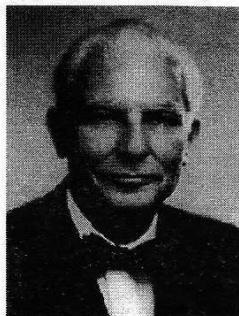


Thomas J. Dodd & Son: Corruption of Blood?

By Lisa Pease

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.
— United States Constitution, Article 3, Section 3

In his roman a clef titled *Corruption of Blood*, Robert K. Tanenbaum, former Deputy Chief Counsel for the HSCA, suggests, in the guise of fiction, two interesting elements which may have contributed to the inability of the HSCA to fulfill its mandate to settle the questions surrounding the Kennedy assassination. In the novel, character Hank Dobbs appears to be quietly sabotaging the HSCA, partly due to something about his father's past. These characters are clearly suggestive of committee member Christopher Dodd, now currently chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and his father, Thomas Dodd.



Thomas J. Dodd

Thomas Dodd has long been suspected of having some sort of connection with Lee Harvey Oswald. It seems to many odd that when Oswald was hanging out with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC), allegedly ordering weapons from the mail order gun companies of Seaport Traders and Klein's Sporting Goods, that Senator Thomas Dodd was investigating the FPCC and mail order guns—from places that included Klein's and Seaport. Coincidence? Perhaps. But the record shows far more serious implications about Thomas Dodd. How many Senators, for example, when in trouble with the Senate, get a letter in their defense from the head of the Central Intelligence Agency?

The story of the rise and fall of the late Tom Dodd is an American tragedy, a story of how power corrupts even the best of us. How far Dodd's corruption took him is still up for debate. But the facts outlined here are not. And how much does the son Chris resemble the father? Should Chris Dodd's role with the HSCA be called into question?

Before the Fall

Thomas J. Dodd was a likable, charismatic man. Tall, dark and handsome, Dodd graduated from Yale Law School with a shining future ahead of him. After a brief stint as a Special Agent of the FBI, he was appointed Deputy Director of the new, experimental National Youth Association, a program designed to help underprivileged youth find work. Dodd would later tell colleagues this had been the most rewarding period of his career.¹

In 1938, Dodd was appointed special assistant to the Attorney General and became a charter member of the first Justice Department Civil Rights section. There he fought the Klu Klux Klan, among others. "We won some cases, and lost some, mostly lost," he said in later years.² Dodd was not called to serve in World War

II due to a high blood pressure condition. Instead, he prosecuted draft dodgers. In later years, he would go to great lengths to minimize his son Jeremy's time in the service.

Dodd was a successful prosecutor, who had won convictions against Nazi spies and mineral moguls. Dodd's record earned him an appointment to the Nuremberg trials of the German Nazi high command. Dodd was the second highest ranking man in the delegation. The Nuremberg trials are a separate story, but hints of unsavory happenings behind the scenes linger. Key evidence disappeared. Despite the efforts of the head of the delegation, Supreme Court Justice

Robert Jackson, to prosecute not just the military leaders but key industrialists, these people were excluded. Shady events caused a break between OSS head "Wild Bill" Donovan and Jackson when Donovan wanted to give certain Nazis—one of them Hjalmar Schacht—a chance to defend themselves through testimony since some had been of help to American intelligence efforts during the war. Jackson wanted to stick to the documentary record, believing the Nazis would lie to protect themselves.³ Where Dodd stood in these debates is not known. But clues exist. When Franz von Papen, whom Dodd had interrogated, was granted a reprieve, Dodd bought him a box of Cuban cigars.⁴ According to Dodd's top assistant and speechwriter James Boyd:

The Nuremberg ordeal had a profound impact on Dodd. For twenty years he has maintained silence about the most important aspects of his participation. He has never written about the trial, as have lesser participants, ... Nor would he answer serious inquiries from historians seeking to reconstruct the trial.⁵

Boyd went on to note:

Whatever the reasons for his uncharacteristic reticence—whether humility, or a reaction to the horrors unearthed there, or remorse over some aspect of that searing experience—Dodd returned from Nuremberg a changed man. Outwardly he had aged; his hair had whitened at thirty-nine. Inwardly he had become an ideological Cold Warrior, his views on public issues dominated by a preoccupation with the Communist menace.⁶

After Nuremberg

For a man of such views, joining the CIA would have seemed a likely option. Dodd did in fact have an overt flirtation with the CIA. He joined, briefly, CIA officer Cord Meyer's United World Federalists, becoming the President of Connecticut's chapter. Dodd later pulled out, saying one-worldism was unrealistic and unat-

tainable.⁷

After a failed bid for Governor of Connecticut in 1948, Dodd returned to private practice. When Joseph McCarthy's anti-Communist preachings rolled through Connecticut, Dodd, then working for Senator Brien McMahon, denounced McCarthy's demagoguery, helping the Senator win reelection. When McMahon died in 1952, Dodd hoped to take McMahon's seat, but the state party leader tapped another, encouraging Dodd to run instead for a House seat. Dodd was the only Democrat to win national office in that state in 1952. Dodd lost his 1956 reelection bid for the same seat. Ever the fighter, Dodd began aiming at the 1958 Senate election.

In the interim, Dodd became a registered agent for the Government of Guatemala, only recently installed after the CIA coup that ousted Arbenz. He was paid by Guatemala \$50,000 a year for his services. Despite this background, Dodd gained a coveted seat on the Foreign Relations Committee.

Perhaps due to his association with Guatemala, Dodd became friends with Thomas B. "Tommy the Cork" Corcoran, the United Fruit Company's corporate liaison to the CIA during the CIA's anti-Arbenz operations. Dodd's service to Guatemala ostensibly ended the day before he entered the Senate in 1959. Columnist Drew Pearson noted acidly:

Foreign agents are not the most unprejudiced people to appoint to the supposedly unprejudiced Foreign Relations Committee, and Dodd showed his prejudice by once offering a \$5 million amendment to the foreign aid bill for Guatemala. But Johnson pushed Dodd into the post anyway.⁸

Dodd and Johnson were so close that at one point LBJ briefly considered Dodd for the Vice Presidential slot.

The Subcommittee Investigations

Dodd's star rose quickly in the Senate. He positioned himself early as a fervent anti-Communist. He once was so upset that ABC aired a program which featured Alger Hiss that he demanded an FCC investigation of ABC.⁹ He headed important subcommittee investigations. Two of these would touch on areas in the life of Lee Harvey Oswald.

As head of the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, he probed mail order firearms. In a recent issue of *The Assassination Chronicles*, George Michael Evica alleges that:

Strong circumstantial evidence supports the conclusion that Senator Thomas Dodd (or someone close to Dodd with access to his Committee files) ordered weapons in the name of either Oswald or "Hidell."¹⁰

Evica adds that "beyond speculation," he has "two unimpeachable sources" who confirm the above. It's unfortunate Evica has not shared his sources on this, and that this tantalizing allegation remains dangling before us. But we can know for a fact that Dodd was interested in the places from which the Oswald weapons came. In his committee hearings, Dodd reported on a steelworker who had committed armed robbery with a gun purchased through the mail from Klein's Sporting Goods in Chicago.¹¹ This was merely a passing reference to Klein's, but the committee spent a good deal of time on the other place of an alleged Oswald purchase—Seaport Traders of Los Angeles. In a curious development to those who

follow the Robert Kennedy assassination, Manny Pena, in charge of the RFK investigation for the Los Angeles Police Department, was a witness to Dodd's committee on Seaport's activities.

One Dodd committee investigator—whom Boyd described as "a mentally disturbed son of a friend of the Senator's, who collected submachine guns and insisted on carrying a revolver at all times"—

was caught trying to smuggle guns and ammunition into Hyannisport during one of President Kennedy's speaking engagements there. When caught, the investigator threw a temper tantrum.¹² Several authors have speculated that perhaps Oswald too was secretly working for Dodd's committee.

Another of Dodd's subcommittees was actively investigating the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) with which Oswald was also involved. Bear in mind that while Dodd's committee was investigating the FPCC offi-

cially, the FBI had their fingers in this pie as well. And behind the scenes, James McCord (top CIA officer later arrested at the Watergate break-in) and David Atlee Phillips were engaged in FPCC activities of their own.

Among the people called to testify was the vocally anti-CIA chief of the New York chapter of the FPCC, Richard Gibson. Curiously, under Gibson, the FPCC was also actively supporting not just Fidel Castro but Congo leader Patrice Lumumba, another target of a CIA assassination plot.¹³ And even more curiously, after the Kennedy assassination, the rabid anti-CIA activist Gibson became an informant for the CIA,¹⁴ prompting the question of whether he was ever truly anti-CIA, or a plant within the FPCC. Supporting that suspicion is the fact that while head of the New York office of the FPCC, Gibson continued to receive a fellowship from CBS for study at Columbia University, a university with close ties to the CIA-friendly Rockefellers. Dodd also asked Gibson point blank a question which raises another Rockefeller connection to the FPCC. Dodd asked Gibson if he knew of any other bank account of the FPCC, *aside from the one at Chase Manhattan Bank*.¹⁵ The more one learns about the FPCC, the more one wonders if the whole organization was not originally set up as a typical "false flag" recruitment program from the start.

Dodd and his CIA Witnesses

Dodd had a most interesting set of witnesses appear before his committees, including Manny Pena, Richard Gibson, and even the man who would later tell the HSCA where to find Oswald's associate George DeMohrenschildt: Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans. Some of Dodd's witnesses turned out to be CIA assets. On June 10, 1963, for example, Dodd introduced into the Senate the Ardsley-on-Hudson conference report, sponsored by Freedom House and the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, a group which included such CIA-backers as Clare Booth Luce and Admiral Arleigh Burke. Dodd entered the report titled "What Can We Do About Cuba?" into the *Congressional Record*, prefaced with these comments:

Mr. President, I consider the report ... to be an example of the workings of democracy at its best. Here were private citizens with a genuine concern over the course of hemispheric affairs, coming together for the purpose of

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One can't help but gasp at the chutzpah of Dodd calling these people "private citizens," as well as the brashness of the CIA pawning off on the U.S. Senate what in retrospect seems to have been an Agency-backed report.

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exploring one of the most critical problems which confronts our Government....¹⁶

Private citizens? The participants included Hal Hendrix, Virginia Prewett, Paul Bethel, the executive director of the Mullen Company's Cuban Freedom Committee, and several others with varying degrees of CIA connections. One can't help but gasp at the chutzpah of Dodd calling these people "private citizens," as well as the brashness of the CIA pawning off on the U.S. Senate what in retrospect seems to have been an Agency-backed report—a clear violation of their charter prohibiting them from operating domestically. Could Dodd really have been so ignorant of who was behind this report? That seems unlikely, as Dodd's closeness to the CIA would be revealed when his own reputation came under fire in 1966.

Dodd vs. Kennedy over Katanga

While Dodd's views on issues often mirrored those of the CIA's, he found himself at odds with those of President Kennedy. One conflict became so enormous it drew press attention from Dodd watcher Drew Pearson. Pearson's story led to some Subcommittee questioning of Dodd. Pearson wrote:

The Democrat who has caused the Kennedy administration the most trouble lately is Senator Tom Dodd of Connecticut...

First, he made a full-dress speech on the Senate floor attacking his own administration's position in the Congo. Significantly, this speech was published in Elizabethville, capital of Katanga, a few hours before it was delivered in the Senate....

Later, Senator Dodd went to the Congo and in a series of talks with President Tshombe he told the breakaway Congo leader that the State Department was influenced by Communists, and proceeded to encourage him to stand firm against the United Nations.

Meanwhile, President Kennedy was throwing the full weight of his administration behind the United Nations.¹⁷

Dodd was questioned by his own Subcommittee whether or not he used material from a lobbyist for the officially unrecognized breakaway Katanga province in his speeches. Dodd flatly denied this, until a letter written in his own hand was produced in which Dodd stated he had used documents from the lobbyist in "preparing my statements on the Congo situation."¹⁸

Dodd's Excesses

For a man who was very prominently positioned *vis a vis* his Senate hearings on the issue of gun control, it puzzled his staff that he would still take money from arms industry officials. But that was not even the tip of the iceberg. Dodd accepted private charter flights from the officials of a drug company during the time he was investigating them on the Monopoly and Anti-trust Subcommittee. He even accepted a donation from a top employee of that company. Dodd was able to secure, in some cases, ambassadorships for campaign donors. Dodd employed people on his staff who served no visible function. He lied in his campaign finance reports. He double billed his speaking engagements both to the

people for whom he spoke as well as the Senate or his campaign fund, using the rest for personal expenditures. He financed his daughter's wedding through a fundraising dinner presented as a dinner to raise campaign money.¹⁹ Boyd commented on weird trips the Senator made to Florida:

At the expense of the Internal Security Subcommittee, Dodd took numerous trips to Florida, ostensibly to interview witnesses in connection with subcommittee hearings. In view of his refusal to walk across the hall to attend his committee hearings in Washington, these forays to Florida seemed rather dubious....²⁰

At the time of the assassination, Dodd had a book project in the works about Communist subversion in the United States. Actually, Dodd wasn't working on it—his ghost writer Edward B. Lockett was. The book project was canceled in the aftermath of the assassination. Lockett told Congress the contract had been canceled when he and the senator became aware the book would "not be saleable."²¹ The writer's fees were charged to Dodd's office as "preparation of campaign literature," although Lockett at no point ever wrote any campaign literature.²²

November 22, 1963

In an ironic turn of events, it was Dodd's behavior the day of the Kennedy assassination that ultimately sealed his eventual Senate censure. Dodd's staff had become quite uncomfortable with clearly unethical and possibly illegal campaign finance dealings. It appeared to several key staffers that Dodd was using political contributions for personal gain. It also became evident that Dodd's activities in the Senate seemed to mirror political contributions received from private enterprises. Dodd's staff turned a blind eye, partly out of loyalty, partly out of disbelief, and didn't bring themselves to really look at what was happening under their noses. But slowly they found themselves together after hours, piecing together information, trying to justify ever more disturbing patterns.

On Friday, November 22, everything changed. "[O]ur experience with Dodd the day Kennedy died was the guarantee of our mutual fidelity," Dodd's top assistant and speechwriter James Boyd was later to say.²³

The Congressional Record shows Dodd absent from the Senate that day due to a death in the family. Curiously, Boyd mentions no such thing in relation to Dodd's activities this extraordinary day. After the assassination, Dodd wanted to fly immediately back to Washington, D.C. He astonished his staff by claiming that President Johnson had personally requested his presence in D.C. Described an amazed Boyd:

We had spoken with Dodd several times on that memorable afternoon and we knew that the story was a preposterous fabrication, more of his theatrics, this time in petty exploitation of a great tragedy.²⁴

When Dodd was told, upon landing in D.C., that Senator Smathers had arrived before him, wearing a black armband to signify his grief, Dodd again shocked his staff. Boyd wrote:

"Well," said Dodd, "Smathers was a friend of the *old* administration. I am a friend of the *new* administration." [Boyd's emphasis.] We sat in appalled silence as it dawned on us that Dodd considered this a day of victory. Unable to control himself, Dodd launched into a harangue against the man whose flag-draped casket was expected in Washington momentarily. Reaching a bitter climax, Dodd crowed:

"I'll say of John Kennedy what I said of Pope John the day he died. It will take us fifty years to undo the damage he did to us in three years."

"I'll say of John Kennedy what I said of Pope John the day he died. It will take us fifty years to undo the damage he did to us in three years."²⁸

Boyd went on to describe how Dodd even mimicked and derided those who paid tribute to Kennedy. The staff members were so appalled that they walked out on Dodd, shaken and disgusted. Boyd lamented:

Never before had we been offered so unguarded an insight into the self-centered world of Thomas Dodd."²⁸

Exposing Dodd

From that time forward, the staff could no longer explain away what they were discovering. Plans were laid. Dodd's dealings could not continue. The people had to know what was happening to their tax dollars and campaign contributions.

Boyd and the rest knew they could not ask the Senate to investigate one of its own. Dodd's allies there would protect him. So they went to columnist Jack Anderson, who asked for all they could provide. Clandestine copying runs produced 7,000 pages of documentation for Anderson and Drew Pearson. The clock began ticking with the first publication by Anderson in Pearson's Washington "Merry-Go-Round" column of January 24, 1966:

This column has uncovered secret correspondence between Senator Tom Dodd (Dem.-Conn.), the Nuremberg prosecutor, and Julius Klein, the West German agent, showing how Dodd has worked behind the scenes to promote West German interests.

He has delivered laudatory Senate speeches about West Germany, signed letters that Klein has drafted for him, and entertained visitors on Klein's expense account.

When the Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigated Klein's operations as a foreign agent, Dodd used his membership on the committee to soften the impact.

In return, Dodd has accepted expensive gifts from the West German agent (a Persian rug for the Dodd home, for example.)

Klein denied to this column that he had ever sent gifts to Dodd or that the Senator had ever stayed in his apartment, except possibly for brief social calls. This column has evidence proving otherwise.

As early as 1959, for example, Klein was supplying speeches for Dodd. He airmailed a speech on September 4, 1959, for Dodd to deliver on the Senate floor.

"As I told you on the telephone," Klein explained in the accompanying letter, "I am enclosing herewith an address which Harry Blake, of my staff, prepared for you ... the 15th of September will be Chancellor Adenauer's tenth anniversary. You, as a former prosecutor of war crimes of the Nuremberg trials, are the most qualified man in the Senate to remind us of the valued friendship of this staunch old man..."²⁷

Even though the *Washington Post* refused to run this column—and liberally edited following ones of a similar nature—word got around about Dodd. Despite the efforts of powerful people in the Senate to prevent such, a consensus for an investigation of Dodd's relationship to Klein was forming. Another column, published a few days later, was even more devastating. The allegation was made that Dodd had gone to Germany in 1964 with a mission:

To assure Klein's paying clients that the Senate investigation of his foreign agent operations had been misunderstood by the U.S. Senate....

[Dodd's] briefcase was ... stuffed with secret letters and memos from the

general [Klein], telling the Senator exactly whom he was supposed to see and what he was supposed to say."²⁸

Dodd took a daring stance. He called for an FBI investigation, to "clear" his name. He also asked the Justice Department and the FBI to investigate the "theft" of documents from his office. The Senate Ethics Committee had begun their own probe, but some in the Senate feared it would be a whitewash, and called for public hearings on the Dodd case. Soon after, Dodd filed a loud, expensive libel suit against Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson. But within weeks, Dodd dropped nearly all the original charges.

What was Dodd, ex-prosecutor from Nuremberg, doing aiding an agent for West German interests? Dodd was also the author of an introduction for a book by Alfreds Berzins, called *The Unpunished Crime*. Christopher Simpson in *Blowback* wrote of Berzins:

Alfreds Berzins, now deceased, was propaganda minister in the prewar Latvian dictatorship of Karlis Ulmanis. During that time, Berzins "help[ed] put people in concentration camps" according to his CROWCRASS [Central Registry of War Crimes and Security Suspects] wanted report, and was "partially responsible for the deaths of hundreds of Latvians and thousands of Jews." The United States asserted that Berzins was "responsible for murder, ill treatment and deportation of 2000 persons." He was, the United States said, "a fanatic Nazi."²⁹

A possible answer comes from another revelation of Simpson's—that Berzins ended up on the payroll of a CIA-funded organization. He also wrote commentary for a CIA-financed book, which was given wide, free distribution. With hints like these, it's not too difficult to understand why the CIA provided aid to Dodd during these hearings.

Help from Richard Helms

By mid-June, 1966, closed hearings were held on the Dodd matter. Klein was called and asked if he had asked Senator Dodd to intercede with the West Germans on his behalf. Klein certified he had.³⁰ Dodd denied this. With Dodd's credibility on the line, who wrote a letter in an attempt to intercede on Dodd's behalf? None other than Richard Helms, then Deputy Director of the CIA. The letter was presented to the committee by "a representative of the CIA who stated that it was in response to inquiries made by Senator Dodd."³¹ Reported the *New York Times*:

Mr. Helms wrote to Mr. Stennis that Mr. Dodd had asked him to "confirm the fact of his contacts" with the CIA in obtaining "information on Soviet murders, assassinations and kidnapping" in connection with a study by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Mr. Helms wrote that Mr. Dodd and his assistant, David Martin, were in contact with the CIA before and after the trip. The CIA provided "certain background material" on the Stashinsky case, Mr. Helms said, "since a great deal of information about the case was a matter of record and could be made public."

During his testimony, Mr. Dodd said nothing about contacts with the CIA, but Mr. Martin, who accompanied him on the trip, testified that he and the Senator "had substantial contact."

The problem with this excuse for the trip, as Committee Chairman Senator Stennis brought out, was that the Stashinsky trial had already been held over a year and a half earlier, and that mate-

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rial on Stashinsky had been printed at length in an article in *Life* magazine. Stennis also pointed out that the report Dodd put out on the Stashinsky case came a year and a half after he had made his trip.³² Boyd wrote:

...the Stashynski report, which Sonnet [Dodd's lawyer] had waved aloft, turned out to be something of a hoax. Of its famed 157 pages, all but 2½ turned out to be reprints of old public documents that had been moldering in Dodd's files for fourteen months before he went to Germany, plus the transcript of an interview held right in Washington. The remaining 2½ pages consisted simply of an introduction written by David Martin, of which not a word reflected information obtained during the German trip ... So there was nothing new to reveal after all. Finally, under questioning, Dodd admitted as much.³³

Could it be that Dodd, trying to hide the real reason for his trip, actually called in a marker with the head of the CIA, Richard Helms? What favors must Dodd have done the Agency in the past to be able to get such a favor from the notoriously close-mouthed Helms?

But Klein proved to be the lesser of Dodd's crimes. His staff exposed deliberate double-billing of expenses; the use of campaign funds for private soirées, including his daughter's wedding; the cancellation of Senate investigations upon receipt of substantial financial contributions from those being investigated; the filing of false information on campaign contributions, and many more outrageous abuses.

Thomas Corcoran consulted regularly with Dodd on a counter strategy. Another Dodd ally, right-wing CIA commentator William F. Buckley, gave Dodd airtime on his *Metromedia* show, softballing Dodd and avoiding the hard questions about the campaign finance and double billing issues. Dodd's former aides revealed that the head of *Metromedia*, John W. Kluge, had been a generous donor to Dodd during the time that Dodd had been specifically requested to investigate the *Metromedia* network.

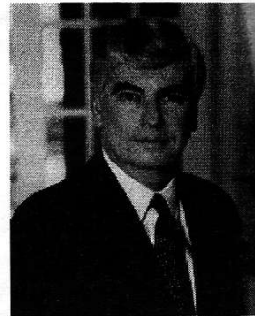
Called in at one point to defend Dodd was Charles J. Appel, Jr. Appel used his trademark blowups to show how Dodd had not signed some of the checks in question, despite the fact that there was an eyewitness who had seen the Senator sign the checks. Charles Appel was the same ex-FBI agent who two years later would testify that a signature of Clay Bertrand had not been made by Clay Shaw during Garrison's case in New Orleans in 1969, even though there was an eyewitness to that signing as well.

The Inevitable

Despite the Senate's early efforts to protect him, Dodd's abuses were such that they could not go ignored. When the Senate tried to prematurely end the investigation, after exposing only a few abuses, the ex-staffers got together and wrote the committee again, saying "we feel the areas not covered in the hearings constitute the heart of the case."³⁴

In a two-thousand word, 24 count summary, Boyd and the others put together some of the more serious breaches of ethics and legality which Dodd had committed. After these were published in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, the Senate could no longer protect Dodd.

Despite the best efforts of his CIA friends and others, Dodd became one of the very few in history to be censured by the Senate. The censure, the worst punishment the Senate can inflict short of expulsion, carried no criminal penalties. But the censure effectively killed his political career, and perhaps even Dodd himself. He served out the remainder of his term, but died a few months after losing his bid for reelection, in 1970.



Christopher J. Dodd

It should be noted that, although Dodd may have been in excess of his colleagues in the Senate, the House, and elsewhere in the political arena, he was by no means the only one to engage in such practices. And what should have been an opportunity to reform campaign finance issues—to layout strict guidelines for the appropriate use of contributions, definitions of legitimate campaign expenses, and the penalties for not adhering to certain standards—became instead a careful effort to excise one Senator in order to preserve the remaining power structure intact.

Like Father, Like Son?

"Sometimes, I think almost everything Chris Dodd does down here is meant to vindicate his father," said Senator Daniel Inouye during a Senate tribute to Tom Dodd on October 18, 1995. Chris Dodd was in the Peace Corps in the Dominican Republic

when his father received his Senate censure. Dodd only heard bits and pieces of the ordeal, saying later his family may have been trying to shield him from the proceedings.

Dodd, like his father, is a tough one to pigeonhole. While overtly liberal on many issues, he nonetheless fought to preserve the Seawolf nuclear attack submarine project, a pet issue among his constituents in Connecticut.

And like his father, Chris has curious friends. One of these is *The New Republic* writer Steve Emerson. In a move that will sound familiar to students of the Kennedy assassination, Emerson attacked a PBS Frontline special on the October Surprise before it was aired. Emerson also went after Robert Parry for reporting that Bush's Secret Service records, obtained under FOIA, contained deletions. Emerson claimed that he had a "perfectly clean set" of these records. The Secret Service, however, told Parry, "He's lying." The Secret Service had checked Emerson's set and found it contained the same deletions. Emerson never did produce his "clean set," despite repeated requests to him and his lawyer.³⁵

Dodd was the only Democrat to vote with Bob Dole's filibuster of the Senate October Surprise investigation. Robert Parry told *Probe*: "The Democratic failure to enforce cloture was a key moment in that cover-up." Emerson reportedly had lobbied Dodd prior to Dodd's support of the filibuster. And Mort Sahl has told *Probe* that Dodd was working behind the scenes to defund the Iran-Contra committee in order to end its work prematurely.

Since Christopher Dodd served on the House Select Committee on Assassinations, his father's possible role in the framing of Oswald is a question that must be resolved. If there was a connection, could Chris have been pressed into helping to keep the lid on certain aspects of the investigation, to protect what remained of his father's reputation?

"Sometimes, I think almost everything Chris Dodd does down here is meant to vindicate his father"

Jerry Policoff and Jim Marrs have both said that it was Chris Dodd who nominated Robert Blakey to take over the HSCA after a concerted media campaign unseated Richard A. Sprague as Chief Counsel. Sprague and his appointees had been actively investigating the role of the CIA in the assassination. Sprague, like Garrison, became the victim of a vicious campaign against him, a campaign that threatened to destroy the whole committee's efforts unless he stepped down. When he did, Blakey took over. No one did more to point the HSCA away from the most promising leads, especially those that pointed to U.S. intelligence involvement, than Blakey. Did Dodd know how Blakey would act before suggesting him? Or did someone else put a bug in Dodd's ear? It's unfortunate that Sen. Chris Dodd has not responded to the requests of George Michael Evica and Jim DiEugenio to help elucidate these issues. Hopefully, the Review Board will consider asking Chris Dodd such questions under oath. †

Notes

1. James Boyd, *Above the Law* (New York: New American Library, 1968), p. 10
2. Boyd, p. 11
3. Robert E. Conot, *Justice At Nuremberg* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1983), pp. 154-155
4. Conot, p. 497
5. Boyd, p. 12
6. Boyd, p. 12
7. Boyd, p. 13
8. Drew Pearson's column "Washington Merry-Go-Round," from the *Washington Post* as published in the VISA Procedures of the Department of State Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee of the Judiciary, p. 384.
9. Boyd, p. 25
10. George Michael Evica, "And We Are Still Mortal: Thomas Dodd and Lee Harvey Oswald," *The Assassination Chronicles*, March, 1996, p. 22
11. Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, 1963, p. 3433
12. Boyd, p. 37 and Henry Hurt, *Reasonable Doubt* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1985), p. 301
13. See the Church Committee's *Alleged Assassination Plots*.
14. John Newman, *Oswald and the CIA* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1995), p. 238. Dick Russell has sources who suspected Gibson of being a CIA plant from the start. See *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1992).
15. Senate Hearings on the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, April 25 and May 16, 1961, p. 138
16. Congressional Record, 6/10/63, p. 10461
17. Op. cit., VISA Hearings, pp. 384-5
18. VISA Hearings, p. 386
19. Boyd, various. See especially the letter to the Senate Ethics Committee, starting on page 269
20. Boyd, p. 55
21. *New York Times*, 4/13/67
22. *Ibid*
23. Boyd, p. 105
24. Boyd, p. 106
25. *Ibid*
26. *Ibid*
27. Drew Pearson's syndicated "Merry-Go-Round" column of 1/24/66, written by Jack Anderson, as printed in the *San Francisco Chronicle* of that date.
28. "Merry-Go-Round" column, 1/31/66, *San Francisco Chronicle*.
29. Christopher Simpson, *Blowback* (New York: Collier Books, 1988), p. 206
30. *New York Times*, 7/20/66
31. *New York Times*, 7/27/66
32. *Ibid*
33. Boyd, p. 221
34. Boyd, p. 270
35. Robert Parry, *Trick or Treason* (New York: Sheridan Square Press, 1993), pp. 277-278n.

Tanenbaum

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not giving us any information, they're thwarting us in every aspect of what we're trying to do and we had to deal with them in court, which was probably the only way we were going to successfully deal with them.

JD: *That's what you had planned on doing with them?*

BT: Absolutely. We were not interested in receiving documents that were redacted. We were only interested in seeing who questioned a witness, what evidence they received and what they did. Period. We're not interested in their little sources and methods. We're not interested in "Mission Impossible" here. We're interested in who investigated the murder cases, what did they find out, who they found it out from and what did they do if anything in follow-up. That's what we wanted to find out. This is the Congress. It's a tripartite, co-equal branch of government. Why couldn't the Congress get that material from the executive branch? There is no reason for executive branch intelligence agencies to "clear" members of Congress. That's preposterous! Particularly, when you are investigating aspects of what they did or didn't do, not for the purposes of any indictments, but for the purpose of trying to find out what happened.

JD: *It was you who originally invited Dr. Michael Baden down to Washington, right?*

BT: Oh, yeah. Dr. Baden along with Cyril Wecht, is the finest forensic pathologist in the country. I knew Mike because he was deputy chief medical examiner in New York and we had worked on scores and scores of murder cases, together. And he is a brilliant, wonderful person. When Mike was with me and the Committee, using the Z film, we demonstrated that Kennedy did not turn his head at the time of impact, which would have suggested that the shot came from the right front. Mike Baden was satisfied with this conclusion at that time. But, after I left Baden changed his opinion. He didn't change it in bad faith, in my opinion.

JD: *You've mentioned previously the photographs taken of the sixth floor window at the time and the problem of how someone could be at the window and then disappear from the window in 3 or 4 seconds.*

BT: Well, even if it were 15 to 30 seconds, what we see there is a window open maybe 12" and an opaque wall of maybe 4' from where the window starts. It's not a window from floor to ceiling. At best, you could see just a partial of a shooter's face, if in fact someone was shooting. Because what we know is, as you look at the photographs, whoever shot from that window, if anyone, did not wait around and say, "I just murdered the President! Thank you very much!" There

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Dodd Part II: New Orleans and the Cover-Up

By Lisa Pease

In the last issue of *Probe*, we reported on Senator Thomas J. Dodd's CIA ties, his alleged role in the ordering of the Mannlicher Carcano under the name A. J. Hidell, and his behavior the day Kennedy was assassinated. Left out were some other damning associations between Senator Thomas J. Dodd and others from the New Orleans part of the life of Lee Harvey Oswald. Dodd's subcommittee also had a pre-Dodd link to Guy Banister. In 1956, the Mayor of New Orleans, deLesseps "Chep" Morrison met with Senator James Eastland of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS) which Dodd would soon join. After the meeting, Morrison announced that "Mr. [Guy] Banister has complete liaison with the committee's staff, which was the main object of our trip."¹ Banister was to help SISS find subversives in America. Banister was quoted as saying that "New Orleans is a logical place for communist infiltration because of its importance as a port and its location in relationship to Russia...New Orleans is a lot closer to Siberia than Chicago."² Whether or not Dodd's SISS played a pre-assassination role, one can definitely show how Dodd and others from his committee played a role in the cover-up.

Dodd was instrumental in pushing the post-assassination story that Oswald had trained at a KGB school for assassins in Minsk, the same school at which KGB assassin Stashynsky trained.³ Readers of the last issue of *Probe* will recall that when Dodd was facing censure for his activities in Germany, Richard Helms of the CIA wrote a letter saying Dodd was working on the CIA's behalf to research Stashynsky.

As Peter Dale Scott and others have noted, there appear to be two streams of 'information' regarding Lee Oswald after the assassination: one saying Oswald acted alone, and another indicating Oswald was the tool for some Communist conspiracy. Both of these served to divert from the truth, which is that Oswald was far from a loner, a most unlikely Communist (living and working in right-wing circles), and not the "unknown quantity to any intelligence service" the Warren Commission claimed he was. In fact, Oswald was well known to the most secretive factions in the CIA, found life as a Marine exciting, and was seen in the company of a number of CIA-related people in New Orleans and Dallas.

The Cuban government has for a long time asserted that the Kennedy assassination was designed not only to get rid of Kennedy, but to defame Cuba in the hopes of spurring a real attack on that country. The highest ranking CIA officers to also play roles in promoting the notion of a Communist conspiracy were the two people who figure most significantly in the CIA's relationship with Oswald: David Atlee Phillips and James Angleton. In congress, Dodd was the key proponent of this angle. In New Orleans, it was Ed Butler and Carlos Bringuier.

One of the most overt aspects of Dodd's involvement in the

assassination story is his relationship with Ed Butler, a "young intelligence officer"⁴ who helped co-found INCA, the propaganda outfit known as the Information Council of the Americas. Butler was a willing and witting CIA Domestic Contact source. According to his SIS (Source Information Sheet), Butler was "a very cooperative contact and has always welcomed an opportunity to assist the CIA."⁵ Butler was not shy about his admiration of the CIA, either. He wrote from INCA a letter to an Admiral, boasting of their "contacts with CIA through General C. P. Cabell, Deputy Director."⁶

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Butler was also concerned that INCA might be portrayed more as a right-wing organization than the mix he imagined. He told the Mayor he wanted INCA to be patterned more along the lines of CIA's Radio Free Europe or the Foreign Policy Research Institute.⁷ Instead of having the hard-core right-winger Barry Goldwater address an INCA function, Butler suggested instead a CIA ally, Florida Senator George Smathers.⁸

Butler's co-founder was Clay Shaw's friend Alton Ochsner. Butler was the person responsible for preserving Lee Harvey Oswald's fa-

mous debate where Oswald said, "I am a Marxist," on a record titled *Oswald Speaks*. By his own admission, Dodd knew Ed Butler prior to the assassination. Butler called Dodd immediately after the assassination telling him of the tape he had of Oswald. Dodd invited Butler to fly to Washington to testify before his subcommittee, an invitation Butler accepted, but not before Butler personally played the tape for future Warren Commissioner Hale Boggs in Louisiana.

The wide and quick dissemination of this tape resemble nothing so much as a covert operation. According to *Time* magazine of Nov. 29, 1963,

Even before Lee Oswald was formally charged with the murder, CBS put on the air an Oswald interview taped by a New Orleans station last August.

Butler was indeed a busy man on November 22, 1963.

Dodd's comments on Butler and his tape are preserved on the cover of the album *Oswald Speaks*:

I asked Ed Butler to come to Washington to testify before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee a few hours after President Kennedy's assassination, at a time when Oswald was still alive. Ed Butler brought this recording with him. What we heard convinced us that Oswald's commitment to Communism, and the pathological hatred of his own country fostered by this commitment, had played an important part in making him into an assassin. This important and historical record completely demolishes the widespread notion that Oswald was a simple crackpot who acted without any understandable motivation.

Butler, in return, was a fan of Thomas Dodd's. In the INCA

newsletter called "Victory" from 12/11/63, we find the following:

INCA thanks Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) for his detailed statement about INCA before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which was published in the Senate Document called "Training of Foreign Policy Affairs Personnel."

Butler's associate in the debate was Dr. Carlos Bringuier. Bringuier was head of the CIA-sponsored anti-Castro Cuban student group called the DRE, a subset of E. Howard Hunt's Cuban Revolutionary Council (CRC), headed in New Orleans by key Garrison suspect Sergio Arcacha Smith. And even though Bringuier said his *first* opinion was that Oswald was a CIA or FBI agent checking up on his activities, he quickly promoted the notion that Oswald was indeed a Communist. Yet in his very effort to demonstrate why he was a Communist, he also makes an excellent case for his first instinct being correct—that he and Oswald served the same CIA masters. In the above-mentioned issue of *Victory*, Bringuier was quoted as showing how "Communists" typically engage in propaganda activities:

[Bringuier] described the technique...which "involves two Communists starting a street corner debate...One will defend capitalism and the other Communism...The communists need trouble, so they manufacture it with agents who specialize as 'conflict managers.'"

Bringuier could just as easily have been describing his own street 'fight' with Oswald, substituting two CIA agents for two Communists. Indeed, Oswald himself described his first meeting with Bringuier and Butler in a document he titled "Street Agitation":

I am experienced in Street agitation having done it in New Orleans in connection with the F.P.C.C. On August 9, 1963 I was accosted [sic] by three anti-Castro Cubans and was arrested for "causing a disturbance." [16 H 324]

In 1968, Butler too described himself as the same kind of agit-prop specialist. In an interview with Gary Wills, Butler said that "one year before Watts" he formed a group of people designed to be "private masters of agitprop—professional conflict managers." He defined a conflict manager as one who would "infiltrate trouble-making groups, try to divert them from their goals, break up their structure, create internal dissension."⁹ Is this not exactly what Oswald was doing to the FPCC, a group targeted for disruption by no less than David Atlee Phillips and Watergate conspirator James McCord?¹⁰

Through INCA, Butler produced "Truth Tapes"—propaganda items which were distributed to over 126 stations in over 16 Latin American countries. Can anyone believe Butler was doing this without any involvement of the CIA? If so, then how does one explain how the Oswald debate showed up in the hands of Ted Shackley, the powerful head of the CIA's largest station, JM/WAVE in Miami? In a document recently declassified and published in *Open Secrets*, Shackley suggests translating the tape of the debate for broadcast to Latin America through AMCOUP-1. Curiously, the tape itself arrived bearing only the cryptic label noting it was from "DRE" and to "Howard." Given that Howard Hunt was responsible for both the DRE and propaganda operations against Cuba, it would make sense that "Howard" was indeed E. Howard Hunt.

Ed Butler and INCA were also involved in another propaganda project called "Hitler in Havana." The film was purportedly a "documentary" which had the dual purpose of comparing Castro to Hitler and suggesting that Castro was responsible for the Kennedy assassination. The film was broadcast in America in 1966, thanks to right-wing Dodd ally Patrick Frawley of the Eversharp-Schick Razor Company. A *New York Times* reviewer said of the film that it was

"the crudest form of propaganda" and a "tasteless affront to minimum journalistic standards." When Alton Ochsner complained to his friend on the *New York Times*, Turner Catledge, Catledge defended the reporter, saying he had only meant that such obviously "politically motivated programs such as 'Hitler in Havana' should not [be] presented as documentaries with disinterested commercial sponsorship."¹¹ Juanita Castro, Fidel's sister, did a "Truth Tapes" PR piece for "Hitler in Havana." Who was her CIA case officer? Ted Shackley, of JM/WAVE. That wasn't the only stint Juanita did with INCA. Ochsner credited another tape of hers as having been instrumental in influencing women to vote against communists in the heated Chilean election of 1964.¹²

When Butler left New Orleans to join Frawley in Los Angeles, he left INCA in the hands of yet another "former" intelligence man, Richard Warren,¹³ as well as the original cofounder, Dr. Alton Ochsner. In his autobiography *Undercover*, E. Howard Hunt reveals that during the CIA's Guatemala coup operations, when one of the three provisional leaders hand-picked to replace Arbenz was ill, he was sent to Ochsner's clinic for treatment.¹⁴ Ochsner was clearly trusted by the CIA, and was often sent, or sent to, Latin American dictators to prescribe treatment. In the same book, Hunt describes "stopping along the way in Memphis and New Orleans to renew old acquaintances and make new friends."¹⁵

Although Butler had moved, he never really left INCA. In fact, he had Banister's records "air expressed out here to Los Angeles" where Butler put them under "lock and key" to keep them away from Jim Garrison's investigation.¹⁶ INCA co-founder Ochsner also felt threatened by the Garrison investigation; Garrison staffer Bill Gurvich informed Ochsner that he was under suspicion. INCA advisory committee member Alberto Fowler was also supposedly aiding Garrison in his investigation. Due to his association with INCA and the fact that he lived in one of Shaw's places for several months, it seems impossible that Fowler was anything other than an infiltrator. But it was Butler and Ochsner who did the most overt damage, passing along unfounded whispers that Garrison was mentally unstable in an effect to discredit his investigation.¹⁷

Several researchers, notably Dick Russell, Peter Dale Scott and apparently Jerry Rose, seem to emphasize the right-wing aspects of this crowd as opposed to the intelligence threads that connect them. For example, both Scott and Russell point to the American Security Council (ASC) as if it were a "right-wing", "ex-FBI" "intelligence" organization that somehow is completely separate from the CIA. This notion is belied by the fact that the ASC membership and directors had many links to the CIA, through organizations such as CIA agent William F. Buckley's Young Americans for Freedom group, through the participation of such CIA assets as Thomas Dodd, and through directors which included, in later years, no less a CIA player than 25-year CIA counterintelligence legend James Angleton himself! Reportedly, Jerry Rose's recent presentation on INCA also took this tack, as if somehow the right wing has no crossover with the CIA. Here we demonstrate another misrepresentation, the Corso episode, as depicted by Scott and Russell, and contrast it with the contemporaneous records of this event.

The Curious Corso Episode

Peter Dale Scott and Dick Russell have written about Colonel Philip J. Corso in a way that seems, to be generous, at variance with the record. Consider this, from Scott's *Deep Politics*, p. 214:

Corso, the army intelligence veteran, was like Willoughby a foe of the CIA from the right, having tangled with the Agency in his years

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under C. D. Jackson as a member of Eisenhower's Operations Control Board.

Scott here sources Burton Hersh's book *The Old Boys*. But does Hersh characterize Corso as a "foe of the CIA from the right?" No. In fact, Hersh shows Corso working amiably with C. D. Jackson, and although dissatisfied at some dumb moves by the CIA, he is actively working with them planning and executing the Guatemalan coup. Hersh wrote, on page 347:

Colonel Philip Corso, the Operations Coordinating Board's delegate to the Policy Group already working on Guatemala, kept raking Wisner over once reports began circulating. "I found out that the CIA had sent Castillo Armas some German rifles, but didn't send them any ammunition," Corso says. "A man named Carlos was waiting in Guatemala City with all the files on all the secret police in Guatemala. He waited ten days, and nobody from CIA showed up. And then I was in a policy meeting one day. Frank Wisner was there. And the conversation began. Castillo Armas had one Piper Cub, and Wisner wasn't sure whether we should give him new tires or retreads. So I leaned over near C. D. Jackson, and said: 'C. D., why don't you call this discussion off, and we'll take up a collection and send him some new tires.' Can you imagine, with all that money they had? I think they were trying to stop it. We won, but the CIA operation should have lost.

Clearly Corso is sounding off about ineptitude, not a difference of philosophy. He is complaining quite specifically about Wisner's lack of *administrative skills*. But to jump from there to saying Corso was somehow anti-CIA seems an unjustifiable stretch, especially since Corso is clearly trying to *help* the CIA's operation in Guatemala. Continuing with Scott from above:

In 1963-1964 Corso and Willoughby were part of a secret right-wing group, the "Shickshinny Knights of Malta".... The group provided a home to dissident retired military officers dissatisfied with the CIA's internationalism....

Scott sources this information to Dick Russell in his book *The Man Who Knew Too Much*. But Russell doesn't make that characterization. Nowhere does Russell provide any evidence that these men were "dissatisfied with the CIA's internationalism." And why does Scott ignore Russell's evidence that Willoughby himself was a good friend of Allen Dulles? Continuing with Scott's "anti-CIA" theme:

By 1963 the group's leading asset in their anti-CIA propaganda was a Polish intelligence defector, Michal Goleniewski....

It's strange that Scott would so portray a defector to the CIA who, according to one CIA officer, was "the best defector we ever had."¹⁹ Predictably, Angleton was convinced Goleniewski was a fake defector. But then, Angleton had a record so nearly opposite the truth on important defectors that one could as easily consider that evidence of Goleniewski's *bona fides* (see Tom Mangold's book, *Cold Warrior*, for Angleton's record with defectors.)

And what about Russell's own portrayal of Corso which undoubtedly influenced Scott? Russell writes:

...Colonel Philip J. Corso ... [was] a twenty year Army Intelligence career man until his retirement in August 1963.... When his Volunteer Freedom Corps, dedicated to rolling back communism, was scuttled as too radical by the Eisenhower administration, Corso attributed the defeat to "lies by our liberal darlings."

Russell seems to be implying that by "liberals" Corso meant the liberals in the CIA. But that's not what Corso said. The full

ending to that quote from Hersh is as follows: "lies by our liberal darlings, Kennan and Bohlen."²⁰ George Kennan and Chip Bohlen were longtime *State Department* employees who advocated a softer line toward Russia than the Dulles brothers offered.

Continuing from above, Russell then goes on to characterize Corso as a "staunch foe of what he considered a laissez-faire CIA." What is Russell's source for this? It can't be Hersh, since Hersh never said that. Finally, Russell ends with, whether he knew it or not, a whopper:

"[A]fter the Kennedy assassination, Corso was among the first to spread rumors hinting that Oswald was tied to a Communist ring inside the CIA—and doubling as an informant for the FBI."²¹

Russell, like Scott, presents a picture strongly at variance with the archival record. CTKA has found no record of Corso spreading rumors that Oswald was tied to a Communist ring inside the CIA and doubling as an informant for the FBI. Indeed, there is something quite different in the record. This episode is well documented in the FBI's files that were released in 1977. In addition to Cartha DeLoach, the number 3 man at FBI under Hoover, we also have a teletype that goes the farthest towards telling what really transpired in this curious post-assassination Dodd committee episode.

The FBI Informant Story

Hoover and the rest of the FBI were understandably concerned with rumors that Oswald had worked for the FBI. They spent a good deal of effort tracking down each source for this story. They found that one of sources was Dodd's subcommittee General Counsel, Julian Sourwine. When the FBI asked Sourwine where he had gotten this "information", Sourwine at first tried to pawn it off on a source in the State Department who, Sourwine claimed, had reconfirmed this information with CIA. DeLoach took an affidavit from Hoover swearing that Oswald was never an informant for the FBI to Sourwine. Sourwine then tried to change his story, denying his source had been with the State Department. DeLoach reports the remainder of this exchange:

I told Sourwine that regardless of the agency with whom his source was employed, I would have to know the identity of such a source so that all strings could be tied down in this matter. Sourwine agreed to call his source in my presence and ask him if he would object to his identity being revealed. At that time Sourwine dialed a number and asked the person answering the phone if he would object to his identity being revealed to the FBI in connection with the Oswald-informant information. After a few moments, Sourwine turned to me and sated that his source would have to think about the matter and he would let me know later on during the evening. Sourwine stated that his source was somewhat reluctant to having his identity revealed inasmuch as the source's identity would immediately lead the FBI to the identity of a second source within CIA. I told Sourwine that if CIA was putting out such scurrilous rumors, that agency should definitely be tied down and made to put up or shut up.²²

Three days later, DeLoach found out who the source was, and went to talk to him:

Sourwine called at approximately 2:30 PM, February 10, 1964. He advised he had contacted his source and in view of the seriousness of the situation, his source agreed to be identified. He named his source as Colonel Philip Corso who is currently employed by Senator Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.)....

I contacted Colonel Corso.... [who,] upon meeting him, and throughout the interview, gave me the definite impression of being a rather shifty-eyed individual who fashions himself a great intelligence expert. As a matter of fact, it was quite difficult to pin him down with

questions inasmuch as he insisted on expounding his theories rather than sticking to specifics.

I told Colonel Corso of the information received from Sourwine and that he had been named as the source. I told him the allegation was absolutely false. The point was made that Mr. Hoover had submitted a sworn affidavit to the Warren Commission emphatically denying the allegation and that I desired Colonel Corso to read the affidavit at this time....

Colonel Corso stated he did not need to read the affidavit I handed him inasmuch as he would take the FBI's word that Oswald was not an informant. I told him regardless of his confidence in me he should read the affidavit. He then scanned it quite hurriedly and handed it back to me.

I told Colonel Corso that I would have to insist that he reveal the identify of his source within CIA. He stated he could not do this inasmuch as his source represented "groups" or "individuals" that had been friends of his when he was handling intelligence for the Army. He stated he did not like to violate their confidence.

Is this the "anti-CIA" man that Scott and Russell would have us imagine? The record shows Corso bending over backwards *not* to involve the Agency in something they are already involved in. He talks of protecting his "friends." Continuing from DeLoach's memo:

I told him he should realize that this allegation was a very serious one which could do considerable damage to the FBI if it became widely publicized. I mentioned additionally that his refusal might, of course, result in his being subpoenaed or requested to testify before the Warren Commission concerning the withholding of evidence.

Colonel Corso began to backtrack. He stated that his sources had merely told him that they knew the FBI had been in contact with Oswald prior to the assassination of the President. He quickly added that his sources within CIA also felt that Oswald's activity, while in the Soviet Union, represented a State Department operation.... I asked him if he had any specifics or proof in this regard. He stated he could not prove any of these statements. He then added that this entire matter might be an assumption on the part of the CIA inasmuch as his sources had no definite facts whatsoever.

In other words, Corso is now trying to push on DeLoach a story from within CIA, even knowing that he cannot back it up in any way. He is trading one rumor for another—both pointing fingers away from the CIA's now known involvement with Oswald and toward an FBI connection. Continuing:

I told Colonel Corso that I wanted to go back over our conversation and to be as specific as possible. I asked him point-blank if his sources within CIA had named Oswald as an FBI informant to him. ...He slowly replied that "groups" or "persons" within CIA, whom he had known for a long time, had told him that Oswald could have been a source of information for the FBI.... Corso added that there was a Communist Party member supposedly in Texas by the name of "Stanford" who knew that Oswald had been an FBI source of information and had related this fact to other parties. I asked Colonel Corso how he knew this. He stated he could not recall his source of information in this regard, however, apparently "Stanford" had been interviewed by someone and had given them this information. I told Colonel Corso that his ability to be nonspecific was somewhat amazing. He told me he was well-versed in the intelligence game and knew how CIA and the State Department operated. He stated he had no sympathy for CIA inasmuch as that organization had quite often failed to cooperate with him when he was operating with intelligence.

At this stage of the questioning, Colonel Corso again approached the melodramatic by emphatically claiming that he had been concerned only in this matter because he was afraid that the communists were promoting a deliberate smear against the FBI. I asked

why he brought in the Communist Party when he had originally claimed that his information had come from CIA. He stated that the information furnished by the communist, "Stanford," apparently represented a deliberate smear attempt on the part of the communists.

So where is the support for Dick Russell's allegation that Corso accused Oswald of being part of a Communist ring inside the CIA, *doubling* as an informant for the FBI?

A teletype reveals Stanford's original allegation. No wonder the CIA would want to incite the FBI to move against him, even if they had to make up rumors and have people like Corso pass them along to do so. This is the teletype the FBI received on February 10, 1964, regarding this matter:

SA Vincent J. Savadel contacted Frank Capell, editor of "The Herald of Freedom" this date as per instructions of bureau set out in reairtel.... Capell volunteered the additional following information....

Capell stated that a friend of his...with sources close to the presidential commission, informed him that an attorney for John W. Stanford, allegedly secretary of CP, Texas, known only as Maverick, Jr., of San Antonio, Texas, went to see Senator Yarborough, of Texas, and told the senator that his client, referring to Stanford, had definite information that Oswald was a CIA agent. Senator Yarborough reportedly turned this information over to the presidential commission....

So the allegations from Stanford are about the CIA's role with Oswald. Corso and others twisted it to look like Stanford was implicating the FBI, possibly in an attempt to press the FBI to take some sort of discrediting action towards Stanford, a move which would have benefited not the FBI, but the CIA. And for this effort, Corso was a willing, if not witting, tool in a clear CIA disinformation effort. Why Scott and Russell chose to continue to propagate this misrepresentation—despite the fact that the primary documents on this episode have been available since 1977—is a mystery. ♦

Notes

¹ Arthur Carpenter, *Gateway to the Americas: New Orleans's Quest for Latin American Trade, 1900-1970* (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1993), quoting from the *New Orleans Times Picayune* of 3/23/56.

² *Ibid.*

³ Peter Dale Scott, *Deep Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 215

⁴ John Wilds and Ira Harkey, *Alton Ochsner, Surgeon of the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), p. 201

⁵ DCS SIS from Dorothy Brandeo of the N.O. office, dated 28 July 1970.

⁶ Carpenter, p. 236 and p. 411.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 236

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 245

⁹ Bill Turner, *Power on the Right* (Berkeley: Ramparts Press, 1971), p. 187

¹⁰ John Newman, *Oswald and the CIA* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1995), p. 474

¹¹ Carpenter, p. 247.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 245

¹³ Turner, p. 188

¹⁴ E. Howard Hunt, *Undercover* (Berkeley Publishing Corporation, 1974), p. 99

¹⁵ Hunt, p. 50.

¹⁶ Carpenter, p. 256

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 257

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 255

¹⁹ David C. Martin, *Wilderness of Mirrors* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), pp. 95-10

²⁰ Burton Hersh, *The Old Boys* (1992, Charles Scribner's Sons), p. 411

²¹ Dick Russell, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1992), p. 529

²² Memo from DeLoach to Mohr, 2/7/64 1977 FBI release, Series 4 WC Sect. 5