall.

She walked in numbed fashion, placing one foot carefully in front of the other. She clutched the American Flag which had covered the casket to her chest.

Thanks President, First Lady

She paused to speak to President and Mrs. Johnson and thank them for their consideration during the days of her tragedy.

Then she summoned her children to her and took her leave—straight and unweeping to the end.

Aboard the 21-car funeral train bearing the body of her husband to Washington, Mrs. Kennedy consoled her friends and tried to keep their spirits up. Some she embraced, others she gave a hand clasp, another was patted on the cheek.

"I haven't seen you for so long," she would say to one. "You mustn't go home tonight."

To another, she said, "It was so nice you were able to make it."

Newsmen were thanked for their presence, leaving many of them choked and tearful as she passed.

She embraced Mrs. Martin Luther

King, who was also widow by an assassin.

"My friend, my friend," Mrs. Kennedy said softly to Mrs. King.

Her stoic courage showed as well at the Requiem Mass for her slain husband.

She sat quiet and composed in the great neo-Gothic cathedral where six cardinals, 18 archbishops and more than 200 priests conducted a solemn Mass for her husband.

She wore black and a thin black veil covered her face and her short blonde hair. She watched intently as the ritual of her church unfolded around the polished African mahogany coffin where the body of Sen. Kennedy lay.

But now and then a noise behind her, a cough, the creak of a wooden pew, would catch her ear and she would turn her head and then turn back.

Instead of crying, she tried to comfort the friends who gathered Friday night at her six-room apartment overlooking the United Nations building and the East River.

Takes Care of Visitors

Although there were three maids to help, it often was Ethel Kennedy who left the cheerful yellow living room with its green carpeting and white couches to find coffee and cake or drinks for her visitors.

Five hours earlier, when the last of the thousands of mourners had passed the bier of her husband, Ethel Kennedy paid her own last visit.

She stayed in the towering church for almost 40 minutes, but it was not the private time she had hoped it would be. A television camera focused on her face and caught the lines of pain and hurt it bore.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Two Workmen Dig Grave for Senator Near His Brother's

Exclusive to The Times from a Staff Writer

ARLINGTON, Va.—The opening was just a few feet away from two saucer magnolia trees and 60 feet southeast of the black headstone marking the site where President John F. Kennedy is buried.

George Lyons, 31, of Washington, and Pat Prather, 21, of Falls Church, Va., did the digging. Prather said:

"He was young and I'm young, too. It means a whole lot for me to do this. It was like he was one of our generation."

Starting at 6 a.m., Lyons and Prather dug in a rectangle 44 inches by 100 inches. It took them five and a half hours to dig down through red and gray clay to the 4½ foot depth.

While they dug, an endless stream of Army officers conducting dress rehearsals, representatives of the Kennedy family overseeing the arrangements, and officials of the Arlington National Cemetery made continual checks to see that everything was done just right.

McNamara Helps Select Site

The site for Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's grave was selected Friday by Robert S. McNamara, former secretary of defense; Mrs. Paul Mellon, a friend of the Kennedy family and the landscape architect for the grave site, and Defense Department officials.

The grave was dug by hand in order that a minimum of damage be done to the landscaping. Lyons, a tractor driver, and Prather, a part-time office worker at the cemetery and business administration student at East Carolina College, were given the honor of digging the grave as outstanding employees at the cemetery. Lyons is a Negro; Prather is white.

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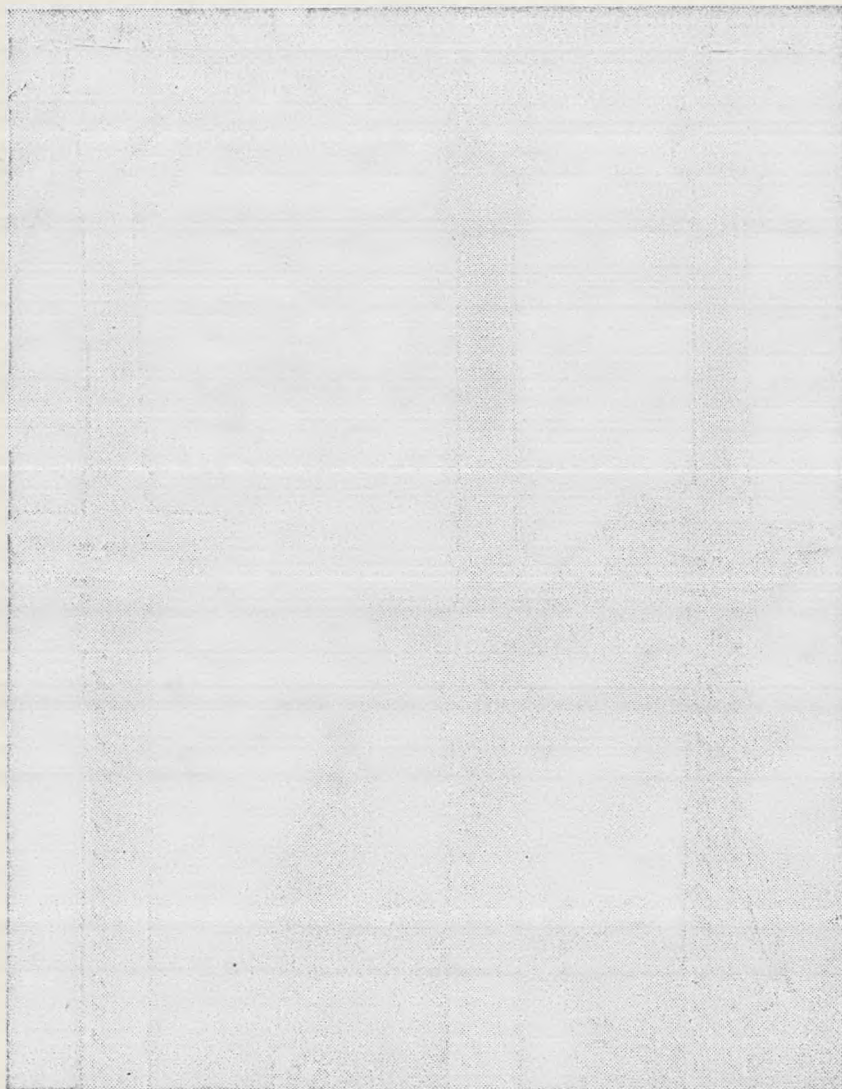
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MOTHER MOURNS—Mrs. Rose Kennedy, who has lost three of her four sons to violent deaths, sits beneath candles during funeral.

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SAYS HE HAD INVITATION**Man Arrested at Cathedral
With Empty Gun in Briefcase**

NEW YORK (UPI)—A printing company salesman who said he had been invited to Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's funeral was seized by police at the entrance to St. Patrick's Cathedral Saturday when they found an unloaded revolver in his briefcase.

Police took the man, identified as Gary J. DeDell, 30, of Syracuse, N.Y., to a nearby station house for questioning by Secret Service agents. They attempted to locate a Kennedy aide who could verify whether DeDell had actually been invited to the services.

A tall, heavy-set man, DeDell was booked later on a charge of carrying an unloaded revolver without a permit, a misdemeanor which carries up to a year in prison.

Once again he said he had been invited to the funeral but when asked by newsmen if he was a friend of the Kennedy family, he said: "Maybe not anymore."

Hearing Scheduled Monday

DeDell was arraigned before Criminal Court Judge J. Howard Rossback Saturday night and bail was set at \$2,000 pending a hearing Monday. DeDell was not immediately able to make bail.

DeDell's court-appointed attorney told the court DeDell carried an official invitation to the services at the time of his arrest.

DeDell was picked up at the doors of the cathedral 15 minutes before President Johnson arrived. Police said everyone with a package of any sort was stopped. DeDell was taken into custody so quickly and quietly that newsmen and others nearby were unaware of the incident.

An unidentified youth of 16 or 17, also believed from Syracuse, was with DeDell.

In Syracuse, police Sgt. Anthony Ciscardi said DeDell had permits for at least half a dozen pistols, one

ARRESTED—Gary DeDell, 30, of Syracuse, N.Y., following his arrest on a charge of carrying a gun into St. Patrick's before funeral services.

(AP Wirephoto)

of which he recently reported stolen. The permits are not valid in New York City, however, without the special approval of the city police commissioner.

Syracuse police, entering DeDell's home with a search warrant, said they found a quantity of ammunition. They said there were framed pictures of Kennedy and Czar Nicholas of Russia, and a Maltese cross hung on the door.

Police picked up a submachine gun with a blocked barrel, two shotguns, two rifles, two pistols, two pellet guns and the ammunition.

Friends of DeDell, a bachelor who lives alone, said he always carried an unloaded gun.

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PHONES AND MAIL KEEP 30 BUSY IN SENATOR'S OFFICE

WASHINGTON (AP)—On the door of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy's Senate office was a filing card with a typed notice that it was closed to the public for the day.

But inside more than 30 employees were busy answering telephones and opening mail. Most of them were volunteers from other senator's offices.

Even after the dinner hour Saturday four or five were still at work in the office.

Bags of mail were received and opened during the day. Mostly the mail consisted of get-well cards, sent after Kennedy was shot but before he died; Mass cards and sympathy cards.

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The Agony of Gene McCarthy

BY ROWLAND EVANS and ROBERT NOVAK

Sén. Eugene McCarthy, tormented and anguished over the culpability of the American campaign process in the death of Robert F. Kennedy, will radically dilute but almost surely not stop his quest for the presidency.

In the first hours after Kennedy was struck down, McCarthy told confidants of his new, unshakeable resolve to campaign the way he wanted to in the first place: without hoopla, without dealing in personalities, and—as much as possible—without organization. That such a change could lengthen still further the long odds against his taking the nomination from Vice President Hubert Humphrey bothers McCarthy not at all.

But garbled reports of McCarthy's agony have been poured into the

retired with a close associate to retreat in the Maryland countryside just outside Washington to talk a little and think a lot.

But nobody close to him believes he will quit. McCarthy may be a philosopher-poet preferring contemplation to action, but he is no guilt-ridden, self-doubting Hamlet. Rather, based on his conversations with his inner circle in the 24 hours after Kennedy was shot, this seems the nature of McCarthy's thinking:

Back in snow-covered New Hampshire last winter, McCarthy feels, the campaign was squarely on the issues—Vietnam, domestic unrest, President Johnson's leadership. Lacking any reputation there, McCarthy nevertheless scored a moral victory.

But, McCarthy feels, this issue-oriented victory disappeared into the politics of personality when Kennedy entered the contest after New Hampshire. Although McCarthy believes he trounced Mr. Johnson in the Wisconsin primary largely on the issues, he feels that the President's dropping out of the race obscured that outcome and further personalized the campaign.

Since then, in McCarthy's view, there has been endless talk among press and politicians of delegate counts, media spending, and organizational structure. What is worse to McCarthy is that, after losing to Kennedy in Indiana and Nebraska, he also joined the game.

Though still amorphous by conventional standards, McCarthy's campaign took on a more professional gloss (including a new strong man, the shrewd and competent Washington lawyer, Tom Finney). McCarthy dealt far more in personality, using his stinging wit freely against Kennedy. Thus, in McCarthy's mind, he now shared in the general culpability for the insane state of American politics.



Talk of the Town
Erickson in Atlanta Journal

Washington rumor mill and emerged with this erroneous product: McCarthy, say the rumors, feels a sense of guilt that his waspish, personal attacks on Kennedy in Oregon and California contributed to the murder; therefore, McCarthy will drop out of the presidential race.

In fact, since the shooting, McCarthy has not told anybody he definitely will stay in the race. The day that Kennedy died, McCarthy

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The effort succeeded brilliantly with a win in Oregon and a close second in California, more than 15 percentage points higher than his showing in mid-May polls. But, to McCarthy, the result was escalation of the super-heated, irrational atmosphere conducive to a mad young man in Los Angeles firing point-blank at Robert Kennedy.

Thus, although McCarthy's closest political associates are sure he will continue his campaign, they have been informed unequivocally that things will be different. The cotton-candy atmosphere of Oregon and California where McCarthy, the poet-philosopher, giped at Bobby Kennedy's dog, Freckles, will not reappear.

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It is doubtful if McCarthy will campaign at all for New York's primary on June 18 where 123 delegate candidates pledged to him will battle slates pledged to Kennedy and Humphrey. Nor is it likely that McCarthy will engage in political horsetrading with party pros who backed Kennedy and now wonder whether to jump to McCarthy or to Humphrey.

Thus, based on the strictures of conventional politics, McCarthy will be even less satisfactory to the Democratic establishment today than he was before Kennedy's assassination. In an entertainment-oriented society where style outweighs substance, McCarthy's effort to depersonalize and desensationalize politics seems futile. But the political mood after the Kennedy tragedy is smoky and shapeless, and, just possibly, appropriate to Gene McCarthy's appeal.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Nation Pays Final Honor to Kennedy

Senator Buried Near His Brother After Delayed Funeral Journey

BY ROBERT J. DONOVAN

Times Washington Bureau Chief

ARLINGTON, Va. — After a long day of homage by multitudes, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy was buried in moonlight Saturday night near his brother, President John F. Kennedy. Hundreds of lighted tapers in the hands of the family and friends flickered around the grave.

After a solemn requiem high Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York Saturday morning, Robert Kennedy's coffin was borne before hundreds of thousands—in Manhattan, along the route of his funeral train and in Washington.

President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, members of the Cabinet and of Congress and political leaders of both parties were present in St. Patrick's and later rode in the funeral cortege through the darkened capital streets to Arlington.

At the cemetery, in a scene poignantly similar to one already turned into the memory of living

Americans, Sen. Kennedy was laid to rest close to the perpetual flame he had helped to light four years, six months and 14 days ago.

In the prayers that were spoken and the tears shed, friends groped for some meaning to this epic double tragedy. It defied understanding that such a scene could be reenacted so soon, with the same haunting presence of the Kennedy women in their black veils and stately bearing.

Just as the nation mourned 55 months ago when Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy and her daughter, Caroline, kissed the President's coffin in the rotunda of the capital, pangs of grief were felt in the cemetery Saturday night when they kissed Robert Kennedy's coffin. Young

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John F. Kennedy Jr. and other members of the family, including Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, Robert's widow, also kissed it.

The burial, which was to have taken place at 5:30 p.m., was five hours late because it took more than eight hours to take the trip from New York.

In Newark, Trenton, Philadelphia and Baltimore and in countless other towns, crossroads and fields along the way the train rolled by the somber gazes of tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of men, women and children.

Son Leads Pallbearers

Kennedy's flag-covered coffin was carried to the burial site by the pallbearers, with Robert F. Kennedy Jr. at the head.

The others were Sen. Edward M. (Ted) Kennedy; Lemoyne Billings, a family friend; C. Douglas Dillon a former secretary of the Treasury; Robert S. McNamara, president of the World Bank; Lord Harlech, former British ambassador to Washington; Ambassador-at-Large W. Averell Harriman; Col. John Glenn, a former astronaut; John Seigenthaler, editor of the Nashville Tennessean; Stephen Smith, a brother-in-

law of Kennedy's; David Hackett, a family friend; Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and James Whittaker, a mountain climber.

Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston, who officiated at President Kennedy's funeral, was to have conducted the service Saturday night. On the train coming down from New York, however, he felt ill and did not go to the cemetery.

Archbishop Philip M. Hannon of New Orleans delivered the opening prayer. Three other priests spoke brief prayers and then Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle prayed that Robert Kennedy's soul would rest in peace.

Band Repeats Anthem

The band from Harvard University, Kennedy's alma mater, played "America the Beautiful," one of the songs played at President Kennedy's funeral.

Col. Glenn then led the pallbearers in folding the flag that had draped the coffin. When he had snapped it into a tight triangle, he handed it to Edward Kennedy, who then passed it to Joseph P. Kennedy III, Robert Kennedy's eldest son, and to Ethel Kennedy, who clasped it to her breast.

Mrs. Kennedy and Edward Kennedy knelt together by the coffin. The widow touched it lightly, then bowed her head in prayer. Before blessing herself, she leaned forward gently and kissed the coffin. Others in the family followed.

President and Mrs. Johnson spoke quietly to Mrs. Kennedy and the senator. Like the others around the coffin, the President knelt on the ground during prayers. At the close of the brief service, he and Mrs. Johnson were the first to leave.

60 Feet From Brother

The grave where Robert Kennedy was buried is 60 feet down the grassy slope from where President Kennedy lies beside the perpetual flame. As family and guests were departing Saturday night, Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy and her children walked up to the President's grave, knelt in prayer and then placed flowers on his headstone.

Throughout the day, thousands gathered along the 4.6-mile route of the procession from Washington's Union Station to Arlington. Many were baked

by 90-degree heat and then soaked by an evening shower before the train arrived. By the time it pulled in at 9:05 p.m., a full moon had broken through the crowds and the temperature dropped to 75 degrees.

At Union Station, President and Mrs. Johnson were on hand to greet the Kennedy family. They watched as the coffin passed down a red carpet through a military honor guard and was placed in a black hearse.

The cortege left the station with Mrs. Kennedy, Robert Jr. and Edward Kennedy in the front seat of the hearse with the driver.

Cardinal Returns to Boston

A physician and wheelchair were waiting for Cardinal Cushing, word having been sent in advance that he was not feeling well, but he would have none of the wheelchair and drove off in a limousine. He flew back to Boston and said on his arrival there that he felt fine.

The hearse paused briefly on Constitution Ave. in front of the Department of Justice in memory of Sen. Kennedy's years of service there as Attorney General. At the Lincoln Memorial, the hearse again stopped while the Choral Art Society of the District of Columbia sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Hours before the cortege arrived, Hosea Williams, director of demonstrations at the poor people's Resurrection City near the Lincoln Memorial, led a small delegation to the gravesite. The Rev. Ralph David

Abernathy, leader of the poor people's campaign, attended the funeral services in New York and rode the train to Washington.

The poor people at the cemetery, some dressed in blue denim coveralls, others wearing Mexican sombreros, one wearing a turban and another an Indian feather in his hair, were seated just below the diplomatic corps under the famous Arlington oak tree.

Their place of honor at the cemetery reflected the slain leader's identification with the plight of the poor of this nation.

Waiting for the funeral procession, the spectators already gathered at Arlington could see the long line of lights moving across Memorial Bridge over the Potomac River and then snaking up the hillside to the burial site. Shortly before the hearse arrived, Army officers gave hundreds of tapers to the guests.

The services were short and unpretentious. When they were over and the official party had departed, the coffin was surrounded by an Army honor guard, standing shoulder to shoulder. Nevertheless hundreds of spectators came forward and knelt in prayer. Some of them reached through the legs of the soldiers to touch the shiny mahogany coffin. The coffin was lowered into the ground later.

On top of the coffin was a single red poppy, a single sprig of evergreen, a small American flag and a bouquet of yellow roses tied with a yellow ribbon and carrying a single blue political campaign button reading: "Kennedy."



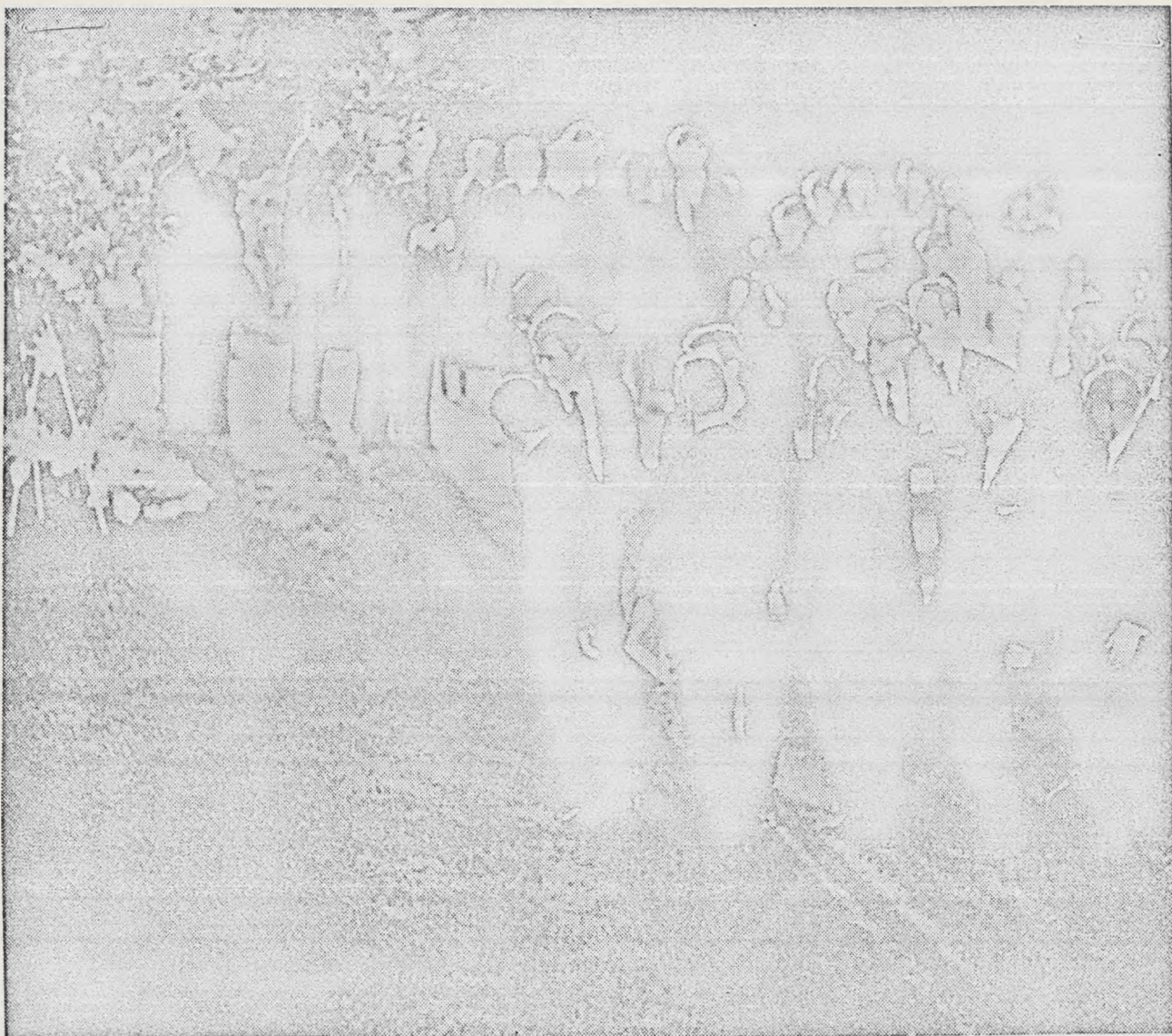
FUNERAL SERVICE—Mrs. Ethel Kennedy is escorted by brother-in-law, Sen. Edward Kennedy during services for Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

UPI Wirephoto



FINAL PARADE — Funeral cortege of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy proceeds down New York's 5th Ave. en route to Pennsylvania Station for trip to Washington.

UPI Wirephoto



AT THE GRAVESITE — The casket of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy is carried to the gravesite at Arlington

National Cemetery Saturday night. The senator's son, Robert F. Jr., leads the casket and pallbearers.

AP Wirephoto

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

The Journey

By RUSSELL BAKER

(C) 1968 New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON, June 8—Robert F. Kennedy's family brought him back to Washington for the last time today by train and megalopolitan America lined the rails to say good-by.

The journey, slowed by accidents along the way and great crowds which often forced the train to slow almost to a stop, lasted from 1:03 p.m. to 9:10 p.m.—more than twice as long as had been anticipated.

Drawn by two jet-black electric locomotives of the Penn Central railroad, the funeral train traveled through an almost unbroken succession of station throngs, urban street crowds and clusters of small town mourners.

In the rural stretches separating the great eastern cities, girls came to the railroad on horseback. Boys sat in the trees. In a desolate swampy section of New Jersey, a lone man knelt in prayer by the trackside. In the loneliest sections, family groups clustered around cars parked in the woods to hold up flags, to wave or to salute.

In many places the crowds ignored undermanned police lines and swarmed dangerously onto adjacent tracks to be closer to the train. This seems to have accounted for the accident at Elizabeth, N.J., in which two persons were killed and another injured when they were struck by a northbound train.

Kennedy's coffin rested on chairs at window level in the last of 21 cars. It was a private car with an old-fashioned observation platform on the rear and, in the old tradition, was draped with black bunting.

From time to time as the train passed through large clusters of people, Kennedy's widow, Ethel, and his brother, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, appeared on the platform to acknowledge the salute of the crowds.

What they saw as they looked out was a picture of America pausing in its Saturday afternoon pastimes and wearing the casual dress that America wears on its day off. The majority of the women seemed to be in shorts or slacks.

The men wore T-shirts or Bermudas, as though interrupted at their lawn work or the shopping.

In many places the local Little League teams stood beside the tracks, sometimes saluting, other times with baseball caps held solemnly over their chests.

At New Brunswick, N.J., a lone hugler on the station platform blew "taps." In a Philadelphia suburb, a marching brass band blew an air in tribute. At Newark, N.J., four women on the platform wore cardboard placards around their necks. Each said: "Fare-

well Robert." At Linden, N.J., two tots, a boy and a girl in sunsuits, held a piece of hand-painted cardboard that said "good-by Bobby."

Aboard the train the Kennedy family did not permit their brief to separate them entirely from their guests. At different times, Mrs. Robert Kennedy, Sen. Edward Kennedy and Joseph P. Kennedy III, the late senator's 15-year-old son, all walked the entire length of the train to speak with the passengers.

"Hello, I'm Joe Kennedy," was the greeting the boy gave each passenger. "I'm glad to meet you."

One man volunteered sympathy. "I'm sorry," he said.

"That's all right," Joseph replied. He seemed at that moment very much like his father.

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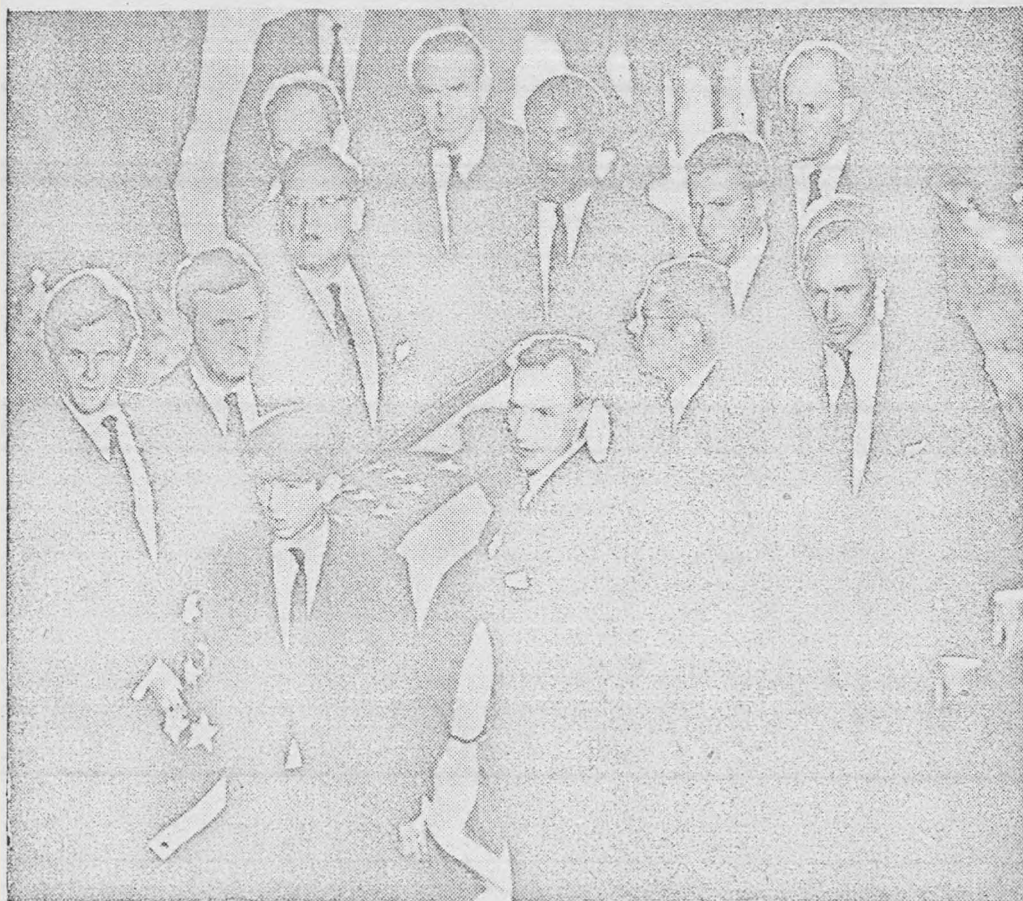
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Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, center, stands beside hearse bearing husband's body



Son Joseph leads his father's pallbearers as casket is carried to Arlington Cemetery.

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CROWD ON THE ROUTE—A group of nuns joins a crowd on the platform of North Philadelphia Station

in waving a farewell to Sen. Robert F. Kennedy as the funeral train passes on the way to Washington.

AP Wirephoto

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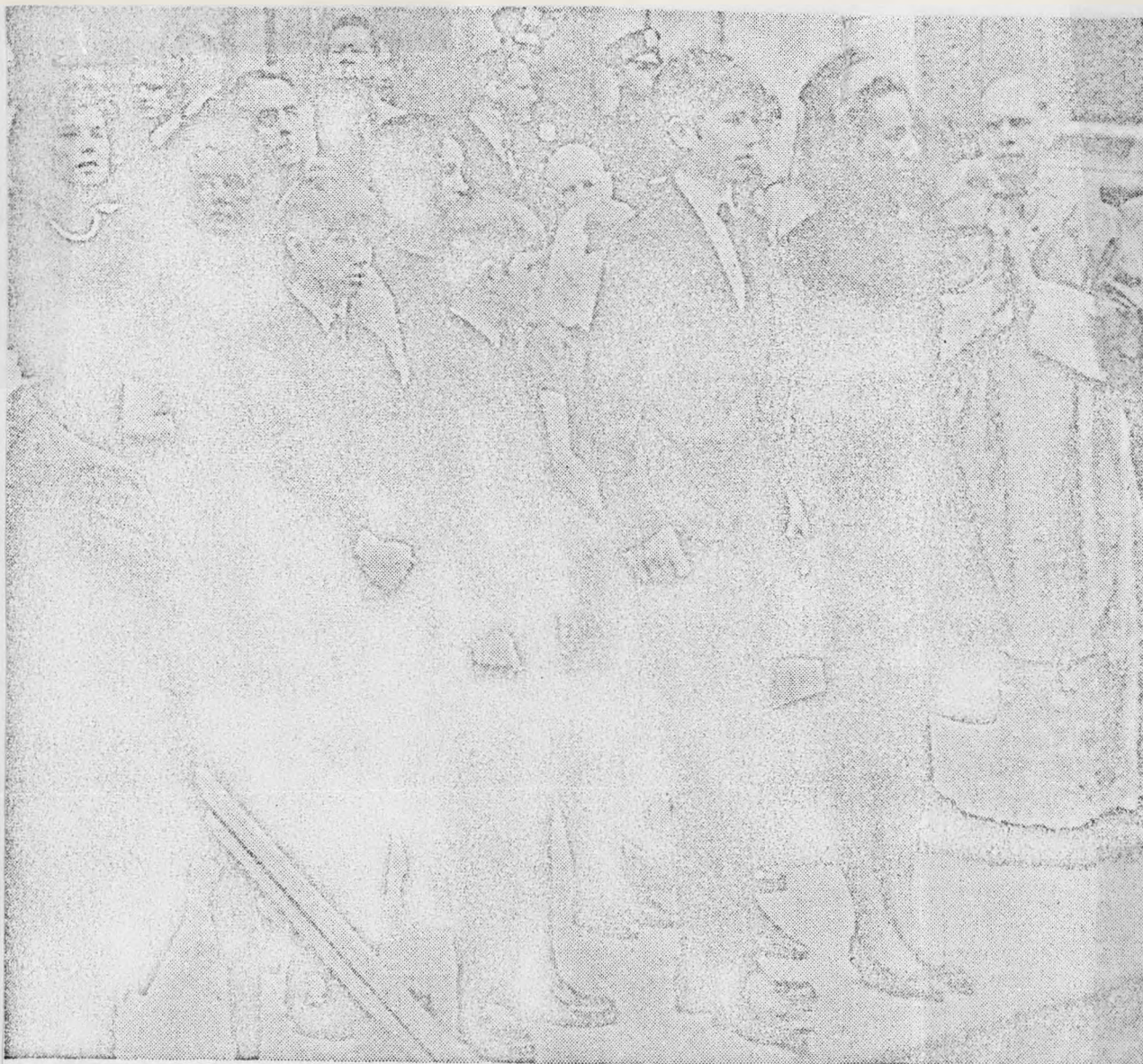
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MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY—Mrs. Ethel Kennedy, escorted by son, Robert Jr., leaves St. Patrick's following services for Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. Others

include Mrs. Rose Kennedy, left, wearing veil, with Sargent and Mrs. Shriver behind her. Archbishop Terence Cooke, with clasped hands, is at right.

AP Wirephoto

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Melting Pot Legacy Provokes Strains

LOUIS B. FLEMING

UNITED NATIONS

Tolerance of Violence

There are three threads of violence in the United States.

There is the violence of conspiracy and crime, carefully organized clandestine efforts to change the political or social structure through killing, as appears to be the case in the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, or to manipulate and exploit

Fleming is The Times' correspondent at the United Nations.

masses of people, as appears to have been a factor in the Columbia University demonstrations, or to brutalize a population, as in the operation of the Mafia.

There is the violence of deranged minds, venting an inner fury and disorientation against an unexpected target, as appeared to be the case with Lee Harvey Oswald and may have been the case with Sirhan Bishara Sirhan.

And there is the historic, endemic violence of social frustration, spontaneous in its explosion, always destructive in its practice, often constructive in its accomplishments. It is a force which has proven a major means of enlarging democracy in America since its colonial days. It is now entering a new stage which may achieve for black Americans what it has achieved for minority groups of white Americans in the past.

The three forms of violence have interrelationships that are difficult to identify and evaluate. But there is no doubt that the tolerance of violence, so evident at all levels of American life, can encourage a deranged mind to implement its dark designs.

The violence of conspiracy and crime is not unique to the United States. The violence of deranged minds, directed against public figures, is not unique to America either, but some experts report that no other civilized nation places its public figures in as much personal danger as the United States.

What is unique to America, at least among the developed nations, is a widespread tolerance of violence, in fact, an acceptance of violence as a proven tool for radical change. This has developed because of the gap between preaching and practice throughout our history.

"Americans tend to suffer from chronic historical amnesia," Dr. John Spiegel, director of the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University pointed out in a television lecture in Boston last March.

Underlying Social Conflicts

The same underlying social conflicts that motivate groups also motivate disturbed persons, and the assassin often feels that he is acting

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in a great public cause. The high incidence of causes and conflicts within the United States increases the probability of assaults on public figures.

Dr. Spiegel notes that the melting pot characteristic of the United States, the nation's heterogeneity, produces a constantly increasing number of international and domestic conflicts of concern to minorities within the population, including such recent additions as disaffected Cuban refugees and frustrated Arabs who have lost their homes in Palestine.

For a nation like the United States, which prides itself on its diversity, freedom and relative absence of official coercion, there is no cure for this threat.

On the other hand, history has demonstrated a cure for collective violence: correction of the social processes which prompted it. The cure is not repression.

"The chief social strain in the United States has always been the incompatibility between its democratic ideals and its authoritarian practices," Dr. Spiegel told the American Psychiatric Assn. last month.

"The rights of man, the equality between peoples and the principle of representative government, the main items in the democratic philosophy, have from the birth of our country been pitted against an underlying and largely inarticulate authoritarianism modeled after the European social systems that the American Revolution was presumed to have overthrown."

Excluded Social Groups

Dr. Spiegel defines American authoritarianism as the practice of excluding some social groups from the democratic process as well as the organization of power into a bureaucratic pyramid with the power at the top of the pyramid.

He identifies the "in" group of the democratic society as the "nativists," a group comprised initially of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants in the middle or upper class with power resting only among male adults. Over the years the "reconstructivists," as Dr. Spiegel calls the

excluded groups, have violently assaulted the social order and, more often than not, have succeeded in gaining admittance to the democratic power structure after long and usually bloody struggles. Victory has usually brought conversion of the "reconstructivists" to "nativists" and they pool their efforts to exclude groups remaining outside, like the black Americans.

The great struggle today therefore pits white against black.

"The violence of whites against blacks is primarily against persons, secondarily against property," Dr. Spiegel has reported. "The violence of blacks against whites is directed primarily toward symbolic objects: white-owned property and small white business establishments in the ghetto. Attacks on persons are less frequent."

Heart of Problem

This is the heart of the problem before the President's new commission on violence. The power structure of the nation will be forced to satisfy the legitimate demands of all its people through legal channels in order to justify Mr. Johnson's assertion that "we cannot sanction the appeal to violence no matter what its cause, no matter what the grievance."

Some important work already has been done by scholars on the subject, notably by Dr. Spiegel, and studies of the magnitude and origins of strife in various nations by Prof. Ted Gurr, associate director of the workshop in comparative politics at Princeton University, and by Ivo and Rosalind Feierabend at San Diego State College.

Considerable study also has been focused on the impact of the American setting of violence on the individual, but there are no clear answers yet to this problem. There remains a mystery as to the real effect on the individual of the continuing emphasis on violence in most forms of entertainment, notably television, in the American toy market, unique in the world for its diversity of tools of destruction, and even in the common vocabulary of a nation which, as Dr. Spiegel has noted, wages "war" against poverty and in which angry people say "I'll kill you" whether they mean it or not.

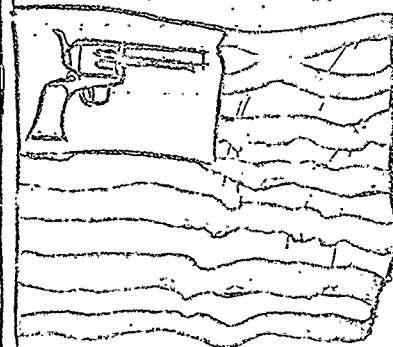
'Imagery More Violent'

"Our imagery is more violent than in any other Western nation," Dr. Spiegel says.

The U.S. obsession with guns, also unique in the world, coupled with the violent imagery produces a tolerance and habituation of violence consciously or subconsciously.

There is no doubt that violence and disorder are on the increase, but the United States is not alone in this respect.

Prof. Gurr has argued that turmoil has exploded in this decade in the



Wicks in Toronto Telegram

United States because deprivation has intensified, and "social conditions increasingly facilitate its violent manifestation."

U.N. Secretary General U Thant has said that he regards "the prevailing mood of violence in the United States and elsewhere as a consequence of the psychological climate created by the Vietnam war."

There is no research evidence to support Thant's assertion. In fact, research by the Feierabends at San

Diego State College found only a "weak" relationship between internal and external aggression, according to an article which they wrote in the May issue of Psychology Today.

They found that the high level of external aggression by both the Soviet Union and the United States is "but one aspect of extensive participation in international affairs" and apparently different from factors which produced external aggression among 65% of the most unstable countries of the world.

But in cold statistics the United States is not one of the most violent nations, though most of the world regards it as such.

10 Avoided Turmoil

Prof. Gurr's work at Princeton has shown that only 10 of the 114 nations he studied avoided civil turmoil in the period from 1961 to 1965.

"Although the United States was not among the 24 polities that experienced what we define as internal war, it ranked 15th among the 95 polities that experienced turmoil," Gurr wrote in the spring issue of The American Behavioral Scientist.

"The United States ranked 42nd among the 114 polities in total magnitude of strife," Gurr added.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

The King's Wood, Angry Colonists the Heritage

ALAN NEVINS

A tendency toward lawlessness was knit into the fabric of American life during our long colonial history from 1607 or 1620 to 1776 by the fact that settlers in America were thousands of miles distant from the

Nevins, the distinguished American historian, wrote this article for The Times.

imperial authorities in London; by the fact also that the settlers wished to exploit the tremendous natural wealth of the rich continent for easy gains while the imperial authorities wished to protect it and regulate its exploitation.

For example, authorities tried to protect the king's wood and save the tall pines for the Royal Navy; the colonists wanted the right to cut them.

Again, Parliament passed laws of trade to protect home manufacturers from colonial competition while reserving the British market to colonial raw products. Such laws were easily flouted by smugglers, with the use of violence.

Duties on Trade

Parliament laid customs duties on trade to collect revenue, used in protecting the colonies against France, Spain and the Indians. Again, smugglers broke the law, often with violence.

The British West Indies wanted a monopoly of the molasses trade to be used for rum; the Yankees smuggled it in from the French, Spanish and Danish islands, again with violence.

Imperial authorities tried to regulate or halt Western settle-

ment to prevent new Indian wars; the colonists broke these regulations with violence.

Racial friction bred violence as slavery spread over the South; riots resulted, other acts of violence.

The age-old friction between debtors and creditors also bred violence. All the new settlements were full of debtors owing money to London, the East, the seaboard. They defied efforts to collect debts, as in Shay's Rebellion, with violence.

Lynching became common about 1830 against Negroes, against gamblers, against horse thieves and others.

Sectional friction bred violence as soon as New England differed sharply from the South or the middle states from the country west of the Alleghenies. Who could enforce the fugitive slave laws? We had mobs and riots in the effort.

Religious differences bred violence. Anti-Catholic feeling was long passionate in Protestant areas and we had anti-Catholic violence in Boston, Philadelphia and other places. Later, anti-Mormon feeling was strong and violent.

Whenever we had a law so unpopular that it was unenforceable, violence broke out. We had many such laws down to the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Act.

It is probably not true that foreigners are more addicted to violence than native Americans. It depends on the country from which they come, its habits and traditions.

Frontiersmen have not always been specially addicted to violence. Again it has depended on special circumstances. Were the laws adequate and enforceable? Were the protections against savage incursions sufficient?

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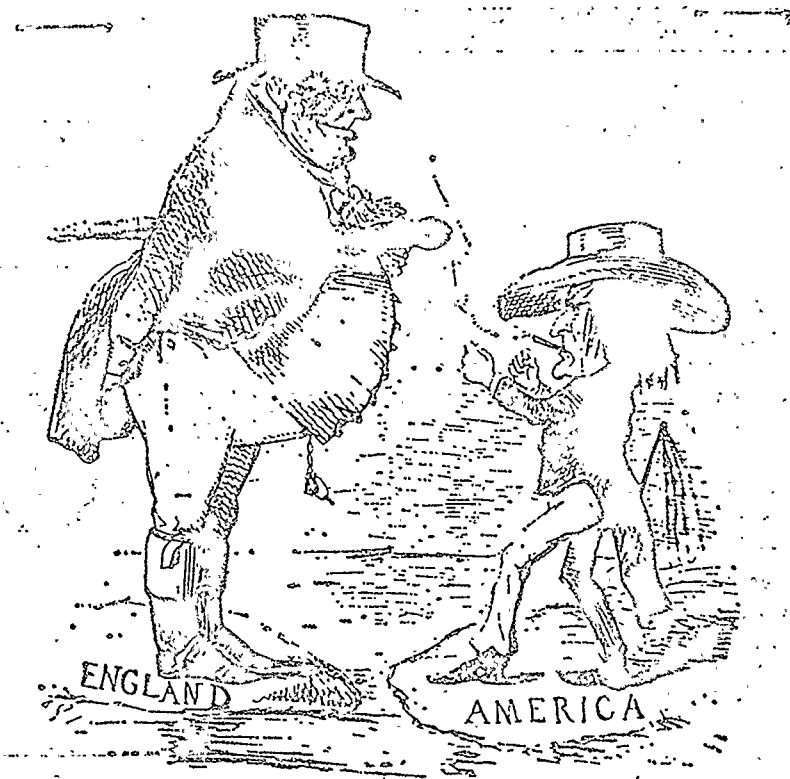
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READY TO FIGHT—Brother Jonathan, the forerunner of Uncle Sam, squares off against John Bull in this early cartoon.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Words From Russia Don't Match Moves

RICHARD RESTON

MOSCOW

When America stumbles, there is a need to examine closely the response of the Soviet Union, even if at a moment of supreme national grief.

The United States can live with the withering propaganda fire now coming from Moscow. This savage propaganda—a hangover from the worst Cold War days—will not be either a decisive, or perhaps even an important, factor in the longer-range dispute between the United States and the Soviet Union.

There are other fundamental questions that demand more serious attention at a time like this.

For example, how sophisticated and accurate is the Soviet interpretation of the American political scene? Is this capital likely to take advantage of an apparent political paralysis in the United States, or is it apt to be more cautious and realistic toward complex Soviet-American differences?

The great danger in relations between the two countries is that either Moscow or Washington will miscalculate the intentions of the other. It has happened in the past and only the most extreme care on both sides will prevent it from happening again.

The two capitals do not have to be reminded of the frightening risks that accompany fundamental errors of judgment. But when major policy mistakes are made on the East-West front, through misunderstandings or otherwise, then the global balance of terror is threatened—a prospect far more insidious than any political turmoil in the United States today.

It is easy to assume that the Kremlin will shift its international posture to exploit America's moment of political confusion. But that assumption is wrong, according to the best diplomatic assessment available in this capital.

Even if Moscow wished to turn the American trouble to more than mere propaganda advantage, it would have great difficulty doing so.

The educated argument here is as follows:

Style of Leadership

Risky foreign policy adventures do not fit either the style or the character of the present Soviet leadership. This is a cautious regime. It is a leadership that has shown little taste for innovation in the conduct of both foreign and domestic policy. Indeed, if the ruling politburo has any tendency, it is extreme caution when there is no clear policy option apparent.

With Americans having trouble sorting out their own confused political picture, the Russians are not likely to do anything internationally that might affect that situation adversely.

The feeling here is that the Soviet leadership has the capacity for a sophisticated, accurate judgment of the American political scene. It has always been assumed that Moscow is getting a good and balanced report on the United States from its diplomatic mission in Washington headed by Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin.

Accordingly, there is no reason to think that the Kennedy assassination and the attendant political chaos will influence the state of Soviet-American relations. As one diplomat put it: "Political difficulties inside the United States do not make American foreign policy any less viable in the Soviet view."

The character of this country's leadership is not the only argument against any Soviet mischief-making at the expense of the United States.

Perhaps more important than any other single point is the fact that Moscow is beset with its own internal and external problems. This severely limits the Soviet capacity to maneuver at a time when the United States is preoccupied.

The Soviet Union is faced with a serious ideological challenge from Red China in the East and with a restless, reform-minded East European community in the West.

Cannot Afford Tensions

At home the Kremlin is trying to grapple with major problems as a result of widespread apathy among the younger generation, a small disaffected intellectual group and an

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economy which lacks anything like the resilience Moscow would hope for.

The real point about the Russian leaders is that they can hardly afford new East-West tensions at a time when the Soviet Union is desperately trying to sort out its own muddled state of affairs.

Thus on questions of critical international importance, the Soviet Union continues limited cooperation with the United States, for example on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. It is now negotiating a new two-year cultural agreement with the United States. And it has recently ratified a joint Soviet-American consular convention.

In short, the United States has no monopoly on problems these days. The Soviet Union has its own uncertainties, its own crises, and, if anything, they may be more serious than the troubles in America.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Solemn Crowds Line Tracks for Glimpse of Funeral Train

BY RICHARD DOUGHERTY

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—They lined the route of the funeral train by the thousands, all the 231 miles of the mournful journey.

Men, women, children—they stood for hours on earthen embankments, grassy slopes, in tiny back yards, on the porches of tenement houses next to the track, in Little League baseball diamonds, on the tops of cars, on station platforms, in parking lots, in parks and golf courses.

The people stood and waited for the long train with the black locomotive and the black-draped car at the end to say goodbye to Robert F. Kennedy.

It was by all odds the most moving demonstration of grief that Americans could provide a man who was not their President—although it was his wish to follow in the footsteps of his brother and be their president. Tragedy stalked the train which

was itself born of tragedy. Less than half an hour after the 21-car train pulled out of New York, two people were killed in Elizabeth, N.J., by a train moving in the opposite direction on an adjoining track.

Only moments later in Trenton, N.J., a young man climbed atop a box car to watch the Kennedy train go by, touched a live wire and was critically burned.

Ethel Skakel Kennedy, the widow of the slain New York senator, was not told of the tragedies which attended the eight-hour procession through New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and into the District of Columbia.

Within the train there was a kind of festive, almost triumphant spirit. It was the spirit of an Irish wake when big clans gather to mourn one of their own, but also to take comfort and joy from seeing each other and from being together—to reminisce, to tell stories, to joke with one another.

There were 1,146 people aboard the train. There were dozens of Kennedys and Kennedy relatives, hundreds of friends and associates and supporters. There were more than 200 newsmen, but the vast majority of them, too, were friends. It is a Kennedy characteristic to like newspaper people and for newspaper people to like them.

All through the train there was the

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feeling that something rare was ending with this slow ride through the villages, towns and cities, the brief stretches of countryside which lie along the densely populated corridor between New York and Washington.

When President John F. Kennedy died at the hands of an assassin less than five years ago, there had been Robert Kennedy to hold all of them together, to nourish their hopes of another Camelot.

Now there remained Sen. Edward M. (Ted) Kennedy, the last of the sons of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy. But Edward Kennedy, in a way which does not reflect on either his qualities or his abilities, does not share the experiences that Robert Kennedy shared with most of those aboard the train.

No matter what the future holds for the youngest Kennedy, the death of Robert marked the end of the line, the end of a collective dream, for those who labored in behalf of his older brothers.

When they looked out the windows of the train and smiled triumphantly at the multitudes, it was almost to say that the last task of their political lives was a fitting climax and one to make them endlessly proud.

Even Mrs. Kennedy Smiles

What she saw, what made Ethel Kennedy smile along with everyone else, was an utterly American sight—and one which gave the lie to talk about the sickness of the nation.

All through the warm, sunny afternoon, the image coming through the windows, was that of a grieving, simple America.

Workmen stood outside at attention in the front. factory doors with work caps held over their hearts. At station after station in smaller communities, Boy Scout and American Legion honor guards dipped their colors and saluted as the train rolled by.

There were small boys leaning against bicycles, Little League baseball teams standing at attention on their diamonds. There were luxuriantly blooming rose bushes on the fences of backyards.

Thousands of Black Faces

In the poorer sections—and railroads run through the poorer sections of America—thousands of black faces lined the route. Black hands waved and made V-for-Victory signs from the porches of ramshackle houses.

At each of the several rivers the train crossed, there were flotillas of small boats, their occupants standing and waving. At Newark, in the middle of the Hackensack River, a fireboat stood in midstream with its complement of firemen at attention and saluting. The name of the boat: the John F. Kennedy.

At Arbutus, Md., four fire engines of the Arbutus Volunteer Fire Department were lined up, gleaming red, before the firehouse and uniformed department members were

at attention in the front.

Most people wore typically American Saturday garb: shorts, T-shirts, sloppy trousers, even bathing suits. There were curlers in the hair of many women, Saturday beards on the faces of men.

The signs some of them held up were different than signs one usually sees in a political year. Two Negro girls outside Wilmington, Del., held a poster which said: "Farewell Bobby." The sign held by a mother and father and their two children on the outskirts of Baltimore read: "The Gebhardts are sad."

Much of the time during the eight-hour journey, the widow of the slain senator stayed in the rear observation car near the flag-draped coffin of her husband.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

CAME FROM OPPOSITE DIRECTION**Train Kills 2 Waiting to See Kennedy Special**

ELIZABETH, N.J. (UPI) — A woman and a man who were waiting for the train carrying the body of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy to Washington were killed Saturday by a train heading in the opposite direction.

Six other persons were injured. Elizabeth police identified the two persons killed as John Curia and Mrs. Antoinette Severini, 54, who threw her 3-year-old granddaughter to safety on the platform as she and Curia were dragged under the wheels of the train as it thundered through the station.

Earlier in Trenton, N.J., an 18-year-old youth was burned critically when his head touched a high-tension wire as he stood up on a railroad boxcar to view the train carrying Sen. Kennedy's body.

Officials at St. Francis Hospital said Joseph Fausti of Hamilton Township was placed in the intensive care unit with burns over most of his body.

Two runs who witnessed the accident said they were saved because two men told them to get out of the path of the train.

Sister Mary Christine and Sister Grace Michaela of the Sisters of Charity, Elizabeth, said the train was coming full speed.

"He must have been going 80," Sister Michaela said. "He didn't slow down at all."

Sister Christine said there were hundreds of people all over the tracks.

"Many were looking overhead at two helicopters as the train approached," she said, "but it was too late. It was instantaneous."

Sister Christine said she did not see a policeman in the area. "There should have been supervision," she said.

An estimated 4,000 persons had crowded the platforms waiting for the train to pass when a northbound Chicago-to-New York passenger train rounded a curve at Elizabeth and hit the onlookers.

A spokesman for the Penn-Central Railroad said the engineer put on his emergency brakes, but was unable to stop.

The Penn-Central Railroad announced in Philadelphia that all service to New York, Baltimore and Wilmington and suburban areas had been suspended until the train bearing the senator's body passed through the station.

(The Associated Press reported that Frank Mankiewicz, Sen. Kennedy's press secretary, said, "We had made it very clear to Penn-Central Railroad officials that we needed security along the way, especially at the slowdown points where people would rush out and try to get near the train.")

(Mankiewicz said a Kennedy aide told railroad officials after the Elizabeth accident that unless there were guarantees that no more northbound trains would pass, this train would be stopped right then. The railroad agreed to eliminate northbound traffic, he said.)

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Slain Senator Mourned in Southland Churches

Several Faiths Join in Cathedral Event; Many Special Services Scheduled Today

BY DAN L. THRAPP
Times Religion Editor

In quiet services, thousands of Southern Californians this weekend echo other programs across the nation in memory of assassinated Robert F. Kennedy.

At St. Paul's Episcopal Cathedral before a subdued crowd Saturday, about 100 worshipers of several faiths paid tribute to the senator, slain here by a gunman after a primary election victory rally last week.

"We gather here to pray for his soul, for his family, and for our nation," said Atty. Edmund G. Brown Jr., 29, son of the former Democratic governor of California. Former Gov. Brown prepared the eulogy and was to have delivered it, but at the last moment he flew to New York to attend principal funeral services at St. Patrick's Cathedral, and his son read the address.

Msgr. Patrick Roche, rector of St. Vibiana Cathedral, delivered prayers and the grace at the St. Paul's service, representing the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Los Angeles. James Francis Cardinal McIntyre also was in New York for the funeral.

Bishop Takes Part

The Very Rev. Lloyd R. Gillmet, dean of St. Paul's, presided, and the Rt. Rev. Robert C. Rusack, suffragan bishop, delivered the benediction.

Brown, in his address, called upon the living to carry on the crusade Sen. Kennedy had advanced.

"Robert Francis Kennedy has laid down his burdens," he said. "It is we, the living, who must pick them up."

He called the assassinated candi-

date "a man of faith and of boundless optimism, who lived for today and hated with a passion the injustices of society." Brown quoted from Mr. Kennedy's remarks:

"My campaign for America is based on a desire to end the divisions within the United States."

Brown said it was Mr. Kennedy's "determination to do something about injustice that turned some against him, and caused others to love him."

"It is time to ask ourselves: What can we do to end violence?"

Cites Kennedy Views

He said Kennedy "did not yield to simplistic solutions," and called his followers "to the long, quiet struggle, year in and year out, against injustice, poverty, disease, and war itself."

Cardinal McIntyre will preside at a 9 a.m. Solemn Requiem Mass today at St. Vibiana Cathedral "for the repose of the soul of Sen. Kennedy."

He also took the unusual step of authorizing a Requiem Mass today "in every parish at any hour convenient for the parishioners."

At Blessed Sacrament Catholic Church, 6637 Sunset Blvd., this Mass will be celebrated at 12:15 p.m., with the Rev. Carroll G. Laubacher, S.J., celebrant, and the Rev. Joseph G. O'Gara, pastor, delivering the eulogy.

At the Masses today in most Catholic churches, memorial prayers will be said for Sen. Kennedy.

Requiem Masses are not generally celebrated on Sunday, or during the Pentecost season, but in this case special permission has been granted.

A Trisagion, or Greek Orthodox

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memorial service, will be offered in all Greek Orthodox churches today, following the regularly scheduled divine liturgy for Pentecost Sunday.

Due to a difference in calendars, the Orthodox churches will observe Pentecost today, a week after most of western Christendom observed it.

A memorial service will be conducted at 11 a.m. today in Second Baptist Church, 24th St. at Grif-fith Ave., according to Dr. Thomas Kilgore Jr., pastor. He is West Coast director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Dr. George Lawrence of Brooklyn, an SCLC leader and friend of both Sen. Kennedy and assassinated

Dr. Martin Luther King, will speak.

The Board of Rabbis of Southern California called on all member synagogues to sponsor memorial services over the weekend, and many such programs were scheduled.

Sen. Kennedy was to be memorialized in sermons and prayers today in countless churches of Christian faiths.

Many special musical programs also were prepared in his memory.

A memorial requiem concert will be presented by the Latin American Choir at 3 p.m. today at Primera Iglesia Metodista, 3565 E. 1st St.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Europeans Pay Their Respects to Kennedy

Mourners Offer Prayers and Sign Black Condolence Books in American Embassies

By United Press International

Thousands of Europeans paid last respects to Robert F. Kennedy Saturday with prayers in holy places and signatures in black condolence books placed in American Embassies and consulates.

The upwelling of grief knew no boundaries. It stretched from London to Western Europe and across the Iron Curtain into the Communist nations of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

In Vatican City, Pope Paul VI said another Mass for Kennedy and prayed for him with Rome-based American prelates and seminarians.

It was the third Mass Pope Paul has said in his private chapel for Kennedy.

In Belgrade, Premier Mika Spiljak led more than 3,000 Yugoslavs in signing a condolence book for Kennedy in the lobby of the U.S. Embassy.

Prime Minister Todor Zhivkov sent a message of sympathy to Mrs. Ethel Kennedy from the Bulgarian capital of Sofia, expressing the shock on behalf of his people and the Communist government.

The line of mourners outside the U.S. Embassy in London stretched for blocks.

President Eamon de Valera led grief-stricken Ireland, the nation of Kennedy's ancestors, in a pontifical Requiem Mass for the senator in Dublin Cathedral.

The universality of grief was underscored in London where Dr. Immanuel Jakobovits, Britain's chief rabbi, paid tribute to Kennedy in a sermon at St. John's, Wood Synagogue.

"This evil deed has disgraced not only America," the rabbi said of the assassination. "It has shamed the entire human race."

Meanwhile, on a different note, the Soviet newspaper Izvestia said Saturday that Kennedy was killed because "he was in somebody's way."

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MEXICAN-AMERICAN PARADE

Southland Observances Pay Final Respects to Kennedy

BY DOUG SHUIT and DIAL TORGERSON

Times Staff Writers

Through East Los Angeles streets which once rang with cries of "Viva Kennedy," hundreds of Mexican-Americans paraded Saturday to honor the memory of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

It was one of many observances held in Southern California on the day the slain senator was being laid to rest among U.S. heroes at Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia.

In East Los Angeles the rites began as the state funeral was taking place at Arlington's Eternal Flame.

The ceremony here began with a march through silent East Side streets at dusk. The march ended a mile later as the procession filed into East Los Angeles Junior College Stadium, by torch and candlelight, chanting the Rosary and singing.

Sheriff's officers estimated the marching throng at 1,000. Another 500 waited at the stadium. It was Southern California's biggest gathering Saturday to honor the young senator.

Hundreds of Observances

In other parts of the Southland there were hundreds of observances honoring Sen. Kennedy's memory—some as small as a family's moment of prayer, some as universal as the U.S. Flags flying everywhere at half staff.

The nation's bereavement found expression locally in many different ways:

—Motorists drove with headlights burning in daylight hours, as many have since the news spread early Wednesday that the senator had been shot.

—Many large supermarkets remained closed Saturday morning, as did some other commercial firms.

—Work was ordered stopped in all California ports on Sunday at the proposal of the International Long-

shoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

—In Southland churches the observances ranged from memorial services at small, local churches to the Solemn Requiem Mass set for 9 a.m. today at St. Vibiana Cathedral with James Francis Cardinal McIntyre, Roman Catholic archbishop of Los Angeles, presiding.

—Uncounted multitudes observed the day of mourning in their own homes, watching television scenes of the funeral or listening to radio stations whose regular programs had been pre-empted for memorial music. As in November 1963, one piece again bore poignant repetition: "The Navy Hymn."

—The County Museum of Art canceled its Sunday schedule. Many theatrical events also were canceled.

Went Heavily for Kennedy

The East Los Angeles observance was both planned and unplanned, secular and nonsecular—as varied as the grassroots support which went so heavily for Kennedy in the East Side in his primary victory on Tuesday.

Members of the militant Brown Berets marched in the van, a throng of women holding Rosaries at the rear. Along the march were children, members of service clubs, veterans' organizations, and people in work clothes who joined spontaneously as the parade passed.

The procession began at Obregon Park at E. 1st St. and Sunol Ave. at 6 p.m. At first the marchers walked silently, some carrying placards and posters left over from Kennedy's pre-election visits to East Los Angeles.

Said a hand-lettered sign carried by Bonnie Jimenez, 10: "Rest in Peace. We Love You, Bobby Kennedy."

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As the procession passed La Soledad Church at 4561 Brooklyn Ave., the church bells began the slow-cadenced death toll. Members of the procession began to sing. But they sang different songs:

The members of the Brown Berets sang "We Shall Overcome."

Farther back, a woman with a strong soprano sang "The Lord's Prayer."

Toward the rear, women began reciting the Rosary in Spanish.

Kisses Poster of Senator

At Brooklyn and Arizona Aves., white-haired Ernie Trevino knelt at the side of the roadway in his work clothes, praying. As the procession past he kissed a poster of Kennedy, and said, half-sobbing:

"God bless Robert."

Sheriff's officers and Highway Patrolmen halted traffic to allow the parade to make its way to the junior college.

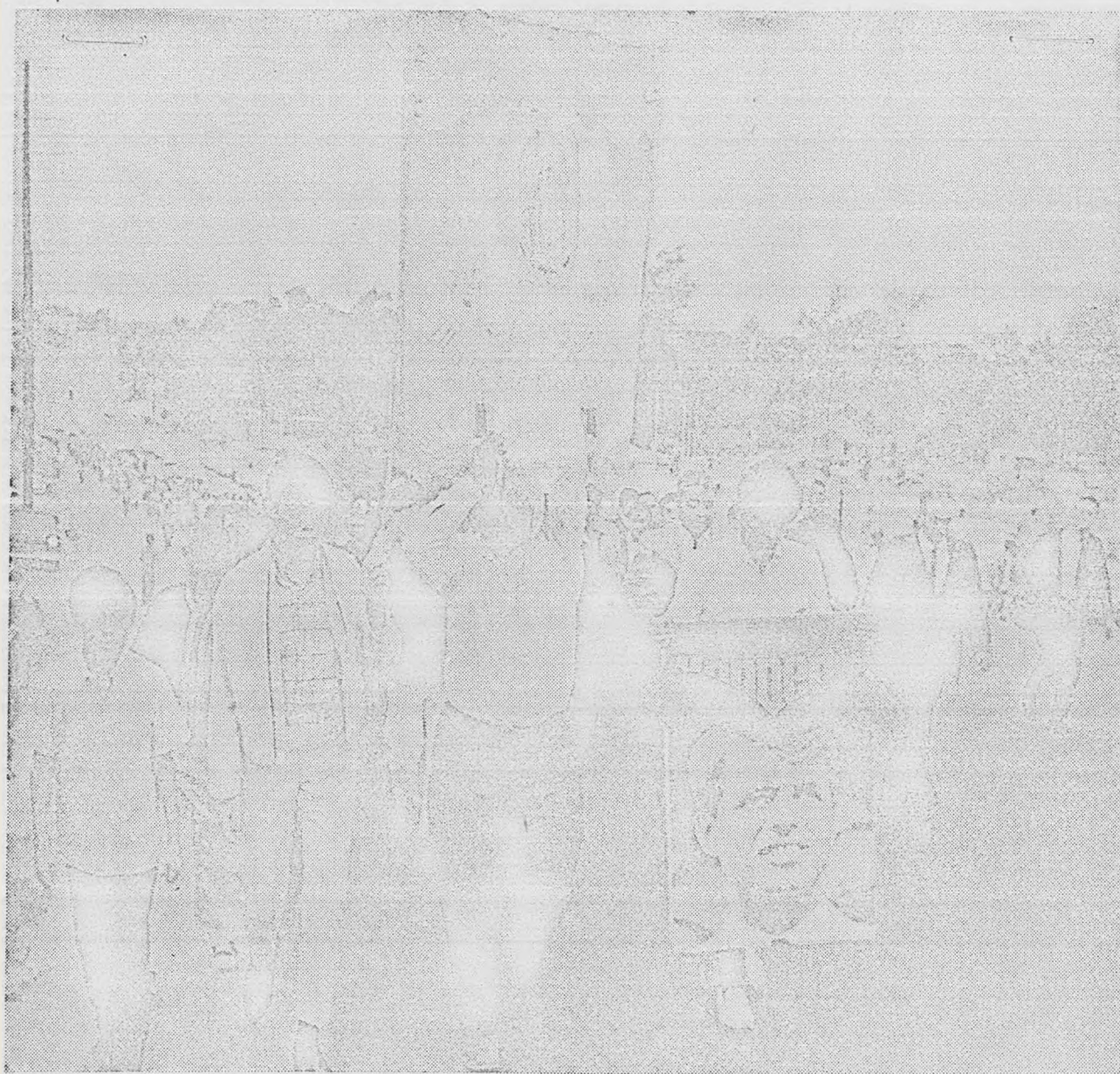
As it grew dark the paraders lit candles. Brown Berets carried flaming torches. At the college the throng gathered as Msgr. Ramon Garcia celebrated a Requiem Mass.

Among those present at the Mass was Dr. Julian Nava, a member of the Board of Education and himself once an East Los Angeles resident. Nava told a newsman:

"It's very tragic—Sen. Kennedy's death—especially for disadvantaged people. What he said wasn't just campaign talk."

David Sanchez, leader of the Brown Berets, put it differently:

"It is a time of real mourning," he said. "He was our last hope. There will be no more outside help for us."



TRIBUTE TO A SENATOR—A memorial procession in honor of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy leaves Obregon

Park on E. 1st St. enroute to East Los Angeles Junior College. Officers estimated 1,000 participated.
Times photo by R. T. Oliver

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

An Editorial**ROBERT F. KENNEDY**

He was, more than anything else, a man of great faith.

He had faith in his God, faith in his country and faith in himself.

Because of his deep convictions, Robert F. Kennedy was simultaneously a great idealist, a great fighter and a potentially great leader.

Even those who disagreed with many of his views share deeply in the national sorrow at his untimely and tragic death.

For America has lost a great American.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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