



**The Truth &
Reconciliation Committee
Presents**

THE ASSASSINATION OF
ROBERT F. KENNEDY
THE REAL STORY

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Presented by the **TRUTH & RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE** whose founding members include members of the Kennedy and King families, Robert Kennedy associates Paul Schrade and Adam Walinsky, forensics expert Dr. Cyril Wecht, whistleblower Daniel Ellsberg, civil rights leader Reverend James Lawson, activist actors and directors Martin Sheen, Rob Reiner, Oliver Stone and many others. www.americantruthnow.org



THE TRUTH & RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE

The assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy appeared to be a cut-and-dried case, with Sirhan Sirhan, who undeniably fired a revolver towards Senator Kennedy, being convicted of murder and remaining in prison ever since. Over the decades, however, overwhelming evidence that RFK's murder was actually committed by a different gunman has emerged.

The facts of the case need to be exposed, especially since Sirhan Sirhan is currently being considered for parole by the California Parole Board and Governor Gavin Newsom.

KEY REVELATIONS

- The official autopsy by the respected coroner, Dr. Thomas Noguchi, confirmed that RFK was killed by a shot fired at point blank range from behind whereas all of the eyewitnesses placed Sirhan several feet in front of Kennedy and the gun in his outstretched hand no closer than 1.5 to 5 feet away while firing.
- Kennedy was shot 4 times (3 bullets hit him and one went through his jacket) and 5 other victims were struck by bullets for a total of 9 confirmed shots. Sirhan's gun only held 8 bullets. Other evidence that at least 13 shots were fired was found by the FBI and LAPD in door frames and ceiling panels. An audiotape later analyzed by an expert sound engineer confirmed at least 13 shots with 5 coming from the opposite direction of Sirhan's. Further, multiple witnesses confirmed hearing at least 12 shots but their statements were ignored by police.

- The police ignored three eyewitnesses who stated they saw a security guard, who was standing right behind Kennedy, pull his gun and one saw him fire it. His gun was never checked by the police or FBI and subsequent revelations show him lying about owning the same caliber gun at the time of the murder, a .22, that Sirhan used.
- Sirhan's gun was never forensically matched to the fatal bullet. The LAPD criminalist lied when he testified that bullets test fired from Sirhan's gun matched the fatal bullet. The test bullets he matched were from an entirely different gun taken from an LAPD evidence locker unrelated to the Kennedy killing. Over time, many more details about a cover-up by the Los Angeles Police Department have surfaced.
- These and other revelations, which most of the Kennedy family, the public and media seem unaware of, indicate a different assassin than Sirhan Sirhan as RFK's killer. We encourage you to read this primer and decide for yourself.

THE ASSASSINATION

The assassination of Robert Kennedy seemed, at first blush, to leave little room for mystery. Everyone near Kennedy saw Sirhan Sirhan firing towards him. But for those watching closely, and for those who would later wonder if there was more to the story, there was abundant reason to look beyond first appearances.

Just after midnight on June 5th, 1968 at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, after Senator Kennedy had won the California Democratic primary and thanked his assembled supporters, assistant maître d' Karl Uecker led him through a dimly lit kitchen pantry en route to a press conference. Thane Eugene Cesar, a security guard hired for the night, followed Kennedy closely behind, holding the senator's right elbow and appearing to guide him.

As Kennedy stopped at the edge of a steam table to shake hands with kitchen workers, a 24-year-old Palestinian Christian, Sirhan Sirhan (who had moved to the LA area as a child), began firing at Kennedy from several feet in front of him. After two shots, Uecker grabbed Sirhan's arm and, with the help of others, pushed him down onto the steam table, pinning his gun hand. Though his hand was pinned down and pointed away from Kennedy, Sirhan continued firing wildly injuring five bystanders. According to the eyewitness testimony, Sirhan's gun always remained one and a half to five feet in front of the senator while the coroner's report determined Kennedy was hit three times from behind, with the fatal shot to the back of his head at point blank range of 1 to 3 inches. He died 26 hours later.¹

¹ Shane O'Sullivan, *Who Killed Bobby? The Unsolved Murder of Robert F. Kennedy* (Skyhorse Publishing, 2018), 7-11, 64-5.

AUTOPSY INDICATES A SECOND GUNMAN

According to respected LA County Coroner Dr. Thomas Noguchi, who performed the official autopsy, the three bullets that entered Kennedy's body were fired from behind him at close range. The fatal shot, Noguchi concluded, was fired from approximately one to three inches behind Kennedy's right ear, penetrating his brain. Two other bullets entered his right armpit and a fourth went through the shoulder pad of his jacket.²

Paul Schrade, a United Auto Workers Union executive, walking behind Kennedy, was struck by a different bullet altogether. Witnesses saw Schrade fall before the senator did, suggesting Schrade was hit by the first shot from Sirhan's gun.³ Noguchi later stated that he believed the fifth shot killed Kennedy. Since Uecker had grabbed Sirhan's firing hand after the second shot and, with help from others, pinned his arm to a table in front of Kennedy, Sirhan could not have fired the fifth and fatal shot from behind at point blank range.

In the 1970s, Schrade, along with actor Robert Vaughan and former Congressman, Allard Lowenstein, requested that the LAPD and California courts reopen the case. They were repeatedly denied. Now, at the age of 96, Schrade has long ago forgiven Sirhan for shooting him and has made it his life's work to seek parole for Sirhan and to reopen the case to determine RFK's actual killer. He is supported by attorney Denise Bohdan whose father, Fernando Faura, was a journalist at the Ambassador Hotel that night. Faura uncovered significant evidence indicating an accomplice with Sirhan who was never investigated by the authorities. In fact, witnesses to the accomplice were browbeaten by the LAPD investigator to change their accounts.

BULLET COUNT PROVES MULTIPLE GUNMEN

In addition to the three gunshots hitting Kennedy from behind and a fourth bullet that passed through his coat, five other people were shot and injured, totalling nine shots. Sirhan's .22 caliber gun only held eight bullets so another person would have had to be shooting as well. Within hours, FBI agent William Bailey found two additional bullets lodged in the pantry door frame, increasing the bullet count to 11.⁴ Police and FBI photographs showing two more bullet holes in the pantry door divider and another hole in the jamb of a backstage door suggested four more shots may have been fired.⁵ Additionally, two witnesses reported hearing at least 12 shots.

In 2005, an expert audio engineer, Philip Van Praag, laboriously examined a sound recording of the shooting and made several important discoveries. There were 13 "shot sounds," with two instances of "double shots" (shots fired so closely together, they could not have come from the same gun). He also determined that five of the shots were fired from the opposite direction of Sirhan's eight shots, indicating that they were fired from behind Kennedy.⁶

² L.A. County Coroner's Autopsy Report

³ O'Sullivan (2018), 66

⁴ Dan Moldea, 87; O'Sullivan (2018), 335-8

⁵ Photo Set: RFK Grand Jury Request Exhibits

⁶ Declaration of Philip van Praag, 14 November 2011 and RFK Must Die Epilogue (2008)

THE SUSPICIOUS SECURITY GUARD

As the shooting began, security guard Thane Eugene Cesar was standing behind and slightly to the right of Kennedy, in the exact firing position described by the autopsy. Several witnesses observed Cesar drawing his weapon and one witness saw him fire. He was interviewed within hours by the LAPD but they never checked his gun. Cesar claimed he was carrying a .38 caliber revolver that night but he also owned a .22 caliber revolver at the time. Cesar later lied saying he had sold the .22 four months prior to the assassination but the sales receipt proved he actually sold it three months afterwards. He also told the buyer it had been involved in a “police shooting.”

Thane Eugene Cesar held extreme right-wing views, supported George Wallace for President and openly admitted hating the Kennedys. At that time, he was working at Lockheed, home of the U-2 spy plane, with a high-level security clearance from the Department of Defense. A week before the assassination, he took a part-time job working evenings as a security guard for Ace Guard Service. Kennedy was assassinated on Cesar’s second assignment.

Given this incriminating information, Cesar remains a key suspect as a second gunman. Dan Moldea, the author of a book presenting Sirhan as a lone assassin, claims Cesar passed a polygraph test that proved his innocence.⁷ However, Moldea has never been willing to release the results of that test, calling into question its existence and, if so, its actual results. Announcing Cesar’s death in 2019 in the Philippines on Facebook, Moldea disclosed he was the godfather to Cesar’s son, handled his media inquiries and held his Power of Attorney.⁸

Reacting to the news of Cesar’s death, Robert Kennedy’s son, RFK Jr., revealed he “had plans to meet Thane Eugene Cesar in the Philippines until he demanded \$25,000 through his agent Dan Moldea...,” adding that “Compelling evidence suggests that Cesar murdered my father... Police have never seriously investigated Cesar’s role in my father’s killing.”⁹

A POSSIBLE HIGH-LEVEL CONSPIRATOR

Authors David Talbot (“Brothers: The Hidden History of the Kennedy Years”) and Lisa Pease (“A Lie Too Big to Fail”) have identified Howard Hughes’ right-hand man, former FBI agent, and the CIA’s Castro assassination plot coordinator, Robert Maheu, as the likely planner of Robert Kennedy’s assassination. Multiple government documents prove that Maheu worked for the CIA in assassination plots and other covert activities in the 1960s. Maheu also admitted to Talbot that he hated the Kennedys.

⁷ Ibid., 23, 283-299, 303, 312

⁸ Moldea post on Facebook, September 11, 2019: <https://bit.ly/2kuUCcC>

⁹ RFK Jr. post on Instagram, September 11, 2019: www.instagram.com/p/B2THyP9H2h9/

Maheu's principal accuser is former top Howard Hughes executive and Maheu associate, John Meier. Meier knew that Thane Eugene Cesar was an employee of Maheu's private security firm that performed top secret activities for the CIA. Meier also described suspicious conversations he heard between Maheu and Donald Nixon, Richard Nixon's brother, shortly before and after the assassination and wrote about them in his diary (partially published in Gerald Bellett's "Age of Secrets"). Hughes had long been a major financial supporter of Richard Nixon and a close collaborator with the CIA. Meier, now 88, has continued to try to get his information about the case out to the public.

SIRHAN'S ALLEGED MOTIVE

Sirhan was arrested with a newspaper clipping in his pocket criticizing Kennedy's campaign pledge to sell jet bombers to Israel to replenish jets lost in the Arab-Israeli War the year before. A notebook found in his bedroom contained repetitions of the phrase "RFK must die...RFK must be assassinated by June 5 '68," the first anniversary of the Arab-Israeli War.

At trial, the strange "automatic writing" in Sirhan's notebooks was cited as evidence of the cold, callous, premeditated nature of the crime but Sirhan claims he has no memory of writing in the notebooks nor of the shooting itself. And it has never been explained how it was possible for Sirhan to have written the most incriminating page on May 18th, two days before Kennedy made his first campaign speech promising bombers to Israel.¹¹



SIRHAN'S "CONFESSION"

Supporters of the lone assassin story point to Sirhan's "confession" in which he stated "I killed Robert Kennedy wilfully, premeditatively, with 20 years of malice aforethought." Sirhan's claim that he had been planning the RFK killing since the age of four was ridiculous and nobody in court took his outburst seriously.

The outburst came after days of pleading with the Judge to fire his attorney due to the dismal defense he was being provided. Yet, the "confession" has been taken out of context and used against him ever since.¹²

¹⁰ CIA may have used contractor who inspired 'Mission: Impossible' to kill RFK, new book alleges," The Washington Post, 9 February 2019: Pease, "A Lie Too Big to Fail," 5 June 2019

¹¹ O'Sullivan (2018), 93-5

¹² Ibid., 265

THE COVER-UP

Sirhan's lead attorney Grant Cooper (who had the threat of an indictment hanging over him for lying about the source of stolen grand jury transcripts in another case) never raised any of the obvious discrepancies at trial. Cooper accepted that his client was guilty but mounted a defense of "diminished capacity" claiming he was in a dissociated state and not fully responsible for his actions. The jury did not accept that theory and Sirhan was convicted of murder and he has remained in prison ever since.¹³

There were serious concerns about LAPD criminalist DeWayne Wolfer's work on other cases and the L.A. District Attorney failed to conduct an independent evaluation of the firearms evidence, despite an offer from the L.A. Sheriff's Office to do so.¹⁴ Wolfer mis-labelled and mis-represented the bullet and gun evidence to the Grand Jury at trial, such that at no time was the bullet recovered from Kennedy's neck ever matched to Sirhan's gun. The test bullets he presented were not from Sirhan's gun, but from a wholly different gun taken from an LAPD evidence locker. He also lied in a subsequent investigation in the 1970s to cover his tracks which became evident when the records of his daily logs and other LAPD and trial items became available in the 1980s.

The LAPD also destroyed crucial evidence including photos seized at the scene, door frames and ceiling panels with bullet holes and suppressed their files on the case for 20 years.¹⁵

Witnesses who gave accounts conflicting with the official story of Sirhan as a lone assassin were either given coercive polygraph examinations by LAPD Sergeant Enrique Hernandez or their testimony was ignored. In audiotapes of these sessions, Hernandez is heard browbeating witnesses into retracting their statements.¹⁶

Researchers later discovered that the two LAPD officers in charge of the investigation were connected with the CIA. The LAPD were working closely with the CIA on their Operation Chaos program in the late 1960's using domestic surveillance, agent provocateurs and other tools to target anti-war and civil rights activists. The two men in day-to-day control of the LAPD investigation, Enrique Hernandez and Manuel Pena, had both trained police officers in South America for the CIA-connected Office of Public Safety.¹⁷ Pena signed off on every report and decided which leads to follow and who to interview. According to FBI agent Roger La Jeunesse, Pena had performed assignments for the CIA for a decade.¹⁸

¹³ Ibid., 176, 237-8, 268-77, 316-7

¹⁴ Ibid., 457-8

¹⁵ O'Sullivan (2018), 122-8, 132-5, 364-8

¹⁶ Ibid., 122-128, 132-6, 369-71

¹⁷ Ibid., 363

¹⁸ Bill Turner and Jonn Christian, The Assassination of Robert Kennedy (Carroll and Graf, second edition, 2006), 64-66

POSSIBLE MANCHURIAN CANDIDATE?

Sirhan has consistently claimed to have no memory of the shooting or of any conspirators. He remembers being led into a dark place by a girl who wanted coffee, being attracted to her and then blacking out until he was being choked on the steam table.¹⁹ A witness spoke of seeing a girl in a polka dot dress communicating with Sirhan moments before he fired. Another witness saw a woman with the same characteristics run away from the site of the shooting saying "We shot him! We shot him!"

The defense and prison psychiatrists who worked with Sirhan before and during the trial concluded that the writing in his notebooks and the shooting were done in a "dissociated state." The defense psychiatrist indicated that Sirhan's interest in the occult and Arab politics led him to hypnotise himself to shoot Kennedy. However, this psychiatrist may have been unaware of or chose not to introduce the CIA's MKULTRA program, which had been trying to create hypnotically-programmed assassins since the early 1950s.²⁰

MKULTRA was considered so sensitive that then-CIA Director, Richard Helms, had the agency's MKULTRA records destroyed in 1973 rather than send them to Congress as part of the post-Watergate probes even though the agency willingly provided evidence of certain international assassinations and other highly sensitive matters. In fact, it was RFK's brother, Senator Edward Kennedy, who, in 1977, gave the opening statement outlining previously exposed CIA MKULTRA projects and played a lead role in the Senate committee looking into the CIA's hypno-programming operation.²¹

Since 2008, Dr. Daniel Brown, a leading expert on hypnosis and coercive persuasion on the faculty at Harvard Medical School for 38 years, has spent over 150 hours with Sirhan, trying to recover his memory of the shooting. During these sessions, Dr. Brown verified Sirhan's amnesia and the hypnotic programming which generated the "RFK must die" automatic writing in his notebooks and triggered his shooting at Kennedy.

These sessions also produced new evidence of "range mode" programming possibly used to set up Sirhan as a distraction in the pantry, while a second gunman fired the fatal shot from an inch behind Kennedy's right ear. After Brown identified physical and verbal cues, on three occasions, Sirhan assumed a firing stance, entered "range mode" and fired at imagined targets, as Brown believes he did on the night of the assassination. Brown also believes Sirhan was conditioned to forget his actions and connections to others involved while in this dissociated state. He believes the girl in the polka dress, who was seen with Sirhan and later running away from the crime scene, gave Sirhan the cues to enter "range mode" and fire involuntarily at Kennedy, with no conscious intent to kill him.²²

¹⁹ Bill Turner and Jonn Christian (The Assassination of Robert Kennedy) 103, 222-7

²⁰ Ibid., 268-9, 343-6

²¹ <https://bit.ly/3Dp0yqn>

²² O'Sullivan, "The Full Story of the Sirhan Sirhan Parole Hearing"

SUPPORT FOR REOPENING THE CASE

In 2017, after considerable research on the case, Robert Kennedy Jr. met Sirhan Sirhan for three hours in a San Diego prison and concluded that Sirhan did not kill his father. "There were too many bullets. You can't fire 13 bullets out of an eight-shot gun," he told The Washington Post. "My father was the chief law enforcement officer in this country. I think it would have disturbed him if somebody was put in jail for a crime they didn't commit."²³

The Truth and Reconciliation Committee's joint statement, co-authored by Senator Robert F. Kennedy's speechwriter Adam Walinsky, called the prosecution of Sirhan "a mockery of a trial that has been demolished by numerous eye-witnesses, investigators and experts...the case should be reopened for a new comprehensive investigation while there are still living witnesses."²⁴

Sirhan has spent over 50 years in prison for a murder he cannot remember committing and which the physical evidence shows he did not commit. It is time for the authorities to act before truth and justice in this case are lost to history. We encourage you to visit Justice for RFK (www.justiceforrfk.com) to learn more and take action to open a new investigation.

The Truth and Reconciliation Committee is dedicated to America confronting the truth of the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X and Robert F. Kennedy which changed the course of American history and adversely affect us to this day. As with other Truth and Reconciliation movements, our goal is not to punish the perpetrators but to help bring about a new era of understanding for the sake of current and future generations. You can also visit www.americantruthnow.org for more information.

²³ "Who killed Bobby Kennedy? His son RFK Jr. doesn't believe it was Sirhan Sirhan," The Washington Post, 5 June 2018

²⁴ The Truth and Reconciliation Committee website: <https://www.americantruthnow.org/sign-the-petition>



AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Of the millions who experienced President Kennedy's public execution as a near-fatal blow to their sense of possibility, no one grappled with the catastrophe more than his brother, the Attorney General. One may debate the attitude and politics of Robert Francis Kennedy before the calamity in Dallas but there is no doubt that JFK's brazen assassination seismically altered Robert Kennedy, just as surely as it bent the course of American history ever afterwards.

Over the preceding thousand days, the Kennedy brothers had come to understand that many of the most lethal enemies of American democracy lay not outside the country's borders, but within. There were the giant corporations who sought total command over the nation's economy, the generals who lobbied for nuclear war as the final solution for communist Cuba and the Soviet Union and the mobsters whose criminal networks had metastasized into every town and city worth corrupting. Finally, there were the clandestine armies of the CIA, led by elites who saw the Kennedy brothers' progressive policies as a challenge to their right to rule the world by means of terror, coup and assassination. Could some of them have operated from the shadows to murder the country's hope for a "New Frontier," one that bordered on peace, equality and justice?

The brothers had powerfully challenged these immense forces. In an analogue to the rough style of touch football they played in Hyannis Port, the Kennedys made vigorous use of the Department of Justice, the IRS, the courts, National Security memoranda, and forceful public appeals to cajole, badger, shame and otherwise diminish their excessive power. Had some or all of these groups discarded the rules and dropped the pretense of a democratic game?

Robert Kennedy immediately believed they had. As the country's top law man and his brother's aide-de-camp, it had been his job to watch over these groups, whom he had discovered often worked hand-in-glove together. After learning of the assassination from an apparently jubilant FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, Kennedy called CIA Director, John McCone. "Did your people have anything to do with this horror?" he demanded. Inquiries into organized crime and the Cuban exile community followed soon after. So began RFK's investigation into what he sensed had been a successful coup d'etat. He became, in the words of author David Talbot, "the country's first assassination conspiracy theorist."

RFK knew, however, that, without presidential power, to confront such forces head-on would lead to certain defeat. He decided to bide his time and publicly support the findings of the Warren Commission. But when could he make a run for President? And wouldn't the forces that plotted the assassination exercise their considerable powers to stop him?

In the meantime, the United States descended into the madness that marked the latter half of the Sixties. Vietnam ripped the country apart, inner city rebellions exploded and the country's youth grew ever more disaffected. "The evil triplets" of "racism, extreme materialism and militarism," as Martin Luther King described them, seemed to be claiming victory over the country, where just a few years earlier there had been reason to hope there might exist a political path beyond them.

RFK set himself to confronting those national poisons. He shook off his deep despair and won a seat in the U.S. Senate. As a senator, Bobby Kennedy pursued a foreign policy often divergent from that of the State Department, the Pentagon, and the CIA. On trips abroad, he eschewed formal events with the local U.S.-backed elite and instead met with ordinary citizens. When students took the opportunity of his visit to protest U.S. foreign or economic policy, he engaged them, and almost invariably won them over to his faith in democracy's capacity to dethrone the imperial order without recourse to totalitarian communism.

RFK offered encouragement to liberation struggles, from Eastern Europe to Latin America to South Africa, and made pronouncements that infuriated the administration back home and the oligarchs abroad. And all the while, secretly, when he could bear to ask the questions, he asked trusted aides to make inquiries into his brother's death.

Meanwhile, the pressure to challenge Lyndon Johnson grew. Johnson had begun his administration by continuing the social programs conceived during the Kennedy years. However, he simultaneously did the bidding of the military industrial complex Eisenhower had warned about, embroiling the country in ever more disastrous and expensive imperial adventures. Martin Luther King assessed the situation in a single sentence: "The promises of the Great Society have been shot down on the battlefields of Vietnam".

The exponential increase in the bombing of a defenseless rural people, the huge surge in American personnel, and the Viet Cong's Tet offensive on major cities in South Vietnam (which gave lie to the military's promise of imminent victory), combined to force Bobby's hand. As nephew Stephen Kennedy Smith related, "He banged his hand on the television set and said 'That's it. I'm going to run.'"

It was among the most exhilarating campaigns in American history. In a whirlwind 85 days, RFK crisscrossed the country. Crowds of Americans of all kinds mobbed his every appearance. The poor and dispossessed were his passionate base; they sensed that this son of privilege meant it when he said, "We cannot continue to deny and postpone the demands of our own people, while spending billions in the name of freedom elsewhere around the globe." He was one of them now; he would not shirk from the battle.

President Johnson shockingly bowed out of the race soon after Kennedy's entrance. The immense, adoring crowds that attended his appearances suggested a tidal wave that would sweep him to victory at the Chicago Democratic Convention and onward to the Presidency.

Relaxing among friends at the home of filmmaker John Frankenheimer shortly before the California primary, one of the guests said aloud what was on the minds of many in the country and around the world: "You know, don't you, that somebody's going to try and kill you?"

"That's the chance I have to take," was Kennedy's reply.

With the deep support of African Americans, Latinos, and workers, Bobby won the crucial California primary. Just after midnight on June 5th, 1968, Kennedy stood at the podium in a ballroom at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles to acknowledge his victory, and thank his ecstatic supporters. His last public words were, "Now it's on to Chicago and let's win there."

Written by leading journalists and researchers, this is the first of four reports to be released that will refute the official government stories about the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X and Robert F. Kennedy with documented evidence. We seek the release of all documents on these cases whether controlled by local police or national authorities, many thousands of which continue to be hidden from public view more than 50 years later. The subsequent cover-ups have added to the public's mistrust of government and the media which has helped create the current dysfunctional political environment. We also seek to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to help bring truth, understanding and an improved democracy to the U.S.

For more information about the Truth and Reconciliation Committee or to support our effort, please visit:

www.americantruthnow.org

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