

# **Official Murder and Capitalist Rule in America: The Continuing Dynamic**

**by Ralph Schoenman**

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**J**une 5, 1995, the 27th anniversary of the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, was the publication date of a book by Dan E. Moldea entitled *The Killing of Robert F. Kennedy—An Investigation of Motive, Means and Opportunity*, (W.W. Norton). Publicity material for the book proclaims, "Here is the definitive book on Robert F. Kennedy's assassination allowing this tragic chapter in our history to be put to rest at last."

This claim has been made recently for two other books, *Case Closed: Lee Harvey Oswald and the Assassination of JFK* by Gerald Posner and *Oswald's Tale* by Norman Mailer, both published by Random House.

In the light of the massive evidence, adduced in more than three hundred books over a period of nearly three decades, many scrupulously documented, demonstrating the duplicity of the official fiction regarding the political execution of the Kennedy brothers, it is a boast as suspect as the putative investigations of the subject by the CIA and FBI themselves.

For these agencies are deeply implicated in both events, and the threadbare thesis that political assassinations of such magnitude result solely from the random impulse of marginal people requires a breathtaking surrender of intellectual independence and moral integrity. All three authors attribute the killings to lone, solitary assassins.

## Tired Chorus

The presses on which the multiple runs of the Posner book were printed had hardly cooled, to the tired chorus "This book really does close the case," before Harold Weisberg's *Case Open: The Omissions, Distortions and Falsifications of 'Case Closed'* (Carroll & Graf) had reached bookstores.

Moldea concludes his book, "Sirhan Bishara Sirhan consciously and knowingly murdered Senator Robert Kennedy, and he acted alone." His attempt to shut down the challenge to a thesis he now shares with the Los Angeles Police Department, successive L.A. District Attorneys, the CIA and the FBI, will be as shortlived as that of Posner.

After the publication of my feature article on the Robert Kennedy assassination in the *Baltimore Sun* (May 28, 1995), Moldea threatened a libel suit on behalf of Thane Eugene Cesar and Manuel Peña, with whom he now makes both personal and political common cause. It is an instructive alliance which sheds retrospective light less on the Kennedy killing than it does on who Moldea is and to whom he holds allegiance.

Moldea advised the *Baltimore Sun* that only a writer who shared his thesis was entitled to comment on his book — a remarkable presumption.

The gravamen of Moldea's threat of legal action was that

Thane Eugene Cesar was identified in the article as the sole figure whose position relative to that of Robert Kennedy was compatible with the trajectory of the fatal shot.

*"Cesar was standing directly behind Kennedy when Sirhan began firing and, according to his own statements, was in a position to shoot Kennedy at point blank range."*

## Moldea Vs. Moldea

In *Regardie's* for July 1987, Moldea wrote an article entitled "Who Really Killed Bobby Kennedy?" Here is what Moldea wrote at that time. Note that Moldea maintained these views publicly until the publi-

cation of his current book.

"When critics of the Robert Kennedy murder investigation discuss in private the possibility of a second gunman, the name most often raised is that of security guard Thane Eugene Cesar. He is thought by some to have crouched down behind and to the right of Kennedy and then pumped four shots into his back at point-blank range while Sirhan fired wildly into the crowd surrounding the Senator and drew all the attention of the witnesses in the pantry.

*"The evidence to support Cesar's possible role in the shooting is extensive and clearly demonstrates means, opportunity and motive: (emphasis added.)"*

"Cesar was standing directly behind Kennedy when Sirhan began firing and, according to his own statements, was in a position to shoot Kennedy at point blank range."

"He was seen with a drawn gun by no less than four eyewitnesses and by another who claims to have seen Cesar fire the gun. He has admitted to law enforcement authorities that he drew his gun after Sirhan began shooting but has given contra-

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dictory statements to the police and to the FBI about exactly when he drew the weapon."

"He has repeatedly given different versions of his movements immediately after the shooting."

"Cesar owned a .22-caliber revolver similar to Sirhan's but gave false statements to the police about when he sold it. The gun has since disappeared; its new owner reported it stolen."

"He was a supporter of 1968 American Independent Party presidential candidate George Wallace and has made no secret of his hatred of the politics of both John and Robert Kennedy."

"He was on guard duty in the pantry at the time that Sirhan reportedly slipped into the area."

Thus Moldea put in print, as he would elsewhere subsequently, no less an indictment of Cesar than appeared in the offending article. I advised Moldea to begin by suing himself.

The official autopsy on Robert Kennedy was conducted by Coroner Thomas Noguchi and was corroborated unanimously by the coroner's grand jury. It established that Kennedy was hit by four bullets — all of them from the rear and at contact range. The fatal shot was approximately 1/2 inch behind the mastoid bone of the skull, adjacent to Kennedy's right ear.

[Copies of the autopsy had been sent by Noguchi surreptitiously to Jim Garrison, Dick Gregory and this author in 1975 after he received threats. Dick Gregory and this author, together with Robert Groden, would present evidence on both Kennedy assassinations to the Rockefeller Commission, with data establishing the government role in the execution of both Kennedy brothers.]

### Sirhan In Front

The convicted assassin, Sirhan Sirhan, was directly in front of Kennedy. No single witness among the 77 who emerged placed Sirhan closer than three to five feet in front of Kennedy.

Karl Uecker, assistant Maitre d' of the Ambassador Hotel, who had led Robert Kennedy into the pantry-kitchen where Sirhan lay in wait, jumped Sirhan, placing him in a head-lock, pinning him to a steam-table while holding low and to the side the wrist of Sirhan's gun-hand. Prosecutor, David Fitts, acknowledged to the jury that Sirhan was 12 feet in front of Kennedy when Kennedy approached. Seven immediate eye witnesses fixed Sirhan at four to six feet in front of Kennedy

when he opened fire.

Five people, in front of the assailant, were wounded by the wild and random firing of Sirhan's 22-caliber Iver Johnson pistol. Bullet holes appeared in three ceiling tiles. At least four additional bullets were lodged in the door frame and center piece of the swinging-doors leading from the pantry.

Moldea now, without embarrassment, subscribes to the official police effort to reduce the number of bullets actually fired in order to preclude a second assailant. The thesis is that one

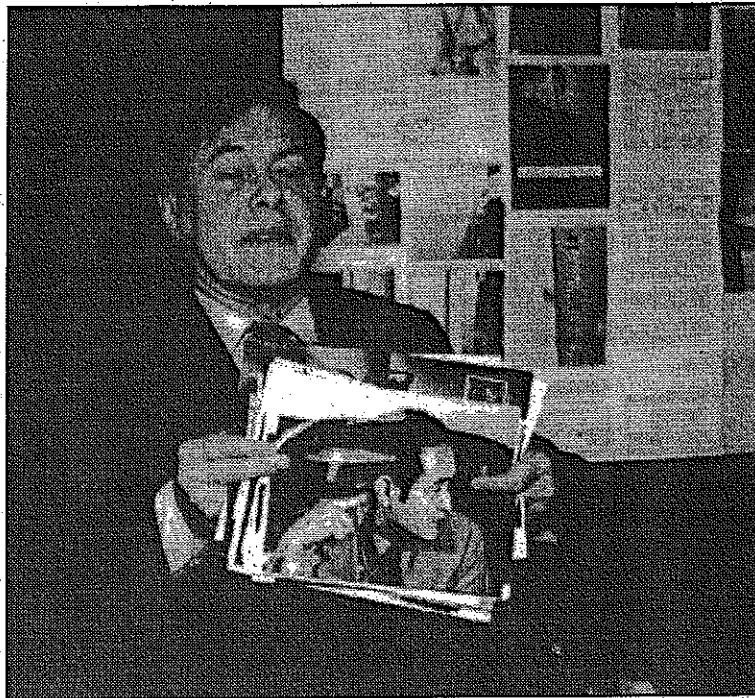
bullet entered a ceiling tile, ricocheted off the ceiling and exited another ceiling tile, striking the floor and bouncing off the floor to enter the forehead of one of the wounded victims. No independent ballistics expert partakes of this particular fantasy.

Perhaps Moldea's next revelation will be that this bullet came from the same weapon that fired bullet 399, the magic missile having continued on its official journey from Dealey Plaza for five years, entering the stratosphere, circling the planet and descending on cue on the Ambassador Hotel. No doubt it is still in motion on its never ending mission impossible, awaiting instructions from on high to enter rivals and class opponents yet undiscerned of those commanding the heights of power in the United States.

As for the weapon of Sirhan Sirhan, it could hold at most eight bullets. Five bullets struck other people in front of him. Four bullets, however, penetrated Kennedy from directly behind, one passing through the shoulder pad of his suit jacket and two entering his back, in addition to the fatal contact shot to the head. All were at a sharp, upward angle, wholly incompatible with the position of Sirhan and the reach of his weapon.

Moldea, before this book, had been himself among the investigators who had marshalled a massive case against the government's specious claim that Sirhan was the lone assassin. Then, as in this book, he failed to credit those, such as Theodore Charach, whose discoveries and data he usurped without attribution, a not uncommon failing. Bertrand Russell, often the victim of plagiarism, upon being asked to review a history of Western Philosophy published under the name of C. E. M. Joad, once replied "Modesty forbids!"

In a recent lawsuit against the *New York Times*, Moldea contended that their attack upon his last book had so discredited him that he was unable to find a publisher for future work. Perhaps the amazing grace bestowed upon him by W.W. Norton



Theodore Charach holding up a photograph of Dr. Thomas Noguchi, Chief Los Angeles County Medical Examiner and Coroner. Dr. Noguchi stated, "...from the abundance of powder deposit on the edge of the right ear...we came to the conclusion that the muzzle distance would be one inch from the right ear edge..."

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for this book is related to Moldea's belated discovery that he had been wrong all along in his prior challenge to the official verdict in the execution of Robert Kennedy.

The number of bullets, far exceeding the eight shot capacity of Sirhan's weapon, put paid to the lie that Sirhan alone fired at Kennedy. TV documentary film maker, Willis Lapnick, audio-taped the shooting, the analysis of which revealed twelve shots. Dr. Michael H. L. Hecker of the Stanford Research Institute conducted "auditory, oscillographic and spectrographic analyses of three recordings" and concluded "no fewer than ten gunshots" had occurred.

The medical, ballistic and witness evidence, therefore, show that Sirhan had not killed Kennedy and that more than one weapon was fired. A first year law student would have had Sirhan acquitted within record time.

Instead, Sirhan's lawyer, Grant Cooper, stipulated to the prosecution's claim that Sirhan alone had killed Kennedy. When coroner Noguchi was on the stand for the prosecution and began to discuss his autopsy report, which, if examined, is totally exculpatory of Sirhan, Cooper cut him off, stating, "Spare us the gory details."

### Destroying The Evidence

The L.A.P.D. and its Special Unit Senator (SUS) investigating unit destroyed 2,400 photographs, negatives and X-rays of vital evidence. They confiscated the door panels with the bullet holes and embedded bullets and the ceiling tiles with bullet holes — and destroyed them. Then-Assistant Chief of Police Daryl Gates acknowledged that even the examination reports and records of this evidence were destroyed.

Moldea, straining credulity, now avers that the bullet holes were nail heads. Not only is there evidence of the bullets in the door frames but the police were photographed removing them. Theodore Charach has supplied me with photographs of the bullet holes, including those with bullets still lodged.

In 1969 the Los Angeles police had removed all door frames and the center divider containing bullets and bullet holes. In 1975, long after they destroyed this critical evidence, the police staged an orchestrated raid on the pantry for the benefit of the print and electronic media. They confiscated anew the *replacement* center divider and door frames which had been installed after the removal of the originals containing the evidence.

Based on this charade, the police then declared that no bullets from Sirhan's weapon had entered the panels and center divider of the pantry in the Ambassador Hotel, a finding reported solemnly in the *Los Angeles Times* and other journals of record.

To destroy the original center divider and door frames, replace them with sanitized material and then represent that the replacement material establishes an absence of this evidence is conscious fraud. In the strict legal sense, this performance renders both the police and the media which colluded in this deception accessories after the fact in the murder of RFK.

The official fiction in the Robert Kennedy killing depends upon the findings of LAPD criminalist, DeWayne Wolfer, whom Moldea now upholds as the sole authority on whom we can rely.

Forensic expert Marshall Houts, in a letter to former L.A. District Attorney and later California Attorney General, Evelle

Younger, said Wolfer made a practice of "... giving the police exactly what they need to obtain a conviction, ... he casts objectivity to the winds and violates every basic tenet of forensic science and proof." The California State Court of Appeals described Wolfer's conduct in court as follows: "Wolfer gave false testimony bordering on perjury." It cited the finding: "His testimony on acoustics and anatomy was negligently false."

Distinguished criminalist William Harper, Dr. Robert J. Joling, President of the American Academy of Forensic Science and Professor Herbert L. MacDonnell of the Coming Laboratory all concurred, noting that the rifling angle of the bullets ruled out that the bullets in the five other victims came from the same weapon as that which killed Kennedy.

### L.A.P.D. Switches Weapons

Moldea now maintains that Wolfer conducted the appropriate tests.

Not only were two weapons used. Wolfer, the LAPD and the government concealed that Wolfer did, in fact, test Sirhan's weapon on the day of the murder. The bullets fired did not match the bullet taken from Kennedy's neck, Exhibit 47. The document, which I possess, was suppressed but obtained by Theodore Charach.

The evidence regarding the weapon of Sirhan Sirhan and its testing is overwhelming:

Theodore Charach writes in *Knave*: "A panel of seven firearms experts later established conclusively: there was no concrete proof of a match between the critical bullet (exhibit 47) that was removed from Kennedy's neck and the alleged test bullet (exhibit 55) which were supposedly fired through Sirhan's gun.

"The serial number of the gun that actually fired test bullets into a water recovery tank inside the LAPD Crime Lab was in reality a similar 22-caliber Iver Johnson cadet revolver — its serial number was H-18602. The astonishing proof of this ballistic irregularity is contained as Court Exhibit No. 55, the test bullets. Court-appointed experts unanimously refuted the ballistics testimony given by DeWayne Wolfer. Old and new sets of test bullets examined by them *did not match* (emphasis in original) the bullets in evidence."

"Under no circumstances, since the Sirhan weapon was at all times available for examination and testing through court order, should the prosecution and police have been permitted to introduce this other weapon into the RFK-Sirhan case. Additionally they should be made to disclose why and when the gun was actually disposed of, for according to official records, H-18602 was destroyed in California in July 1968, one month after the assassination."

"... One way or the other, the only gun actually linked to the RFK homicide by the Sirhan Trial exhibits had been destroyed on orders from above. And to this day, the court records reveal that Sirhan was sentenced to death by a gun he never owned, saw or used in his life."

This is the identical conclusion reached by distinguished criminalist William Harper: "No test bullets recovered from the Sirhan gun were introduced as exhibits at the trial. Without test bullets from the Sirhan gun it cannot be determined which bullets were fired by him. Quite obviously the bullets removed

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from the victims at the scene of the shooting could not have been fired by both guns, H-18602 and Gun Number H-53725.

### Now You See It, Now...

"... It is quite apparent that Gun Number H-18602 played a major role in the Kennedy assassination. It is the only weapon actually linked by scientific evidence to the crime. It is therefore of great historical value.' Harper' too, noted that gun H-18602 was destroyed seven months PRIOR to the Sirhan trial."

The same facts are reported by John Christian and William Turner in *The Assassination of Robert F. Kennedy: A Searching Look at the Conspiracy and Cover-up 1968-1978*, Random House, 1978, page 160): "Attorney Barbara Blehr ... charged that Wolfer ... did not compare bullets from the victims with bullets test-fired from Sirhan's gun (Serial No. H-53725), but with bullets from a similar but unrelated weapon (Serial No. H-18602) which was destroyed a month after the testing."

Gregory Stone in *Scalpel and Quill* (December 1984), (the Bulletin of the Pittsburgh Institute of Legal Medicine) wrote: "In contrast to Wolfer's sworn testimony that Sirhan's gun had fired the bullet reportedly recovered from Senator Kennedy's neck (exhibit 47), this match could not be verified by any of a panel of seven firearms examiners convened in 1975 to study the firearms evidence. Though the match had been represented by Wolfer as an obvious one, it could not be duplicated by any examiner, using either old or newly-fired test bullets.

"None of the 1975 examiners could likewise substantiate Wolfer's testimony matching the Wiesel bullet (exhibit 54) to Sirhan's gun, or his testimony matching the Goldstein bullet (exhibit 52) to Sirhan's gun. Other specifics of Wolfer's firearms testimony were likewise controverted in the conclusions of the 1975 panel."

Other bodies, experts and authors have reached the same conclusion. Moldea had also been on record at one time for this massively documented position. He has now reversed himself, but without any evidentiary basis beyond the most shameless speculation in the teeth of the data.

Moldea's tortuous explanation that Kennedy twisted and turned, exposing his back to Sirhan, is baseless speculation unsupported by a scintilla of evidence. No single witness maintains that Sirhan's weapon, moreover, was at virtual point blank contact with Kennedy's head, behind his right ear.

### Embracing The Cover-Up

This reckless embrace of the cover-up is on a par with Moldea's repetition of police statements blaming Kennedy for his own death, imputing to him and his aides an alleged refusal of police protection on the night of the murder. The mendacity of this assertion aside, Moldea ignores the fact that, in complete departure from normal procedure, no police were assigned to the Ambassador Hotel on the night of Kennedy's assassination.

This was in spite of the fact that there were two other election night celebrations taking place at the Ambassador Hotel at which prominent elected officials were present. Neither Alan Cranston nor Max Rafferty had police protection — the presence of which would have put police at the scene during the

execution of Robert Kennedy.

Many of us who have investigated these events over the years retain, fortunately, photographs of vital evidence, including of the door panels with embedded bullets - decisive proof that more than one gun was fired.

To grasp what was taking place in this Los Angeles court, we need to know the affiliations and record of the principals. The investigation of the death of Kennedy was placed in the hands of an elite squad called Special Unit Senator under the titular head of Chief Robert Houghton. The person designated to run the investigation was Manuel Peña in collaboration with Sergeant Enrique "Hank" Hernandez.

Not only does Moldea now maintain that Peña had no intelligence affiliations whatsoever, but after my citing the evidence in the *Baltimore Sun*, Moldea made written threats of reprisals against me by Peña. What are the facts?

Moldea states that Manuel Peña has no connection or association with the CIA and that it is a slander to say so.

Turner and Christian document the direct contrary in their above-cited book, pages 63-66: "The choice of Lieutenant Manuel Peña for the key slot in S.U.S. was a curious one. Among members of the force ... Peña was a living legend — reputedly he had killed eleven suspects 'in the line of duty,' more than any other officer in the history of the department.

### Special Unit Senator

"In *Special Unit Senator*, (Los Angeles Police Chief) Robert Houghton boasted that Peña ... 'had connections with various intelligence agencies in several countries.'"

"What we did not know at the time was that Peña and Hernandez ... both had long-standing connections with the CIA. Our first clue about Peña came months later when a faded newspaper article came to our attention. On November 13, 1967, more than six months before the RFK slaying, the San Fernando Valley *Times* had reported Peña's formal retirement from the L.A.P.D."

"... The article revealed: 'Peña retired from the police force to advance his career. He has accepted a position with the Agency for International Development Office of the State Department. As a public safety officer, he will train and advise foreign police forces in investigative and administrative matters. After nine weeks ... he will be assigned to his post ... a Latin American country: ...'"

"It is an open secret that the Office of Public Safety of the Agency for International Development (AID) has long served as a cover for the CIA's clandestine program of supplying advisers and instructors for national police and intelligence services in Southeast Asia and Latin America engaged in anti-communist (sic) operations."

### CIA & L.A.P.D.: Murder Inc.

"In 1968 California Chief Deputy Attorney General Charles A. O'Brien informed us that this ultrasecret CIA unit was known to insiders as the 'Department of Dirty Tricks,' and that one of its specialties was teaching 'foreign intelligence apparatus' the techniques of assassination."

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"FBI agent Roger LaJeunesse, whom Turner had known ... in the Bureau (William Turner was an FBI special agent for ten years and the previous author of *The Police Establishment* and *Hoover's FBI*) confided that Peña had left the L.A.P.D. for a 'special training unit' at a CIA base in Virginia.

"In fact," said LaJeunesse, "Peña's departure in November 1967 had not been a one-shot deal — the detective had done CIA special assignments for a decade, mostly under AID cover. On some of these assignments in Central and South America, he worked with CIA operative, Dan A. Mitrione, a former Indiana chief of police." (Mitrione was abducted by Uruguayan guerrillas who accused him of being 'a CIA killer' and 'teacher of horrible tortures.' whose horrible atrocities ... could not remain unpublished. ... The affair was made into a 1972 motion picture, *State of Siege*, featuring Yves Montand as Mitrione.)

"Further confirmation of Peña's CIA role came from his brother ... who casually mentioned to television newsman, Stan Bohrman, how proud Manny was of his services for the CIA over the years.

"Peña's stints with the CIA were hardly unique. ..." Hugh C. McDonald, who was Chief of Detectives for the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department before retiring in 1967, recently revealed in a book *Appointment in Dallas* (Zebra, 1975) that for many years he had gone on detached duty for the CIA as a contract agent. The McDonald book describes, from first-hand experience CIA-Mafia hit men with whom he worked and who were involved directly in the hit team which assassinated John F. Kennedy.

"And we learned much later that Peña's Special Unit Senator sidekick, Sergeant Hank Hernandez, who was promoted ... in

recognition of his status in the special unit, also had CIA connections. ... he boasts in a resume ... that in 1963 he played a key role in 'Unified Police Command' training for the CIA in Latin America. He functioned under the usual cover of AID's Office of Public Safety and even received a medal from the Venezuelan government.

"In retrospect it seems odd that two policemen who doubled as CIA agents occupied key positions in S.U.S., where they were able to seal off avenues that led in the direction of conspiracy."

Similar accounts, with documentation of the CIA role of Peña and Hernandez, are provided in "The Lingering Mystery of RFK: A Special Investigation into Robert F. Kennedy's Assassination in Los Angeles and the Cover-up That Followed" by Andy Boehm in the *L.A. Weekly*, November 18-24, 1988, in *CIA: A Forgotten History* by William Blum (Zed Books, 1986) and in *The Police Establishment* by William Turner (op. cit.).

Hernandez polygraphed and interrogated witnesses for Special Unit Senator, such as Sandra Serrano, who had seen people with Sirhan whom she heard discussing how they had killed Kennedy. Hernandez's method was to threaten these witnesses and demand that they change their testimony.

### Hit-Man Cesar

Cesar was identified by CBS News employee, Don Schulman, as standing directly behind Kennedy and wielding and firing a weapon. Schulman received threats to his life, including dire threats from Hernandez, unless he changed his testimony.

It must also be noted that the dying Robert Kennedy grabbed



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at Cesar's clip-on tie, ripping it off as he fell. It lay on the ground next to him. Cesar maintained that he experienced powder burns and flashing from Sirhan's weapon which blinded him. Powder burns and flashing are the result of contact firing of a weapon and both burns and flashing affect a person behind a weapon, not in front of it.

This statement by Cesar makes reference to a weapon wielded by Sirhan some four feet in front of him aiming in a different direction with both Karl Uecker and Robert Kennedy in between Sirhan and Cesar.

It is a damning admission which caught the attention of criminalists Harper and MacDonnell. Neither Karl Uecker nor any eye-witness far closer to Sirhan and his weapon suffered either powder burns, gunflash or powder residue.

William Harper stated, "If that gun (Cesar's) was fired ... there is a definite possibility of blow-back. With a revolver firing at close range ... there can be no feedback from the barrel! There was no way for this guard to get powder in his eyes from Sirhan's gun." (Ibid., page 22).

Professor Herbert Leon MacDonnell's independent forensic crime lab in Corning, New York, "was called upon to determine the validity of Cesar's commentary." MacDonnell is also a specialist in the field of Psychological Stress Evaluation (PSE), which detects the presence of involuntary stress during speech, and correlates to lying or truth-telling in a subject.

Cesar owned a Harrington and Richardson 22-caliber cadet revolver which he claimed to have sold six months before the assassination. In fact, it was sold three months *after* the assassination to Jim Yoder, a fellow worker at Lockheed Aircraft, who stated that Cesar had access at Lockheed to top-secret security clearance areas.

## Charach Finds Weapon

Recently Theodore Charach and other investigators succeeded in tracing and securing this weapon which they possess today. It remains to be tested. The police never asked Cesar for his weapon, which Cesar claimed was a "38" revolver, nor did they show any interest in the 22-caliber Harrington and Richardson owned, and, the evidence suggests, used by him on the night of the assassination.

Moldea contends that Cesar was carrying a .38 Rohm revolver and asserts that the difference in brand manufacture is excul-

patory of Cesar. The sole "evidence" of Moldea that Cesar carried a 38-caliber Rohm revolver on the night of the shooting is Cesar's claim to have done so — nothing more. Cesar's Harrington and Richardson 22-caliber cadet revolver and Sirhan's Iver Johnson 22-caliber revolver are regarded as virtually identical, including by Cesar himself. Only ballistic rifling can distinguish bullets fired by two different weapons but the similarity of bullets allowed a discrete shooter to be confounded with Sirhan serving as the "display" assailant.

Here is Charach on the subject: "In his hour-long October 1969 interview with me, Cesar inadvertently acknowledged that he owned a 22-caliber gun 'just like the one that was used on

Kennedy by Sirhan.' Cesar's Harrington and Richardson 22-caliber cadet revolver was ... the same model as the Sirhan gun, the same small barrel." (op.cit., page 90).

Moldea claims to have arranged a polygraph test which Cesar passed in 1994. Such tests are highly subjective and depend greatly on the tenor, manner and sequence of the questions asked. Their evaluation is also somewhat subjective, which is why they are not admissible in courts of law. In contrast, however, PSE is considered far more accurate and independent of interpretation by the

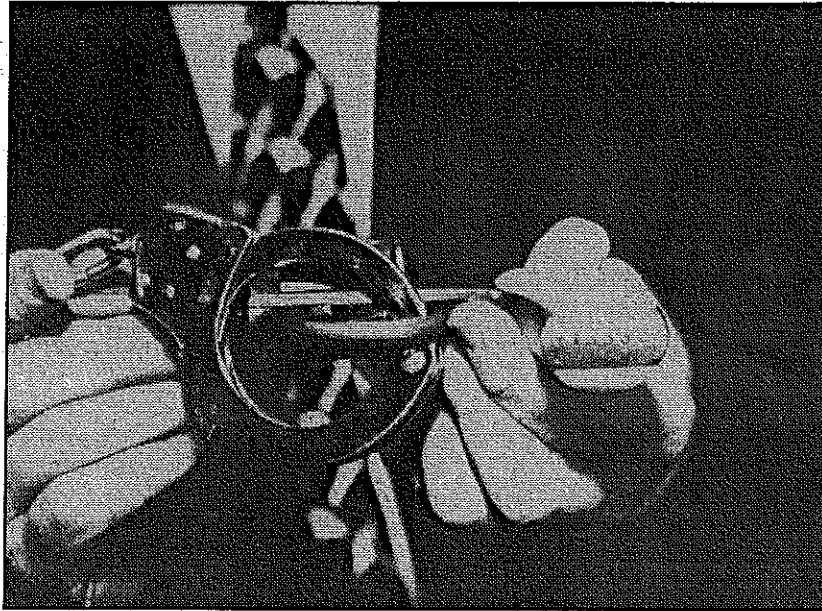
administrator. It is accepted as probative in many courts. Cesar failed the PSE test

In Cesar's taped interview, which appears in Charach's documentary film, "The Second Gun," he identifies his political views with those of "American-Nazi Party conclaves."

He states that the Kennedys were "giving the country to the commies and the minority" adding that "the black man has been cramming this integrated idea down our throat and you've learned to hate him. ... There is going to be a civil war in this country ... white against black. ... We're going to fight back. The white man is going to try getting the right person to straighten the thing out, then he's going to take it in his own hands."

## Mob-Owned Hotel

Moldea has now adopted the position that William Gardner, the security chief of the Ambassador Hotel, was a conscientious employee whose relationship to Thane Eugene Cesar was innocent and above reproach. The Ambassador Hotel has been established as a mob-owned hotel. It was Gardner who in Moldea's own words, "instructed him (Cesar) to accompany Kennedy through the pantry on his way to the Press Conference"



*Cesar's gun at the RFK Press Conference, June 5, 1995. Jim Yoder of Arkansas purchased the gun from Cesar. Mr. Yoder states, "It was September 6, 1968, ... I have that receipt now, it says... I received \$15.00 from Jim Yoder. Only he's got it spelled Yolder. The item involved is an H&R .22 pistol 9 shot, serial number Y-13332, and he signed it."*

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(p. 208), *The Killing of Robert F. Kennedy* (Moldea).

The FBI report of August 19, 1968 states that Gardner admitted that "bumper stickers" were being handed out in the front lobby and in front of the Embassy Room "which bore lettering about killing Kennedy." In addition, a hotel employee was seen giving Gardner a sticker "reddish orange in color with black lettering" with wording about killing Kennedy.

The FBI report also states that Gardner "showed the bumper sticker to Ace guard Elmer M. Boomhower." It was Boomhower, not Gardner, the head of security, who notified the FBI.

Theodore Charach also addressed this issue in his article "Why Sirhan Could Not Have Killed Robert F. Kennedy,"

*Knave*, part two, page 24): "Ambassador Hotel Chief of Security Bill Gardner had apparently displayed an orange-and-black pamphlet that read 'Kill Kennedy'. It was seen and reported by guard Elmer Boomhower, also an Ace Security man, situated that night at the entrance to Senator Kennedy's fifth-floor election headquarters suite in the Ambassador Hotel."

Cesar had this to say about "security" chief Gardner: "We've taken care of him; you'll never get an interview with him." Gardner disappeared. The operations director of the hotel committed suicide. All relevant files at the Ambassador Hotel were destroyed. (*Adding to the sinister dynamic component of the RFK-assassination story is that a few years ago, the chief LAPD criminalist, DeWayne Wolfer, left the force to work for Gardner and Cesar's former employer, the Ace Detective Agency.-Ed.*)

These relationships are spelled out unmistakably by David E. Scheim in his book *Contract on America: The Mafia Murder of John F. Kennedy* (Shapolsky Books, 1988, p. 293):

a) "As researchers uncovered the evidence implicating Thane Eugene Cesar in Robert Kennedy's murder, an all-too-familiar campaign of terror unfolded." The author details the witnesses who were shot, threatened or who disappeared. Then he states:

b) "... further incidents were described by Charach: 'You see the hotel had Mafia connections too. Mr. Gardner, who was in charge of security, he disappeared; and Cesar told me, "well we've taken care of him; you'll never get an interview with him." Now I don't know whether he's in the bottom of the Pacific Ocean, or where he is, but I haven't been able, you know, to locate him. And then another man, who was overall operations director, he committed suicide, and of course the files were destroyed, we found out at the Ambassador Hotel.'" (page 293)

Cesar was chosen to guard Kennedy by the head of security at the Ambassador Hotel, William Gardner. It was, indeed, Gardner, who selected Thane Eugene Cesar, who was identified by Ace security guard, Elmer Boomhower, as displaying "an orange and black pamphlet that read 'Kill Kennedy'! The Ambassador Hotel ownership, moreover, is tied to mobster Mickey Cohen and to the family of G. David Schine, companion of Roy Cohn. (He was reputedly Kennedy's bitter rival on the staff of Joseph McCarthy's Senate investigating committee and years later turned up as titular producer of *The French Connection*.) The Ace Guard Service, hired by Gardner and for whom Cesar worked, had been associated with the hotel since Mickey Cohen's gambling operations there first required their services.

In *Contract on America* David E. Scheim documents the ties between Ace Guard Service and the U.S. National Bank of San Diego, a laundering operation for organized crime.

Crime investigator, Alex Botus, determined that Cesar had been arrested in Tijuana, Mexico, after performing "jobs" for John "The Candyman" Alessio, who had been a director of the conglomerate controlling U.S. National Bank.

Charach was able to establish Cesar's ties to John "Candyman" Alessio through the good offices of Roy Cohn.

Involved with Alessio were Thomas "Tommy Gun" Riccardi and Joe "Fish" Fischetti. It was Riccardi who was identified by witnesses at the scene of the kitchen-pantry, barking orders to Cesar and the other Ace security guards, "Kill him. Kill him."

Moldea has assailed this author for citing the relationship of Cesar to Alessio, contending that Cesar has never had criminal ties and no relationship to Alessio.

Davis writes; however, (op. cit. 352) "But what of Thane Ce-

sar? How was he connected to the mob? In his extensive investigation of the Robert Kennedy assassination, Theodore Charach discovered that Cesar had strong ties to California mobster John Alessio, a friend of Mickey Cohen's and gambling king of San Diego, who three years after the assassination would be sentenced to federal prison for skimming millions from San Diego racetrack revenues.

Theodore Charach recounted to the author his conversations with Roy Cohn who confirmed the role of Alessio and his mob collaborators. Cohn acknowledged the desire of John Mitchell, later Nixon's Attorney General, to remove "Robert Kennedy."

Mickey Cohen led mob financing of Richard Nixon's entry



A documentary film company, headed by Theodore Charach, retrieved Cesar's gun from Arkansas during their investigations into the RFK assassination. Thane Eugene Cesar's gun is pictured above.



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into politics. All Nixon's Congressional campaigns in the 1940s and 1950s were financed by organized crime. Cohen contributed \$51,000 for Nixon in 1946 and raised \$75,000 from the Las Vegas mob for Nixon's Senatorial campaign in 1950.

Nixon's mob support committee in 1968 for the Presidency included Allen Dorfman, the Teamster's financial consultant in Chicago. This author has FBI documents discussing Dorfman's threats to Robert Kennedy and his ties to Jack Ruby. Ruby's role in the murder in 1939 of Leon Cooke, President of the Scrap Iron and Waste Handler's local in Chicago, was part of the FBI's efforts to destroy the Teamsters and to use the Mafia as its instrument. Ruby was a close friend of Mickey Cohen and boasted of his affair with Cohen's then fiancée.

Indeed, a principal financial supporter of Nixon's 1968 Presidential campaign was San Diego millionaire C. Arnholt Smith. It was Smith who controlled the U.S. National Bank, which collapsed when Smith was indicted for "grand theft," having siphoned off nearly \$400,000,000.

The *New York Times* noted "Mr. Smith's long business and personal relationship with John S. Alessio ... the most obvious example of Mr. Smith's connections to organized crime." Alessio contributed \$26,000 to Nixon's 1968 Presidential campaign while he "fixed arrests for Thane Eugene Cesar" (*New York Times*, September 10, 1973, cited in Scheim op. cit. p. 299).

"... Given Sirhan's connections to associates of Mickey Cohen's, Cesar's connection to John Alessio, Cohen's long-standing relationship with the Ambassador Hotel, his fear of a Robert Kennedy presidency and his friendship with such determined enemies of Kennedy's as Carlos Marcello ... it is not difficult to envision ... a Mafia conspiracy to assassinate Robert Kennedy ... in which Sirhan could have been recruited to act as a decoy while expert marksman Thane Cesar delivered the coup de grace."

David Scheim reaches identical conclusions from parallel but independent evidence: "This same group had been tied to the Ambassador Hotel since the 1940s when Mickey Cohen ran a major gambling operation there. And it was again the Mafia ... that may have been linked to Thane Eugene Cesar.

"Cesar was assigned to guard the Ambassador Hotel on the night of June 4 by the Ace Guard Service, a firm that had protected the U.S. National Bank in San Diego; the bank collapsed in 1973 following several dealings with organized crime figures. ... Cesar was only carried by Ace as a temporary employee. According to California State records, ... it had been

months and months since Cesar had worked for Ace. ... Cesar was called in at the last minute to substitute at the Ambassador for a regular employee of the firm."

"According to Bottus (Alex Bottus, a well known crime investigator from Chicago) Cesar had been arrested several times in Tijuana, Mexico, although independent confirmation of these arrests has proven impossible, ... Cesar's detention 'was fixed by none other than John Alessio,' an alleged mobster from California who had been a director of the conglomerate that controlled the U.S. National Bank."

"And Cesar's organized crime ties ... were demonstrated by his whole track record. You trace him either through Missouri, Arkansas, and go down like I said into Chula Vista, you get

down in University City, you get down into Tijuana, they all know about Cesar. And this guy's got connections, like crazy," (page 294)

Moldea asserts falsely that there is no evidence for Cesar knowing Alessio, of Cesar being arrested in Tijuana or of Ace Guard Service having any links to the U.S. National Bank of San Diego.

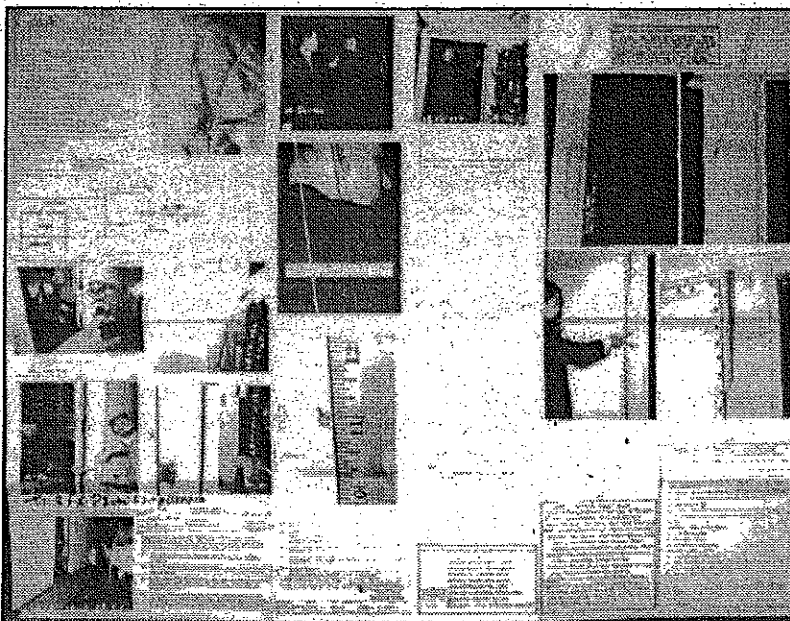
Karl Uecker's unforeseen and audacious manhandling of Sirhan may well have prevented Sirhan from hitting Kennedy. The job of the planted security guard, Cesar, altered from that of eliminating and silencing Sirhan. Instead, he

completed what Sirhan had not - the execution of Robert Kennedy.

## By Any Other Name

Moldea attacked this author for citing the role of Frank Donneroumas, alleging a spelling of this name which conflicts with the record. More significantly, Moldea, who has fancied himself a writer about mob doings, now maintains that Donneroumas has no mob ties and no more serious record than "a drunk driving arrest." Moldea further contends that the owner of the ranch where Sirhan worked was not Desi Arnaz but Bert C. Altfillisch. Moldea is obliged to fudge this issue in order to evade the mob associations of Arnaz and their implications for the role of Sirhan.

The name "Frank Donneroumas" is spelled as I spell it by John H. Davis in his book *Mafia Kingfish: Carlos Marcello and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy*, McGraw Hill, 1989, p. 351. It is spelled this way but with an extra "m" by David E. Scheim (op. cit. p. 177, 288, 294). It is spelled the latter way by Christian and Turner (op. cit. p. 220).



A 1975 poster of RFK murder scene showing extra bullet holes and other conflicting data to the official story. Dr. Noguchi can be seen pointing out bullet holes in the door frame.

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No one uses Moldea's spelling for this name.

More to the point, Moldea maintains that "Frank Donneroummas ... has never been identified by any law enforcement agency as 'a mobster.'"

In *Contract on America*, Scheim writes of "Frank Donneroummas, alias Henry Ramistella of New Jersey, whose rap sheet showed several arrests in New York and Miami." (Written over and over in Sirhan's notebooks were the words "Dona Donaruma Donaruma Frank Donaruma pl please ple please pay to 5 please pay to the order of Sirhan Sirhan the amount of 5...")

On page 177, Scheim writes, "Sirhan was to receive money from Frank Donneroummas, alias Henry Ramistella, a criminal who was Sirhan's boss at the Corona horse-breeding farm."

In *Mafia Kingfish*, (page 351-352), Davis writes, "While Sirhan was working as an exercise boy at the mob-controlled Santa Anita racetrack, he had been befriended by a horse-trainer, Frank Donneroummas, who eventually got him a job as a groom at a horse breeding ranch in Corona belonging in part to the mob-controlled entertainer and Cuban exile leader Desi Arnaz, who counted Mickey Cohen among his circle of acquaintances. In his diary, Sirhan repeatedly referred to Donneroummas as a good friend who made him happy by paying him sums of money for various unspecified jobs.

"Frank Donneroummas fled the Corona ranch sometime before the assassination. When the FBI finally caught up with him, ten months after the crime, it discovered that he was, in reality, Henry Ramistella, a minor racketeer from New Jersey (He had a rap sheet containing records of arrests for theft, violation of banking laws, narcotics possession and perjury) [brackets in original, emphasis added] who had been banished from several eastern racetracks. In addition, the FBI found that both Ramistella and Sirhan Sirhan had been good friends with Corona ranch owner Desi Arnaz, a known acquaintance of Mickey Cohen."

### Sirhan & The Mob

In *The Assassination of Robert F. Kennedy*, by Turner and Christian (p. 220) they write, "Sirhan quit his job at the race tracks ... Shortly thereafter he scribbled in his notebook: 'I have secured a position as assistant to the manager of Corona Breeding Farm — Dezi (sic) Arnaz's Res Sirhan. (An allusion to his residence at Arnaz's ranch) ... The farm was the Granja Vista del Rio Ranch near Corona owned by a group that included Desi Arnaz.

"Sirhan ... secured the job through a Frank Donneroummas, whom he had known at the Santa Anita track and who reputedly was a relative of the ranch manager, Bert C. Altfillisch (emphases added).

Donneroummas' true name was Henry R. Ramistella, but he had employed the alias to hide a long rap sheet aquired in New York and Miami (emphases added). Donneroummas was Sirhan's boss at the ranch."

Hence, Moldea's claim that Ramistella/Donneroummas had no more serious charge than a failure to report for weekends after a drunk driving arrest is exposed as a fabrication.

Moldea's attempts to suppress the name and ownership of the Corona Ranch are only part of his problem. Sirhan Sirhan worked at the mob-controlled Santa Anita racetrack before

being hired at the Corona horse ranch by "trainer" Frank Donneroummas. Donneroummas left the Corona Ranch shortly before the assassination. It was when he turned up in New Jersey that it was discovered he was, in fact, Henry Ramistella, a mobster with a long rap sheet.

The Corona Ranch was owned indeed by Desi Arnaz, "a known acquaintance of Mickey Cohen." It emerges, moreover, that just prior to Sirhan's trial, his chief counsel, Grant Cooper, was the attorney for co-defendants of Chicago mob boss Johnny Roselli in the Friar's Club card-cheating scandal. Sirhan's other defense counsel, Russell Parsons, was the mob attorney investigated by the McClellan Rackets Committee — whose chief counsel was Robert Kennedy. Parsons, moreover, had written a letter of recommendation for Mickey Cohen to enable Cohen to obtain race tracks and other holdings.

Moldea dismisses out of hand the possibility that anyone can be programmed to commit murder. His denials of the existence of mind control programs on the part of the U.S. government go beyond those of the Senate investigators of the very CIA operations which Moldea ascribes to paranoia. Senate investigators maintained that such operations existed but were discontinued.

My references to Sirhan Sirhan and his subjection to deep hypnosis, wherein he was programmed with a subsequent memory block, have been the generic subject of two Senate hearings, notably *Project MKULTRA: The CIA's Program of Research into Behavioral Modification, Joint Hearing Before the Select Committee on Intelligence and the Sub-Committee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources, 95th Congress, First Session, August 3, 1977, Chairperson, Daniel K. Inouye, Vice-Chairperson, Barry Goldwater.*

Moldea's glib dismissal of the subject does not survive familiarity with the evidence. See *Operation Mind Control* by W. H. Bowart (Dell, 1978). In his introduction, Richard Condon, author of *The Manchurian Candidate*, addresses evidence that "government agencies perfected methods sustained by the taxpayers to control the minds of people who shot the Kennedys, Martin Luther King, and Orlando Letelier. ... It might be wise to consider Walter Bowart's real evidence herein, then do what we can to protect ourselves ..."

### Programming Assassination

Bowart discusses (page 169) the investigations by Dr. Joseph L. Bernd of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Describing programs for political assassination, he posed the question "Could people be influenced to commit political assassination as a consequence of hypnotic influence?" His further question was "Could the hypnotic suggestion of this action be achieved in a way which could leave the subject assassin unconscious of and unable to recall to consciousness the fact that his violent act was made as a consequence of hypnotic suggestion?" He determined that both were possible and that such programs had long been underway. ("Assassination or Hypnosis: Political Influence or Conspiracy.")

Sirhan has no recall of the murder of Robert Kennedy and was in a trance-like condition. His notebooks contain endless, mechanical, repetitive injunctions, such as "RFK must die." Dr. Eduard Simson was the clinical psychologist who worked with inmates at San Quentin. He interviewed and tested Sirhan for

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twenty weeks.

In his remarkable report, he stated, "Sirhan was the center of a drama, the true center of which ... lies very much concealed and unknown to the general public. Was he merely a double, a stand-in sent there to draw attention? Was he at the scene to replace someone else? ...The handwriting in his notebooks differs drastically from the handwriting on numerous test materials.... Whether someone else wrote the notebooks or whether they were written under some special influence, such as hypnosis, is entirely unsolved. If someone hypnotized him, when the notebooks were written, who was it?" (Turner and Christian, op. cit. page 202)

"He submitted an affidavit to the California courts requesting that Sirhan be granted a new trial and that the Robert Kennedy case be re-opened.

"Dr. Simson testified that during Sirhan's trial, the court 'failed to consider' that 'he was prepared by someone ... he was hypnotized by someone.'"

Simson's findings with regard to Sirhan Sirhan "were substantiated by the observations of the chief psychiatrist at San Quentin, Dr. D. G. Schmidt." (Ibid., page 201)

## CIA & Mind-Control

The *San Francisco Examiner* (September 2, 1977) discussed the CIA's MKULTRA Mind-Control Program. "The program included a study called Operation Artichoke to determine if a person could be induced to involuntarily commit an assassination." (Ibid. p. 215)

Simson actually sought to "unlock" Sirhan's mind but, upon making this known, Simson's visits were terminated immediately by James Park, the Associate Warden at San Quentin. Simson stated with reference to the notebooks of Sirhan Sirhan "I strongly suspect the notebooks are a forgery, for the thinking reflected in them is foreign to the Sirhan I carefully studied."

Turner and Christian discuss Dr. William Joseph Bryan, Jr. of Los Angeles. "After the war he reportedly became a CIA consultant with the Agency's experimentation with mind control and behavior modification." Bryan's expertise was deployed "during the Korean War as ... 'chief of all medical survival training for the United States Air Force, which meant the brainwashing section.'" (Turner and Christian, p. 226; Interview on KNX-FM, Los Angeles, February 12, 1972.)

Bryan had been technical adviser for the filming of *The*

### *Manchurian Candidate.*

W.H. Bowart devotes four chapters in *Operation Mind Control* to case studies of CIA, Office of Naval Intelligence and other governmental agency programs undertaken for the purpose of conditioning subjects to become political assassins. "In July, 1975, the *Sunday Times* in London quoted a U.S. Navy psychologist who admitted that U.S. Naval Intelligence had taken convicted murderers from military prisons, conditioned them as political assassins, and then placed them in American embassies around the world." (page 161). (See Bowart's four chapters: A School for Assassins; The Face of a Zombie; The Lone Nuts; Another Hypno-Patsy). The specific and documented instances in which individuals were subjected to deep hypnosis and programmed to carry out political assassination are set forth.

Similarly, John Marks, co-author with Victor Marchetti of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, examines this subject specifically in *The*

*Search for the Manchurian Candidate: The CIA and Mind Control—The Story of the Agency's Secret Efforts to Control Human Behavior.*

It is described at length in his chapter, "Brainwashing," an account of Dr. Ewen Cameron's protracted program of "deprogramming," defined as "breaking up existing patterns of behavior ... by means of particularly intensive electro-shocks; usually combined with prolonged drug-induced sleep. Here was a psychiatrist willing — indeed eager — to wipe the human mind totally clean. ... Creating such a state, in which a man who knew too much could be made to forget, had long been a prime objective of the ARTICHOKE and MKULTRA programs." (page 133)

Apart from hypnosis, these governmental programs were carried out over decades on human subjects. "In standard, professional electroshock, doctors gave the subject a single dose of 110 volts lasting a fraction of a second, once a day or every other day. By contrast, Cameron used a form 20 to 40 times more intense, two or three times daily, with the power turned up to 150 volts. The frequent screams ... that echoed through the hospital did not deter Cameron or most of his associates in their attempts to 'depattem' their subjects completely." (op. cit. page 135)

Martin Cannon reaches similar findings in his study *The Controllers: Mind Control and Project MKULTRA (1994)*. Not unreasonably, having described the sustained programming to which living people have been subjected and the behaviors they

Friday 31 January 689 Friday 31 January 69  
RFR RFR RFR RFR RFR  
Robert F Kennedy Robert F Kennedy  
RFR RFR RFR RFR RFR must  
die RFR must die RFR must die RFR  
must die RFR. Must die RFR must die  
RFR must die RFR must die RFR  
must die Robert Kennedy is going to die  
Robert is going to die. Robert is  
going to die. RFR Sirhan Sirhan  
Robert is going to die  
Who killed Kennedy? I dont know  
I dont know I dont know

Pictured above is a sample of some of Sirhan's scribbles found in his notebook. It's interesting to note the discrepancies in the different hand writing samples provided by the prosecution as evidence to his guilt.

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have been induced to manifest unawares, he concludes: "A spectre haunts the democratic nations — the spectre of technofascism. All the powers of the espionage empire and the scientific establishment have entered into an unholy alliance to evoke this spectre: Psychiatrist and spy, Dulles and Delgado, specialists and clandestine operators. A mind is a terrible thing to waste and a worse thing to commandeer." (page 61)

Seven years after the assassination of Robert Kennedy, a former high ranking U.S. intelligence officer, who had developed the Psychological Stress Evaluator (PSE), analyzed Sirhan Sirhan and all his psychiatric sessions and interviews.

The PSE was developed by McQuiston and also by George O'Toole while O'Toole was in the CIA. It is more sophisticated and more accurate than the polygraph. It detects the presence of involuntary stress during speech, which correlates to lying or truth-telling in a subject.

"The PSE instrument is made by Dektor Counterintelligence and Security, Inc., Springfield, Virginia. It is used regularly by some 1,500 law enforcement agencies in the United States and is admitted as evidence in the courts of at least five states." McQuiston came to the following conclusions with respect to his study of Sirhan Sirhan, "I'm convinced that Sirhan wasn't aware of what he was doing. He was in a hypnotic trance when he pulled the trigger. ... Everything in the PSE charts tells me that someone else was involved in the assassination and that Sirhan was programmed through hypnosis to kill RFK. What we have here is a real live "Manchurian Candidate." (Operation Mind Control, op.cit. page 226.)

### Deep Hypnosis

Dr. John W. Heisse, Jr., President of the International Society of Stress Analysis, agreed with McQuiston. Heisse studied hundreds of people subjected to deep hypnosis using the PSE. He came to the following conclusion after studying Sirhan Sirhan: "Sirhan kept repeating certain phrases. This clearly revealed he had been programmed to put himself into a trance. This is something he could not have learned by himself. ... I believe Sirhan was brainwashed under hypnosis. ... At that stage someone implanted the idea, 'Kill RFK,' and under hypnosis the brainwashed Sirhan accepted it." (Ibid. p. 226)

Dr. Herbert Spiegel wrote the introduction to *The Control of Candy Jones* by Donald Bain (Playboy Press, 1976). Candy Jones, a leading model of the 1940s and 1950s, on the cover of eleven magazines and a Broadway actress, had been subjected unawares to deep hypnosis in a CIA program. For twelve years she was used in CIA mind control programs and served as a courier without knowing this in her conscious life. Her husband ultimately brought her to a therapist who was able, through hypnosis, to assist in her recovery. The program was acknowledged.

Dr. Spiegel, who helped analyse the case of Candy Jones, a totally consummated program of deep hypnotic manipulation by the CIA, drew the following conclusions about Sirhan:

"It is very possible to distort and change somebody's mind through a number of hypnotic sessions. It can be described as brainwashing. The mind is cleared of its old emotions and values, which are replaced by implanting other suggestions. This technique was probably used with Sirhan. From my re-

search, I think Sirhan was subjected to hypnotic treatment."

The program of assassination revealed in over 23,000 pages of released government documents, was implemented against targets in countries across the world. As Malcolm X observed after the murder of John F. Kennedy, "The chickens have come home to roost."

In one of his last published articles, Allard Lowenstein, former Congressman, who joined the investigation of the murder of Robert Kennedy, wrote in the *Saturday Review*, February 2, 1977, "James R. Hoffa did not vanish after a rendezvous with a James Earl Ray 'acting alone;' loose nuts do not do in the Yablonskis; new editions of Lee Harvey Oswald or Sirhan Sirhan do not murder Sam Giancana in the basement of his home under twenty-four hour guard by the FBI."

### Who Rules America?

"It is time to accept the fact that the question is not whether groups with such power exist, but how these groups use their power, who their allies are - in and out of government - and what can be done to protect democratic process against forces that operate out of sight and beyond the limits of the law." Not long after writing these words, Allard Lowenstein died at the hands of a "lone assassin."

These intimate ties between the Mafia and State power should surprise no student of Los Angeles "law enforcement." Hugh C. McDonald, author of *Appointment in Dallas: The Final Solution to the Assassination of JFK* (Zebra, 1975), as Chief of Detectives for the L.A. County Sheriff's Department, was in control and command of 600 detective sergeants. He was also second in command of the Military Intelligence School at Ft. McArthur, CA, the largest in the U.S., and an F.B.I. operative and contract employee of the CIA. (p. 11)

McDonald's account of the contract killer, intersecting with the mob and U.S. intelligence, as the hit man in the killing of John Kennedy, is a paradigm of official murder in America.

In *Official and Confidential, The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover*, by Anthony Summers (G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1993) and in *J. Edgar Hoover, The Man and His Secrets*, by Curt Gentry (Norton, 1991), the long relationship between U.S. intelligence and the Mafia is set forth.

### F.D.R. & The Mafia

Since the 1920s, organized crime has been deployed by the FBI to take control of trade unions in order to break strikes and terrorize the rank and file. Franklin Roosevelt enlisted Jake and Meyer Lansky to "manage" Batista in Cuba. Lucky Luciano was on assignment from the O.S.S. and F.D.R. to control the waterfront. The Mafia was funded and armed to eliminate the workers' movement in Sicily and in Italy at large. Trade unionists, socialists and communists were marked for elimination.

It is a symbiosis of deep and long-standing importance to decision makers in the United States. It is reflected in the fact the Church Committee disclosed that Johnny Roselli and Sam Giancana, the Mafia heads in Chicago, organized CIA assassinations at home and abroad. These relationships have defined every administration for over sixty years. U.S. Department of

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Commerce figures indicate that approximately two percent of the population in the United States own and control nearly 90 percent of the national wealth. Robert Townsend, former President of American Express and Avis, estimated in *Up the Organization*, that 5,000 people in the U.S. control the commanding heights of the U.S. economy.

### Who Are The Kennedys?

Why target the Kennedys? Capitalism has been in acute crisis since the Great Depression. The New Deal did not solve it. Huge arms production put people to work for the merchants of death in America. The U.S. capitalist economy has been dependent upon it ever since. In the past forty years, \$9.3 trillion have gone to the Pentagon, exceeding the value of all other production in the United States. A vast military industrial complex derives huge profit from it.

By the end of the 1950s, Eastern capital was alarmed by the deficit financing and vast debt needed to sustain an arms-addicted economy. Rival capitalist currencies were challenging a dollar fast dropping in value.

The Kennedy brothers came into office with the agenda of banking capital and the plans of General James Gavin to combine U.S. Special Forces with indigenous troops, the better to crush rebellion by the poor. It was counter-revolution on the cheap. This was played out in Laos from 1962, where U.S. death squads murdered 50,000 worker and peasant activists, students and intelligentsia. The killing of JFK in a virtual coup d'état permitted massive intervention — and profits of \$800 billion. The stakes were high. State control was needed to secure them.

The Kennedys, however, were in no way concerned with the human cost of preserving corporate capitalist rule. In the summer of 1965, Robert Kennedy was enlisted by Lyndon Johnson to facilitate the setting up of the Council of Generals, which brought Generals Nasution and Suharto from Indonesia to Washington, preparatory to the U.S. organized coup d'état in Djakarta which unfolded in October 1965.

This author was present in Djakarta, Indonesia when, U.S. naval and air power in place, the generals coordinated by Robert Kennedy proceeded to butcher nearly one million people in three months — more than the death toll of two years in Indochina.

Those who would romanticize the Kennedy brothers, or the sector of capital for which they were the spokespersons, only provide protective cover for the structure of power and a system which requires assassination, no less than mass murder, to sustain its rule. This applies, in particular, to those analysts who claim to be concerned about the roots of political assassination in the United States. It reflects nothing so much as the limits of liberalism when such critics foster expectations and illusions about the political parties of the ruling class in America, let alone the formal facade of Congress, the purposes of which are to deflect political energy away from any independent challenge to corporate capitalist rule.

Every putative governmental investigation — executive or congressional — has served to ferret out information, data and contacts of those who challenge official lies, the better to intimidate critics and to obfuscate and suppress their findings. They solicit testimony in order to contain it.

Our responsibility is to expose official murder as endemic and inherent to a capitalist system of economy and of class rule which is incompatible with democratic institutions.

The state is the instrument of the ruling class for managing and maintaining their control. The intelligence agencies and the enforcement arm of this state power, including its partners in organized crime, have characterized every administration, sanctioned, directed and peopled by both the Democratic and Republican parties.

Studying the state terror, of which the execution of the Kennedy brothers was but the little continuation, has absorbed huge portions of energy on the part of those who imagine themselves opposed to its cause. When we ask, however, "Who killed Julius Caesar?" do we contend that the murderous maneuvers of the rulers of Rome warranted support for one cabal as opposed to the other?

Devouring their own, these conflicts among rival factions within the ruling class reflect a struggle over the spoils between unscrupulous plutocrats — different in class content and moral purpose from the elimination of such leaders of movements of workers and the oppressed as Rosa Luxemburg, Leon Trotsky, Joe Hill, Martin Luther King, Patrice Lumumba, Che Guevara and Malcolm X.

It is not the crisis which has changed nor the evil which is new. The real struggle for state power in our country is at root, a profound class combat between the many and the degenerate and powerful few.

### Taking Power

The mass of people in this country aspire to something better. We must build an enormous movement and a political party based on rank and file trade unionists. It will encompass the unorganized, those who work in every walk of life, the greatly exploited and the vast, overwhelming majority who comprise the disenfranchised in America. Our task is nothing less than the transformation of a state, the present rulers of which will continue perpetually to deploy official terror and widely orchestrated murder to maintain their rapacious and bloody rule.

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