

INCREASE OR DECREASE FONT SIZE



NODULE 24

AFTER THE COUP

RICHARD M. NIXON

RUTH PAINE & MARINA OSWALD

NIXON AND HOOVER NOVEMBER 22, 1963

An FBI memo dated September 11, 1964, noted: "Late this morning Miss Sally Haines of the Research Department of *The Readers Digest* telephoned to advise that the November 1964 issue of *The Digest* will contain excerpts from a forthcoming book by RICHARD M. NIXON entitled, 'Cuba, Castro and John F. Kennedy; Some Reflections on American Foreign Policy.' Miss Hanes stated that this condensed version of former Vice President RICHARD NIXON'S book contains one reference to the Director -- a brief statement that shortly after President Kennedy's assassination he (NIXON) telephoned the Director, and the Director told him that a 'LEE HARVEY OSWALD who was known to the FBI as a member of the pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba Committee was the assassin.' Miss Haines purpose in calling was to advise us of this reference to the Director in the November issue which will soon be sent to the printer. As a result of our close contacts with *The Reader Digest*, members of its Research Department regularly contact the Crime Records Division when an article mentioning the Director or the FBI is scheduled to appear in that magazine."

On February 20, 1967, the FBI generated a memo in regard to an inquiry from F.N. Richmond of 441 Southeast Second Street, Hialeah, Florida: "By letter dated February 12, 1967, (attached) Richmond refers to an article in the February 25, 1967, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* which reports an interview with former Vice President RICHARD NIXON. In this interview NIXON discusses the assassination of President Kennedy and relates to a conversation he had with Mr. Hoover on November 22, 1963. According to NIXON he called Mr. Hoover and asked, 'What happened? Was it one of the nuts?' Mr. Hoover is reported as saying 'No, it was a Communist.'" Richmond asked if Mr. Hoover remembers the call from Mr. NIXON and whether the statement attributed to Mr. Hoover was correctly quoted.

"A review of Bufiles does not disclose a record of Mr. Hoover's conversation with Mr. NIXON on November 22, 1963; however the Directors Office does have a record indicating Mr. NIXON telephonically contacted Mr. Hoover about 4:00 p.m. November 22, 1963. During the conversation with the Attorney General at 4:01 p.m. on November 22, 1963, the Attorney

General asked the Director if OSWALD was a Communist. Mr. Hoover said OSWALD is not a Communist but he has Communist leanings. Mr. Hoover told the Attorney General it is entirely possible OSWALD may have had some Communist sympathies but, so far as we know, he is not a member of the Communist Party."

ANALYSIS

NIXON'S recollection of this telephone conversation changed over the years. In 1964 he said that Hoover told him OSWALD was a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. In 1967 NIXON wrote that he telephoned Hoover and asked if it was a right wing nut who assassinated Kennedy. Hoover told him it was not a right-wing extremist, it was a Communist. When Hoover spoke with United States Attorney General Robert Kennedy a minute later, he told him that OSWALD was not a member of the Communist Party of the United States. NIXON distorted his telephone conversation with Hoover to disguise its real purpose, which was to determine the direction of the FBI's investigation.

NIXON AND THE BAY OF PIGS DOCUMENTS

In January 1969, immediately after assuming office, NIXON called in aide John Ehrlichman and told him he wanted all of the CIA's documents concerning the Bay of Pigs. Richard Helms was questioned about this: "My recollection is that sometime between his being elected and the next election, in other words, in about mid-term I guess it would have been, he asked me for some information about the Bay of Pigs and I think about the Diem episode in Vietnam, and maybe something about Trujillo in the Dominican Republic...He made the request to me through Mr. Ehrlichman."

ANALYSIS

NIXON was the White House action officer of the Bay of Pigs invasion, so it was logical that he would be interested in them.

H.R. Haldeman recalled that June 1969, John Ehrlichman stopped by his office and told him: "Those bastards in Langley are holding back something. They just dig their heels in and say the President can't have it. Period. Imagine that. The Commander-in-Chief wants to see a document and the spooks say he can't have it...from the way they're protecting it, it must be pure dynamite."

H.R. Haldeman reported the President summoned Richard Helms. Richard Helms and NIXON had a heated argument. Richard Helms refused to give NIXON the documents. NIXON subsequently told John Ehrlichman to forget about the CIA Bay of Pigs documents.

ANALYSIS

Documents about the Bay of Pigs invasion have been recently declassified and nothing startling has appeared. Why did the CIA refuse to give Nixon these documents in 1969?

In 1970 Donald Kendall, and his associate, Augustin Edwards, a Chilean Pepsi-Cola bottler, met with NIXON to discuss the destabilization of the Salvador Allende regime in Chile. In June 1971 NIXON discussed obtaining the Bay of Pigs documents with H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman and Henry Kissinger. On September 18, 1971, NIXON held another conference about the Bay of Pigs documents. John Ehrlichman's notes: "BAY OF PIGS / Order to CIA / President is to have full files or else. Nothing withheld. President was involved in Bay of Pigs / President must have full file *deeply involved*. Must know all facts." The Bay of Pigs invasion took place five months after Nixon left office. How *deeply involved* could he have been? A memorandum dated October 7, 1971, to NIXON, generated after John Ehrlichman met with Richard Helms for 20 minutes, stated: "The President wants to see all the documents requested. He recognizes that many are sensitive and could damage the Agency if used by the wrong people, even Richard Helms suggests, *some White House Staff*." HUNT was on the *White House Staff* at this time.

On October 8, 1971, John Ehrlichman met with NIXON and Richard Helms. His notes read: "Purpose of Presidential request for documents: must be fully advised *in order to know what to duck*. Won't hurt agency nor attack predecessors."

ANALYSIS

How could NIXON have been held responsible for the Bay of Pigs? What charges did he have to *duck*? Was NIXON talking about the Bay of Pigs invasion or was he talking about the assassination of President John F. Kennedy?

John Ehrlichman was contacted in November 1993: "NIXON was interested in the Bay of Pigs because it was one of Kennedy's conspicuous failures. No, it was not a veiled reference to the Kennedy assassination. I just don't know anything about that part. I never heard NIXON say anything like that. He was concerned because Richard Helms had been a part of the Bay of Pigs, and was now the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. He was concerned to know what Kennedy had, and had not, done."

ANALYSIS

Richard Helms was not involved in the Bay of Pigs. This was why President John F. Kennedy appointed him DD/P.

NIXON AND WATERGATE

When NIXON won the 1968 Republican Presidential nomination, Jack Caufield headed his Security staff. Edgardo Buttari and BERNARD BARKER ran "Cubans for NIXON/Agnew" in Miami.

THE THEORY

On June 17, 1972, NIXON was informed that Dealey Plaza team members STURGIS, McCORD and BARKER had been arrested. When news reached him that BARKER had HUNT'S White House telephone number on his person, NIXON became alarmed. NIXON knew HUNT was the key to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

On June 23, 1972, NIXON breakfasted with two former members of the Warren Commission, Gerald Ford and Hale Boggs. HEMMING: "Who would use the Dealey Plaza team to do a third rate burglary? Risk the whole operation on the DNC? These are people willing to kill people. These are people that have killed fucking people. These are people in the business of killing people. This is serious shit. Here they are doing a third rate burglary. Jesus Christ!"

HUNT was asked by the SSCIA when he first met NIXON: "Met with him, I never met with him. I have met him on several occasions but I never had a private seance with him. I met him first at Harvey's restaurant in about 1953, and I next saw him in Montevideo where I interpreted for him for a while. I was CIA Station Chief down there and we were waiting for General Walters to arrive, and I served as an interpreter. I next saw President NIXON at a formal White House reception. He recalled, or said he recalled our previous meetings and I told him I was now working for Chuck Colson and he said, yes, I know all about that."

Baron: While you were in the NIXON White House you did not have a direct line to the President?

HUNT: I never met the President.

THE THEORY OF THE SECRET OF THE BAY OF PIGS

This researcher was the first to discover that when NIXON referred to the Bay of Pigs, he was really referring to the Kennedy assassination. On June 23, 1972, NIXON called H.R. Haldeman into his office. The White House tapes:

NIXON: O.K., just postpone (scratching noises) (unintelligible). Just say (unintelligible) very bad to have this fellow HUNT, ah, he know that? If it gets out that this is all involved, the Cuba thing would be a fiasco. It would make the CIA look bad, and it is likely to blow the whole Bay of Pigs thing which we think would be very unfortunate, both for the CIA and for the country, at this time, and for American foreign policy. Just tell him to lay off. Don't you?

Haldeman: Yep, that's the basis to do it on. Just leave it at that.

NIXON: I don't know if he'll get any ideas for doing it because our concern political (unintelligible). Helms is not one to (unintelligible). I would just say, lookit, because of the HUNT involvement, basically this...

Haldeman: Yep, good move.

ANALYSIS

NIXON wanted Richard Helms to suppress the Watergate investigation since it led to Dallas. The first thing on his mind was HUNT: "Just say very bad to have this fellow HUNT, ah he know that?" What does "ah he know that" mean? The words were "Helms knows that." NIXON continued: "If it gets out that this is all involved, the Cuba thing would be a fiasco." If it was revealed that HUNT was involved in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, America would realize OSWALD'S alleged connection to Fidel Castro was bogus and "It would make the CIA look bad..." HUNT was a CIA Staff member when he was involved in the assassination of President Kennedy, "and it is likely to blow the whole Bay of Pigs thing," and it would expose the conspiracy to assassinate President Kennedy, "Which we think would be very unfortunate, both for the CIA and for the country, at this time, and for American foreign policy." This would destroy the effectiveness of the CIA, and would hurt America's anti-Communist foreign policy. NIXON added, "at this time," because he believed that in retrospect, the American people would thank him for having been part of the conspiracy to assassination President Kennedy. NIXON: "Just tell him to lay off, don't you." Tell Richard Helms to make sure the investigation is quashed, "won't you?" Finally, NIXON told H.R. Haldeman that he hoped Richard Helms didn't think he was just playing politics, and that even if HUNT were exposed, the secret of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy would not be revealed. He then instructed H.R. Haldeman to impress upon Richard Helms the danger of exposing HOWARD HUNT to public scrutiny.

In another conversation later that day NIXON told H.R. Haldeman: "When you get in, when you get in [to see the CIA people] say; 'Look the problem is that this will open the whole, the whole Bay of Pigs thing, and the President just feels that' ah, without going into the details, don't, don't lie to them to the extent to say there is no involvement, but just say this is a comedy of errors, without getting into it, the President believes that it is going to open up the whole Bay of Pigs thing again."

ANALYSIS

NIXON instructed H.R. Haldeman to tell the CIA that HUNT'S arrest could reopen an investigation into the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. NIXON did not deny that he was involved in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, and admitted he made had

an error in judgement when he used the same crew in Watergate: "a comedy of errors." NIXON knew that when HUNT'S photograph was published someone might recognize him as one of the tramps. Clearly, NIXON was referring to something other than the Bay of Pigs invasion.

H.R. Haldeman: "The President believes that it is going to open up the whole Bay of Pigs thing again." Assuming Nixon was referring to the Bay of Pigs *invasion* why would HUNT'S arrest have opened up the whole Bay of Pigs thing again? HUNT claimed that all he did was prepare the radio messages for the Bay of Pigs invasion. John Ehrlichman was asked why HUNT'S arrest would blow the Bay of Pigs: "I think that was a contrivance. I don't think NIXON really thought that. I think he was trying to come up with what somebody might say to justify interfering with HUNT'S arrest, in other words, an excuse to get involved in the matter... sometimes he didn't think of very good excuses."

Later that afternoon H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman met with Richard Helms and the Deputy to the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Vernon Walters, who had been appointed in May 1972. Each of these men, in 1973, had a different recollection of the details of the meeting.

RICHARD HELMS

Richard Helms testified that H.R. Haldeman asked him to have FBI Director L. Patrick Grey quash the Watergate investigation to prevent the FBI from running into a CIA operation. Richard Helms said he refused to do this. Richard Helms: "He [Haldeman] also at that time made some what to me was an incoherent reference to an investigation in Mexico, or an FBI investigation, running into Bay of Pigs. *I do not know what the reference was alleged to be*, but in any event, I assured him that I had no interest in the Bay of Pigs that many years later, that everything in connection with that had been dealt with and *liquidated* as far as I was aware and I did not care what they ran into in connection with that. At some juncture in this conversation, Mr. Haldeman then said something to the effect that it has been decided that General Walters will go an talk to Acting Director Grey of the FBI and indicate to him that these operations - these investigations of the FBI might run into CIA Operations in Mexico and that it was desirable that this not happen and that the investigation, therefore, should be either tapered off or reduced or something, but there was no language saying stop, as far as I recall"

ANALYSIS

Richard Helms said that H.R. Haldeman mentioned an "investigation in Mexico." NIXON'S reelection committee laundered campaign contributions through Mexico. Richard Helms said H. R. Haldeman told him the Mexican money laundering operation "ran into" the Bay of Pigs. These events had occurred 11 years apart. Richard Helms claimed he was confused: "I do not know what *the reference* was alleged to be" but admitted Bay of Pigs was a reference to

something other than to the aborted Cuban invasion. Had Richard Helms told H.R. Haldeman to tell NIXON not to worry about the Bay of Pigs, that all the evidence had been destroyed or doctored, witnesses had been *liquidated* and he did not care if HUNT'S identity was exposed to the public? In his Ervin Committee testimony, and during his *HUNT v. ajweberman* deposition, Richard Helms used words such as "terminate," "disposed of," "you may suddenly rise from that seat and ascend to Heaven."

Later that afternoon Richard Helms testified: "I recall, as I said earlier this morning, that Mr. Haldeman made some reference to the Bay of Pigs; I referred to it as an *incoherent reference* because it was frankly, in my recollection, I don't know exactly what he, what point he had in mind, but I reacted to that question very firmly. Now the Bay of Pigs is the rubric for a very unhappy event in the life of the CIA. A dead cat that has been thrown at us over the years ever since and, therefore, it is one to which I am likely to react rather quickly, for the simple reason that the Bay of Pigs was long since over, the problems arising from it had been *liquidated*. I was well aware of this, and I didn't care what any investigation had to do with the Bay of Pigs that could have gotten into anybody involved with it, about it, below it or above it, I didn't care, and I was trying to make it clear to Mr. Haldeman on that occasion. The fact that some of those people who broke into the Watergate had at one time had relationship with the Agency, including Martinez who had them up until just a few days before, didn't make any difference to me. I mean there was nothing that anybody was going to find out about investigating them that was going to bother us as far as I was aware." [Ervin Hearings p3275]

ANALYSIS

Either Richard Helms was deliberately playing dumb or he was genuinely unaware of the CIA's connection to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy - an unlikely possibility. In May 1979 Richard Helms was questioned about this meeting:

Q. All right. Do you recall having a meeting on June 23, 1972, with Mr. Haldeman and Mr. Ehrlichman and Deputy Director Vernon Walters?

A. You mean the meeting that came about as a result of the so-called 'smoking pistol?'

Q. Something to that effect.

A. Most publicized meeting in history.

Q. Perhaps. Perhaps.

A. Yeah, I do. I do recall that one.

Q. Do you recall whether or not the individuals who were representing the White House

interests were concerned about the exposure of Mr. HUNT'S involvement with the Bay of Pigs and with the Agency?

A. Well, the two White House representatives were Haldeman and Ehrlichman and I don't, I obviously, memory is very fallible, but I don't recall Mrs., Mr. HUNT'S name ever coming up in connection with the meeting...I was not distressed. I was attempting to be emphatic. I did not like Mr. Haldeman attempting to blackmail me by indicating in some fashion or other that by raising the Bay of Pigs it was going to frighten me into doing something that they wanted us to do and I wanted to get this stopped, this whole approach, and so I was emphatic in my reply to him, that I didn't care about the Bay of Pigs, which is true to this day, as it was then, and Haldeman's effort in his book, to tie the Agency into Watergate, I regard as disreputable."

H.R. HALDEMAN'S VERSION

Watergate Counsel Fred Thompson asked H.R. Haldeman how Richard Helms responded to his statement that other unrelated CIA activities would be exposed. H.R. Haldeman responded, "The only area where there was a response to that, and it was in my interpretation sort of a curious response, was on the CIA problem, question of whether there was a CIA problem with relation to the Bay of Pigs, and on that one Mr. Helms jumped very rapidly and very defensively to say, 'That is of no concern at all. We don't want to get into that at all.' It was sort of a different reaction than the flat and calm reaction that there had been no CIA involvement in Watergate. There was - well, it's not germane." In *The Ends of Power*, H.R. Haldeman wrote: "The President asked me to tell you this entire affair may be connected to the Bay of Pigs and if it opens up, the Bay of Pigs may be blown. Turmoil in the room, Helms gripping the arms of his chair leaning forward and shouting, 'The Bay of Pigs has nothing to do with this! I have no concern about the Bay of Pigs!' Silence. I just sat there. I was absolutely shocked by Helms' violent reaction. Again I wondered, what was such dynamite in the Bay of Pigs story? Finally I said, 'I'm just following my instructions, Dick. That is what the President told me to relay to you.' Helms was settling back. 'All right' he said. But the atmosphere had changed. Now, surprisingly, the two CIA officials [Helms and Vernon Walters] expressed no concern about the request that Walters go see FBI Director L. Patrick Grey..."

ANALYSIS

According to H.R. Haldeman, when Richard Helms realized that NIXON was going to use HUNT'S involvement in the Kennedy assassination to quash the investigation of Watergate, he became violently angry, but he calmed down and realized NIXON was right. Richard Helms agreed to help cover up Watergate.

WHITE HOUSE TAPES

The White House tapes supported H.R. Haldeman's version. When he reported to NIXON at

the Oval Office at 2:20 p.m., H.R. Haldeman told NIXON: "No problem, Grey called Helms and said, 'I think we've run right in the middle of a CIA operation.'" NIXON did not believe Richard Helms would have acted so expeditiously: "Grey said that?" Haldeman answered: "Yeah, and (?) said nothing we've done at this point and ah (?) says well it sure looks to me like it is (?) and ah, that was the end of that conversation. (?) [I told them] the problem is that it tracks back to the Bay of Pigs and it tracks back to some other leads run out to people who had no involvement in this, except by contacts and connection, but it gets to areas that are liable to be raised. The whole problem (?) [revolves around] HUNT. So at that point he kind of got the picture. He said we'll be happy to be helpful (?) handle anything you want. I would like to know the reason for being helpful, and I made it clear to him he hasn't going to get explicit (?) generality and he said 'Fine.' And Walters (?) Walters is going to make a call to Grey. That's the way he put it, and that's the way it was left."

VERNON WALTERS' VERSION

Vernon Walters' version supported H.R. Haldeman's account: "On June 23, 1972, at 1:00 p.m. Haldeman asked me to call L. Patrick Grey and tell him to stop the Watergate investigation." Richard Helms had Vernon Walters call L. Patrick Grey, and Richard Helms spoke with L. Patrick Grey himself; in a memorandum dated June 28, 1972, Richard Helms informed Vernon Walters: "Acting FBI Director Grey telephoned me this morning to cancel our meeting scheduled for 2:30 p.m. this afternoon...I...made two points to Acting Director Grey:

(1) That I would appreciate his calling off interviews with (deleted) and (deleted) (this he agreed to do). (2) That (deleted)[STURGIS] was no CIA agent and that we had no ties to him. I stated that our last verifiable contact with him was in (deleted). Grey confirmed that this was the same (deleted) about whom he was inquiring as soon as I identified the gentleman as the (deleted)."

Richard Helms told L. Patrick Grey that he was going out of the country, but Vernon Walters would meet with him. Richard Helms advised Vernon Walters: "It is up to the FBI to lay some cards on the table. Otherwise we are unable to be of help. In addition, we still adhere to the request that the FBI *confine itself to the personalities already arrested* or directly under suspicion and that it desist from expanding this investigation into other areas which may well, eventually, run afoul of our operations." [RR p200; CIA FOIA #2698-2]

ANALYSIS

Richard Helms told L. Patrick Grey precisely what NIXON had told him to say.

H. R. HALDEMAN AND THE SECRET OF THE BAY OF PIGS

H.R. Haldeman mulled over NIXON'S references to the Bay of Pigs. It was often suggested

that President Kennedy was killed because of the Bay of Pigs. In *The Ends of Power*, he wrote: "It seemed that in all those NIXON references to the Bay of Pigs NIXON was actually referring to the Kennedy assassination." In May 1993 H.R. Haldeman was contacted by telephone: "I don't remember that I did say that. My problem is I don't remember in my own mind connecting the Bay of Pigs and the Kennedy assassination. I know that obviously Kennedy was connected with the Bay of Pigs, and I know there was some strange connection that got into the tapes on the Watergate thing of my mentioning the Bay of Pigs to Helms, I don't remember now and I don't know that I was referring to the assassination then." H.R. Haldeman was read the quotation in question: "What that has to be is Joe DiMona, my coauthor, not me. But I left it in, so I have to take responsibility for it. I don't make that connection myself." H.R. Haldeman was asked: "Where did he get this idea?" He answered: "It beats the hell out of me. DiMona had a lot of ideas. DiMona had a lot of CIA contacts and all that so..." It was pointed out to H.R. Haldeman that NIXON became very upset when he discovered HUNT had been exposed to public scrutiny. He answered: "For some reason he knew that pushed a button with the CIA." It was pointed out to H.R. Haldeman that HUNT was present in Dallas, disguised as a tramp. He stated: "This is all beyond my knowledge and purview. I see where you're wandering around and probably DiMona was too, and he may have been working with the same theory you were, I don't know. I can't help you with it." H.R. Haldeman, 67, died of stomach cancer on November 12, 1993. HEMMING told this researcher: "NIXON was talking about where the same people are doing shit right on up through, and pointing to, the Kennedy assassination." Marina Oswald asked this researcher: "What do you think the 16 minutes of erased tapes are talking about? The Kennedy assassination."

STURGIS AND THE SECRET OF BAY OF PIGS

STURGIS believed NIXON'S references to the Bay of Pigs concerned the assassination of President John F. Kennedy: "Several times NIXON asked Helms for the Kennedy assassination files but Helms refused to give it to him; refused a direct order from the President. I believe NIXON would have uncovered the true facts in the assassination of President Kennedy and that would have taken off the heat in Watergate, because NIXON wanted the files the CIA felt they had to get rid of him. NIXON was lucky he wasn't killed. Assassinated like President Kennedy." STURGIS told the same "exclusive" story to Steve Dunleavy of the *National Star* and to Malcolm Abrams of the *Midnight Globe*. STURGIS said that Watergate was a plan to set up NIXON by the CIA because NIXON had asked for information on the Kennedy assassination that would indicate Castro was behind it. STURGIS also named Robert Bennet as "deep throat."

OLIVER STONE AND THE SECRET OF THE BAY OF PIGS

In 1995 Oliver Stone suggested that NIXON was involved in the assassination of John Kennedy. John Erlichman reacted: "Stone has NIXON dragging the chains of JFK's assassination with him. I saw no signs of this. The only time I recall Nixon raising the subject

was the day Bobby Kennedy announced for President in 1968. NIXON and I were in a hotel in Oregon, watching television. NIXON shook his head. 'I was in Dallas just before Jack was shot' he said 'and that was bad. But this' - he motioned toward the T.V. - 'is going to unleash wild forces that can only be worse for the country. Stone also has me asking Haldeman about NIXON'S 'thing' regarding the Bay of Pigs. Haldeman explains that the fixation is connected to JFK'S murder. He and I said nothing of the kind, then or ever." [Newsweek 1.8.96] The NIXON Foundation commented: "The charge that the 37th President of the United States had any knowledge of, and indirect moral and operational responsibility in the murder of the 35th President of the United States is so reprehensible that it should render wholly illegitimate any text or narrative in which it is contained."

HUNT BLACKMAILS NIXON

As stated, HUNT blackmailed NIXON for \$1 million. The White House tapes:

NIXON: Let me put it this way, let us suppose that you get the million bucks, and you get the proper way to handle it. You could hold that side?

Dean: Uh-huh.

NIXON: It would seem to be worthwhile...my point is, do you ever have any choice on HUNT?... I don't think we need to go into every (adjective deleted) thing HUNT has done...There is nothing in it for HUNT. Let me ask you this (?) [Will the Watergate Grand Jury go back over everything he's done prior to that time?] There might be something?...We protected Helms from one hell of a lot of things. Of course this HUNT, that will uncover a lot of things. You open that scab there's a hell of a lot of things and we just feel that it would be very detrimental to have this thing go any further...Yeah, but the point that I make is this, is really of course you know, it's the limits of his testimony...If he testifies just on the Watergate that's fine. Your major guy to keep under control is HUNT...I think. Because he knows...about a lot of other things [This line was transcribed in the White House's version of the tapes as "Your major guy to keep under control is HUNT?...I think...Does he know a lot?"]...But at the moment, don't you agree that you better get the HUNT thing?...HUNT, of course, who is *most valuable* in my opinion, might, uh, blow the whistle...and his price is pretty high, but at least ah, we should buy the time on that...For Christ sakes get it..."

ANALYSIS

HUNT'S silence about the conspiracy to kill President Kennedy was worth \$1 million and NIXON told John Dean: "It would seem to be worthwhile." What choice did NIXON have? "Do you ever have any choice on HUNT?...I don't think we have to go into every [illegal] thing HUNT has done." NIXON wondered if HUNT would testify about the assassination of President John F. Kennedy before a Grand Jury: "What's in it for him?" He asked Dean if the Watergate

Grand jury would delve in HUNT'S past since: "There might be something...you open that scab..." NIXON wasn't worried about Watergate: "If he testifies just on the Watergate that's fine. Your major guy to keep under control is HUNT...because he knows about a lot of other things...Of course this HUNT, that will uncover a lot of things [Dealey Plaza]." In a televised address NIXON said he considered long and hard whether he should pay blackmail to HUNT because of HUNT'S threat to expose "a potential national security problem of serious proportions." At this time NIXON claimed he knew of none of HUNT'S activities other than the Ellsberg break-in.

NIXON'S SECOND TERM: CARL SHOFFLER AND EDMUND CHUNG

On November 7, 1972, NIXON was reelected in a landslide, carrying 49 states. Carl Shoffler, one of the arresting police officers at Watergate, advised the Ervin Committee that in January 1973, a week before the Watergate trial began, Edmund Chung, an acquaintance, approached him about the arrests. Carl Shoffler and Edmund Chung had served together at the U.S. Army Security Agency in Warrenton, Virginia. Carl Shoffler testified that Edmund Chung suggested he was in some way involved with those arrested, and appeared to be seeking some unspecified assistance. Carl Shoffler said that Edmund Chung indicated that he was going to make a report on his three-hour meeting with Carl Shoffler, and that his people would not be pleased unless he cooperated. Carl Shoffler met with Edmund Chung again in mid-April 1973. Carl Shoffler stated that Edmund Chung asked him if there was any way Watergate could be made to look like a set up, and suggested that Carl Shoffler might say that he had prior knowledge of the prospective arrests. Edmund Chung allegedly offered Carl Shoffler a large sum of money. Carl Shoffler told this researcher: "There was a conflicting viewpoint on that. My interpretation of his offer was different than his feeling toward the offer. The one thing that is clear to both sides was that there was an offer made. The perception of why the offer was made was in dispute." Carl Shoffler had no idea who was behind Edmund Chung.

The Senate Select Committee on Campaign Activities interviewed Edmund Chung. Edmund Chung denied any knowledge of efforts either to conceal facts related to Watergate, or to induce others to alter their testimony. He said he called Carl Shoffler after seeing his name in the newspapers and had dinner with him. Edmund Chung told the staff that there was a second evening spent with Carl Shoffler in mid-April 1973, but that on this occasion, Carl Shoffler did not have much to say about Watergate and seemed obsessed with the idea that Edmund Chung was a CIA agent. Edmund Chung denied being a CIA employee. The employer of Edmund Chung, the U.S. Army Security Agency, was interviewed about him. His superior advised that the military duties of Edmund Chung had been classified and that Edmund Chung held a Top Secret Crypto clearance. Edmund Chung's superior claimed he was unaware of a Chung/CIA connection. [Minority Report SSCIA *Investigation of Advance Knowledge of Illegal Political Espionage.*]

WATERGATE CONVICTIONS

On January 15, 1973, five of the seven Watergate defendants pleaded guilty, hoping to avoid a wider investigation. STURGIS, BARKER, Rolando Martinez and Virgilio Gonzalez were asked by Judge John Sirica if pressure had been put on them by higher-ups to enter this plea. They were asked if they had received any payments from the White House. They replied negatively. BARKER indicated he was prepared to implicate no one in the conspiracy beyond HUNT, whose name was already linked to Watergate. On January 30, 1973, the two remaining Watergate defendants, G. Gordon Liddy and McCORD, were convicted.

On June 4, 1973, the CIA's Office of the Inspector General noted the existence of a "MFR from (Deleted). Subject: (Deleted) Knowledge of Those Connected With The Watergate Affair. Attach. List of names he had contact with in Watergate Affair. (Deleted) Gonzalez, HUNT, McCORD, BARKER, Martinez." [DCI 1973 File Review IG File #24 Tab 11]

On October 20, 1973, NIXON dismissed Archibald Cox, the Watergate Special Prosecutor who pressed for the White House tapes. United States Attorney General Elliot Richardson and his deputy, William Ruckelshaus, were also dismissed in what has come to be known as 'The Saturday Night Massacre.'

THE DEATH OF BEVERLY KAYE

While their disposition was being debated by Congress and the Courts, the White House tapes were kept in the safekeeping of White House Secret Service Agent Stephen Bull. On December 22, 1973, the secretary of Stephen Bull, Beverly Kaye, 42, told her co-workers she was feeling ill. A White House physician was summoned, and was accompanying her downstairs in an elevator, when she reportedly collapsed. She died, according to doctors at George Washington Hospital, of a massive stroke. [*Wash. Post* 12.22.73] On August 5, 1974, NIXON released the White House tapes. Four days later, on August 9, 1974, NIXON resigned, and Gerald Ford became President.

THE WARREN COMMISSION AND WATERGATE

NIXON wanted former Warren Commission Counsel Arlen Specter for his Watergate defense. He settled on Herbert J. Miller. In 1954 Herbert J. Miller was the former deputy of Richard Bissell. In this capacity he was involved with the U-2. [Powers, *Man Who Kept the Secrets*, p120] In the late 1950's Herbert J. Miller was part of a law firm retained by the Board of Monitors of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. In 1961 Herbert J. Miller, the third-ranking U.S. Assistant Attorney General, was appointed head of the Criminal Division of the Justice Department by United States Attorney General Robert Kennedy. In 1964 Herbert J. Miller became the liaison between the Justice Department and the Warren Commission. [WCR p479] Warren Commission consultant, Leon Jaworski, became a Watergate Special Prosecutor. Warren Commission Counsel Joe Ball became an attorney for John Ehrlichman, and Warren Commission Assistant Counsel Charles N. Schaffer became co-counsel to

Watergate defendant John Dean. John Dean was represented by Bernard Fensterwald's associate, Robert McCandless, as well as Charles N. Schaffer. [Schorr, Daniel *Clearing The Air* pub. 1978]

NIXON AND WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN

William C. Sullivan, the head of the Domestic Intelligence Division of the FBI, played a key role in the cover-up of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. William C. Sullivan advised J. Edgar Hoover on the aspects of the assassination that led to ANGLETON, NIXON, HEMMING and the CIA. In late November 1963 William C. Sullivan was going to circulate, at government expense, posters of OSWALD, which depicted him as a leftist. H.R. Haldeman reported that when William C. Sullivan was called before the Warren Commission to testify, "the CIA literally erased any connection between the Kennedy assassination and the CIA. In fact ANGLETON called William C. Sullivan and rehearsed the questions and answers that they would give."

In the early 1960's William C. Sullivan initiated OPERATION HOODWINK, a program that targeted the Communist Party. The purpose of HOODWINK was to persuade members of organized crime that Communist Party was after them. This was intended to provoke mafia attacks on the Communist Party. By the late 1960's HOODWINK became COINTELPRO, a dirty tricks operation directed primarily against the New Left. [FBI 92-6054 NR 8.17.67] In 1969 William C. Sullivan became the middleman in the NIXON Administration's special wiretaps program on 13 government officials and four newsmen. William C. Sullivan took transcripts of these wiretaps to White House aide Robert C. Mardian for safekeeping. At this time, NIXON hinted to William C. Sullivan that he planned to drop J. Edgar Hoover, and name a new FBI Director. William C. Sullivan supported this move, since he believed that J. Edgar Hoover put too many restrictions on the war against domestic dissidents. An FBI document dated February 17, 1975, Aides Initial: WRS Intelligence Coverage Domestic and Foreign Cabinet 6 Drawer 1 Folder X stated: "Internal memoranda setting forth FBI technical and microphone coverage on black extremists and New Left Subjects and organizations for background in connection with Hoover's meeting with Richard Helms, Director of the CIA, Admiral Noel A. Gaylor, Director of the National Security Agency, and the Attorney General. Memoranda from Hoover reporting results of meeting wherein Helms desired to discuss broadening operations particularly of the very confidential type. Hoover reports he was no enthusiastic about such extensions by the FBI in view of hazards involved. Helms was to make an in-depth review of what he and Gaylor wanted and thereafter would call for another meeting." NIXON claimed that the reluctance of J. Edgar Hoover to fight domestic dissidents was the reason he formed the White House/Special Operations Group. J. Edgar Hoover, however, forced William C. Sullivan, 56, out of the FBI on September 30, 1971. On October 8, 1971, NIXON discussed the J. Edgar Hoover problem with Attorney General John Mitchell: "For a lot of reasons he oughta resign...He should get the hell out of there...maybe I could just call him and talk him into resigning...If he does go, he's got to go of his own volition...that's why we're in a hell of a problem...I think we've got to avoid any situation where he can leave with a *blast*..."

THE DEATH OF J. EDGAR HOOVER

J. Edgar Hoover died on the evening of May 1, 1972, at his home in Washington, D.C. His housekeeper discovered his body alongside his bed at 9:00 a.m. The Justice Department said he died of natural causes. No autopsy was performed. J. Edgar Hoover, age 77, succumbed to high blood pressure; he had been suffering from a heart ailment for some time. In November 1973 Mark C. Frazier interviewed Watergate burglar Felipe De Diego. Mark C. Frazier tricked Felipe De Diego into obliquely acknowledging having burglarized the home of J. Edgar Hoover. [Harvard Crimson 11.10.73] Researcher Tony Summers reported that in 1988 STURGIS said that Felipe De Diego told him about a break-in at the home of J. Edgar Hoover immediately after his death: "Felipe told me about it. I suspected the CIA was behind it. I told him, 'I guess our friends probably wanted to go over there and see what kind of documents Hoover had stashed away.'" When Tony Summers asked STURGIS if he had been involved, he said: "I'm not saying 'yes' to my involvement. Let me say 'no' to that. It opens up a can of worms." [Summers *Secret Life J. Edgar Hoover* p416] The FBI reported: "Subject BERNARD L. BARKER'S bank account showed large sum of money in his account in May 1972 amounting to \$89,000. BARKER withdrew money in cash." [139-4089-311] The White House/ Special Operations Group was interested in the death of J. Edgar Hoover. STURGIS, BARKER, Humberto Lopez and Pablo Fernandez attacked demonstrators at his funeral. Humberto Lopez told the FBI that he was "secretary of the Authentico Party headed by Carlos Prio Socarras...He stated that the Authentico Party's office is located next to the office of BERNARD BARKER Associates. He advised that he has been on speaking terms with BERNARD BARKER for several years. He stated that, upon the death of John Edgar Hoover and upon learning that Mr. Hoover would lie in state on May 3, 1972, BARKER asked him as a representative of the Authentico Party to be his guest and go to Washington, D.C. to pay respects to the Director. Lopez stated he thought this was an excellent idea, as he was a great admirer of Mr. Hoover, and accepted the invitation. He stated that while in Washington, D.C., there was a brief melee with a hippie group who were engaged by the Miami contingent, but that no arrests were made although there was some press coverage to the incident... The following individuals stayed at the motel with him: Pablo Fernandez, Angel Ferrer, Reinaldo Pico, and FRANK FIORINI. The others he believed stayed in an older hotel which was located relatively close, namely BARKER, Martinez, V. Gonzalez, H. Gonzalez, and De Diego. Lopez explained that other than his work with the Authentico Party he does not consider himself an activist, and other than his slight relationship with BARKER, he was never closely associated with any other individual in this group. He advised that, while he believed BARKER paid the fare and lodging, he was given his ticket by Rolando Martinez, and that his hotel room which was single was also paid for by Martinez. He believed that his airline ticket and hotel registration was under the name Manuel Garcia. Relative to his background, he stated he was employed in the Ministry of Government under Dr. Grau in Cuba. In August 1960 he sought asylum in the Embassy of Brazil and stayed there until March 1, 1961, when he received asylum in Venezuela and was at the Embassy in Venezuela until he entered the United States on September 10, 1962, and was assigned INS # 11261938." [FBI 139-4089-34, 6.30.72]

INFORMATION CONCERNING REINALDO PICO RAMON

During the period of November 1, 1963, to December 31, 1963, BERNARD BARKER'S Operational Progress Report indicated: "The following disseminations of Subject's production were made during the reporting period:

- a. (Deleted) 3986 (cable) from Reinaldo Pico: Unification of Activities by Manolo Ray.
- b. (Deleted) 4004 (pouch): Cover sheet data.
- c. (Deleted) 4041 (cable) from Reinaldo Pico. Plans of Ray and Cisneros to Infiltrate Cuba for JURE.
- e. (Deleted) (pouch) from FRANK FIORINI: Possibility that Harvey Manning Participated in Air Strike over Cuba. [CIA FOIA D002246]

The CIA's Inspector General's Office generated these index cards:

COHEN, Clement E. (DELETED)

Reinaldo PICO Ramon

TIME-LIFE

Justo Manuel CHINEA

HATHWAY, Gardner

DDO/WH FILE REVIEW

IG File 36, Tab 10

Memo for Chief/WHD from Gardner R. Hathaway C/WH/3

Subj: Personalities Mentioned in (Deleted) 20590 (re: biographic information)

Halper, Sam

November 17, 1972

(Deleted)

Time Magazine

Pico, Reinaldo

DDO/WH FILE REVIEW 74

IG FILE 36, Tab 10

Caracas 20590 to Director. Subject: Attempt of Sam Halper of *Time* to Prove that CIA Engaged in Hostile Activity Against *Time*.

GARDNER R. HATHAWAY

Gardner Hathaway was a forty year veteran of the CIA who became its Counter-Intelligence Chief in 1984. He joined the CIA in 1950 and was assigned to the Soviet/East European Division. By the late 1950's he was running ops against the Poles out of Berlin. In 1964 Hathaway served in Brazil during the U.S. backed overthrow of President Juan Goulart. From 1967 to 1972 he was posted to Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, and served through numerous military dictatorships. By 1973 he was Chief of Station in Montevideo . In July 1974 he was transferred to Argentina where he worked with the death squads in arranged the murders of the "disappeared." [*Counterspy* SU 1980] As CI Chief, Hathaway handled the defection of Vitaly Yurchenko in 1984. In 1987 he testified in trial of Clayton Lonetree, the Marine accused of spying for the Soviets. Hathaway was involved in the Edward Lee Howard flap. Instead of going to the FBI, Hathaway recommended that ex-CIA Agent Howard see a psychiatrist. Hathaway was reprimanded by CIA Director R. James Woolsey for his handling of the Aldridge Ames case. [*Wash. Post* 10.20.94] He retired on February 22, 1990.

AMES ON ANGLETON

The New York Times stated: "'The culture in which Mr. Ames flourished was shaped by a reaction to Mr. ANGLETON'S excesses,' Mr. Woolsey said, 'Skittish of smearing innocent people, the Agency did not police itself properly.' On this point Mr. Woolsey and Mr. Ames agree: the legacy of witch hunts made it extraordinarily difficult for the Agency to conduct an effective mole hunt... 'You would wind up with people throwing up their hands and saying 'I can't do it,' Mr. Ames said. 'You would wind up with JIM ANGLETON doing ANGLETONIAN things. People would be fired all the time for no grounds. You've got two or three or four thousand people running around doing espionage. You can't monitor it. You can't control it. You can't check it. And that's probably the biggest problem with an espionage service. It has to be small. The minute you get big, you get like the KGB or you get like us.'" [*NYT* 7.28.94]

ANALYSIS

Aldridge Ames was a serial killer. The information he supplied the Soviets led to numerous arrests, murders and disappearances. Ames would have been too frightened to do what he did when ANGLETON had still been Chief of CI because he might have been investigated arbitrarily, for example, if ANGLETON was investigating everyone whose name began with "A." If Ames had acted as mole for the Soviets he would have been detected after ANGLETON received the first allegation about him from a woman CIA employee in November 1989: "A woman employee of the Agency who knew Ames well reported that he had bought an expensive house and was living beyond his means. The informant also knew that Ames had access to the compromised Soviet cases in which agents had disappeared. And she knew Ames well enough to know that Rosario's family was not wealthy. Based on this information, Dan Payne, a young CIA investigator assigned to the mole hunting unit, began a financial inquiry into Ames lavish spending." [Wise, *Nightmover*, p187] That month Ames was reassigned to the Counter-Intelligence Division. He could have been appointed to the mole hunting committee that CIA Director William Webster had appointed, which was led by Hathaway. If this had occurred Ames would never have been detected because he would have been in charge of investigating himself. The CIA did not turn the investigation over to the FBI until the summer of 1993. The CIA covered up this penetration for four years. The Ames case leaves little doubt that the CIA has engaged in cover ups that were against the interest of the American people.

WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN

In June 1972 William C. Sullivan received a call from Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst, inviting him to return to Washington and help establish an National Narcotics Intelligence Office within the Justice Department. [Unger, Sanford *FBI*] Less than a year after leaving the FBI William C. Sullivan was back, working with FBI Director L. Patrick Grey. When L. Patrick Grey resigned, under fire for destroying Watergate documents, William C. Sullivan was considered for FBI Director, but Clarence Kelley got the job instead. The appointment of Clarence Kelley came as a surprise to William C. Sullivan. On March 13, 1973, NIXON told John Dean he was going to destroy the image of the late J. Edgar Hoover. William C. Sullivan was the key to this scheme. John Dean told NIXON that William C. Sullivan would cooperate if he got back into the Bureau. John Dean then suggested William C. Sullivan's "desire in life is to set up a domestic national security intelligence program" and that "you could put him out in the CIA or someplace..." NIXON: "We will do it. There is no problem with William C. Sullivan. He is a valuable man."

William C. Sullivan never got a position with the CIA, and he returned to New Hampshire, where he was hired by the Atomic Energy Commission. Researcher Tony Summers reported: "In 1975 William C. Sullivan responded in opaque fashion to a question from a Congressional Committee about OSWALD. Asked whether he had seen anything in the files to indicate a

relationship between OSWALD and the CIA, William C. Sullivan replied, 'No...I think there is something on that, but you asked me if I had seen anything. I don't recall having seen anything like that, but I think there is something on that point...it rings a bell in my head.'

THE DEATH OF WILLIAM C. SULLIVAN

William C. Sullivan died in a hunting accident on November 9, 1977, just before he was scheduled to testify before the HSCA. He was mistaken for a deer and shot in the neck by Robert Daniels, the son of a Corporal in the New Hampshire State Police. The FBI did not investigate the accident. The investigation was conducted by the New Hampshire Fish and Game Department. Robert Daniels was charged with shooting a human being mistaken for game and plead *nolo contendere*. He was fined \$500 and his hunting license was suspended for ten years. The Soviet News Agency Tass speculated that it was a strange story that William C. Sullivan was killed in a hunting accident, and claimed William C. Sullivan held files which might have shed light on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. In November 1977 HSCA investigator James P. Kelly was told by Tim Ingram of the House Government Operations Subcommittee that William C. Sullivan had informed him that some of his records had been destroyed in a barn fire at the home of his sister, near Bolton, Massachusetts. [HSCA Memo Kelly to Fenton 4.28.78]

ANALYSIS

The death of William C. Sullivan was accidental. No link could be established between Daniels and the intelligence community.

THE CANCELLATION OF THE 1972 ELECTIONS

In 1970 a rumor was printed in William Howard's *Newhouse News Service* weekly gossip column about a Rand Corporation study done for the NIXON Administration to determine the feasibility of canceling the 1972 election if radicals threatened to disrupt it. *The Wall Street Journal* wrote on April 24, 1970, that rumors of the study were hard to spike. *The New York Times* reported: "Rumors were heard in April and spread quickly across the country that the Rand Corporation was preparing a secret study on the implications of cancellation of the 1972 election." Henry S. Rowan of the Rand Corporation released this statement carried by *The Wall Street Journal* on May 13, 1970: "The Rand Corporation has not undertaken such a study. It does not contemplate making such a study, nor has it been approached by anyone with a proposal for such a study."

HENRY S. ROWEN

Henry S. Rowen was the President of the Rand Corporation at the time this rumor was circulating. Rowan was a former professor at Stanford University who joined the Rand

Corporation. He was a former member of the Kennedy Administration, having served as Paul Nitze's deputy in the Pentagon. Rowen was chairman of the CIA's National Intelligence Council from 1981 to 1983, under DCI William Casey. He was a consultant to the CIA from 1983 to 1989. He was also on the staff of the Hoover Institute in 1986. From 1989 to 1991, he was assistant secretary for international affairs. Seymour Hersh reported: "...Kissinger telephone Henry Rowan, president of Rand Corporation and asked him to put together list of possible options for the Vietnam war. Rowan put Daniel Ellsberg in charge. By this time Ellsberg and the Rand Corporation as a whole were widely regarded inside the bureaucracy as having gone 'dovish' on Vietnam. Kissinger had insisted that Rand's involvement in the policy be kept a secret, a condition to which Ellsberg and Rowan agreed. Ellsberg was fresh from researching a detailed history of American involvement in the Vietnam War that had been assembled in the Pentagon, at McNamara's direction, by a team headed by Morton Halperin and Leslie H. Gelb, then deputy director of the planning staff. Ellsberg consulted with Halperin and Gelb on the Kissinger option study, in which he analyzed contingencies ranging from an invasion of North Vietnam to unilateral withdrawal..." After Ellsberg released the study that he had conducted for the Pentagon in June 1971 - the Pentagon Papers - Henry Rowan, Leslie Gelb, Morton Halperin and Robert McNamara appeared on NIXON'S enemies list.

MEMO REGARDING CANCELLATION OF THE 1972 ELECTIONS

In or about July 1970, Sidney Zion of *Scanlan's Magazine* obtained this alleged memorandum:

Memorandum page 2 of 4 pages

CONFIDENTIAL March 11, 1970

THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

and the Rand team agrees that a judicious leak of a general nature concerning segment alpha of their study for the C/E [Counter-Espionage?], that relative to holding no national elections in 1972, to the media (selected, of course) at the right time to test the water, so to speak, is a vital step in the eventuation of their scheme. However, under no, repeat no, circumstances is any information regarding segment beta of their study, the repeal of the Bill of Rights, to be made public.

New Developments:

A- Let's call this one "Operation U.S.A. All The Way." We've spoken to some of our key contacts in labor and broadly hinted (without any definite promise although I believe that we will have to deliver eventually) that the administration would back protectionism, repudiate the

substance of the Kennedy Rounds and give serious consideration to backing legislation on a number of issues they consider crucial. You will be glad to hear that Mitchell's plan of selective funding for certain types of public works construction by geographical area and political advantage has been noted and is beginning to pay dividends.

What we have proposed and what they have substantially accepted is as follows:

- * In late April or early May a series of "spontaneous" demonstrations by labor groups publicizing their support of this administration's Indo-China policies and their discontinuance of any silent indulgence of the excesses of peace groups will take place in the larger target cities of New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis and Seattle.
- * In New York, Vic Borella is coordinating. He assures us that one auxiliary result of the spontaneous confrontations of Brennan's people with the "long hairs" will be the embarrassment of the Lindsay administration (a development his boss will view with pleasure). Please note that in each afore specified instance a peace-oriented Democratic municipal administration will be embarrassed by the demonstrations. Details on this aspect will follow on.
- * Borella is working closely with the New York Field Office, reporting to our specialist, O'Neill.
- * On the question of funds, no commitment has been made. Waterman has assured us that we can tap into Rufus Taylor's unaudited "internal security" fund for this operation for whatever we feel.

VICTOR BORELLA

Victor Borella was born in Plymouth, New Hampshire, on October 13, 1906. After his graduation from Dartmouth, he was discovered by his classmate, Nelson Rockefeller. From 1939 to 1942 Borella was the Industrial Relations Director of Rockefeller Center. When Nelson Rockefeller became Coordinator of the Office of Inter-American Affairs, Victor Borella served as his Assistant Coordinator, and Executive Director, from 1942 to 1945. After the war, Victor Borella became Executive Vice President of Rockefeller Center. During the period mentioned in the memorandum, Victor Borella was the chief labor consultant to Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Victor Borella was the recipient of \$100,000 gift from Nelson Rockefeller in 1972. This was revealed in October 1974. It was also revealed during the Vice Presidential confirmation hearings of Nelson Rockefeller that one of Nelson Rockefeller's close political associates, John A. Wells, arranged with Arlington House publishers to publish Lasky. Lasky was a witness at these hearings. Victor Lasky testified that Laurence Rockefeller had financed the book. In August 1972 Victor Borella attempted to obtain the endorsements of numerous labor unions, including the construction workers, for NIXON'S presidency. In August 1972 Nelson Rockefeller nominated NIXON for the Presidency, and in January 1975, Victor Borella became a labor consultant to Vice President Nelson Rockefeller. Victor Borella died on July

11, 1975.

In 1967 the CIA began Project Merrimack as an effort to infiltrate dissident groups in Washington, D.C. to obtain advance information about demonstrations against CIA facilities. Merrimack used construction workers as part time agents. [*Miami Herald* 5.19.76 p14A]

ADMIRAL RUFUS TAYLOR

Admiral Rufus Taylor was a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. After duty aboard the battleship Arizona, he was assigned from 1930 to 1941 as a Japanese language student at the American Embassy in Tokyo. He served as a communications officer in the Pacific during World War II, with the U.S. occupation forces in Japan after the war, and as an assistant chief of staff for intelligence with the Pacific Fleet before coming to Washington in 1959, where he was named Assistant Director of Foreign Intelligence and, later, Deputy Director of Naval Intelligence. In this capacity he was connected with William R. Corson. He was named assistant chief of naval operations and director of Naval intelligence in 1963, and then served as deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency from 1966. Taylor was a Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency from October 1966 to February 1969. During this period Richard Helms was the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Helms ordered Taylor to clean up the Nosenko case. During this time Taylor assured Helms in writing: "Most particularly, I perceive no significant conflict between the information Nosenko has provided and the information and opinions Golitsin has provided. Thus I conclude that Nosenko should be accepted as a bone fide defector." [*Wilderness of Mirrors* D. Martin p176] Rufus Taylor was a Deputy Director of the CIA from October 13, 1966, to January 31, 1969. Admiral Rufus Taylor, 68, died of cancer on September 14, 1978. [*NYT* 7.22.70, *Scanlans* V1 #6 8.70 p1; *Wash. Post* 9.20.78 pB8]

D.A. WATERMAN AND BRIAN MICHAEL JENKINS

In 1977 D.A. Waterman was the co-author of a paper entitled "Heuristic Modeling Using Rule-Based Computer Systems," published by the Rand Corporation. The coauthor of this paper was former Green Beret Michael Jenkins. [*Terrorism Data Bases: A Comparison of Missions, Methods and Systems* William Warner Fowler March 1981 N-1503-Rand Corporation p42 P-5811] Brian Jenkins, the program director, Security and Sub national Conflicts of the Rand Corporation, is probably the most respected professional authority on terrorism in the United States and is responsible for developing much of the topology and intellectual framework used in researching terrorism. He has compiled the largest terrorism data base in the United States. In 1984 Jenkins hired former general Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, a death squad leader from Honduras, as a consultant to the Rand Corporation. [*Wash. Post* 5.10.87 pA20] In 1984 Jenkins recommended implementation of low intensity warfare against Nicaragua. In 1985 Jenkins was the editor of *The Journal of Terrorism, Violence, Insurgency*, which he acquired from members of Robert K. Brown's *Soldier of Fortune* network. [Henry O'Sullivan, *The*

Terrorism Industry p285 - Robert Lund, who worked for Robert K. Brown sold the *Journal of TVI* to Jenkins] Jenkins was the author of "The Likelihood of Nuclear Terrorism" a Rand Paper Series p7119 in July 1985. Jenkins is considered to be a moderate among the terrorism experts and does not believe Claire Sterling's contention that the Soviets orchestrated terrorism, however, he never labeled Latin and Central American death squads as terrorists: when the Guatemalan Army launched Operation Counter-terror, and some 8,000 people were slaughtered Brian Jenkins later wrote: "the objective of counter terror was to frighten everyone from collaborating with the guerilla movement." [McClintlock, M. *Instruments of Statecraft* p 234] Nestor Sanchez was Chief of Station in Guatemala from August 1965 to August 1967 when these death squads were active. Jenkins does believe that the Soviet Union provided direct and indirect support to terrorists, including arms and training. In 1990 Jenkins was a Managing Partner of Kroll Associates.

CHARLES WATERMAN

Charles Waterman, born February 16, 1938, entered on duty with a private research committee (the CIA) in 1963. In 1964 he was a consular official in Kuwait. In 1966 he was in Cairo and Beirut. At the time the alleged Rand memorandum was uncovered, March 1970, Charles Waterman was a Political Officer in Beirut. [*State Dept. Bio. Reg.* 1977 Limited Official Use] He returned to Washington in July 1970. By 1982, Charles Waterman was a senior analyst at the CIA who worked for the then-Director, William Casey and Vice Chairman of the National Intelligence Council. In 1983 Charles Waterman was suspected of having leaked classified information on the Iran/Iraq war to the Mitsubishi company of Japan, after he failed CIA and FBI lie detector tests. Waterman was the Subject of an FBI criminal espionage case which was quashed because classified information may have been revealed in the course of the trial. Waterman was dismissed by Director Casey. In the 1980's Charles Waterman was a Director of Parvus Incorporated. Parvus Incorporated was headed by Richard Helms.

BRENNAN

Peter Brennen was the president of the Building Trades Council at this time. He was a leader of pro-Vietnam war movement that came to be known as the "hardhats." On May 8, 1970, construction workers in lower Manhattan beat up a group of student anti-war protestors. On May 20, 1970, 100,000 construction workers, longshoremen and others massed at City Hall for a rally in support of the Vietnam war. NIXON telephoned Brennen to congratulate him on the peaceful rally. Colson arranged for a delegation of workers, headed by Brennen, to come to the White House. During the 1972 elections Brennen organized a committee of 200 labor leaders for NIXON. NIXON selected Peter Brennen as his Secretary of Labor during his second administration. There were several allegations before Brennen's confirmation that he was associated with organized crime. [Moldea, *Hoffa Wars* page 316]

SPIRO AGNEW REPLIES

The New York Times asked Spiro Agnew about this document: "The Vice President said it was 'ridiculous' for the editors of *Scanlan's Monthly* to believe the document was genuine...Mr. Agnew said in an interview today after he had seen a copy of the document that it was completely false. He said that the form of the memorandum, and the heading of the stationary were different from those used by his office. 'My denial is unequivocal,' Mr. Agnew said, 'not only for that [document] but for anything else concerning that subject in writing, in conversation or in thought. You can't get more unequivocal than that.'" [NYT 7.22.70]

ANALYSIS FORGERY

In retrospect, we see that NIXON was involved in numerous anti-democratic activities, such as the Kennedy assassination and Watergate. NIXON'S ambition was to become the first dictator of the United States. He was unable to do that, but he was responsible for America's first unelected President, Gerald Ford. Never put anything past 'Tricky Dickey,' and his henchmen, however, this document was a forgery. It is paranoia to believe that the President of the Rand Corporation, Henry S. Rowen, who was on NIXON's enemies list, and who was considered dovish on Vietnam, would conduct a study to "repeal the Bill of Rights."

Who would put something as controversial as repealing the Bill of Rights on paper? Why not leak the entire document? Why just one page? Why would a document on Vice Presidential stationary contain this line: "Borella is working closely with the New York Field Office, reporting to our specialist, O'Neill." Was it the New York Field Office of the FBI or the CIA? The reference to Waterman and O'Neill contain no first names so it is impossible to state the Waterman is identical to D.A. Waterman or Charles Waterman. There is too much ambiguity in this document.

This document was dated more than a year after Rufus Taylor left the CIA, yet it made reference to his unaudited "internal security" fund. Rufus Taylor believed Nosenko was genuine which would have put him at odds with the ANGLETON, HUNT, BAGLEY faction of the CIA that was aligned with NIXON.

THE "OSWALD PLAN"

NIXON was quoted as saying that if United States Attorney General Robert Kennedy had instituted ten more wiretaps, he would have discovered the "OSWALD plan." When the press questioned him, he said: "I said if ten more wiretaps could have been found the conspiracy, if there was a conspiracy, or the individual, then it would be worth it. As far as I'm concerned I am no more an expert on that assassination than anyone else."

NEW NIXON TAPES

HUNT'S ACTIVITIES IN THE 1960'S: July 1, 1972

Colson: HUNT is a fellow who I would trust. I mean, he's a true believer, a real patriot. My God, the things he's done for his country. It's just a tragedy he gets smeared with this. Of course, the other story that a lot of people have bought is that HOWARD HUNT was taken out of the country by the CIA. Well, he's certainly done a lot of hot stuff...Oh Jesus. He pulled a lot of very fancy stuff in the sixties.

(Withdrawn Item. National Security.)

NIXON: Well, I don't agree. If anything ever happens to him, be sure that he blows the whistle, the whole Bay of Pigs.

Colson: He wrote the book.

Nixon: Blow their horn.

Colson: He tells quite a story, coming in here during that period crying and pleading with Kennedy...

ANALYSIS

The intriguing thing here is the withdrawn item. There is nothing like a withdrawn item to get your imagination going. But it is never a smoking gun, it is always just a large piece of the puzzle. The next line, "be sure that he blows the whistle" makes more sense if it read "be sure that he doesn't blow the whistle." The Bay of Pigs thing was the Kennedy Assassination.

HUNT AND THE TRAMPS: HUNT AS A MASTER OF DISGUISE

JUNE 30, 1972

NIXON: This guy is a wiretapper. He's been taping for years, hasn't he?

Haldeman: I don't know. I don't know what he - he's a disguise type guy.

NIXON: And deep cover.

Haldeman: He writes dirty books.

MacGregor: The phrase, the CIA phrase is deep cover operative.

NIXON: Deep cover...Of course he was also with Kennedy and he worked for Johnson.

NIXON: About this fellow HUNT, I mean afterall the gun and the wiretapping doesn't bother me a bit with this fellow. He's in the Cuban thing, the whole Cuban business. He's out of the country.

Haldeman: No.

NIXON: Is he back in the country?

Haldeman: He never went out but it doesn't matter. He's a - at least they say, his main stock and trade is he's a master of disguise. (Chuckles) He's someplace under some disguise, although he's supposed to go abroad...

KISSINGER'S KNEW ABOUT PROPOSED BROOKINGS BREAK IN

NIXON: Bob? Bob? Now do you remember Houston's plan? Implement it!

Kissinger: Now Brookings has no right to have classified documents.

NIXON: I want it implemented. Goddamnit, go in and get those files. Blow the safe and get it.

WHEN DID NIXON FIRST MEET HOWARD HUNT?

DATE: June 30, 1971

NIXON: They (the Brookings Institution) have a lot material...I want Brookings, I want them just to break in and take it out. Do you understand?

Haldeman: Yeah, but you have to have somebody do it.

NIXON: That's what I am talking about. Don't discuss it here. You talk to HUNT. I want the break-in. Hell, they do that. You're to break into the place, rifle the files and bring them in.

June 21, 1972

NIXON: HUNT worked for Kennedy, he worked for Johnson, now he worked for the White House. That's the whole story about him...And he worked for the CIA. He worked in the Bay of Pigs. I mean, he's done a lot of things. So I've got to guess is that, I mean, it could be isolated

instances. If the man's worked for various things, he's worked for...HUNT must be a pretty good guy though.

Colson: He's got one of the most interesting careers of anybody I've known. The tragedy is that the guy is a dedicated patriot...God.

Nixon: Of course and he deliberately decided he is not going to be around, is that right? That is what I hear.

Colson: I don't know.

Haldeman: He isn't around-

Colson: You know he's-

NIXON: Well, you know, you don't want him in here, Bob.

Colson: He came to me in February and he said: This is the only year I care about; the most important thing that ever happens is this man be re-elected; I just want to help. And you hate to see the poor guy get it.

NIXON: Oh well.

Colson: It just happens...he's lived through this before.

NIXON: What the hell, the Bay of Pigs.

Colson: He lived in exile once before and so forth.

Haldeman: He's used to this sort of stuff...It's part of his life.

Nixon: He's written 42 novels.

June 30, 1972

NIXON: He wouldn't do such a stupid thing. The White House thing, I mean this fellow, what's his name, HUNT?...This HUNT fellow, did you ever meet HUNT? I've never seen him.

April 28, 1973

NIXON: You know the thing about that is that Colson never told me about HUNT, that he knew HUNT, until after the Watergate thing.

Erllichman: Is that right?

NIXON: I never heard of E. HOWARD HUNT, no, sir, no. No sir...I had understood he said he doesn't know HUNT well, or something like that. I think that's apparently been his line...But afterwards he said he was an intimate friend.

ANALYSIS

HUNT may have met NIXON when HUNT was a CIA Chief of Station in Latin America, however, this would have been a brief and forgettable encounter. In *Give Us This Day* HUNT described NIXON as the White House Action Officer for Bay of Pigs. It was during this period that HUNT had his first significant contact with Vice President NIXON. As documented in *Coup D'Etat in America* Data Base NIXON worked with HUNT on the assassination of NIXON'S rival, John Kennedy, in 1963. In 1971 NIXON reassembled many of the members of this hit squad and used them against other political rivals. At this point NIXON expressed a familiarity with the talents of HUNT as evidenced by the June 30, 1971 reference to HUNT. NIXON knew that one of HUNT'S talents was surreptitious entry. On June 21, 1972 NIXON pretended he was not well acquainted with HUNT: "HUNT must be a pretty good guy though." It is interesting to note the reference here to HUNT having lived in exile. There is no such reference to a period of exile in *Undercover*, HUNT'S autobiography. Haldeman had HUNT disappearing to a Spanish speaking country:

Haldeman: But HUNT disappeared or is in the process of disappearing. He can undisappear if we want him to. He can disappear to a Latin American country. But at least the original thought was that that would do it, that he might want to disappear (unintelligible) on the basis of these guys, the Cubans-....

Perhaps this explains HUNT'S murky assignment in Spain in 1964, the nature of which remains unknown even to the CIA. Note that NIXON knew the exact number of novels authored by HUNT. On June 30, 1972 NIXON denied he had ever met HUNT and on April 28, 1973 NIXON claimed he had never even heard of HUNT until after Watergate. This contradicts earlier recordings and clearly demonstrates that NIXON was a liar.

HOW FAR BACK DID HUNT'S MISDEEDS GO?

NIXON: Of course, this, HUNT, that will uncover a lot of, a lot of, you open that scab there's a hell of a lot of things in it that we just feel that this would be very detrimental to have this thing

go any further.

NIXON: The one that is really going to pull the plug on Colson is HUNT... I don't think he'd pull the plug on his earlier ventures for us, do you? (April 10, 1973)

NIXON: Well, your major guy to keep under control is HUNT - because he knows about a lot of other things. (March 21, 1973)

NIXON AND HOOVER

NIXON:...I told you that bizarre story that Edgar Hoover refused to investigate because Louis Marks, Mark's daughter was married to that son-of-a-bitch Ellsberg. (May 8, 1973)The problem we've got with some of this in the Ellsberg stuff, you see, Edgar Hoover wouldn't do the job because (Patricia) Marks, his closest friends daughter, was married to Ellsberg and wouldn't do it, and that's why some of that crap was done in the White House. (April 29, 1973).

ANALYSIS

FRANK STURGIS and BERNARD BARKER, and other members of the Watergate group, attended J. Edgar Hoover's funeral. They said they were there to beat up any leftists who attempted to disrupt the service. The new NIXON tapes reveal that NIXON hated Hoover. What was his motivation in having his crew there if he hated Hoover?

NIXON AND THE DOROTHY HUNT PLANE CRASH

NIXON: I said of course commutation could be considered on the basis of his wife, and that is the only discussion I ever had in that light. (March 21, 1973)

Haldeman: Then I've got a subpoena to appear in Federal Court in Illinois...

NIXON: What's that about?

Haldeman: In that matter of the murder - of the plan to murder several dozen people.

NIXON: On what grounds are they getting you there?

Haldeman: The airline crash where Mrs. HUNT died. They apparently have me as a factor in crashing the airplane of something. (exhales)

NIXON: Keep the faith.

Haldeman: Yes sir.

NIXON: God

Haldeman: Never worry (May 11, 1973)

KIDNAPPING AND ASSASSINATION SQUADS

Dean: So I came over and Liddy laid out a million dollar plan that was the most incredible thing I have ever laid my eyes on: all in codes and involved black bag operations, kidnapping, providing prostitutes, uh, to weaken the opposition, bugging ah, mugging teams. It was just an incredible thing. (March 21, 1973)

NIXON: Dean actually could answer it in another way. He could say, look, I was the counsel. I was sitting in on it in that fashion...I did not discuss it with Haldeman because - because it was turned off, I didn't report it.

Ehrlichman: The way you get at that then: 'Well, Mr. Dean, you're responsible for keeping the President out of legal trouble, aren't you?' 'Yes sir.' 'You sat in a meeting where a man named Liddy proposed a million dollars worth of kidnapping and wiretapping and assassination and on and on and on, and you didn't jump in a taxicab and rush back to the White House and burst in on Bob Haldeman and say, you know what those crazy guys on the committee are doing?'

NIXON, VESCO AND CHOTINER

Ehrlichman: Vesco...was going around hot-shotting, saying that the White House was behind me and so on, and I had to say that he was to get no special favors or consideration. Just after he got out of jail, he was using Mitchell's name and my name and everybody's name - I've just met him. I don't know him. But his people have been brought into my office... Murry Chotiner's been working for him.

NIXON: What the hell's he doing for him?

Ehrlichman: He (Chotiner) comes in. He tried to see me and I wouldn't see him. My assistant (Tod R. Hullin) talked to him and he had a deal. Vesco would fix us up in South America. He'd act as an operative down there and he'd do this and that if we got him off the criminal prosecution. And then there's an element of blackmail, that the worst isn't yet out and that its going to hurt the administration if they tell all they know, and this, that and the other thing. (March 16, 1973)

THE PAINES AFTER THE COUP

THE TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

Michael Paine related the events of November 22: "When it happened I was eating lunch with a colleague at a bowling alley. Someone told me the President had been shot and we dashed back to lab to listen to the radio. And my colleague, Frank Krystinik, was urging me to call the FBI and tell them that LEE worked there. Oh, no I thought. Everyone is going to be jumping on him. The obvious target there. I couldn't see why LEE would do that. If he was a rational body he's gonna get Johnson, but he shot Kennedy. I took Johnson to be more to the right. I've come to realize since, I didn't take into account LEE'S close connection with Cuba, which would have changed the complexion somewhat of what he might had felt toward Kennedy. But he did say to me that he thought Kennedy was the best President we've had in his lifetime. He also said that he thought change wouldn't come about, except through violence."

Frank Krystinik had a slightly different version of events: "On November 22, 1963, Krystinik and Paine were in the office of the Bell Helicopter Company laboratory when they heard the news that the President had been shot. There was some discussion about the exact location of where the shooting had occurred, so they looked it up in the Dallas City map. Paine said with surprise "That is right next to the Texas School Book Depository Building." Krystinik then said, "Well isn't that where LEE OSWALD works?" Paine said, "Yes, but he does not even own a gun." [WCD75 p724]

THE TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

"On November 26, 1963, Dallas Confidential FBI Informant T-4, advised that he had received information that a male voice was overheard in a conversation which took place between telephone number CR-5-5211, Arlington, Texas, and telephone number BL-3-1628 [Michael Paine's home telephone number], Irving, Texas, on November 23, 1963. Informant advised the exact time of this conversation was not available, and that it was not known from which of the telephone numbers the call originated. Informant advised that the male voice was heard to comment that he felt sure LEE HARVEY OSWALD had killed the President, but he did not feel OSWALD was responsible, and further stated: 'We both know who is responsible.'" [WCD 206 p66; FBI DL 100-10461 RPG;gmf]

The FBI reported: "It should be noted that the only telephone call between telephone number CR-5-5211, Arlington, Texas, and telephone number BL-3-1628, Irving, Texas, during the period November 22, 1963, to November 26, 1963, was the one call on November 22, 1963, which, according to the telephone company records, indicates that *Mrs. Michael Paine was calling collect from CR-5-5211, the place of employment of her husband.* Previous information, furnished by Captain Paul Barger, Irving, Texas, Police Department, to the effect that he had received information from *individual he could not recall* concerning a telephone conversation which took place on *November 23, 1963*, between telephone numbers CR-5-5211, Arlington, Texas and BL-3-1623, Irving, Texas, has been reported. Mrs. Ruth Paine, 2515 West 5th Street, Irving, Texas, has previously stated that on November 22, 1963, at about 1:00 p.m., her husband telephoned from his place of business, and advised her that the President had just been shot. Mrs. Paine denied having any conversation with her husband at his place of employment on November 23, 1963." The telephone records of Michael Paine, BL-3-1628 indicated that on November 22, 1963, a collect call was placed "from Arlington, Texas, number CR-5-5211. Mrs. Michael Paine was calling." [FBI DL 100-10461 1.23.64 Robert Lish]

Wesley Liebler questioned Ruth Paine about this telephone conversation:

Liebler: You have previously been questioned about a supposed telephone call that was supposed to have been made from Michael Paine's office to your home shortly after the assassination, and I do not represent that I have knowledge of such a call, that such a call was ever made, but as you know, there were rumors to the effect that this man and woman together in the conversation - that one of them said he really wasn't responsible for the assassination, and they both knew who was and I think both of you and Michael have testified about this before and have denied there was any such telephone conversation between you and anyone. Was there a telephone conversation of any kind between you and Michael between your residence and Michael's office on November 22, 1963, or November 23, 1963?

Paine: I have testified to the fact that Michael called. I don't know whether it was from the cafeteria where he had been eating, or more likely from his office, to my home, on November 22, 1963.

Liebler: Was that the only telephone conversation between those two numbers on those two days that you know of?

Paine: Yes.

Ruth Paine commented told this researcher, "It rings no bells for me. I must say I am not impressed with the quality of FBI reporting." Michael Paine stated: "I've heard that a couple of times, way back, for many years. When I first heard that said, I thought that they must have overheard me talking to my father very shortly after the evening or the next day of the assassination. In this conversation I said to him rather emphatically 'We know how he got that

job at the Depository.' Which we did. Immediately after the assassination, I assumed the phone was tapped."

ANALYSIS

Frontline reporter Scott Malone reported "T-4" has not been identified. It has been suggested that "T-4" was an illegal wiretap put on Michael Paine's telephone after the assassination. Note how Barger placed the date of the tap later in time. By November 23, 1963, he had received permission to tap Michael Paine's telephone from the courts. The telephone records, which are generally fairly accurate - they are used as evidence in court - placed the call on November 22, 1963. Note how Barger had also forgotten the source of this information.

The telephone records indicated that Ruth Paine placed a collect call to Michael Paine from his office to his home yet no one at Bell Helicopter testified that they saw Ruth Paine at the facility that day. Marina Oswald testified that Ruth Paine was not absent any time during that entire day.

Yet telephone records indicated that some time on November 22, 1963, probably shortly after the Kennedy assassination, Ruth Paine went to Michael Paine's office. Marina could have watched the children. Michael Paine was not there, so she called him at his house. Perhaps Michael Paine went to Ruth Paine's home, and finding that she was not there he drove home, where he received a telephone call from his wife calling collect from his office. Not realizing his telephone would be tapped in so short a time, Michael Paine commented that he felt sure LEE HARVEY OSWALD had killed the President, but he did not feel OSWALD was responsible, and further stated: 'We both know who is responsible.' They both thought that the CIA was responsible, because people connected with the CIA had told them to befriend OSWALD.

WHEN DID RUTH PAINE KNOW OSWALD WAS A SUSPECT

Ruth Paine testified that after she heard that President Kennedy had been shot in the vicinity of the Texas School Book Depository, she thought that "LEE might be able to say somewhat about what happened, had been close to the event. This was my thought, that we would know somebody who would be able to give or possibly give a first hand - I never thought of him as a violent man. He never said anything against President Kennedy, nor anything about President Kennedy. I had no idea that he had a gun." She said she told Marina what had happened.

During one part of Ruth Paine's testimony before the Warren Commission she was asked:

McCloy: You said you were sitting on the sofa. While you were listening or looking at the television, was there any announcement over the television of a suspicion being cast on LEE?

Paine: It had been announced that they had caught someone in a theater, but there was no

name given.

McCloy: So up to this point there was no suggestion that LEE was involved.

Paine: No, not until the officers came to the door. [Paine Test. To WC p70]

Ruth Paine testified that Michael Paine arrived at her home in the mid-afternoon. She was asked:

Jenner: Now would you please tell me exactly to the best of your recollection the words of your husband as he walked in the door.

Paine: I don't recall his saying anything.

Jenner: Now his words if any with respect to why he had come.

Paine: I asked him before he volunteered. I said something to the effect of "How did you know to come?"

Jenner: What did he say.

Paine: He said he heard on the radio at work that OSWALD was in custody, and he came immediately to the house.

Jenner: And that is what you recall he said.

Paine: That is right...I might interject one recollection if you want of Michael having telephoned to me after the assassination. He wanted to know if I heard.

Jenner: Did he call you before he arrived at your home?

Paine: He called, he knew about the assassination. He had been told by a waitress at lunch time. [Paine WC test. P110]

ANALYSIS

Ruth Paine was lying about the events of the day. First she testified that she did not know that OSWALD was a suspect until Dallas Police Officers came to her door. Later she said she heard it from Michael Paine.

HOSTY, ODUM, HOWE AND DeBRUEYS

The FBI reported that on November 26, 1963, material of various types which had been recovered by the Dallas Police Department from OSWALD'S and Ruth Paine's residence were turned over to Howe, Hosty and DeBRUEYS. [WCE 2077 p139] The post-assassination investigation of the Paine family was conducted and directed by FBI Agents Bardwell Odum, Kenneth Howe, WARREN C. DeBRUEYS and James P. Hosty. S.A. Hosty questioned the Paines 15 times. Ruth Paine believed OSWALD was guilty because of "massive circumstantial evidence that surrounds his relationship, or where he was, what he had, at the time of the assassination." Michael Paine did not believe that OSWALD could have been a provocation: "You can weave any kind of a plot you want, but he was not a provocation. I don't see that. When the assassination occurred I didn't suppose that he had done it. I didn't think he could, because it didn't fit with my understanding of what his objectives would be. The only way I could figure a reason for him doing this was his convoluted argument that you get in Johnson and Johnson being more to the right, would have angered the left more. It struck me as a spur of the moment action which wasn't the result of much advance planning. And it struck me that he must have done that after he had seen the motorcade route published a day before his visit. He saw it was going to go right by his building there. Get himself on the map. What's he gonna take his rifle for, if he wasn't going to assassinate the President? OSWALD was not an instrument of the right. He was a bona fide leftist, no question of his sincerity...." Michael Paine was asked, "You have no CIA-connection?" He responded, "No connection with that. The closest connection I have had, that I knew of, was I took a trip with the Presbyterian Church Choir. We went to Germany and we had an FBI person who was a choir member. He couldn't dare go into East Germany. We took a little tourist trip there." Michael Paine was asked if he believed the CIA was involved with overseas assassinations. He said, "Yes, I do. I think it is bad for us. I think they're clumsy. Well, not just clumsy..." He was asked if he believed the CIA might have been involved in any domestic assassinations. "I don't speculate a lot" Michael Paine said, "but if there was going to be a conspiracy in which OSWALD was involved, then it would have been with some other little buddies who loved Cuba, and were still incensed at Kennedy for the Bay of Pigs. I have no idea what motivated RUBY, and why he felt so outraged as to deprive the nation of a trial of this person. I don't know about RUBY'S organized crime connections." The Kennedy assassination reunited the Paines; Michael Paine moved in with his wife and child.

THE MISSING MINOX WDE

When journalist Earl Goltz interviewed Dallas Police Detective Gus Rose, one of the officers who searched the Ruth Paine's home after the assassination, Gus Rose remembered having found a "small German camera and black case on a chain and film." Gus Rose inventoried the evidence and turned it over to FBI Agent WARREN C. DeBRUEYS, who identified the Minox camera as a Minox light meter. Michael Paine stated: "I did have a light meter for a Minox. I kind of forgotten that I had a light meter. And it looked like a half-size version of a Minox camera. It had the same leather case and flexible metal chain. They didn't get it at the same time. They got the camera later."

If a Minox light meter was found among OSWALD'S possessions, was there a camera that accompanied it? Michael Paine, who stored his possessions in the same garage as OSWALD, was questioned about this. He said "He owns a Minox camera and that camera is at his home in Irving, Texas. Several years ago he dropped this camera in salt water off the coast of Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and after retrieving it, soaking it in kerosine and cleaning same, it appeared to be in good working condition. Thereafter, someone bent the shutter by pulling the lens out too far, and, to the best of his knowledge, it is not now in working condition. He stated that he did have some cans of film, and that some of them were probably exposed film, but that the pictures made on this film were at least five years old. He stated that he had a case for the camera and other accessories including a light meter. He stated that when the police came to his house on November 22, 1963, they took the entire contents on a drawer containing photographic equipment which included the items mentioned above with the exception of the camera. He stated that this camera was in his garage at that time and that although he mentioned the camera to the police, they did not seem interested in it. He stated that he is sure LEE HARVEY OSWALD never used this camera, and he is of the opinion that it is not in working condition at the present time. Mr. Paine stated he had no knowledge of a 'no admittance' sign which was picked-up by the police at his residence. He stated this sign is not his and he has never seen it before." [FBI DL 100-10461 1.31.64 Bardwell Odum] On February 1, 1964, Ruth Paine gave FBI SA Bardwell Odum a Minox III camera, serial number 27259.

THE THREE UNDEVELOPED ROLLS OF FILM

The Dallas Police Department found three undeveloped rolls of Minox film in Michael Paine's garage. "Two Minox cassettes, one containing film; two containers with unexposed Minox film." Detective Gus Rose said he found one roll in OSWALD'S sea bag. This researcher applied for these photographs under the Freedom of Information Act. The FBI stated: "In as much as the material you requested is of great historical interest, these pages are being released to you without excisions." [ltr. Allen H. McCreight FBI 6.12.78] The FBI Laboratory Report on the exposed film stated that two of the rolls had been exposed in Michael Paine's camera but the other was not:

FBI LABORATORY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION WASHINGTON D.C.

Bureau request November 25, 1963

Request comparison of Minox film recovered from possessions of LEE HARVEY OSWALD in the assassination of President Kennedy, November 22, 1963, Dallas, Texas, case with specimen Q5.

Result of examination:

It has been determined that the questioned Minox film designated as specimen Q5 in this case was not exposed in the same camera as Minox film recovered from the possessions of LEE HARVEY OSWALD (Item 377) in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, November 22, 1963, Dallas, Texas, case. [FBI 62-109060-NR 12.2.63 #174]

Michael Paine was contacted in July 1993. He said, "All the ones that I've seen copies of prints of, have been taken by me, yes. I took a camera with me. I bought the camera originally because I wanted something I could carry in my pocket all the time. I was hoping you could make good pictures with that camera, but it was very tricky, everything had to be right. So it didn't have any use, I thought." It was pointed out to Michael Paine that the Minox is most often used for photographing documents. He agreed, "It was noted for that purpose, yeah. It was, of course, good for, it could take pictures up close. When I got to Korea I took along a little developing tumbler about the size of a glass. But the water we had was out of the rice paddies, and I thought it would leave little specks of dirt, so I never tried developing the things I did in Korea. I guess I never used it again. I used a different camera, stereoscopic. It's news to me that there should be a roll mixed-in with mine. That seems very odd."

THE PHOTOGRAPHS

The two rolls of Minox film that were taken with Michael Paine's Minox camera contained photos of a trip to Europe. The roll that was not taken with Michael Paine's camera seem to have been photographed in either Qemoy or Matsu. The photographs depicted several Marines horsing around on a large military vessel; a shot a tanker and LST-845P, shots of an island from offshore; shots entering a harbor; Asian children walking past a heavily fortified military base; a Chinese funeral passing the perimeter of the base, and a photo of OSWALD with an M-16. Click [HERE](#). to see one of these photographs.

ANALYSIS

OSWALD possessed a Minox camera while he was in the Marines. JFK CIA document 1993.06.18.16:24:34:590000 is a piece of an envelope from SR/CI/R listing contents as "One folder XAAZ-22448 May 5, 1965, State Department Files 1963. 2) Paine photos removed and attached to DBA 64420, from which they had been taken."

RUTH PAINE POST COUP

On September 17, 1965, Ruth Paine asked Mr. Maceo Smith of the Federal Housing Administration for the names of Negro families interested in purchasing houses in Irving, Texas, and asked for help in furthering her efforts in this regard: "Mr. Smith advised that Mrs. Paine obtained his name by contacting a principal of an Irving, Texas, school and asking for

the name of a Negro who might be able to help her in her integration efforts." Ruth Paine's request was transmitted to E. J. Dee, Director, Federal Housing Administration Insuring Office, Dallas, Texas: "Mr. Dee stated he is of the opinion some Negro people of the Irving, Texas, area have been contacted by Mrs. Paine, but they, the Negroes, do not want anything to do with her. He said he arrived at this opinion as he, Dee, was contacted by a leader of the Negro community of Bear Creek near Irving, Texas, who told him they did not want to have anything to do with Ruth Paine, and asked Mr. Dee if he could keep her away from them." In June 1976 Ruth Paine was living on a yacht in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. In 1991 she became U.S. Coordinator of Pro-Nica, a project of the southeastern yearly meeting of the American Friends Service Committee. In this capacity she had dealings with the Sandinistas. When questioned by the Warren Commission in 1964 Paine was asked:

Jenner: What is your personal attitude towards the Castro regime?

Paine: I have very few opinions about it. I suspect that the press is correct, that it is used for a jumping off ground for people, for Communist deputies going to Central American countries, trying to stir up trouble. That I object to strenuously. That the people of Cuba have Castro as a leader is not of any particular offense to me. I do think he has more popular support than his predecessor.

In 1991 Ruth Paine put out a newsletter about Nicaragua, describing it as "a roller coaster of ups and downs, a kaleidoscope of progress and decay...Unemployment is estimated at 50%. The central government is broke. The AID funds account for about one third of the Government of Nicaragua's budget. Nicaraguan men and women have discovered what a free society can mean to them, and they are not likely to forget it."

As of 1992 Ruth Paine was living in Managua, Nicaragua, and St. Petersburg, Florida. This interviewer spoke with Ruth Paine during the Summer of 1993 and pointed out some of the facts contained in this book. She stated, "Mostly I don't like to do interviews much. But anyway, you're an interesting guy though."

"Can you see why I am convinced that there was a conspiracy involved?"

"I certainly see that, yes. From the vantage point I had, it didn't look that way. Because here he was, already a very strange guy. He had a rifle, and he was doing clandestine things, like having an assumed name. Made him look a little strange. He was a very unstable kind of guy." In December 1994 Ruth Paine was living in St. Augustine, Florida, and working in Tampa, Florida as a school psychologist and still did volunteer work for the Quakers. [Xmas card 12.30.94]

HEMMING ON RUTH PAINE

HEMMING told this researcher: "Ruth Paine's a fucking patriot, she doesn't know shit from Shinola. Don't read nothing, don't wanna know, don't give a fuck. And they're loyal till the day they die. They believe what's told to them. They're like cult members out of Waco, or Georgetown. 'Drink your Kool Aide, drink it before goes bad.' She's a religious fucking fanatic. They'll believe shit out of *the* fucking book. God is on their side. That's the kind of fucking people they are. Very valuable fucking people. They never give yaa...Now, that she would be in touch with an OSWALD, that's saying something. They don't expose people like Ruth Paine to fucking dimwit numbfucks. She was baby sitting the guy regarding some knowledge he had acquired in the Soviet Union. She was told to put him in the Texas School Book Depository. They don't tell why. They put a 14 inch nigger dick between her legs and that's it. They do what the fuck they're told. You don't tell some fucking cunt what's going on. She's not going to betray anyone. She'll keep her mouth shut until the day she fucking dies. Her relatives in the CIA were serving their country. If they were used and abused, it's not their fault. They are not the enemy. They were complete fucking dupes. In ANGLETON'S business, the people that are closest to you, that know too much, are scared. They're always scared."

MARINA OSWALD POST COUP

HEMMING told this researcher: "Here's a broad that's been played like a violin, threatened to be deported with her two girls left behind. She was put in the path of OSWALD in the Soviet Union so that they could get hooked up. She doesn't describe anything in any detail. So much of what she would ordinarily know, she doesn't know. And that sends up a flash right there." Marina Oswald told this researcher: "How dare he call me 'a broad?' It's absolutely not true. I just went to the dance. It was simply fate, freak accident." After November 22, 1963, Marina Oswald was befriended by John and Katia Jacobs of Alexandria, Virginia. John Jacobs was the radio officer for the 1959 American National Exhibition in Moscow. In 1961 John Jacobs joined the USIA. [FBI 105-82555-3583, LHM 6.21.67 Tampa FL] Marina Oswald told this researcher in 1994: "I never heard of him." Marina Oswald associated with Ilya Manatov, an Estonian national who attended the University of Latvia during the German occupation. In late 1945, a U.S. citizen sponsored the immigration of Ilya Manatov to America. He was hired by Sun Oil, and given a CIA clearance. Ilya Manatov served as an interpreter for Marina Oswald.

MARINA'S OSWALD'S SEX LIFE: JAMES HERBERT MARTIN

James Herbert Martin was the business manager of Marina Oswald. James Martin knew JACK RUBY. When asked by the FBI if he had any criminal connections, James Herbert Martin told them that he had a cousin-by-marriage named Al Cervantes, presently Mayor of St. Louis, Missouri, and Cervantes was a friend of Frank Costello. The Warren Commission noted that Marina Oswald was having sexual relations with James Herbert Martin, who was married. The possibility of deporting Marina Oswald for moral turpitude was investigated. Warren Commission investigator Richard Mosk concluded: "Mrs. Oswald did not commit adultery since D.C. Stat. Title 22 301 provided that when such an act is committed between a married man and a woman who is unmarried, the man only shall be deemed guilty of adultery...The statues

of the District of Colombia do not make fornication a crime."

On February 19, 1964, the FBI obtained a lengthy statement from Marina Oswald "regarding sex incident involving herself and her former manager, James Herbert Martin. This statement reflects the following: While residing at Inn of Six Flags under the surveillance of the Secret Service she was informed by a Secret Service Agent that James Herbert Martin [a manager at Six Flags] had invited her and her children to reside at his home. She accepted the invitation to visit the Martin home on Thanksgiving, and while she was at the Martin home on that occasion accepted an invitation from Mr. and Mrs. Martin to reside with them. She moved into their home about November 29, 1963, until February 9, 1964, until her trip to Washington the week of February 3, 1964, she was under United States Secret Service surveillance at the Martin house.

"Shortly after beginning residence at the Martin house, her intuition told her that James Martin had feelings of love toward her. On New Year's Eve, after refusing to be kissed by James Herbert Martin when he asked to give her a New Years kiss in the presence of his wife, James Martin subsequently caught her in the hallway and told her he loved her and then kissed her. She believed him to be sincere.

"Following this event James Herbert Martin almost daily professed his love to her and frequently hugged her and kissed her, but always surreptitiously. He also propositioned her to have sexual relations, but she refused. She did tell James Herbert Martin she was willing to be his mistress, and they made plans when she would have a place of her own, and he would visit her clandestinely. James Herbert Martin also gave her several gifts.

"About January 4, 1964, James Herbert Martin took her alone to the La Tunisia Restaurant, Dallas. Two Secret Service agents occupied a table nearby. They enjoyed a good dinner. James Herbert Martin professed his love to her and she replied everything would be fine if it were not for his family.

"She did not have sexual intercourse with James Herbert Martin at the Martin home.

"Following her testimony in Washington on Friday, February 7, 1964, she and James Herbert Martin and June ate together and thereafter took a walk in Washington. They returned to the hotel at 7:00 or 8:00 p.m. That evening they slept together and engaged in sexual intercourse. They slept together the entire night. This was done with Marina Oswald's consent and there was no force whatsoever on the part of James Herbert Martin.

"While in Washington, United States Secret Service Agent Leon Gopadze told her there were rumors James Herbert Martin loved her and these rumors might be so detrimental as to lead to her deportation from this country. Martin told her he had friends who could fix up a fictitious marriage which would forestall deportation.

"On Sunday, February 9, 1964, Robert Oswald came to the Martin home in Dallas and took Marina and June to the cemetery to visit the OSWALD grave. Robert suggested she leave the Martin residence, and she agreed to do so, and accompanied Robert to his home in Denton, Texas, the same day. On Tuesday, February 11, 1964, she called Martin on the telephone at his home from Robert Oswald's home, while Mrs. Martin listened on extension. They engaged in a three way conversation. She told Martin she was dispensing with him as a manager and as a lover and suggested that Mrs. Martin be told the whole truth. On February 14, 1964, she sent registered letters to both Martin and Thorne, which dismissed them as manager and lawyer respectively."

J. Edgar Hoover: "Mr. Rankin asked if I didn't think that business about her being willing to be James Herbert Martin's mistress was a strange thing, and I stated I did. That it shows certainly the complete lack of any character, and the thing that also impressed me was, if you look at the picture of Marina when this happened and the picture of her afterwards, it is almost like two different people, as in the second picture of her she is not unattractive... Somebody got hold of her and got her fixed up and that probably put ideas in her head also. I stated there was no question this fellow Martin was making love to her. I stated that if this kind of thing gets out before it is nailed down and the Commission reaches a conclusion as to what and what not to believe, it would be bad."

JOHN MARTIN THORNE

The attorney of Marina Oswald, John M. Thorne, FBI files "reflect that he was interviewed as Special Agent applicant, April 1951. Recommended unfavorably and all paper forwarded to Bureau. He was reported to have received LLB Degree, Southern Methodist University, June 1951. Dallas file 94-152-69 in a memo entitled (Deleted) Dallas Division. The OSI furnished a list of reported (deleted). In this list is one John M. Thorne, Grand Prairie, Texas. File 145-134 reflects a PCI advised on March 1, 1958, that two males and two females had appeared at a tourist court and had taken about three reels of film for a car and into the tourist cabin. PCI believes that these persons were showing the films and possibly making others. PCI said this person, John M. Thorne, come to the tourist courts on an average of two or three times a week." Priscilla Johnson was asked if she noticed any indication that Marina Oswald might be a sexually active individual: "I have no comment."

HEMMING: NO PORK ROLL FROM OSWALD

HEMMING told this researcher: "She wasn't getting any pork roll from OSWALD anyway. The guy was practically fucking impotent. The pressure was a little bit too much for him. He had periodic impotence. He probably wouldn't have eaten her box either. If he'd have gone to Cuba with me he would have learned all them techniques. The guy had fucking stresses and strains you wouldn't believe. This guy couldn't figure what time of day it was. When a guy has trouble with trade craft, you know he hasn't been played back to you. When you fuck up some of the

basic stuff, and have to be led by the hand. He was a fuck-up." Marina Oswald: "They put me right away in the hands of the people that I trusted. FBI have a tape of everything, telephone and the things like that. They have a big list, in case if I tell the truth, or honest, or dwell into something, they will do everything in their power to compromise me. If I make waves right now, please listen to me, I'm telling you the truth, you know how much material and garbage gonna pour all over me? 'How can you trust that person when she's a so in so. When she's no good?' This stuff was stashed away for blackmail purposes. I wonder who is the people who is cooking all this up? The FBI? I didn't have an affair with Martin. I responded to his advances when the Secret Service arranged a suite in Washington, D.C. They taped everything. You don't have to be a fallen woman. When you're husband gets killed and you just want somebody's hand around you, just to hold you, when the whole world is against you, you definitely respond. For that one thing I have been blackmailed for many years. I did not break up the family. I didn't ask him to come to me. He showed kindness to my kids. That was all pre-fab before, to subject me to deportation, even with approval of his wife. Tell me about the Walker thing again. Are you telling me that I lied? Listen to me. It would be more advantage to me that I could say now, 'I was scared, they twist my arm, I said that as a lie.' Don't you understand that? I'm not saying LEE was there. I wasn't there. But I am telling you what happened as he told me. I will be telling you this until I go to grave. Better I should say it right now that I lied about. You know what I mean. I think we ought to finish on that. People who tell you lies you believe them. When I tell you the truth you question it. So if you measure me by that stick I don't think we can continue this conversation."

After Marina Oswald left the home of Robert Oswald she moved in with Declan Ford. She retained William A. McKenzie as her attorney. William A. McKenzie advised the FBI "it would be to the welfare of the Bureau not to interview Marina Oswald concerning the NIXON affair until his return because of her fatigue resulting from many interviews, particularly the long interview of today of an intimate nature." [FBI 105-82555- NR 2.29.64 199]

Profits soon became available to Marina Oswald. *Life* magazine paid Marina Oswald \$5000 for the OSWALD/Rifle photograph and she received another \$25,000 for other photographs in her possession. Marina Oswald told this researcher: "The amount of money that they claim I was paid by this and that is not true." Isaac Levine offered her \$25,000 for the rights to her story in book form, although no book materialized until 1977, when Priscilla Johnson's *Lee and Marina* was published. The HSCA asked Marina Oswald why the book took so long to get into print: "Well, it is not an easy book to write about, especially when you try to be so accurate and not just to bluff around because it was lots of research." Marina Oswald received \$70,000 in contributions from unnamed sources. In 1964 Marina Oswald married Kenneth Jess Porter. In 1965 Marina Oswald asked a Dallas justice of the peace for a peace bond against her husband. She said he had slapped her and threatened to kill himself. "We got into an argument today" Marina stated "He slapped me in the face and tried to put the children outside so that he could be alone with the gun he carried. I am afraid that he might try to do me bodily harm." Porter was released from the Dallas County Jail after posting \$15,000 peace bond. [*Dallas Morning News* 8.19.65] In the 1970's Marina and her husband invested some of their money in

a Dallas bar the subsequently failed. In 1975 Kenneth Porter managed a sewing machine outlet and Marina sold children's clothing in a department store at a suburban shopping center. [Newsweek 8.11.75] Marina Oswald told this researcher: "I was too stupid to be involved in espionage. I was working in a *Seven-Eleven*. Someone was stealing money. They were dragging me and another clerk to take lie detector tests at the time. I asked, 'Why manager doesn't take lie detector test?' That was in my FBI file?"

ANALYSIS

It was pointed out to Marina that the men who took part in the coup benefited from the coup. NIXON, HUNT, STURGIS and McCORD ended up in the White House, not as cashiers in *Seven-Elevens*.

END OF NODULE.

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