

Book of Facts: Acknowledgments

To Bob Urban

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Book of Facts: Introduction

It has been called the most infamous crime of the century, possibly of our entire history. The assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, as he rode in a motorcade in Dallas, Texas, has created more controversy than any other single event in American history. Speculation about exactly what happened and who was involved began only brief minutes after the president's car sped from the scene of the shooting and raced to a nearby hospital.

In this volume we have sought to gather accurate information about all the people, places, events, facts, objects, and theories associated directly or indirectly with the young president's death. We feel that presenting these elements in a reference-book format will help the reader better understand the controversies that continue to envelop this tragic incident, which has left an indelible impression on every American old enough to realize what happened that terrible day.

A word about the entries: It was necessary to set guidelines on what was to be included in and excluded from the book and to set a limit on the extent of information presented in any given entry. Without such guidelines this work could have stretched on for years and resulted in several volumes rather than the single-volume, accessible source we envisioned.

To keep the book accessible, each entry has been made as concise as possible, although some entries are necessarily longer and more comprehensive than others. As we watched the book grow in size - with more and more potential entries - some topics were selectively excluded. The result is a volume containing many subjects directly related to the assassination and its aftermath and a lesser number that are more peripherally related to the president's death. So many hundreds of articles and books, containing so many speculations connecting those directly involved with those only marginally - or quite theoretically - implicated, that we had to establish cut-off points. In some cases we have followed up on connections because they appeared relevant; at other times we did not, feeling they were not germane to this book.


We expect that not all readers will agree with our decisions. Some will insist that we should have included an entry on this or that topic, or that there are entries on topics that have no business being here. But ultimately we had to make the decision to include only those entries we believed would best help our readers understand more than they presently do about the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and the controversies engulfing the event. We think that we have included an entry on every topic appropriate to this ambitious goal. In the interest of improving further editions of this book, we shall be glad to hear from readers who want to suggest other topics they feel warrant inclusion. Those who do send suggestions are reminded that we are the arbiters of the book's contents. Readers with recommendations are invited to write to us in care of the publisher, Thunder's Mouth Press, at 54 Greene Street, Suite 4S, New York, NY 10013.

James P. Duffy
Vincent L. Ricci

Book of Facts: Guide

The Assassination of John F. Kennedy: A Complete Book of Facts includes a number of reference-book elements designed to help the reader find his or her way about in the great mass of material relating to the assassination. First, entries are alphabetically arranged. Almost all entries make mention of other topics that are treated separately in their own entries.

In addition to the numerous full entries, the book includes a number of what are called "blind" entries, which simply direct the reader to other places where information on a given topic is to be found. For example, "AM/LASH" was the code name for CIA operative Cubela, Rolando, so the blind entry for AM/LASH directs the reader to see [Rolando Cubela](#).

Almost every full entry is followed by a "source" line to let readers know which book or books we depended upon most heavily in compiling the information in that entry and to tell readers where they can go most easily to find out more information on that topic. The source line is indicated by a book icon that looks like this: . In deciding which sources to list at the ends of entries, we chose the most readily available books: Almost all the books mentioned in the source lines are in print as of this writing. (A much more complete bibliography follows at the end of the book, as does an annotated list of some of the motion pictures and television shows that have been made about the assassination.) In the source lines, book titles are somewhat abbreviated. A key showing the full titles, authors, and publication information follows on the next page.

Book of Facts: Key to Sources

Assassination Tapes: George O'Toole. *The Assassination Tapes: An Electronic Probe into the Murder of John F. Kennedy and the Dallas Coverup*. New York: Penthouse Press, 1975.

Best Evidence: David S. Lifton. *Best Evidence:: Disguise and Deception in the Assassination of John F. Kennedy*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1988.

Conspiracy: Anthony Summers. *Conspiracy*. New York: Paragon House, 1989.

Conspiracy of Silence: Charles A. Crenshaw. *JFK: Conspiracy of Silence*. New York: Signet, 1992.

Contract on America: David E. Scheim. *Contract on America: The Mafia Murder of President John F. Kennedy*. New York: Zebra Books, 1988.

Coup d'Etat: Michael L. Canfield and Alan J. Weberman. *Coup d'Etat in America: The CIA and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy*. New York: The Third Press, 1975.

Crossfire: Jim Marrs. *Crossfire: The Plot That Killed Kennedy*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1989.

Death of a President: William Manchester. *The Death of a President: November 20November 25, 1963*. 25th anniversary ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.

Fatal Hour: G. Robert Blakey and Richard N. Billings. *Fatal Hour: The Assassination of President Kennedy by Organized Crime*. New York: Berkley, 1992.

Final Disclosure: David W. Belin. *Final Disclosure: The Full Truth About the Assassination of President Kennedy*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988.

Heritage of Stone: Jim Garrison. *Heritage of Stone*. New York: Berkley, 1972.

High Treason: Robert J. Groden and Harrison Edward Livingstone. *High Treason: The Assassination of President Kennedy and the New Evidence of Conspiracy*. New York: Berkley, 1990.

High Treason 2: Harrison Edward Livingstone. *High Treason 2: The Great Cover-up: The Assassination of President John F. Kennedy*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 1992.

Mafia Kingfish: John H. Davis. *Mafia Kingfish: Carlos Marcello and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989.

Mortal Error: Bonar Menninger. *Mortal Error: The Shot That Killed JFK*. New York: St. Martin's

Press, 1992.

On the Trail of the Assassins: Jim Garrison. *On the Trail of the Assassins*. New York, Warner, 1991.

Plausible Denial: Mark Lane. *Plausible Denial: Was the CIA Involved in the Assassination of JFK?* New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1991.

Reasonable Doubt: Henry Hurt. *Reasonable Doubt: An Investigation into the Assassination of John F. Kennedy*. New York: Henry Holt, 1985.

Ruby Cover-up: Seth Kantor. *The Ruby Cover-up*. New York: Zebra Books, 1992.

Rush to Judgment: Mark Lane. *Rush to Judgment*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1991.

Texas Connection: Craig I. Zirbel. *The Texas Connection: The Assassination of President John F. Kennedy*. Scottsdale, Ariz.: The Texas Connection Company, 1991.

Warren Report: The Warren Commission Report (many editions).

Book of Facts: Abadie, William



A onetime employee of Jack Ruby, the man who shot and killed Lee Harvey Oswald, Abadie repaired jukeboxes and slot machines for Ruby's gambling operations. He also briefly doubled as a bookmaker in one of Ruby's clubs. On December 6, 1963, William Abadie told FBI agents that Ruby was well connected with local racketeers and corrupt police officials in both Dallas and Fort Worth. He also claimed to have seen local police officers hanging out in one of Ruby's bars while patrons were engaging in illegal gambling activities.

Contract on America

Book of Facts: Abrams, Gus

Abrams is reportedly one of three hoboes found near the scene of the assassination and taken in for questioning by the Dallas police almost immediately after. Initially charged with vagrancy, all three were later released. There has been confusion about their identities, what they were doing in the railroad yard behind the Grassy Knoll, and why they were released so quickly.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: "Abrams, Dr. Morris"

This is the fictitious name that researcher David S. Lifton assigned to a doctor who examined President Kennedy's autopsy report together with drawings of the wounds made by Dr. James J. Humes of Bethesda Naval Hospital. Abrams reportedly voiced the opinion that for some inexplicable reason the president's brain had been cut prior to the autopsy.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY.

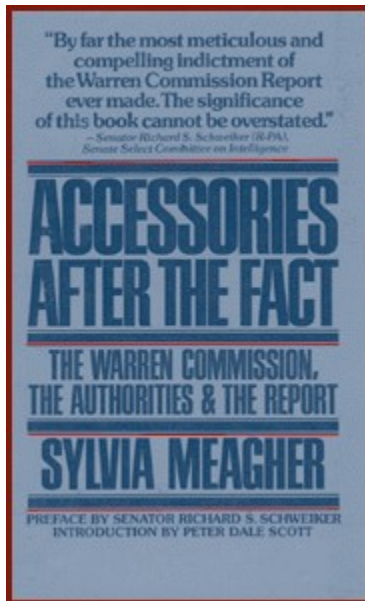
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Abt, John

An attorney with offices in New York City, Abt was noted for his defense of Smith Act violators in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Following his arrest, Lee Harvey Oswald attempted unsuccessfully to contact Abt, who was away from his home on the weekend following the assassination.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: *Accessories After The Fact*



Written by Sylvia Meagher and first published by Bobbs-Merrill in 1967, *Accessories after the Fact: The Warren Commission, the Authorities, and the Report* is an in-depth critique of the Warren Report. In *Accessories*, Meagher charges that the Warren Report contains important inaccuracies, omissions, misleading statements, and untrue statements. The book is a highly regarded resource that is frequently quoted by critics of the Warren Commission Report.

Book of Facts: Acoustical Evidence



Police departments routinely tape-record the conversations that take place over their radio networks. The Dallas police dispatch tape recorded on November 22, 1963, was used by the Warren Commission and the Dallas police to pinpoint the locations and review the movements of all officers during the presidential motorcade and immediately following the assassination. It then lay untouched for sixteen years, until Mary Ferrell brought it to the attention of investigators from the House Select Committee on Assassinations. The tape was analyzed by several acoustics experts from Bolt Beranek and Newman and by Mark Weiss.

Using highly sophisticated, state-of-the-art acoustical equipment, experts concluded that four shots were fired in Dealey Plaza, not three as the Warren Commission postulated, and that the third shot was fired from the area of the Grassy Knoll. Before the House Assassinations Committee adjourned, the members asked the Justice Department to pursue some of the leads it had developed. The Justice Department requested the National Science Foundation to verify the acoustical evidence on the dispatch tape. The Foundation's findings disputed the earlier hypothesis and have been used to discredit the conclusion that four shots were fired.

See also ARNOLD, GORDON; ASCHKENASY, ERNEST; BARGER, DR. JAMES; BELL LABORATORY; COMMITTEE ON BALLISTICS ACOUSTICS; GRASSY KNOLL WITNESSES; MCLAIN, H. B.; OVERPASS WITNESSES; PELLICANO, ANTHONY.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Acoustical Society of America



The House Select Committee on Assassinations solicited recommendations from the Acoustical Society - a nonprofit professional association of acousticians - for experts who could interpret what were presumably gunshots on an audio tape copied from the November 22, 1963, Dallas Police dispatch tape. The Society recommended the firm of Bolt Beranek and Newman of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Mark Weiss, a computer scientist.

Contract on America

Book of Facts: Adamick, John

John Adamcik is one of three Dallas police detectives (the others being Richard Stovall and Gus Rose) who investigated Buell Wesley Frazier and searched the home of Ruth Paine, where they confiscated Lee Harvey Oswald's possessions. Adamcik provoked a minor conflict when in his testimony before the Warren Commission he disavowed any understanding of the Russian language. This statement directly contradicted the police report submitted to the Commission, which declared that he "understands a little Russian." Adamcik is no longer a member of the Dallas Police; his whereabouts are unknown.

Assassination Tapes

Book of Facts: Adams, Victoria



Adams, a Texas School Book Depository Building employee when the assassination occurred, was interviewed by both federal agents and the Warren Commission counsel. She was on the fourth floor of the Depository when she heard the gunshots that presumably killed the president and wounded Texas Governor John Connally. According to her statements, she rushed to the stairs, descended swiftly to the first floor, and ran outside. If her account of the sequence is accurate, she should have been in the stairwell at the same time Lee Harvey Oswald is alleged by the Warren Commission to have been fleeing from his sixth-floor sniper's nest to the sanctuary of a second-floor cafeteria, where he was seen by Police Officer Marrion L. Baker. Adams claimed she saw or heard no one on the stairs.

In a session with the Warren Commission counsel, Adams volunteered the opinion that the shots she heard came from below her fourth-floor window and to the right, not from above and the left, where Oswald allegedly fired the fatal bullet.

Adams added another unsolicited piece of information that has fueled the controversies surrounding the shooting scene. She recalled that when she reached the street minutes after the assassination, she and coworker Mrs. Avery Davis saw a man at the corner of Houston and Elm streets questioning people much in the manner of a police officer. Later, after viewing Jack Ruby on television, she said he "looked very similar" to the man at Houston and Elm. However, other persuasive testimony places Ruby at the *Dallas Morning News* offices at the time.

Best Evidence: Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Air Force One



Air Force One was a customized Boeing 707 familiar to most Americans through the media. Although the plane was maintained and flown by select U.S. Air Force personnel, it appeared on the exterior identical to a commercial 707 except for the legend "United States of America" painted in large white letters above the windows on either side. The craft was officially designated #26000 and bore the Secret Service code name "Angel."

The presidential party had come to Dallas's Love Field on the plane, and, following the assassination, *Air Force One* was used to transport the coffin presumably containing President Kennedy's body, as well as Jacqueline Kennedy, President and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, and members of both presidential staffs, from Dallas to Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington, D.C. President Johnson was sworn into office aboard the plane before it left Dallas. Controversy has surrounded this flight almost from the moment it touched down at Andrews. The fact that it was one-half hour late led to speculation that the president's body was either tampered with during the flight or was removed from the coffin, spirited from the plane at Andrews, secretly placed aboard a nearby Army helicopter, and flown somewhere else to afford members of the conspiracy an opportunity to alter Kennedy's wounds before the autopsy. A second possibility is that the president's body was removed from *Air Force One* while it was still at Love Field before departing Dallas.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; BODY BAG CONTROVERSY; COFFIN CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Air Force Two

This, as well as Secret Service code name "Angel Two," is the name given to any of a number of aircraft made available to the vice president for official trips. Unlike Air Force One, no single airplane is specifically dedicated to the vice president's use. The Air Force Two designation applies to whatever plane the vice president is flying aboard at the moment. The name itself was coined by members of the vice president's press corps. Researcher David S. Lifton raised, then rejected, the possibility that President Kennedy's body could secretly have been transported to Washington from Dallas aboard Air Force Two.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Akin, Dr. Gene C.



Dr. Akin, an anesthesiologist, was one of sixteen doctors at Dallas's Parkland Memorial Hospital who rushed to the emergency room area as the dying president's limousine sped to the hospital. Dr. Akin was one of several doctors who testified to the Warren Commission that the wound in the rear of the president's head, officially designated the entry wound for the bullet that penetrated his brain, was actually an exit wound.

See also PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL STAFF.

Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Alba, Adrian



Adrian Alba owned and operated the Crescent City Garage on Magazine Street in New Orleans, not far from the famed French Quarter. The garage had contracted with federal government agencies to garage and service official vehicles, including some assigned to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Secret Service. Next door was the William Reily Coffee Company, where from early May until mid-July 1963, Lee Harvey Oswald worked as a machinery oiler. Oswald became friendly with Alba, sometimes spending his spare time in the garage browsing through Alba's gun magazines and talking about his firearms collection. Oswald asked Alba about ordering guns by mail, and Alba claims he helped Oswald repair the sling on a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, the kind of rifle Oswald allegedly used to shoot Kennedy.

Alba, a quiet man who shunned publicity about his friendship with Oswald, related a curious anecdote to researcher Anthony Summers. According to Alba, one day in the early summer of 1963, a man who showed him FBI credentials appeared at the garage and requested a car. The man was given a green Studebaker. The next day Alba saw what seemed to be the same Studebaker stop at the curb in front of the Reily Coffee Company. He saw Oswald approach the car and bend down to look in the window. A hand reached out the window holding what appeared to be a large envelope, which Oswald accepted and slipped inside his shirt. A few days later the car returned and Oswald once again met it; this time he held a brief conversation with the driver. Several days later the agent dropped the Studebaker off at the garage.

Another strange story involving the Crescent City Garage concerns a report, allegedly made by an employee of Alba's, that on the morning of the assassination a man claiming to be a friend of Alba's showed up at the garage asking whether he could look at Alba's gun magazines. Alba was out, but the man was permitted to go through the magazines. After the assassination, federal agents reportedly discovered that a coupon had been cut out of an issue of *American Rifleman* - and that the torn edges of this clipping matched those of the coupon Oswald allegedly used to order the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle. Curiously, Oswald's coupon had appeared in the magazine's February 1963 issue, whereas the altered *American Rifleman* in Alba's stack of magazines was the June 1963 issue.

See also AMERICAN RIFLEMAN ADVERTISEMENT; 544 CAMP STREET. Conspiracy; Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Alderson, Dr. Lawrence

A longtime resident of Houston, Dr. Alderson, a dentist, claims that FBI agents placed him under surveillance shortly after the assassination, and finally questioned him in December 1963. Although there is no known official record of this interview, Alderson says the subject of their questions was his friendship with Jean Souetre, a Frenchman who had once attempted the assassination of Charles de Gaulle. Alderson knew Souetre in the early 1950s while he was a lieutenant in the U.S. Army stationed in France, and Souetre was a captain in the French air force.

Alderson told the FBI agents he hadn't seen Souetre since leaving France, but that the two had continued to exchange Christmas greetings each year. The dentist claims that during the interview, the agents indicated that Souetre had been traced to Dallas the day before the assassination, but that they had lost him there. They were trying to determine how the Frenchman had left Dallas, and whether anyone had helped him leave. In 1983, when a reporter asked Souetre about his relationship with Alderson, Souetre denied knowing him, despite the fact that Alderson has a photograph of the two men, taken while they were both in France.

Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Aleman, Jose



A prominent and wealthy figure in Miami's Cuban exile community, Aleman allegedly told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that an organized crime figure told him, in September 1962, that President Kennedy was "going to be hit" because of harassment by his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, of Teamsters president Jimmy Hoffa.

Aleman claimed he met Florida Mafia boss Santos Trafficante at the Scott-Bryant Motel in Miami Beach to discuss a \$1.5 million loan from the Teamsters Union. According to Aleman, during the meeting Trafficante railed against the Kennedys and said the president was going to get what was coming to him. Thinking Trafficante meant Kennedy would lose the next election, Aleman said he disagreed, that Kennedy would be reelected. Trafficante allegedly replied, "No, José, he is going to be hit."

Aleman insisted that he told the FBI about the threat on the president's life voiced by Trafficante, but nothing was ever done about it. Aleman claimed that FBI agents questioned him hours after the assassination, but the Bureau denied this.

Aleman appeared before the House Select Committee on Assassinations in 1978. Expressing abject fear for his life, he changed his story slightly, testifying that Trafficante was talking about Kennedy losing the next election. Under immunity from prosecution, Trafficante admitted meeting Aleman at the motel in September, but denied predicting Kennedy's death.

See also MARCELLO, CARLOS; ROSELLI, JOHNNY.

Conspiracy; Contract on America

Book of Facts: Alexander, William F.



Alexander was an assistant district attorney for Dallas County when Kennedy was shot. From the time Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested until his murder by Jack Ruby, Alexander was outspoken about Oswald's guilt and his alleged ties to an international communist conspiracy. Alexander is also believed by many to have been the source of rumors circulated among reporters in Dallas shortly after the assassination hinting that Oswald was a paid informer for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Later appointed an assistant U.S. attorney for Dallas federal district, Alexander was quoted as saying, fourteen years after the assassination, that there was a "real possibility" Oswald was on his way to meet an accomplice when he shot and killed Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit.

See also RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS.

Assassination Tapes; High Treason

Book of Facts: Aliases Used by Oswald

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM Approval not required
NOTICE OF CLASSIFICATION

ALEK JAMES HIDELL
(First name) (Middle name) (Last name)

Selective Service No. 492 224 399 5921 has
been classified in Class 1-F (Until
19.....) by Local Board Appeal Board,
by vote of to President
(Show vote on appeal board name only)

..... 19.....
(Date of mailing) (Member or clerk of local board)



The law requires you, subject to heavy penalty for violation, to carry this notice, in addition to your Registration Certificate on your person at all times—to exhibit it upon request to authorized officials—to surrender it to your commanding officer upon entering the armed forces.
The law requires you to notify your local board in writing (1) of every change in your address, physical condition, and occupational, marital, family, dependency, and military status, and (2) of any other fact which might change your classification.
FOR ADVICE, SEE YOUR GOVERNMENT APPEAL AGENT

Lee Harvey Oswald is known to have used at least two aliases during the time he lived in Dallas before the assassination. When Oswald was arrested, he was carrying a forged Selective Service card identifying him as Alek James Hidell. Some researchers believe the card was planted on Oswald. The Mannlicher-Carcano rifle allegedly found in the Texas School Book Depository Building following the assassination had been ordered from Klein's Sporting Goods Company by a person identified only as A. Hidell and had been shipped to a post office box rented by Oswald. Oswald also placed a separate order for a .38 caliber Smith & Wesson revolver using the name A. J. Hidell. (Some researchers have postulated that Oswald may have taken the name Hidell from a nickname that members of his Marine Corps unit used for one of Oswald's Marine Corps buddies, John R. Heindel.)

Oswald used the name O. H. Lee when he lived in the Dallas rooming house operated by Mrs. Earlene Roberts. He is also reported to have used the name Leon Oswald in the Odio Incident. Oswald used the name Osborne in the summer of 1963, when ordering materials for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee from two printing houses in New Orleans.
Conspiracy; High Treason; Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Alpha 66

A militant anti-Castro Cuban exile group with headquarters in Florida and Dallas, Alpha 66 made headlines around the world in the early 1960s for its gunboat raids on Cuban ports. Soviet and Cuban ships were favorite targets of these raids. Because President Kennedy had publicly criticized the group's activities and called for a stop to the attacks on Cuba, many Alpha 66 members had become anti-Kennedy. Following the assassination, several individuals charged that the group was behind the murder, but no proof of its involvement could be found.

Interestingly, Antonio Veciana, a leader of Alpha 66, claimed to have witnessed his CIA contact, known to him as Maurice Bishop, talking to a stranger in a downtown Dallas office building lobby in either late August or early September 1963. Veciana said he thought nothing of it until he saw the man's picture displayed on television as the assassin of President Kennedy, Lee Harvey Oswald.

See also BAY OF PIGS.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Altgens, James W.



An Associated Press photographer, Altgens had stationed himself at a vantage point on Elm Street across from the Texas School Book Depository Building to photograph the presidential motorcade as it passed through Dealey Plaza and headed onto the Stemmons Freeway. Altgens captured the president on film in a now-famous shot taken within two seconds of the impact of the bullet that struck his head. For a while, controversy raged around a figure visible in the background of the photograph. A man many people thought strongly resembled Lee Harvey Oswald was pictured standing in the front entrance of the Book Depository Building. If it was, in fact, Oswald, he could not have been on the sixth floor of the building when the shots were fired.

The Warren Commission discounted any possibility that the figure was Oswald, and instead identified the man as Billy Nolan Lovelady, another building employee. The man in the photo is wearing a dark, heavy-textured shirt open halfway to the waist over a white undershirt. Lovelady later told reporters that he was wearing a red-and-white-striped sport shirt that day. The identity of the man in the photo has never been clearly established.

James Altgens told Commission investigators that he raced up the Grassy Knoll immediately after the president was hit because several uniformed Dallas police officers ran in that direction with weapons drawn, apparently in response to the sound of gunfire from that direction. Altgens' testimony that "flesh particles flew out of the side of his [Kennedy's] head in my direction from where I was standing . . ." has been cited by many investigators to support the conclusion that the president's head wound was caused by a bullet fired from the Grassy Knoll, which was to Kennedy's right and front, not from the Texas School Book Depository Building, which was to his rear.

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Alvarado, Gilberto

Gilberto Alvarado was a young Nicaraguan who, two days after the assassination, visited the American Embassy in Mexico City and told shocked diplomats he had seen Lee Harvey Oswald at the Cuban consulate there. Alvarado said that two months earlier he had seen Oswald meet on the consulate's private patio with a thin black man who spoke fluent English. They were joined briefly by a Cuban who gave the black man a fistful of U.S. dollars, then departed.

Alvarado swore he heard the black man tell Oswald, "I want to kill the man," to which Oswald replied that he was not man enough to do the job, but that he, Oswald, would take care of it. Oswald then took the money from the black man and said, "The people are waiting for me back there." With that, both men parted company.

Although Alvarado's story was impossible to verify, it received more than a little credibility because the Central Intelligence Agency staff in Mexico City already knew Oswald had been there, thanks to their constant surveillance of the Cuban consulate. (Some researchers believe this "Oswald" to have been an impersonator.) Researchers such as Anthony Summers, who charge that the CIA was involved in the assassination, have labeled Alvarado's story a piece of disinformation calculated to further the belief that Oswald was working for the Cuban government.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Ambulance Controversy



When *Air Force One* landed at Andrews Air Force Base, the president's coffin was removed from the craft and placed inside a Navy ambulance for the trip to Bethesda Naval Hospital. Jacqueline Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who had met the plane, also rode in the ambulance. A second ambulance reportedly joined the motorcade from the air base to the hospital to serve as a decoy, drawing the crowd of curiosity seekers away from the ambulance bearing the president's coffin.

The motorcade reached Bethesda at approximately 6:55 P.M., Friday, November 22, 1963. Mrs. Kennedy and the president's brother alighted and entered the front door of the hospital, leaving the ambulance containing the coffin outside under guard by a group of sailors hand-picked specifically for this duty. The Military District of Washington, D.C., Casket Team had flown by helicopter from Andrews to Bethesda, where the members loaded into a pickup truck. They waited near the front entrance to the hospital until the ambulance pulled away to drive around back to the loading dock. The truck attempted to keep pace with the ambulance, which reportedly drove at high speed, but lost sight of it and then lost its bearings. Returning to the hospital's main entrance, the truck started again for the rear of the building, where the ambulance was found waiting. The coffin was finally removed by the Casket Team. Although Bureau records purportedly indicate that FBI agents accompanied the coffin from the ambulance to the autopsy room at 7:17 P.M., the Casket Team case report puts the time the coffin was transferred at 8:00 P.M.

According to a statement that researcher David S. Lifton attributed to Petty Officer Dennis David, who was chief of the day for the medical school when Kennedy's body arrived, David brought with him to the loading platform "seven or eight sailors" who unloaded the coffin and brought it into the autopsy room. This does not correspond with either of the two reports, one by the FBI men at the scene (the O'Neill and Sibert report) and the other by the Casket Team, concerning who unloaded the coffin. Adding to the controversy is a statement Lifton attributed to X-ray technician Jerrold F. Custer that Custer witnessed Mrs. Kennedy's arrival through the front entrance of the hospital while he was carrying X rays of her husband's head to be developed. If the president's body was still in the coffin inside the ambulance in which Mrs. Kennedy arrived, it was impossible for Custer to be arranging to develop X rays of his wounds.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; BIRD, SAMUEL R.; BODY BAG CONTROVERSY; COFFIN CONTROVERSY; LIPSEY, RICHARD A.; WEHLE, PHILIP C.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)

Lee Harvey Oswald established a curious relationship with the ACLU. After reportedly attending a meeting of the organization's Dallas chapter with Michael and Ruth Paine, he wrote to the group's national headquarters asking how he could get in touch with "ACLU groups in my area" without mentioning that he had already attended the local meeting. Then, on November 1, 1963, he rented a post office box, naming the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the ACLU as authorized addressees.

When Oswald was arrested on Friday, November 22, 1963, a delegation from the ACLU visited Dallas Police Headquarters. They were assured that Oswald's rights were being protected, but were refused permission to see him. Oswald was not informed of this visit, even when, on the following afternoon, he requested that the ACLU arrange legal representation.

Conspiracy; Death of a President

Book of Facts: American Fact Finding Committee

WELCOME MR. KENNEDY

TO DALLAS...

- ... A CDFI is designed to meet itself and attend for its objectives, not to be a committee to give advice.
- ... A CDFI is not a committee to give advice, but a committee to give advice to the President.
- ... A CDFI is not a committee to give advice, but a committee to give advice to the President.
- ... A CDFI is not a committee to give advice, but a committee to give advice to the President.

MR. KENNEDY, despite our efforts on the part of your administration, the State Department, the House of Representatives, the Dallas City Council, and members of your party, we have found and are continuing to find that you will have through a Committee largely created by you, the right to address our grievances. We therefore you, to do so with you, and to advise you.

In exercising this constitutional right, we wish to ask you address the following question-related questions of personal experience and interest to all the people of our country: we trust you will answer... in detail, without apology. These questions are:

- WHY** is Latin America today either self-determination or Communist, as both results increased U.S. foreign aid, State Department action, and your own best (over government)?
- WHY** do you see, we have built a "wall of freedom" around Cuba when there is no freedom in Cuba today? Because directly or indirectly, thousands of Cubans have been imprisoned, are starving and being persecuted with thousands directly or indirectly, thousands more awaiting execution and, in addition, the entire population of about 10,000,000 Cubans are living in misery?
- WHY** have you supported the sale of Cuban and other oil to the Communist Government, when you know that the Communist Government is a tool of the Soviet Union?
- WHY** did you, both, advise and withdraw the U.S. Marine's from Cuba in 1962 when you know that our own army, Navy, and Air Force, and the Cuban people are a great force and leader of Communist?
- WHY** are you against general aid, socialist, capitalism, and other forms of Communism, Police, Military and other Communist countries, who have your hand on the throat of America, East Germany, Cuba and other anti-American freedom fighters?
- WHY** did Cuba take the U.S. out of its country after we passed nearly 400 million dollars of aid with its other allies?
- WHY** do you, the head of the U.S. Communist Party, stand alone away from your political movement that the party will receive and support your leadership in 1968?
- WHY** have you found the leading U.S. military force of the "Democratic Revolution" - the words by the House Committee on Un-American Activities regarding Communism in America?
- WHY** have you advised or permitted our brother, Fidel Castro, to go with us, Communism, before we have any other ally in the world, who promises to be partners with American who will not give you a word about our own leadership?
- WHY** do you, in favor of the U.S. continuing to give economic aid to Argentina, in spite of the fact that Argentina has perverted almost 400 million dollars of American money annually?
- WHY** has the House Policy of the United States Department of the State that the CIA is arranging to give and buy the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the U.S. security information?
- WHY** have you supported the Monroe Doctrine in favor of the "Right of Mexico" to use copyright in violation of the United States of America, we demand answers to these questions, and we want them NOW!

THE AMERICAN FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE
"An unaffiliated and non-partisan group of citizens who will not be intimidated."
MEMBERS: UNIDENTIFIED
Chairman
P.O. Box 1762 - Dallas 2, Texas

On the day the president was killed, the American Fact-Finding Committee sponsored a full-page advertisement in the *Dallas Morning News* headlined "Welcome Mr. Kennedy to Dallas." Bordered in black, the ad contained a series of pointed questions and harsh statements critical of the Kennedy administration. The man who signed the ad, Bernard Weissman, testified that he and some friends had invented the committee name when they wrote the ad.

Weissman prepared the ad with help from two other men: Joseph P. Grinnan and Larrie H. Schmidt. There is no indication that any of the three knew either Lee Harvey Oswald or Jack Ruby before the assassination. According to the Warren Commission, the money to pay for the advertisement was contributed by three Dallas businessmen: Nelson Bunker Hunt, Edgar R. Crissey, and H. R. Bright. Warren Report

Book of Facts: American Guild Of Variety Artists (AGVA)_



Characterized in the 1960s and 1970s by federal law enforcement agencies as a mob-influenced union, AGVA represented nightclub performers, among other entertainment workers. Two years before President Kennedy's assassination, Senator Karl Mundt, a member of the U.S. Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, labeled AGVA "purely a racket to collect money."

As a nightclub owner, Jack Ruby had close ties with AGVA and many of its mob-connected officials. Telephone company records show that, in the days leading up to the assassination, Ruby made numerous telephone calls to AGVA. Ruby claimed he called union officers about unfair practices, asking them to stop his competitors from featuring certain types of shows that Ruby was prevented from staging in his clubs because of union rules. Observers who believe Ruby was part of a mob plot to assassinate the president associate these calls with the assassination planning.

See also MAFIA.

Contract on America


Book of Facts: American Rifleman Advertisement

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM Approval not required
NOTICE OF CLASSIFICATION

ALEK JAMES HIDELL
(First name) (Middle name) (Last name)

Selective Service No. 492 224 399 5921 has
been classified in Class 1-F (Until
19.....) by Local Board Appeal Board,
by vote of to President
(Show vote on appeal board name only)

..... 19.....
(Date of mailing) (Member or clerk of local board)



The law requires you, subject to heavy penalty for violation, to carry this notice, in addition to your Registration Certificate on your person at all times—to exhibit it upon request to authorized officials—to surrender it to your commanding officer upon entering the armed forces.
The law requires you to notify your local board in writing (1) of every change in your address, physical condition, and occupational, marital, family, dependency, and military status, and (2) of any other fact which might change your classification.
FOR ADVICE, SEE YOUR GOVERNMENT APPEAL AGENT

In early 1963, Klein's Sporting Goods Company received a mail-order coupon clipped from an advertisement it had placed in the February issue of American Rifleman. The order was for the Italian-made Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5-millimeter rifle featured in the ad. The handwriting on the coupon was that of Lee Harvey Oswald, but the name on the order form was A. Hidell. The rifle was to be shipped to post office box 2915, Dallas, Texas, a box rented to Oswald. The cost of the rifle was \$21.45. According to Klein's records, the rifle the firm shipped in response to that coupon bore serial number C2766, the same serial number on the rifle allegedly discovered on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building shortly after President Kennedy was shot. Much has been made of Oswald's allegedly purchasing the rifle through the mail, and thus establishing a definite trail of possession, since he had to provide Klein's with a name and address for shipping purposes, when he simply could have walked into any of more than a dozen stores in Dallas and purchased the same weapon without having to provide even a fictitious name and address.

See also ALBA, ADRIAN; ALIASES USED BY OSWALD.

Death of a President; Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Ammunition Clip



An ammunition clip is a small, bluish metal spring-loaded cartridge receptacle used to load automatic and semiautomatic rifles. It permits rapid firing, which is otherwise not possible by manually loading a new cartridge into the firing chamber after each shot. Whether or not an ammunition clip for the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle was actually found in the Texas School Book Depository Building remains questionable.

The original inventory of articles found in what became known as the sniper's nest, where Lee Harvey Oswald allegedly was when he fired at Kennedy, does not list an ammunition clip despite an otherwise meticulous detailing of every item recovered along with the rifle. According to assassination researcher Sylvia Meagher, the first reference to a clip surfaces in the Warren Report, published in September 1964. Prior to that, no mention of an ammunition clip appears anywhere. Some researchers, seeking to explain the apparent absence of a clip, have advanced the theory that Oswald reloaded the rifle manually and that someone later added the clip to the inventory. Most experts agree that without using a clip Oswald could not possibly have fired more than one round before the president's car sped from the scene, indicating that the additional shots had to have come from a second source.

Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Anderson, Eugene D.

A U.S. Marine Corps marksmanship expert, Major Anderson was, at the time he testified before the Warren Commission, assistant head of the Marksmanship Branch of the Marine Corps. Major Anderson testified that it was possible for Lee Harvey Oswald to have shot the president twice within the time span of 4.8 to 5.6 seconds, the window established by the Commission between the first and second shots that hit Kennedy.

He also testified about Oswald's marksmanship record while he served in the Marine Corps. Anderson's testimony that weather conditions and a poor rifle could account for wide differences in Oswald's marksmanship scores has been challenged by Mark Lane.

See also FIRING SEQUENCE CONTROVERSY.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Anderson, Jack



A Washington-based syndicated newspaper columnist, Jack Anderson first reported, in 1967, allegations that Fidel Castro was behind the Kennedy assassination. Anderson's source for much of the information supporting his reports was a high-ranking mobster named Johnny Roselli, who claimed to have worked closely with the Central Intelligence Agency in plotting to kill Castro.

Anderson revealed to his readers that Roselli told him Jack Ruby was ordered by the mob to kill Lee Harvey Oswald because it was feared he would "crack and disclose information that might lead to them." They believed disclosure of mob ties to the assassination would trigger a major crackdown on the Mafia.

G. Gordon Liddy has stated that Anderson was discussed as a target for assassination because of his exposés divulging discreditable CIA activities. Liddy claims the discussion took place during a luncheon attended by himself, E. Howard Hunt, and a CIA agent known as Dr. Gunn.

Conspiracy; Contract on America; Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Anderton, James

A FBI agent, James Anderton was contacted on Monday, November 25, 1963, by Dr. Jack Harper from Dallas's Methodist Hospital. The doctor explained that his nephew, William Allen Harper, a college student, had found a fragment of what appeared to be a human bone in the grassy triangle just to the left of where the president was hit.

When the Secret Service learned about the fragment, Anderton was told to send it directly to the White House. That order was quickly countermanded by FBI assistant director Alan Belmont, who ordered the piece of bone sent to the FBI laboratory in Washington, D.C.

See also HARPER BONE FRAGMENT.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Andrews, Dean



New Orleans attorney with reputed links to underworld figure Carlos Marcello, Dean Adams Andrews, Jr., testified to the Warren Commission that Lee Harvey Oswald had consulted him several times to discuss legal options open to him to reverse his less than honorable discharge from the Marine Corps. Andrews said that Oswald was usually accompanied by a man who appeared to be a Mexican.

Andrews further attested that the day after the assassination, he was called by an acquaintance named Clay Bertrand, a name many investigators believe to be an alias used by CIA operative Clay Shaw. According to Andrews, Bertrand asked him to defend Oswald in Dallas on the charge that he had killed the president.

_____ The attorney later became a key figure in the investigation of the assassination conducted by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison. When Andrews recanted his account of the Bertrand/Shaw incident, Garrison had him indicted for perjury and obtained a conviction.

Conspiracy; On the Trail of the Assassins; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Andrews Air Force Base



Andrews Air Force Base, located in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., was the scene of the arrival at 6:05 P.M. on Friday, November 22, 1963, of *Air Force One* bearing the coffin of the fallen president. The scene took on a surrealistic character. In the harsh brilliance of television klieg lights, with the sound of helicopter rotors beating in the background, the coffin purportedly containing the president's body was removed from the Boeing 707 and placed in a waiting ambulance for the trip to Bethesda Naval Hospital, where an autopsy team prepared to perform the postmortem examination.

Some investigators have expressed doubt that the coffin actually contained the president's body. They theorize that it was removed from the opposite side of the aircraft and taken aboard a nearby Army helicopter, where the wounds could have been altered before the autopsy.

See also BODY BAG CONTROVERSY; COFFIN CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence; *Death of a President*

Book of Facts: Angel, Dr. Lawrence

As curator of Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. Lawrence Angel was among those who attempted to isolate the exact place on the president's skull where the Harper bone fragment splintered away. Angel refused, finally, to identify it as positively coming from the back of the skull. Some investigators feel that the inability to match the fragment to a precise location on the skull is proof the head wound was altered.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Angleton, James



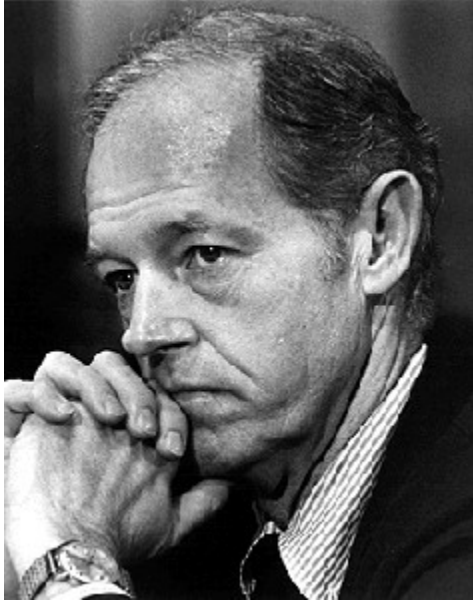
Former chief of counterintelligence at the Central Intelligence Agency, Angleton led a faction within the Agency that refused to believe Soviet KGB defector Yuri Nosenko when he denied that the KGB had any communication with Lee Harvey Oswald. A memo allegedly signed by Angleton has also tied him to speculation that E. Howard Hunt, a CIA agent who later became a prominent Watergate figure, was in Dallas the day of the assassination. Hunt maintains he was in Washington.
Fatal Hour; Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Anson, Robert Sam

A television producer and political correspondent, Anson is the author of a book titled *They've Killed the President! The Search for the Murderers of John F. Kennedy*, published in 1975 by Bantam Books. In his text, Anson assesses the blame for the assassination on organized crime.

See also CONTRACT ON AMERICA.

Book of Facts: Anti-Castro Cubans



A wave of embittered exiles fled Cuba after the success of Fidel Castro's revolution in 1959. Many settled in Miami, which soon became a hotbed of Central Intelligence Agency activity. CIA operative E. Howard Hunt openly recruited disaffected refugees in the streets of Miami, and Operation Mongoose, the CIA's Miami-based plan to overthrow Castro, included many veterans of former Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista's military.

A particularly troublesome aspect of the CIA's anti-Castro operations was that the Agency worked hand in hand with members of the Mafia in its attempts to overthrow Castro. The Mafia's eagerness to participate in efforts to get rid of Castro resulted from its having been banned from the island by the new communist government and, hence, prevented from continuing to cash in on what had been its extremely lucrative hotel and casino business in Havana.

After the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion, many of the anti-Castro Cubans who had been involved in the CIA's secret war against Castro felt betrayed. Some blamed President Kennedy for the invasion's failure, thinking that he had withheld air support necessary for its success. They were even more dismayed when, in September 1963, Kennedy authorized William Attwood, his special adviser for African affairs at the United Nations, to meet with Cuba's envoy to the U.N. to discuss the possibility of negotiations.

The possible connection of anti-Castro Cubans to the assassination of President Kennedy has also been suggested by the fact that, in New Orleans, several anti-Castro organizations had their offices at 544 Camp Street, which also housed the offices of Guy Banister and which was the address Lee Harvey Oswald used on literature he distributed for the phony branch of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (a pro-Castro group) he set up in that city.

See also ALPHA 66; ARAGON, ERNEST; ARCACHA SMITH, SERGIO; BRINGUIER, CARLOS; CASTELLANOS, NESTOR; FERRIE, DAVID; HEMMING, GERRY PATRICK; MILTEER, JOSEPH; ODIO INCIDENT; OPERATION 40; SHAW, CLAY.

Book of Facts: Applin, George



George Applin was a patron in the Texas Theater on November 22, 1963, when Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested there for the murder of Police Officer J. D. Tippit. Applin told the Warren Commission that during Oswald's arrest, he observed a man sitting in the rear of the theater who not only appeared uninterested in the film but also quietly watched over the arrest while other patrons were ducking for cover. In 1979, Applin admitted to the *Dallas Morning News* that he later recognized Jack Ruby as the man he had seen in the movie house. He said he was afraid to tell the police or the Commission what he knew in 1964 because he had read an article about the deaths of people who were witnesses to the assassination or connected in some way to the incident.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Aragon, Ernest

Aragon was, according to researchers Michael L. Canfield and Alan J. Weberman, a Secret Service agent in Miami who was assigned to investigate the Odio Incident and everyone involved in it. Researchers have uncovered several glaring omissions in his performance of this assignment. He is accused of neglecting to pursue vigorously his investigation of Juan, or John, Martin, a shadowy individual believed to have been involved in running guns for anti-Castro Cubans. Aragon's detractors also claim he failed to follow up on a lead provided by a long-distance operator in Mexico City who alleged that she overheard two men discussing "the Castro plan" (the Kennedy assassination?) and one of them remarking ominously, "Bobby is next."

Coup d'Etat

Book of Facts: Arcacha-Smith, Sergio



A leader among anti-Castro Cubans in the New Orleans area, Arcacha reportedly had close ties to underworld figure Carlos Marcello and to Guy Banister, a former FBI agent with links to intelligence agencies. Arcacha set up the office of the Cuban Revolutionary Council at 544 Camp Street, though he denied being acquainted with Lee Harvey Oswald. Arcacha was implicated in the Kennedy assassination by a female drug addict who was hospitalized near Eunice, Louisiana, after being thrown from a car during the night of November 20, 1963. According to reports attributed to Lieutenant Francis Frugé, the state police officer who handled her case, she told him the men she was with had discussed killing President Kennedy while he was in Dallas. The woman, known as Rose Cheramie, but whose real name may have been Melba Christine Marcades, said she worked for Jack Ruby at his Dallas club. Two days later, when the assassination actually took place, Frugé used the woman's description to identify one of the men in the car as Arcacha. The owner of a bar where Cheramie and the men had been drinking before she was dumped identified Arcacha in a photograph as one of her companions. Arcacha denied any knowledge of the incident. On September 4, 1965, Cheramie was killed on a Texas highway when an automobile ran her over after she had apparently been thrown from a car. See also BANISTER, GUY; FERRIE, DAVID. *Conspiracy*; *Crossfire*

Book of Facts: Arce, Danny Garcia

___ Arce was one of many witnesses at the assassination scene whose perception of the direction from which the shots were fired helped to further the controversy over the Warren Report. Arce told the FBI that he was standing in the grassy area in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building when he heard the shots. He told law enforcement officers he thought they "came from the direction of the railroad tracks near the parking lot at the west end of the Depository Building."

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES; TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Archer, Don



After Jack Ruby shot Lee Harvey Oswald, Dallas police lieutenant Archer reportedly told Ruby that Oswald was dead and that Ruby would probably be executed for the killing. This news apparently brought a sigh of relief from Ruby.

Conspiracy; High Treason

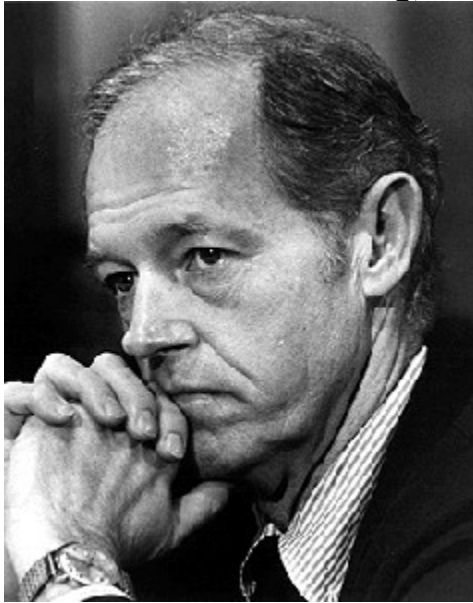
Book of Facts: Armstrong, Andrew



Andrew Armstrong was working as a handyman at Jack Ruby's Carousel Club when President Kennedy was slain. He acknowledged being with his employer when Ruby heard that Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit also had been killed. According to Armstrong, Ruby was distraught because, Ruby said, Tippit was a close friend. In testimony before the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Armstrong refuted Ruby's explanation that a suspicious series of calls he made to mob figures and leaders of the American Guild of Variety Artists in the weeks before the assassination were appeals for help because his business was being badly hurt by competitors who were violating union regulations against amateur strippers. Armstrong said, to the contrary, that business had been "picking up" at Ruby's club during the fall of 1963.

Contract on America; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Armstrong, Leslie



Leslie Armstrong was the jury foreperson at a 1985 trial involving a libel suit brought by CIA agent E. Howard Hunt against the publication *Spotlight* concerning an article by Victor Marchetti that implicated Hunt in the assassination of President Kennedy. The jury found for *Spotlight*. After the trial, Armstrong told the press she believed the evidence presented by defense attorney Mark Lane proved that the Central Intelligence Agency had killed Kennedy and that Hunt was involved. The trial is the centerpiece of Lane's best-selling 1991 book, *Plausible Denial*, published by Thunder's Mouth Press.

Book of Facts: Arnett, George



Dallas police lieutenant George Arnett confirmed to investigators that Jack Ruby and Police Officer J. D. Tippit had had a long-standing friendship. Arnett theorized that Tippit's murder by Lee Harvey Oswald may have been Ruby's true motive for shooting Oswald.

See also WILLIAMS, HAROLD.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Arnold, Carolyn



Mrs. Arnold was employed as the secretary to the vice president of the Texas School Book Depository when the assassination took place. Although she never testified before the Warren Commission or the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Arnold was interviewed extensively by the FBI. From that interview FBI agents derived that Mrs. Arnold believed that on November 22, 1963, she saw Lee Harvey Oswald standing on the sidewalk in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building at about 12:15 P.M., only minutes before the fatal shots were fired.

In 1978, however, Mrs. Arnold claimed she was misquoted in the FBI report of the interview, which she read long after it was given. Disavowing the report, she insisted it was a gross misrepresentation of her statements to the FBI, then went on to clarify her original version of what she saw that day: At approximately 12:15 P.M., Mrs. Arnold went to the company lunchroom for a drink of water. She saw Oswald seated in a booth, apparently eating his lunch. Although neither spoke, Arnold declares that she knew Oswald well enough, and passed sufficiently close to him, to be absolutely certain it was he. Mrs. Arnold's testimony raises considerable doubt that Oswald could have fired the rifle that killed the president. He would have had to race to the sixth floor, assassinate the president, and return in less than two minutes to the second-floor cafeteria, where he was confronted by Police Officer Marrion L. Baker and building manager Roy Truly only minutes after the shooting.

See also TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES.

Conspiracy; Crossfire; Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Arnold, Gordon



One of a group that came to be called the Grassy Knoll witnesses, Gordon Arnold was on leave following his Army basic training. He was an amateur cinematographer anxious to film the presidential motorcade from the best possible angle. Dressed in his Army uniform, Arnold first chose as his site the railroad overpass at the western end of Dealey Plaza, which offered a clear, unobstructed view of the plaza, through which the motorcade was to pass. Arnold was prevented from entering the overpass by a well-dressed man who showed him a Secret Service badge and ID. Official records indicate that no Secret Service agents were assigned to patrol the area on foot that day. However, a Dallas police officer and a county deputy sheriff reportedly encountered a second such "agent" on the Grassy Knoll immediately after the shooting.

Arnold then found a suitable vantage point from which to shoot his movie film, only a few feet in front of the stockade fence on the Grassy Knoll. Suddenly he felt a shot whiz past his left ear. He threw himself to the ground in an involuntary reaction, probably due to his recent training. Questioned by a uniformed police officer a few seconds later, Arnold insisted that the shots had come from behind him. The officer confiscated Arnold's film.

Arnold recounted the experience in a 1978 interview published in the *Dallas Morning News*. While some people discounted his story, it received tacit corroboration from then-senator Ralph Yarborough, who was riding with Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson two cars behind Kennedy's. Yarborough wrote the *Morning News* that he recalled that when the first shot was fired he saw a uniformed figure immediately "hit the dirt" at the spot where Arnold said he was filming. The senator remembered thinking to himself that the man's quick reaction suggested he must be a "combat veteran."

Nothing more has ever been heard of Arnold's confiscated film, and the police officer who took it and the Secret Service agent who prevented Arnold from going onto the overpass have never been identified.

Conspiracy; Contract on America; Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Artime, Manuel



A leader among anti-Castro Cuban exiles with allegedly close ties to E. Howard Hunt of the Central Intelligence Agency, Artime is believed to have been deeply involved in plots to kill Fidel Castro through an undercover Cuban CIA informant named Rolando Cubela. At the time Kennedy was assassinated, Artime reportedly was maintaining a small force of several hundred Cubans in Nicaragua who were preparing for assassination assignments against the Castro regime. He later served as a civilian representative for Brigade 2506, which was training for the invasion of Cuba.

See also BAY OF PIGS.

Conspiracy; Fatal Hour; High Treason

Book of Facts: Aschkenasy, Ernest



Aschkenasy, an acoustics expert, was called on by the House Select Committee on Assassinations to review earlier acoustics studies of background sounds caught on the Dallas police dispatch tape during the assassination. When Aschkenasy, Dr. James Barger, and Professor Mark Weiss completed their analysis of the taped sounds of what appeared to be four gunshots recorded through the open microphone of a Dallas police officer's motorcycle radio, they concluded that there was a 95 percent or better probability that the report of the third shot came from the area of the Grassy Knoll.

See also ACOUSTICAL EVIDENCE; BELL LABORATORY; RAMSEY REPORT.
Fatal Hour; High Treason

Book of Facts: The Assassination Tapes

Written by George O'Toole, a former CIA computer specialist, and published by Penthouse Press in 1975, this book is based on results obtained with a "psychological stress evaluator," an electronic device that measures voice stress levels to determine whether a subject is lying or telling the truth. O'Toole used the device on myriad taped interviews, press conferences, and the like, with people connected (some remotely) to the assassination and subsequent events. These included eyewitnesses, police officers at the scene, medical examiners, and members of the Warren Commission. O'Toole also conducted additional private interviews. The book purports to prove that two conspiracies existed: one to actually murder the president and the other to frame Lee Harvey Oswald, who the author declares was innocent.

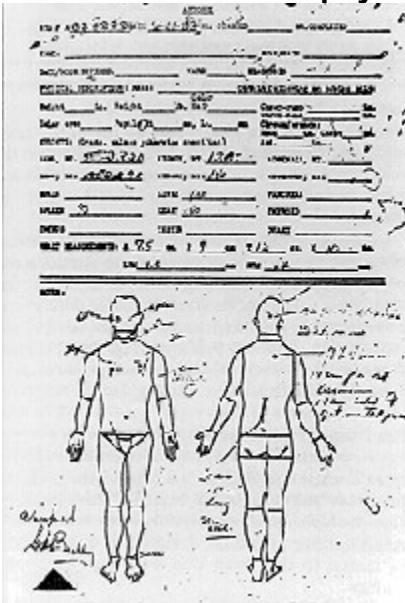
Book of Facts: Atsugi Air Base



In 1957, when Lee Harvey Oswald was serving in the U.S. Marine Corps, one of his assignments was the radar room at Atsugi Air Base, southwest of Tokyo, Japan. During this time, he carried a military security clearance alternately reported as "confidential" and "secret." Atsugi was also a major operations center for the Central Intelligence Agency's supersecret U-2 spy plane program. Oswald's proximity to the CIA installation prompted speculation that he may have been recruited by the Agency while at Atsugi. Researchers have found no consistent pattern to Oswald's activities there, and remain unable to account for his strange, prolonged disappearance from the base, which was ostensibly attributed to treatment for a minor disease.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Autopsy Controversy



The president's autopsy was performed at Bethesda Naval Hospital outside of Washington, D.C. Every facet of the autopsy has been controversial, including these provocative questions: Why wasn't it done in Dallas, as Texas law requires and the Dallas medical examiner, Earl Rose, wanted? And why was it that the men selected to perform it lacked experience in performing autopsies on gunshot victims? There is a host of conflicting theories about bullet entry and exit points, the absence of the president's brain at the autopsy, why Secret Service men were temporarily denied entry to the autopsy room with the coffin, and why the chief of the autopsy team, Dr. James J. Humes, burned notes made during the autopsy as well as the first draft of the autopsy report.

The official autopsy report indicated that two bullets struck the president. One, the fatal shot, entered the rear of his head and disintegrated, causing massive loss of skull bone and brain and other tissue. The second entered his back below the shoulders at a steep angle, causing a shallow superficial wound that Humes penetrated with his finger, dislodging the bullet. According to their testimony before the Warren Commission, when the autopsy was performed, the Bethesda doctors were unaware that the hole in the front of the president's neck had been a bullet hole before Dr. Malcolm Perry in Dallas's Parkland Memorial Hospital used it for a tracheotomy. Dr. Perry had identified the original hole in the president's neck as a bullet entry wound, making a persuasive case that the bullet that entered the president's neck had to come from somewhere in front of him.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; BODY BAG CONTROVERSY; BOSWELL, DR. THORNTON; COFFIN CONTROVERSY; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY; SINGLE BULLET THEORY; THROAT WOUND CONTROVERSY; X-RAY CONTROVERSY.

Assassination Tapes; Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Autopsy Participants

Among those who participated in or witnessed the autopsy of President Kennedy's body were the following individuals, each of whom is discussed in a separate entry in this book: Dr. Thornton Boswell, Bethesda's chief of pathology; Dr. George Burkley, chief medical officer of the White House and President Kennedy's personal physician; Dr. Robert Canada; Jerrold F. Custer; Dennis David; Dr. John Ebersole; Dr. Pierre Finck; Dr. Calvin Galloway; Dr. James J. Humes; James E. Metzler; Paul K. O'Connor; Edward Reed; Floyd A. Riebe; and Jan Gail Rudnicki. Many researchers believe that many more people were in the autopsy room, including a number of civilians who sat in the gallery overlooking it, than have been identified in official reports.

See also BAKEMAN, DR. GEORGE.

Book of Facts: Baden, Dr. Michael



A forensic pathologist, Dr. Baden chaired the Forensic Pathology Panel assembled by the House Select Committee on Assassinations. After his panel questioned the Bethesda doctors who performed the autopsy and examined the photographs and X rays of the president's body, Baden focused an important part of his testimony on the location of the back wound caused by the so-called magic bullet. Dr. Baden positioned the entry wound in the president's back a full two inches below the location identified by the autopsy team. This trajectory made the projected path of the bullet even more extraordinary than was earlier believed.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; SINGLE BULLET THEORY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: "Badgeman"



The "Badgeman" is a shadowy figure who appears in the background of a photograph taken by a witness to the assassination. Precisely when the fatal bullet shattered President Kennedy's skull, Mary Moorman, who was standing near the curb across from the Grassy Knoll, captured the drama in a snapshot taken with her Polaroid camera. Although it was never examined by the Warren Commission, the photo has nevertheless held great interest for many researchers because on the Grassy Knoll in the background is the stockade fence that many believe shielded a second gunman.

Using a slide made from the original photograph, which was sold to United Press International, researchers Gary Mack and Jack White examined blow-ups of the image, ultimately concentrating on two incongruous figures at the north end of the stockade fence. Although not clearly discernible in the fuzzy background, one figure seems to be wearing a police uniform not unlike those worn by Dallas police, while the other appears to be dressed in work clothes and a hard hat. The "uniformed" figure, dubbed "Badgeman" because of a shiny object on his chest believed to be a badge, looks to be holding a rifle that has just been fired. A puff that could be from the muzzle blast partially obscures his face. A 1988 British-made television documentary entitled "The Men Who Killed Kennedy" cast "Badgeman" as Lucien Sarti, an alleged professional killer from Corsica.

*See also GRASSY KNOLL WITNESSES; SMOKE FROM THE GRASSY KNOLL.
Crossfire: High Treason*

Book of Facts: Bakeman, Dr. George

A Dr. George Bakeman is listed in the autopsy report as being among those present in the room when the president's body was examined, but no information exists regarding who he is.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Baker, Marrion



Baker was one of several motorcycle officers escorting the presidential motorcade through Dallas. He had just turned off Houston Street onto Elm in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building when he heard a shot. Looking up, he saw a flock of pigeons fly off the roof as if startled by the sound. He parked his motorcycle and raced into the building, followed by the building manager, Roy Truly, who had been watching the motorcade from in front of the building. The two started to take an elevator, but both cars were locked on the fifth floor, so they used the stairs.

Through the glass window in the door of a second-floor lunchroom, Baker saw a man hurrying away from him. With Truly close at his back, Baker flung open the door and challenged the man with gun drawn. When Truly identified the man as a Book Depository employee, Officer Baker continued up the stairs to the roof. According to the report Baker filed with the FBI the following day, the man, who later was identified unequivocally by two competent witnesses as Lee Harvey Oswald, was "drinking a Coke," which he evidently purchased from a lunchroom vending machine only moments before. The words "drinking a Coke" were deleted from the report, and any reference to the soft drink during Baker's testimony before the Warren Commission was stricken.

The Coke has become a pivotal detail with Warren Commission critics for two reasons: first is the Commission's deletion of Baker's statement about it, and second is the testimony of another building employee, Mrs. Robert A. Reid, that she saw Oswald drinking a Coke moments later. Critics argue that the Commission wanted knowledge of the Coke suppressed, because it was impossible for Oswald to have fired the shots that killed the president from the sixth floor, hidden his rifle behind some boxes on the other side of the floor, raced down the stairs to the second floor, purchased a Coke from the vending machine in the lunchroom, and begun drinking it before he was confronted by Baker and Truly. When Captain Will Fritz of the Dallas police asked him about his whereabouts when the assassination happened, Oswald said he was in the second-floor lunchroom drinking a Coca-Cola.

See also TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES.
Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Baker, Robert "Barney"



Robert Baker was an associate of former Teamsters boss Jimmy Hoffa. Some investigators who seek to tie the president's homicide to the Mafia identify Baker as a part of that link. He had strong personal reasons for hating the Kennedys. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy told Baker he was "underworld lice . . . the scum of the earth." The president's brother also called him Hoffa's "ambassador of violence." Two weeks before the assassination, Jack Ruby reportedly received a call from Baker. The following day Ruby called another Hoffa associate in Miami, then he called Baker for a second conversation. Although Baker later testified that Ruby was calling about his problems with the American Guild of Variety Artists, skeptics find that hard to believe. Most suspect the calls were related to the increasing pressure Baker's boss, Hoffa, was receiving from the Kennedy Justice Department.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Ball, Joseph



A senior counsel to the Warren Commission, Ball reportedly helped promote the case against Lee Harvey Oswald as the lone assassin. Along with David Belin, he is credited with preparing "The Assassin," chapter 4 of the Warren Report, which details the evidence of Oswald's guilt. According to assassination researcher David S. Lifton, when Ball was asked on a Los Angeles television program about the possibility of a gunman shooting at the president from the Grassy Knoll, he responded, "There were no people there."

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Ballen, Samuel

Samuel Ballen, a friend of Lee Harvey Oswald's, provided a positive assessment of the presumed assassin's character. According to press reports issued soon after the assassination, Ballen, a petroleum economist, knew Oswald well enough to describe him as "the kind of person I could like." He also described Oswald as physically frail, and said he was an "inquiring young man" who was an independent thinker.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Banister, Guy



One of the FBI agents involved in the killing of the infamous "public enemy number one" John Dillinger, Banister eventually became special agent-in-charge of the FBI's Chicago office. During World War II he reportedly worked in Naval Intelligence, returning to the FBI when the war ended. Following his retirement in the early 1950s he moved to New Orleans to accept the post of deputy chief of police. Forced to retire from that job after threatening a waiter with his gun, Banister set up a private detective agency called Guy Banister Associates.

Many researchers contend that Banister forged a link between Lee Harvey Oswald, the American intelligence community, and anti-Castro Cubans. He maintained offices at 544 Camp Street in New Orleans, an address shared with a number of Cuban organizations attempting to overthrow Fidel Castro. An active supporter of these Cubans, he also had long-standing close ties with several intelligence agencies. The common denominator tying Oswald with Banister and the latter's shadowy activities is the 544 Camp Street address. When Oswald was arrested in New Orleans after a fight with Cubans who were angry because he was distributing pro-Castro material, he had in his possession pamphlets that came from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, whose address was given as 544 Camp Street. Since this was the address of so many anti-Castro activists, it is strange that Oswald used it for a pro-Castro group.

Guy Banister's death in 1964 was ascribed to a heart attack, although researchers Robert J. Groden and Harrison Edward Livingstone report that "some say" that a bullet wound was found in his body. He was never questioned by anyone from the Warren Commission about his relationship with Oswald or whether he knew anything about the assassination. See also BRINGUIER, CARLOS; FERRIE, DAVID; MARTIN, JACK.

Conspiracy; Crossfire; High Treason

Book of Facts: Barger, Dr. James



Dr. Barger was an acoustics scientist with the Cambridge, Massachusetts, firm of Bolt, Beranek and Newman, which was hired by the House Select Committee on Assassinations to examine the Dallas police dispatch tape. Working with Mark Weiss and Ernest Aschkenasy, Barger created a visual presentation of the gunshots fired in Dealey Plaza when President Kennedy was assassinated. In August 1978, Barger went to Dallas and conducted on-site tests of the sounds of rifles firing from the two critical locations: the Texas School Book Depository Building and the Grassy Knoll. Comparing his results with the sounds on the tape, he concluded that four shots were fired at the president: three coming from the Depository Building and one from the Grassy Knoll.

See also ACOUSTICAL EVIDENCE; BELL LABORATORY; PELLICANO, ANTHONY; RAMSEY REPORT.
Best Evidence; Conspiracy; High Treason

Book of Facts: Barnes, Willie



Sergeant Barnes of the Dallas police was given two spent shells recovered from the J. D. Tippit murder scene by Officer J. M. Poe. For identification purposes, Barnes immediately scratched the initial B inside each shell. When asked by the Warren Commission to identify the shells he had been given by Poe, Barnes could not find his initial in any of the four shells the Commission showed him. This strongly suggests the possibility that the original shells were replaced, while in police custody, with shells that matched the handgun belonging to Lee Harvey Oswald. If this is so, then someone else, not Oswald, shot Tippit.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Barnett, Welcome

Barnett, a Dallas police officer, told the Warren Commission that a construction worker approached him shortly after the shooting and said he saw a rifle sticking out of an upper-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building. Although the individual was never identified, the Commission assumed it was Howard L. Brennan, a construction worker who gave similar testimony.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Barnum, George



Barnum, a Coast Guard yeoman, was a member of the Military District of Washington, D.C., Casket Team that watched as the president's coffin was taken from Air Force One at Andrews Air Force Base and placed inside a Navy ambulance. The team, arriving at Bethesda Naval Hospital separately from the ambulance, removed the coffin from the ambulance and transferred it to the hospital's autopsy room. Seven days later, at the urging of his superior officer, Barnum wrote a complete description of his experience with the death of the president.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Bashour, Dr. Fouad



Although a cardiologist, Dr. Bashour assisted in the emergency room of Parkland Memorial Hospital when the president's body was brought in. When, in 1979, he was shown a copy of the official autopsy photograph of the president's head wound, he is quoted as saying, "Why do they cover it up? This is not the way it was."

See also PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL STAFF.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Batchelor, Charles

Batchelor was assistant chief of the Dallas police at the time of the assassination. Batchelor's activities have come under scrutiny by some researchers. For instance, because of the difficulty researchers have had in establishing how Jack Ruby was able to enter the garage at Dallas Police Headquarters, where he murdered Lee Harvey Oswald, the suspicion exists that Batchelor may have allowed Ruby into the building. Criticism has also been directed at the fact that Batchelor, despite failing in his responsibility to protect the president during his visit to Dallas and failing to protect Oswald when he was in police custody, was later promoted to Dallas police chief.

See also DAVIS, RED; GRAVES, L. C.; VAUGHN, ROY.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Baxter, Dr. Charles_



An assistant professor of surgery at Parkland Memorial Hospital, Dr. Baxter was present when the president's body was taken into the Parkland emergency room. He described the head wound to the Warren Commission as a "large gaping wound in the back of the skull." Dr. Baxter's description of the laceration is not only remarkably different from the autopsy report, which placed the lethal injury higher on the head, but is entirely consistent with an exit wound that would have literally blown away the back of the skull.

Baxter characterized the wound in the front of the president's neck as a small-caliber "entry wound." This account coincided precisely with that of the others present at the time, all of whom described the wound as having no jagged edges. Their collective observations conflict with Dr. James J. Humes' description of the hole as having "widely gaping irregular edges." Baxter said that after the cut for a tracheotomy, the opening measured 4 to 5 centimeters at the widest. At Bethesda Naval Hospital, Dr. Humes placed the opening at 6.5 centimeters. These and other differences between the wounds described by the doctors and nurses at Parkland and those described at Bethesda have been cited to support allegations that Kennedy's wounds were altered to provide a basis for the theory that he was shot from behind.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL STAFF; THROAT WOUND CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Bay of Pigs



On April 17, 1961, a force of Cuban exiles invaded Cuba in a CIA-sponsored attempt to overthrow Fidel Castro's communist dictatorship. Planning for the operation began during the Eisenhower administration, and Kennedy approved going ahead with it after his inauguration in January 1961. The operation was an abject failure. Most of the outnumbered, outgunned invaders were killed or taken prisoner. Both the invasion force, known as Brigade 2506, and the CIA advisers who had armed and trained the troops, attributed the catastrophe to Kennedy's eleventh-hour withdrawal of promised vital air support. Some researchers feel a strong case can be made for putting blame for the president's death on anti-Castro Cubans and/or Central Intelligence Agency agents motivated by bitterness over his abdication of his commitment in the Bay of Pigs Invasion.

Book of Facts: Becker, Edward



A petty underworld fringe figure, Becker related that during a meeting with reputed New Orleans Mafia boss Carlos Marcello in the autumn of 1962, Marcello talked freely about his desire to kill both John and Robert F. Kennedy. His Sicilian-style vendetta against the Kennedys grew out of Bobby's relentless assault on the Mafia boss, particularly Marcello's April 1961 arrest and subsequent (temporary) deportation. Becker says Marcello boasted how he would ensure that the mob would escape blame for the assassination, by "setting up a nut to take the blame."

Conspiracy; Mafia Kingfish

Book of Facts: Belin, David



Belin was assistant counsel to the Warren Commission. He assisted with the investigation into Lee Harvey Oswald's guilt, and helped write "The Assassin," chapter 4 of the Warren Report. He later served as chief counsel to the Rockefeller Commission established by President Gerald Ford (a member of the Warren Commission) to investigate U.S. intelligence operations inside the United States.

Belin remains a strong supporter of the Warren Commission findings and regularly speaks out against its critics and the various conspiracy theories they postulate.

He is the author of two books, *November 22, 1963: You Are the Jury*, published by Quadrangle in 1973, a defense of the Warren Commission findings, and *Final Disclosure: The Full Truth About the Assassination of President Kennedy*, published by Scribner's in 1988, largely a critique of what he termed the "assassination scam" created by authors of books advancing conspiracy hypotheses.

See also Ball, Joseph.

Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Belknap, Jerry

Jerry Belknap was eventually identified as the man who, shortly before the presidential motorcade arrived, collapsed near the front of the Texas School Book Depository Building in what appeared to be a seizure. He was taken by ambulance to Parkland Memorial Hospital, but left the hospital without receiving treatment. Some researchers find this incident suspicious, saying that it distracted the attention of at least one police officer away from the Grassy Knoll, where other witnesses later reported seeing men heading for the fence there just before the president arrived. When investigation yielded his identity, Belknap said he had suffered seizures since a childhood accident. He claimed he left the hospital because the president was brought in soon after his own arrival and he wasn't getting any treatment.

Crossfire: On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Bell, Audrey



Audrey Bell was the operating room nursing supervisor on duty at Parkland Memorial Hospital when the president's body was brought in, yet she was never questioned by either the Warren Commission or the House Select Committee on Assassinations. In interviews with the *Dallas Morning News*, Bell divulged that she gave a Texas highway patrolman bullet fragments that had been removed from Governor Connally's wrist and thigh, presumably pieces of the so-called magic bullet that allegedly caused his wounds. She resolutely maintained as late as 1978 that she saw four or five bullet fragments, not the three placed in evidence by the Warren Commission; in her description, "the smallest was the size of the striking end of a match and the largest at least twice that big." The fragments she described are too large to account for the small amount of material missing from the magic bullet, and many researchers offer this fact to debunk the single bullet theory.

See also PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL STAFF.

Best Evidence; Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Bell Laboratory



According to the House Select Committee on Assassinations, the Warren Commission submitted to the Bell Telephone Acoustics & Speech Research Laboratory for analysis an audiotaped description of the assassination scene by Sam Pate, a local Dallas radio news reporter covering the president's motorcade. The Warren Report made no mention of this tape, and some researchers question why it was never pursued further after the people at the Bell Laboratory reported "six nonvoiced noises" on the tape that many believe were gunshots.

See also ACOUSTICAL EVIDENCE; BARGER, DR. JAMES; WEISS, MARK.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Belmont, Alan

Belmont was the assistant director of the FBI at the time of the Kennedy assassination.
See HARPER BONE FRAGMENT.

Book of Facts: Benavides, Domingo



An auto mechanic, Domingo Benavides witnessed Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit's killing, thus becoming involved in the controversy over Lee Harvey Oswald's role in the assassination of President Kennedy. Shortly after 1:00 P.M., less than an hour after the assassination, Benavides was driving his pickup truck west on 10th Street in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas when he witnessed Tippit's murder. The Warren Commission believed he used the radio in Tippit's police car to report the shooting, but this is in some dispute. He did pick up two spent cartridge shells, which he gave to Police Officer J. M. Poe. Benavides was never called in by police to identify Tippit's killer from a lineup, which Warren Commission senior counsel David Belin called "a gross error." Benavides reportedly received death threats after it was widely publicized that he had witnessed the Tippit killing. See also BENAVIDES, EDWARD; BOWLEY, T. F.; TIPPIT MURDER SCENE WITNESSES. *Crossfire; Final Disclosure; High Treason; Rush to Judgment*

Book of Facts: Benavides, Edward

In February 1964, Domingo Benavides' brother Edward was killed, the victim of a gunshot to the head. Some assassination researchers believe Edward so closely resembled his brother that his unknown assailant killed him in a case of mistaken identity.

See also BENAVIDES, DOMINGO; BOWLEY, T. F.
High Treason

Book of Facts: Bennett, Glen

Secret Service agent Bennett was riding in the car directly behind the presidential limousine when the bullets struck the president. He was sitting behind presidential aide Dave Powers. During the return trip to Washington aboard Air Force One, Bennett wrote down his impressions. He describes having seen a bullet enter the president's back "about four inches down from the right shoulder," which is consistent with the placement of holes in Kennedy's clothing. Researcher David S. Lifton mistrusts Bennett's account as simply a fabrication to corroborate the results of the autopsy. To support this theory, he presents photographs taken at the time of the assassination showing everyone in Bennett's car facing forward except Bennett, whose head was turned to the right as he looked at the crowd of people lining the route.

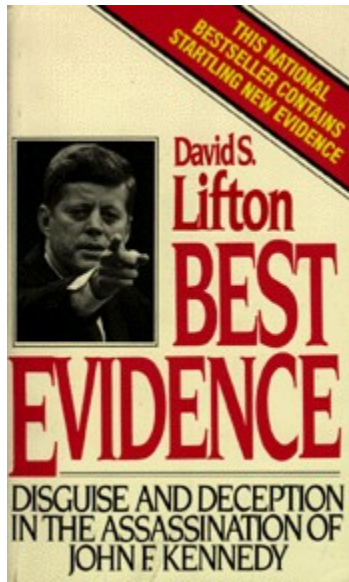
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Bentley, Paul



Dallas policeman Bentley was one of the arresting officers when Lee Harvey Oswald was apprehended at the Texas Theater as a suspect in the killing of Police Officer J. D. Tippit. Bentley claimed he found a false identification bearing the name Alek Hidell in Oswald's wallet, which he examined on the way to Police Headquarters following the arrest. Some researchers question the validity of this, based on the absence of the Hidell ID from the list of items contained in the preliminary record of the radio call to headquarters detailing items bearing the name Lee Harvey Oswald. Skeptics say the bogus identification was ostensibly planted on Oswald later to cement his connection with the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle ordered from Klein's Sporting Goods Company under the name A. Hidell.
See also ALIASES USED BY OSWALD; HILL, GERALD L.
Assassination Tapes

Book of Facts: "Best Evidence"



Published by Macmillan in 1980 and reissued by Carroll & Graf in 1988, *Best Evidence: Disguise and Deception in the Assassination of John F. Kennedy* is the work of David S. Lifton, who spent fifteen years researching the assassination. A graduate of Cornell University with a degree in engineering physics, he was formerly a NASA computer engineer and has more recently been a consultant for television programs dealing with the assassination. Lifton makes extensive use of statements by individuals at Parkland Memorial Hospital and Bethesda Naval Hospital, as well as many others, to focus on what he believes is evidence that Kennedy's wounds were altered between the time the body left Parkland and when the autopsy was performed at Bethesda. This book is the most detailed account of the medical evidence related to the assassination.

Book of Facts: Bethell, Tom



Bethell is a correspondent for *The American Spectator*. Claiming he participated in the assassination investigation conducted by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, Bethell wrote an article that appeared in the December 16, 1991, issue of *The National Review* exposing what he considers to be a completely false portrayal of the investigation in the movie JFK. He also reveals that Garrison's lawyers and investigators were relieved when they learned of the death of David Ferrie, one of Garrison's leading suspects, in February 1967, because it offered an opportunity for Garrison to drop the investigation. According to Bethell, Garrison's staff felt the investigation had led to nothing more than "a stream of courtroom embarrassments for his lawyers to clean up." Of Garrison, Bethell writes, "His most striking characteristic as D.A. was a truly astounding recklessness and irresponsibility." See also BOXLEY, BILL.

Book of Facts: Bethesda Naval Hospital

The autopsy on President Kennedy's body was performed at Bethesda Naval Hospital, one of the two large military hospitals in the suburbs of Washington, D.C. (The other is Walter Reed Army Medical Center.) According to Texas law, the president's body should not have been removed from the state - where the homicide had occurred - before an autopsy had been performed. Over strenuous objections from the Dallas medical examiner, Dr. Earl Rose, the body was removed from Texas and flown to Washington, D.C. Before Air Force One, bearing the president's coffin, landed at Andrews Air Force Base, there was some confusion about where the body should be taken for an autopsy. It was finally decided to use Bethesda because Kennedy had been a naval officer and it had been his official hospital during his presidency.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: "Betrayal"



Written by former CIA employee Robert D. Morrow and published in 1976 by Henry Regnery Company, *Betrayal* traces a tangled sequence of events beginning with the Bay of Pigs and culminating in the assassination of President Kennedy. Morrow implicates rogue elements in the Agency in the commission and subsequent cover-up of the crime. This book provides an intriguing insight into the workings of the CIA. Among its shocking disclosures is Morrow's admission that, prior to the assassination, he purchased for the Agency three Mannlicher-Carcano rifles identical to the one allegedly found in the Texas School Book Depository Building on November 22, 1963. See also CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

Book of Facts: Betzner, Hugh Jr.

Hugh Betzner, Jr., witnessed the assassination almost immediately after snapping three photographs of the scene near the intersection of Houston and Elm streets. He ran through Dealey Plaza in an effort to keep pace with the president's limousine while he took several more pictures. Betzner allegedly told a sheriff's deputy that he believed at least some of the shots were fired from the area of the picket fence on the Grassy Knoll. He surrendered his camera and film to Deputy Eugene L. Boone, who had the film developed and returned both the camera and the negatives to Betzner.

See also "Black Dog Man"; DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES.

Crossfire; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Bickers, Benny H.

Bickers owned a nightclub a block from Jack Ruby's Carousel Club in Dallas. He confided to FBI investigators that Ruby was very close to the Dallas Police Department. Bickers complained that Ruby's police contacts allowed him to regularly flout laws regulating the activities and the drinking hours of such clubs.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Billings, Richard

A staffer for the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Billings prepared the Committee's report. Along with Committee general counsel G. Robert Blakey, he wrote an article for *Parade* magazine discussing how the Committee concluded that organized crime was responsible for the president's murder. The two men also co-authored *The Plot to Kill the President*, published by Times Books in 1981 and reissued as *Fatal Hour: The Assassination of President Kennedy by Organized Crime* by Berkley Books in 1992. The book also accuses organized crime of masterminding the assassination. Some researchers challenge the book, whose manuscript was approved by the Central Intelligence Agency, as a cover-up of the CIA's involvement in killing Kennedy.
Crossfire: High Treason

Book of Facts: Bird, Samuel



Army Lieutenant Bird was in charge of the Military District of Washington, D.C., Casket Team that stood honor guard when Secret Service agents removed the president's coffin from Air Force One and placed it inside a Navy ambulance. Bird and his team were then flown to Bethesda Naval Hospital by helicopter to meet the ambulance. Bird later suffered an injury in Vietnam that severely hampered his memory, but on December 10, 1963, he had written in his official report that the coffin was taken from the ambulance to the autopsy room at 8:00 P.M. This conflicts with the O'Neill and Sibert report that the coffin was taken into the autopsy room at 7:17 P.M., and with autopsy chief Dr. James J. Humes' report that he received the body at 7:35 P.M. This discrepancy in the times has fueled speculation that the president's wounds could have been altered during the unaccounted-for half hour.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; WEHLE, PHILIP C.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Bishop, Maurice_



"Maurice Bishop" is a cover name used by a CIA agent who was deeply involved in Central Intelligence Agency activities designed to overthrow the Fidel Castro government in Cuba. He was also the case officer for a Cuban operative named Antonio Veciana, who swears he saw "Bishop" meet with Lee Harvey Oswald in Dallas before the assassination. Veciana also swears that "Bishop" solicited him to pressure his cousin who worked in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City into accepting a bribe to confirm that he saw Oswald in the embassy. Some observers believe "Bishop" was actually David Atlee Phillips, a CIA agent with a long and active history in Latin American affairs.

Conspiracy; High Treason

Book of Facts: Bissell, Richard

This former deputy director of planning for the Central Intelligence Agency has been linked with plots to assassinate Fidel Castro and with the Bay of Pigs invasion. Following the Bay of Pigs fiasco, Kennedy fired CIA director Allen W. Dulles, Bissell, and others for what he viewed as a lack of leadership. The plots against Castro's life are believed to have been behind Castro's reputed desire to see Kennedy dead.

See also EDWARDS, SHEFFIELD.

High Treason

Book of Facts: "Black Dog Man"



Several photographs taken during the assassination by Hugh Betzner, Jr., and Philip L. Willis show a dark figure that is barely discernible behind a low wall at the south end of the Grassy Knoll. Investigators originally referred to this figure as the "Black Dog Man" because many thought it resembled a dog sitting on the wall. Computer enhancement later disclosed that the figure could actually be a man standing a short distance behind the wall, possibly carrying a long object that some believe might be a gun. If it was a man, he has never been identified.

See also GRASSY KNOLL WITNESSES.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Blahut, Regis

Blahut was the CIA's liaison with the House Select Committee on Assassinations. He was fired for breaking into the safe holding the Committee's copies of autopsy photographs. For some undisclosed reason the break-in, which occurred in 1978, was not made public until the following year.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Blakey, Robert

A law professor and the director of the Notre Dame Institute on Organized Crime, Blakey was appointed general counsel to the House Select Committee on Assassinations in June 1977. Blakey has come under attack on a number of fronts from virtually every critic of the Warren Report. His appointment came after the Committee investigation, which was being conducted openly, was already under way. (He replaced Richard Sprague.) Blakey's first move was to discontinue the press conferences that until then had been keeping the American public abreast of the Committee's findings. Blakey has been charged with blocking the development of new evidence, firing staffers and investigators who demonstrated too much vigor in their work, and having close ties to the intelligence community, especially the Central Intelligence Agency. Many researchers blame Blakey for underwriting the Committee's failure to investigate the assassination thoroughly.

With Richard N. Billings as his co-author, Blakey wrote a book based on the Committee's findings. Originally titled *The Plot to Kill the President* (Times Books, 1981) and reissued as *Fatal Hour: The Assassination of President Kennedy by Organized Crime* (Berkley Books, 1992), the book assesses the blame on organized crime. Some researchers see *Fatal Hour* as an attempt to divert attention from CIA involvement. Blakey admitted that the Agency reviewed the manuscript before it was published.

Best Evidence; Crossfire; High Treason; Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Bledsoe, Mary

During October 1963, Mrs. Bledsoe allegedly rented a furnished room in her Dallas house to Lee Harvey Oswald. She took an immediate dislike to him and asked him to leave within the week. On November 22, 1963, Mrs. Bledsoe was at the scene, watching the presidential motorcade. After the assassination, she boarded the same bus, driven by Cecil J. McWatters, that Oswald supposedly took after shooting Police Officer J. D. Tippit. She told the Warren Commission that Oswald came on the bus looking "like a maniac." Her description of the wild-looking man on the bus does not agree with the description given by McWatters.

See also JONES, MILTON R.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Body Bag Controversy



According to statements by nurses and others in the emergency room at Dallas's Parkland Memorial Hospital, the president's body was wrapped in sheets when it was placed inside the coffin (which was lined with plastic) in preparation for the trip from Dallas to Washington. The men who removed the body from the coffin in the autopsy room at Bethesda Naval Hospital described the body as wrapped inside a zippered, rubberized body bag similar to the military body bags widely used to send home the remains of soldiers and sailors killed in battle. This discrepancy has led many to believe that the president's wounds were altered between the time the body left Parkland and the autopsy was performed at Bethesda.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; COFFIN CONTROVERSY; JENKINS, JAMES CURTIS; O'CONNOR, PAUL K.; RIKE, AUBREY.

Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Bogard, Albert

Bogard was a car salesman for Dallas's Downtown Lincoln-Mercury when a man calling himself Lee Oswald asked about a Mercury Comet. That was November 9, 1963. Bogard said he selected a red Comet and joined the prospective customer for a test drive. Oswald drove unusually fast and recklessly, according to Bogard, and finally told the salesman he was coming into some money in two or three weeks and would return then. When Bogard repeated this story to the Warren Commission, he passed an FBI polygraph test verifying that he was telling the truth. His story was also corroborated by other salesmen at the dealership who saw Oswald and spoke with him that day. The Warren Commission discounted his testimony because Oswald was said to be elsewhere that day. If Bogard was correct, and the man who took the test drive was actually Oswald, then from what source did he expect a large sum of money soon after the assassination? If the man wasn't Oswald, who impersonated him, and why? These questions remain unanswered.

On February 14, 1966, in a cemetery in Hallsville, Louisiana, Albert Bogard, age forty-one, was found inside his car with a hose running from the exhaust pipe into the interior. His death, although ruled a suicide, leaves still another question open to speculation. According to one of his fellow salesmen, shortly after testifying before the Commission, Bogard was severely beaten and hospitalized, and then quietly disappeared from Dallas.

High Treason; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Boggs, Hale



A highly respected long-term congressman from Louisiana, Boggs was selected by President Lyndon B. Johnson to sit on the Warren Commission. Boggs openly faulted the FBI for using "Gestapo tactics" and seriously questioned the Warren Commission findings concerning the assassination. In 1972, the congressman's small plane disappeared while he was flying across Alaska. His body was never recovered.

Crossfire; High Treason

Book of Facts: Bolden, Abraham

Bolden, the first black Secret Service, was assigned to White House security until he criticized the lax security around the president and was transferred to the Chicago office. Bolden later disclosed that prior to November 1, 1963, he had come into possession of an FBI teletype hinting of a plot by four Cuban assassins to kill the president. His attempts at further investigation led to stonewalling by the FBI with denials that the teletype ever existed. Following the assassination, Bolden called Warren Commission counsel J. Lee Rankin and volunteered to testify before the Commission about his foreknowledge of a planned assassination. The Commission ignored his offer, and not long after, he was arrested and jailed for allegedly attempting to sell government files. Bolden claimed that the charges were trumped up.

High Treason; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Bolt Beranek and Newman_



This high-tech acoustics firm located in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was employed by the House Select Committee on Assassinations to review the Dallas police dispatch tape. In its analysis of the tape, the firm concluded that more than three shots were fired in Dealey Plaza at the time Kennedy was shot.

See also ACOUSTICAL EVIDENCE; ASCHKENASY, ERNEST; BARGER, DR. JAMES; RAMSEY REPORT; WEISS, MARK.

Crossfire; High Treason

Book of Facts: Bookhout, James W.



FBI special agent Bookhout was present when Captain Will Fritz of the Dallas police interrogated Lee Harvey Oswald at Police Headquarters. Bookhout reported that when Oswald was shown a photograph of himself holding a rifle resembling the Mannlicher-Carcano found in the Texas School Book Depository Building, he said the head in the photo might be his, "but that it was entirely possible that the Police Department had superimposed this part of the photograph over the body of someone else." Bookhout added that Oswald denied any involvement in the assassination.

*See also OSWALD, BACKYARD PHOTOGRAPH OF.
Rush to Judgment*

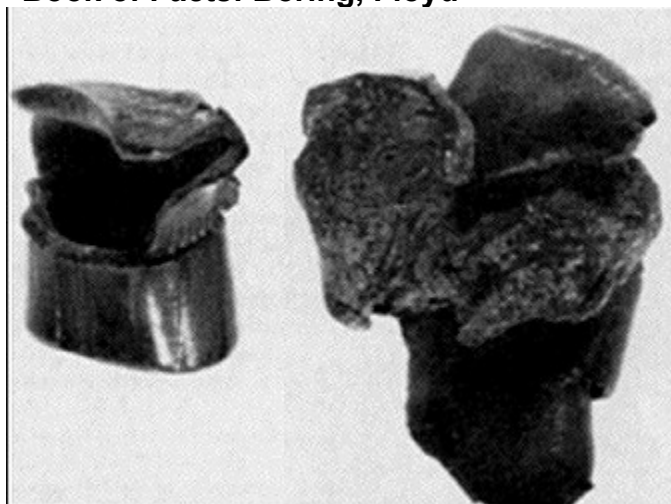
Book of Facts: Boone, Eugene



Deputy Sheriff Boone and Deputy Constable Seymour Weitzman were two of the officers who found the rifle on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building minutes after the assassination. Boone told the Warren Commission he "thought it was a 7.65 Mauser." Boone said Captain Will Fritz of the Dallas police also identified the weapon as a Mauser. Weitzman later signed an affidavit concurring with this conclusion, as did initial police reports to the press. When Boone was shown the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle allegedly belonging to Lee Harvey Oswald, he could not identify it as the weapon he found. The legend "Made in Italy, Cal. 6.5" is clearly stamped on the Mannlicher-Carcano.

See also BETZNER, HUGH, JR.; CRAIG, ROGER D.; MOONEY, LUKE; WADE, HENRY W.
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Boring, Floyd



Assistant chief of the Secret Service White House detail, Boring helped search the presidential limousine after it was flown from Dallas to Washington. Two metal fragments believed to have come from the bullet that struck Governor John Connally were recovered during this search.

See also MAGIC BULLET; MILLS, THOMAS; PATERNI, PAUL.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Boswell, Dr. Thornton

Chief of pathology at Bethesda Naval Hospital, Boswell was one of two doctors present when the president's body was removed from the coffin after its arrival from Dallas. The other was Dr. James J. Humes. During the autopsy, Boswell made a sketch of the wound in Kennedy's skull, indicating the missing section as a large rectangular area rising from the lower right rear and extending up across the top. This representation differs greatly from the drawing made at Parkland Memorial Hospital at the time of the president's death, which shows the wound and missing section of skull to be considerably smaller and in the lower rear.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY; LUNDBERG, DR. GEORGE.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Bouck, Robert

When the assassination occurred, Bouck was head of the Secret Service Protective Research Section, a position that involved him in a cloudy controversy about an item officially designated as a "missile" that presumably either fell or was removed from the president's body during the autopsy. In this case the "missile" is universally assumed to mean a bullet. Bouck signed a receipt for items given him by the president's physician, Admiral Dr. George Burkley, on November 26, 1963. The seventh item on this receipt was identified as "one receipt from FBI for a missile recovered during examination of the body." Evidently the missile has either been lost or never clearly identified. Bouck was also the person who ordered that the Harper bone fragment be sent to the White House after its discovery.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts, Bowen, John "Jack"

Bowen, a self-styled itinerant preacher, allegedly used the alias Albert Osborne. The Warren Commission was satisfied that Osborne and Lee Harvey Oswald shared a double bus seat during a trip to Mexico City, where Oswald allegedly visited either the Cuban embassy or the Soviet embassy. When Oswald was arrested, he reportedly had in his wallet a library card under the name John L. Bowen. The card has since vanished. Interestingly, "Osborne" was also one of the aliases used by Oswald.

Conspiracy; High Treason

Book of Facts: Bowers, Lee, Jr.



Lee Bowers, Jr., manned a railroad control tower fourteen feet above the ground and approximately fifty feet beyond the Grassy Knoll. He reported having seen three strange vehicles driving through the area around the tower minutes before the assassination, and having noted the presence of two men standing near the fence on the knoll. Although he was occupied at the time, Bowers remembered that something like "a flash of light or smoke or something" caught his attention. He had a sense of it coming from the spot where the two men stood. Friends of Bowers claim that right after the assassination he disappeared for several days and note that when he returned, one of his fingers had been amputated. They suspect that Bowers saw more than he admitted, but feared for his life. On August 9, 1966, Bowers was killed in a mysterious car crash on a lonely stretch of Texas highway.

See also GRASSY KNOLL WITNESSES; SMOKE FROM THE GRASSY KNOLL.

Crossfire; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Bowles, Jim

Police Officer Bowles, who would later become Dallas county sheriff, commanded the radio division in November 1963 and prepared the Dallas police dispatch tape for review by the House Select Committee on Assassinations. He has reportedly said that the tape was borrowed by federal agents shortly after the assassination and later returned to him. Bowles is also quoted as stating that the police motorcycle with an open microphone that allegedly transmitted the sound of the four shots taped from the Dealey Plaza location was actually two miles away at the time.

Final Disclosure; High Treason

Book of Facts: Bowley, T. F.



Bowley stated that he was driving west on 10th Street in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas when he saw a Police Officer (J. D. Tippit) lying on the ground next to a police cruiser. Checking his watch, he noted the time as 1:10 P.M. When he realized the officer was gravely wounded, Bowley called the police on the car radio. The official Dallas police radio log indicates Bowley's transmission was received by 1:16 P.M. The time of the radio call has been advanced by some researchers as proof that Lee Harvey Oswald did not have time to travel the distance from his rooming house to the Tippit murder scene and kill Officer Tippit.

See also BENAVIDES, DOMINGO; TIPPIT MURDER SCENE WITNESSES.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Bowron, Diana



Bowron was a nurse on duty in the emergency room at Parkland Memorial Hospital when the president's body was brought in; she helped remove his clothes. She testified before the Warren Commission that although she clearly saw the large hole in the president's skull, "in the back of the head," she did not see the small bullet entry wound in the rear of the skull described by Dr. James J. Humes in the report of the autopsy performed at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

See also PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL STAFF.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Boxley, Bill



Bill Boxley was the pseudonym of William Wood, an investigator who worked on the assassination investigation conducted by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison. Boxley reportedly told Garrison he had once worked for the CIA. According to an article by Tom Bethell in the December 16, 1991, issue of *The National Review*, Garrison's staff forced Boxley out when they realized he was feeding Garrison misleading information that was creating chaos in the investigation.

Book of Facts: Braden, Jim



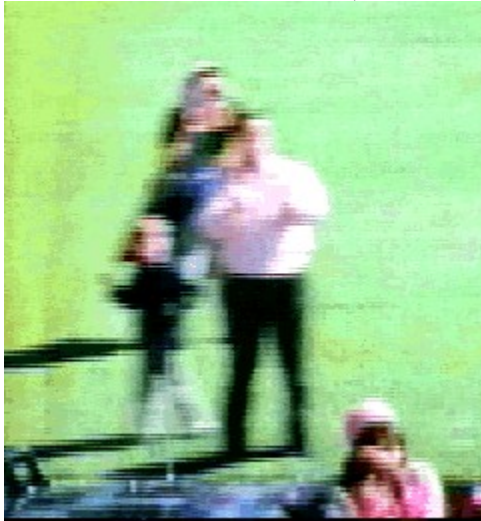
Braden was arrested in the Dal-Tex Building across from Dealey Plaza minutes after the assassination. He said he was in the building looking for a telephone so he could call his mother to tell her what had happened. Dallas police could find no reason to hold him, and Braden was released. Investigators later identified him as Eugene Hale Brading, a suspected Mafia courier.
Crossfire; High Treason

Book of Facts: Brain Controversy

There has been much speculation about the condition and even the alleged disappearance of the president's brain from the body that was delivered to the autopsy room at Bethesda Naval Hospital. According to Paul K. O'Connor, a surgical assistant at the autopsy whose function was to remove the deceased brain so it could be placed in a hardening substance for later dissection (a routine autopsy procedure), when he removed the president's body from the body bag, there was no brain. It had apparently already been removed. The brain remains unaccounted for, and, along with other vital autopsy-related information such as X rays and photographs, is missing from the National Archives.

*See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; BODY BAG CONTROVERSY; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence; Crossfire; High Treason 2*

Book of Facts: Brehm, Charles



Brehm was one of the spectators lining the curb on the driver's side of the president's limousine when the assassination took place. He was sufficiently close that he can be seen in the Zapruder film cheering as the car is passing him. Brehm gave eyewitness interviews that same day to newspaper and television reporters, and was also briefly detained at the sheriff's office, where he reportedly gave police a deposition. He described seeing a portion of the president's skull fly backward and to the left when he was hit. According to a quote in a *Dallas Times-Herald* article, he "seemed to think the shots came from in front of or beside the president." Brehm was never questioned by the Warren Commission, and the Sheriff's Department report no longer exists.

See also HARGIS, BOBBY W.; MARTIN, B. J.
Best Evidence; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Brennan, Howard L.



Brennan, a forty-five-year-old steamfitter, was working on a job near Dealey Plaza when he broke for lunch and found a place to eat while he waited for the president's motorcade to arrive. According to testimony, Brennan was approximately 107 feet from the front of the Texas School Book Depository Building across the street when he noticed a man standing at a sixth-floor window in the southeast corner of the building. The sound of shots drew his attention back to the window just as the man fired the final shot.

Brennan's detailed description of the sniper is credited by the Warren Commission with leading to Police Officer J. D. Tippit's attempt to arrest Lee Harvey Oswald. Although Brennan failed to pick Oswald out of a lineup at Police Headquarters, he later identified Oswald's corpse as the man he saw in the window. Brennan's testimony is full of discrepancies, including the fact that he said the man in the window was standing, which allowed him to estimate the man's height and weight. Photos taken seconds after the shooting show the window was raised less than halfway, suggesting that the shooter would have had to kneel.

See also EUINS, AMOS L.; MILlicAN, A. J.; SORRELS, FORREST V.; SPEAKER, SANDY; TERRY, L. R.
Assassination Tapes; Best Evidence; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Brewer, E. D.



E. D. Brewer was a Dallas police motorcycle officer who initially started toward the Grassy Knoll when the shots were fired, but was stopped by an unidentified man who said he saw someone "pull the weapon back through the window from the southeast corner of that Depository building." Brewer was one of at least three officers whose first impression was that the shots came from the Grassy Knoll, but he was distracted from his objective when a nameless bystander intervened and directed his attention to the Depository.

See also HARGIS, BOBBY W.; HAYGOOD, CLYDE A.; TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Brewer, Johnny



On November 22, 1963, Johnny Brewer was at work managing a retail shoe store on Jefferson Boulevard in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas. He heard the news of the assassination on the radio and, shortly after, the announcement that a police officer had been shot not far from the store. Just as he heard police sirens approaching, a man ducked into the entranceway of his store and waited with his back to the street while the police car passed. He then stepped back out onto the sidewalk and walked away. Brewer, suspecting the man might be trying to avoid the police, followed him. Less than a hundred feet up the street, his quarry slipped into the Texas Theater movie house without purchasing a ticket. Brewer told this to the cashier, Julia Postal, who had been distracted because she was listening to news reports of the president's assassination on her radio. Postal called the police.

According to Brewer's testimony to the Warren Commission, when the police arrived, the house lights in the theater were turned up and Brewer singled out Lee Harvey Oswald as the man who had behaved so suspiciously. Brewer's story regarding how the police officers decided that Oswald was the man they wanted in connection with the shooting of Officer J. D. Tippit differs from the stories told by other witnesses. According to the testimony of the arresting officer, M. N. McDonald, Oswald was pointed out by an unidentified man sitting near the front of the theater. *Conspiracy; Crossfire*

Book of Facts: Bringuier, Carlos



A member of the anti-Castro Cuban exile community living in New Orleans, Bringuier recalls that Lee Harvey Oswald approached him on August 5, 1963, explained he was a former Marine, and volunteered to help train exiles in guerrilla warfare techniques. A few days later, on August 9, Bringuier learned through an associate that the same Oswald was distributing leaflets for the pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). Bringuier, with two other exiles, combed downtown New Orleans looking for Oswald. When they found him, they took his leaflets and scattered them in the air. Bringuier began shouting that he was a traitor, when police arrived and arrested the group for disturbing the peace.

The true significance of this incident has been debated for years. Some observers think Oswald was attempting to create a cover as a pro-Castro activist because he wanted to move to Cuba. Others believe Oswald and Bringuier staged the entire episode as part of a plan to discredit pro-Castro Americans, especially FPCC.

See also BANISTER, GUY; 544 CAMP STREET.
Conspiracy; Warren Report

Book of Facts: Brock, Mary

Mrs. Brock was the wife of a mechanic who worked at a service station near the scene of the murder of J. D. Tippit. She testified to the Warren Commission that she was visiting her husband at work on November 22, 1963, and that she saw a man she later identified as Lee Harvey Oswald shortly after Officer Tippit was shot. She saw the man walk briskly into a nearby parking lot located behind the service station, which was on the corner of Jefferson and Crawford streets. The jacket Oswald was believed to be wearing when Tippit was killed was allegedly recovered in the same parking lot.

Warren Report

Book of Facts: Bronson Film

Six minutes before the first shot was fired at the president, Charles Bronson filmed the scene in Dealey Plaza, panning in on the motorcade route with his 35mm home-movie camera. Officially dismissed by the FBI as containing no relevant information, the film lay neglected in a storage vault until 1978, when it was retrieved and reviewed by photographic expert Robert J. Groden. His analysis focused on simultaneous movements in two separate sixth-floor windows of the Texas School Book Depository Building, which he interpreted to mean that at least two, and possibly three, people could have been in that crucial area only minutes before the shooting.

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES; HUGHES, ROBERT; SELZER, ROBERT.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Browder, Eddie



A pilot long suspected of having close Mafia contacts, Browder, with Jack Ruby, reportedly smuggled guns to Fidel Castro's forces before the Cuban dictator deposed the Batista regime. Browder's contacts with mob figures have been traced through Norman "Roughhouse" Rothman to Santos Trafficante.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Brown, Charles

On November 23, 1963, Charles W. Brown drove a police cruiser to the Dallas Police Headquarters garage to collect the suspect Lee Harvey Oswald for transfer to the Dallas County jail. The car was not in place when Oswald was escorted to the garage, necessitating a brief delay and a longer walk than Oswald's guards had anticipated. It was during that interim that Jack Ruby shot Oswald. The reason the car was not in its designated place before the prisoner was brought to the garage has never been fully explained.

See also GRAVES, L. C.; LEAVELLE, JAMES R.; MONTGOMERY, L. D.
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Brown, Joe

District court judge Brown presided over Jack Ruby's trial for the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald, reportedly hiring a public relations consultant to polish his image during its duration. Despite the protest of Ruby's lawyers, who introduced numerous news accounts of local hostility toward Ruby, and the support of nearly one hundred Dallas citizens, Brown ruled against a defense motion to move the trial out of Dallas. Brown also refused to exclude as potential jurors anyone who had seen Ruby shoot Oswald on television. The result of the trial - a conviction and a death sentence - was reversed on appeal.

Texas Connection

Book of Facts: Brown, Madeline



Madeline Brown admits to having had an affair with Lyndon B. Johnson for twenty years, beginning in 1948. In an interview on the television program "A Current Affair" broadcast on February 25, 1992, she revealed that after the assassination Johnson had told her that he knew about the assassination in advance. According to Ms. Brown, Johnson confided that the assassination had been the work of the CIA and Texas oil interests, two groups that wanted Kennedy dead for their own reasons.

Texas Connection

Book of Facts: Brown, Oran

Brown was a salesman working in the same Dallas Lincoln-Mercury dealership as Albert G. Bogard, who singled out Lee Harvey Oswald as a prospective new car customer he took for a test drive only two weeks before the assassination. Oswald is said to have told Bogard that he would have "some money coming in," so he would buy a car soon. Brown was questioned by the FBI about the incident, and he buttressed Bogard's testimony. When researcher/author Mark Lane interviewed Brown on April 4, 1966, Brown told him he was reluctant to talk because Bogard had been severely beaten after he testified before the Warren Commission and had then dropped from sight. During this conversation with Lane, Brown was unaware that Bogard's body had been found in Hallsville, Louisiana; his death was ruled a suicide, but the circumstances were strangely suspicious.

See also DOWNTOWN LINCOLN-MERCURY.

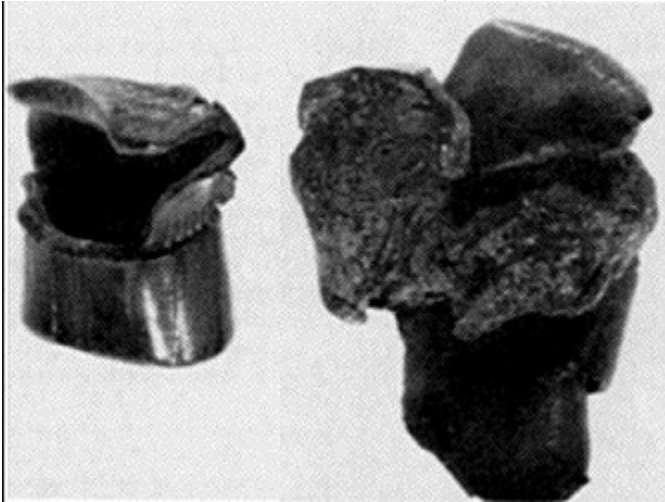
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Bruno, Jerry

Bruno was Kennedy's advance man, responsible for ensuring that the president's Texas trip, essentially a political move to win Texas votes in the 1964 election, went smoothly. Bruno claims he fought a bitter battle with Texas politicians, including Governor John Connally, over the route of the motorcade. He describes this extensively in his book, *The Advanceman*, published by William Morrow in 1971.

Texas Connection

Book of Facts: Bullets Fired, Number of



The Warren Report stands or falls on the belief that only one person, Lee Harvey Oswald, took part in the assassination of President Kennedy. This lone assassin theory is based on the "fact," as established by the Commission, that there were three shots fired in Dealey Plaza at 12:30 P.M. on November 22, 1963, and that all three were fired from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. The Depository, however, was behind the president when he was shot, so any evidence of a bullet entering the front or side of the president's body would automatically disprove the Commission's findings.

Although a number of expert marksmen, which everyone acknowledges Oswald was not, could not duplicate the feat credited to Oswald of firing three shots in six seconds with the poor-quality rifle he allegedly used, the Commission stood by its opinion. Evidence indicating that more than three shots were fired would also automatically disprove the Commission's finding of a lone assassin because it is impossible that Oswald, or any other single person, could have fired four or more shots in the time available.

On examination of the reports of bullets found or seen at the time of the assassination as described in this book, we arrive at a total of nine. First, there are the bullets acknowledged by the Warren Commission: one that is said to have struck both Kennedy and Governor John Connally (the magic bullet), which is in the National Archives; one that hit the curb in front of James T. Tague, a bystander, and caused slight injury to his cheek; and another that hit the president in the head and disintegrated (bullets #1, #2, and #3). Added to these is a bullet that struck either the left or center lane of Elm Street, as seen by both Sheriff J. E. (Bill) Decker and railroad worker Royce G. Skelton (bullet #4). Another bullet (#5) was found by Police Officer J. W. Foster in the grassy area below the railroad overpass, where it was dug out of the ground by a man who was identified by Dallas Police Chief Jesse E. Curry as an FBI agent but who the FBI claims was not one of its men. The man remains unidentified despite a photograph that shows him digging in the ground while Foster and Sheriff's Deputy Eddy Walthers look on. Then there are the two mounds in the earth that Wayne and Edna Hartman saw near the center of Dealey Plaza, which a police officer told them were caused by two bullets, fired at the presidential limousine from the Grassy Knoll, that missed and came to earth at that spot. No one knows what happened to these bullets (#6 and #7). Next is the bullet Virgie Rachley saw hit the street directly behind the presidential limousine with such impact it caused sparks (bullet #8). Finally, we have the bullet that caused the windshield damage as seen and reported by Dallas Police Officers Starvis Ellis and H. R. Freeman (bullet #9).

Even if we allow that some of these reports may be duplicate sightings of the same bullet - for example, perhaps the bullet that pierced the limousine's windshield was the same bullet Sheriff Decker saw hit the pavement near the center of Elm Street - we are still left with five to seven bullets that are definitely accounted for, far more than Oswald or any other person acting alone could have fired in the few seconds in which the shooting took place.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations said it could account for the sounds of four gunshots. Although this was a step in the right direction, investigation of the bullet sightings recorded in this entry must be made before the number of shooters can be determined accurately.

Book of Facts: Bundy, Vernon



An admitted heroin addict, Bundy was a witness at the trial of Clay Shaw, whom New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison charged with participating in the assassination. Bundy claimed to have seen Shaw meet secretly with Lee Harvey Oswald in July 1963 and said Shaw gave Oswald what appeared to be a roll of money.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Burkley, Dr. George



Admiral Dr. Burkley was the White House medical officer, and therefore the personal physician to President Kennedy. Burkley was riding in a car toward the rear of the motorcade as it made its way through downtown Dallas. Immediately following the shooting, his car was directed first to the Dallas Trade Mart, where the president had been scheduled to deliver a luncheon address, and from there to Parkland Memorial Hospital. Burkley was aboard Air Force One, where he sat with Jacqueline Kennedy and the coffin on the flight to Washington, and he was an observer at the autopsy. Although a uniquely qualified expert witness because he was the only medically trained person to see the president's body at both Parkland and Bethesda Naval Hospital, Burkley was never asked to testify before the Warren Commission.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Bush, George

George Bush, the forty-first president of the United States, denies that he had any relationship with the CIA prior to his 1976 appointment as its director, though there have been charges that he was connected to the activities of Lee Harvey Oswald. In a November 29, 1963, memo, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover mentioned that an FBI agent and a member of the Defense Intelligence Agency briefed "Mr. George Bush of the Central Intelligence Agency" about the assassination. The Agency produced a George Bush, allegedly a former employee, who denied ever having been briefed about the assassination and claimed he had worked for the CIA for only six months in a low-level position examining photographs unrelated to President Kennedy's murder. Discovered after the death of George DeMohrenschildt, the man many believe was Lee Harvey Oswald's CIA control officer, was the following entry in DeMohrenschildt's personal telephone book: "Bush, George H. W. (Poppy) 1412 W. Ohio, also Zapata Petroleum Midland."

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Butler, George

A Dallas police lieutenant, Butler was reportedly assigned responsibility for Lee Harvey Oswald's safe transfer from Dallas Police Headquarters downtown to the Dallas County jail. Several witnesses remembered that Butler had appeared to be apprehensive and "jittery" in the moments before Oswald was killed.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Cabana Motel

About midnight, the night before the Kennedy murder, Jack Ruby visited Lawrence Meyers, a guest at the Cabana Motel. Meyers was accompanied by a female companion named Jean West, who is believed to have had ties with Oswald associate David Ferrie, a New Orleans figure investigated by District Attorney Jim Garrison. Staying at the Cabana Motel at the same time was alleged Mafia courier Eugene Hale Brading, who was registered under the alias Jim Braden. The following day, Braden was detained briefly by police near Dealey Plaza shortly after the assassination, but was released.

Crossfire; High Treason

Book of Facts: Cabell, Charles

Brother of Dallas mayor Earle Cabell, U.S. Army General Charles Cabell had been deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency during the Bay of Pigs exercise. He was among a group of high-level CIA personnel fired by Kennedy after the Cuban invasion fiasco. Charles Cabell has been implicated in CIA schemes to recruit Mafia hitmen to kill Fidel Castro during the 1960s. Some researchers believe Charles Cabell may have had a motive to participate in plans to assassinate Kennedy. There is no hard evidence to prove this.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Cabell, Earle



Mayor of Dallas at the time of the assassination, Earle Cabell rode with his wife six cars behind Kennedy's presidential motorcade. Although there is no evidence that he had anything to do with the assassination, the fact that Cabell's brother, General Charles Cabell, was fired by Kennedy for the poor planning of the Bay of Pigs invasion, and that the assassination took place in Cabell's city has been listed as a "sinister connection" by researchers Robert J. Groden and Harrison Edward Livingstone.
High Treason

Book of Facts: Cabell, Mrs. Earle



The wife of the Dallas mayor was riding in the presidential motorcade six cars back from Kennedy's limousine when the shots were fired. Mrs. Cabell was among several witnesses, including Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough, who told the Warren Commission they could smell the distinct odor of gunpowder in Dealey Plaza. It appears unlikely that people located at street level would smell gunpowder if all the shots were fired from six floors above them, where the odor would be quickly carried away by a breeze that was blowing that day, although it would not be inconsistent with at least one shot being fired from the Grassy Knoll.
Crossfire

Book of Facts: Callaway, Ted

Callaway, the manager of a used-car lot on the corner of Patton Avenue and Jefferson Boulevard in Dallas, heard the sound of the gunshots that killed Police Officer J. D. Tippit. He and another employee, Sam Guinyard, ran toward the sounds, encountering a man who was leaving the scene holding a handgun. Callaway shouted, "Hey, man, what the hell is going on?" The man slowed down briefly, muttered a response, and rounded a corner heading west on Jefferson.

Arriving on the scene and finding Tippit dead, Callaway used the patrol car's radio to call for help and was told police were on the way. He then picked up the officer's gun, and he and a cabdriver, William Scoggins, cruised the neighborhood in an unsuccessful attempt to locate the murderer. Callaway later picked Lee Harvey Oswald out of a police lineup whose fairness has since been questioned for including men who bore not even the slightest resemblance to Oswald. Callaway was one of several witnesses who reported they did not see Helen Louise Markham at the Tippit murder scene.

See also TIPPIT MURDER SCENE WITNESSES.

Warren Report

Book of Facts: Campbell, Ochus



Vice president of the Texas School Book Depository, Campbell was standing in front of the building when President Kennedy was killed. He testified to the Warren Commission that he heard shots "fired from a point which I thought was near the railroad tracks located over the viaduct on Elm Street," indicating the area near the Grassy Knoll. He claimed he had no reason to notice anything unusual about the Depository Building because the shots were coming from somewhere else.

See also TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Campisi, Joseph



Owner of the Egyptian Restaurant in Dallas in 1963, Campisi is alleged to have had ties with Mafia boss Santos Trafficante and Joseph Civello, reputed chief of Mafia don Carlos Marcello's operations in Dallas. The night before the assassination, Jack Ruby had dinner at the Egyptian Restaurant. Although he disclaimed intimacy with Ruby, Campisi visited him in jail after Ruby's arrest for killing Lee Harvey Oswald.
Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Camp Smith

Despite Defense Department denials, Hawaii's Camp Smith - a U.S. Marine Corps base - was the site of a secret investigation of President Kennedy's assassination conducted by two Marine Corps teams, according to the testimony of former Marine navigator Larry Huff before the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Huff disclosed that on December 14, 1963, he was the navigator of a C-54 aircraft that flew ten to twelve military investigators on the way to Japan to Wake Island, where they changed planes for the second leg of the trip. During the flight Huff was told the Japan trip was part of an investigation of Lee Harvey Oswald's involvement in the assassination. Huff said that on the return flight, he read a confidential report prepared by the Marine Corps containing a psychological evaluation of Oswald, which concluded that he was psychologically incapable of carrying out the assassination alone. This alleged report has disappeared.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Canada, Captain Robert

Commanding officer of Bethesda Naval Hospital in 1963, Captain Canada was present during the autopsy of President Kennedy. He played only a peripheral role in the postmortem exam and recalled nothing unusual about the body or the wounds.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Cancler, John



Cancler, a convicted burglar and pimp, appeared on television in June 1967 in an NBC "White Paper" program called "The Case of Jim Garrison." On the show Cancler charged that the New Orleans district attorney's office had attempted to get him to put false evidence in the home of Clay Shaw. When called before a grand jury and asked to repeat his claim, Cancler reportedly refused, pleading the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination. When asked to reiterate before a criminal court judge what he had said on television, Cancler once again refused and was found guilty of contempt of court.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Canfield, Michael L.

___ Canfield is an assassination researcher and co-author of *Coup d'Etat in America*.

Book of Facts: Carlin, Karen



Carlin was a stripper working at Jack Ruby's nightclub during November 1963 under the name "Little Lynn." She allegedly borrowed five dollars from Ruby for carfare home to Fort Worth the night before he shot Lee Harvey Oswald. The following morning, she called Ruby and asked for an additional \$25.00, which he agreed to wire her. At 11:17 on Sunday morning, Ruby sent the money from the Western Union office in downtown Dallas, then walked to Police Headquarters nearby, making his way to the basement garage, where he shot Oswald four minutes later.

This incident would appear to support Ruby's original contention that the shooting was not planned, but was an impulsive and therefore not a conspiratorial act. Many researchers, however, believe it may have been staged, suggesting conspiracy.

See also WARNER, ROGER C.

Contract on America; Ruby Cover-up

Book of Facts: Carousel Club



This nightclub near downtown Dallas was owned by Jack Ruby and featured striptease acts. Ruby also had an interest in a similar operation called the Vegas Club, also in Dallas.

Book of Facts: Carr, Richard R.

Richard Carr was working on the construction of the new county courthouse overlooking Dealey Plaza the day of the assassination. He reports seeing a heavysset man wearing a tan jacket, hat, and horn-rimmed glasses at a window on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building just before the shots were fired. After the shooting, Carr says he saw two men running either from behind the building or from inside it. The two jumped into a Rambler station wagon and sped north on Houston Street. A few minutes later, the heavysset man who had been on the sixth floor hurried away from the building.

Researcher J. Gary Shaw contends that FBI agents warned Carr against testifying before the Warren Commission and that, allegedly harassed by Dallas Police officers, Carr then moved to Montana. Trouble followed him when one day he discovered dynamite wired to his car's ignition. Another attempt on his life was foiled with the help of a neighbor who was a local police officer. After testifying at the Clay Shaw trial, Carr was attacked by knife-wielding assassins, but despite receiving several wounds he managed to shoot one of them to death.

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES.

Crossfire; High Treason; Mortal Error

Book of Facts: Carr, Waggoner

Attorney general for the state of Texas, Waggoner Carr reportedly called J. Lee Rankin, general counsel for the Warren Commission, on January 22, 1964, telling him he had learned that Lee Harvey Oswald had been an "undercover agent" employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Rankin called an emergency session of the full Commission at 5:30 that evening, a session that Commission member Congressman Gerald Ford said was the most "tense and hushed" meeting he could recall attending. As a result, Carr and other Texas officials who claimed they had also learned that since September 1962 Oswald had been FBI undercover agent #179 were summoned to Washington to give their testimony in a top-secret session on January 24. On the basis of denials by J. Edgar Hoover and other FBI officials, the Warren Commission concluded that Oswald had not been in the FBI's employ.

*See also JAWORSKI, LEON; PENA, OREST.
Rush to Judgment; Texas Connection*

Book of Facts: Carrico, Dr. Charles

Dr. Carrico was the first doctor to examine the fatally wounded president at Parkland Memorial Hospital. On the afternoon of November 22, 1963, he wrote and signed a report describing the wound in the president's throat as an entrance wound. He described it as both "small" and "round." This is not the description a doctor would use to identify a bullet exit wound, although the Warren Report concludes this was the exit point of the magic bullet that injured both Kennedy and Governor John Connally. Carrico also reported that the wound in the rear of the president's head was nearly circular and measured 2 to 2 3/4 inches across.

See also HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY; THROAT WOUND CONTROVERSY; TRACHEOTOMY.
Best Evidence; *Rush to Judgment*

Book of Facts: Carter, Arthur E.

Arthur Carter was an FBI agent who took testimony from Texas School Book Depository Building employee Bonnie Ray Williams. The testimony has come under fire because the FBI report of this interview appears to have misquoted Williams concerning the time he was on the sixth floor of the building. The time is crucial because it puts Williams on the same floor as the alleged assassin just minutes before the shooting, yet Williams claims there was no one else on the floor with him.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Carter, William



On December 4, 1963, Secret Service special agent Carter received testimony from Harold D. Norman, a Texas School Book Depository Building employee who was on the fifth floor of the building when the assassination took place. Carter's report quotes Norman as saying the shots came from directly above him and that he saw "dust falling from the ceiling" below the window where Oswald allegedly stood when he fired at the president. When questioned about this by the Warren Commission, Norman denied making either of these statements.

See also JARMAN, JAMES; WILLIAMS, BONNIE RAY.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Carto, Willis

Carto was the president of Liberty Lobby, which published Spotlight magazine.

Book of Facts: "The Case of Jim Garrison"



This NBC "White Paper" television program attacked the New Orleans district attorney's investigation of the Kennedy assassination. This one-sided look at Jim Garrison's investigation caused Garrison to believe that the show was an attempt to smear him. See also CANCLER, JOHN; LEEMANS, FRED; RUSSO, PERRY; SHERIDAN, WALTER; TORRES, MIGUEL.
On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Casket Team



The Joint Casket Bearer Team of the Military District of Washington, D.C., is responsible for handling the caskets for funerals held at Arlington National Cemetery. The Casket Team members responsible for President Kennedy's coffin were Army Lieutenant Samuel R. Bird, Coast Guard Yeoman George A. Barnum, Navy Seaman Hubert Clark, Marine Corporal Timothy Cheek, Army Specialist Douglas Mayfield, Army Sergeant James L. Felder, and Air Force Sergeant Richard E. Gaudreau. Several members of the team remembered a "decoy" ambulance at the front entrance of Bethesda Naval Hospital when they arrived there on the evening of November 22, 1963. See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; COFFIN CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Castellanos, Nestor

A Cuban exile, Castellanos was alleged to have vehemently attacked the president when he addressed a right-wing group in a Dallas suburb during October 1963. Castellanos supposedly voiced the threat "We are waiting for Kennedy the 22nd. . . . We're going to give him the works when he gets in Dallas." In light of these ominous predictions, it is largely contradictory that no demonstrations by Cuban exiles occurred when Kennedy visited Dallas.

See also ANTI-CASTRO CUBANS.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Castro, Fidel



The Cuban dictator has long been suspected of ordering Kennedy's death, with the obvious motive being retaliation for the numerous CIA plots against his life. Proponents who support the premise are convinced Castro sought revenge against the American president, whom he believed was personally responsible for the threats on his life. No hard evidence has ever been produced linking Castro with the assassination.

Book of Facts: The Cellar

Owned by Pat Kirkwood, an acquaintance of Jack Ruby's, The Cellar was an all-night club where nine Secret Service agents, four of whom had motorcade responsibilities the following day, allegedly partied until the early hours of the night of November 2122, while the president slept. Secret Service agents with the White House detail or those traveling with the president are forbidden to drink any alcoholic beverages while "in travel status." This rule also applies to field agents who are augmenting the White House detail, such as those in Dallas during the president's visit. Yet according to a statement attributed to the club's manager, Jimmy Hill, "those guys [the Secret Service agents] were bombed. They were drinking pure Everclear [alcohol]." Reporter Jim Marrs accused the agents responsible for guarding the sleeping president at the Hotel Texas of leaving several Fort Worth firemen to man their posts while they went to The Cellar. Secret Service chief James J. Rowley denied that late-night drinking affected the performance of his men; however, several officials in the motorcade offered different opinions. One of these, Senator Ralph Yarborough, told Marrs, "All of the Secret Service men seemed to me to respond very slowly, with no more than a puzzled look" when the shots rang out in Dealey Plaza.
Crossfire

Book of Facts: Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)



Many informed observers believe the CIA played a critical role in the president's death. The CIA has a long history of involvement in odious activities, ranging from plans to kill foreign rulers, alleged drug dealing in Southeast Asia, and even abetting the infamous Watergate burglars whose arrest ultimately brought about the downfall of President Richard Nixon. It is interesting to note that in the only two court trials in which the assassination of President Kennedy figured, the prosecution of Clay Shaw by Jim Garrison and the libel suit brought by the CIA's E. Howard Hunt against the publication *Spotlight*, people on both juries arrived at the same conclusion: that the CIA was behind the assassination. Two books that deal primarily with this subject are *Plausible Denial*, by Mark Lane, and *Coup d'Etat in America*, by Michael Canfield and Alan J. Weberman. See also OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES; OPERATION 40; PERMINDEX.

Book of Facts: Chaney, James

Dallas police motorcycle officer Chaney had the president clearly in view when the shots were fired. Shortly afterward, he told local television reporters that Kennedy had been "struck in the face," supporting similar reports that at least one shot came from in front of the president.

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES.

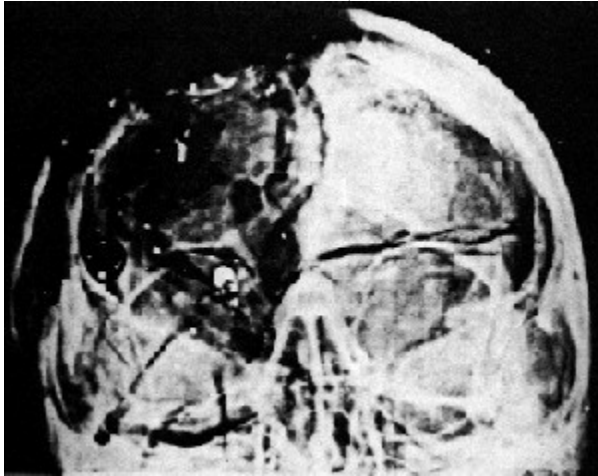
Crossfire: High Treason

Book of Facts: "Charles, Pedro"

A letter mailed to Lee Harvey Oswald from Havana, Cuba, on November 28, 1963, four days after the entire world knew Oswald was dead, and signed "Pedro Charles," was intercepted by the Secret Service and turned over to the FBI labs. The letter alluded to the "fact" that Oswald had been hired to shoot someone. Soon after, a letter was sent to Robert F. Kennedy identifying "Charles" as a Castro agent. FBI examination found that both letters were typed on the same typewriter. Although the Warren Commission recognized that the "Pedro Charles" letters were a hoax, evidently no further effort was made to discover who was behind it or what the motivation was.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Chase, Dr. Norman



Dr. Chase was among a group of medical experts whom the House Select Committee on Assassinations asked to examine the medical evidence produced by the president's autopsy. After reviewing the X rays of the head, Chase said the wound was much too massive to be caused by a direct-on hit by a single-jacketed bullet such as those allegedly used by Lee Harvey Oswald to kill Kennedy. Such a wound would be caused by a bullet tumbling inside the skull, or if it hit at an angle, and would leave a large number of fragments; yet according to Dr. James J. Humes, who performed the autopsy, all that was found were "tiny dustlike particle fragments" more consistent with a bullet driving straight through the skull and bone.

See also HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Cheek, Timothy



A member of the Casket Team that moved the president's coffin, Marine Lance Corporal Cheek spoke to researcher David S. Lifton, who says Cheek substantiated the confusion surrounding the use of two Navy ambulances and the difficulty the team encountered locating Kennedy's coffin on arrival at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; BIRD, SAMUEL R.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Chesher, Bill_

Little is known about Chesher other than that he allegedly had information linking Lee Harvey Oswald with his murderer, Jack Ruby. Chesher never shared that information with anyone, and he died of a heart attack in March 1964.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Chetta, Dr. Nichola



Chetta was the New Orleans coroner who performed autopsies on several individuals - including David Ferrie - who died mysteriously, preventing them from testifying in the court case District Attorney Jim Garrison brought against Clay Shaw for his alleged part in the assassination. Assassination researchers term the deaths of these and some other individuals as "strange" or "related." Dr. Chetta, who was a friend and supporter of Garrison's, himself died of a heart attack on May 25, 1968. His sometime assistant, Dr. Henry Delaune, was killed on January 26, 1969.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Chism, Mr. and Mrs. John



The Chisms and their three-year-old son were standing along the curb with their backs to the Grassy Knoll near the now-famous Stemmons Freeway sign that partially blocked the view of the assassination in the Zapruder film. John Chism and his wife both said the first shots were fired just as the president's car was abreast of them. They both looked behind them to see exactly where the shots were coming from, believing the shooter was somewhere on the knoll. Mrs. Chism said, "It [the second shot] came from what I thought was behind us."

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES; GRASSY KNOLL WITNESSES.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Civello, Joseph



Civello ran the Dallas operations of New Orleans Mafia head Carlos Marcello. He was also a close friend and sometime business associate of Jack Ruby's, whose extensive ties to the underworld also ran through restaurant owner Joseph Campisi. Author John H. Davis charges that the FBI, under J. Edgar Hoover, attempted to cover up Ruby's relationships with Civello, who was considered the number-one Mafia man in Dallas, and with Campisi, who was number two.

Conspiracy; Mafia Kingfish

Book of Facts: Clark, Hubert



A member of the Military District of Washington, D.C., Casket Team, Navy Seaman Apprentice Clark was questioned by assassination researcher David S. Lifton on December 19, 1967. According to Lifton, Clark's version of the events that occurred when the motorcade with the ambulance allegedly carrying Kennedy's body arrived at Bethesda Naval Hospital supports the statements of other members of the team. Like the others, Clark recalled that there was confusion regarding the whereabouts of the ambulance carrying Kennedy's coffin when the team arrived at the hospital.

*See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; BIRD, SAMUEL R.
Best Evidence*

Book of Facts: Clark, Dr. Kemp



Chairman of the Neurosurgery Division of Parkland Memorial Hospital, Dr. Clark was the first one to closely examine the president's head wound. He also pronounced the president dead and signed the death certificate. Among the statements that Dr. Clark made in the hours following the assassination and that contradicted the autopsy results released later was that the president was shot in the throat - meaning he was shot from the front. At a press conference shortly after the president's body was removed from Parkland for the trip to Washington, Clark located the head wound at the "back of his head . . . toward the right side" - also conflicting with the autopsy report, which placed the wound farther toward the top and front, not just in the back.

See also EBERSOLE, DR. JOHN; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY; PARKLAND PRESS CONFERENCE; PERRY, DR. MALCOLM; TRACHEOTOMY.

Best Evidence; Conspiracy of Silence

Book of Facts: Clark Panel



In 1968, U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark convened a panel of four doctors to review the autopsy photographs and X rays produced at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Published accounts of their report said it confirmed the finding of the Warren Commission that the president had been hit by two shots fired from behind and above him. However, on closer examination, several researchers found that the Clark Panel's report differed from the autopsy report in its description of the location of two wounds. The doctors on the panel were William H. Carnes, Russell Fischer, Russell H. Morgan, and Alan R. Moritz.
See also HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Clemons, Acquilla



A witness to the killing of Police Officer J. D. Tippit, Clemons reportedly said she saw two men take part in the shooting, neither of whom resembled Lee Harvey Oswald. Never questioned by federal agents, Mrs. Clemons claimed she was later visited at her home by a man with a gun who she thought was a police officer. The man warned her that if she testified about the shooting, she might be killed.

See also TIPPIT MURDER SCENE WITNESSES.

Crossfire; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Coffin Controversy

Two basic controversies surround the coffin that allegedly contained the president's body on the trip from Parkland Memorial Hospital to Bethesda Naval Hospital. The first is the description of the coffin. According to the account given by William Manchester, the coffin provided by the Dallas funeral home owned by Vernon Oneal weighed four hundred pounds and was a top-of-the-line bronze unit that sealed hermetically, a "Britannia" model manufactured by the Elgin Casket Company. Several witnesses at Bethesda, including hospital corpsman Dennis David and lab technologist Paul K. O'Connor, described the coffin containing the president's body as a low-priced gray metal unit similar to a shipping coffin. A second subject of controversy involves the time the coffin arrived at Bethesda (see ambulance controversy). The differing descriptions of the coffin in which Kennedy's body arrived at Bethesda have led some to surmise that the president's body was removed from the expensive coffin sometime after that coffin was put aboard Air Force One in Dallas.

See also BODY BAG CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence; *Death of a President*; *High Treason*

Book of Facts: Committee on Ballistic Acoustics



Organized by the National Science Foundation, under the direction of Dr. Norman Ramsey, this group examined the acoustical evidence produced by the Dallas police dispatch tape. The committee concluded that its analysis did not demonstrate that any shots were fired from the Grassy Knoll. Most assassination researchers have criticized the report.

See also ACOUSTICAL EVIDENCE.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Connally, John



Connally, the governor of Texas (and, in 1963, still a Democrat), was seated in the jump seat directly in front of President Kennedy when the shots were fired. One bullet passed through the governor's body, smashing through his wrist and embedding itself in his thigh. According to the Warren Commission, this was the same bullet that entered Kennedy's back and exited his throat, the so-called magic bullet on which the single bullet theory is based. Connally has steadfastly refused to accept this theory and continues to insist that he heard a shot before he was hit, which would not be possible if the shot that struck Kennedy also hit him, since a bullet travels faster than the sound of the gun firing it. Nellie Connally, who was seated next to her husband, testified that she saw the president react physically to a shot before her husband was hit.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: "Conspiracy"

This book by Anthony Summers, an investigative reporter for the BBC, was published by McGraw-Hill in 1980 (an expanded, updated edition was issued by Paragon House in 1989). It focuses on the theory that Lee Harvey Oswald was a tool of U.S. intelligence agents who are responsible for the assassination.

Book of Facts: Conspiracy Theories

Within hours of the assassination, many individuals began developing theories about the possible existence of conspiracies against the president's life, resulting in dozens of books about the subject. The most popular theories revolve around these groups and individuals: anti-Castro Cubans, who blamed Kennedy for the Bay of Pigs fiasco; Fidel Castro, who held the Kennedy brothers responsible for a series of attempts on his life; the Central Intelligence Agency, because the president fired several of its top men and vowed to clean house in the Agency; members of the military-industrial complex, who believed Kennedy was about to end U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War; right-wing extremists, who opposed Kennedy's policy of "appeasement" toward the Soviet Union; members of the Mafia, because the president's brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, had turned the powers of the federal government against the underworld; and backers of Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, unhappy with the news that Kennedy intended to drop him from the ticket before the 1964 election.

These theories, and perhaps as many as half a dozen others, all have adherents who are able to muster from the misinformation and inconsistencies enough circumstantial evidence and supposition to give them the ring of credibility.

Book of Facts: "Contract on America"

Published in 1988 by Zebra Books and written by David E. Scheim, *Contract on America: The Mafia Murder of President John F. Kennedy* focuses on underworld characters who had both motive and means to kill the president.

Book of Facts: Cooper, John Sherman

A three-time Republican senator from Kentucky, Cooper was selected by President Lyndon B. Johnson to serve as a member of the Warren Commission. Cooper is said to have objected to the single bullet theory from the very outset. He also is credited, along with Commission member Senator Richard B. Russell, with influencing the Commission staff to investigate the CIA link with Lee Harvey Oswald more thoroughly.
Conspiracy; Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Couch, Malcolm



A cameraman for a local Dallas television station, Couch was riding in a press car eight or nine cars back from the lead car in the Kennedy motorcade. He testified that when the shots were fired, another passenger in the car, photographer Robert H. Jackson, yelled that a rifle was protruding from a window of the Texas School Book Depository Building. Couch said he looked up in time to see a rifle barrel being withdrawn into the window on what appeared to be the sixth or seventh floor.

He also claimed that an individual named Wes Wise, "who works for [television station] KRLD," told him he saw Jack Ruby coming around the side of the Depository Building five to ten minutes after the shooting. Wise never testified before the Warren Commission.

See also DILLARD, THOMAS.

Rush to Judgment; Warren Report

Book of Facts: "Coup d'Etat in America"

Written by Michael L. Canfield and Alan J. Weberman and published in 1975 by The Third Press, the book *Coup d'Etat in America: The CIA and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy* focuses on what the authors claim was the CIA's involvement in the assassination, including deploying "assassination squad" teams at the scene in Dallas.

Book of Facts: Crafard, Curtis

A drifter who worked at odd jobs in Jack Ruby's Carousel Club, "Larry" Crafard told FBI investigators that he frequently saw Bernard Weissman in the club. Weissman had placed an inflammatory anti-Kennedy ad in the *Dallas Morning News* the day of the assassination, and was revealed by Crafard to be on personal terms with Ruby. Crafard further said he heard Ruby refer to Weissman by name.

See also AMERICAN FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Craig, Roger



A deputy sheriff of Dallas County in November 1963, Craig appears to be another victim of post-assassination duress because his testimony conflicted with the official findings of the Warren Commission. Named Officer of the Year in 1960, Craig had a neatly ordered life that seemingly crumpled after the assassination, and he ultimately committed suicide. Craig figured prominently in three controversial incidents immediately following the assassination. The first was his eyewitness account that shortly after the shooting, he saw a man running down the hill on the north side of Elm Street from the direction of the Texas School Book Depository Building and jump into a Rambler station wagon that had slowed to pick him up. Later at Police Headquarters, he identified Lee Harvey Oswald as the man he saw get into the car. The Warren Commission version was that Oswald boarded a public bus and then switched to a taxicab to flee the area of the shooting. Police Captain Will Fritz, who conducted Oswald's interrogation, denied that Craig was ever in the same room with the suspect, yet a photograph published in 1969 clearly showed Craig standing inside the office during Oswald's questioning.

About ten minutes after the shooting Craig was approached by the family of Arnold Rowland. Mr. Rowland told him he saw two men at the sixth-floor window of the Depository Building. (Mrs. Rowland disagreed with her husband, but neither of their accounts lend credence to the Warren Commission's lone assassin theory.) Shortly after this exchange, Craig and another officer found the rifle that Oswald allegedly used, except that he identified it by its markings as a 7.65-caliber Mauser, not a Mannlicher-Carcano.

Craig's life was thrown into turmoil when he refused to recant his testimony. Several attempts were made on his life, and following the breakup of his marriage, he shot himself.

See also BOONE, EUGENE L.; MOONEY, LUKE; WADE, HENRY W.; WEITZMAN, SEYMOUR.
Crossfire; High Treason; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Craig, Walter

Under pressure from its critics that the interests of the man accused of killing President Kennedy, Lee Harvey Oswald, were not being protected, the Warren Commission appointed Walter Craig, then president of the American Bar Association, to participate in the hearings in a role vaguely similar to that of a defense attorney. Critics charge that Craig's participation was virtually nil and that his awareness of the facts of the case was practically nonexistent. There is no record of Craig's having called even a single witness to testify in Oswald's defense or of his ever having recalled a witness for cross-examination.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Crenshaw, Dr. Charles



A surgeon at Parkland Memorial Hospital, Crenshaw was there when the president was brought in. Never called to testify by any official body, Crenshaw wrote, with Jens Hansen and J. Gary Shaw, an account of his experiences in a book titled *JFK: Conspiracy of Silence*, published by Signet in 1992. In the book Crenshaw claims that he was fully aware at the time that the wounds to the president's head and throat were caused by bullets fired from in front of Kennedy. He also claims that while he was working to save Lee Harvey Oswald's life after Jack Ruby shot him, he received a telephone call from President Lyndon B. Johnson telling him that a man standing by in the operating room would take Oswald's deathbed confession of the assassination.

See also TRACHEOTOMY.
Conspiracy of Silence

Book of Facts: Crescent City Garage

This automobile parking garage in New Orleans, owned by Adrian Alba, had contracts to garage vehicles owned by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secret Service, and the Office of Naval Intelligence. It was also a hangout for Lee Harvey Oswald, who worked next door at the William Reily Coffee Company.

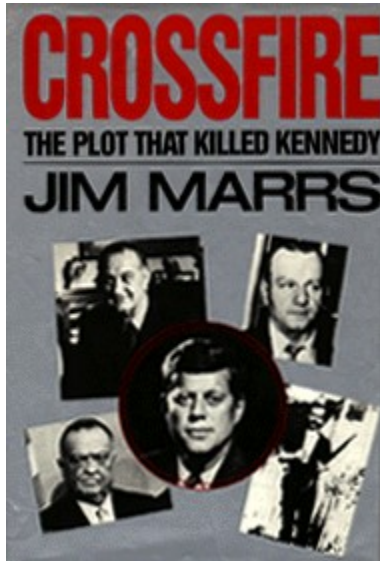
On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: "Cross, Ron"



"Ron Cross" was the pseudonym used by an undercover CIA case officer when he testified before the House Select Committee on Investigations that "Maurice Bishop" was actually David Atlee Phillips.
Conspiracy

Book of Facts: "Crossfire"



Published by Carroll & Graf in 1989, *Crossfire: The Plot That Killed Kennedy* is the work of Dallas journalist Jim Marrs. This book reviews in depth much of what was known about the assassination through 1989, and provides some additional witness information. The book focuses on those groups with the motive and means to carry out the assassination of an American president. It was one of the sources for the Oliver Stone film *JFK*.

Book of Facts: Cuban Revolutionary Council (CRC)



The CRC was an anti-Castro group allegedly organized by CIA agent E. Howard Hunt whose purpose was to discredit the pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The CRC headquarters was located at 544 Camp Street in New Orleans.

See also BANISTER, GUY.
Crossfire; High Treason

Book of Facts: Cubela, Rolando



In 1961, Cuban official Rolando Cubela, a former assassin for Fidel Castro during the revolution to overthrow the Batista government, allegedly attempted to defect but was persuaded by the Central Intelligence Agency to remain in place. Cubela became a CIA informer under the code name AM/LASH. On the same day Kennedy was assassinated, Cubela was in Paris, France, meeting with a CIA contact to discuss plans to kill Castro. Nothing came of the plans.

In February 1966, Cubela was arrested and was later convicted by the Cuban government of conspiracy against Castro and of treason. He was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison. Some researchers have cited the AM/LASH plots against Castro as motivation for Castro's involvement in Kennedy's death, alleging that Cubela was actually a double agent. Cubela passionately denied this, and no hard evidence exists to support such an assumption.

Conspiracy; Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Cunningham, Cortland

An FBI firearms expert, Cortlandt was asked by the Warren Commission to examine the bullets allegedly recovered from the shooting scene of Police Officer J. D. Tippit. Because the bullets were too badly mangled, he was unable to positively identify them as having been fired from a revolver reportedly owned by Lee Harvey Oswald.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Curry, Jesse E.



Dallas Police Chief Curry rode in the lead car of the presidential motorcade. Immediately after the shots were fired, he shouted orders over the police radio, commanding officers to rush to the overpass just ahead of his car to "see what happened up there." The following day, he told reporters the shots came from behind him. Six years after the assassination, Curry was quoted as saying that there was still no hard evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald fired the rifle that was allegedly used to kill President Kennedy. He wrote a book, *The JFK Assassination File*, published in 1969 by the American Poster and Printing Company.
Crossfire; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Custer, Jerrol F.



One of two X-ray technicians at the Bethesda Naval Hospital morgue when the president's body was brought in for the autopsy, Custer reportedly said that the president's wounds clearly indicated to him that Kennedy had been shot from the front. Custer also claims that while he was taking the X-ray plates of the president's wounds to be developed, he saw Jacqueline Kennedy enter the hospital. According to official records, the coffin containing the president's body was inside a Navy ambulance parked directly outside the main entrance to the hospital when Mrs. Kennedy entered the building. Custer's statement, if true, means the president's body had already been X-rayed before the coffin allegedly containing his body was unloaded.

On May 28, 1992, Custer attended a press conference along with the autopsy photographer, Floyd A. Riebe, to discuss recent publicity concerning the autopsy. According to a Reuter wire service story of May 29, 1992, Custer said the X rays that had been released to the public showing Kennedy's head wounds were "wrong." Custer then went into detail to demonstrate that the published X rays had been tampered with and did not reflect the president's actual wounds. He was quoted as saying that his job was to locate bullet fragments. He then confirmed a report by one of the Navy doctors present that a complete bullet was recovered under Kennedy's back when his body was moved. This bullet has never been accounted for in the evidence inventory of the case. Custer described the scene at the autopsy as "total chaos."

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; JENKINS, JAMES C.; O'CONNOR, PAUL K.; OSBORNE, DR. DAVID; X-RAY CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Dallas Conference



In 1991, assassination researcher Harrison Edward Livingstone gathered together for the first time a number of the people who were present in the Parkland Memorial Hospital emergency room when the wounded president was brought in, and several who were present when the autopsy was performed at Bethesda Naval Hospital. These doctors, nurses, the ambulance driver, technicians, and other specialists discussed as a group such topics as the president's head and back wounds, the condition of his body, the items used to wrap the body, and the autopsy photographs. The tremendous differences among the descriptions of various key medical details underscore the possibility that Kennedy's wounds were altered between the time the body left Parkland and the time the autopsy was performed.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Dallas Police

The Dallas Police Department, under the direction of its appointed chief, Jesse E. Curry, and the man responsible for day-to-day operations, Captain Will Fritz, has come under fire from numerous sources because of what many charge was extremely poor performance during the president's visit to the city. Critics point out that among other lapses, the security Dallas police afforded the motorcade ended one block short of the shooting scene; the investigation of the shooting scene was concentrated on the Texas School Book Depository Building, despite the fact that many police officers on the scene thought the shots were fired from the area of the Grassy Knoll; and the interrogation and protection of the suspect Lee Harvey Oswald was inconsistent with professional police procedures.

Texas Connection

Book of Facts: Dallas Police Dispatch Tape



It is standard operating procedure for the Dallas Police Department to record all conversations broadcast over police frequencies. Just before the assassination, the microphone on a motorcycle in the motorcade escort believed to be Officer H. B. McLain's jammed in the open position. This meant the sounds of activity near the scene, including the gunshots, were recorded on the dispatch tape. Much controversy has raged around the vital subject of the number of shots recorded - with some experts contending there were three, while others claim there were four - and over the direction of the shots seemingly recorded on the tape. The original copy of the recording is missing from the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

See also ACOUSTICAL EVIDENCE; FERRELL, MARY.
High Treason

Book of Facts: Daniels, Hawk

Hawk Daniels, a federal investigator, took part in an investigation concerning alleged plans by former Teamsters boss Jimmy Hoffa to kill Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and possibly also the president. Daniels, who later became a judge, claims he listened in on two 1962 telephone conversations in which Hoffa asked Louisiana Teamsters official Edward Partin to obtain plastic explosives for him so he could arrange to blow up Robert Kennedy's home.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Daniels, Napoleon

A former member of the Dallas police force, Daniels stated repeatedly that he saw a man somewhat resembling Jack Ruby enter the Main Street auto entrance ramp leading to the lower level of Dallas Police Headquarters moments before Lee Harvey Oswald was shot. He claims the man went unchallenged by Officer Roy Vaughn, who was guarding the entrance at the time. Vaughn denied this.

High Treason; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Dark Complexioned Man



Several people in Dealey Plaza at the time of the assassination reported seeing at least two men with rifles at the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building. It is possible that one of them might have been Lee Harvey Oswald, but the second man was said to have had a very dark complexion. He was variously described as either Hispanic or Negro by these witnesses. In addition, Deputy Sheriff Roger D. Craig reported that he saw a dark-skinned man driving a Rambler station wagon away from the scene after another man, who had light skin, ran down a slope from the Book Depository Building and jumped into the car before it sped away. Another dark-complexioned man appears somehow to have been associated with the so-called Umbrella Man, whose mysterious behavior in Dealey Plaza before, during, and after the assassination has been a focus of researchers' scrutiny.

See also EUINS, AMOS L.; HENDERSON, RUBY; POWELL, JOHN; ROWLAND, ARNOLD
Crossfire

Book of Facts: David, Dennis

A petty officer in the Medical Service Corps stationed at the Naval Medical School at Bethesda Naval Hospital when the president's body arrived, David has been quoted as claiming he helped unload the coffin allegedly containing Kennedy's body, a direct contradiction of the official report filed by the Casket Team, which unloaded the coffin. David's tale also conflicts with the O'Neill and Sibert report on the autopsy. David has also reportedly provided other information about the events at Bethesda that dispute certain findings of the Warren Commission.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; BODY BAG CONTROVERSY; COFFIN CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Davis, Avery



An employee in the Texas School Book Depository Building, Mrs. Avery Davis was standing in front of the building entrance when the assassination took place. She reportedly told FBI agents that she thought the shots had come from the overpass in front of the motorcade.

See also ADAMS, VICTORIA; TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Davis, Barbara and Virginia

Barbara Davis and her sister-in-law Virginia R. Davis claim they witnessed a man running from the direction of the area where Officer J. D. Tippit was shot. The man stopped in front of Barbara Davis' house, where he opened his revolver and allowed several spent shells to fall to the ground. The women retrieved the shells and gave them to a police officer investigating Tippit's murder. Barbara Davis said the man was wearing a dark sport coat. When she was shown the light tan jacket Lee Harvey Oswald was wearing when he was arrested shortly after the shooting, she said it was not the one worn by the man she saw empty the gun.

See also TIPPIT MURDER SCENE WITNESSES.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Davis, John



Davis is the author of *Mafia Kingfish: Carlos Marcell and the Assassination of John F. Kennedy*, published by McGraw-Hill in 1989. This book is a major source of information linking the assassination to organized crime.

Book of Facts: Davis, Red

Researchers Robert J. Groden and Harrison Edward Livingstone claim that Red Davis, a member of the Dallas Police Department, told Officer Roy Vaughn that Assistant Police Chief Charles Batchelor escorted Jack Ruby to the basement of Police Headquarters, where Ruby killed Lee Harvey Oswald.

*See also DANIELS, NAPOLEON J.
High Treason*

Book of Facts: Davis, Thomas

A convicted bank robber, Thomas Eli Davis III was a part-time undersea salvage operator who also took part, along with Jack Ruby, in running guns to Cuba. Davis was allegedly arrested by Moroccan security forces because he had in his possession a letter that discussed Lee Harvey Oswald and the assassination. Intervention by a CIA agent is credited with winning Davis' release. Davis died of accidental electrocution in 1973.

Conspiracy; Ruby Cover-up

Book of Facts: Day, Carl



Dallas police lieutenant Day claimed to have lifted Lee Harvey Oswald's palmprint from the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle allegedly used to kill Kennedy. Inexplicably, Day ignored normal police procedure and failed to photograph the print and protect it with cellophane, even though he followed procedure with other, less valuable prints found on the rifle. No residue of the purported palmprint was found when the rifle was examined by the FBI.

See also DRAIN, VINCENT; LATONA, SEBASTIAN FRANCIS.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Dealey Plaza



The scene of the Kennedy assassination is located at the western edge of downtown Dallas. Situated on slightly over three acres, it is crossed by Main Street, Elm Street, and Commerce Street, all three leading to entrances to the freeway system, including Stemmons Freeway, which the motorcade took to [Parkland Memorial Hospital](#) after the shooting. Named for George B. Dealey, founder of the *Dallas Morning News* and an early civic leader, the plaza was the site of the first home, store, and courthouse in Dallas.

Book of Facts: Dealey Plaza Witnesses

At least four hundred people were in and around Dealey Plaza when President Kennedy was killed. Not all of them witnessed the assassination, and of those who did, not all have spoken up about what they saw. Entries have been included in this book for the following people who were on the scene and who have testified or in some other way given witness to the events of November 22, 1963: Associated Press photographer James W. Altgens; Danny Garcia Arce; Police Officer Marrison L. Baker; Secret Service agent Glen Bennett; Hugh Betzner, Jr.; Charles Brehm; Howard L. Brennan; Police Officer E. D. Brewer; Charles Bronson (see BRONSON FILM); Mrs. Earle Cabell, wife of the Dallas mayor; Richard R. Carr; Police Officer James Chaney; Governor John Connally; TV cameraman Malcolm Couch; Deputy Sheriff Roger D. Craig; Sheriff J. E. (Bill) Decker; *Dallas Morning News* photographer Thomas Dillard; Robert E. Edwards; Amos L. Euins; Ronald B. Fischer; Police Officer Bobby W. Hargis; Police Sergeant D. V. Harkness; Wayne and Edna Hartman; Police Officer Clyde A. Haygood; Ruby Henderson; Secret Service agent Clinton Hill; Jean Hill; Ed Hoffman; Robert Hughes; Texas State Highway Patrolman Hurchel Jacks; Assistant Press Secretary Malcolm Kilduff; W. W. Mabra; Police Officer B. J. Martin; Bill and Gayle Newman (see NEWMAN FAMILY); Jean Newman; Arnold Rowland; NBC cameraman Dave Weigman; Deputy Constable Seymour Weitzman; Robert H. West; Linda Willis; Philip L. Willis.

Book of Facts: Dean, Patrick

Dallas police sergeant Dean claims that shortly after Jack Ruby's arrest, Ruby told him that he had premeditated the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald and had entered the police garage by simply walking down the Main Street entrance ramp. Although several other officers belatedly corroborated Dean's statement about how Ruby entered the building, it remains questionable. Dean, who had known Ruby for several years, took a lie-detector test answering questions he allegedly wrote himself, but failed to achieve a result that would clearly indicate whether he was telling the truth.

See also DANIELS, NAPOLEON J.; GRIFFIN, BURT W.; VAUGHN, ROY.

Conspiracy; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Death of a President

Written by noted author William Manchester and published in 1967 by Harper & Row, this book is a fairly straightforward account of the assassination and the events preceding and following it, through the president's burial. Commissioned to write the book by the Kennedy family, Manchester later had a falling out with Robert F. Kennedy and the late president's widow, Jacqueline, that resulted in a well-publicized legal battle. The outcome was that certain passages were deleted from Manchester's manuscript and the Kennedy family divorced itself from the work, meaning it was no longer a Kennedy-authorized version of the assassination but Manchester's own history of the events. In a 1988 foreword to a reissue of the book, Manchester discounted all conspiracy theories concerning President Kennedy's assassination.

Book of Facts: DeBrueys, Warren

An FBI agent, deBrueys was stationed in New Orleans and has been identified as Lee Harvey Oswald's contact with the Bureau.

See also PENA, OREST.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Decker, J. E. "Bill"



Dallas County sheriff Decker was riding in the lead car of the presidential motorcade when the fatal shots were fired. He immediately dispatched all available deputies to the railroad yard behind the Grassy Knoll to "see what happened there," and secure the area pending the arrival of detectives. His deputies established a command post behind the stockade fence on the knoll, which they maintained for at least two more hours. Newspaper reports the afternoon of the shooting quoted Decker as saying that after he heard the first shot, he thought he saw a bullet bounce off the pavement.

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES; ELLIS, STARVIS; GRASSY KNOLL WITNESSES.
High Treason; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Delgado, Nelson

A Marine who served for a while with Lee Harvey Oswald, Delgado testified that Oswald was a supporter of Fidel Castro, and had spoken of joining the Cuban army. In testimony conflicting with statements made by others about the subject, Delgado described Oswald's marksmanship abilities as a "big joke," saying he often missed the target sheet entirely. Delgado also claimed that FBI agents attempted to get him to change several portions of his testimony so it would more closely align with the findings of the Warren Commission.

See also ANDERSON, EUGENE D.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: DeMohrenschildt, George



An oil geologist who formed a close friendship with Lee Harvey Oswald, DeMohrenschildt claimed to be the son of a marshal of nobility in czarist Russia, and was therefore entitled to call himself a baron. DeMohrenschildt is believed to have been an espionage agent for Nazi Germany in the United States and Mexico during World War II and later to have been associated with American intelligence agencies, especially the CIA, for whom he was an informant. Reports indicate that DeMohrenschildt may have been instrumental in getting Oswald a job in 1962 with a graphic arts company that processed photos taken by the U-2 spy planes that flew regular surveillance missions over Soviet territory - a strange employer for a man who had once defected to the Soviet Union.

In March 1977, just hours after arranging an interview with an investigator from the House Select Committee on Assassinations, DeMohrenschildt was found dead of a shotgun blast in the mouth. The death was ruled a suicide.

See also JAGGERS-CHILES-STOVALL; MENDOZA, DR. CHARLES.
Conspiracy; *Crossfire*

Book of Facts: Dillard, Thomas



Dillard was a photographer for the *Dallas Morning News*. He was riding in the press car toward the rear of the presidential motorcade when Kennedy was shot. A few seconds after the final shot, he took two photographs of the Texas School Book Depository Building. The Warren Report said one of Dillard's photos showed a partially opened window on the sixth floor of the building. Dillard's photo was among those examined by experts hired by the House Select Committee on Assassinations who determined that boxes visible in photos taken before and after the shooting had been "rearranged." This led assassination researcher Jim Marrs to question how it was possible that Lee Harvey Oswald had time to rearrange boxes on the sixth floor and be discovered on the second floor by a police officer at almost the same time.

See also BAKER, MARRION L.; COUCH, MALCOLM.
Crossfire; Warren Report

Book of Facts: Dodd, Richard C.

A railroad worker who had taken time to watch the presidential motorcade pass through Dealey Plaza, Dodd told assassination researcher Mark Lane that he had seen puffs of smoke rising from the corner of the stockade fence atop the Grassy Knoll. This observation was supported by statements from other railroad workers who were standing nearby.

See also OVERPASS WITNESSES.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Donahue, Howard

A ballistics expert, Donahue conducted a study of the shots that killed President Kennedy. His work is chronicled in the book *Mortal Error, The Shot That Killed JFK*, written by Bonar Menninger and published by St. Martin's Press in 1992. Donahue and Menninger hypothesize that the fatal head wound inflicted on the president was caused by the accidental discharge of a rifle carried by Secret Service Agent George Hickey, who was riding in the car directly behind the president's limousine. Agent Samuel Kinney, who rode in the same car, has denied that Hickey fired a shot.

Book of Facts: Dorman, Elsie



An employee of a publisher with offices in the Texas School Book Depository Building, Dorman was filming the motorcade from the window of her fourth-floor office when the shooting took place. There is no record that she was ever questioned by any official investigators.

See also TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Dougherty, Jack E.



An employee of the Texas School Book Depository Building, Dougherty was questioned by Warren Commission staff members. Although the Commission concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald entered the building the morning of the assassination carrying a long paper package, which he reportedly claimed contained curtain rods and which the Commission believed concealed the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle he used to kill President Kennedy, Dougherty testified that he saw Oswald enter the building and that he was positive that Oswald carried nothing in his hands.

See also FRAZIER, BUELL WESLEY.

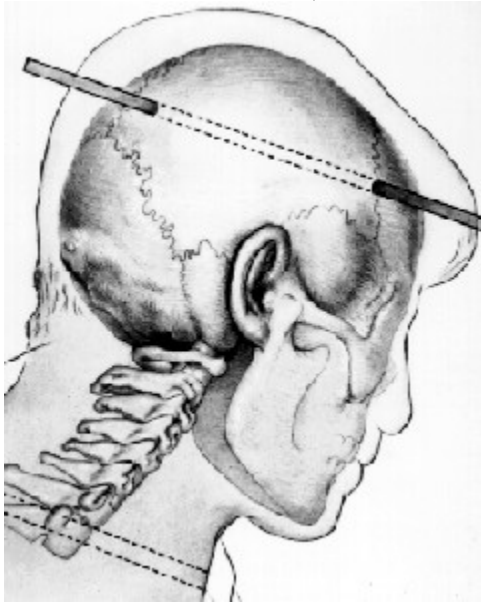
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Downtown Lincoln Mercury

Several salesmen at the Dallas Downtown Lincoln-Mercury automobile dealership testified to the Warren Commission that on November 9, 1963, a man calling himself Lee Oswald came into the showroom, inquired about buying a Mercury Comet, and took the car on a reckless test drive. The man also told the salesmen that he expected to be coming into a large sum of money in a few weeks' time. The Warren Commission concluded that this man could not have been Lee Harvey Oswald, who, it said, was elsewhere that day. Some researchers speculate that the man calling himself Oswald may have been an impersonator leaving a false trail of evidence.

*See also Bogard, Albert G; BROWN, ORAN; PIZZO, FRANK; WILSON, EUGENE M.
Rush to Judgment*

Book of Facts: Dox, Ida



Dox prepared a series of drawings that accurately reproduced the Kennedy autopsy photographs for the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Photographs of the drawings were then taken, and these photos were used in the Committee's investigation. The decision to use drawings rather than photos was ostensibly made to spare the Kennedy family the pain of having the public view actual photos of the president's corpse.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Doyle, Harold

Doyle is one of three hoboes found near the scene and taken in for questioning by the Dallas police shortly after the shooting. Initially charged for vagrancy, all three were later released. There has been confusion about their identities, what they were doing in the railroad yard behind the Grassy Knoll, and why they were released so quickly.

See also ABRAMS, GUS W.; GEDNEY, JOHN FORRESTER.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Drain, Vincent



Drain was the FBI agent who took the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle allegedly found in the Texas School Book Depository Building to the FBI labs in Washington, D.C., for examination in the early hours of November 23, 1963. The FBI found no usable fingerprints on the weapon, and on Sunday afternoon, November 24, Drain returned it to the Dallas police.

See also LATONA, SEBASTIAN FRANCIS; PALMPRINT ON RIFLE.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Dudman, Richard



A correspondent for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Dudman wrote several articles about the assassination investigation during December 1963 that fueled controversies that persist today. These included interviews conducted during the first week of December with some of the doctors at Parkland Memorial Hospital who had worked to save the president's life, who insisted the wound in Kennedy's throat was a bullet entry wound, not an exit wound. On December 18, Dudman reported that two Secret Service agents visited the Parkland surgeons with a copy of the autopsy report from Bethesda Naval Hospital. Following this visit, the Dallas doctors changed their opinion of the wound to "conform" to the Bethesda autopsy report. The Parkland doctors told Dudman that they had not been coerced into changing their minds.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; MCCLELLAND, DR. ROBERT N.; PERRY, DR. MALCOLM; TRACHEOTOMY.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Duffy, James

An attorney, Duffy (no relation to the present author) wrote *Who Killed JFK? The Web: The Kennedy Assassination Cover-up*, published by Shapolsky in 1989. Based on official documents, this book examines the life and connections of Lee Harvey Oswald and looks at various conspiracy theories.

Book of Facts: Dulaney, Dr. Richard



A resident at Parkland Memorial Hospital, Dulaney was shown copies of photographs of the president's head wound allegedly taken at the time of the autopsy. He is reported as saying that these photos showed a wound different from the one he remembers seeing in an unobstructed view afforded when another doctor lifted Kennedy's head.

See also HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Dulles, Allen



A member of the Warren Commission, Dulles was director of the Central Intelligence Agency from 1953 through 1961. Many critics find it hard to justify Dulles' selection for the Commission. He had spent most of his life in the same intelligence organization that President Kennedy had sworn to break up and had himself been forced out by Kennedy after the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

Book of Facts: Duran, Sylvia

A young Mexican woman who was employed in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City in 1963, Duran was approached several times in late September and early October of that year by an American calling himself Lee Harvey Oswald. The man wanted to arrange for a visa to Cuba, from where, he said, he intended to travel to the Soviet Union. Later, after reportedly making statements that the man she met in Mexico City might not be the same man she saw Jack Ruby kill on television, Duran was arrested twice by Mexican authorities, allegedly at the instigation of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Conspiracy; Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Ebersole, Dr. John



Ebersole was the radiologist who took autopsy X rays of the president's wounds at Bethesda Naval Hospital. He allegedly told a reporter from his hometown newspaper that he took numerous X rays of the body in an effort to locate a bullet that the autopsy doctors believed entered through the president's back but did not exit. No bullet was ever found. He is also reported as saying that the tracheotomy opening in the president's throat, which was originally a bullet wound, had been sutured closed. The doctors at Parkland Memorial Hospital denied that the wound had been closed. In fact, Dr. Kemp Clark recalled that the tracheotomy tube was left in the body when the body was prepared for shipment to Washington.

See also X-ray Controversy.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Eddowes, Michael



Eddowes wrote a book originally titled *Khrushchev Killed Kennedy* and later republished by Clarkson N. Potter as *The Oswald File* (1977). Its main premise is that while Lee Harvey Oswald was living in the Soviet Union, he was taken prisoner and replaced by the KGB with a Soviet agent who assumed Oswald's identity. According to Eddowes, it was this KGB agent who later murdered the president. The issue was put to rest when Eddowes sued the state of Texas to have the body in Oswald's grave exhumed; it was, and was, in fact, found to be the real Oswald.

High Treason

Book of Facts: "Eduardo"



Marita Lorenz.

"Eduardo" was an alias used by E. Howard Hunt, according to

Book of Facts: Edwards, Robert E.

Dallas County employee Edwards was standing with Ronald B. Fischer across from the Texas School Book Depository Building at the intersection of Elm and Houston streets when something at a sixth-floor window of the building caught his attention. He could see the head and shoulders of a man who was wearing either a white T-shirt or light-colored sport shirt. Edwards reported that it seemed odd to him that the man was not watching for the motorcade, but was staring "transfixed" toward the end of Elm Street near the overpass.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Edwards, Sheffield



A CIA operative believed to be involved in plots to kill Fidel Castro, Edwards was also a reported liaison between the CIA and mob hitmen.

See also BISSELL, RICHARD.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Ellis, Starvis



Dallas Police Officer Ellis told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that he rode his motorcycle alongside the first car in the presidential motorcade. He reported seeing a bullet strike the pavement, but no such bullet was ever accounted for, and Ellis was never questioned by the Warren Commission.
See also DECKER, J. E. (BILL); WINDSHIELD DAMAGE.
Crossfire

Book of Facts: Epstein, Edward Jay

Epstein is the author of three books dealing with the assassination: *Inquest: The Warren Commission and the Establishment of Truth*, published by Viking in 1966; *Counterplot*, published by Viking in 1969; and *Legend: The Secret Life of Lee Harvey Oswald*, published by Ballantine in 1978. The first established Epstein as a critic of the Warren Report. Epstein's thesis is that Lee Harvey Oswald was an undercover operative of the American intelligence community. *Counterplot* is an attack on the assassination investigation conducted by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison.

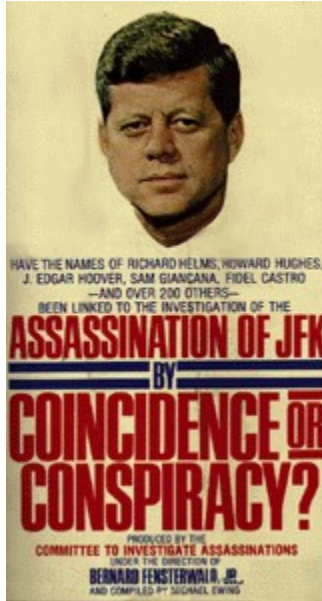
Book of Facts: Euins, Amos L.

According to testimony by James Underwood, who was assistant news director for KRLD-TV in Dallas at the time of the assassination, Euins, who was fifteen years old at the time, told a Dallas motorcycle police officer that he saw a "colored man" with a rifle lean out the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building. Following allegedly threatening telephone calls to his family, Euins, who is black himself, recanted his statement and told the Warren Commission that he didn't know whether the man he saw was white or "colored."

See also DARK-COMPLEXIONED MAN (OR MEN); POWELL, JOHN; ROWLAND, ARNOLD.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Ewing, Michael



Ewing was a staff member of the House Select Committee on Assassinations. He is the co-author, with Bernard Fensterwald, of *Assassination of JFK by Coincidence or Conspiracy?* produced by the Committee to Investigate Assassinations and published by Kensington Publishing Corporation in 1977.

Book of Facts: Executive Action

This was a code name reserved for covert CIA activities involving Agency plans to assassinate unfriendly foreign leaders.

See also ZR/RIFLE.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Exner, Judith



A stunning beauty and an intimate of Chicago mob leader Sam Giancana, Exner also engaged in an affair with President Kennedy beginning in March 1960. The liaison ended after March 1962, when it is thought that FBI director J. Edgar Hoover confronted Kennedy with his knowledge of the affair and the fact that Exner was linked to Giancana. Exner later wrote about the affair in a book titled *My Story*, published by Grove in 1977.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC)

A pro-Castro organization active during the 1960s, the FPCC did not have a chapter in New Orleans, which was home to so many Cubans exiled from their homeland. During the summer of 1963, Lee Harvey Oswald created an FPCC chapter - with an address at 544 Camp Street - that was nothing more than a paper organization naming him the president and only member. Some assassination researchers believe Oswald fabricated this group to help him establish a facade as a pro-Castro sympathizer.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: FBI Telex Message

On November 17, 1963, the following telex message was sent to all FBI offices in the United States:

URGENT: 1:45 AM EST 11-17-63 HLF 1 PAGE

TO: ALL SACS

FROM: DIRECTOR

THREAT TO ASSASSINATE PRESIDENT KENNEDY IN DALLAS TEXAS NOVEMBER 22 DASH TWENTY THREE NINETEEN SIXTY THREE. MISC INFORMATION CONCERNING. INFORMATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED BY THE BUREAUS [*sic*] BUREAU HAS DETERMINED THAT A MILITANT REVOLUTIONARY GROUP MAY ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE PRESIDENT KENNEDY ON HIS PROPOSED TRIP TO DALLAS TEXAS NOVEMBER TWENTY TWO DASH TWENTY THREE NINETEEN SIXTY THREE. ALL RECEIVING OFFICES SHOULD IMMEDIATELY CONTACT ALL CIS, PCIS LOGICAL RACE AND HATE GROUP INFORMANTS AND DETERMINE IF ANY BASIS FOR THREAT. BUREAU SHOULD BE KEPT ADVISED OF ALL DEVELOPMENTS BY TELETYPE. OTHER OFFICES HAVE BEEN ADVISED. END AND ACK PLS.

According to New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, William S. Walter, an FBI employee of the New Orleans office, claimed that following the assassination, the file copies of this message and a duplicate sent shortly afterward disappeared from the office.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)



According to Mark North, author of *Act of Treason: The Role of J. Edgar Hoover in the Assassination of President Kennedy* (Carroll & Graf, 1992), FBI director J. Edgar Hoover knew of a Mafia plot to kill Kennedy but did nothing to stop it. On Kennedy's election in 1960, Hoover began actively to collect potentially damaging information on the Kennedy family. Being an old acquaintance of Kennedy's father, Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr., Hoover was well aware of Kennedy Sr.'s shadier business dealings and felt that John Kennedy would be vulnerable to political blackmail.

By 1962, FBI surveillance of Mafia hideouts had revealed the depth of the mob's resentment of the Kennedys' anti-Mafia crusade. Hoover's own relationship with the Kennedys was not much better. President Kennedy had ousted many former FBI agents from the Secret Service, the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other agencies. In return, Hoover publicly criticized Kennedy's policies while secretly gathering information on Kennedy's affairs with Marilyn Monroe, Judith Exner, and other women. Hoover also quarreled with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, whom he felt was overstepping his authority.

There has been some speculation that Lee Harvey Oswald may have secretly been an FBI agent, a charge that Hoover himself denied in a written statement to the Warren Commission.

FBI agents assisted in many aspects of the official investigation into the president's death. Among the more important documents produced by FBI agents was the O'Neill and Sibert report on the autopsy performed at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

See also QUIGLEY, JOHN.

Book of Facts: Felder, James

Army Sergeant James Felder was a member of the Casket Team charged with transporting the president's coffin. Felder was interviewed by researcher David S. Lifton. According to Lifton, Felder substantiated reports of confusion at Bethesda Naval Hospital involving the use of two Navy ambulances and the team's difficulty locating Kennedy's coffin during a thirty-minute interval following its arrival at the hospital.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; BIRD, SAMUEL R.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Fensterwald, Bernard



Fensterwald was the co-author, with Michael Ewing, of *Assassination of JFK by Coincidence or Conspiracy?*, published by Kensington Publishing Corporation in 1977.

Book of Facts: Ferrell, Mary



A Dallas-based assassination researcher who has devoted countless hours probing into the president's murder, Ferrell has contributed to numerous books on the subject. It was Ferrell who alerted the House Select Committee on Assassinations to the existence of a Dictabelt recording of sounds at the assassination scene; this recording became known as the Dallas police dispatch tape. An analysis of this tape led the Committee to admit that four shots were fired in Dealey Plaza, rather than the three originally acknowledged by the Warren Commission. Ferrell also reportedly claimed that Captain Will Fritz, the man who interrogated Lee Harvey Oswald, told a friend that Lyndon B. Johnson called while Oswald was in custody and said, "You've got your man, the investigation is over."

See also ACOUSTICAL EVIDENCE.
Conspiracy; High Treason

Book of Facts: Ferrie, David



Photographs of David Ferrie show a man of outlandish appearance. This is partially because he suffered from a disease that caused him to lose all the hair on his body, including his head and eyebrows. He usually compensated for this by wearing a cheap red wig and obviously phony eyebrows. Ferrie had a reputation as an excellent pilot who flew dangerous missions into Cuba before the Bay of Pigs invasion. He was active in right-wing organizations in New Orleans, especially with anti-Castro Cubans. He was also an associate of Guy Banister's and did work for mafioso Carlos Marcello and members of his organization. Ferrie also had connections with Lee Harvey Oswald that dated back at least a dozen years before the assassination. Ferrie died of what officials termed natural causes on February 22, 1967, shortly after New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison implicated him in Kennedy's assassination.

Conspiracy; Heritage of Stone; On the Trail of the Assassins.

Book of Facts: Films of the Assassination

See ARNOLD, GORDON; BRONSON FILM; DORMAN, ELSIE; HUGHES, ROBERT; MUCHMORE, MARIE;
NIX, ORVILLE; OLIVER, BETTY; WEIGMAN, DAVE; ZAPRUDER FILM.

Book of Facts: Finck, Dr. Pierre



A forensic pathologist, Dr. Finck attended at the autopsy on the president's body conducted at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Finck testified that the depth of the wound in the president's back was "the first fraction of an inch." This was the wound allegedly caused by the magic bullet, which supposedly passed through Kennedy's body and also caused the wounds to Governor John Connally. When asked by the Warren Commission whether the magic bullet could have inflicted the wound in Connally's wrist, Dr. Finck replied, "No; for the reason that there are too many fragments described in that wrist." By contrast, the magic bullet is almost entirely intact.

See also SHAW, DR. ROBERT.

Best Evidence: High Treason

Book of Facts: Firing Sequence Controversy



The Warren Commission concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald fired three times at President Kennedy from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. Despite reports from people at the scene of as few as two shots to as many as six, the Commission settled on three because three spent cartridges were allegedly found in the sniper's nest on the sixth floor of the building. At first the Warren Commission established that two bullets hit Kennedy and one wounded Texas Governor John Connally. This view of events was later changed to correspond with evidence proving that a bystander, James T. Tague, was injured when a bullet hit the pavement at his feet. Thus was created what has become known as the magic bullet theory, according to which one bullet wounded both Kennedy and Connally, and another killed Kennedy, leaving a third to cause the injury to Tague. The Commission relied on the Zapruder film to establish the timing of the shots, and concluded that Oswald had fired all three in 4.8 to 5.6 seconds. Three men rated master marksmen by the National Rifle Association were asked by the Commission to simulate Oswald's firing sequence. The men, positioned about thirty feet off the ground (rather than sixty feet, the level of the Depository Building's sixth floor), each fired six shots at a stationary target. One of these three "masters" was able to match Oswald's alleged timing; the other two failed. Not one of the eighteen shots hit the targeted head and neck. All parties in the assassination debate agree that Oswald could not be called a "master" shot, and he was further handicapped because the sight on his alleged rifle was not aligned accurately.

See also MANNLICHER-CARCANO RIFLE; SIMMONS, RONALD.
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Fischer, Ronald B.

A Dallas County employee, Fischer was standing on the corner of Elm and Houston streets with Robert E. Edwards just before the presidential motorcade entered Dealey Plaza when he observed a man at the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building. The man wore either a white

T-shirt or a light-colored sport shirt. Fischer noticed that the man stared "transfixed" at Elm Street, looking in the direction of the railroad overpass. He said later he thought the shots that were fired at the president came from the west side of the building, which is the direction of the Grassy Knoll.
Crossfire

Book of Facts: Fischer, Dr. Russell



Maryland state medical examiner Fischer headed the panel of four doctors established by Attorney General Ramsey Clark in 1968 to review the autopsy photographs and X rays of the president's wounds.

See also CLARK PANEL.

Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Fitzgerald, Desmond



A CIA officer involved in plots to kill Fidel Castro, FitzGerald once identified himself to Cuban official Rolando Cubela as a senator who represented Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. He told Cubela that a coup against Castro would have U.S. government backing, and that Kennedy favored assassinating Castro.

Conspiracy; High Treason

Book of Facts: 544 Camp Street

This was the address of a seedy three-story building in New Orleans that figured prominently in Lee Harvey Oswald's activities in that city. When Oswald was arrested in August 1963 following a fight with anti-Castro Cubans who objected to his distributing pro-Castro literature, he was in possession of pamphlets rubber-stamped with the address FPCC, 544 Camp Street, New Orleans. The letters FPCC stood for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The Camp Street address was an odd location for a pro-Castro group, since it was the address of the anti-Castro Cuban Revolutionary Council. Also at 544 Camp Street were the offices of Guy Banister, a supporter of anti-Castro groups with reported links to the U.S. intelligence community and the underworld. Other offices in this shabby corner building were used by various Cuban exile groups planning the overthrow of Castro.

See also BRINGUIER, CARLOS.

Conspiracy; Crossfire

Book of Facts: Folsom, Allison

Then Marine Corps Lieutenant Colonel Folsom testified before the Warren Commission, he read aloud the score Lee Harvey Oswald received on a Russian-language test. Did Oswald receive instruction in Russian while he was in the Marines? Why? Despite Folsom's evidence, supporters of the Commission contend that Oswald taught himself Russian because he planned to defect to the Soviet Union.

Heritage of Stone

Book of Facts: Fonzi, Gaeton

Philadelphia journalist who was hired by the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Fonzi traveled widely collecting information to be used in the Committee's investigation of the president's assassination. Fonzi later wrote that the Committee's investigation had been inadequate and recommended that another investigation of the Kennedy assassination be opened.

Book of Facts: Ford, Gerald



Congressman (later President) Ford was selected by Lyndon B. Johnson to serve on the Warren Commission. Assassination researcher Mark Lane has charged that Ford secretly leaked to the FBI information gathered by the Commission's staff during its investigation. Ford co-authored, with John R. Stiles, a book titled *Portrait of the Assassin*, published in 1965 by Simon & Schuster.

See also WARREN COMMISSION MEMBERS.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts; Foster, J. W.



Dallas Police Officer Foster was one of two officers assigned to stand on the railroad overpass that spanned Elm Street, and under which the presidential motorcade would pass. After the shooting, Foster reportedly searched the area below and found a tear in the grass where a bullet had hit the ground. Ordered to guard the spot, Foster remained there until an unidentified man, described as an FBI agent, removed the slug and took it with him. A photo showed a sandy-haired man in a suit removing the slug while Foster, in uniform, looked on. Nothing was ever heard about this slug again.

See also HARTMAN, WAYNE AND EDNA; OVERPASS WITNESSES.
Crossfire

Book of Facts: Fox, Sylvan

In 1965, Pulitzer Prizewinning journalist Sylvan Fox wrote the first book challenging the Warren Report. Fox's work, *The Unanswered Questions About the Kennedy Assassination*, published by Award Books in 1965, was based solely on the Warren Commission's hearings and is credited by many private researchers with sparking their interest in investigating the assassination.

Book of Facts: Frazier, Buell Wesley



Frazier was the Texas School Book Depository Building employee who drove Lee Harvey Oswald to work the day of the assassination. The Warren Commission made much of Frazier's testimony that Oswald carried a long, paper-wrapped parcel with him into the building that day, which he told Frazier contained curtain rods. When the Commission showed Frazier a paper package with the dismantled Mannlicher-Carcano rifle wrapped inside, he told them Oswald's package was much shorter. Frazier described the package Oswald had with him as about twenty-seven inches long. The rifle allegedly found inside the building could not be dismantled to that short a length; a package containing the purported murder weapon had to be no less than 34.8 inches long. Frazier said Oswald carried the package against his body from under his armpit down to the palm of his hand, in such a manner that it wasn't readily visible to others. Like many other building employees, such as Joe R. Molina, Frazier was standing in front of the Depository Building when the president's motorcade passed. When the Commission asked him what he heard, he replied that he thought the shots "come [sic] from down there, you know, where that underpass is."

See also DOUGHERTY, JACK E.; RANDLE, LINNIE MAE.
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Frazier, Robert

A ballistics and firearms expert employed by the FBI, Frazier testified before the Warren Commission that he examined Commission Exhibit #399, more commonly known as the magic bullet, at the FBI labs. He said the bullet was "clean" of any traces of blood or tissue and that its weight loss, which he placed at three grains, could be attributed to the manufacturing process. If this is true, it means the bullet would have had to pass through both Kennedy and John Connally, doing extensive damage to the bone in Connally's wrist, without being damaged itself. When pressed about the possibility that the bullet did wound both men, Frazier said it was "possible but I don't say that it probably occurred." Frazier also testified that the bullet holes in Kennedy's suit jacket and shirt were five and three-eighths and five and three-quarters inches below the collar. This contradicts the Warren Report, which places the wound at the base of the president's neck.

See also THROAT WOUND CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence; Warren Commission Report

Book of Facts: Freeman, H. R.

H. R. Freeman was a Dallas motorcycle police officer.
See WINDSHIELD DAMAGE.

Book of Facts: Friends of Democratic Cuba

An anti-Castro Cuban organization.

See SEWALL, FRED.

Book of Facts: Fritz, Will



Dallas police captain Fritz interrogated Lee Harvey Oswald after his arrest. Fritz was allegedly one of the police officers who first identified the rifle found in the Texas School Book Depository Building as a Mauser, not the Mannlicher-Carcano the Warren Commission concluded was the weapon that killed Kennedy. He reportedly made contradictory claims regarding whether prints were found on the rifle.

See also BOONE, EUGENE L.; CRAIG, ROGER D.; MOONEY, LUKE; WADE, HENRY W.; WEITZMAN, SEYMOUR.
High Treason; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts; Galloway, Dr. Calvin

Admiral Galloway was commanding officer of the National Naval Medical Center at Bethesda when the president's body arrived, and he attended the autopsy. News reports suggested that he drove the ambulance supposedly containing the president's remains from the front entrance of Bethesda Naval Hospital around to the rear, where the coffin was unloaded, an activity he later denied, although he admitted being in the ambulance. According to confidential reports, Galloway later called each military person present during the autopsy into his office individually and requested a signed statement acknowledging that they would not discuss what they had seen during the autopsy under penalty of a court-martial. Galloway was never subpoenaed to testify before the Warren Commission.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; BODY BAG CONTROVERSY; CASKET TEAM.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Gannaway, W. P.

Captain Gannaway was commanding officer of the Dallas Police Department's Special Service Bureau. When questions arose about the swiftness with which the police broadcast a description of Lee Harvey Oswald as a suspect in the president's shooting, Gannaway reportedly said matters were facilitated by a roll call of Texas School Book Depository Building employees that determined that only Oswald was missing. Author Mark Lane challenged this explanation, pointing out that the police broadcast was made at 12:45 P.M., while many building employees who had been outside the building when the shots were fired at 12:30 still remained outside, unable to reenter because police officers had sealed off all the entrances.

See also REVILL, JACK.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Garner, Darrell Wayne

Garner was the boyfriend of Betty Mooney MacDonald and the suspect - later released - in the attempted murder of Warren Reynolds, who was a witness to the murder of Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit.

Book of Facts: Garner, Dorothy Ann



An employee in the Texas School Book Depository Building, Garner told police that she was on the fourth floor of the building when the shooting took place, and that she thought the shots came from "a point to the west of the building," which would place the shooter in the area of the Grassy Knoll.

Crossfire; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Garrison, Jim



Garrison, the New Orleans district attorney, conducted his own investigation of the assassination based on evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald had lived in New Orleans and had contacts with numerous individuals whom Garrison considered highly motivated to kill President Kennedy. In 1967, Garrison indicted businessman Clay Shaw on charges that he participated in a conspiracy to murder the president. Although unable to produce convincing evidence for the court, Garrison alleged that Shaw was a Central Intelligence Agency operative and that the assassination had been a CIA plot. On March 1, 1969, Shaw was acquitted. Several jurors later stated that Garrison did persuade them that the assassination was the result of a conspiracy, although he failed to prove that Shaw was a party to it.

Garrison has written two books, *A Heritage of Stone* (Putnam, 1970) and *On the Trail of the Assassins* (Warner, 1991). He was the leading character in Oliver Stone's film *JFK*.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Gaudet, William George

An employee of the CIA for twenty years, Gaudet allegedly obtained a tourist card to visit Mexico at the same time as Lee Harvey Oswald. These cards were issued by the Mexican consulate in New Orleans in September 1963. According to records, Oswald was issued card number 824085, and Gaudet card number 824084. Gaudet reportedly first admitted, then denied knowing Oswald, and denied that he had ever traveled to Mexico with Oswald, although he doesn't recall why he obtained the tourist card.

See also MEXICO CITY.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Gaudreau, Richard E.

An Air Force sergeant, Gaudreau was a member of the Military District of Washington, D.C., Casket Team that handled President Kennedy's coffin at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Researcher David S. Lifton reports that Gaudreau and his wife, Barbara, substantiate the story of the confusion over which of two Navy ambulances at the scene actually contained the coffin with the president's body in it.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; BIRD, SAMUEL R.; CHEEK, TIMOTHY.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Gedney, John Forrester

Gedney is said to be one of three hoboes Dallas police picked up for questioning near the scene shortly after the shooting. Initially charged with vagrancy, all three were later released. There has been confusion about their identities, what they were doing in the railroad yard behind the Grassy Knoll, and why they were released so quickly.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Giancana, Sam



Giancana (real name, Momo Salvatore Guingano) was a Chicago Mafia boss involved in CIA plots to kill Fidel Castro. He was also the target of attacks by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, despite the fact that the president had been having an affair with Giancana's paramour, Judith Exner. Robert Kennedy ordered the FBI to make life difficult for Giancana, which it did by shadowing his every move so closely that other mob figures kept their distance from him, effectively isolating him from business and social associates. In desperation, Giancana went to court and obtained an injunction against the FBI.

In 1975, Giancana was murdered just as the Senate Intelligence Committee was preparing to question him about his role in the CIA-Mafia plots to kill Castro. He was shot once in the back of the head and six times around the mouth in an obviously clear statement as to why he was killed. The fact that Giancana was killed with a .22-caliber pistol rather than the larger-caliber guns preferred by professional hitmen led some observers to suspect he was murdered by a killer within the intelligence community.

See also MARCELLO, CARLOS; ROSELLI, JOHNNY; TRAFFICANTE, SANTOS; ZR/RIFLE.
Conspiracy; Crossfire

Book of Facts: Giesecke, Dr. Adolph



Dr. Giesecke was an anesthesiology professor at Southwestern Medical School in Dallas and part of the team that worked on the mortally wounded president at Parkland Memorial Hospital. When assassination researcher Harrison Edward Livingstone described the head wound as a large blowout in the back of the head, Giesecke agreed that that was the wound he saw. This differs from the description of the wound in the report of the autopsy conducted at Bethesda Naval Hospital. When asked by the Warren Commission if he had seen another wound or a bullet hole below the large wound in the back of the head, Giesecke replied he had not. Dr. Giesecke did say that he thought he saw a wound in the president's left temple, as did Dr. Marion Jenkins of Parkland Memorial Hospital, and Norman Similas, a witness at the scene of the shooting.

See also HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY; TEMPLE WOUND CONTROVERSY.
High Treason; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Goldberg, Alfred_

___ A staff member of the Warren Commission and, with Norman Redlich, one of the main authors of the Warren Report, Goldberg attempted to get the FBI to investigate the forty-minute time lag between the shooting and the discovery of the so-called sniper's nest and the rifle on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. According to David S. Lifton Goldberg wrote two letters to J. Edgar Hoover urging him to look into the matter, but Hoover declined.

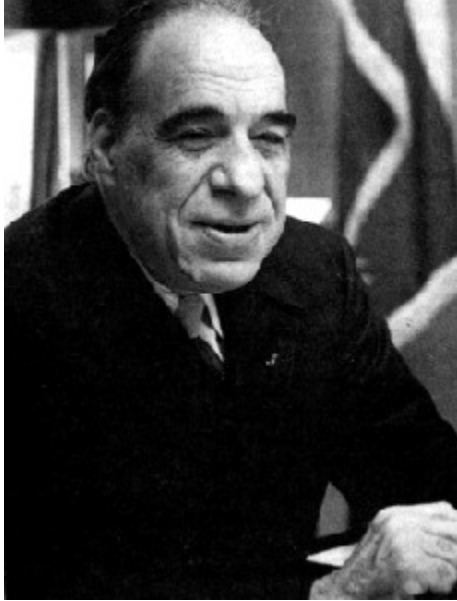
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Golz, Earl

A *Dallas Morning News* reporter, Golz has been a tenacious searcher of the truth about the assassination and instrumental in discovering important evidence. In 1978, he located a man who at the time of the shooting had been serving a three-day sentence at the Dallas County Jail on Dealey Plaza. The man claimed that he and several other prisoners saw two dark-complexioned men at the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building adjusting the sight of a rifle. That same year, Golz was one of two researchers who uncovered the existence of the Bronson film, which many believe shows movement in two windows of the building's sixth floor.

Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Gonzalez, Henry



A Democratic congressman from San Antonio, Texas, Gonzalez rode in the presidential motorcade when Kennedy was killed and later served as chairman of the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Gonzalez resigned from the Committee in a dispute with Chief Counsel Richard A. Sprague over control of the Committee's investigative machinery. Gonzalez later charged that the Committee was a "put-up job," and that it was "never intended to work."

High Treason

Book of Facts: Grant, Eva



Eva Grant was Jack Ruby's sister. Grant had an on-and-off relationship with Ruby that would occasionally result in long periods during which they did not speak to each other. She testified to the Warren Commission about Ruby's family life, his reaction to the Kennedy assassination, and the ad placed in the *Dallas Morning News* by the American Fact-Finding Committee.
Ruby Cover-up

Book of Facts: Grassy Knoll



After the Texas School Book Depository Building, the Grassy Knoll is the most widely known location identified with the assassination. Dozens of witnesses, including civilians, police officers, and people riding in the presidential motorcade, testified that at least some of the shots fired at the president came from the knoll. Situated to the south and west of the Book Depository, the knoll rises up from Elm Street toward the railroad yards behind it. Near the crest is a wooden stockade fence that many witnesses believe served as a cover for the person or persons who shot the president.

According to author John H. Davis, two days before the assassination, two Dallas police officers on routine patrol saw a group of men standing behind the fence engaged in what appeared to be mock target practice. The men sped off in a nearby car before the officers could question them.

See also SMOKE FROM THE GRASSY KNOLL.

Mafia Kingfish

Book of Facts: Grassy Knoll Witnesses



At the time of the shooting, dozens of people were scattered across the face of the Grassy Knoll. Of those who witnessed the assassination from the knoll and were called to testify, virtually all claim the shots fired at President Kennedy came from somewhere behind them. Grassy Knoll witnesses include Gordon Arnold; Lee Bowers; Mr. and Mrs. John Chism; Emmett J. Hudson; Mary E. Woodward; and Abraham Zapruder (see ZAPRUDER FILM).

Book of Facts: Graves, L. C.

Dallas police detective Graves walked on Lee Harvey Oswald's left while escorting the prisoner through the basement garage at Dallas Police Headquarters, where Jack Ruby shot and killed him. Graves told the Warren Commission he was surprised that the reporters and television cameras were allowed so close to the prisoner, since he was under the impression that tight security arrangements had been made. He claimed that Police Chief Jesse E. Curry had said "the newsmen were well back in the garage." Graves also admitted that he was unaware that both the Dallas police and the FBI had received telephoned threats to Oswald's life prior to escorting him to the garage.

See also LEAVELLE, JAMES R.; MONTGOMERY, L. D.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Greer, William



Secret Service agent Greer was driving the presidential limousine when Kennedy was shot. Some critics charge that when the first shot was fired, instead of immediately speeding off, he slowed the car almost to a stop, turned to look at the president, and pulled away only after the fatal shot had struck Kennedy in the head. Greer also drove the ambulance carrying the president's official coffin from Andrews Air Force Base to Bethesda Naval Hospital. Greer was one of two Secret Service agents present at the autopsy who described the alleged neck wound as a shoulder wound.

See also KELLERMAN, ROY; SHANEYFELT, LYNDAL.
Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Gregory, Dr. Charles

An orthopedic surgeon, Dr. Gregory operated on Governor John Connally's wrist. The Warren Report concludes that the wrist wound was caused by the magic bullet, which supposedly first passed through the president's body, then Connally's body, then his wrist. Dr. Gregory said the bullet "behaved as though it never struck anything except him." Dr. Gregory also testified that he removed two metal fragments from Connally's wrist and that another remained lodged in the governor's chest. The magic bullet had virtually no weight loss, which raises the question of where these fragments came from, and further suggests the possibility that another bullet, unaccounted for by the Commission, could have been fired by a second gunman.

High Treason; Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Griffin, Burt W.

Griffin served as assistant counsel to the Warren Commission. When he questioned Dallas police sergeant Patrick T. Dean about his testimony that Jack Ruby claimed he had entered the Police Headquarters garage by simply walking down the Main Street entrance ramp, Griffin lost his temper and called Dean "a damned liar."

See also VAUGHN, ROY.

Best Evidence; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Grinnan, Joseph P.

___ Known locally as an independent oil operator and an area coordinator for the John Birch Society, Grinnan took part in preparing an anti-Kennedy newspaper advertisement that appeared in the *Dallas Morning News* the day the president arrived in Dallas and was assassinated.

See also AMERICAN FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE; WEISSMAN, BERNARD.
Warren Report

Book of Facts: Groden, Robert J.



A photographic expert, Groden created an enhanced version of the Zapruder film, which was broadcast on a late-night television program on March 6, 1976, and became instrumental in reopening the assassination investigation in 1976 by the newly formed House Select Committee on Assassinations. After examining the autopsy photos, Groden told the Committee that four of the photographs showed evidence of forgery. The Committee rejected this claim. Groden is the co-author of *JFK: The Case for Conspiracy*, published by Manor Books in 1967, and, with Harrison Edward Livingstone, of *High Treason*, published by Berkley in 1990.
Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Groody, Paul

Groody was the director of the Miller Funeral Home in Dallas, where Lee Harvey Oswald's body was embalmed. According to David S. Lifton, Groody told him that during the predawn hours of November 25, 1963, several FBI agents demanded time alone with Oswald's body and took prints of the dead man's fingers and palms. Groody said they left "black gook" on Oswald's hands, which he subsequently removed.

See also MOSELEY, JACK; PALMPRINT ON RIFLE.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Grossman, Dr. Robert



A neurosurgeon at Parkland Memorial Hospital, Grossman was never called to testify by either the Warren Commission or the House Select Committee on Assassinations. He reportedly told a reporter from the *Boston Globe* that he saw a large hole in the back of the president's head that was too large for a bullet entry wound.

See also HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Guinn, Dr. Vincent

A nuclear chemist consulted by the Warren Commission, Dr. Guinn examined fragments collected from the wounds that allegedly came from the magic bullet. His findings indicated that they were, in fact, part of that bullet. The House Select Committee on Assassinations later asked him to reexamine this material, but Guinn discovered that the fragments sent to him from the National Archives were not the same weight of those listed in the National Archives records. In addition, other fragments originally considered as evidence in this case vanished completely.

*See also NATIONAL ARCHIVES, DOCUMENTS MISSING FROM
Best Evidence; High Treason*

Book of Facts: Hall, Loran

Loran Hall was an activist in anti-Castro circles.
See ODIO INCIDENT.

Book of Facts: Harbison, Charles

Charles Harbison, a Texas highway patrolman, was assigned to guard Governor John Connally's hospital room. Harbison reportedly claimed that someone, possibly a doctor, gave him more than three bullet fragments that had been removed from Connally's body. He allegedly turned them over to an FBI agent.

See also BELL, AUDREY; BORING, FLOYD; GREGORY, DR. CHARLES; MAGIC BULLET.
Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Hardie, Julius

Julius Hardie, a Dallas resident, gave an interview that was published in the August 27, 1978, issue of the *Dallas Morning News* in which he claimed that on the morning of the assassination, he saw three men on the overpass bordering Dealey Plaza. Two of the men carried long guns, either rifles or shotguns, he couldn't be sure which. No record can be found of the report Hardie said he filed with the FBI directly following the assassination.

Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Hargis, Bobby



This Dallas motorcycle patrolman was riding on the left side of the presidential limousine, just a few feet from Mrs. Kennedy, when the shots were fired. The shot that hit the president's head blew portions of his skull and brain matter against Hargis, who testified to the Warren Commission that the material hit him in the face so hard that at first he thought he had been shot. When he realized what had happened, Hargis stopped his motorcycle and, leaving it running, dismounted and ran in the direction of the wooden fence atop the Grassy Knoll, where he thought the shots had come from. When he reached the fence, he looked around and was surprised to find nothing. Evidently thinking the gunman had escaped across the railroad tracks, he remounted his motorcycle and sped under the overpass, where once again he found nothing suspicious. Later, Hargis said he thought the shooting had come from behind the president's limousine, a perception that explains neither his immediate response to the shooting nor the direction from which the material from the president's head flew when it hit him in the face.

See also BREHM, CHARLES; MARTIN, B. J.
Crossfire; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Harkness, D.V.

Dallas police sergeant Harkness testified to the Warren Commission that after the shooting, he ran to the rear of the Texas School Book Depository Building toward the railroad yard. Behind the building, he encountered a group of men who identified themselves as Secret Service agents. The Secret Service denies that any of its agents were posted in the area of Dealey Plaza when the motorcade passed through; they were all said to be in vehicles in the motorcade. Harkness' report of encountering Secret Service agents where none were supposed to be is just one among many such reports. Harkness was also the officer who searched the boxcars that were about to depart the railyard behind the Grassy Knoll and discovered and arrested the three hoboes whose identities, presence near the assassination scene, and premature release by the Dallas police have aroused such controversy.

See also HILL, JEAN; SMITH, L. C.; SECRET SERVICE AGENTS, UNKNOWN.
On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Harper Bone Fragment

On the evening of Saturday, November 23, 1963, the day after the assassination, a college student named William Allen Harper found a piece of bone in the grassy area to the left of Elm Street, opposite the Grassy Knoll. He took it to his uncle, Jack Harper, a doctor at Methodist Hospital in Dallas, who gave it to the hospital's chief pathologist, Dr. A. B. Cairns. Cairns - and, reportedly, other doctors - identified it as a piece of bone from the rear of a human skull. (Yet others who have seen the fragment have been less certain.) The bone was turned over to FBI agent James Anderton, who, at the instruction of assistant FBI director Alan Belmont, forwarded it to the FBI lab in Washington despite a Secret Service request that it be sent to the White House. According to some investigators, the difficulty of matching the fragment to a precise location in President Kennedy's skull indicates that the head wound was altered.

See also Angel, Dr. Lawrence; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Harrelson, Charles_

___ On September 1, 1980, reputed Mafia hitman Charles Harrelson was arrested for the ambush killing of U.S. district court judge John H. Wood, Jr., of San Antonio, Texas. During the six hours he held off Texas law officers, Harrelson reportedly admitted not only killing Wood but also participating in the assassination of President Kennedy. Indicted along with Harrelson in Judge Wood's murder was Joe Marcello, brother of New Orleans Mafia boss Carlos Marcello. During interviews with several reporters and assassination researchers, Harrelson, who is in federal prison in Texarkana, has played coy about his involvement in the Kennedy assassination. Several researchers, including Fort Worth graphics expert Jack White, are convinced that Harrelson was one of the three hoboes arrested near the scene of the shooting and then quickly released following the assassination.

Crossfire: Mafia Kingfish

Book of Facts: Hartman, Wayne and Edna

Interviewed in 1986 by author Jim Marrs, the Hartmans claim that immediately after the shooting, they ran to the grassy area on the south side of Elm Street, opposite the Grassy Knoll. A police officer told them shots had been fired at the president from the area across the street, pointing to the Grassy Knoll. Then Edna saw two parallel mounds on the ground and asked if they were from moles. The officer is said to have responded, "Oh no, ma'am, that's where the bullets struck the ground." The Hartmans contacted the FBI and told their story, emphasizing that the two mounds pointed toward the Grassy Knoll. Marrs claims that the FBI reports the Hartmans as saying the mounds pointed toward the Texas School Book Depository Building.

See also Foster, J. W.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Hathaway, Philip B.

A few minutes before noon on November 22, 1963, Hathaway and a coworker, John Lawrence, were walking toward Main Street, hoping to find a good spot from which to watch the presidential motorcade, when Hathaway spotted a man carrying a cloth-and-leather rifle case that seemed to be packed with a long gun. He described the man, whom he took to be a Secret Service agent, as approximately six feet five inches tall, thick in the chest, and weighing more than 250 pounds. Hathaway said the mysterious rifleman appeared to be in his early thirties, had dirty-blond crew-cut hair, and was wearing a gray business suit. Lawrence also saw the man, but, because of the press of the crowd, he failed to see the rifle case.

See also OWENS, ERNEST JAY.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Haygood, Clyde A.

Haygood, a Dallas police motorcycle officer, was still on Main Street at the tail end of the motorcade when he heard the shooting. He immediately raced his motorcycle to the corner of Houston Street, turned right and then left on Elm. Upon seeing numerous police officers and civilians running up the Grassy Knoll, he parked his motorcycle and followed, but found nothing suspicious. After speaking to a man he believed was a railroad detective, Haygood returned to his motorcycle. He was then approached by James T. Tague, a witness whose testimony contributed to the formulation of the single bullet theory. Tague told Haygood he was standing on the curb separating Main and Commerce streets, directly opposite the Grassy Knoll, when a piece of concrete flew up from the curb and hit his face, causing a small cut that was still bleeding. Deputy Sheriff Eddy Walthers then accompanied Tague to the spot where he had been standing to look for bullet marks. Haygood was also approached by an unidentified man who told him the first shot had been fired from the Texas School Book Depository Building. Haygood immediately radioed this information to the police dispatcher. Other police officers were also directed to the Depository Building by an unknown witness.

See also BREWER, E. D.; HARGIS, BOBBY W.

Best Evidence: Crossfire

Book of Facts: Head Wound Controversy



When the president was examined at Parkland Memorial Hospital in Dallas, his head wound was described as located at the rear of the skull. Dr. Charles Carrico estimated the size of the wound at

2 to 2 3/4 inches across. During the autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital, Dr. Thornton Boswell prepared a drawing of the skull showing the wound reaching much higher across the top, with measurements noted at 3.9 by 6.7 inches. In addition, three individuals at Parkland reported seeing a bullet wound in the president's left temple: Father Oscar Huber, Dr. Marion Jenkins, and Dr. Robert N. McClelland. McClelland mentioned this left temple wound as the cause of death in his hospital report. The conflicting descriptions of the head wound have led some researchers to believe that the wound was altered between Parkland and Bethesda in order to cover up the real direction from which the fatal shot came. They believe that conspirators may have changed the wound's placement and enlarged it to make it plausible that both the bullet's entry and exit occurred toward the rear of the head, rather than that the bullet entered the front of the head or the right side (i.e., the side toward the Grassy Knoll).

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; TEMPLE WOUND CONTROVERSY; THROAT WOUND CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Heindel, John R.



Heindel said he had known Lee Harvey Oswald while both were in the Marines, and that many of his Marine buddies called him by the nickname "Hidell." This may be the source of one of Oswald's known aliases.

See also ALIASES USED BY OSWALD.

Conspiracy; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Helms, Richard



Helms served in the Central Intelligence Agency as deputy director in charge of covert operations, including assassinations (1962-1965), and as director (1966-1973). He was convicted of lying to a Senate committee. Helms was the CIA liaison with the Warren Commission and has come under heavy fire from many assassination researchers who charge that he did everything within his power to hinder the investigation. When asked by the House Select Committee on Assassinations why the CIA did not interview Lee Harvey Oswald when he returned to the United States after having defected to the Soviet Union, Helms replied that "military officers" were under the jurisdiction of Defense Department intelligence agencies. Oswald, however, was never an officer in the Marines. The widespread belief that Oswald was employed by the CIA is supported in part by an FBI memorandum turned up by the Assassinations Committee. The memo states, "We did not know definitely whether or not he had any intelligence assignments at that time."

High Treason; Plausible Denial; Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Hemming, Gerry Patrick



A former CIA agent who had once worked with supporters of Fidel Castro before the success of Castro's revolution in Cuba, Hemming later joined in support of anti-Castro forces. According to defense testimony provided by Marita Lorenz during the libel suit brought by E. Howard Hunt against Spotlight magazine, Hemming was one of a group of men assigned to kill President Kennedy. Lorenz's testimony also fingered Hunt and Frank Sturgis as being other members of this assassination squad. Hemming is also alleged to have been Lee Harvey Oswald's sergeant during the time Oswald was stationed in Japan at Atsugi Air Base.

Hemming is alleged to have told Anthony Summers, author of *Conspiracy*, that he met Oswald outside the Cuban consulate in Los Angeles in January 1959. Summers reports that Hemming claimed that Oswald was attempting to gain access to representatives of Castro's government and that he suspected Oswald was working for either an American intelligence or law enforcement agency.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Henschcliffe, Margret



Henschcliffe, a nurse with extensive experience in dealing with bullet wounds, was in the emergency room at Parkland Memorial Hospital when the president was brought in following the shooting. She described the hole in Kennedy's throat as the size of the tip of her little finger and identified it as "an entrance bullet hole." When asked by Warren Commission assistant counsel Arlen Specter if it could have been a bullet exit wound, she said she had never seen an exit wound "that looked like that."

See also PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL STAFF; TRACHEOTOMY.

Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Henderson, Ruby

Ruby Henderson reports that a few minutes before the president's motorcade arrived in Dealey Plaza, she saw two men at an upper-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building. She thought one man might have been a Mexican because his skin was dark in color.

See also DARK-COMPLEXIONED MAN (OR MEN); EUINS, AMOS L.; POWELL, JOHN; ROWLAND, ARNOLD; WALTHER, CAROLYN.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Hess, Jacqueline

Jacqueline Hess was in charge of the "mysterious deaths project" of the House Select Committee on Assassinations. She developed a list of twenty-one people connected in some way to the assassination and its aftermath who died under mysterious circumstances.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Hickey, George

Secret Service agent Hickey was riding in the car directly behind the president's limousine when the shots were fired. In some photos taken at the time, Hickey can be seen standing on the car's running board or sitting atop the rear deck. Bonar Menninger, the author of a book titled *Mortal Error: The Shot That Killed JFK* (St. Martin's, 1992), which is based on the work of ballistics expert Howard Donahue, charges that Hickey accidentally fired the fatal shot that struck Kennedy's head. Although Hickey never answered the book's publisher's requests to respond to *Mortal Error's* allegations, Secret Service agent Samuel Kinney denied that Hickey had fired a shot.

Mortal Error

Book of Facts: Hicks, Jim



Hicks is suspected by some assassination researchers of holding open a radio-transmitting microphone during the assassination in an attempt to disrupt police communications so as to give the assassins time to escape. Hicks' fate is difficult to establish. A CIA photo taken of a man in Mexico City that is supposed to be Lee Harvey Oswald is said by researchers Robert J. Groden and Harrison Edward Livingstone to strongly resemble Hicks.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Hidell, Alek James



Alek James Hidell (also "A. Hidell") was one of the aliases used
by Oswald.

Book of Facts: Hill, Clinton



A Secret Service agent, Hill is familiar from films as well as photographs taken during the assassination that show him rushing toward the presidential limousine after the first shot, mounting the rear step plate on the bumper, and pushing Mrs. Kennedy off the rear deck, where she had crawled in pursuit of a skull fragment, and back into the relatively safer passenger seat. Hill later testified that he saw that a portion of Kennedy's head had been blown away and lay on the rear seat. Many experts say that this fatal injury is more consistent with a gunshot to the front of the head, not to the rear as the Warren Commission concluded. Hill testified to the Commission that the wound in the president's back was six inches below the neckline, and that "a portion of [his] head on the right rear side was missing."

See also HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY; THROAT WOUND CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Hill, Gerald



Dallas police sergeant Hill was one of the officers who arrested Lee Harvey Oswald for shooting Police Officer J. D. Tippit. He told an NBC television interviewer that Oswald refused to identify himself. Hill said he was identified by items inside his billfold. The arresting officers radioed to the dispatcher that they had arrested "one Lee Harvey Oswald." This immediate identification of the suspect as Oswald has led many to question the allegation that at the time of his arrest, Oswald carried identification naming himself as A. Hidell, the name that links him with the rifle allegedly found in the Texas School Book Depository Building. No mention of an identification card with the name Hidell on it was made by Hill or other officers involved in the arrest of Oswald.

See also BENTLEY, PAUL.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Hill, Jean



Jean Hill is famous as the "lady in red" because she wore a red coat the day of the assassination and is clearly visible in many photographs of the event. Hill and her friend Mary Moorman were in Dealey Plaza to see a motorcycle police officer whom Hill wanted to date. They were standing across the street from the Grassy Knoll when the motorcade turned onto Elm Street. Hill stepped forward and called to the president, hoping he would look her way so Moorman could take his picture with her Polaroid camera. As Hill called out the president's name, she heard gunshots, then saw Kennedy fall back as the fatal bullet struck his head. Hill claims that at least some of the shots she heard came from the Grassy Knoll area, and even recalls seeing a man up there with what appeared to be a gun. After the president's limousine pulled away, Hill raced to the Grassy Knoll and looked around. She was then grabbed by several men, who walked her to the sheriff's office and questioned her about shots hitting the ground where she had been standing. She said that she knew nothing about any such shots but that she had seen a gunman on the Grassy Knoll. Hill also claims to have seen a man whom she was later able to identify as Jack Ruby in the Dealey Plaza area both before and after the shooting. She co-authored, with Bill Sloan, a book titled *JFK: The Last Dissenting Witness*, published by Pelican in 1992.

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES.

Best Evidence; Crossfire

Book of Facts: Hoboes Three

Minutes after the fatal shots were fired at President Kennedy, Dallas police officers discovered three tramps inside a railroad freight car attached to a train waiting to leave the railyard behind the Grassy Knoll and the Texas School Book Depository Building. Photos taken by press photographers on the scene show the three being taken in for questioning.

Over the years, various researchers have attempted to identify these men and link them to the assassination. Among those who have been alleged to have been disguised as these hoboes are E. Howard Hunt, Frank Sturgis, and Charles Harrelson, but there has been no proof of these allegations. In early 1992, the television program "A Current Affair" claimed to have found the original arrest records for the three men, identifying them as Gus W. Abrams, Harold Doyle, and John Forrester Gedney and saying that they were unconnected to the assassination.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Hobson, Mrs. Alvin



Building, Mrs. Hobson was on the fourth floor when the shooting took place. She told the FBI she did not think the shots came from her building.

See also TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Hoffa Jimmy



James R. Hoffa was the national Teamsters Union president. He reportedly had close ties to Richard M. Nixon and contributed large amounts of Teamsters money to Nixon's presidential race against John Kennedy. Hoffa hated the Kennedys, especially Robert, who targeted many of Hoffa's Mafia friends and reportedly voiced threats against them more than once. Hoffa vanished in July 1972 and has never been found. On January 14, 1992, the *New York Post* published an interview with Frank Ragano, who claimed to be Hoffa's attorney, in which Ragano said that in early 1963 he delivered a message from Hoffa to Mafia bosses Carlos Marcello and Santos Trafficante that they had to kill President Kennedy. "This has to be done," Ragano quoted Hoffa as saying.

See also KENNEDY, ROBERT F.; MCCLELLAN COMMITTEE.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Hoffman, Ed

A deaf-mute since birth, Hoffman was among the crowd standing along the Stemmons Freeway waiting for the presidential motorcade to exit Dealey Plaza. Deciding he wanted a better view of the president, Hoffman was making his way toward the plaza when he saw a man running behind the wooden fence at the top of the Grassy Knoll. The man, dressed in a dark business suit, was clutching a rifle, which he threw to another man, who dismantled it and put it inside a tool bag. The men went off in different directions. Hoffman, not having heard the shots because of his deafness, wondered what was going on until the presidential limousine sped past him and he glimpsed the president's bloody body in the back seat. Perhaps because of his inability to speak, he was unable to get any police officers on the scene to communicate with him. Several attempts over the years to tell his story to the FBI met with no interest, and his own family advised him to stay out of it. Finally, in 1985, assassination researcher Jim Marrs discovered Hoffman's story.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Holland, Sam



A railroad supervisor, Holland was working on the overpass when he stopped to watch the presidential motorcade. He stated that the shots came from his left, and when he looked that way, he saw a puff of smoke rise behind the wooden fence atop the Grassy Knoll. Along with other railroad workers, including James Simmons, he ran to the spot and found it empty. On the ground, impressed in the damp earth, were hundreds of footprints that looked as if they had been made by someone (or perhaps more than one person) who was there a long time, pacing back and forth.

See also JOHNSON, CLEMMON; MILLER, AUSTIN; REILLY, FRANK; SMOKE FROM THE GRASSY KNOLL.

Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Holmes, Harry D.



Holmes was the postal inspector for the Dallas Post Office in 1963. He testified that Oswald had rented a postal box but that it had been closed on May 14, 1963. He said postal regulations require that when a box is closed, the portion of the box application that lists names of persons other than the applicant who are authorized to receive mail at the box be destroyed. This meant he could not tell the Warren Commission whether A. Hidell, the name used to order the alleged assassination weapon, was authorized to receive mail at the box to which the rifle was sent. Holmes was wrong. Postal regulations require that the entire application remain on file for two years after a box is closed. The *New York Times* of November 30, 1963, quotes Holmes as saying that no one other than Oswald was authorized to receive mail at the box he had rented. If this was true, why was mail addressed to A. Hidell put in Oswald's postal box?

See also ALIASES USED BY OSWALD; POST OFFICE BOX 2915.
Rush to Judgment

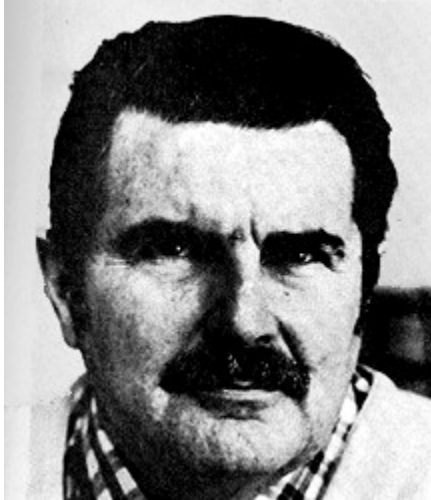
Book of Facts: Hoover, J. Edgar



Hoover has come under fire from assassination researchers because he consistently supported the idea that Lee Harvey Oswald was the sole assassin and that he was not part of a larger conspiracy. Few assassination researchers have implicated Hoover or the Federal Bureau of Investigation in President Kennedy's assassination. One exception is Texas attorney Mark North, who wrote a book on the subject, *Act of Treason: The Role of J. Edgar Hoover in the Assassination of President Kennedy*, published in 1992 by Carroll & Graf.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Hosty, James



Hosty was an FBI agent in the Bureau's Dallas office. During the weeks prior to the assassination, he made several routine visits to the home of Ruth Paine, where Marina Oswald was living with her children. He said he wanted to speak with Lee Harvey Oswald, and asked how he could get in touch with him. He was given the address of the Texas School Book Depository Building, where Lee worked. When Oswald learned of the visits, he slipped into a dark mood and sought out Hosty at the FBI office. Upon learning that Hosty was not in, Oswald left a note for him in which he told the agent to stop bothering his wife or he would report the visits to "the proper authorities." Hosty thought little of the note and left it in his work tray. Soon after Oswald was murdered, Hosty claims his superior, Special Agent-in-Charge L. Gordon Shanklin of the Dallas office, ordered him to destroy the note, which he did. Although Shanklin denies this, few believe him. Hosty was later disciplined, perhaps for talking too much about Oswald.

Conspiracy; Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: House Select Committee on Assassinations



The Committee was established in 1976 to look into the assassinations of President Kennedy and civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. From the beginning, the Committee was hampered by the fact that most of its appointed members were young congressmen who had little power on Capitol Hill. An effort to include investigations of the murder of Robert F. Kennedy and the attempted murder of Alabama governor George Wallace was rejected.

The Committee went through a series of changes and turmoil among its members and staff, but in the end actually accomplished more than the Warren Commission had done in seeking the truth. The Committee concluded that there was a conspiracy to kill the president. It placed the blame on organized crime, a favorite target of its second chief counsel, G. Robert Blakey (who replaced Richard Sprague). Many believe Blakey had ties too close to the CIA to permit an objective investigation of that agency's potential involvement in the assassination. The Committee concluded that four shots were fired at the president, not the three the Warren Commission claimed. At least one Committee member, Congressman Christopher Dodd, said he believed the evidence indicated that three gunmen fired at the president.

Many assassination researchers criticize the Committee's work. Its report, issued in January 1979, differed from the Warren Commission's findings. Without a doubt it left much undone, but it did take a small step toward finding the truth. Critics of both the Warren Commission and the House Select Committee wonder whether it is possible for a body representing the federal government to conduct an impartial investigation of an assassination in which agencies of that government appear to have played a role.

See also ACOUSTICAL EVIDENCE; GONZALEZ, HENRY.
High Treason

Book of Facts: Huber, Oscar



A Catholic priest from nearby Holy Trinity Church in Dallas, Father Huber administered the last rites to President Kennedy in the Parkland Memorial Hospital emergency room. He has been quoted as saying that he saw a "terrible wound" over Kennedy's left eye. See also JENKINS, DR. MARION; MCCLELLAND, DR. ROBERT N.; SHAW, DR. ROBERT; TEMPLE WOUND CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Hudkins, Lonnie

As early as January 1964, rumors surfaced that Lee Harvey Oswald had been connected in some way to a U.S. government intelligence agency. Lonnie Hudkins was the author of an article published in the *Houston Post* on New Year's Day containing information that Oswald had been an informant for the FBI. When confronted with this, the Warren Commission discussed the question of what to do about the allegations, but ultimately made no genuine effort to uncover the truth.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Hudson, Emmett J.



A member of the crew that maintained the grounds at Dealey Plaza, Hudson was seated on the steps leading to the top of the Grassy Knoll when the president was shot. He told a Warren Commission attorney that the shots came "from above and behind" him, which clearly indicates the wooden picket fence at the top of the knoll. Jim Marrs' reading of his testimony led Marrs to the conclusion that the Commission attorney who questioned Hudson swayed him from identifying the knoll as the source of the shots and led him to respond in the affirmative when asked if he thought they came from the Texas School Book Depository Building.
Crossfire

Book of Facts: Hughes, Robert

Hughes was standing at the southwest corner of Houston and Elm streets filming the motorcade as it turned from Houston onto Elm. His filming included scanning the front of the Texas School Book Depository Building. Several photographic experts who viewed the film believe it shows two people at the sixth-floor windows of the building as the motorcade passed. The Warren Commission asked the FBI to examine the film. The FBI report stated that the image some believed were two men was "probably a stack of boxes." The Warren Commission, evidently seeking to bolster its lone assassin theory, changed the word "probably" to a much more definitive "determined . . . to be the shadow from the cartons near the window." The Hughes film remains one of the more controversial pieces of evidence in the assassination investigation.

*See also BRONSON FILM; SELZER, ROBERT.
Rush to Judgment*

Description of the Film

It was nearly 12:30 on November 22, 1963 when Hughes heard the wave of shouting and applause ripple toward him down Main Street. As the pilot car driven by Police Chief Jesse Curry turned the corner, Hughes began filming. The motorcade turns onto Houston Street approximately 30 seconds before the fatal shots. Jacqueline Kennedy's left hand rises to steady her pillbox hat. The Record Building appears, then the Dal-Tex Building and finally the front of the Texas School Book Depository. As the Presidential limousine and the Secret Service follow-up car completed their turns onto Elm Street, Hughes stopped his camera. "About five seconds after I quit taking pictures," he later recalled, "we heard the shots." After the shots, Hughes filmed the scene. The crowd surges toward the grassy knoll.

Moments before the shots, the sixth floor window of the Depository is visible as the Presidential limousine passes below. Movement can be observed in the window. Apparently, the movement is of the gunman turning and raising his rifle into firing position.

Book of Facts: Humes, Dr. James J.

U.S. Navy pathologist Commander Humes conducted the autopsy on the president's body at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Humes has come under fire from every critic of the Warren Report. He admits burning the first draft of his autopsy report, which many consider highly unethical and indicative of serious differences between the original findings and certain vital points in the final report. Humes is the only doctor present at the autopsy who claims to have seen a bullet entry wound in the rear of the president's head.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY; LUNDBERG, DR. GEORGE.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Hunt; E. Howard



A CIA agent, E. Howard Hunt gained national notoriety in 1973 for his role in the infamous Watergate scandal that ultimately brought down Richard M Nixon's presidency. In a 1985 libel trial that was virtually ignored by the media, Hunt sued the publication *Spotlight* over an article it published implicating him in the Kennedy assassination. The jury found for *Spotlight*, and the jury foreperson, Leslie Armstrong, offered the opinion that the evidence had convinced her that the CIA had killed Kennedy and that Hunt had played a role in the conspiracy. The trial was the centerpiece of defense attorney Mark Lane's 1991 best-seller, *Plausible Denial*, published by Thunder's Mouth Press.

Hunt was the agent in charge of the CIA station in Mexico City in September 1963, when Lee Harvey Oswald allegedly visited the Soviet and Cuban embassies there, ostensibly to arrange for his return to the Soviet Union.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Hunt, H. L.



At the time of the assassination, H. L. Hunt was reputed to be the richest man in America, perhaps the world. He appeared to have close ties to both the FBI and the CIA, and was a strong supporter of right-wing causes. His son Nelson Bunker Hunt is said to have partially underwritten the cost of an anti-Kennedy newspaper advertisement that appeared in the *Dallas Morning News* the day of the assassination. Hunt's oil profits were said to be threatened by Kennedy's announced plans to end the oil depletion allowance. A note written by Lee Harvey Oswald addressed to "Mr. Hunt" has raised speculation as to whether it was intended for the oil tycoon, one of his sons, or the CIA agent E. Howard Hunt.

See also AMERICAN FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE.
High Treason; Texas Connection

Book of Facts: Hunt, Dr. Jackie



Dr. Hunt was in the emergency room at Parkland Memorial Hospital when the president was brought in after the shooting. She never saw the back of Kennedy's head because he was lying on his back while she looked at him. She stood directly over him. She rejected the veracity of the photograph from the autopsy showing a wound reaching across the top of the president's head because she said she would have seen that from where she stood. The wound described to her by doctors who had seen it was in the rear of the head only.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Hunt, Nelson Bunker

Son of H. L. Hunt, Nelson was one of a small group of people who paid to place a full-page anti-Kennedy advertisement in the *Dallas Morning News* the day of the assassination.

See also AMERICAN FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE.

Texas Connection

Book of Facts: Hutton, Patricia



Nurse Patricia Hutton (married name, Gustafson) was one of the first Parkland Memorial Hospital staff members to reach President Kennedy when his limousine arrived there. She attempted unsuccessfully to place a compress on the head wound. She described the wound as the size of a fist and at the back of the head, an account that does not agree with the autopsy report.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Ingram, Hiram

A deputy sheriff in Dallas, Ingram was a close friend of Deputy Sheriff Roger D. Craig's. Researchers Robert J. Groden and Harrison Edward Livingstone allege that Ingram died under mysterious circumstances following a fall that broke his hip and report that Ingram claimed he knew there had been a conspiracy to kill the president.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Irving Sports Shop



Located on Irving Boulevard in Irving, Texas, a Dallas suburb, the Irving Sports Shop was brought into the investigation when, at 6:30 P.M. on Sunday, November 24, 1963, an anonymous male caller told an FBI agent in the Bureau's Dallas office that Lee Harvey Oswald had had a rifle sighted, or prepared for the mounting of a sight, at the shop. Similar calls were received by the Dallas police and a local television station.

Acting on this information, FBI agents visited the shop the next day and found a repair tag indicating that a rifle had been sighted for a customer named "Oswald." The man who did the work, Dial D. Ryder, claimed he never worked on an Italian-manufactured rifle similar to the one allegedly found in the Texas School Book Depository Building. Further, the ticket indicated that three holes were drilled in the rifle to mount the sight, while the rifle alleged to be Oswald's required only two holes for the mount. Speculation has escalated that an impersonator using Oswald's name had a rifle sighted at the shop, then later tipped off the FBI and police to lead them to this "evidence" against Oswald.

Conspiracy; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Itek Corporation

Itek is a company that processes and analyzes photographs and films. In 1966, United Press International was asked to examine a film of the assassination made by Orville Nix, who recorded the events from a section of Dealey Plaza facing the Grassy Knoll. Some investigators claim that the film, which shows the Grassy Knoll in the background at the moment Kennedy was shot, reveals light flashes and the image of a gunman. Scientists at Itek, who were consulted by UPI, concluded that the image was actually the shadow of a tree. Itek, through contractual agreements, has links to the CIA and other government agencies.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Jacks, Hurchel

Texas state highway patrolman Jacks drove Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson's car in the motorcade and raced to the hospital behind Kennedy's limousine. Jacks claimed to have gotten a good look at the president's head wound before a Secret Service agent covered Kennedy's head with a jacket. In a state police report dated November 28, 1963, Jacks claimed it appeared to him that a bullet had hit Kennedy "above the right ear or near the temple." He also said the Secret Service assigned him to prevent anyone from taking pictures of the presidential limousine while it was parked outside Parkland Memorial Hospital.

See also NEWMAN FAMILY; SITZMAN, MARILYN.

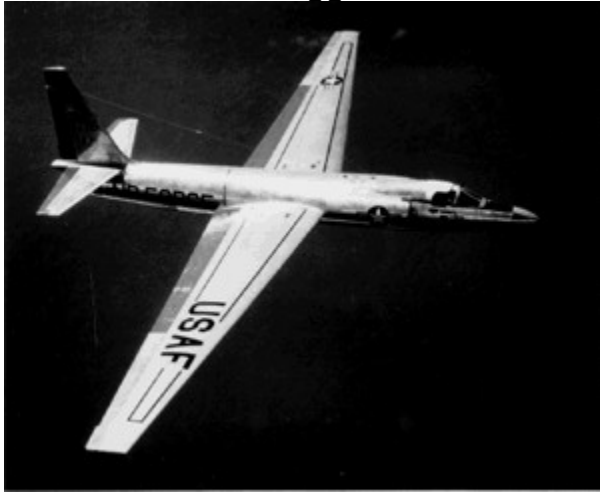
Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Jackson, Robert

A photographer for the *Dallas Times-Herald*, Jackson is reported to have claimed that immediately after the shots were fired, he saw a rifle barrel disappear into a window on an upper floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. In an unusual departure from scientific method, the surgeon in charge of Kennedy's autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital, Dr. James J. Humes, referred to Jackson's report in his autopsy report (autopsy reports generally do not include such non-medical information).

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Jagers Chiles Stovall



This Dallas graphic arts company did top-secret work for the military, including processing photographs taken by the U-2 spy planes that regularly flew surveillance missions over Soviet territory. Lee Harvey Oswald worked at this company for six months following his return from the Soviet Union. It has been alleged that the job was arranged by Oswald's friend George DeMohrenschildt, a CIA informant. When Oswald was arrested following the shooting of J. D. Tippit, he was said to be carrying a Dallas Public Library card that included his employer's name, Jagers-Chiles-Stovall, and the name Jack L. Bowen.

See also BOWEN, JOHN "JACK."

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Jarman, James Jr.



An employee in the Texas School Book Depository Building, James Jarman, Jr., was one of three black men whom several people on the street below said they saw at the fifth-floor windows (directly below the so-called sniper's nest) either immediately before or during the shooting. When asked by Warren Commission member Gerald Ford where he thought the shots came from, Jarman answered, "from below," not from above.

See also CARTER, WILLIAM N.; NORMAN, HAROLD D.; WILLIAMS, BONNIE RAY.
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Jaworski, Leon



Jaworski, who later gained national celebrity as the special prosecutor appointed by Richard M. Nixon in the Watergate scandal, was asked by the Warren Commission to investigate rumors that Lee Harvey Oswald had ties to either the Federal Bureau of investigation or the Central Intelligence Agency. Jaworski reported that his investigation had uncovered no such relationships.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Jenkins, James Curtis



James Curtis Jenkins was one of two technicians (the other was Paul K. O'Connor) who removed Kennedy's body from its coffin before the autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Jenkins has said that the official autopsy report does not describe what he saw. He reports that he was in the room during the entire procedure and recalls seeing damage to the president's head near his right ear, leading him to believe there might be a bullet entry wound in that location. According to some reports, he also claimed that the president's head was wrapped in towels when the body was removed from the coffin in which it had arrived. The nurses at Parkland Memorial Hospital claim no towels were placed inside the coffin before it was closed and taken away. The discrepancies between descriptions of the body, its wrapping, and the coffin when they left Parkland and when they arrived at Bethesda have led some investigators to conclude that the president's body was tampered with during the trip from Dallas to Washington or while the body lay in wait at Bethesda for the autopsy to be performed.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; BODY BAG CONTROVERSY; X-RAY CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence; *High Treason 2*

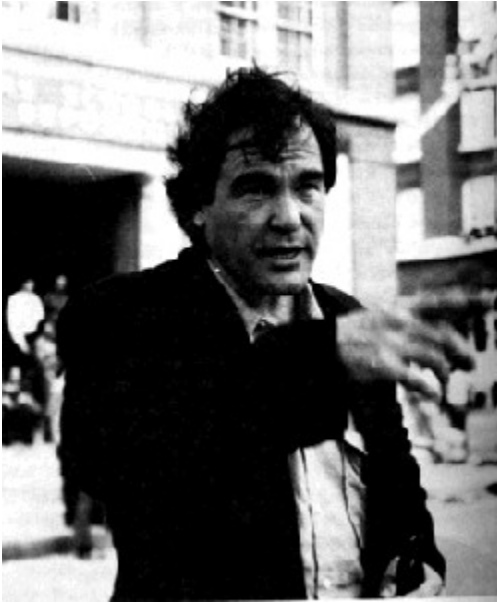
Book of Facts: Jenkins, Dr. Marion



Like the reactions and observations of many of the other doctors who worked on President Kennedy at Parkland Memorial Hospital, those of Dr. Jenkins immediately following the experience are of vital importance to anyone desiring the truth about Kennedy's wounds. Jenkins, an anesthesiologist, is reported as saying that while he was checking for the president's pulse, he felt the wound on Kennedy's left temple. This is probably the same wound that Father Oscar Huber alluded to.

See also HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY; MCCLELLAND, DR. ROBERT N.; TEMPLE WOUND CONTROVERSY.
High Treason

Book of Facts: "JFK"



Directed by Oliver Stone, and starring Kevin Costner as New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, this film was released in 1991. Even before it was completed, the film and its director came under heavy and intense attack by the establishment press. In a manner that mixes fact and fiction, the film follows the investigation of Garrison through the end of the trial of Clay Shaw. It is based on Garrison's book *On the Trail of the Assassins* (Warner, 1991), and on Jim Marrs' book, *Crossfire: The Plot That Killed Kennedy* (Carroll & Graf, 1989), as well as on other, uncredited sources.

Book of Facts: Johnsen, Richard_



Secret Service agent Johnsen was given a bullet allegedly found on a stretcher at Parkland Memorial Hospital by Darrel C. Tomlinson. This was at approximately 2:00 P.M. on the day of the assassination. Johnsen returned to Washington aboard Air Force One with the president's body and entourage. At 7:30 P.M., he turned the bullet over to Secret Service chief James J. Rowley, who sent it to the FBI laboratory. This became the famous magic bullet that allegedly wounded both Kennedy and Governor John Connally. Its origin is still a clouded issue. Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Johnson, Clemmon



A railroad worker, Johnson watched the presidential limousine make its way through Dealey Plaza from the railroad overpass directly in front of and above the motorcade. He reported seeing white smoke from the area of the Grassy Knoll just after the shots were fired.

See also HOLLAND, SAM; MILLER, AUSTIN; REILLY, FRANK; SIMMONS, JAMES.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Johnson, Lady Bird



Wife of Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Lady Bird (Claudia Alta Taylor Johnson) rode with her husband in the motorcade. At Parkland Memorial Hospital, she attempted to console Mrs. Kennedy while doctors worked to save the president's life. Mrs. Johnson witnessed her husband's swearing in as president aboard Air Force One, and returned with him to Washington.

Death of a President

Book of Facts: Johnson, Lyndon B.



Some assassination researchers identify Vice President Johnson as the man with the most to gain by Kennedy's death. He knew he was in jeopardy of being dumped from the Democratic party ticket by the president and reportedly had a strong personal hatred for Kennedy because he had beaten Johnson badly in the contest for the 1960 Democratic presidential nomination. According to Madeline Brown, a woman alleged to be Johnson's mistress at the time of the assassination, Johnson knew about the plot to kill Kennedy before it happened. Craig I. Zirbel's best-selling 1991 book, *The Texas Connection: The Assassination of President John F. Kennedy*, is devoted exclusively to the supposition "that Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was involved" in the conspiracy to kill President Kennedy. During his years in the White House, Johnson is variously reported to have voiced the opinion that responsibility for the assassination belonged to Castro, the Central Intelligence Agency, or supporters of South Vietnam president Ngo Dinh Diem, who had been murdered three weeks earlier at what many believed were the orders of President Kennedy.

See also VIETNAM WAR.

Best Evidence; Conspiracy; High Treason

Book of Facts: Johnson, Priscilla

A journalist who interviewed Lee Harvey Oswald when he was in the Soviet Union in 1959, Johnson became Marina Oswald's biographer after the assassination. Johnson's relationship with Marina Oswald came to wide attention because she was with Marina when the latter discovered the bus ticket stubs that contributed to the belief, now in disrepute, that Oswald had traveled to Mexico City for meetings at the Soviet and/or Cuban embassies there. Johnson's husband, George McMillan, later wrote a book about the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. (*The Making of an Assassin: The Life of James Earl Ray*, Little, Brown, 1976), that Mark Lane asserts contains fabricated information fed to McMillan by the FBI.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Jones, Milton R.

Sixteen-year-old Milton Jones was a passenger on a Dallas bus just after the time of the assassination on November 22, 1963. The Warren Commission reported that when Lee Harvey Oswald left the Texas School Book Depository Building, he boarded a westbound bus on Elm Street, asked the driver, Cecil J. McWatters, for a transfer, and got off a few blocks later. Investigators identified the driver based on a bus transfer allegedly found in Oswald's pocket when he was arrested. McWatters was asked about the passenger. He said a man did board his bus at Elm and Murphy streets, and when McWatters told him the president had been shot, the man smiled. This remark led to headlines about "The Smiling Assassin." McWatters later identified Oswald in a lineup as resembling a passenger on his bus, but not the man who asked for the transfer. The following day, when Milton Jones boarded McWatters's bus, the driver recognized him as the passenger who had asked for the transfer and had smiled at the news that Kennedy had been shot.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Jones, Robert



In 1963, Army Lieutenant Colonel Jones was the operations officer for the 112th Military Intelligence Group headquartered near San Antonio, Texas. It was not widely known at the time that military intelligence agents were on duty in Dallas the day of the assassination. Jones testified that when he heard news of the assassination, he contacted his agents in Dallas for information and was told that an A. J. Hidell had been arrested. Cross-checking military intelligence files, he identified the name Hidell as an alias used by Lee Harvey Oswald. He called the Dallas FBI office with this information and spoke to Agent-in-Charge L. Gordon Shanklin, who has been accused of giving the order to destroy a note written to one of his agents by Oswald. When investigators for the House Select Committee on Assassinations asked to see the files Jones referred to, they were told the files had been destroyed five years earlier as a matter of "routine."

*See also ALIASES USED BY OSWALD; Hosty, James.
Conspiracy*

Book of Facts: Jones, Dr. Ronald

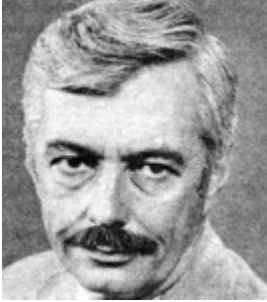
A senior surgical resident at Parkland Memorial Hospital, Dr. Jones was among the first doctors to see Kennedy when he was brought into the emergency room. He testified that the wound in the president's throat was an entry wound, not an exit wound. If correct, this means Kennedy was shot from the front. Dr. Jones described the wound as "very small and relatively clean-cut as you would see in a bullet that is entering rather than exiting from a patient." Jones has been described as having worked on more than one hundred victims of gunshot wounds in the five years preceding President Kennedy's assassination.

See also THROAT WOUND CONTROVERSY;

TRACHEOTOMY.

Best Evidence; *High Treason 2*

Book of Facts: Kantor, Seth



The author of *The Ruby Cover-up* (Zebra Books, 2nd printing, 1992; originally titled *Who Was Jack Ruby?*), Kantor is a rarity among assassination writers because he was in the motorcade that day and was present later at Parkland Memorial Hospital while the president's body was still there. Formerly a reporter for the *Dallas Times-Herald*, Kantor had known Jack Ruby well as a source of information. He told the Warren Commission that he saw Ruby in Parkland Memorial Hospital just minutes before the announcement of the president's death. Kantor claims he not only saw Ruby but spoke briefly with him about what had happened. Ruby denied this, and the Commission chose to discount Kantor's testimony. Kantor was also on the scene when Ruby shot Lee Harvey Oswald.

See also RUBY AT PARKLAND; TICE, WILMA.
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Karamessines, Tom



An assistant to CIA director Richard Helms, Karamessines allegedly wrote a memorandum in 1966 expressing concern that the presence of CIA man E. Howard Hunt in Dallas the day of the assassination would become known. Hunt denied rumors about this. He even filed suit against Michael L. Canfield and Alan J. Weberman, the authors of the book Coup d'Etat in America, who claimed Hunt was one of the hoboes who were detained by the Dallas police after the shooting.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Kellerman, Roy

Secret Service agent Kellerman rode in the front passenger seat of the presidential limousine as it crawled through Dealey Plaza at a pace much slower than the forty-four miles per hour Secret Service regulations required. Kellerman remained with the president at Parkland Memorial Hospital and was present during the autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital. He reportedly described the wound caused by the magic bullet, which supposedly entered the lower portion of Kennedy's neck, as "the hole that was in his shoulder."

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Kennedy, Jacqueline Bouvier



President John F. Kennedy's attractive wife, "Jackie," as she is affectionately called by the press and the public, rode in the limousine seated next to her husband when he was shot. An extremely popular First Lady, she enjoyed a personal popularity that some say even eclipsed that of her husband. A sorrowing nation shared her bereavement, and the world admired her stately dignity during the president's funeral. Mother of John Kennedy, Jr., and Caroline Kennedy, she later married Greek shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis and became an editor for the Doubleday Company.

Book of Facts: Kennedy, John F.



Thirty-fifth president of the United States, Kennedy was the first Roman Catholic and the youngest man to hold that office. He was also the fourth president to be murdered in office. The second son of a wealthy Boston family, John distinguished himself in the U.S. Navy in World War II aboard PT boats operating in the Pacific theater. Elected to the Senate as a conservative Democrat in 1952, he married Jacqueline Bouvier the following year. In 1957 he won a Pulitzer Prize for biography for his book *Profiles in Courage*. Defeated by the more liberal Adlai Stevenson forces in his bid for his party's vice-presidential nomination in 1956, he captured the presidential nomination in 1960 and went on to beat Vice President Richard M. Nixon in the general election by the closest margin in history.

Kennedy's administration was rocked by the failed invasion of Cuba by U.S.-supported Cuban exiles in 1961, known to history as the Bay of Pigs fiasco. A high point was the confrontation with the Soviet Union over the shipment of missiles to Cuba in 1962, in which Kennedy faced down Soviet dictator Nikita Khrushchev. When he was assassinated, Kennedy was on a tour of major Texas cities to win votes for his reelection campaign the following year among Texas Democrats, who had lost enthusiasm for his administration. Kennedy died at 1:00 P.M. central standard time on November 22, 1963, of a gunshot wound that caused massive damage to his head. He was pronounced dead at Parkland Memorial Hospital in Dallas, Texas, by Dr. Kemp Clark. His death was announced by Malcolm Kilduff.

Book of Facts: Kennedy, Regis



An FBI agent, Regis Kennedy allegedly confiscated a film of the assassination that later disappeared without, as far as is known, ever being viewed.

See also OLIVER, BETTY.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Kennedy, Robert F.



Younger brother of John, Robert Kennedy served as his attorney general and stayed on as Lyndon B. Johnson's attorney general until 1964. Robert made powerful enemies among the leaders of gangster organizations with his crusade to drive them out of business. Robert Kennedy was in Washington, D.C., on the day of the assassination; he met *Air Force One* as it arrived at Andrews Air Force Base that evening and accompanied Mrs. Kennedy in the ambulance to Bethesda Naval Hospital. Elected to the Senate from New York in 1965, he was assassinated on June 5, 1968, just after his victory in the California primary in his race for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Book of Facts: Kilduff, Malcolm



Assistant press secretary to President Kennedy, Kilduff was filling in for Press Secretary Pierre Salinger during Kennedy's trip to Texas. Kilduff had the task of announcing to the press and the nation that the president was dead. Kilduff said that when the shots were fired, he looked directly up at the Texas School Book Depository Building because that was the location from which he believed they had come.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Kilgallen, Dorothy

A nationally known syndicated newspaper columnist and panelist on the celebrated television program "What's My Line?," Kilgallen covered Jack Ruby's trial, interviewed Ruby, and traveled to both Dallas and New Orleans in quest of the truth about the Kennedy assassination. It was reliably reported that in November 1965 the columnist claimed she was going to blow the Kennedy assassination story "wide open." Within a week, she was found dead under what the New York City medical examiner called "circumstances undetermined." Her death was ultimately termed a suicide, although no real evidence supported this finding.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Kinney, Samuel



Secret Service agent Kinney was driving the "Queen Mary," the Secret Service follow-up car that was directly behind the presidential limousine. Kinney reportedly said he saw one shot hit the "right side of the head." In late 1991, Kinney wrote to St. Martin's Press, publisher of Bonar Menninger's 1992 book *Mortal Error: The Shot That Killed JFK*, in defense of Secret Service agent George Hickey, who the book claims accidentally fired the shot that hit Kennedy's head, the fatal shot. Hickey himself did not answer the publisher's request for a response to the book's allegations.

Best Evidence; *Mortal Error*

Book of Facts: Kirkwood, Pat

Kirkwood was the owner of a Fort Worth nightclub, The Cellar, reportedly visited by Secret Service agents the night before the assassination. Their drinking lasted until the early morning hours of the day the president was murdered. The consumption of alcohol while on assignment was in direct violation of Secret Service rules, yet no action was taken against these men.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Klein's Sporting Goods



A Chicago-based mail-order company, Klein's was asked by the FBI to check its files for an order from a person named Hidell after a coupon from one of the firm's ads in *American Rifleman* was discovered among Lee Harvey Oswald's possessions. Klein's reported that it had shipped a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle with the serial number C2766 to a customer named A. Hidell, at post office box 2915 in Dallas, Texas. The post office box was one rented by Oswald. The fact that Oswald chose to order the weapon through the mail, which required giving the seller a name and address for shipping purposes, instead of purchasing one from any of over a dozen stores in Dallas that carried the same rifle and required no identification, has prompted Warren Commission critics to question why such a paper trail leading directly to the alleged assassin was created.

High Treason; Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Kostikov, Valeriy Vladimirovich

Kostikov was allegedly a KGB agent stationed in Mexico City in the early 1960s. Reportedly, one of his responsibilities was to initiate or approve assassination plans in the Western Hemisphere. The CIA provided the Warren Commission with evidence in the form of photos and tape-recorded phone conversations that Lee Harvey Oswald was one of Kostikov's agents. The implication was that Oswald killed Kennedy on the orders of the Soviet intelligence organization. Critics see the CIA's role in supplying this evidence as a way of covering its own part in the assassination.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Kounas, Dolores A.



Dolores Kounas was employed by the McGraw-Hill book publishing company, which maintained offices on the third floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. She testified that she was standing on Elm Street across from the building when the presidential motorcade passed. She said she did not look up at the building when the shots were fired at Kennedy because it was her impression that they had come from a location to the west of her position, somewhere near the overpass, which is in the general direction of the Grassy Knoll.

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES; GRASSY KNOLL WITNESSES.

Crossfire; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Kramer, Monica

Monica Kramer was an American tourist who visited the Soviet Union during 1961 and met Lee Harvey Oswald there twice.

See also NAMAN, RITA.

Book of Facts: Kuzmuk, Walter

An officer of the Central Intelligence Agency, Kuzmuk testified on behalf of E. Howard Hunt in the latter's suit against the publication *Spotlight*, which published an article accusing Hunt of being in Dallas on November 22, 1963, and having a connection to the assassination. Kuzmuk claimed he lived near Hunt in the Washington suburbs and drove to work with him almost every day, and that his office was two doors away from Hunt's office. He said that on November 22, he saw Hunt drive past him as he left a Washington restaurant at the time the president was being shot in Dallas. Kuzmuk was unable to testify about Hunt's whereabouts during the last two weeks of November, but he did recall this chance sighting in Washington on that particular day.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Landis, Paul

Secret Service agent Landis was riding in the car directly behind Kennedy's limousine when the shots were fired. He reported that his reaction to the shot that hit the president's head was that it was fired "from somewhere toward the front, right-hand side of the road."

Conspiracy; Crossfire

Book of Facts: Lane, Mark

Attorney Lane was a critic of the Warren Report even before it was published. He has spent almost thirty years pursuing the truth behind the assassination. His works on the subject include books, screenplays, and documentary films. His two most important books are *Rush to Judgment* (1966; reissued, 1992), a detailed critique of the Warren Commission's methods and findings, and *Plausible Denial* (1991), in which he asserts that the CIA was responsible for the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Both books are now published by Thunder's Mouth Press.

Lane represented Lee Harvey Oswald's mother, Marguerite Oswald, before the Warren Commission and attempted, unsuccessfully, to represent the interests of the dead Oswald. He complained that although the Commission had set up panels to investigate *why* Oswald had killed Kennedy, it did not assign anyone to investigate whether it was Oswald who actually shot him.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Lanz, Pedro Diaz

Lanz was a Cuban pilot who, according to Marita Lorenz, was among a group of men who transported arms to Dallas shortly before the assassination. She also claims she saw Lanz and several others looking over a street map of Dallas before the trip.

See also STURGIS, FRANK.

High Treason; Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Latona, Sebastian Francis



Latona was a fingerprint expert who in 1963 had been employed by the FBI for thirty-two years. On November 23, 1963, he examined the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle that was sent to Washington, allegedly the assassination weapon. He reported that he was unable to find any prints on the rifle that were of any value in identifying the person who had used it. After the rifle was returned to Dallas, a palmpoint belonging to Lee Harvey Oswald was discovered on it by the Dallas police, a story that was accepted as true by the Warren Commission.

See also Day, J. Carl; DRAIN, VINCENT.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Lattimer, Dr. John



Dr. Lattimer was the first physician permitted to examine what were alleged to be the autopsy photographs and X rays of President Kennedy's skull. This was done at the National Archives in January 1972. Lattimer told a *New York Times* reporter that what he saw validated the findings of the Warren Commission. Lattimer was not a pathologist but a urologist (a specialist in the urinary system) and therefore a rather odd choice for the honor he was given. Lattimer's statements concerning the head wounds bothered many doctors, including Dr. Cyril H. Wecht, who at the time was the president of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences. Wecht called Lattimer "unbelievably unqualified" in the area of forensic pathology, and described him as "a guy who never moves above the belly button."

See also HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence; High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Lawrence, Jack

Lawrence was employed by the Downtown Lincoln-Mercury dealership in Dallas, where Lee Harvey Oswald allegedly shopped for a car and went for a test drive. Lawrence's job began one month before the assassination, and ended the day following Kennedy's murder. The night before the president was killed, he borrowed a dealership car to drive home and did not report to work on time the next day. He stumbled into work thirty minutes after the shooting, pale, sweating, and with mud on his clothes. He ran into the men's room, where he vomited. When other dealership employees found the car in the parking lot behind the Grassy Knoll next to the Texas School Book Depository Building, they called the police. Lawrence was arrested and held for twenty-four hours, then released. It is alleged that Lawrence gave his employer fictitious references when he was hired.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Lawrence, Perdue



Dallas police captain Perdue Lawrence told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that the Secret Service altered his motorcycle escort pattern for the president's limousine. Lawrence claimed he wanted four motorcycles on each side and slightly to the rear of the car, but Secret Service agent Winston Lawson declared that that was too many and reduced the number to two on each side.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Lawson, Winston



Lawson was the Secret Service agent in charge of planning security for the president's trip to Dallas. In addition to Dallas police captain Perdue Lawrence's charge that Lawson changed the motorcycle escort, it was also alleged that Lawson prevented the Dallas police from putting a police car in the motorcade. Lawson denied that he had removed the car, claiming he "could not recall" who took the car out of the motorcade. The House Select Committee on Assassinations found the security precautions for the Dallas visit "uniquely insecure."

High Treason

Book of Facts: Leavelle, James R.

Dallas police detective Leavelle was one of the two men handcuffed to Lee Harvey Oswald when he was shot by Jack Ruby. It is reported that Leavelle objected to taking Oswald through the basement garage, which was the announced route to the police car he would ride in to the county jail. Leavelle suggested that a safer route was straight out the first floor of the building, which would have permitted Oswald and his guards to avoid the press and others who had gathered in the building's basement. His suggestion was ignored.

See also GRAVES, L. C.; MONTGOMERY, L. D.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Leemans, Fred



Fred Leemans was interviewed in June 1967 on the NBC television network broadcast of a "White Paper" program called "The Case of Jim Garrison". The show appeared to many to be an attempt to discredit New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, who had brought charges against Clay Shaw for his alleged participation in a conspiracy to kill President Kennedy. Leemans, whom Garrison later identified as the proprietor of a "Turkish bath" in New Orleans, told a nationwide audience that the district attorney's office had offered him \$2,500 to testify that Shaw had visited his Turkish bath in the company of Lee Harvey Oswald. Leemans said he decided not to testify because it would have been immoral. According to Garrison, the grand jury hearing evidence about the charges against Shaw decided Leemans' statements were so outlandish that they did not bother calling him to testify.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Lester, Dick

According to news reports, Dallas night watchman Dick Lester discovered a bullet near the railroad tracks that pass over Dealey Plaza. A struggle reportedly ensued between the FBI and the House Select Committee on Assassinations over the Bureau's request to remove the assassination bullets from the National Archives to compare them with the bullet Lester found. The Committee forbade National Archives personnel to release the bullets.

See also NATIONAL ARCHIVES, DOCUMENTS MISSING FROM.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Lewis, L. J.



Lewis was an employee of the Reynolds Motor Company in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas. Along with several fellow employees, he witnessed a man running from the scene of Officer J. D. Tippit's murder. Lewis said the man was carrying either a pistol or a revolver, which he was attempting to hide behind his belt. The FBI interviewed Lewis on January 21, 1964. When Lewis read the report of that interview, he discovered factual errors, which he corrected and submitted in an affidavit to the Warren Commission. Lewis could not identify Lee Harvey Oswald as the man he saw running with a gun in his hand, despite the fact that he had obviously gotten a good look at the gun. See also PATTERSON, B. M.; REYNOLDS, WARREN.
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Liberty Lobby

Liberty Lobby is the right-wing organization that publishes Spotlight magazine.

Book of Facts: Liebler, Wesley J.



An assistant counsel for the Warren Commission and a professor at UCLA Law School, Liebler is a primary character in David S. Lifton's investigation of the assassination, *Best Evidence*. His association with Lifton evidently helped Liebler change his mind about various aspects of the medical evidence contained in the Warren Report.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Lifton, David



David S. Lifton is an assassination researcher and the author of the 1980 best-selling book *Best Evidence: Disguise and Deception in the Assassination of John F. Kennedy*. Originally published by Macmillan, the book was reissued in 1988 by Carroll & Graf.

Book of Facts: Lipsey, Richard A.

Lipsey was the aide to General Philip C. Wehle. When questioned by researcher David S. Lifton, Lipsey said he was "absolutely" sure that a second, or "decoy," ambulance was used when the president's body was taken from Andrews Air Force Base to Bethesda Naval Hospital for the autopsy. According to Lifton, Lipsey claimed that the ambulance in which Jacqueline Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy rode contained an empty coffin. The president's body, he said, was in another ambulance that rode farther back in the motorcade.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Livingstone, Harrison Edward

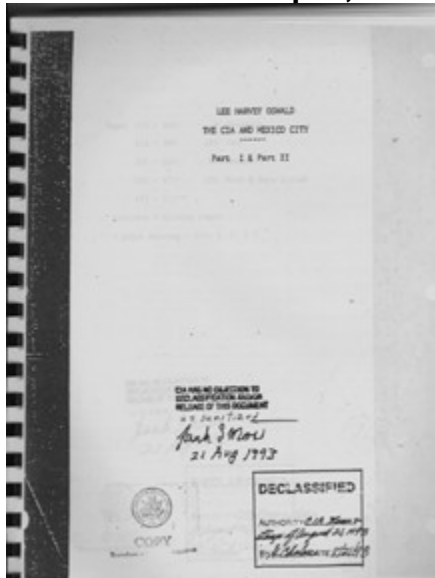
The author of four novels, Livingstone is the co-author, with Robert J. Groden, of *High Treason: The Assassination of President John F. Kennedy and the New Evidence of Conspiracy* (1989; reissued by Berkley Books, 1990). He is also the author of *High Treason 2: the Great Cover-up: The Assassination of President John F. Kennedy* (Carroll & Graf, 1992). Both books have been best sellers.

Book of Facts: Lone Assassin Theory



The Warren Commission, appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson, concluded that one man killed President Kennedy. That man was Lee Harvey Oswald. The Commission "found no evidence that either Oswald or Jack Ruby was part of any conspiracy, domestic or foreign, to assassinate President Kennedy." In the years since the Commission's report was published, numerous independent researchers have uncovered connections or alleged connections that link both Oswald and Ruby to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, anti- and pro-Castro Cuban groups, and the Mafia.
See also MAGIC BULLET; SINGLE BULLET THEORY.

Book of Facts: Lopez, Edwin J.



Lopez was an attorney employed by the House Select Committee on Assassinations. He was assigned responsibility for investigating the charges that Lee Harvey Oswald had visited the Cuban and Soviet embassies in Mexico City. The Central Intelligence Agency supplied the Committee with a photograph that it claimed showed Oswald at the Soviet embassy, but Lopez concluded that the man in the photograph was not Oswald. Because all the so-called evidence came from the CIA, that agency has been accused of attempting to manufacture a link between Oswald and a communist country.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Lorenz, Marita



A former mistress of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro, Lorenz was a key witness at the trial that resulted from E. Howard Hunt's suit against the publication *Spotlight*. The case is the basis for Mark Lane's best-seller, *Plausible Denial* (Thunder's Mouth Press, 1991). Recruited by the CIA, Lorenz turned on Castro and eventually was employed by a number of American intelligence and police agencies. Lorenz claims she drove to Dallas a few days before the Kennedy assassination with a group of heavily armed men, including several exiled Cuban leaders and Frank Sturgis, a CIA operative. She said that in Dallas, the group met with CIA official E. Howard Hunt, and later, the night before the assassination, with Jack Ruby in a Dallas motel room. Hunt denied he was in Dallas at the time, but the jury ultimately dismissed Hunt's lawsuit against *Spotlight*.

See also LANZ, PEDRO DIAZ; OPERATION 40.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Lovelady, Billy Nolan



A now-famous photograph taken by James W. Altgens seconds after the first shot was fired shows a man standing in the front entrance of the Texas School Book Depository Building whom many believe looked like Lee Harvey Oswald. Obviously, if it was Oswald, he could not have been on the sixth floor of the building at the same time, shooting at the president. For reasons that appear vague, the Warren Commission identified the man as Billy Nolan Lovelady, a building employee. No one on the Commission had ever seen Lovelady, yet they reached this conclusion. The man in the photo is wearing a white undershirt under a dark, heavy-textured shirt open halfway to the waist. Lovelady told the FBI he was wearing a red-and-white-striped sport shirt the day of the assassination. He also told the FBI he believed the shots came from "that knoll," and he "did not at any time believe the shots had come from the Texas School Book Depository Building."

See also SHELLEY, WILLIAM.

Best Evidence: Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Lundberg, Dr. George

___ Dr. Lundberg is the editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association. During the third week of May 1992, the same week Oliver Stone's film JFK was released on video for home viewing, a major news event was an article published in the AMA journal. The eleven-thousand-word article was based on an interview with Dr. James J. Humes and Dr. Thornton Boswell, both participants in the Kennedy autopsy conducted at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Both Humes and Boswell defended the conclusions reached in the autopsy report and denounced continuing speculation surrounding President Kennedy's assassination. Dr. Lundberg appeared on television network news programs and was a guest on the "Larry King Live" show on CNN to discuss the article. Critics of the autopsy, including noted forensic pathologist Dr. Cyril H. Wecht, were stunned that the comments of the two doctors were treated as revelations, because the article revealed nothing new but simply restated what was in the autopsy report and what the physicians had discussed before the Warren Commission.

On May 29, 1992, the Reuter wire service carried a report in which two men who were present in the autopsy room at Bethesda, technologist Jerrold F. Custer and autopsy photographer Floyd A. Riebe, charged that the autopsy X rays and photographs are forgeries and that the wounds they depict are not the same wounds they saw during the autopsy.

Book of Facts: Mabra, W. W.

Assassination researcher Jim Marrs reports that Mabra, who is identified as a Dallas County bailiff, was standing on the corner of Main and Houston streets when the shooting took place. Mabra is quoted as saying that he saw people run toward the Grassy Knoll, where he thought at first the shots may have originated.

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: MacDonald, Betty Mooney



Betty MacDonald was the real name of a stripper who had worked at Jack Ruby's nightclub using several stage names and aliases. She provided an alibi for Darrell Wayne Garner, who was briefly accused of the attempted murder of Warren Reynolds, a witness to the shooting of J. D. Tippit. In February 1964, MacDonald was found dead in a Dallas jail cell, where she was being held on a misdemeanor charge.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Mafia



The "Mafia" is the name given to the organized criminal underworld whose members are primarily, but not exclusively, of Italian descent. Three leading Mafia figures have been connected to the assassination of President Kennedy: Sam Giancana, Carlos Marcello, and Santos Trafficante.

The hatred of mob leaders for the Kennedy brothers went back to the 1950s, when John was a member of the McClellan Committee, which investigated links between labor unions and racketeers, and Robert F. Kennedy was the committee's counsel. When John was elected president he appointed his brother attorney general. The new attorney general stepped up the campaign against organized crime. His task force dealing with Mafia leaders and activities caused a serious threat to the mob's financial empire. More than once, death threats against the lives of both Kennedys were made by mob and mob-related figures, including Jimmy Hoffa and Trafficante.

Ironically, many of the mob figures who were targets of federal investigations were also in an alliance with the Central Intelligence Agency during the early 1960s to plot the assassination of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro. The Mafia was smarting from the loss of its lucrative Havana gambling casinos and drug traffic and so had a vested interest in replacing Castro with someone more friendly to its business interests.

See also ALEMAN, JOSÉ; ROSELLI, JOHNNY.
Conspiracy; Mafia Kingfish

Book of Facts: Magic Bullet



The so-called magic bullet, officially known as Commission Exhibit #399, is at the heart of the Warren Commission's finding that Lee Harvey Oswald was the assassin of President Kennedy and that there was no conspiracy to kill the president. This bullet, which was allegedly found on a gurney in Parkland Memorial Hospital after Kennedy's body had left Dallas, supposedly entered Kennedy's back, exited his throat, entered Governor John Connally's back, broke a rib bone, exited his chest, entered his wrist, where it caused severe bone damage, and entered the fatty part of his thigh. The bullet allegedly discovered at Parkland is also called the "pristine bullet" because it was in near-perfect condition. Tests by several government agencies, including the U.S. Army, attempting to duplicate the tissue and bone damage the magic bullet caused to two men have consistently failed to yield a bullet in any condition other than badly mangled and flattened. Critics of the Warren Commission charge that a bullet doing the extensive damage this one allegedly did could not survive in almost perfect condition.

The magic bullet is at the crux of the dispute over whether one or more gunmen took part in the assassination. The so-called single bullet theory appears to have been formulated, despite the reported objections of three Commission members, to satisfy the finding that only three shots were fired and still accommodate testimony that a bystander, James T. Tague, was injured by a bullet that hit the pavement in front of him. To reject the single bullet theory can only result in recognizing that more than one person shot at the president.

See also BELL, AUDREY; BORING, FLOYD; GREGORY, DR. CHARLES; LONE ASSASSIN THEORY; OSBORNE, DR. DAVID; TOMLINSON, DARREL C.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Manchester, William

A noted author, William Manchester was commissioned by the Kennedy family to write an "authorized" history of the assassination. When the manuscript did not turn out as the Kennedys liked, they sued Manchester in an attempt to prevent the book's publication.

See also *THE DEATH OF A PRESIDENT.*

Book of Facts: Mannlicher-Carcano Rifle



A Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5-caliber Italian-made carbine is alleged to be the rifle that was used to kill the president. Of course, if more than one assassin was firing at Kennedy that day, then this would have been only one of several weapons used in the ambush - if it was used at all. Questions have been raised as to why Lee Harvey Oswald, using the alias A. Hidell, would go through the trouble of ordering a poor-quality rifle through the mail, leaving a paper trail that any law enforcement agency could trace, instead of simply purchasing a more sophisticated model over the counter using an assumed name at any of at least a dozen stores in Dallas. Added to this is the inability of FBI sharpshooters to fire this bolt-action rifle accurately in the time frame Oswald did. Finally, there is strong evidence to indicate that the rifle originally found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building was actually a German-made 7.65-caliber Mauser. Knowledgeable small-arms experts appear unanimous in their assessment of the Mannlicher-Carcano as a "poor" weapon, "crudely made," with "terrible" action. To a layman, such a rifle seems a poor selection for an assassination, where accuracy is vital.

See also ALBA, ADRIAN; AMERICAN RIFLEMAN ADVERTISEMENT; AMMUNITION CLIP; ANDERSON, EUGENE D.; BOONE, EUGENE L.; CRAIG, ROGER D.; FIRING SEQUENCE CONTROVERSY; MOONEY, LUKE; PALMPRINT ON RIFLE; WADE, HENRY W.; WEITZMAN, SEYMOUR.

Book of Facts: Marcello, Carlos



Born in Tunisia of Sicilian parents, Marcello was for decades the reputed head of the Mafia organization in the South. Marcello, who lived in New Orleans, has been linked to the assassination by many researchers because he had become a prime target in Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy's crusade against organized crime. He was hastily - and temporarily - deported from the United States under orders from the attorney general in 1961; for Marcello this was an extremely humiliating episode. He allegedly commented that Robert was the tail to his brother's dog, and the only way to stop the tail was to cut off the dog's head. It has also been reported that he repeatedly voiced death threats against the president.

See also ROSELLI, JOHNNY; TRAFFICANTE, SANTOS.
Conspiracy; Mafia Kingfish

Book of Facts: Marchetti, Victor



A former CIA official, Marchetti resigned in 1969 and became famous when his book *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* was published by Knopf in 1974. In 1978, *Spotlight* magazine published an article by Marchetti implying that E. Howard Hunt and Frank Sturgis of the Central Intelligence Agency were involved in the Kennedy assassination, and that the Agency was planning to hand them over to the House Select Committee on Assassinations as sacrificial lambs. This was, according to Marchetti, a way of exposing only limited information that would deter congressional and private investigators from looking too hard at the Agency. Because of the article, Hunt filed a lawsuit against *Spotlight*. The case went to a jury, which found for the publication. The foreperson of the jury, Leslie Armstrong, later told the press that *Spotlight's* attorney, Mark Lane, had convinced her that the CIA was behind the assassination.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Markham, Helen Louise



Helen Louise Markham was allegedly a witness to the shooting death of Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit. The Warren Commission relied heavily on her testimony despite the fact that she appeared habitually to give varying accounts of the incident, even providing a description of the killer that could in no way fit Lee Harvey Oswald. A reading of her testimony before the Commission leads one to ask how the Commission used her statements to conclude that Oswald shot Tippit. The Commission lawyer asked her five times whether she had recognized any of the men in a lineup that took place less than three and a half hours after the shooting - and where she picked out Lee Harvey Oswald as Tippit's killer. Among Markham's more outlandish statements was that she talked to Tippit for a brief time before he died, even though the medical authorities said he died instantly. Other witnesses claim they did not see Markham anywhere near the dead officer in the minutes just after the shooting.

See also TIPPIT MURDER SCENE WITNESSES.

Crossfire: Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Marrs, Jim



A Dallas journalist, Marrs has spent years investigating the assassination, including interviewing hundreds of witnesses and experts. He is the author of *Crossfire*, *The Plot That Killed Kennedy*, published in 1990 by Carroll & Graf. This is one of the two books on which Oliver Stone's film *JFK* is based.

Book of Facts: Martin, B. J.



Martin was one of the two motorcycle officers who rode to the left of the president's limousine in the motorcade. He reported that his uniform, helmet, and windshield were splashed with blood, confirming that Kennedy's skull exploded to the rear and left.

See also HARGIS, BOBBY W.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Martin, Jack



Martin was an associate of Guy Banister's in New Orleans. The day of the assassination, Banister, who was known as a heavy drinker, got drunk and pistol-whipped Martin over a reference Martin made to the strange people who had been hanging around Banister's office during the previous summer. After the beating, Martin told police that he thought one of Banister's friends, David Ferrie, had driven to Texas to act as the getaway pilot for Lee Harvey Oswald. He later told New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison that he had seen Oswald in Banister's office several times.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Martin, James H.



While she was being held in Secret Service custody in the months following the assassination, Marina Oswald signed a contract with Martin, who then acted as her business manager and literary agent. Because of the public's perception of her as the hapless wife of an evil assassin (who had also been a cruel husband), Marina received tens of thousands of dollars in donations from people around the country, and, according to Martin's testimony before the Warren Commission, Marina by 1964 had received nearly \$135,000 in advances from publishers.

High Treason; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Mattox Jim

On August 8, 1990, Texas attorney general Jim Mattox announced that he was going to open an investigation of the Kennedy assassination because he had received new evidence from two researchers. Mattox also said his mother had told him that she saw Jack Ruby and Lee Harvey Oswald eating dinner together in a restaurant where she had once worked as a waitress. Mattox was voted out of office, and nothing ever came of this investigation.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Mayfield, Douglas



Army Specialist Mayfield was a member of the Casket Team that handled the president's coffin in Washington.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; BIRD, SAMUEL R.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: McCamy, Calvin



McCamy was a photographic expert who was asked by the House Select Committee on Assassinations to examine the autopsy photos of President Kennedy. He told the Committee that it was "extremely unlikely" the photos had been tampered with, or that they showed a body other than the president's.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: McClellan Committee



This Senate committee, whose official name was the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field and which was chaired by Senator John McClellan, was formed in the 1950s to investigate links between unions and organized crime. Senator John F. Kennedy was a committee member, and his brother, Robert F. Kennedy, was its chief counsel. The committee marks the beginning of the war between the Kennedy brothers and union leaders with ties to the underworld, such as Teamsters boss Jimmy Hoffa.

Book of Facts: McClelland, Dr. Robert

Dr. McClelland stood at the head of the table on which President Kennedy was placed when he was brought into Parkland Memorial Hospital. He is quoted as saying that before the doctors had received any information about the location of the person or persons who had shot the president, it was their impression that one bullet had "entered through the front of the neck," coursed up the vertebrae and exited "the rear of the skull." McClelland prepared a hospital report at about 4:45 P.M. the day of the assassination. That report is part of Commission Exhibit #392 in the Warren Report. The second-to-last line of McClelland's report reads, "The cause of death was due to massive head and brain injury from a gunshot wound of the left temple."

See also HUBER, OSCAR; PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL STAFF; SHAW, DR. ROBERT.
Best Evidence; Warren Report

Book of Facts: McCloy, John J.



McCloy was chairman of the board of Chase Manhattan Bank before he became an adviser to President Kennedy in 1961. In 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed McCloy to the Warren Commission. Twice during the Commission's proceedings, McCloy voiced confusion about the evidence presented. On the question of the magic bullet, he is recorded as saying, "This bullet business leaves me confused." When discussing the FBI report of the president's wounds, he said, "It left my mind muddy as to what really did happen."

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: McDonald Nick



Nick McDonald was the Dallas police officer whom Johnny Brewer, a shoe-store manager, supposedly led to Lee Harvey Oswald inside the Texas Theater. McDonald claimed that when he asked Oswald, who was seated near the rear of the Theater, to rise, Oswald punched him in the face and reached for a handgun that was hidden in his waistband. When Oswald was subdued, he allegedly blurted out, "Well, it's all over now."

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: McGuire, Dennis "Peanuts"

An employee of Oneal's Funeral Home, McGuire helped place the president's body inside the coffin at Parkland Memorial Hospital.

See also BODY BAG CONTROVERSY; ONEAL, VERNON; RIKE, AUBREY.

Best Evidence; *High Treason 2*

Book of Facts: McHugh, Godfrey



Brigadier General McHugh was President Kennedy's Air Force aide. He rode near the back of the motorcade in a car that was still on Main Street when the shooting took place. McHugh stayed in the back cabin of *Air Force One*, where Kennedy's coffin was, throughout the trip from Dallas to Andrews Air Force Base, and continued to accompany the coffin until it was delivered to Bethesda Naval Hospital.

See also O'BRIEN, LAWRENCE F.; O'DONNELL, KENNETH; POWERS, DAVE.

Best Evidence: Death of a President

Book of Facts: McLain, H. B.

A Dallas police motorcycle officer, McLain was riding about 150 feet behind the presidential limousine as it drove through Dealey Plaza. McLain reportedly admitted that the police radio transmitter mounted on his motorcycle had experienced many problems, and that the microphone sometimes became stuck in the open position. An acoustical examination of the Dallas police dispatch tape that recorded events at the assassination scene led experts to estimate that the open microphone that picked up the sound of the shots was about 154 feet behind the president when the third shot heard on the tape was fired.

See also ACOUSTICAL EVIDENCE.

High Treason

Book of Facts: McNamara, Robert



Secretary of Defense under presidents Kennedy and Johnson, McNamara is regarded by many assassination researchers as an integral part of the military-industrial complex that viewed Kennedy as a barrier to its planned all-out war in Southeast Asia. Within a month of Kennedy's death, McNamara told Lyndon B. Johnson that the United States had to have "major increases" in military personnel in Vietnam.

See also VIETNAM WAR.

High Treason

Book of Facts: McNeil, Cindy



A Houston, Texas, attorney, McNeil examined the autopsy photographs that were allegedly taken of President Kennedy. She reportedly concluded that the subject of the photos is a wax model, not a human body.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: McVickar, John

McVickar was an official of the American embassy in Moscow when Lee Harvey Oswald arrived there on October 31, 1959, in an unsuccessful attempt to renounce his U.S. citizenship. McVickar told the Warren Commission he thought Oswald's behavior was that of someone who "had been tutored," that he seemed to be "using words he had learned, but did not fully understand," and that it seemed others had "guided him and encouraged him in his actions." While McVickar's observations would appear vital to understanding Oswald's motivation, they were not included in the Warren Report, even though several pages are devoted to the incident.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: McWatters, Cecil J.

McWatters was a Dallas bus driver who was traced through a bus transfer ticket allegedly found in Lee Harvey Oswald's possession when he was arrested. The Warren Commission reported that Oswald boarded a westbound bus on Elm Street shortly after the assassination, requested a transfer, then got off a few blocks later. When questioned, McWatters said he recalled a young man who boarded his bus and smiled upon being told the president had been shot. This comment led to newspaper headlines about "The Smiling Assassin." Although McWatters identified Oswald during a lineup as one of his passengers, he did not identify him as the smiling young man; he later identified sixteen-year-old Milton R. Jones as the passenger who had smiled on learning of Kennedy's death.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: McWillie, Lewis



McWillie was a Dallas gambling associate and close friend of Jack Ruby's who ran the Tropicana nightclub in Havana before Fidel Castro's revolution succeeded. McWillie, who had close ties to Mafia boss Santos Trafficante, was a familiar sight to airport employees in both Dallas and New Orleans as one of Ruby's regular traveling companions. Jack Ruby's relationship with McWillie is just one of several links he had with Mafia bosses who had reasons to kill Kennedy.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Meagher, Sylvia



An early critic of the Warren Commission, Meagher indexed by subject the twenty-six volumes of assembled data, testimony, and evidence published by the Commission. This *Subject Index to the Warren Commission Report and Hearings and Exhibits* was later augmented with an index to the materials collected by the House Select Committee on Assassinations and published by Scarecrow Press in 1980 under the title *Master Index to the JFK Assassination Investigation: The Reports and Supporting Volumes of the House Select Committee on Assassinations and the Warren Commission*. (Meagher collaborated with Gary Owens on the latter volume.)

In September 1966, Meagher participated in a televised panel discussion of the assassination at the Theater of New Ideas in New York City. Pitting a group of critics against lawyers for the Warren Commission, the discussion was the first direct confrontation between the two sides about the contradictions concerning the autopsy report. Meagher further challenged the Commission in her book *Accessories After the Fact* (1967), a presentation of the view, which many support, that the Warren Commission deliberately concealed the truth.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Mendoza, Dr. Charles



Mendoza was a mysterious Dallas physician to whom George DeMohrenschildt, a CIA informant and friend of Lee Harvey Oswald's, was referred in June 1976, two months after Mendoza registered with the Dallas County Medical Association. In the fall of 1976 DeMohrenschildt, who had extensive and long-standing connections to the intelligence community, completed a manuscript naming FBI and CIA officials who were ostensibly involved in the assassination of President Kennedy. Shortly after he began receiving treatment from Mendoza, a therapy his wife says included intravenous injections of undetermined drugs, DeMohrenschildt began to suffer severe mental problems. He was admitted to Parkland Memorial Hospital and was administered electroshock therapy; he quickly deteriorated emotionally, and apparently ended his own life with a shotgun blast. Mendoza departed Dallas in December 1976, almost immediately after DeMohrenschildt was hospitalized. He left only a false forwarding address. According to researcher Jim Marrs, DeMohrenschildt's wife, Jeanne, believed her husband was programmed to take his own life on command through mind control and behavior modification techniques administered by Mendoza.

Crossfire; High Treason

Book of Facts: Mercer, Julia Ann



On November 22, 1963, Julia Ann Mercer signed an affidavit for the Dallas Sheriff's Department describing in detail an incident she witnessed in Dealey Plaza early in the morning of the day President Kennedy was assassinated. Driving west on Elm Street, Mercer encountered an illegally parked green Ford pickup truck with Texas tags. The truck was half on the curb, blocking her lane. As she waited for traffic in the lane to her left to clear so she could drive around the truck, she observed a "white male who appeared to be in his late 20s or early 30s, wearing a grey jacket, brown pants, and plaid shirt," remove what appeared to be a rifle case from the back of the truck. The case was about three and a half to four feet long, and tapered from about eight inches at its broadest to four inches at the narrowest point. The man carried the rifle case up the grassy incline that forms part of the overpass bordering Dealey Plaza.

Mercer claimed the entire incident took place in plain view of three Dallas police officers who stood talking nearby. When she was able to pull her car around the truck, she got a good look at the driver, whom she later recognized as Jack Ruby, both from a photo she claims to have been shown by police and again when his picture was broadcast on television as Lee Harvey Oswald's murderer. The Warren Commission, while accepting her affidavit describing the incident, never called Mercer as a witness. There is no evidence that either the Ford truck, which had the words "Air Conditioning" emblazoned in black letters on the driver's door, or the three police officers were ever identified or located.

Crossfire; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Metzler, James E.

A Navy corpsman third class, Metzler was on duty at Bethesda Naval Hospital when the coffin allegedly containing the president's body was brought in through the receiving dock at the rear of the hospital. He watched the Casket Team bring in the coffin, and then helped remove the body and place it on an autopsy table.

Although he was in the room for only five or ten minutes before he was told to leave, Metzler was able to observe that the body was wrapped in a sheet. A second sheet was wrapped around the head. When Metzler left the room, he was stopped by a group of about ten men whom he took to be government agents. He showed them his Navy identification. Several days later, Metzler was summoned to the office of Admiral Calvin Galloway and was asked to sign a statement affirming that he would not talk about the events of that night under penalty of court-martial. In a 1979 interview with researcher David S. Lifton, Metzler described the coffin as "dark brown" with handles on the side.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; BODY BAG CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Mexico City



Much has been made of an October 10, 1963, Central Intelligence Agency memo about Lee Harvey Oswald's alleged activities at the Soviet and Cuban embassies in Mexico City during September 1963. The purpose of this trip was ostensibly for Oswald to arrange his return to the Soviet Union. There is overwhelming evidence that the CIA manufactured the bogus photographs and tape recordings that were supposed to prove Oswald had made the trip to Mexico City. Silvia Duran, a Mexican national working at the embassy, is believed to have been pressured by the CIA, through its friends in the Mexico City police force, to testify that Oswald was there. E. Howard Hunt was allegedly the senior CIA man in Mexico City during August and September 1963.

Although a surveillance camera at the Mexican consulate in New Orleans, where Oswald allegedly requested a Mexican visitor's card, produced film that was sufficiently clear to identify a bystander, the image of the man said to be Oswald was not clear enough to confirm his identity. Months after the assassination, and long after Oswald's belongings had first been thoroughly examined by federal agents, Marina Oswald and Priscilla Johnson discovered bus-ticket stubs for a round-trip journey to Mexico City in a Spanish-language magazine that they claimed to have found among Oswald's things. The Warren Commission used this evidence to substantiate its conclusion that Oswald had traveled to Mexico City, but the belatedness of the discovery has led many researchers to question the ticket stubs' authenticity.

Many observers consider the entire story of Oswald's alleged Mexican trip an example of disinformation by the CIA.

See also ALVARADO, GILBERTO; BOWEN, JOHN "JACK"; GAUDET, WILLIAM GEORGE; LOPEZ, EDWIN J.; PHILLIPS, DAVID ATLEE; VECIANA, ANTONIO.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Miller, Austin



According to researcher and author Mark Lane, Austin Miller, who was standing on the overpass when the assassination occurred, signed an affidavit on the day of the assassination claiming he saw smoke coming from a "group of trees north of Elm," near the railroad tracks. When Miller was questioned by lawyers from the Warren Commission, he was not asked about the smoke he saw.

See also OVERPASS WITNESSES; SMOKE FROM THE GRASSY KNOLL.
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Millican, A. J.

Millican was part of a crew that was fabricating plumbing piping for a building under construction just north of the Texas School Book Depository Building. The crew members were on their lunch break, and were standing near the Depository Building on Elm Street to watch the motorcade. Millican told sheriff's deputies he had no doubt where the shots came from. He told them that, just as the president's limousine passed him, he heard three shots that sounded as if they came from the area of the Book Depository Building. These were immediately followed by two additional shots that came from the area on the Grassy Knoll where the concrete pergola was located. Finally, according to Millican, another three shots came from the same direction (i.e., the Grassy Knoll), except a little farther back. Millican thought the gunfire came from either a high-powered rifle or perhaps a .45 automatic. Despite the thoroughness of his report of the shooting, Millican was never interviewed by either the Warren Commission or the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

See also BRENNAN, HOWARD L.; SPEAKER, SANDY.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Mills, Thomas



Mills was a hospital corpsman assigned to the office of President Kennedy's personal physician, Dr. George Burkley. Two Secret Service agents, Floyd Boring and Paul Paterni, asked Mills to help them inspect the presidential limousine after it was flown back to the White House from Dallas. Paterni allegedly found a "metallic fragment in the front seat," and Mills another such fragment. Some observers have expressed suspicion that the fragments were "planted" to support the single bullet theory.

See also MAGIC BULLET.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Milteer, Joseph



A wealthy right-wing activist, Milteer belonged to a number of groups with links to anti-Castro Cubans in Miami. He is alleged to have had advance knowledge of a plot to kill President Kennedy. A man resembling Milteer is said to appear in a photograph showing people standing in front of the Texas School Book Depository Building on November 22, 1963. Milteer supposedly told a police informant, in a conversation taped in Miami less than two weeks before the president was killed, that the assassination was "in the working." He even predicted it would be done with a high-powered rifle fired from an office building, although the venue for this assassination was supposed to be Miami (on November 18). After the assassination, Milteer told the informant that everything had gone according to plan, and then suggested that the informant had thought he was kidding. The informant, identified as William Somerset, asked Milteer whether he had been guessing when he made his prediction. Milteer's reply was that he didn't do any guessing. He then told Somerset he wasn't concerned about Lee Harvey Oswald's being caught, because Oswald did not know anything. When questioned by the FBI, Milteer denied making any statements or predictions about the assassination.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Minsk



Lee Harvey Oswald lived in the Soviet Union from late 1959 to June 1962, for the most part in the city of Minsk, where he met and married his Russian wife, Marina. The couple enjoyed an apartment that was comfortable by Soviet standards and given them practically rent-free. Oswald was provided with a better-than-average job in a radio and television factory, suggesting that he received special treatment of a sort that was generally available only from the KGB, the Soviet State Security Committee. This suggests that Oswald was either in the employ or under the control of the KGB, or that the KGB was keeping an extra-close watch on him because it suspected he had been sent to the Soviet Union by the CIA. The KGB predictably denied any connection with Oswald, and the Warren Commission found no such connection. Several photos taken of Oswald in Minsk by Ruth Naman were provided to the Commission.

See also NOSENKO, YURI; OSWALD, MARINA.
Best Evidence; Crossfire

Book of Facts: Mitchell, Willie

Mitchell was a prisoner at the Dallas County jail on Houston Street the day of the assassination. Mitchell's attorney claimed that his client saw nothing, but that other inmates witnessed the assassination.

See also POWELL, JOHN.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Molina, Joe R.



Molina was the credit manager for the Texas School Book Depository. He was standing in front of the building with Buell Wesley Frazier when the shots were fired. When questioned by the Warren Commission, he said he thought the shots had come from the "west side" of the building, toward the Grassy Knoll and overpass. See also TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES. Crossfire

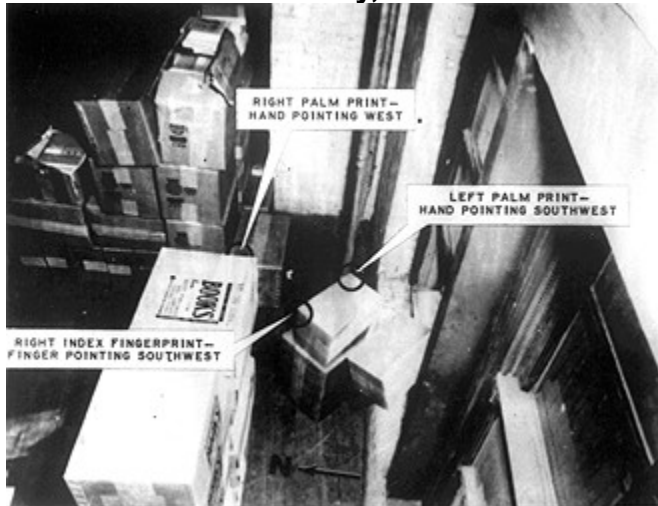
Book of Facts: Montgomery, L. D.

Detective Montgomery was the man standing directly behind Lee Harvey Oswald when Jack Ruby shot him. Montgomery testified that he was not informed that the police and the FBI had received threats against Oswald's life. In fact, he said Captain Will Fritz told him to make sure that Oswald did not get away. It has been speculated that the detectives escorting Oswald might have taken steps to protect him had they been aware of such threats.

See also GRAVES, L. C.; LEAVELLE, JAMES R.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Mooney, Luke



Deputy Sheriff Mooney was on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building when the alleged murder weapon was found. Considering the confusion about whether the rifle that was discovered was a Mannlicher-Carcano or a Mauser, it is surprising that the Warren Commission failed to ask Mooney what make rifle he saw.

See also BOONE, EUGENE L.; CRAIG, ROGER D.; WADE, HENRY W.; WEITZMAN, SEYMOUR.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Moorman, Mary



Mary Moorman and her friend Jean Hill had come to Dealey Plaza to see a motorcycle police officer whom Hill wanted to date. As the presidential limousine approached their position, Hill called out to Kennedy, wanting him to look their way so Moorman could take his picture with her Polaroid camera. Moorman snapped away as the shots rang out and the president was mortally wounded. After the shooting, Moorman was taken to the sheriff's office for questioning, where most of her photographs were confiscated by a man identifying himself as a federal officer. One photo has survived, and close examination of an enlargement revealed what many believe is a man behind the stockade fence atop the Grassy Knoll holding a rifle in the classic firing position.

See also "Badgeman."

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Morgan, Roger C.

Chief Warrant Officer Roger C. Morgan was allegedly the pilot who, according to former Marine navigator Larry Huff, flew a Marine investigation team to Japan immediately following the assassination to look into Lee Harvey Oswald's background. Although the Marine Corps denied Huff's story, Morgan responded to questions from the House Select Committee on Assassinations, verifying through his personal logbooks that he had commanded a flight to Japan on the dates Huff mentioned. Morgan explained that his personal record would not contain the names of crew members or passengers, but that this information should be in the official records. The congressional investigators were unable to locate Marine Corps records that would substantiate or refute Huff's allegations.

See also CAMP SMITH.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Morgan, Dr. Russell H.



Dr. Morgan, a professor of radiology at Johns Hopkins University, was a member of the medical panel convened by Attorney General Ramsey Clark to examine the Kennedy autopsy photographs and X rays.

See also CLARK PANEL.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Moritz, Dr. Alan R.



A former professor of forensic medicine at Harvard, Moritz was a member of the medical panel convened by Attorney General Ramsey Clark to examine the Kennedy autopsy photographs and X rays.

See also CLARK PANEL.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Morrow, Robert D.



A former CIA agent who had participated in actions against Fidel Castro, Morrow wrote a book titled *Betrayal*, published in 1976 by Regnery, in which he claims to have purchased for the Central Intelligence Agency three Mannlicher-Carcano rifles similar to the one Lee Harvey Oswald allegedly used to murder President Kennedy. Morrow places responsibility for the assassination on rogue elements in the Agency. He is also the author of a book on the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy, *The Senator Must Die* (1988), and of *First Hand Knowledge: How I Participated in the CIA-Mafia Murder of JFK*, published in 1992 by SPI Books.

Book of Facts: Moseley, Jack

At the time of the assassination, Moseley was a reporter for the *Fort Worth Press*. He reported that he saw federal agents enter the embalming room in the funeral home where Lee Harvey Oswald's body was stored. Moseley claimed the agents kept coming and going from the room, where they were alone with the body for an extended time, and that they had a crime lab kit for fingerprinting with them.

See also GROODY, PAUL; PALMPRINT ON RIFLE.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Motorcade Route



The presidential motorcade through Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963, was a great success until it reached Dealey Plaza. Critics of the Warren Commission have argued, with justification, that the motorcade could easily have continued west on Main Street instead of turning north on Houston Street and making a sharp left turn onto Elm Street, forcing the cars to slow down considerably from the Secret Service prescribed speed of forty-four miles per hour. The motorcade's destination was the Dallas Trade Mart, where the president was scheduled to give a luncheon speech. Anyone who has driven through Dealey Plaza will understand the questions raised about using Houston and Elm streets instead of continuing straight on Main Street. The only thing the turns accomplished was to put Kennedy in the sights of his assassin or assassins. According to the route published in the *Dallas Morning News* of November 22, 1963, the motorcade was originally scheduled to proceed straight through Dealey Plaza without turning or slowing down. No one in Dallas or Washington has accepted responsibility for altering the route.

High Treason; On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Moyers, Bill



Before joining the Kennedy administration as deputy director of the Peace Corps, Moyers, a native Texan, worked on the staff of then-senator Lyndon B. Johnson. After Kennedy's assassination, he was named an aide to President Johnson. Moyers allegedly said that Kennedy did not want the protective bubble on his limousine during the Dallas trip, quoting Kennedy as saying, "Get that Goddamned bubble off unless it's pouring rain."

High Treason

Book of Facts: Muchmore, Marie



Marie Muchmore was filming the motorcade from the grassy area to the left of the president's limousine when the shots were fired. Some researchers believe her film confirms that the president was hit by a shot fired from in front of him. The Warren Commission disagreed.

See also NIX, ORVILLE.

High Treason

Description of the Film

Marie Muchmore was filming the motorcade from the grassy area to the left of the president's limousine when the shots were fired. Some researchers believe her film confirms that the president was hit by a shot fired from in front of him. The Warren Commission disagreed.

Book of Facts: Murphy, Thomas



Murphy was a railroad worker who watched the motorcade from the railroad overpass that borders Dealey Plaza. He allegedly told assassination researcher Stewart Galanor that the shots "came from a tree to the immediate right [of the President]." He also said he saw smoke coming from a tree on the embankment near the fence on the Grassy Knoll.

See also OVERPASS WITNESSES; SMOKE FROM THE GRASSY KNOLL.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Nagell Richard Case



According to New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, Nagell's family arranged a secret meeting between Garrison and Nagell in New York City. At the time of their meeting, Nagell had just been released from a federal prison on charges related to his firing a gun into the ceiling of a bank in El Paso, Texas, a short time before the assassination of President Kennedy. Nagell claimed he did this to create an absolutely foolproof alibi for himself the day of the assassination. Nagell told Garrison that in the summer of 1963, he was an intelligence agent employed by a federal agency he refused to identify, and that he had been assigned to investigate a project involving a group of individuals that included Lee Harvey Oswald. In the course of his investigation, Nagell claimed he uncovered a "large" operation aimed at killing the president. When his superior was reassigned, and Nagell found himself frozen out of his own agency, Nagell wrote a registered letter to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, but received no reply. Nagell said he understood what this meant, that he was now on his own. Fearing that his contacts with Oswald might implicate him in the assassination if Oswald was ever arrested or investigated, he decided on the relative safety of a federal prison. Nagell said that after firing his gun into the bank ceiling, he walked outside and waited for the guard to arrest him. He was convicted of armed robbery and sentenced to ten years, but was released after three. The conviction was later overturned for lack of evidence that he ever intended to rob the bank.

Nagell was the subject of a book written by Dick Russell and titled, *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, published by Carroll & Graf in 1992.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Naman, Rita

In the summer of 1961, Naman and a friend, Monica Kramer, traveled through the Soviet Union by car, an extraordinary experience at a time when few Westerners ventured behind the iron curtain. Pictures taken by tourists while visiting communist countries were routinely reviewed by the CIA. In Naman's case, the Agency looked at 150 snapshots she had taken and appropriated five, including a photo of Lee Harvey Oswald she had snapped in a square in the city of Minsk. Naman and Kramer claimed they had encountered Oswald as casual strangers twice on their trip within a span of ten days, once in Moscow and again, four hundred miles away, in Minsk. While in Moscow, the two women were approached by another American tourist, Marie Hyde, who claimed she had been separated from her tour group and wanted to join Naman and Kramer. Many researchers find it unlikely that a tourist to the Soviet Union in the 1960s could become separated from a group, since at the time the activities of such groups were tightly controlled by KGB agents or informants employed as Intourist guides. These guides were to keep a close watch on all tourists in the groups; the loss of any member would have been a serious offense.

The puzzling story of these tourists' encounters with Oswald, combined with the fact that the CIA held onto a photograph that included Oswald, has deepened some researchers' questions concerning Oswald's possible relations with the CIA.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: National Archives, Documents Missing from

The National Archives is the repository for many government documents of historic value. Despite excellent security arrangements, many documents and other items related to the assassination of President Kennedy have vanished from the archives over the years. These include a large number of letters to and from members and staff of the Warren Commission, some FBI laboratory reports, the Dallas police dispatch tape, and a stainless steel receptacle believed to contain the president's brain.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Nelson, Doris



Nursing supervisor Nelson was one of the first people at Parkland Memorial Hospital to learn that the president had been shot and was being brought to the hospital. Researcher Harrison Edward Livingstone says that when he gave Nelson an autopsy picture of the back of the president's head showing a bullet entry wound at the rear of the head, she responded that there was no bone where the bullet hole allegedly was, that the portion of the skull containing the bullet hole had been blown away. Obviously, if Nelson is correct and there was no bone at the alleged site of a bullet hole, there could be no bullet hole.

See also PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL STAFF.
High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Newman, Jean

Jean Newman was a twenty-one-year-old Dallas resident who left her job to go to Dealey Plaza to see the presidential motorcade on November 22, 1963. When the shots were fired, she was standing along the sidewalk on Elm Street facing south. To her left was the Texas School Book Depository Building, and to her right was the Grassy Knoll and the railroad overpass. When questioned by sheriff's deputies, she told them that her impression was that the shots "came from my right." The Warren Commission did not call Newman to testify.

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Newman Family



Bill and Gayle Newman both dropped to the ground and covered their two children with their own bodies during the shooting of President Kennedy. The Newmans were standing in front of the Grassy Knoll along the curb on Elm Street watching the president pass when shots were fired from "directly behind me," as Bill Newman stated. Interviewed within an hour of the assassination, Newman said the president, of whom he had a clear view, was struck in the side of the temple by a bullet.

See also JACKS, HURCHEL; SITZMAN, MARILYN; TEMPLE WOUND CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Ngo Dinh Diem



President of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother and close adviser, Ngo Dinh Nhu, were assassinated on November 2, 1963, during a coup that had the support of the United States government. It had been no secret that the Kennedy administration wanted to get rid of Diem and find a more pliable president. Many supporters of the Diem administration have charged that President Kennedy himself was involved in the decision to kill Diem, although there is no evidence of this. When Kennedy was killed twenty days later, some people viewed it as retribution for Diem's death. One of those who voiced this opinion was the new American president, Lyndon B. Johnson, whom Hubert Humphrey quotes in his autobiography, *The Education of a Public Man*, as telling him a few days after assuming the presidency, "We had a hand in killing him [Diem]. Now it's happening here."

See also VIETNAM WAR.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Niell, James

James Niell was the Dallas attorney for Police Officer Roy Vaughn, who was guarding the Main Street entrance ramp to the lower-level parking garage of Police Headquarters when Jack Ruby allegedly walked past him on his way to kill Lee Harvey Oswald. Through Niell, Vaughn filed a suit to clear himself of charges of misconduct on duty and any involvement in a criminal conspiracy. Vaughn took three lie-detector tests that showed he was telling the truth when he stated Ruby did not enter the building through the ramp he was guarding. Napoleon J. Daniels, a retired police officer who claimed he saw Ruby walk past Vaughn as he entered the building, failed a similar test. Niell maintains that Daniels was pressured to lie in order to protect the person who allowed Ruby in, who many suspect was Assistant Police Chief Charles Batchelor.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Nitrate Test

Also known as a paraffin test, a nitrate test reveals minute deposits of nitrate on the skin, the result of burned gunpowder emitted by the firing of a gun. When Lee Harvey Oswald was given a nitrate test following his arrest, deposits were found on his hand, but not on either cheek, where traces generally would exist on someone who had recently fired a rifle, especially one with a scope sight requiring the shooter to hold the weapon against one cheek while taking aim and firing.

On the Trail of the Assassins; Texas Connection

Book of Facts: Nix, Orville



Nix was one of several people besides Abraham Zapruder who made a film that included frames taken at the moment when Kennedy was wounded. The Nix film, taken across the street from the Grassy Knoll, clearly shows the president being knocked backward by the impact of the shot to his head. In the background there appears to be what many people believe is a gunman aiming a rifle at Kennedy, and the wisp of smoke many other witnesses claimed to have seen.

See also SMOKE FROM THE GRASSY KNOLL; ZAPRUDER FILM.

Best Evidence; High Treason

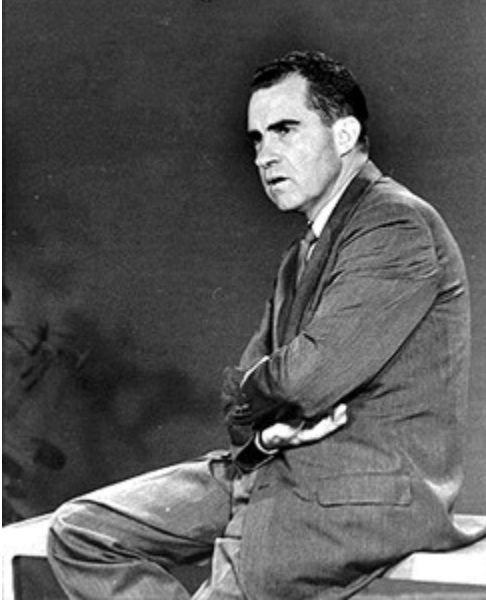
Description of the Film

The Nix film shows the motorcade turn onto Houston street. The Presidential Limousine is followed by the Queen Mary, the car carrying the secret service. Next the limousine carrying Vice President Johnson passes. Senator Yarborough waves.

Just before the fatal head shot, the Presidential limousine slows. The red glow of the brake lights can be seen. After the shot, the limousine accelerates, racing to Parkland Hospital.

Some researchers claim that the background of the Nix film when greatly magnified may show a man on the top of a station wagon with what looks like a rifle. The station wagon is positioned behind the fence in the area of the Grassy Knoll. ITEK, a photographic laboratory, analyzed the film and concluded that the Nix film does not show a gunman.

Book of Facts: Nixon, Richard M.



Some researchers have posited a link between the former president and the Kennedy assassination for several reasons, among them the fact that Nixon was in Dallas on November 22, 1963, possibly meeting with large oil interests that hated Kennedy. Nixon himself, of course, disliked Kennedy for allegedly stealing the 1960 election through ballot-box stuffing in Texas and Chicago; Kennedy beat Nixon by the smallest margin in U.S. history. It is alleged that Nixon maintained ties with the Teamsters Union and with members of the Mafia, two groups that would benefit from Kennedy's death. Nixon is also said to have had ties with Jack Ruby going back as far as 1947, when as a congressman he is believed to have been instrumental in intervening on Ruby's behalf so Ruby would not have to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Marina Oswald testified before the Warren Commission that Lee Harvey Oswald threatened to shoot Nixon in April 1963. Contract on America; Fatal Hour; High Treason; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: No Name Key Group

This group consisted of CIA contract agents who allegedly were training Cuban exiles for a second invasion of their homeland, until President Kennedy ordered FBI and other federal agents to raid their camps in Louisiana and Florida. The group was part of the CIA network investigated by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison in his attempt to indict those responsible for Kennedy's assassination.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Norman, Harold D.



Harold Norman was one of three Texas School Book Depository Building employees who watched the presidential motorcade from the fifth floor of the building. A Secret Service report claims Norman said he heard the shots come from above him, that he also heard the expended shells fall to the floor, and could hear the bolt action of the rifle. The report was given great credibility by the Warren Commission, even though Norman's testimony differed significantly from the impressions reported by his companions. Norman later denied making the statements attributed to him by the Secret Service.

See also CARTER, WILLIAM N.; JARMAN, JAMES, JR.; WILLIAMS, BONNIE RAY.
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Nosenko, Yuri

Nosenko was a lieutenant colonel in the KGB section responsible for keeping tabs on British and American visitors to the Soviet Union. Among the subjects of his surveillance was Lee Harvey Oswald during Oswald's stay in the U.S.S.R. (1959-1962). In 1962, Nosenko was recruited as an agent of the CIA. On January 20, 1964, while on a trip to Geneva, he contacted the CIA and said he wanted to defect. He allegedly told the American agent who met him that Oswald had no relations with Soviet intelligence, but that the KGB believed he was in the employ of an American intelligence agency. Richard Helms, at the time deputy director for planning at the CIA, reportedly rejected Nosenko's request for asylum and told him to stay in Europe. Afraid his Soviet masters were on to him, Nosenko defected anyway. In the United States, Nosenko was treated to more than three years of imprisonment and physical abuse by the CIA. His requests to testify before the Warren Commission were ignored. Nosenko was finally released, his silence allegedly purchased for an annual allowance of \$30,000 and American citizenship.

See also ANGLETON, JAMES J.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: NSAM 273



National Security Action Memo 273, dated November 21, 1963, ordered a stepped-up program of U.S. covert activities against North Vietnam. NSAM 273 is considered by some observers as a reversal of President Kennedy's previously avowed decision to withdraw American troops from Vietnam. Kennedy never signed the document, and in fact never saw it, as he was killed the day after it was drafted by McGeorge Bundy, who was special assistant to the president. When Kennedy went to Texas, his order (NSAM 263) to reduce American military personnel in Vietnam by one thousand men before the end of the year was in effect. NSAM 273 would have reversed that policy. Some researchers and authors feel his efforts to wind down U.S. involvement in the war is the chief reason he was killed. A few days after Kennedy's death, his Vietnam policy was indeed reversed.

See also VIETNAM WAR.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: O'Brien, Lawrence F.

A special assistant to the president, and a member of what the press called Kennedy's "Irish Mafia," O'Brien accompanied Kennedy to Texas and stayed with the coffin during the return trip to Washington aboard *Air Force One*.

See also MCHUGH, GODFREY; O'DONNELL, KENNETH; POWERS, DAVE.
Death of a President

Book of Facts: O'Conner, Paul K.



O'Connor was one of two laboratory technologists present during the autopsy of President Kennedy at Bethesda Naval Hospital. A number of assassination researchers have interviewed him; the statements they report conflict. In 1990, Harrison Edward Livingstone interviewed O'Connor twice. During these interviews, O'Connor described how he unzipped the body bag in which Kennedy's body was shipped; this conflicts with descriptions provided by medical personnel at Parkland Memorial Hospital who claim the body was wrapped in a sheet. O'Connor also insisted that the president's brain must have been blown out through the hole in his skull, because it was missing.

See also BODY BAG CONTROVERSY; BRAIN CONTROVERSY; JENKINS, JAMES C.
Best Evidence: High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Odio Incident



Sylvia Odio's father was a prominent, wealthy political prisoner in Cuba's infamous Isle of Pines. He had formerly supported Fidel Castro in the struggle to overthrow Batista, but denounced the Cuban leader when Castro admitted he was a communist. Sylvia and her younger sister, Annie, lived in Dallas, where Sylvia worked for the Junta Revolucionaria Cubana (JURE), an anti-Castro group that, while opposed to Castro, was decidedly left of center.

In testimony she gave to a Warren Commission attorney, Sylvia told of a visit to her Dallas apartment in late September 1963 by three men who said they were members of JURE. Odio said one of the three, an American who was introduced to her as Leon Oswald, had little to say during the visit. The two Latin-looking men with the man called Oswald sought her help in raising funds for anti-Castro operations. The trio's leader called himself "Leopoldo," while the other man was called either "Angel" or "Angelo." The leader seemed to have intimate knowledge of certain inside information about Odio's father that lent credence to his story, but Sylvia remained noncommittal. "Leopoldo" telephoned her the day after the visit, asking again for her help with fund raising. In the course of the conversation, he mentioned that the American who had been with him was an ex-Marine marksman who could be an asset to the cause, but that he was "loco." He then told her the American thought Cubans had no guts, that they should have shot Kennedy after the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion, and that killing Kennedy would be "so easy to do."

After the Kennedy assassination, when Sylvia saw pictures of Lee Harvey Oswald, she recognized him as one of the three men who had visited her two months earlier. Fearing danger, the Odio sisters decided to say nothing. However, the story of Sylvia's visitors eventually became known to the FBI and the Warren Commission. In an effort to disprove Odio's story, the FBI produced a man named Loran Hall, who said he was one of the three men who visited Sylvia. Hall's account of the incident fell apart when his alleged companions - William Seymour and Lawrence Howard - called it untrue. When photos of these three men were shown to Sylvia, she said none of the individuals shown had visited her. A Warren Commission lawyer wrote that Sylvia "checked out thoroughly." He said the evidence of the visit was "unanimously favorable," and that she was the "most significant witness linking Oswald with the anti-Castro Cubans." Despite this opinion, the Commission chose to disregard Odio's story.

See also ANTI-CASTRO CUBANS.

See *Conspiracy; Rush to Judgment*

Book of Facts: Odom, Lee



The name Lee Odom was found among other names and addresses in an address book belonging to Clay Shaw, who had been arrested on charges brought by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison of participating in the assassination of President Kennedy. Odom's address appeared in the book as P.O. Box 19106, Dallas, Texas. The same post office box number was found in Lee Harvey Oswald's address book, even though in 1963 post office boxes had not yet been assigned numbers that high. Garrison challenged Shaw about this. Several days later, Shaw's lawyers turned up a man named Lee Odom who had rented post office box 174 in Irving, Texas, a Dallas suburb. Odom said box 19106 had been used for several months by a barbecue company with which he had been associated. The relationship between Odom and Shaw was alleged to have concerned an idea for promoting a bullfight in New Orleans. Why Oswald had the same address in his book - and why he would have listed a post office box number that did not yet exist - are questions that remain unanswered.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: O'Donnell, Kenneth

A special assistant to the president, and a member of what the press called Kennedy's "Irish Mafia," O'Donnell accompanied Kennedy to Texas and stayed with the coffin during the return trip to Washington aboard *Air Force One*.

See also MCHUGH, GODFREY; O'BRIEN, LAWRENCE F.; POWERS, DAVE.
Death of a President

Book of Facts: Odum, Bardwell D.



Marguerite Oswald, Lee Harvey Oswald's mother, told the Warren Commission that FBI agent Bardwell Odum visited her on November 23, 1963, the day before Jack Ruby shot her son. During the visit, Agent Odum asked her to look at a photograph and identify the man pictured. Marguerite said she did not know the man. After her son was killed, she realized the man in the photo Odum had shown her was Ruby. The FBI claims the photograph originated with the CIA. According to the FBI, the CIA said it was a man they suspected of having ties with Oswald. The Agency denies that the subject of the photograph was Ruby.

Rush to Judgment; Warren Report

Book of Facts: Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI)

Although there is no evidence to substantiate the claim, some assassination researchers suspect that Lee Harvey Oswald was an agent for the Office of Naval Intelligence. ONI's headquarters in New Orleans was barely fifty feet from 544 Camp Street, the address of Oswald's phony Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the building that housed the offices of Guy Banister, who was a former FBI and ONI agent.

High Treason; On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Office of Strategic Services (OSS)

The Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency, was dissolved after World War II by President Harry Truman. Truman feared the OSS was involved in clandestine operations that could lead the United States into trouble. When the Central Intelligence Group, as it was first called, was established, Truman expressly denied the new agency license to engage in clandestine activities. Following the assassination of Kennedy, Truman said he was "disturbed" by what the CIA had become.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Oglesby, Carl

Oglesby has spent years researching and writing about the assassination of President Kennedy. Instrumental in calling for a congressional investigation of the matter, he was highly critical of the House Select Committee on Assassinations. He called its treatment of Lee Harvey Oswald's motivation for killing Kennedy "confused and dogmatic," and said the Committee's treatment of medical and technical evidence was "shallow." Oglesby is the author of *Who Killed JFK?* and *The JFK Assassination: The Facts and the Theories*, both published by Signet in 1992.
High Treason

Book of Facts: O'Leary, Muggsey



O'Leary was one of only five Secret Service agents present at the president's autopsy, according to Warren Commission records. According to James Curtis Jenkins, a medical technologist who was also present, there were many unidentified civilians sitting in the gallery overlooking the autopsy room.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Oliver, Betty



Known to early researchers as the "Babushka Lady" because of the head covering she is seen wearing in photos of the assassination scene, Betty Oliver was filming the motorcade on her 8-millimeter movie camera when the shooting occurred. Her film was confiscated by an FBI agent she believes was Regis Kennedy. The film disappeared without, as far as is known, ever being viewed by anyone. Oliver was familiar with many of the players involved (and allegedly involved) in the assassination. In addition to having been at the scene, she worked at the Colony Club, which was next door to Jack Ruby's Carousel Club, and knew Ruby. She is alleged to have claimed that Ruby once introduced her to a man named Lee Oswald, who Ruby said was from the CIA. She also allegedly claimed she saw David Ferrie in Ruby's club so often she thought he managed the place.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Olivier, Dr. Alfred G.



A veterinarian described by the Warren Commission as "a doctor who had spent 7 years in wounds ballistics research with the U.S. Army," Olivier was one of the experts the Commission enlisted to conduct experiments designed to prove the single bullet theory. Olivier testified that he did not believe the president's head wound was caused by a copper-jacketed bullet. Olivier examined a goat carcass into which a bullet was fired from the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle alleged to be the murder weapon. He found the wounds "very similar" to the wound made in Governor John Connally's chest, but reported that the bullet recovered from the test was "quite flattened." A second bullet was fired into the wrist of a human cadaver, causing a wound closely resembling the one to Connally's wrist. That bullet suffered a "severely flattened" nose from striking the bone. These experiments were conducted in an attempt to replicate the injuries to Governor Connally by a bullet that allegedly first wounded President Kennedy. Yet this, the so-called magic bullet, was discovered in virtually perfect condition, not flattened as each of the test bullets was after causing only a portion of the damage the magic bullet is attributed with inflicting.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Oneal, Vernon

The proprietor of a funeral home in Dallas, Oneal provided the four-hundred-pound bronze casket in which President Kennedy's body was allegedly taken from Parkland Memorial Hospital and transported via Air Force One to Bethesda Naval Hospital. Two Oneal employees placed the body inside the casket, and Oneal closed it.

Rumors persist to this day that two large green oxygen tanks and a body bag were picked up at Oneal's Funeral Home, either by the hearse or by Secret Service men in another vehicle, and that the tanks were used to simulate the president's weight in the casket while his body was transferred to another coffin.

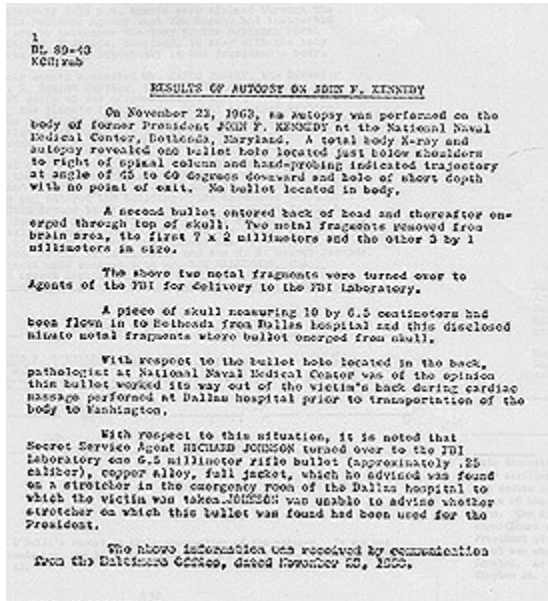
President Kennedy was not buried in the casket and it was eventually returned to Oneal, who also allegedly received in payment a check for \$13,495, an exorbitant amount for a casket in 1963. This suggests to some researchers that there may have been a payoff to Oneal; the amount is alleged to be \$10,000 more than the fee that had been agreed on.

The same sources responsible for reports of the missing oxygen tanks claim that when the casket was returned to Dallas, it had chips of green paint inside, but no bloodstains.

See also BODY BAG CONTROVERSY; COFFIN CONTROVERSY; MCGUIRE, DENNIS "PEANUTS"; RIKE, AUBREY.

Best Evidence; *High Treason 2*

Book of Facts: O'Neill and Sibert Report



FBI agent Francis X. O'Neill attended the president's autopsy with fellow FBI agent James Sibert. Although O'Neill and Sibert submitted a minutely detailed five-page report on which the official FBI summary of the autopsy appeared to be based, no mention of their role appears in the Warren Report, or in the accompanying twenty-six volumes of testimony and evidence.

Three significant items in the O'Neill and Sibert report provide impressive evidence that belies the single bullet theory. First, the report states that the bullet that entered the president's back did not travel through the body the way it was later described as doing when the wound was found to be caused by the magic bullet. Second, the FBI agents described the wound as low in the back, not in the neck as stated by subscribers to the magic bullet theory. Finally, the report states that on examination of the body at the start of the autopsy, it was discovered that there had been "surgery of the head area, namely, in the top of the skull." Sibert later claimed that the statement concerning surgery to the top of Kennedy's head had been a mistake. The questions raised by this report have never been dealt with adequately by an official investigative body.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; THROAT WOUND CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence; High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Operation 40



This was a CIA-organized and funded group of anti-Castro Cubans described by Marita Lorenz as an "assassination squad." CIA contract agent Frank Sturgis admitted to playing a leadership role in the group. Lorenz claimed the men she accompanied on a trip to Dallas just before the Kennedy assassination were all members of Operation 40, and that they brought a small arsenal of weapons with them to the city. Lorenz charged the group with plotting the murder of Fidel Castro as well as that of John F. Kennedy.

See also E. HOWARD HUNT.

High Treason; Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Operation Zapata

Operation Zapata was the code name for the invasion of Cuba by Cuban exiles armed and trained by the CIA.

See also BAY OF PIGS.

Book of Facts: Orth, Herbert



The photo chief at *Life* magazine in 1963, Orth edited the Zapruder film for publication in the November 29, 1963, issue CIA documents describing the time intervals between shots coincide exactly with the intervals set down in the *Life* article. This has given rise to speculation about whether the CIA supplied *Life* with the information, or whether the Agency had a copy of the film later and got its information from the *Life* data.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Osborne, Dr. David

A Navy captain in 1963, and later an admiral, Osborne was present during the Kennedy autopsy in his role as chief of surgery at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Osborne reportedly told investigators from the House Select Committee on Assassinations that when the president's body was removed from the casket and placed on a table for the autopsy, a "reasonably clean" and "unmarred" bullet rolled out from under the body. Osborne insisted to researcher David S. Lifton that he actually picked the bullet up and held it in his hand. Lifton claims that Captain John Stover, the commanding officer of the U.S. Naval Medical School at the time, confirmed the presence in the autopsy room of a complete bullet, but that he thought it was the one found on a stretcher in Dallas. The only complete bullet in this case is the magic bullet that was found in Parkland Memorial Hospital. Records demonstrate that this bullet traveled from Dallas to the White House Secret Service chief to the FBI lab; it never went near Bethesda, and had no reason to be sent there.

See also CUSTER, JERROL F.; TOMLINSON, DARREL C.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Oswald, Backyard Photographs



This famous photograph, supposedly of Lee Harvey Oswald, was allegedly taken by Marina Oswald in the backyard of their home at 214 Neeley Street in Dallas. The photo, which shows "Oswald" holding copies of two militant communist newspapers - *The Worker* and *The Militant* - as well as a rifle resembling the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle purported to be the assassination weapon, appeared on the cover of *Life* magazine's February 24, 1964, issue - as the Warren Commission was still in the midst of its investigation. When questioned about the photograph by police while he was in custody after the assassination, Oswald said that it was a fake. Subsequent statements by photographic analysts, including John Pickard and Malcolm Thompson, have supported Oswald's claim. Analysts have pointed out, for example, that the photograph shows a man with a square chin, whereas Oswald's chin was somewhat pointed, and that the shadows cast by the facial features of the man in the photograph do not correspond, directionally, with other shadows in the photograph - leading to the supposition that the photo may represent a montage in which part of Oswald's face has been superimposed on a photograph of someone else. In February 1992, the *Houston Post* reported that the Dallas Police Department had released several copies of the backyard photo; the *Post* claimed that the photo "shows clear evidence of darkroom manipulation."

An interesting strand of the lore surrounding this photograph involves Roscoe White, who allegedly claimed to have been the actual assassin of President Kennedy. It has been reported that, in 1975, the home of White and his wife, Geneva, was burglarized; the thieves were apprehended, and among the Whites' belongings that were discovered in their possession was a theretofore unknown print of the backyard photograph. How the Whites came by the photograph has not been explained.

See also BOOKHOUT, JAMES W.

High Treason 2; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Oswald, Lee Harvey



Twenty-four-year-old Lee Harvey Oswald was identified by the Warren Commission as the lone assassin of President Kennedy, despite the fact that no motive for the killing could be discovered. When Oswald was arrested, he cried out that he was a "patsy," a cry that is still heard today by researchers and writers who continue to challenge the Commission's findings.

For a young man, Oswald had a crowded and bizarre past. He served in the Marine Corps from 1956 to 1959, and there is evidence to support the contention that his Marine Corps assignments may have supplied him with knowledge concerning the secret missions of U-2 spy planes (see also ATSUGI AIR BASE). In 1959, Oswald defected to the Soviet Union, where he remained until 1962. While in the U.S.S.R. he lived mostly in the city of Minsk, where he met and married his Russian wife, Marina (see OSWALD, MARINA, below). Many researchers consider Oswald's defection a ruse cloaking an operation of U.S. intelligence agencies. It has been clearly demonstrated that Oswald had ties to the Central Intelligence Agency, and possibly to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Office of Naval Intelligence.

On returning to the United States in 1962, Oswald and his family lived first in Fort Worth, Texas, later moving to Dallas, where he took a job with the graphic arts firm of Jaggers-Chiles-Stovall. In the summer of 1963, leaving Marina behind in Dallas, Oswald moved to New Orleans, where he lived with relatives and worked for the William Reily Coffee Company. While in New Orleans, Oswald was closely involved with anti-Castro Cubans and Americans - even though he was photographed and arrested while distributing pro-Castro propaganda, ostensibly for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a phony branch of which he had established at 544 Camp Street.

Returning to Dallas in the early fall of 1963, Oswald continued to live separately from his wife and daughter (a second daughter was born in October), who were staying in the home of Ruth Paine in the Dallas suburb of Irving. Oswald lived in a series of rented rooms in Dallas. According to the Warren Commission, Oswald made a mysterious trip to Mexico City in late September and early October, apparently visiting the Soviet and Cuban embassies there in an effort to arrange passage back to the U.S.S.R. Many assassination researchers have doubted the veracity of this story, construing elements of it as CIA disinformation promulgated to cover up the Agency's role in the president's assassination.

Two weeks prior to the assassination, Oswald took a job as a warehouseman at the Texas School Book Depository Building. It was from a sniper's nest constructed of cardboard boxes behind a window on the sixth floor of that building that the Warren Commission concluded Oswald had fired three shots at the presidential motorcade passing through Dealey Plaza at 12:30 P.M. on November 22, 1963. According to the Commission's widely disputed determinations, one of these bullets struck the pavement, one delivered nonfatal wounds to both President Kennedy and Texas Governor John Connally, and a third struck the president in the head, killing him. The Commission also reached the equally disputed conclusion that, after leaving the assassination scene, Oswald shot and killed Dallas Police Officer J. D.

Tippit in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas at 1:15 P.M. According to the official version of events, it was for Tippit's murder that Oswald was first picked up by police, who discovered him hiding out in the Texas Theater.

In an incredibly dramatic event witnessed by millions watching on TV, Oswald was himself killed two days after the assassination, when he was shot by Jack Ruby in the basement garage of Dallas Police Headquarters.

Many researchers believe that Oswald had no direct part in the assassination of President Kennedy, while others suspect he was just one of the assassins in Dallas on November 22, 1963. See also ALIASES USED BY OSWALD.

Book of Facts: Oswald, Marguerite



Mother of Lee Harvey Oswald, Marguerite obtained the services of attorney Mark Lane to protect her son's rights before the Warren Commission. Lane also tried to represent the alleged assassin in the role of defense attorney, but was refused by the Commission. Marguerite, along with Oswald's wife, Marina, and their two children were taken into "protective custody" by the Secret Service on November 24, 1963, despite Marguerite's objections. When she finally forced her own release on November 28, she claimed the Secret Service would not release Marina and the children, and refused to allow her to see them to say goodbye. Marguerite Oswald never wavered from her conviction that her son was innocent of the charge of killing President Kennedy.

See also ODUM, BARDWELL D.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Oswald, Marina



Lee Harvey Oswald's young, Russian-born wife was considered a more reliable witness by the Warren Commission than his mother, despite Marina's often conflicting testimony. Perhaps this was because unlike Marguerite Oswald, who continued to believe in her son's innocence, Marina, evidently under the influence of Secret Service and FBI agents who held her in isolated "protective custody" for months, changed her mind about her husband and agreed with the federal officers that he was guilty. In addition to possibly influencing her story, federal officials found her an attorney and a business manager, James H. Martin, to look after her financial interests. Many suspect that the threat, stated or implied, that if she failed to cooperate, she might be deported back to the Soviet Union, was constantly hanging over her head.

Examples of her conflicting testimony include a statement to the Secret Service in December 1963 that she never saw Lee with a pistol; then, the following February, she identified the pistol allegedly used to kill Police Officer J. D. Tippit as her husband's. At first she called Lee a "good family man," but later claimed he beat her. The tone of her responses to questioning, and the alterations in her answers, have led many observers to suspect she was coached by federal authorities.

See also PAINE, RUTH.

Best Evidence; Plausible Denial; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Oswald, Robert



Robert, Lee Harvey Oswald's brother, testified to the Warren Commission that Lee and Jack Ruby knew each other. After he visited his brother in jail, Robert reported that Lee told him not to be taken in by the "so-called evidence."

Best Evidence: High Treason

Book of Facts: O'Toole, George

Author of *The Assassination Tapes* (Penthouse Press, 1975), and a former CIA computer analysis specialist, O'Toole believes certain people in the Dallas Police Department could have helped frame Lee Harvey Oswald for both the Kennedy and J. D. Tippit murders. He charges, among other things, that the handgun allegedly taken from Oswald was never proven to be the Tippit murder weapon. He claims that tapes of Oswald's statement that he didn't shoot anybody were examined in a "psychological stress evaluator" test and showed he was telling the truth. O'Toole raises several questions about the veracity of statements made by various individuals involved in the assassination and its aftermath.

Book of Facts: Overpass Witnesses



In November 1963 work was being performed on the railroad tracks that pass over Commerce, Main, and Elm streets as they head west out of Dealey Plaza. Many of the workmen on the overpass stopped to watch the presidential motorcade move through the plaza and head directly under them. Only a few of these men were questioned by the FBI and the Warren Commission. Every one of them reported sounds or sights that led them to believe the shots were fired from the area of the Grassy Knoll. The testimony or statements of these men are included in individual entries for Richard C. Dodd; Sam Holland; Clemmon Johnson; Austin Miller; Thomas Murphy; Frank Reilly; James Simmons; Royce G. Skelton; and Walter Winborn. Also on the overpass were Dallas Police Officers J. W. Foster and J. C. White.

Book of Facts: Owens, Ernest Jay

According to Jim Marrs, Owens reported to the Dallas police that while driving on Wood Street, not far from the assassination scene, he saw a heavysset man in a dark suit carrying a "foreign-made rifle." After the arrest of Lee Harvey Oswald, the police seemed no longer interested in chasing down other leads.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Oxford, J. L.



Oxford was a Dallas deputy sheriff who, when he heard the shots, ran across Dealey Plaza in the direction of the Grassy Knoll, apparently in the belief that that was where the shots originated. Oxford encountered a bystander who told him he had seen smoke near the wooden fence atop the Grassy Knoll.

See also CRAIG, ROGER, D.

Best Evidence: *Rush to Judgment*

Book of Facts: Paine, Ruth

Ruth Paine met Lee Harvey Oswald and Marina Oswald at a social gathering in Dallas in February 1963. Two months later, Oswald decided to go to New Orleans to seek work, and Ruth, who spoke some Russian, invited Marina, who spoke little English, to bring her small daughter and stay with her in her home in Irving, Texas, a Dallas suburb. Ruth and her husband, Michael, were separated at the time. Both Paines belonged to a local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Michael took Lee to at least one meeting of the organization.

In May 1963, Ruth drove Marina and her daughter to New Orleans to join Lee, who had found work there. In September Ruth once again drove to New Orleans, this time to pick up Marina, who was pregnant with the couple's second child, and her daughter, to take them back to Irving, where they again lived in the Paine home. Marina continued to live with Ruth Paine until after the assassination, even though Lee had moved back to Dallas prior to that. During this time Lee would visit his family at the Paine home only on weekends. The one exception was his stay there the night before the assassination.

According to a report by Dallas County sheriff's deputy Roger D. Craig, when Oswald was confronted with Craig's charge that he had seen Oswald run from the Texas School Book Depository Building and jump into a waiting station wagon, Oswald blurted out that the car belonged to Mrs. Paine, and that the cops should not try to get her involved in the assassination.

Conspiracy; Crossfire; Death of a President; Warren Report

Book of Facts: Palmprint on Rifle



The Mannlicher-Carcano rifle allegedly found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building was turned over to Dallas police lieutenant J. Carl Day, who examined it for fingerprints. Day claimed that he removed a palmprint from the underside of the barrel before he sent the weapon on to the FBI lab in Washington on the night of the assassination. According to Sebastian Francis Latona, head of the FBI's Latent Fingerprint Section, there were no prints of value on the rifle. The weapon was then returned to the Dallas police. Several days later, on November 26, Day acknowledged that he had taken a palmprint from the weapon. The print matched Lee Harvey Oswald's right hand.

According to reports by both Paul Groody, a funeral director at the Miller Funeral Home in Dallas, and Jack Moseley, a Fort Worth reporter, it seems probable that a group of men they believed were federal agents took fingerprints and palmprints from Oswald's body during the predawn hours of November 25 while the body lay in a room at the funeral home and before it was prepared for burial. Because this incident took place one day before it was announced that Oswald's palmprint had been found on the weapon, there has been much speculation about the real source of the palmprint.

According to Lieutenant Day, the palmprint was lifted from a section of the gun's barrel that is covered by the wood stock. He had to remove the stock to locate the print. All the palmprint establishes, provided its discovery was as reported, is that at some point Oswald held the weapon's barrel in his hand while the rifle was dismantled.

See also DRAIN, VINCENT.

Best Evidence: Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Parkland Memorial Hospital



In 1963, Parkland was one of the primary-care hospitals in Dallas, as it is today. It was the scene of the deaths of President John F. Kennedy, and Lee Harvey Oswald. The hospital is located approximately four miles from Dealey Plaza.

Book of Facts: Parkland Memorial Hospital Staff

When news reached the hospital via the police dispatcher that President Kennedy had been wounded and was being rushed to Parkland, nurses and doctors prepared for the most important patient the emergency room had ever admitted. Critics of the autopsy performed at Bethesda Naval Hospital rely on the statements of the Parkland medical staff because they were more spontaneous, less inclined to political influence, and less colored by the pressure of individuals who might not want certain information made public. The descriptions of the president's head wounds made by Parkland staff differ so strikingly from those made by the doctors at Bethesda who performed the autopsy that one might be led to believe the two teams were describing different patients.

Among the medical staff at Parkland who worked on President Kennedy and Governor John Connally were the following individuals, each of whom is discussed in an entry in this book under his or her name: Dr. Gene C. Akin; Dr. Fouad A. Bashour; Dr. Charles R. Baxter; Audrey Bell; Diana Bowron; Dr. Kemp Clark; Dr. Charles A. Crenshaw; Dr. Richard Dulaney; Dr. Adolph Giesecke; Dr. Charles Gregory; Dr. Robert Grossman; Margaret Henchcliffe; Dr. Jackie Hunt; Patricia Hutton; Dr. Marion Jenkins; Dr. Ronald Jones; Dr. Robert N. McClelland; Dr. Malcolm Perry; Dr. Paul Peters; and Dr. Philip Williams.

Best Evidence: High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Parkland Press Conference



In response to demands for information from reporters gathered in and around Parkland Memorial Hospital following the announcement of the president's death, a press conference was held at about 3:00 P.M. on November 22, 1963, at which Dr. Malcolm Perry and Dr. Kemp Clark presided. The information these two men conveyed to the press at this time is important because it was spontaneous and described exactly what they had seen. It was unmarred by the pressures that later seemed to influence testimony. For example, as the press conference transcript shows, Dr. Perry was unequivocal in his description of the president's throat wound as a bullet entry wound. Subsequently, in testifying before the Warren Commission, Perry wavered in his assessment of the wound after receiving an admonition about "false rumors" from Commission member and former CIA director Allen W. Dulles.

The following is an excerpt from the official transcript of the press conference:

QUESTION: Where was the entrance wound?

DR. PERRY: There was an entrance wound in the neck.

QUESTION: Which way was the bullet coming on the neck wound? At him?

DR. PERRY: It appeared to be coming at him? . . .

QUESTION: Doctor, describe the entrance wound. You think from the front in the throat?

DR. PERRY: The wound appeared to be an entrance wound in the front of the throat; yes, that is correct. . .

Critics find support for their skepticism toward the Warren Commission in these and other remarks by the medical team at Parkland.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Paterni, Paul



Paterni was one of the Secret Service agents who inspected the presidential limousine after it was returned to the White House. He reportedly found a metal fragment on the front seat of the car, which some believe to have come from the magic bullet. Another fragment was allegedly found in the rear seat by Thomas Mills.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Patterson, B.M.



Patterson was an employee of the Reynolds Motor Company on East Jefferson Boulevard in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas. He was one of three employees who claimed to have seen a man with a handgun running from the scene of the shooting of J. D. Tippit. Patterson was later questioned by the FBI. When he learned that the FBI report of his interview said that he had been shown a picture of Lee Harvey Oswald, he signed an affidavit requesting that the report be changed because he had never been shown a picture of Oswald. The original FBI report was included in the Warren Commission documents without the changes Patterson requested.

See also LEWIS, L. J.; REYNOLDS, WARREN.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Paul, Ralph



Ralph Paul was a Dallas restaurant owner and longtime friend and financial backer of Jack Ruby's. Paul held an interest in Ruby's Carousel Club. Paul and Ruby dined together the night before Kennedy was killed at a restaurant owned by their mutual friend Joseph Campisi. Campisi allegedly had ties with the Mafia organizations of Carlos Marcello and Santos Trafficante, both considered suspects in the assassination by many researchers.

The night before he killed Lee Harvey Oswald, Ruby made a series of telephone calls, including four to Paul. A waitress at Paul's restaurant, The Bull Pen, said she heard Paul say something about a gun during the first call he received from Ruby that evening. Paul also had an interest in another restaurant, Austin's Bar-B-Cue, where Police Officer J. D. Tippit moonlighted as a security guard.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Pellicano, Anthony

An assassination researcher, Pellicano criticized the acoustical work done by Dr. James Barger on the Dallas police dispatch tape. Pellicano believes there was a conspiracy to kill Kennedy and suspects that the disruption in police radio communications supposedly caused by an unintentionally open microphone on a policeman's motorcycle was actually someone's attempt to jam police communications during the assassination.

See also ACOUSTICAL EVIDENCE.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Pena, Orest

According to researcher and author Mark Lane, Pena requested that Lane represent him in a criminal case following his arrest by the New Orleans Police. In return for Lane's legal services, Pena promised to tell him all he knew about Lee Harvey Oswald's connections to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Pena operated a bar and house of prostitution and allegedly provided temporary living quarters for Cuban exiles in the employ of the Central Intelligence Agency. Pena also claimed to be working for a local FBI agent, Warren DeBrueys.

According to Lane, Pena told him that Oswald worked for the FBI and reported to deBrueys, whom he met on a regular basis. DeBrueys is alleged to have introduced Oswald to local CIA contacts. When Texas attorney general Waggoner Carr informed the Warren Commission that he had learned Oswald was an "undercover agent" employed by the FBI, the Commission asked J. Edgar Hoover for a statement to the contrary. With that, the matter was dropped.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Penn, Mrs. Lovell

Mrs. Penn is reported to have discovered three men firing a rifle illegally on her property in the Dallas area. This supposedly occurred in October 1963. After chasing them away, she found an empty cartridge case allegedly stamped with the name Mannlicher-Carcano, the brand of rifle Lee Harvey Oswald supposedly used to kill the president.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Permindex



Permindex was a sister organization of the Centro Mondiale Commerciale in Italy, allegedly an organization of pro-Fascists through which the Central Intelligence Agency funneled funds to paramilitary and intelligence groups. Clay Shaw, who was charged with, but not convicted of, participation in the Kennedy assassination served on the boards of directors of both organizations. Jim Garrison was unaware of this when he failed to convince a New Orleans jury of Shaw's links to the CIA.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Perry, Dr. Malcolm



Dr. Perry was an attending surgeon at Parkland Memorial Hospital when President Kennedy was brought in after the shooting. Perry was the second doctor to examine Kennedy, and he almost immediately performed a tracheotomy in an attempt to improve the patient's breathing. The tracheotomy cut was made over what Perry and virtually everyone else in the emergency room described as a bullet entry wound in the throat. After Kennedy died, Perry described the wound to reporters as an entry wound. This same wound was described by the Warren Commission as an exit wound.

See also PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL STAFF; PARKLAND PRESS CONFERENCE.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Peters, Dr. Paul



A physician at Parkland Memorial Hospital, Dr. Peters arrived in the emergency room shortly after President Kennedy was brought in. He noticed what he called "the wound of entry in the throat." Later a professor and chairman of the Urology Department at Southwestern Medical School, Dr. Peters was shown the official autopsy pictures of the president's head wound. He is reported as saying, "I don't think it's consistent with what I saw." When he viewed the drawing of the wound made by another Parkland doctor, Robert N. McClelland, his reported response was, "It's not too far off." The controversy over what the doctors in Dallas report they saw and what the Bethesda autopsy pictures show continues.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY; PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL STAFF; THROAT WOUND CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Petty, Dr. Charles



Dr. Petty was a member of the Forensic Pathology Panel created by the House Select Committee on Assassinations to review the Kennedy autopsy report, X rays, and photographs. On September 16, 1977, the panel met with the autopsy team of Dr. James J. Humes and Dr. Thornton Boswell. Dr. Petty's first question appeared to set the tone for this meeting. In view of the widely discussed reports that Kennedy had Addison's disease, which is a failure of the adrenal glands, and the fact that "normally we examine the adrenals in the general course [of an] autopsy," he asked Dr. Humes whether he had looked at the adrenals, because no mention of having done so appeared in the autopsy report. Humes's response was, "Since I don't think it bore directly on the death of the president, I'd prefer not to discuss it with you, Doctor."

Although five of the six panel members supported the Warren Report - the exception was Dr. Cyril H. Wecht - many observers regard the autopsy with suspicion, judging that at best it was ineptly performed.

*See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence*

Book of Facts: Phillips, David Atlee



Phillips's lengthy career with the Central Intelligence Agency culminated in his appointment in the 1960s as head of operations in the Western Hemisphere. He was a covert operative in Havana from 1958 to 1961 and bitterly blamed Kennedy for the Bay of Pigs failure. Phillips was working out of Mexico City at the time of Lee Harvey Oswald's alleged visits to the Cuban and Soviet embassies there. In 1977, he explained to the House Select Committee on Assassinations that no intelligence photos of Oswald's Mexico City trip were available because a photographic capability was not in operation on a twenty-four-hour-a-day basis and Oswald visited the embassies while the cameras were off.

Virtually everyone familiar with the claim that Oswald visited Mexico City in September 1963 finds it strange that not even one photograph of him during any of his alleged five visits to the embassies was captured by CIA surveillance cameras. Few researchers believe the person who made these visits was Oswald.

Phillips, who is believed by some researchers to have used the alias "Maurice Bishop," is suspected of having tried to foment a confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union over Cuba. He also told the Assassinations Committee that when Lee Harvey Oswald was in Mexico City, his reason for visiting the Cuban and Soviet embassies was to try to arrange for his return to the Soviet Union.

Conspiracy; High Treason; Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Pickard, John



Army major Pickard was the commanding officer of the Canadian Defense Department's photographic division. In 1977, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation asked him to study the famous photographs of a man alleged to be Lee Harvey Oswald holding a rifle and a newspaper while standing in the backyard of a home. Largely because of the inconsistencies of the shadows caused by the figure's nose and those of his body, Pickard decided the pictures had the "earmarks of being faked." Pickard claimed that the body in one photo is larger than that in the other, yet the heads match perfectly in size. The shadows of the nose and the torso fall in different directions, indicating that those portions of the body were photographed at different times of the day. This supports Oswald's charge, made while he was being questioned at Dallas Police Headquarters, that a picture of his head had been superimposed on the body of someone else who was holding the rifle. That the photos were faked is also supported by Malcolm Thompson.

*See also OSWALD, BACKYARD PHOTOGRAPH OF.
Conspiracy*

Book of Facts: Pitzer, William B.

A trained X-ray technician at Bethesda Naval Hospital, Navy commander Pitzer is believed to have filmed the Kennedy autopsy from the gallery overlooking the room. According to Dennis David, Pitzer had in his possession a movie of the autopsy and slides that were presumably made from the film. Pitzer's name, however, does not appear on the official list of those who attended the autopsy.

Commander Pitzer was found dead of a gunshot wound to the head in his Bethesda office on October 29, 1966. The death was ruled a suicide. After years of delay, the Navy finally released the report of Pitzer's autopsy, which revealed no gunpowder burns to the head, evidence that would be present had he held the gun in his own hand. The bullet that killed Pitzer was fired into the right side of his head, although friends claim he was left-handed. In addition, both his wife and David, who was a close friend, claim there was no reason for him to kill himself. They believe he was murdered to prevent his film - now vanished - from becoming public, and as a warning to anyone else who might possess evidence concerning the autopsy.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY.

High Treason; High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Pizzo, Frank

Pizzo was Albert G. Bogard's boss at Downtown Lincoln-Mercury in Dallas. While Bogard's memory of the man calling himself Lee Oswald was not that good, Pizzo's was much stronger. When shown photos of Lee Harvey Oswald by the Warren Commission, he described a man who looked similar to, but not exactly like, Oswald. When pressed to identify the man in the picture as the man who had visited the dealership on November 9, 1963, and had remarked that he would be coming into money soon to buy a new car, Pizzo responded, "I have to say that he is not the one."

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Plausible Denial

Written by Mark Lane and published in 1991 by Thunder's Mouth Press, *Plausible Denial: Was the CIA Involved in the Assassination of JFK?* tells the fascinating story surrounding a lawsuit brought by former CIA operative and Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt against the right-wing publication *Spotlight*. Lane acted as the attorney for the defendants in the suit, *Spotlight* and its publisher, Liberty Lobby, Inc.

Hunt's suit was based on his charge that he had been defamed in an article published by *Spotlight* in September 1978. Titled "CIA to Admit Hunt Involved in Kennedy Assassination," the article was written by another former CIA operative, Victor Marchetti. In the piece, Marchetti alleged that the Central Intelligence Agency was about to engage in what is known as a "limited hangout" - a strategy used when the Agency can no longer cover up some misdeed and so releases a small part of the truth to the public in an effort to satisfy people's demand to know without the Agency's having to reveal too much damaging information. In the "limited hangout" Marchetti wrote about, the CIA was going to provide the House Select Committee on Assassinations with evidence that Hunt's alibi concerning his whereabouts on the day of the assassination was a lie and that he was indeed in Dallas on November 22, 1963.

The case permitted Lane to submit a long list of CIA-related individuals to searching questions about their knowledge of or involvement in the assassination. When the trial concluded - with a decision in *Spotlight's* favor - the jury forewoman, Leslie Armstrong, told reporters that Lane had convinced her that the CIA had indeed killed President Kennedy.

See also HELMS, RICHARD; LORENZ, MARITA; STURGIS, FRANK.

Book of Facts: Poe, J. M.



At the scene of the murder of Police Officer J. D. Tippit, Officer Poe was handed two spent cartridges picked up by one of the witnesses, Domingo Benavides. Poe scratched his initials, JMP, into the cartridges as a way of later confirming their identity. When the Warren Commission showed him four cartridges allegedly from the bullets used to kill Tippit, Poe was unable to identify them because none bore his initials. Sergeant Willie E. Barnes, who also scratched his initials into cartridges found at the scene, had similar difficulty in precisely identifying them when the Warren Commission presented him with the cartridges it claimed had been found at the scene.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Pontchartrain, Lake

A large lake north of New Orleans, Lake Pontchartrain was the site of a CIA-supported training camp for Cuban exiles who were being prepared for an invasion of Cuba. When the Kennedy administration learned of the camp, the FBI was ordered to raid it and destroy all equipment found there. The raid was heavily publicized, as was Director J. Edgar Hoover's habit, but its actual results in breaking up the groups engaged in training were questionable. Among those connected to the camp were David Ferrie and Guy Banister.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Post Office Box 2915



When he moved from Fort Worth to nearby Dallas, Lee Harvey Oswald rented post office box 2915 under the name Lee H. Oswald. This box is the one identified as the address of the recipient who ordered the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle allegedly found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building after the assassination. It was also the address of the recipient of the handgun allegedly used to kill Police Officer J. D. Tippit. The rifle was shipped to the name A. Hidell by Klein's Sporting Goods Company of Chicago.

See also ALIASES USED BY OSWALD; HOLMES, HARRY D.
Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Powell, James

James Powell, an Army intelligence officer, was locked inside the Dal-Tex Building overlooking Dealey Plaza when the building was sealed immediately after the assassination. Also inside the building was a Mafia courier named Eugene Hale Brading, who was using the alias Jim Braden. Powell's appearance at the scene, and the suspected presence of other Army intelligence agents, has led to speculation that military intelligence officials may have been responsible for the assassination and for setting up Lee Harvey Oswald as the scapegoat.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Powell, John

John Powell, jailed for a minor infraction, occupied a sixth-floor cell of the Dallas County Jail, which was across the street from the Texas School Book Depository Building. Years after the assassination, Powell said that he and many other prisoners saw two men in the "assassin's window" adjusting the telescopic sight on a rifle. According to Powell, one of the men he observed had dark-colored skin and appeared to be Latin.

See also DARK-COMPLEXIONED MAN (OR MEN); MITCHELL, WILLIE.
Conspiracy; High Treason

Book of Facts: Powers, Dave

Powers was an assistant to President Kennedy and had joined him on the Texas trip. Powers was riding in the car directly behind the presidential limousine and witnessed both Kennedy's and John Connally's reactions to the shots. He told the Warren Commission that although his first impression was that the shots came from overhead and to the right, he also had a "fleeting impression that the noise appeared to come from in front in the area of the Triple Underpass." Powers returned to Washington in the rear of Air Force One with Mrs. Kennedy and the casket. See also MCHUGH, GODFREY; O'BRIEN, LAWRENCE F.; O'DONNELL, KENNETH.
Best Evidence; Crossfire

Book of Facts: Powers, Jacquie

A staff correspondent for the *Wilmington [Del.] Sunday News Journal*, Powers and fellow correspondent Joe Trento wrote an article published in the August 20, 1978, issue of the paper exposing the existence of a 1966 CIA memo written by William Corson that definitely placed E. Howard Hunt in Dallas on the day of the assassination. The article offers speculation that some CIA investigators may have theorized that Hunt's purpose for being in Dallas was to murder Lee Harvey Oswald on orders from a KGB mole who had infiltrated a high-level CIA post.

See also MARCHETTI, VICTOR.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Preyer, Richardson



A former federal judge, Preyer was a congressman from North Carolina when he was appointed to the House Select Committee on Assassinations. After a period of turmoil that saw the original chief counsel, Richard Sprague, forced out and Committee chairman Henry Gonzalez resign in disgust, Preyer and the new chief counsel, G. Robert Blakey, became de facto cochairmen. The new chairman, Louis Stokes, showed little inclination to assume firm control over the Committee and its staff. Preyer concurred with the Committee's finding that the president's murder was probably the result of a conspiracy.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Price, Jesse C.

Jesse Price was watching the presidential motorcade from the roof of the Terminal Annex Building located across Dealey Plaza from the Grassy Knoll. Within an hour of the assassination, he gave the Dallas sheriff's office an affidavit stating that he heard a "volley" of shots, and saw a man running behind the fence on the Grassy Knoll toward some passenger cars on the railroad siding. Despite his vivid eyewitness testimony, Price was never questioned by the Warren Commission. When author Mark Lane interviewed him in 1966, Price said the man was carrying something that "could have been a gun."

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Price, Malcolm

Malcolm Price told the Warren Commission he had seen a man he believed was Lee Harvey Oswald practicing with a rifle at the Sports Drome Rifle Range in Dallas only weeks before the assassination. The other witnesses at the rifle range had mixed reactions to the identification; some of the patrons thought the man had been Oswald, while others did not.

See also SLACK, GARLAND G.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Prouty, L. Fletcher



Colonel Prouty was the liaison officer between the Air Force and the Central Intelligence Agency in their cooperative U-2 spy plane operation during the time Lee Harvey Oswald served in the Marines and during his subsequent defection to the Soviet Union. Prouty said Oswald was no ordinary Marine, and that he was probably on a cover assignment when he went to the Soviet Union.

Prouty is the author of *The Secret Team: The CIA and Its Allies in Control of the United States and the World*, published by Prentice-Hall in 1973, and *JFK: The CIA, Vietnam and the Plot to Assassinate John F. Kennedy*, published by Birch Lane in 1992. He is outspoken in his opinion that the assassination was a coup by what he terms the "secret team." He identifies this "secret team" as a powerful group of wealthy men who formed the military-industrial complex that wanted to keep the Vietnam War going for personal profit. Prouty has also said that Kennedy was indeed engaged in breaking up the CIA and was intent on ending U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Conspiracy; High Treason

Book of Facts: Prusakova, Ilya

Ilya Prusakova was Marina Oswald's uncle, with whom she was living when Lee Harvey Oswald met her at a dance in Minsk. Prusakova was a colonel in the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs, which had a secret police component. When Oswald applied for the return of his U.S. passport (which he had relinquished when he had defected), J. Edgar Hoover objected, fearing that the KGB would substitute one of its agents for Oswald.

Crossfire; *High Treason*

Book of Facts: Purdy, D. Andrew



D. Andrew Purdy, an attorney, supervised the medical portion of the investigation of Kennedy's death by the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Purdy was involved in a controversy concerning whether or not he had shown autopsy pictures to the Parkland Memorial Hospital doctors to get their reactions. According to researcher Harrison Edward Livingstone, Purdy claimed he had, but none of the doctors remembered his doing so. Only one of the Dallas doctors could recall seeing any of the visual record of the autopsy: Dr. Malcolm Perry, who claims he was shown an autopsy drawing of the wound to the president's throat, but not an actual photograph. Livingstone claims that Purdy was not given access to the autopsy photographs, which were kept in the Committee's safe.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Puterbaugh, Jack



Assassination researcher Penn Jones claims that Secret Service agent Puterbaugh was responsible for ignoring Secret Service regulations that prescribe a minimum speed of forty-four miles per hour for the presidential limousine and for revising the motorcade route, forcing the car to make two turns in Dealey Plaza instead of going straight on Main Street. The circuitous route that took the car from Houston Street onto Elm Street required it to slow down to seven miles per hour.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Quigley, John

John Quigley worked in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's New Orleans office. When Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested in that city for creating a disturbance while distributing Fair Play for Cuba Committee literature, he demanded to see an FBI agent. His request granted, he met with Special Agent Quigley in a lengthy private interview. Later, Quigley claimed he destroyed his notes from that interview, an act that does not square with usual Bureau procedure.

Oswald has been suspected of being a paid informant for the FBI, a charge the Warren Commission decided to handle by requesting a statement from J. Edgar Hoover saying that Oswald had never worked for him.

See also CARR, WAGGONER; PENA, OREST.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Quiroga, Carlos



Quiroga was a Cuban exile leader whom a New Orleans private investigator named David L. Lewis reportedly saw in the company of David Ferrie and a "Leon Oswald." Lewis later claimed that "Leon Oswald" was Lee Harvey Oswald. (Ferrie and Oswald were seen together at least twice in the offices of Guy Banister.)
High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Rachley, Virgie



By the time she testified before the Warren Commission, Miss Rachley had become Mrs. Donald Baker. Rachley was a bookkeeper in the Texas School Book Depository Building in 1963. On the day of the assassination, she was standing outside the building watching the motorcade pass. When the shots were fired, at first she thought they were firecrackers being set off by kids, because she saw something hit the pavement just behind the presidential limousine and throw up sparks as it struck. Rachley told an attorney from the Warren Commission that she thought the shots came from "close to the underpass."

See also BULLETS FIRED, NUMBER OF; TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES.
Crossfire; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Ragano, Frank



In the January 14, 1992, issue of the *New York Post*, Ragano, who claimed to have been Jimmy Hoffa's attorney and confidant, was reported as saying that he carried a message from Hoffa to mob bosses Carlos Marcello and Santos Trafficante asking them to kill President Kennedy. Ragano says he delivered the message in early 1963, with Hoffa's admonition, "This must be done." Ragano's statement created a furor among former Hoffa associates and detractors, who expressed doubt that Ragano was close enough to Hoffa for the Teamsters leader to trust him with such a confidential message. In the 1992 edition of their book *Fatal Hour*, authors G. Robert Blakey and Richard N. Billings report that Ragano claims to have had a deathbed talk with Trafficante in which Trafficante admitted involvement in the Kennedy assassination.

Contract on America; Fatal Hour

Book of Facts: Ramsey Report



Dr. Norman Ramsey, a Harvard physics professor, was asked by the National Academy of Sciences to study the Dallas police dispatch tape. The House Select Committee on Assassinations had asked the Justice Department to continue its investigation of the alleged four gunshots on the tape when the Committee's term expired, and Justice passed the request to the National Academy of Sciences. The result was the creation of the Committee on Ballistics Acoustics.

The ballistics committee's report, generally known as the Ramsey Report, concluded that the acoustics examinations done for the House Select Committee on Assassinations were incorrect, that the tape does not reveal that a shot was fired from the Grassy Knoll. Needless to say, this caused an uproar among assassination researchers, who charged that the Ramsey group had been given not the original police recording but a poor copy.

Final Disclosure; High Treason

Book of Facts: Randle, Linnie Mae



Randle was Buell Wesley Frazier's sister. Frazier drove Lee Harvey Oswald, his colleague at the Texas School Book Depository, to work the day of the assassination. Randle, who lived with Frazier in Irving, Texas, across the street from Ruth Paine's house, where Marina Oswald was living and where Lee had spent the previous night, told the Warren Commission she saw Lee place a package in her brother's car before they left for work. When Frazier asked what was inside the package, Oswald told him, "Curtain rods."

In each of two experiments conducted more than three months apart, FBI agents showed Randle a package whose length they asked her to fold to match the approximate length of the package she had seen Oswald carrying. The first time, she identified a package that was 27 inches long. The second time, she selected a package that was 28.5 inches long. Frazier measured the approximate length of the package as he remembered it resting on the rear seat of his car at 27 inches. When the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, allegedly the murder weapon, was dismantled, the largest piece was 34.8 inches long. If the package Oswald carried that day contained the murder weapon, as claimed by the Warren Commission, it could not have been shorter than approximately 35 inches.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Rankin, J. Lee



A former solicitor general of the United States, Rankin was the general counsel for the Warren Commission. In that post, he set the tone for the work done by the attorneys working under him. Rankin is accused by assassination researchers of skillfully guiding the Commission's investigation toward its desired conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald was guilty and that he worked alone; he is also accused of using a double standard in assessing evidence and statements by witnesses.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Rather, Dan

When television news anchor Rather discussed Oliver Stone's film JFK on the "CBS Evening News," he described it as mixing "fact, fiction, and theory." Rather himself was guilty of doing the same thing decades earlier when he told TV viewers that the Zapruder film showed the president's head moving forward as the fatal bullet hit it. Years later, Rather admitted this was wrong. As anyone who has seen the film can testify, the president's head snaps backward and his entire body falls back and to his left.

High Treason; High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Rebentisch, Donald

A Navy petty officer at Bethesda Naval Hospital in 1963, Rebentisch is quoted as saying that he and five other petty officers took the president's coffin from the ambulance to the room where the autopsy was to be performed. This conflicts with the Military District of Washington, D.C., Casket Team's report, which states that the team brought the coffin into the hospital. Rebentisch claims he was told by a chief petty officer that the ambulance parked in front of the hospital was carrying an empty coffin. Assassination researcher Harrison Edward Livingstone believes the casket Rebentisch carried into the hospital contained the remains of an Air Force major awaiting burial.

See also COFFIN CONTROVERSY.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Redlich, Norman

Norman Redlich, a Warren Commission attorney, was General Counsel J. Lee Rankin's special assistant. Redlich was a main contributor to the text of the Warren Report, which frequently ignored or even denied compelling facts that ran counter to the Commission's insistence on the single bullet theory and the lone assassin theory. Redlich summed up his unshakable support for the single bullet theory with words to this effect: to admit that Kennedy and Governor John Connally were hit with separate bullets is synonymous with saying there were two assassins.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Reed, Edward F.



An X-ray technician at Bethesda Naval Hospital, Reed was present during the Kennedy autopsy. According to author David S. Lifton, Reed assumed, based on the location of the head wound, that the president had been shot from the front. It was almost six months before it dawned on him that his opinion differed from the official autopsy report.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; CUSTER, JERROL F.; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Reid, Mrs. Robert A.



Mrs. Reid was a clerical supervisor at the Texas School Book Depository Building. She had joined Depository vice president Ochus V. Campbell and superintendent Roy Truly to watch the presidential motorcade from the sidewalk in front of the building. They heard what they thought were firecracker explosions, and Mrs. Reid turned to Campbell and said she thought they came from "our building." Campbell replied that they came from the direction of the Grassy Knoll. Mrs. Reid then encountered Lee Harvey Oswald, whom she said was drinking a Coke, on the second floor of the Book Depository, just two minutes after the assassination.

See also TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES.
Crossfire

Book of Facts: Reilly, Frank



An electrician at Union Terminal, Reilly joined coworkers to watch the presidential motorcade pass through Dealey Plaza from the vantage point of the railroad overpass. He substantiated the testimony of others on the overpass that they had seen puffs of smoke rise above the Grassy Knoll moments after the shots were fired. Reilly testified that "the shots come [*sic*] out of the trees" near the top of the knoll.

See also OVERPASS WITNESSES.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Reily, William

Owner of the William Reily Coffee Company, where Lee Harvey Oswald was employed while he lived in New Orleans, Reily is said to have been an active supporter of anti-Castro Cuban groups.
On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Revill, Jack



On the afternoon of the assassination, after Lee Harvey Oswald's arrest, Dallas police lieutenant Revill wrote a memorandum about Oswald that gave his address as 605 Elsbeth Street. Oswald had no identification with him that included an address, and the police claim they had no previous file on Oswald, so the question is, where did Revill get that address? In November 1963, Oswald did not live on Elsbeth Street, but he had lived at 602 Elsbeth Street until March of that year. Evidently an old file on Oswald existed and was given to the Dallas police immediately on his arrest.

According to researchers, the Texas state intelligence agency had a file on Oswald that was nothing more than several newspaper clippings. Many observers suspect that the address came from an unidentified U.S. Army intelligence officer who was allegedly riding in Revill's car soon after the assassination. If so, to produce the Oswald information so quickly, the man must have been carrying it with him prior to the assassination.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Reynolds, Warren

Reynolds heard the shots that killed Police Officer J. D. Tippit. He said that a man with a gun in his hand ran south on Patton Avenue and that he gave chase but lost the man after a block or so. Reynolds was not questioned about what he saw that day by any law enforcement agency until January 21, 1964, even though he had discussed what he witnessed previously on television and radio news programs. Reynolds was unable to identify the man he chased as Lee Harvey Oswald.

Things began going badly for Reynolds after his refusal to identify Oswald. He was shot in the head; Darrell Wayne Garner, the boyfriend of Betty Mooney MacDonald, one of Jack Ruby's strippers, was arrested for the attempted murder but released when MacDonald corroborated his alibi. Then someone attempted to abduct Reynolds's ten-year-old daughter, and someone purposely unscrewed the light that illuminated the front porch of his home. By July 1964, Reynolds had had enough, and he identified Oswald as the man he had chased. The Warren Commission could find no connection between Reynolds's original testimony and the events that followed it, or the reason he changed his testimony.

See also LEWIS, L. J.; PATTERSON, B. M.
High Treason; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Rich, Nancy Perrin

Nancy Perrin Rich was a bartender at Jack Ruby's Carousel Club. Rich testified to the Warren Commission that Ruby had standing orders that any police officers who came to the club were to be served liquor at no charge. The Commission chose to ignore this testimony and claimed that Ruby offered only coffee and soft drinks to visiting cops. Rich claimed that when she first came to town, the Dallas police got her the job at Ruby's club.

Despite the fact that Rich told the Commission that Ruby knew virtually every cop in Dallas, and that every police officer on the Dallas force visited Ruby's club, with the exception of Captain Will Fritz, the Commission decided to rely on Police Chief Jesse E. Curry's guess that Ruby knew less than twenty-five cops.

Rich's testimony, which did not square with the Commission's image of Ruby as a friendly police groupie who knew more cops than the average citizen, does not even appear in the Warren Report. Also ignored were Rich's allegations that Ruby had been involved with anti-Castro elements and that he had helped run guns into Cuba for anti-Castro guerrillas.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Riebe, Floyd A.



A medical photographer at Bethesda Naval Hospital, Riebe was present during the autopsy performed on President Kennedy. As recently as May 1992, Riebe continued to insist that the official autopsy photographs could not be the ones he took because they show head wounds that are substantially different from the wounds he photographed. Riebe is also said to have claimed, along with others who were in the autopsy room, that some of the photographs appear to have been shot elsewhere, because certain walls and floors in the background do not resemble those at Bethesda.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; AUTOPSY PARTICIPANTS; CUSTER, JERROL F.; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence; *High Treason 2*

Book of Facts: Rifle Identification



The Italian-made Mannlicher-Carcano rifle allegedly linked to Lee Harvey Oswald through the Chicago mail-order house Klein's Sporting Goods Company was eventually designated the weapon that was used to kill President Kennedy. It is allegedly the weapon discovered on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building, although the four law enforcement officers connected with finding the rifle all state clearly that the one they found was a 7.65-caliber Mauser. These officers are Deputy Constable Seymour Weitzman, Deputy Sheriff Luke Mooney, Deputy Sheriff Roger D. Craig, and Deputy Sheriff Eugene L. Boone. The Mannlicher-Carcano has the following inscription clearly stamped on it: *Made in Italy, Cal. 6.5*.

When Army marksmen attempted to fire the Mannlicher-Carcano, they found that the sight was off so much they had to send it to an expert, who had to put shims under the scope to align it with the trajectory of the shots it fired. Rifle experts appear to agree virtually unanimously that this particular gun is a remarkably poor choice of weapon for an assassination.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Right- Wing Extremists



Researchers Robert J. Groden and Harrison Edward Livingstone, among others, have raised the possibility that right-wing hate groups were involved in President Kennedy's assassination. On November 22, 1963, the *Dallas Morning News* carried an ad, paid for by the American Fact-Finding Committee, accusing Kennedy of being a "fellow traveler," i.e., a communist sympathizer. From the point of view of groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Minutemen, and the White Citizens' Council, Kennedy was anathema not only because he was soft on communism but also because he supported civil rights. These violent groups flourished in the South and did especially well in Texas.

Kennedy's policies were also despised by conservative businessmen. For example, in 1963, the oil business was threatened with a substantial loss of revenue because of Kennedy's proposed retraction of the oil-depletion allowance.

See also FERRIE, DAVID; HUNT, H.L.; MILTEER, JOSEPH.

Book of Facts: Rike, Aubrey

___ An employee of Oneal's Funeral Home, Aubrey ("Al") Rike supervised placing the president's body in the coffin at Parkland Memorial Hospital. Although some witnesses at Bethesda Naval Hospital claim Kennedy was inside a body bag, Rike says he lined the coffin with a plastic bed liner to prevent blood from spilling on the satin lining. He said he did not use a body bag.

See also BODY BAG CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence; *High Treason 2*

Book of Facts: Roberts, Delphine



Roberts was Guy Banister's secretary in his office at 544 Camp Street in New Orleans. At first hesitant to discuss what she had seen there, she later confirmed that both Lee Harvey Oswald and David Ferrie were frequent visitors. She also confirmed that Banister, a leader among anti-Castro elements, was fully aware that Oswald was distributing pro-Castro literature on the streets of New Orleans.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Roberts, Emory

A Secret Service agent riding in the car following the president's, Roberts was one of two men seated in front of agent Glen Bennett, who reported seeing a bullet strike the president four inches below the right shoulder.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Roberts, Earlene

Earlene Roberts was the housekeeper at the rooming house where Lee Harvey Oswald was living at the time of the assassination. Roberts told the Warren Commission that Oswald returned home about 1:00 P.M., thirty minutes after the shooting in Dealey Plaza, put on a dark blue jacket, and left immediately. She said that several minutes later, observing him from the front window of the house, she saw Oswald standing at a bus stop. Roberts claimed that while Oswald was in his room, a police car with two men inside stopped in front of the house and sounded its horn twice, as if signaling someone, then pulled away. The identity of the car has never been established.

Roberts's testimony was not accepted by the Commission on two counts: First, the time frame in which she claims to have seen Oswald, especially her report that he was standing at a nearby bus stop, does not allow him to get to the scene of the J. D. Tippit shooting in time to be the murderer; and, second, she claims Oswald was wearing a dark blue jacket, while witnesses to the Tippit murder said the shooter wore a light-colored jacket and the police reported finding a white jacket that was allegedly discarded by the killer as he made his escape. Mark Lane has also pointed out that a bus stopping where Roberts saw Oswald standing would have taken him in a direction away from the place where Tippit was shot.

Conspiracy; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Rose, Dr. Earl



Dr. Rose was the Dallas County medical examiner in 1963. When the Kennedy party decided to remove the president's body from Parkland Memorial Hospital, Dr. Rose told them they should not break "the chain of evidence." Rose insisted that the body not be taken from the hospital until an autopsy had been performed. He called on a local police officer, who stood next to him in an attempt to prevent the Secret Service and Kennedy's aides from taking the body. It was Rose's position that the president's death was a homicide and that under Texas law a homicide required a thorough autopsy before the body could leave the state.

When Justice of the Peace Theron Ward gave his approval to the Secret Service request to remove the body, Rose was pushed aside and the president's body taken away to Bethesda Naval Hospital outside Washington, where the autopsy, perhaps the most criticized in history, was performed. One cannot help but wonder whether all the tales of wound alterations, evidence tampering, body switching, and falsified autopsy photographs and X rays might have been avoided had Dr. Rose prevailed and performed the autopsy at Parkland instead.

Death of a President

Book of Facts: Rose, Gus

Dallas police detective Rose reportedly claimed that a Minox camera containing exposed film was found among Oswald's possessions following the assassination. The police property report lists the camera as item #375. When the property inventory was issued by the FBI, item #375 had become a Minox light meter. Rose reportedly said that the FBI attempted to get him to alter the police report so it would conform with the FBI report.

Conspiracy; High Treason

Book of Facts: Roselli, Johnny



Roselli was a Las Vegasbased Mafia figure and a link in the CIA-Mafia chain. He had close ties to three Mafia bosses associated with the Kennedy assassination: Sam Giancana of Chicago, Santos Trafficante of Florida, and Carlos Marcello of New Orleans.

According to columnist Jack Anderson, Roselli told him that mob leaders had ordered Jack Ruby to kill Lee Harvey Oswald because they were afraid he might crack and reveal their part in the conspiracy to kill President Kennedy.

In July 1976, shortly before Roselli was to be questioned by the Senate Intelligence Committee, his body was discovered floating in Dumfoundling Bay in Miami. He had been strangled and stabbed; his legs had been sawed off and stuffed into an empty oil drum along with the rest of his body. It is believed that Roselli was killed by someone working for Trafficante because he was talking too much about the Kennedy assassination.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Rowland, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold

Arnold Rowland and his wife and son were across from the Texas School Book Depository Building awaiting the arrival of the presidential motorcade. At approximately 12:15 P.M., Rowland noticed a man with a high-powered rifle standing a few feet back from the southwest corner window of the sixth floor of the building. He thought the man was a presidential security guard and pointed him out to his wife. Mrs. Rowland did not see the man, who her husband said had stepped back, but she was "very nearsighted" and did not have her glasses on. But what about the southeast corner, where Lee Harvey Oswald supposedly fired from? Rowland said he saw a black man lean out that window minutes before the shooting.

The Warren Commission treated Rowland as if he were a liar. Commission lawyers even got his wife to admit that he had once exaggerated his school grades. The problem was, the Commission had apparently already concluded that the assassination was carried out by one man. Thus, any testimony, like Rowland's, that supported the possibility of more than one shooter, was likely to be dismissed.

See also DARK-COMPLEXIONED MAN (OR MEN); DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES.
Conspiracy; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Rowley, James J.

Secret Service Chief Rowley was sent the magic bullet from Dallas and forwarded it to the FBI lab. He also called Bethesda Naval Hospital and told Agent Roy Kellerman, who was watching the autopsy, about the discovery of a bullet. Rowley reported to the Warren Commission that he had reviewed all materials from the local Dallas television and radio stations, as well as the three national television networks, but was unable to locate a transcript of the press conference in Dallas at which Dr. Malcolm Perry had described the president's throat wound as a bullet entry wound. A copy of that transcript had been made by the White House because it was considered a presidential press conference, and a copy was available to researchers who requested it.

See also PARKLAND PRESS CONFERENCE.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Ruby, Jack



To the horror of millions of Americans who watched the event on a live television broadcast, Jack Ruby shot and killed Lee Harvey Oswald at 11:21 A.M. (CST) on Sunday, November 24, 1963. Ruby shot Oswald as Oswald was being taken, under guard, through the basement garage of Dallas Police Headquarters en route to the Dallas County jail, to which he was being transferred. Ruby delivered one shot to Oswald's abdomen at point-blank range using a .38 snub-nosed revolver. Ruby had no business being in the garage, and it is widely suspected that his close police contacts gave him entree to the building.

Ruby, who in 1963 was the owner of a Dallas striptease club called the Carousel, had had close ties to underworld organizations, including the Mafia, for most of his life. Born Jacob Rubenstein in Chicago in 1911, Ruby had moved to Texas in 1947. There is ample evidence that Ruby participated in Mafia-backed gun-running schemes to Cuba in 1959 in an effort to help Fidel Castro overthrow the regime of Cuban dictator Batista - an episode that Ruby and others involved later regretted when Castro banished the mobsters, who were heavily invested in Havana's hotel and casino business, from the island.

Ruby's motive for killing Oswald remains obscure. There is evidence to suggest that he and Oswald were acquainted with one another, a conclusion discounted by both the Warren Commission and the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Some evidence also leads to the speculation that Ruby knew Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit, whom the Warren Commission concluded Oswald killed early in the afternoon on November 22, 1963, shortly after having presumably assassinated President Kennedy.

In statements shortly after Oswald's death, Ruby claimed not to have premeditated his act, but to have killed Oswald in high passion, wanting, he said, to spare Jacqueline Kennedy the pain of having to return to Dallas for Oswald's trial. Later, however, Ruby claimed to have been framed into committing Oswald's murder. In letters smuggled out of his prison cell, Ruby implicated Lyndon B. Johnson in the plot to kill Kennedy. And in one of his last public statements on the subject, Ruby said, "The world will never know the true facts of what occurred - my motive, in other words."

Ruby seems to have been present in a number of key places on the day of President Kennedy's assassination. Witnesses have alleged that Ruby was at Dealey Plaza both before and at the time of the assassination (*see below*), that he was at Parkland Memorial Hospital while doctors there were vainly attempting to save the president's life (*see below*), and that he elbowed his way into a news conference given by Oswald at police headquarters after midnight that night. All these reported appearances have led researchers to suppose that Ruby was somehow involved in the death of the president.

Ruby was indicted for Oswald's murder by a Dallas grand jury on November 27, 1963. His trial began on February 17, 1964, and lasted until March 3. The jury delivered its guilty verdict and sentenced him to death on March 14. Ruby's conviction, however, was reversed by the Texas Court of Appeals on October 5, 1966, because of irregularities in the murder trial, over which Judge Joe Brown had presided.

Before a new trial could occur, Ruby suddenly died of cancer on January 3, 1967. Some researchers remain unsatisfied that Ruby died of "natural" causes - raising suspicions that Ruby had been injected with cancer-producing cells or that he had been subjected to heavy doses of cancer-causing X rays.

Crossfire; *Ruby Cover-up*

Book of Facts: Ruby in Dealey Plaza



Jack Ruby claimed he was in the offices of the *Dallas Morning News* at the time of the assassination, a statement that was only partially corroborated by witnesses there. Several witnesses, however, claimed they saw Ruby near the Texas School Book Depository Building moments after the shooting; these witnesses include Victoria Adams, Philip L. Willis, and Wes Wise. Julia Ann Mercer claims that on the morning of the day of the assassination, she saw Ruby behind the wheel of an illegally parked truck on Elm Street near the railroad overpass.

Book of Facts: Ruby at Parkland Memorial Hospital

Jack Ruby denied that he was anywhere near Parkland Memorial Hospital during the time the president's body was there. The Warren Commission chose to believe him in spite of testimony from two witnesses who said they saw him inside the hospital at that time. Reporter Seth Kantor told the Commission that he not only saw Ruby, whom he had known for several years, but actually spoke to him briefly while the doctors were still working to save Kennedy's life in the emergency room. Wilma Tice told the Commission that she saw a man, who she later realized was Ruby when she saw his picture on television, in the hospital while the president was there. She said Ruby was talking to another man who was probably Kantor, based on the portions of their conversation she overheard.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Rudnicki, Jan Gail

Rudnicki was Dr. Thornton Boswell's lab assistant and was called to duty by Boswell to help with the president's autopsy. Researcher Harrison Edward Livingstone asked Rudnicki if he recalled whether a complete bullet was found in the sheets on which Kennedy's body had been lying. He explained that he was in the autopsy area for the entire procedure, but was going back and forth to the adjoining tissue room to prepare slides. He said he might have been in the tissue room at the time, "but I remember some conversation concerning" what he assumed was a "bullet."

See also OSBORNE, DR. DAVID.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Rush To Judgment

Published in 1966 by Holt, Rinehart & Winston and reissued (with two new sections) in 1991 by Thunder's Mouth Press, this book by attorney Mark Lane remains the landmark work on the assassination and the investigation conducted by the Warren Commission. Lane, who tried unsuccessfully to represent Lee Harvey Oswald before the Commission, examines the evidence provided by witnesses never questioned by Commission representatives and also reviews testimony taken but ignored. *Rush to Judgment* was a runaway best-seller that convinced many people that the Warren Commission investigation was incomplete and its conclusions wrong.

Book of Facts: Russell, Richard B.

A Democrat from Georgia, Russell was one of two senators appointed to the Warren Commission. According to Commission insiders, Russell objected to signing a report stating that one bullet - the magic bullet - struck both Kennedy and John Connally. Russell also raised questions about Lee Harvey Oswald's alleged trip to Mexico City in the fall of 1963.

Best Evidence: Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Russo Perry



Russo was an acquaintance of David Ferrie's who testified before a New Orleans grand jury that he had been present at a meeting in which Ferrie, Clay Shaw (known to him as "Clay Bertrand") and another man, called Leon Oswald, discussed reasons for killing President Kennedy. According to Russo, Ferrie favored the idea because it would lead to war with Cuba if they could place the blame for the assassination on Fidel Castro.
On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Sanders, David

Sanders was the orderly on duty in the emergency room at Parkland Memorial Hospital while the president was being treated. According to William Manchester's report of how Kennedy's body was placed in the coffin, Sanders was instructed by funeral director Vernon Oneal to line the inside of the coffin with a plastic sheet. This plastic sheet has become the focus of controversy because some technicians in the autopsy room at Bethesda Naval Hospital reported that the president's body arrived inside a zippered bag.

See also BODY BAG CONTROVERSY.

Death of a President

Book of Facts: Sawyer, Herbert J.

Police inspector Sawyer provided the initial description of the assassination suspect to the police dispatcher for broadcast: a white man about thirty years old, five feet ten inches in height, and weighing about 165 pounds. Yet witnesses who had seen a man or men at the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building gave descriptions that varied from a young white man to an elderly black man. Controversy rages around the speed with which the Dallas police identified the suspect as Lee Harvey Oswald. When the Warren Commission questioned Sawyer about the source of the information he gave the dispatcher, Sawyer couldn't identify the witness who had supplied it. He could only recall that the man was white and that "he wasn't young and he wasn't old." The Commission eventually concluded that Sawyer's source was Howard L. Brennan. However, the identity of the man who actually gave Sawyer Lee Harvey Oswald's description remains a mystery. Some critics suspect the unidentified man was part of a conspiracy to make Oswald the "patsy" for the assassination.

Best Evidence; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Scheim, David E.

Scheim is the author of *Contract on America: The Mafia Murder of President John F. Kennedy*, published by Zebra Books in 1988. This book deals with Jack Ruby's ties to organized crime and connotes that the Mafia had the "motive, means, and opportunity" to kill the president.

Book of Facts: Scoggins, William



Scoggins was a taxi driver who was parked not far from the scene of the shooting death of Police Officer J. D. Tippit. He reported that he saw a man walk away from the scene, but he ducked down behind his cab so the man would not see him. In a lineup that another taxi driver, William Whaley, called unfair to the suspect, Scoggins selected Lee Harvey Oswald as the man he had seen. Later, when asked to pick the man out from a number of photographs shown him by an FBI or Secret Service agent, Scoggins chose someone other than Oswald.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Scott, Frank



Scott was responsible for preparing a report for the House Select Committee on Assassinations dealing with the question of the authenticity of the autopsy photographs. He concluded that the photos were authentic, but left ample room for debate when he added a disclaimer saying he assumed "that the object photographed is, indeed, the body of President Kennedy."

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Secret Service



Charged with protecting the life of the president, the Secret Service failed to do a professional job during Kennedy's visit to Dallas. The Service made four major errors. First, it never made a thorough investigation of the motorcade route to identify and neutralize potential sniper locations. Second, there were no Secret Service agents on the ground in Dallas; they were all riding in the motorcade, where they could react only after an assassination attempt, not take preventive action to avert one. Third, there was no order mandating the closing of windows in buildings overlooking the motorcade route, such as the Texas School Book Depository Building; such an order could have reduced the risk of someone firing at the president through an open window. Finally, the president's car was permitted to slow down to only a few miles per hour as it passed through Dealey Plaza - in direct violation of Secret Service regulations requiring the car to maintain a speed of at least forty-four miles per hour.

Additionally, some researchers have charged that a group of Secret Service agents responsible for the president's protection spent the night before the assassination getting drunk at a Fort Worth, Texas, after-hours club, The Cellar.

The extremely poor performance of the president's bodyguards has led some people to suspect the Secret Service was somehow involved in a conspiracy to kill Kennedy, although there has never been any proof that this was so.

In 1992, St. Martin's Press published *Mortal Error: The Shot That Killed JFK*, whose author, Bonar Menninger, maintains that Kennedy's death resulted from a shot fired accidentally by Secret Service agent George Hickey, who was riding in the follow-up car following the presidential limousine. Hickey did not answer the publisher's request for a response to the charge, but another Secret Service agent, Samuel Kinney, denied that Hickey had fired a shot.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Secret Service Agents Unknown

According to the Secret Service, no agents were assigned to the area around Dealey Plaza on November 22, 1963. Yet Police Officers D. V. Harkness and Joe M. Smith report having encountered men who identified themselves as Secret Service agents behind the Grassy Knoll and behind the Texas School Book Depository Building.

Book of Facts: Selzer, Robert

A photographic expert, Selzer was a member of a panel created by the House Select Committee on Assassinations to examine photographs and films made of the assassination. The panel members held varied opinions concerning what some believe was movement in more than one window of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. Selzer concluded that there was movement that could mean there was a person in more than one window.

See also BRONSON FILM; HUGHES, ROBERT.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Senator, George



Senator shared an apartment with Jack Ruby in Dallas. Senator told the Warren Commission that he was genuinely shocked when he learned that Ruby had shot and killed Oswald, because Ruby had not indicated to him that he had planned to take any steps against Kennedy's assassin.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Sewall, Fred

Sewall was a salesman at the Bolton Ford dealership in New Orleans. Jim Garrison reported Sewall as claiming that he was approached by two men who wanted the dealer to give them a bid on the price of ten Ford pickup trucks. The men said they were from a group called Friends of Democratic Cuba. One of the men was powerfully built and of Latin heritage. He identified himself as "Joseph Moore." The second man was a thin Anglo-Saxon who said his name was Oswald and explained that he was the one paying for the trucks. This incident took place on January 20, 1961, while Lee Harvey Oswald was in the Soviet Union and three months before the Bay of Pigs invasion. Garrison charges that this was just one of many instances when Oswald's name was used by intelligence agencies, and he suspects the trucks were intended for the Cuban forces engaged in the Bay of Pigs attack. Garrison claims that one of the persons named in the incorporation papers for the Friends of Democratic Cuba was Guy Banister.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Shaneyfelt, Lyndal



A photographic analysis expert employed by the FBI, Shaneyfelt examined the Zapruder film. He testified that Secret Service agent Clinton Hill placed one foot on the rear step of the presidential limousine at frame 368, which, according to researcher David S. Lifton, would be approximately three seconds after the fatal shot was fired at Kennedy. Hill testified that the car did not accelerate until he had stepped on it, meaning that the car remained relatively still until after the head shot was fired. Lifton argues that this means that Kennedy's head could not have been thrown backward - a motion that is clearly visible in the Zapruder film - by the acceleration of the automobile. That the limousine did not immediately speed up lends credence to the claim that Kennedy's head was propelled backward by the impact of a bullet that had been shot from somewhere in front of the limousine.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Shanklin, L. Gordon

Agent-in-charge of the FBI office in Dallas during November 1963, Shanklin has come under fire from numerous quarters for allegedly ordering Agent James Hosty to destroy a note Lee Harvey Oswald wrote him. The House Select Committee on Assassinations called this act a "serious impeachment" of Shanklin's credibility.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Shaw, Clay



Clay Shaw was a well-known business leader in New Orleans during the 1960s. He was also a member of a small clique of gay men that included David Ferrie. Shaw used the alias Clay Bertrand when he spent his evenings in the seedier bars of the French Quarter, but many people there knew his real identity. Shaw had close ties to Guy Banister and his ring of anti-Castro Cubans, and knew Lee Harvey Oswald. In January 1969, New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison charged Shaw with conspiracy in the murder of President Kennedy. He also charged that Shaw was a secret Central Intelligence Agency operative, a charge Shaw denied, but that was later confirmed as true. Shaw was acquitted of the conspiracy charge, but in interviews following the trial, jurors conceded that Garrison had convinced them that a conspiracy was behind the assassination of President Kennedy. Shaw died on August 14, 1974, and was quickly buried. When the New Orleans coroner, Dr. Frank Minyard, wanted to exhume the body to perform an autopsy, he was assailed by the local press and decided to leave the issue alone. The trial of Clay Shaw is the major focus of Oliver Stone's film JFK.

See also PERMINDEX.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Shaw, Gary

Shaw has spent years researching and writing about the assassination. He has interviewed hundreds of people with connections to Kennedy's death. He is the author of *Cover-up: The Governmental Conspiracy to Conceal the Facts About the Public Execution of John Kennedy*, which he self-published in 1976. He is also the co-author, with Dr. Charles A. Crenshaw, of *JFK: Conspiracy of Silence*, published by Signet in 1992.

Book of Facts: Shaw, Jack

Reverend Shaw was with alleged CIA hitman and former Dallas Police Officer Roscoe White when White died following a mysterious fire. Shaw claimed that White made a deathbed confession to a number of murders. In 1991, Shaw told researcher and author Harrison Edward Livingstone that he believed White told the truth when he said he killed Kennedy. White is also believed to have shot and killed J. D. Tippit.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Shaw, Robert

Dr. Shaw was a Parkland Memorial Hospital surgeon who worked on the chest wound Governor John Connally received during the assassination. Dr. Shaw told Warren Commission member John J. McCloy that when a bullet hits "a bony substance such as a rib, usually the reaction is quite prompt." This testimony damages the single bullet theory, because the Zapruder film shows that Connally's reaction to being shot occurs substantially later than Kennedy's reaction to his throat wound, indicating that both men were not shot with the same bullet. Shaw also testified that based on the amount of metal fragments in Connally's wrist, he found it "difficult to believe" that the so-called magic bullet inflicted the governor's wounds. He also said the Parkland doctors were confused when they were told that the assassin had been behind the president when they were under the impression the bullet had "entered at the front of his neck."

See also FINCK, DR. PIERRE; MCCLELLAND, DR. ROBERT N. Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Shelley, William



A Texas School Book Depository Building employee, Shelley was standing in front of the building when the motorcade passed by. He told the Warren Commission that the shots "came from the west." The Grassy Knoll is to the west of the Book Depository Building.

See also LOVELADY, BILLY NOLAN.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Sheridan, Walter



An employee of the National Broadcasting Corporation, Sheridan was instrumental in the development of an NBC "White Paper" program called "The Case of Jim Garrison", which the New Orleans district attorney viewed as an attack on his investigation of the Kennedy assassination. The show relied heavily on the testimony of convicted felons, among others, to smear Garrison's ethical practices. According to a report by an investigator on Garrison's staff, Perry Russo claimed that Sheridan had promised to move him to California and protect his job with the Equitable Life Insurance Company, as well as guarantee he would not be extradited to Louisiana if he helped "bust up the Garrison probe."

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Similas, Norman

Similas was a businessman from Toronto, Canada, visiting Dallas on the day of the assassination. He was standing on the left side of Elm Street taking photographs of the approaching motorcade when the shots were fired. In an article written for a Canadian magazine, Similas claimed that when he had the photos developed, he could clearly see a rifle sticking out of a sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building, with two figures standing over it. He said that he sent the negatives to a Toronto newspaper, which paid him handsomely for them but did not publish the photos. According to Similas, the paper later said it had lost the negative of the photo that Similas says showed the two figures with the rifle. Similas is also quoted as saying that he was within ten feet of the President when he was shot and could clearly see a hole in Kennedy's left temple. By coincidence, Similas, who was in Dallas for a soft-drink bottlers' convention, spent part of the evening before the assassination at the Carousel Club, where he had a long chat with its owner, Jack Ruby.

See also TEMPLE WOUND CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence: Crossfire

Book of Facts: Simmons, James



A railroad worker who watched the presidential motorcade from the overpass above Elm Street, Simmons is reported to have said the shots came from the "wooden fence" atop the Grassy Knoll. He saw a puff of smoke from the same area. Simmons also reported having seen hundreds of footprints in the muddy ground behind the wooden fence, where he and other railroad workers rushed in the minutes following the shooting.

See also FOSTER, J. W.; HOLLAND, SAM; JOHNSON, CLEMMON; MILLER, AUSTIN; REILLY, FRANK; SMOKE FROM THE GRASSY KNOLL.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Simmons, Ronald



Simmons was one of three "master" marksmen the Warren Commission used to test fire the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle allegedly found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building following the assassination. Simmons estimated that the tower from which he and his colleagues fired their test shots was about thirty feet off the ground, only half the estimated sixty-foot height of the Depository Building's sixth floor. He reported numerous complaints about the rifle's operation, including the difficulty one man had in operating the bolt during his firing exercise. Simmons also told the Commission that the stationary target they fired at was not as far from them nor at the same angle as it would have been for someone taking aim from the sixth floor of the Depository Building.

See also FIRING SEQUENCE CONTROVERSY.
Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts; Single Bullet Theory



Warren Commission Assistant Counsel Arlen Specter is credited with originating the single bullet theory. The theory is believed to have been devised as a result of evidence that the Commission could not ignore concerning one of the bullets fired at President Kennedy. This was the bullet that hit the pavement halfway across Dealey Plaza from the president's limousine, kicking up debris that injured a bystander named James T. Tague. That left two other bullets, according to the Commission's conviction that only three shots were fired, to cause all the wounds President Kennedy and Texas governor John Connally received. One of these hit Kennedy's head and fragmented, leaving the other to do the rest. According to the Commission, this one bullet hit the president in the back, exited through his throat, passed through Connally's body, breaking a rib, then shattered a bone in his wrist, and finally entered his left thigh. All of these injuries were attributed to a bullet in near-perfect condition allegedly found in Parkland Memorial Hospital - what became known as the magic bullet (Warren Commission exhibit #399). Virtually all Warren Commission critics charge that the single bullet theory requires the bullet in question to make several sharp turns during its travels through both men - a highly improbable, if not utterly impossible, route. Rejecting the single bullet theory means accepting that more than three bullets were fired, and therefore that more than one gunman took part in the assassination, since Lee Harvey Oswald - whom the Commission identified as the assassin - could not possibly have gotten off more than three rounds during the specified time.

See also BULLETS FIRED, NUMBER OF; LONE ASSASSIN THEORY.
Crossfire; High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Sitzman, Marilyn

Marilyn Sitzman was standing alongside Abraham Zapruder on the concrete pergola on the Grassy Knoll when the president was shot. She reportedly had an unobstructed view of Kennedy when he was hit, and is quoted as saying that the head shot struck him just above his ear. Despite her proximity to the scene, she was never questioned by either the police or the Warren Commission.

See also GRASSY KNOLL WITNESSES; ZAPRUDER FILM.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Skelton, Royce G.



Along with a group of others, Skelton watched the presidential motorcade and the assassination from the vantage of the railroad overpass that borders the west side of Dealey Plaza. Skelton told the Warren Commission that he thought there had been four shots fired and that either the third or fourth shot had struck the roadway near "the left front of the President's car." See also BULLETS FIRED, NUMBER OF; DECKER, J. E. (BILL); FOSTER, J. W.; OVERPASS WITNESSES.
Warren Report

Book of Facts: Slack, Garland G.

Slack told the Warren Commission that at some time during the weeks preceding the assassination, he had had an argument at the Sports Drome Rifle Range in Dallas with a man he later believed was Lee Harvey Oswald. Other patrons of the Sports Drome, including Malcolm Price, also testified that they had encountered someone calling himself Oswald there that day. The man Slack thought was Oswald fired at Slack's target, resulting in a confrontation between them. The Warren Commission decided that Oswald could not have been at the range on the day in question. It also never pursued the reason someone whose appearance was similar to Oswald's was demonstrating his marksmanship publicly and clearly calling attention to himself.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Slawson, David

Slawson was a lawyer with the Justice Department in 1966 when J. Lee Rankin, general counsel for the Warren Commission, received a letter from Wesley J. Liebeler, who had been an assistant counsel for the Commission. In the letter, Liebeler questioned some of the medical evidence the Commission had been given. Slawson allegedly wrote to Ramsey Clark, then acting attorney general, explaining that there was still a "chance of spiking" a full-scale investigation of the autopsy by conducting a limited investigation. This may have resulted in the creation of the Clark Panel.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Smith, Joe M.



Dallas Police Officer Smith was directing traffic at the intersection of Houston and Elm streets when he heard the shots that killed the president. He raced up the Grassy Knoll, where he thought the shots had originated, pulling his handgun from its holster as he ran. Behind the fence at the top of the knoll, he smelled gunpowder, and ran into a man who identified himself as a Secret Service agent by showing Smith his ID card and shield. This is but one of numerous instances in which an individual encountered a Secret Service agent behind the Grassy Knoll or the Texas School Book Depository Building, yet the Secret Service insisted that no agents were on foot in the area that day, that they were all riding in the motorcade.

See also SECRET SERVICE AGENTS, UNKNOWN Conspiracy; *Crossfire; Rush to Judgment*

Book of Facts: Smith L. C.



Deputy Sheriff Smith was standing in front of the Dallas County jail when he heard three shots ring out. He dashed to Elm Street, where a woman told him the president had been shot in the head by someone firing from the fence on the Grassy Knoll. Smith joined several other police officers and deputies racing up the grass slope to the wooden fence, but found no shooters there.

Crossfire

Book of Facts; Smoke from the Grassy Knoll

The kind of ammunition still manufactured in 1963 produced a puff of smoke that rose above the shooter's head when a rifle was fired. Several people in or around Dealey Plaza at the time of the assassination reported seeing smoke rising from the stockade fence near the top of the Grassy Knoll during the seconds after the shots were fired. These witnesses include Richard C. Dodd, Sam Holland, Clemmon Johnson, Austin Miller, Thomas Murphy, Frank Reilly, James Simmons, and Walter Winborn.

Book of Facts: Sniper's Nest



Some forty boxes were stacked around a sixth-floor window inside the Texas School Book Depository Building, effectively blocking the view from the remainder of the floor. Each box was full of books and weighed about fifty pounds. Three spent cartridges were allegedly found inside this protected area. The Warren Commission claimed that Lee Harvey Oswald built this protection around himself so other employees would not stumble across him while he was preparing the kill the president. The boxes were examined for fingerprints, but only three partial prints belonging to Oswald were found on them. Oswald was, however, employed in the building to handle such boxes. According to the time frame established by the Commission, Oswald had less than fifteen minutes to construct his nest, yet when a six-foot seven-inch former football tackle attempted to re-create the sniper's nest, the job took him twenty-one minutes and he was left exhausted.

Texas Connection

Book of Facts: Sorrels, Forrest V.



Sorrels was the agent-in-charge of the Dallas Secret Service office. He rode in the first car of the motorcade with Police Chief Jesse E. Curry and Sheriff J. E. (Bill) Decker. According to Orville Nix, who claims to be a friend of Sorrels's, the agent told him that at the time of the assassination, he thought the shots had come from the Grassy Knoll. Sorrels, who then traveled with the motorcade directly to Parkland Memorial Hospital, was the only Secret Service agent to return to Dealey Plaza after the shooting. He reported having walked in through the back door of the Texas School Book Depository Building without being stopped or questioned one hour after the assassination, by which time the building had supposedly been "secured." He denied Howard L. Brennan's claim of having given Sorrels an accurate description of Lee Harvey Oswald as the killer within ten minutes of the shooting. Sorrels claimed that Brennan never said any such thing, and that he couldn't have returned from Parkland Memorial Hospital in that short a time.

Best Evidence: Crossfire

Book of Facts: Souetre, Jean

A Frenchman who had once attempted the murder of French president Charles de Gaulle, Souetre was reportedly in the United States at the time of the Kennedy assassination. According to CIA documents uncovered in 1977 by assassination researcher Mary Ferrell, a French intelligence agency was searching for Souetre five months after the assassination and claimed that he had been picked up by U.S. authorities somewhere in Texas within two days of President Kennedy's death and then expelled from the country. Dr. Lawrence Alderson, a dentist and resident of Houston, Texas, who had known Souetre in the early 1950s, claimed to have been put under FBI surveillance during the month after the assassination and to have been subjected to FBI questioning in December 1963 concerning his relationship with Souetre.

Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Speaker, Sandy

According to author Jim Marrs, Speaker, who was the construction foreman on a project near Dealey Plaza on November 22, 1963, reports hearing at least five shots coming from different directions. Speaker told Marrs that his experience as a combat Marine fighting behind enemy lines during World War II made him sure he had heard more than three shots.

See also BRENNAN, HOWARD L.; MILLICAN, A. J.
Crossfire

Book of Facts: Specter, Arlen



An assistant counsel to the Warren Commission, and later a United States Senator from Pennsylvania, Specter is said to have been responsible for developing the single bullet theory. Specter has often been attacked by Warren Commission critics for, among other things, attempting to get members of the Parkland Memorial Hospital medical staff to change their testimony regarding their initial belief that President Kennedy's throat wound was an entry wound, not an exit wound as the autopsy concluded.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: "Spotlight " Magazine

The Liberty Lobby, which publishes *Spotlight*, was sued by CIA agent E. Howard Hunt over an article written by Victor Marchetti charging that Hunt was in Dallas the day of the assassination, and that he had ties to the president's murder. The suit was rejected by a jury whose foreperson, Leslie Armstrong, later told reporters that she had been convinced by the evidence presented during the trial that the CIA was behind the assassination. The trial is the basis of lawyer-author Mark Lane's best-seller *Plausible Denial*, (Thunder's Mouth Press, 1991).

Book of Facts: Sprague, Richard A.

Sprague was the first chief counsel for the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Sprague was practically given carte blanche by the Committee's first chairman, Congressman Thomas Downing. After fighting with the Committee's second chairman, Henry Gonzalez, over control of the investigation, Sprague ran what Gonzalez called a "put-up job" of an investigation. Sprague quickly came under fire from members of Congress and was finally forced out.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Stokes, Louis

The third chairman of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Stokes is quoted by authors Robert J. Groden and Harrison Edward Livingstone as telling the Committee's staff, "We all know that the fatal head shot came from the front."

High Treason

Book of Facts: Stone, Oliver



Stone's 1991 film JFK (which he wrote, produced, and directed) came under fire from the establishment press in this country even before he began shooting it. Once the darling of the liberal/left media, the Oscar-winning movie maker was, thanks to *JFK*, turned into a pariah in virtually all quarters, except in the eyes of the millions of people who paid to see the film. While almost everyone who is familiar with the conflicting details of President Kennedy's assassination may argue this or that point with Stone, as many researchers do over what they see as Stone's deification of Jim Garrison, one fact is certain: His film brought the assassination back to the American consciousness.

Book of Facts: Stover, John

Captain Stover was the commanding officer of the U.S. Naval Medical School at Bethesda, Maryland, on November 22, 1963. Following the autopsy performed on President Kennedy, at which he was present, Stover issued a written order confirming the verbal instructions all military personnel in attendance had received: that, under threat of court-martial, nothing was to be said to anyone about what happened in the autopsy room.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Stringer, John



Stringer was a Navy medical photographer with twenty years' experience in photographing the human body during an autopsy. He photographed President Kennedy's body during the autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital. (The authenticity of the autopsy photographs as they now exist has been widely disputed.) Significantly, on November 1, 1966, Stringer went to the National Archives, where most of the available autopsy material is kept, and signed a statement affirming that the pictures on file were the ones he had taken. When researcher David S. Lifton asked what test he applied to the photos before he signed the statement, Stringer told him there was none, because he had never seen the pictures developed. He had simply shot them and handed the film holder to a Secret Service agent.

See also NATIONAL ARCHIVES, DOCUMENTS MISSING FROM; RIEBE, FLOYD A.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Stroud, Martha Jo



An assistant United States attorney in Dallas, Stroud wrote to Warren Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin about evidence concerning a bullet that went wild and struck a curb opposite the Grassy Knoll. Stroud's insistence that the Commission interview James T. Tague, who was struck in the face by a piece of the curb thrown up by the bullet, forced the Commission to conclude that only two of the three bullets it claimed Lee Harvey Oswald fired had caused all the wounds - fatal and nonfatal - to President Kennedy and Governor John Connally. The result was the Commission's creation of what has come to be called the magic bullet, or single bullet, theory.

See also FIRING SEQUENCE CONTROVERSY; SPECTER, ARLEN.
Crossfire

Book of Facts: Sturgis, Frank



Sturgis was a CIA contract employee who worked with the Agency's anti-Castro groups before and after the Bay of Pigs Invasion. He is closely linked with E. Howard Hunt, and with the Watergate burglary that brought down the presidency of Richard M. Nixon. Sturgis was identified by Marita Lorenz, whom he recruited into the service of the CIA, as one of a group of heavily armed men she accompanied on a trip to Dallas shortly before the assassination.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Styles, Sandra



Styles was on the fourth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building when the shooting took place. She was unable to judge where the shots came from, but told FBI agents she and Victoria Adams descended the back stairs to the street level moments after the shots were fired. Neither woman saw or heard anyone else while they were on the stairs; this would have been the same time Lee Harvey Oswald is alleged to have been running down the stairs from the sixth floor to the second-floor cafeteria, where he was seen minutes later by Police Officer Marrion L. Baker.

See also DORMAN, ELSIE; GARNER, DOROTHY ANN; HOBSON, MRS. ALVIN.
Crossfire

Book of Facts: Sullivan, William_



Sullivan was a top aide to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, and led the FBI investigation into Kennedy's assassination. It is reported that within two weeks of the assassination, Sullivan wrote a memo in which he said there was no evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald was an agent for a foreign power, including Cuba. This was in direct conflict with the stories being circulated, allegedly by "rogue" elements in the CIA, that Oswald was either a Soviet or a Cuban agent. On July 16, 1978, shortly before he was to be questioned by the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Sullivan was shot to death in what was described as a hunting accident.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Sweatt, Allen

Head of the Dallas Sheriff's Criminal Division, Deputy Sweatt reportedly received from Deputy John Wiseman the missing Polaroid photograph snapped by Mary Moorman. Sweatt then turned it over to the Secret Service, and it has never been seen again. A second Moorman photo, taken within seconds of the missing one, shows what many believe is a rifleman behind the fence atop the Grassy Knoll.

See also Hill, Jean.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Szulc, Tad



Tad Szulc, a reporter for the *New York Times*, claims that during a 1961 interview with the president, Kennedy raised the subject of attempts on Fidel Castro's life. Szulc said the president expressed grave concern about pressure he was receiving from the intelligence community to have Castro killed, but that he was "violently opposed" to political assassinations. Sources that are believed to be connected to the Central Intelligence Agency have tried to link Lee Harvey Oswald with Castro's government. Oswald, they claim, killed Kennedy on orders from Castro because the president had ordered Castro's assassination. Szulc also maintained that E. Howard Hunt was in Mexico City at the time of Oswald's alleged visit there in the fall of 1963.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Tague, James T.



Tague was stopped in traffic on Commerce Street on the side of Dealey Plaza opposite the Grassy Knoll. He got out of his car and watched the presidential motorcade. When the shooting, which he believed came from the Grassy Knoll, started, a bullet struck the curb in front of him and a piece of concrete hit him in the cheek, causing a small wound. Deputy Sheriff Eddy Walthers saw the wound and immediately searched the area where Tague had been standing. He filed a report in which he stated that he found a place "where a bullet had splattered on the top edge of the curb," causing damage to the concrete. At first the Warren Commission ignored this information, probably because it did not correspond with its assessment that only three shots were fired, all by Lee Harvey Oswald, from the Texas School Book Depository Building. Under pressure apparently created by a letter from Assistant U.S. Attorney Martha Jo Stroud about a bullet mark on the curb, the Commission had a staffer interview Tague. The FBI removed the section of curb and reported that it contained metal smears of lead. Unable to ignore this evidence of a wild shot, the Commission nonetheless held to its belief that only three shots were fired at Kennedy and created the single bullet theory to account for the nonfatal throat wound of the president and the multiple wounds suffered by Governor John Connally.

See also FIRING SEQUENCE CONTROVERSY; HAYGOOD, CLYDE A.; MAGIC BULLET; SPECTER, ARLEN.
Crossfire; *Rush to Judgment*

Book of Facts: Tatum, Jack



Tatum, who was driving in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas on the afternoon of November 22, 1963, claims he saw a young white man near the police car of J. D. Tippit when he heard three shots fired. When Tatum looked toward the car, he saw the officer on the ground and the young man standing over him. He said the man ran toward the rear of the police car, stopped, and fired one more shot at the officer, who was lying in the street in front of the car. Tatum sped off when the gunman ran in his direction.

See also TIPPIT MURDER SCENE WITNESSES.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Temple Wound Controversy

According to the Warren Commission, President Kennedy was shot only from the rear. Critics of the Commission's conclusions, however, have maintained that shots were fired from other locations as well - including the Grassy Knoll and possibly the railroad overpass. Important evidence that Kennedy may have been shot from the front appears to have been ignored by the official investigators of the assassination. One piece of evidence involves the throat wound that members of the Parkland Memorial Hospital staff identified as a bullet entry wound (but which the Commission described as an exit wound). Another involves a hole in the front of the president's head that, if caused by a bullet, could only have resulted from a gun fired from in front of him.

Four people reported having seen a hole in the president's temple. Father Oscar Huber, who administered last rites to Kennedy minutes after his death, has been quoted as telling reporters that he saw a "terrible wound" over the president's left eye. Dr. Marion Jenkins told the Warren Commission that while attempting to take Kennedy's pulse he noticed what he thought was a wound in "the left temporal area, right in the hairline." Pages 526 and 527 of the Warren Report reproduce a written report prepared at 4:45 P.M. on November 22, 1963, by Dr. Robert McClelland. The report states, "The cause of death was due to massive head and brain injury from a gunshot wound of the left temple." A Dealey Plaza witness to the shooting, Norman Similas, who was about ten feet from the presidential limousine, reported he could clearly see a hole in Kennedy's left temple.

Best Evidence: Warren Report

Book of Facts: Terry, L. R.

According to an interview conducted by Jim Marrs, Terry claims he was standing across the street from the Texas School Book Depository Building. When the motorcade passed him, he noticed two men at an upper-floor window and then saw a rifle barrel appear from the same window. He said the man holding the rifle was not wearing a white shirt, as others have described him.

See also BRENNAN, HOWARD L.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: "The Texas Connection"



This best-selling 1992 book, written by Scottsdale, Arizona, attorney Craig I. Zirbel and self-published by the Texas Connection Company, is billed as "the criminal investigation . . . against Lyndon B. Johnson," who the author charges was involved in the assassination of President Kennedy. The book's thesis is founded on what Zirbel calls "The right-hand-man theory" of political assassinations.

Book of Facts: Texas School Book Depository (TSBD)



According to the Warren Commission, it was from a sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building that Lee Harvey Oswald, on November 22, 1963, fired three shots at the presidential motorcade passing below, killing President Kennedy and wounding Governor John Connally. A nondescript, worn-looking tan brick building at the corner of Houston and Elm streets, at the northeast corner of Dealey Plaza, the Depository had seen better days by 1963. Originally built to house the offices of a railroad company, the seven-story building later was occupied by the John Deere Company. The next occupant was a grocery wholesaler. In the early 1960s, it became a warehouse for the Texas School Book Depository, a depot that distributed textbooks to schools throughout the state. Some of its offices were rented to publishers of textbooks that were purchased for the Texas school systems. During the 1980s, there was talk that Dallas County was going to sell the building, until it was learned that the prospective buyer planned to dismantle it and sell the bricks as souvenirs. Today it serves as an annex for the county. Open to the public on the sixth floor (which in 1963 was used as a textbook storeroom) is a re-creation of the so-called sniper's nest.

Book of Facts: Texas School Book Depository Employees

The Texas School Book Depository Building housed offices for several textbook publishers as well as the Depository. Some building employees were outside the building at the time of the assassination, while others were inside watching from office or warehouse windows. Still others were not watching the motorcade and therefore saw nothing of the assassination. Among employees were: Victoria Adams; Carolyn Arnold; Mrs. Avery Davis; Jack E. Dougherty; Buell Wesley Frazier; Dorothy Ann Garner; Mrs. Alvin Hobson; James Jarman, Jr.; Dolores A. Kounas; Billy Nolan Lovelady; Harold D. Norman; Lee Harvey Oswald; Virgie Rachley; Mrs. Robert A. Reid; Roy Truly; Bonnie Ray Williams; and Steven F. Wilson.

Book of Facts: Texas Theater



This movie house in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas was the scene of Lee Harvey Oswald's arrest shortly after the murder of Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit several blocks away. A patron, George J. Applin, later claimed that one of the other patrons at the time was Jack Ruby.
Crossfire

Book of Facts: Thompson, Malcolm



A retired Scotland Yard superintendent with extensive experience in photographic evidence analysis, Thompson examined a now-famous photograph of Lee Harvey Oswald that shows him standing near a fence holding a rifle and a newspaper. When Oswald was shown this photo by Police Captain Will Fritz, he commented that someone had put his face on the photograph of another man. Thompson is reported to have identified several areas of the photo that were retouched. Apparently agreeing with Oswald, Thompson said the photograph was a "fake," and that it was a composite of several pictures pieced together. He called it a "montage," noting that although Oswald had a pointed chin, the chin of the man in the photograph is square. The opinion that the photo was faked was shared by John Pickard.

See also OSWALD, BACKYARD PHOTOGRAPH OF.
Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Throat Wound Controversy



When President Kennedy, nearing death, was brought into Parkland Memorial Hospital, Dr. Malcolm Perry almost immediately performed a tracheotomy - a procedure in which a small opening is made in the patient's throat and a tube is inserted to improve breathing. The tracheotomy incision was made over a wound that Perry later described to reporters as a bullet entry wound (see PARKLAND PRESS CONFERENCE). In his account of the assassination, Dr. Charles A. Crenshaw, who was present in the emergency room, described the wound as "an entry bullet hole."

When the autopsy was performed on President Kennedy's body at Bethesda Naval Hospital, the doctors failed to realize that the tracheotomy had been performed over a bullet wound. They concluded that the bullet hole in the president's back was caused by a bullet that had failed to penetrate the body and that had fallen out while he was being moved. When they were later told about the throat wound, they concluded that the bullet that entered Kennedy's back had exited through his throat, although this would have required the bullet to have traveled along an incredibly convoluted path.

Virtually every member of the medical team that worked on the president at Parkland Memorial Hospital described the hole in his throat as an entry wound, yet the Warren Commission chose to identify it as an exit wound made by the so-called magic bullet that allegedly wounded both Kennedy and Texas Governor John Connally. Obviously, if the doctors and nurses in the Parkland emergency room were correct in their original assumption (and there is no reason to doubt they were, given their extensive experience in treating gunshot wounds), an entrance wound in the president's throat could only have been caused by a bullet fired at him from the front.

In addition to the debate regarding whether the wound represented a bullet's entry or exit point, another controversy swirls around the condition of the wound when the body left Parkland. According to those at the scene, the tracheotomy and bullet hole were not closed before Kennedy's body was removed by the Secret Service for the trip to Washington. Yet in March 1978, the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Intelligencer-Journal, in an interview with Dr. John Ebersole, who had X-rayed the body at Bethesda, reported that Ebersole said that when examining the body he had discovered a "very neatly sutured" opening in the throat that was identified as a surgical incision for a tracheotomy. According to Dr. Kemp Clark, who was interviewed by researcher David S. Lifton, no suturing was performed before Kennedy's body left Parkland hospital. As with so many other controversies associated with the president's murder, this one remains unresolved.

See also HENCHCLIFFE, MARGARET.

Best Evidence: High Treason

Book of Facts: Tice, Wilma

Tice was at Parkland Memorial Hospital when the president's death was announced. She claimed that she saw Jack Ruby in the hospital at that time. She said Ruby was greeted by a man who said to him, "How are you doing, Jack?" Ruby turned and spoke to him, giving Tice a clear view of his face. Ruby denied he was at the hospital while the president was there. The transcript of Tice's testimony before the Warren Commission's counsel gives the impression that the lawyer did not want her to testify about Ruby's presence in the hospital. Tice insisted that the man she saw was either Ruby "or his twin brother." Tice was so upset by the way the Commission's lawyer treated her that she later called and visited Ruby's sister, Eva Grant, and confirmed her own identification of the clothing Ruby was wearing that day.

See also RUBY AT PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Tilson, John

Dallas Police Officer John Tilson was off duty when President Kennedy was assassinated. He was driving near the area with his daughter when, as he approached the railroad overpass that borders Dealey Plaza, he saw a man "slipping and sliding" down the railway embankment. The man threw something into a black car parked at the bottom of the embankment, ran around the car and jumped into the driver's seat, and sped off. Tilson, who had been a police officer for seventeen years, well understood that a man running from a scene to which everyone else he could see was drawn was suspicious, so he decided to give chase. Unable to overtake his quarry, Tilson noted the car's tag numbers. He later gave this information to the Dallas Police Homicide Division, but in the chaos of reports that flooded in, this vital piece appears to have been lost, and as far as is known, the license plate number was never checked.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Tippit, J. D.



Jefferson Davis Tippit, a Dallas police officer, was murdered in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas approximately forty-five minutes after President Kennedy was shot. According to witnesses, Tippit stopped his squad car along the curb and spoke briefly to a man who the Warren Commission concluded was Lee Harvey Oswald. Tippit then got out of his car and walked around the front of the car toward the man, who pulled out a handgun and fired. Tippit was shot four times and died instantly. Oswald was apprehended at the Texas Theater, a few blocks away, and charged with Tippit's murder but never stood trial because he, in turn, was murdered by Jack Ruby just two days later. Various assassination researchers have speculated that Tippit had connections with Oswald, Ruby, or both, as well as with Roscoe White, who is said to have claimed he was the actual assassin. It is possible that Tippit knew Ruby, since it was Ruby's habit to ingratiate himself with police officers. Tippit could also have known Oswald through innocent connections. It was never established why Tippit stopped to speak with Oswald (if his murderer really was Oswald); perhaps the encounter began as a friendly conversation. Or perhaps the connections between Tippit and Oswald and/or Ruby were more sinister than will ever be known. It is even possible that Tippit had no connection with Ruby or Oswald, that his murder was committed by an unknown person for reasons entirely unconnected with the president's assassination, and that the murder charge was pinned on Oswald. The meaning of Tippit's murder remains one of the important mysteries surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy.

Reasonable Doubt; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Tippit Murder Scene Witnesses



Almost as much controversy rages around the scene of Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit's murder as around the scene of President Kennedy's assassination in Dealey Plaza. People who claim to have witnessed the death of officer Tippit or to have seen his killer run away include Domingo Benavides; Acquilla Clemons; Barbara Davis; Virginia R. Davis; Helen Louise Markham; B. M. Patterson; Warren Reynolds; and Frank and Mary Wright.

Book of Facts: Tomlinson, Darrel C.



Tomlinson was the senior engineer at Parkland Memorial Hospital in 1963. He is credited with discovering the one piece of evidence that allowed the Warren Commission to "prove" that a lone gunman shot President Kennedy and Governor John Connally: the magic bullet. During the afternoon of November 22, Tomlinson moved a gurney that was blocking an elevator door against a corridor wall. As it bumped against the wall, a bullet rolled out from under a mat. Tomlinson gave the bullet to the hospital's chief of security, former Dallas deputy police chief O. P. Wright, who turned it over to the Secret Service. Tomlinson reported that on the night following the assassination he received a telephone call from the FBI warning him not to talk about his discovery. After repeated questioning by Arlen Specter of the Warren Commission, Tomlinson was still unable to say whether the stretcher on which he found the bullet was the one used for Governor Connally. Wright reportedly told someone from *Life* magazine that the bullet he turned over to the Secret Service had a sharp, pointed nose, not the rounded nose of the magic bullet the Warren Commission claims Tomlinson found.

See also LONE ASSASSIN THEORY; OSBORNE, DR. DAVID; SINGLE BULLET THEORY.
Best Evidence; Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Tonahill, Joe

Tonahill was Jack Ruby's defense lawyer when he was tried for the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald. Ruby's defense was based on the premise that his shooting of Oswald was not premeditated, but an impulsive act. Tonahill emphasized this point in his closing remarks to the jury, telling them that it was up to the state to prove that Ruby had conspired with someone in the Dallas Police Department to murder Oswald.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Torres, Miguel



A convicted burglar, Torres was confined to the state prison at Angola, Louisiana, when NBC television investigators questioned him about his knowledge of New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison's investigation of Clay Shaw. On an NBC "White Paper" program titled "The Case of Jim Garrison." Torres said Garrison's office had attempted to bribe him with a Florida vacation and a supply of heroin if he testified that Shaw was also known as Clay Bertrand. When a grand jury asked Torres to repeat under oath what he had said on television, he refused. Torres was found guilty of contempt and received additional prison time.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Tracheotomy



When President Kennedy was brought into Parkland Memorial Hospital after the shooting, he was barely clinging to life. Dr. Charles Carrico inserted an endotracheal tube into Kennedy's mouth and down his throat in an effort to improve his breathing. This was removed when Dr. Malcolm Perry made a small incision in the patient's throat to insert a tracheotomy tube. He made his incision directly through a small, clean, round opening that those present described as a bullet entry wound. Questioned by researcher David S. Lifton about the size of the incision, Dr. Perry responded that it was 2 to 3 centimeters long. According to the autopsy report prepared by Dr. James J. Humes at Bethesda Naval Hospital, and published as part of the Warren Report, the incision Humes found in the president's throat was 6.5 centimeters, or more than twice and perhaps three times as long as the incision made by Dr. Perry. The autopsy doctors considered this opening to be the exit wound for the bullet entry wound they found in the president's back.

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; BAXTER, DR. CHARLES R.; CLARK, DR. KEMP; CRENSHAW, DR. CHARLES A.; DUDMAN, RICHARD; HENCHCLIFFE, MARGARET; JONES, DR. RONALD; THROAT WOUND CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Trafficante, Santos



This Florida Mafia boss is reported to have made several threats on President Kennedy's life. Trafficante was deeply involved with the Central Intelligence Agency in plans to assassinate Fidel Castro. The mobster reportedly told José Aleman that Kennedy would not survive to the next election, that he was going to be "hit" before then. Trafficante sought the protection of the Fifth Amendment clause against self-incrimination when asked by the House Select Committee on Assassinations whether he had ever discussed plans to kill the president and whether Jack Ruby had visited him after he was imprisoned by Castro along with other gangsters and gamblers.

See also MCWILLIE, LEWIS J; MARCELLO, CARLOS; ROSELLI, JOHNNY.
Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Triple Underpass (or Overpass)



In November 1963 work was being performed on the railroad tracks that pass over Commerce, Main, and Elm streets as they head west out of Dealey Plaza. Many of the workmen on the overpass stopped to watch the presidential motorcade move through the plaza and head directly under them. Only a few of these men were questioned by the FBI and the Warren Commission. Every one of them reported sounds or sights that led them to believe the shots were fired from the area of the Grassy Knoll. The testimony or statements of these men are included in individual entries for Richard C. Dodd; Sam Holland; Clemmon Johnson; Austin Miller; Thomas Murphy; Frank Reilly; James Simmons; Royce G. Skelton; and Walter Winborn. Also on the overpass were Dallas Police Officers J. W. Foster and J. C. White.

Book of Facts; Troon, Mrs.

Troon was a telephone operator on duty at Dallas Police Headquarters while Lee Harvey Oswald was being held there the night following the assassination. she allegedly reported that another operator, Mrs. Swinney, possibly under instructions from two Secret Service agents waiting in another room, prevented Oswald from placing a telephone call to someone named Hurt in Raleigh, North Carolina. According to Troon, Swinney told Oswald the number he called did not answer, even though she never attempted to put the call through.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Truly, Roy



Roy Truly was the superintendent of the Texas School Book Depository Building and the man who had hired Lee Harvey Oswald. He told the Warren Commission that the shots came from the "vicinity of the railroad or the WPA project." The "WPA project" to which Truly referred is the concrete pergola near the top of the Grassy Knoll. Truly assisted motorcycle patrolman Marrion L. Baker in his search of the building when they observed building employee Oswald in the second-floor cafeteria calmly drinking a Coke.

See also TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES.

Crossfire; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Tuteur, Werner

Werner Tuteur was Jack Ruby's prison psychiatrist. Shortly after he was granted a new trial, and before he died of cancer, Ruby allegedly told Tuteur that he knew who had ordered the assassination of President Kennedy, and that he had been "framed" to kill Lee Harvey Oswald.

High Treason

Book of Facts: "Umbrella Man"



The Zapruder film and several photographs taken at the time of the assassination show two mysterious men at the edge of the curb close to where the presidential limousine passed. One man had a light complexion and carried a black umbrella. The other was dark-skinned, possibly Hispanic. As the limousine entered Elm Street the man with the umbrella stood up, opened the umbrella, and held it over his head as if it were raining, which it wasn't. Just at the moment the shots were fired, he raised the umbrella almost two feet over his head, then lowered and closed it. He then sat back down on the curb. The second man appeared to be speaking into a hand-held radio unit. When the limousine sped away after the shooting, both men rose and walked away in opposite directions. Neither followed the large group of people heading toward the Grassy Knoll.

Following years of speculation about the "umbrella man," who many suspect used his umbrella to signal the assassin or assassins, a warehouse manager named Louis Steven Witt appeared before the House Select Committee on Assassinations claiming to be the man. He testified that he thought the open umbrella would somehow annoy Kennedy. His testimony about his actions at the assassination scene is inconsistent with the photographs, and critics consider Witt's story unconvincing.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Underwood, James

Underwood was the assistant news director for the Dallas television station KRLD. He interviewed a fifteen-year-old black boy named Amos L. Euins, who had told a motorcycle police officer just minutes after the assassination that he had seen "a colored man lean out of the window upstairs and he had a rifle." Underwood then asked the witness if he was certain the man was black. Euins responded that the man he saw was "colored." When pressed by Underwood whether he was sure the man was "colored," Euins replied, "Yes, sir." After Euins reportedly received threatening telephone calls to his home, he changed his testimony and told the Warren Commission he wasn't sure whether the man was white or black.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Underwood, Marty



A Kennedy advance man, Marty Underwood was with the president during the entire Texas trip. In an interview with Harrison Edward Livingstone in 1991, Underwood was told that some people believed the autopsy photos of President Kennedy were fake. He replied, "Oh, I'm sure they were forged." He then explained that he was sure Lyndon B. Johnson knew who killed Kennedy, although he felt strongly that Johnson was not behind it.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: U-2 Spy Plane



During the late 1950s the U.S. Air Force and the Central Intelligence Agency jointly conducted regular surveillance of military operations in the Soviet Union using the supersecret, high-flying U-2 spy plane. In May 1960 the Soviets shot down a U-2 aircraft piloted by Gary Powers, an incident that caused then-President Dwight D. Eisenhower serious embarrassment and that undermined his chances of success at an upcoming summit meeting with the U.S.S.R. Powers's plane, which should have been invulnerable to Soviet attack because of the altitude at which it flew, was shot down a few months after Lee Harvey Oswald defected to the U.S.S.R.

In a CIA-authorized book Powers wrote after his release from a Soviet prison, the pilot expressed the suspicion that Oswald might have given the Soviets new technical data that he could have acquired while stationed at Atsugi Air Base in Japan, where several U-2s were based. According to Soviet defector Yuri Nosenko, the KGB never had more than a passing interest in Oswald, which is remarkable considering his stint at Atsugi and the Soviet desire for information about the U-2s. If the CIA did suspect that Oswald was responsible for the downing of Powers's plane, it is also remarkable that the Agency never attempted to debrief Oswald on his return to the United States.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Vaughn, Roy

Dallas Police Officer Vaughn was stationed at the top of the Main Street car ramp leading to the garage level of Dallas Police Headquarters, where Jack Ruby shot and killed Lee Harvey Oswald. Despite Vaughn's testimony that Ruby did not enter the building by way of the ramp, as well as corroborating testimony by others who were there at the time, the Warren Commission chose to believe the testimony of Napoleon J. Daniels, who claimed he saw someone resembling Ruby pass Vaughn and enter the ramp. Vaughn later took three polygraph tests that indicated he was telling the truth. According to researcher Harrison Edward Livingstone, Vaughn's attorney professed that Police Officer Red Davis told Vaughn that Ruby was taken to the basement by Assistant Police Chief Charles Batchelor.

High Treason

Book of Facts: Veciana, Antonio

A founder of the anti-Castro group called Alpha 66, Veciana was backed by the Central Intelligence Agency. His contact was a man known to him only as "Maurice Bishop." Veciana claims that in either late August or early September 1963, he witnessed "Bishop" speaking to a man whose picture was broadcast around the world on November 22 of that year, Lee Harvey Oswald. Regarding Veciana's testimony, a House Select Committee on Assassinations report concluded that "There was absolutely no doubt in his mind that the man was Oswald. . . ." Veciana further stated that after the Kennedy assassination, "Bishop" asked him to persuade a cousin who worked in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City to verify a fabricated report that Oswald had visited the embassy.

See also ALVARADO, GILBERTO; ANTI-CASTRO CUBANS; BOWEN, JOHN "JACK"; DURAN, SILVIA; GAUDET, WILLIAM GEORGE; PHILLIPS, DAVID ATLEE.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Vietnam War



Proponents of the theory that Kennedy was killed because of his alleged plans to pull out of Vietnam ignore very strong historical evidence that if Kennedy had lived, the war might well have continued just as it did under Lyndon B. Johnson. John Kennedy was not the "peacenik" many attempt to paint him as. Throughout his Senate career, he was always considered a hard-liner against the communist bloc. Many of the men who advised Johnson to expand the war were Kennedy's closest advisers while he was in the White House, and there is every reason to believe he would have followed their advice just as Johnson did.

On the other hand, many foreign policy experts believe that Kennedy genuinely intended to pull out of Southeast Asia after the 1964 election. In late 1961, tensions between hawks and doves in Washington were intensifying. In November, the president ordered a massive reorganization - later referred to as the "Thanksgiving Day Massacre" - of both the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency. In 1963, Kennedy further angered interventionists in his own government by signing NSAM 263 on October 2. The measure called for the withdrawal of one thousand U.S. military advisers from Vietnam by the end of the year and also included a timetable for total withdrawal. That policy would have been reversed by NSAM 273, dated the day before Kennedy's assassination but never signed by him.

That members of the so-called military-industrial complex were dismayed over Kennedy's likely reduction of U.S. forces in Indochina is one of the prime motivations for the assassination explored in Oliver Stone's film JFK.

See also NGO DINH DIEM.

Book of Facts: Wade, Henry W.



Dallas County district attorney Wade held a formal press conference at midnight November 22, 1963, nearly eleven hours after the alleged assassination weapon was recovered on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. When asked about the identification of the weapon, Wade said it was a 7.65-caliber Mauser. The weapon sent to the FBI lab for examination as the official assassination weapon, however, was a 6.5-caliber Mannlicher-Carcano rifle. Despite the fact that the weapon remained in police custody, it continued for a time to be identified as a Mauser, not a Mannlicher-Carcano.

See also BOONE, EUGENE L.; MOONEY, LUKE; WEITZMAN, SEYMOUR.
Reasonable Doubt

Book of Facts: Walker, Edwin A.



General Walker was a highly controversial figure during the early 1960s. He had been relieved of command of the Twenty-fourth Division of the U.S. Army in 1961 for distributing right-wing materials to his troops. As a civilian living in Dallas, he was active in right-wing organizations, and a speaker at gatherings around the country. In April 1963, someone fired a shot through a window of his home, narrowly missing his head. The testimony of Marina Oswald to the Warren Commission as well as evidence found among Lee Harvey Oswald's possessions implied that Oswald was Walker's would-be assassin. The Commission concluded that Oswald was indeed the gunman.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: Walter, William S.

A former employee at the New Orleans office of the FBI, Walter told assassination researcher and author Mark Lane that on November 17, 1963, his office received a telex message from FBI headquarters alerting him to a possible plot to kill the president while he was in Dallas. Walter claimed that after the assassination, the two office copies of the message vanished, though he made a handwritten copy of the message.

See also FBI TELEX MESSAGE.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Walter Reed Army Medical Center



Judging from taped transcripts of radio conversations between *Air Force One*, as it returned to Washington from Dallas with President Kennedy's coffin aboard, and various military officers on the ground, the original intent of those in Washington was to transfer the president's body to Walter Reed Medical Center for the autopsy once the plane landed at Andrews Air Force Base. The destination of the body was changed to Bethesda Naval Hospital. Researcher David S. Lifton says that in 1980 he inquired into this decision, speaking with, among others, the president's naval aide, Captain Tazwell Shepherd, whom some believed was responsible for the change in plans. Lifton reported that Shepherd had no recollection of making arrangements for transporting the body or for the autopsy. Lifton theorizes that the change in venues to Bethesda required that the president's body be secretly removed from *Air Force One* and taken to Walter Reed, where it was possible to alter the wounds before sending the body to Bethesda, where the start of the autopsy was delayed for several hours.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY; COFFIN CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Walther, Carolyn

Carolyn Walther worked in a dress factory in the Dal-Tex Building on the east side of Dealey Plaza. She and another worker went to the street to watch the presidential motorcade. Moments before the president's limousine turned onto Elm Street, she noticed two men at an open upper-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building. One man was holding a rifle, which he pointed down toward the street. She assumed the men were guards stationed there to protect the president. Later, she also insisted that she had heard four shots fired.

See also ROWLAND, MR. AND MRS. ARNOLD.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Walthers, Eddy



A Dallas County deputy sheriff, Walthers encountered James T. Tague, a bystander at the scene of the assassination who was hit by flying debris when a stray bullet struck the ground near where he was standing. Walthers reported that he "found where a bullet had splattered on the top edge of the curb on Main Street." The Warren Commission decided that only three bullets had been fired, all of them by Lee Harvey Oswald, so when it was forced to admit the existence of this bullet, it had to find a way to explain how only two bullets had caused all the wounds (fatal and nonfatal) to President Kennedy and Governor John Connally. This resulted in the creation of the magic bullet theory, which permitted the Commission to stand by its lone assassin theory.

See also FIRING SEQUENCE CONTROVERSY; HAYGOOD, CLYDE A.; SINGLE BULLET THEORY; SPECTER, ARLEN; STROUD, MARTHA JO.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Ward, Theron



Ward, a local Dallas justice of the peace (justices of the peace are elected magistrates in Texas), was called to Parkland Memorial Hospital to mediate a dispute between the Secret Service and the presidential party, on one side, and Dallas medical examiner Dr. Earl Rose, on the other. Rose demanded that the president's body not be removed until an official autopsy was done. He insisted that the chain of evidence must be maintained and that Texas law required an autopsy before the deceased could be removed from the state. Under pressure from the representatives of the president and the federal government, and with the acquiescence of District Attorney Henry W. Wade, Ward gave his permission to remove the body. In view of the puzzle surrounding the ambulance and the autopsy controversies, one can't help but wonder what the result would have been had Dr. Rose been permitted to conduct his autopsy before the president's body was taken from Parkland.

Death of a President

Book of Facts: Warner, Roger C.



Author and assassination researcher David E. Scheim reports that Warner, a Secret Service agent, interviewed Karen Carlin on November 24, 1963. Carlin was a stripper at Jack Ruby's Carousel Club. Ruby sent Carlin a Western Union money order on the morning of November 24, just before going to Dallas Police Headquarters, where he shot Lee Harvey Oswald. Carlin allegedly told him that she feared she would be killed if she gave the authorities any information. But it was her impression that Ruby and Oswald were part of a plot to kill the president.

Contract on America

Book of Facts: Warren, Earl



Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Warren at first refused President Lyndon B. Johnson's request that he serve on the commission to investigate President Kennedy's assassination. It was only after receiving a summons to the White House that he accepted the post as the commission's chairman. The leader of the "Warren Court" would from that time on have his name irrevocably linked with what many Americans regard as a cover-up of one of the worst crimes in history.

Warren was a purely political animal who, as governor of California and heavyweight at the 1952 Republican national convention, had been instrumental in winning the party's nomination for General Dwight D. Eisenhower. His reward was a promise of the next Supreme Court seat. As it turned out, the next seat was that of chief justice, but Eisenhower kept his promise and Warren was appointed.

Like many other politicians, Warren had his own dirty laundry to keep out of the public eye. This was revealed in that, at the same time the Kennedy brothers were part of a Senate investigation of labor union ties to organized crime, with special emphasis on the Teamsters, Warren often expressed his "admiration" for the Teamsters, calling the corrupt union "not only something great of itself, but splendidly representative of the entire labor movement."

Conspiracy; Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Warren Commission



On November 29, 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order No. 11130, creating a commission to investigate the assassination of President Kennedy, the wounding of Governor John Connally, and the murder of Police Officer J. D. Tippit. Officially known as the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, it quickly became referred to popularly as the Warren Commission, after its chairman, Earl Warren, chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. The Commission collected testimony from 552 individuals. Of these, 94 appeared before members of the Commission, 395 were questioned by Commission lawyers, and 63 supplied either affidavits or statements. Before the Commission's report, known as the Warren Report, was even published, critics charged that important witnesses whose information differed from the Commission's findings - that Lee Harvey Oswald alone killed Kennedy and that no conspiracy was involved in the assassination - were not called to testify, or their testimony was ignored or altered. Following publication of the Report, the Commission released twenty-six volumes containing the testimony, affidavits, and statements of witnesses as well as other related material. Many early Commission critics used the twenty-six volumes to build their cases against its findings.

Book of Facts; Warren Commission Members

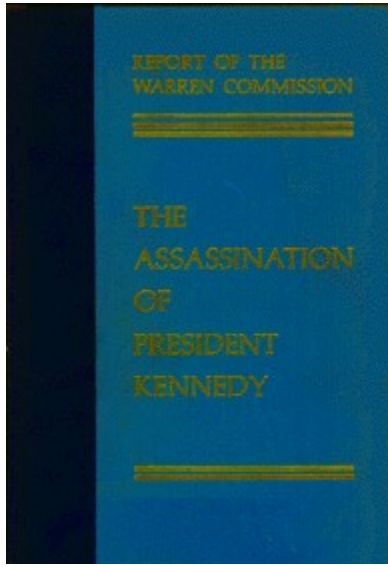


The members of the Warren Commission, selected by President Lyndon B. Johnson, were its chairman, Earl Warren, chief justice of the United States Supreme Court; Hale Boggs, the Democratic representative from Louisiana, whose death Commission critics consider mysterious; Gerald Ford, the Republican representative from Michigan and future appointed president, who continues to defend the Commission; John Sherman Cooper, the Republican senator from Kentucky, who is said to have opposed the single bullet theory in the Commission's findings; Richard B. Russell, the Democratic senator from Georgia, who helped force the Commission staff to investigate the link between Lee Harvey Oswald and the Central Intelligence Agency; Allen W. Dulles, who was fired as CIAz director by President Kennedy following the Bay of Pigs invasion failure; and John J. McCloy, a former chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank.

It has been reported that with the exception of Allen Dulles, each member chosen to serve on the Commission initially refused the appointment, finally giving in to Johnson's plea for help in resolving a national emergency.

Plausible Denial

Book of Facts: Warren Report



On September 24, 1964, ten months after the murder of President Kennedy, the Warren Commission presented the results of its investigation to President Lyndon B. Johnson. Officially titled *The Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy*, the Report is an 888-page summary of the investigation and the conclusions reached by the Commission; it was presented to Johnson along with twenty-six volumes of exhibits and records of the Commission's hearings. The Report, first issued by the Government Printing Office, was reprinted by at least half a dozen publishers within a week of its release, and millions of copies of both the hardcover and paperback editions were sold. In 1992, twenty-nine years after the assassination, at least two publishers issued new editions of the Report.

Before the Warren Report was even released, the Commission's work had come under attack by critics. Since its release, the Report and the accompanying volumes of testimony and exhibits have been minutely examined in scores of books and hundreds of magazine articles. Most of these have been critical of the way the investigation was conducted and of the Commission's interpretation of the physical evidence and the testimony of various witnesses.

Warren Report

Book of Facts: Weatherford, Harry



A Dallas County deputy sheriff, Weatherford was standing in front of the sheriff's office on the east side of Dealey Plaza with approximately twenty other deputies when the shots were fired. In a report filed later that day, he said he thought the first shot was a railroad torpedo, because the sound came from the "railroad yard." When he recognized the shots that followed for what they were, he ran across the plaza toward the railroad yard behind the Grassy Knoll, "where the sound seemed to come from."

See also CRAIG, ROGER D.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Weberman, Alan J.

Alan Weberman is co-author, with Michael L. Canfield, of *Coup d'Etat in America*, published in 1975 by The Third Press. The book claims the CIA had assassination squads in Dallas the day Kennedy was killed.

Book of Facts: Wecht, Dr. Cyril H.



Dr. Wecht has been a critic since at least 1967 of the autopsy performed on President Kennedy at Bethesda Naval Hospital. He has condemned the autopsy report and the single bullet theory. Dr. Wecht, a forensic pathologist with extensive experience performing autopsies on victims of gunshot wounds, was the coroner of Allegheny County in Pennsylvania. He has also been president of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences.

Wecht was a member of the panel of nine pathologists asked by the House Select Committee on Assassinations to review the autopsy X rays and photographs. He was the only critic of the Warren Report to serve on the panel. In May 1992, Dr. Wecht appeared on television on the CNN program "Larry King Live" to discuss an article published in the May 1992 issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* that professed to reveal "new" evidence supporting the Warren Report, but was nothing more than a rehash of the autopsy report prepared by Dr. James J. Humes, who performed the procedure. Wecht is one of the most articulate and knowledgeable critics of the medical evidence produced by the autopsy.

See also BOSWELL, DR. THORNTON; CUSTER, JERROL F.; LUNDBERG, DR. GEORGE; RIEBE, FLOYD A. *Best Evidence*

Book of Facts: Wehle, Philip C.

Commanding officer of the Military District of Washington, D.C., General Wehle accompanied the Military District Casket Team to Bethesda Naval Hospital to ensure that the president's body had a proper honor guard at all times. In a 1967 interview reported by researcher David S. Lifton, General Wehle denied that he had been present in the autopsy room when the Dallas coffin was opened, as reported in William Manchester's book *The Death of a President*. Wehle confirmed the information supplied by members of the team that two Navy ambulances were used when the president's body was brought to Bethesda and that the team was sent in pursuit of the wrong ambulance. According to official records, there was no "decoy" ambulance, contrary to what team members claim. The alleged presence of a second ambulance has given rise to charges that the president's body was not in the ambulance bearing the Dallas coffin.

See also AMBULANCE CONTROVERSY.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Weigman, Dave

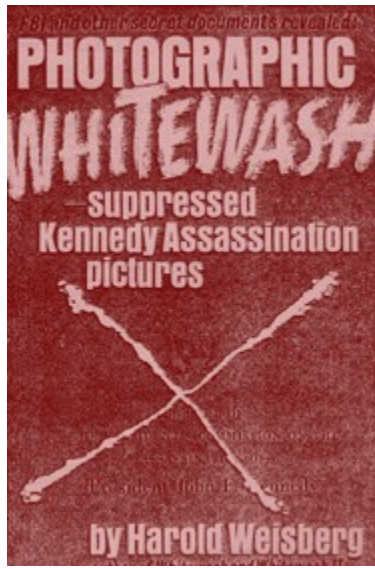


Weigman, an NBC television cameraman, was filming the motorcade from his position in the seventh car in line. After the shots were fired, with his camera rolling, he ran up the Grassy Knoll in pursuit of the many police officers who had done likewise. According to researcher Jim Marrs, one frame from Weigman's film clearly shows the remains of a puff of smoke hanging in the air near the top of the knoll. This is the same smoke reported by other witnesses.

See also OVERPASS WITNESSES; SMOKE FROM THE GRASSY KNOLL.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Weisberg, Harold



Considered by many to be the "grandfather" of assassination researchers, Weisberg has spent years pressuring the federal government to release documents related to the murder of President Kennedy. The basement of Weisberg's home is filled with dozens of metal filing cabinets containing thousands of assassination documents. He is the author of several books on the subject, including the *Whitewash* series and *Oswald in New Orleans* (Canyon Books, 1967), as well as a book on the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Book of Facts: Weiss, Mark



An acoustics expert, Mark Weiss was called on by the House Select Committee on Assassinations to review earlier acoustics studies of the shooting, along with Dr. James Barger and Ernest Aschkenasy. These experts analyzed a recording of the sounds of what appeared to be four gunshots that were picked up by the open radio microphone of a police motorcycle near the scene of the shooting. They concluded that there was a 95 percent or better probability that the third shot was fired from the area of the Grassy Knoll.

See also ACOUSTICAL EVIDENCE; BELL LABORATORY; DALLAS POLICE DISPATCH TAPE; RAMSEY REPORT.
Fatal Hour; High Treason

Book of Facts: Weissman, Bernard

Bernard Weissman, in collaboration with Joseph P. Grinnan and Larrie H. Schmidt, placed an advertisement in the *Dallas Morning News* the day of the assassination attacking President Kennedy's policies.

See also AMERICAN FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE.

Book of Facts: Weitzman, Seymour



Deputy Constable Weitzman raced to the Grassy Knoll from his post at the corner of Main and Houston streets when he heard the shots fired at the president. One of the first officers to reach the fence atop the knoll, Weitzman climbed over it and searched for the source of the shots. He found a railroad yardman, who told Weitzman he had seen a man throw something into a bush and run off.

Later, Weitzman assisted other officers in recovering a rifle on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. On the following day, he signed an affidavit that appears on page 228 of volume 24 of the Warren Commission Hearings. In the affidavit, Weitzman said that at 1:22 P.M. he and Deputy Sheriff Eugene L. Boone found a rifle on the sixth floor of the Depository Building. "That rifle was a 7.65 Mauser bolt action rifle equipped with a 4/18 scope, a thick leather brownish-black sling on it." Weitzman had once been in the sporting-goods business and was extremely knowledgeable about rifles. The rifle the Warren Commission identified as the murder weapon is clearly stamped "Made in Italy" and "Cal. 6.5," distinguishing it unmistakably, even for someone with no more than a cursory knowledge of rifles, from a German-made 7.65 Mauser.

Deputy Boone told the Warren Commission that he thought the weapon he found was a 7.65 Mauser, and claimed that Captain Will Fritz had also given the rifle the same identification. When the Commission showed Boone the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle in its possession, Boone said he could not identify it as the rifle he had found.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: West, Joe



A private detective, West announced in May 1990 that there had been a gunman on the Grassy Knoll. He identified the gunman as Mafia figure Johnny Roselli, who in 1976 had been killed in a gangland-style execution.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: West, Robert H.

West, A Dallas County surveyor, was standing on Main Street watching the president's limousine slowly head west on Elm when he heard what he thought was a motorcycle backfiring. He reports that he then heard three more of what now sounded like "rifle fire" noises. He claimed the shots originated in the "northwest quadrant" of Dealey Plaza, which is the location of the wooden fence on the Grassy Knoll.

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Whalen, Edward



According to former New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, Whalen was a professional criminal whom David Ferrie and Clay Shaw attempted to hire to kill Garrison before he could begin his investigation of the Kennedy assassination. Shaw supposedly offered Whalen \$25,000 plus expert medical care for his daughter, who had cancer, if Whalen would accept the job. Whalen decided he didn't want to kill a district attorney, so he turned down the offer.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Whaley, William

Whaley was a Dallas cabdriver. The Warren Commission claimed that Lee Harvey Oswald used Whaley's cab to escape from the assassination scene, following a brief bus ride. Whaley provided the Commission with his trip log, which showed that he had picked up a passenger near the Greyhound Bus Station at 12:30 P.M. and dropped him off at 12:45. Since the president was shot at 12:30 P.M., the Commission decided that Whaley picked up Oswald at 12:47 or 12:48, but recorded the time as 12:30 because he kept his log in fifteen-minute intervals. The Commission did not explain why Whaley did not write 12:45 instead of 12:30, nor did it acknowledge that the trip log contained start and stop times in other than fifteen-minute intervals. Other times recorded in the log include 8:10, 10:50, and 9:40.

See also MCWATTERS, CECIL J.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: White, J. C.



On the day of the assassination, Dallas police officer White was assigned to the west side of the railroad overpass that borders the west end of Dealey Plaza. White claims he saw nothing of the assassination because a train crossed the overpass at the time of the shooting. He appears to be the only person who reported this train.

See also OVERPASS WITNESSES.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: White, Jack

White is an assassination researcher who attempted to convince the House Select Committee on Assassinations that the various photographs of the alleged murder weapon do not match one another. He claimed that after careful study, he found that the length of the weapon differed in at least two photos.

See also "BADGEMAN."

High Treason

Book of Facts: White, Roscoe



Roscoe White was a Dallas police officer who was close to Jack Ruby. In fact, White's wife, Geneva, was employed by Ruby as a B-girl. In August 1990, shortly before she died from lung cancer, Mrs. White claimed that her husband, who had died earlier in a mysterious fire, had been a professional hitman. She further said that at one time, she overheard Ruby and her husband discuss a plan to assassinate President Kennedy. She said that Roscoe and Lee Harvey Oswald had been friends and had used a nearby firing range together.

Ricky White, son of Roscoe and Geneva, claims he found a secret diary his father had kept containing evidence, including CIA cables, that the CIA had ordered his father to kill Kennedy. The diary and cables vanished soon after Ricky's revelation. There is no hard evidence to support Geneva and Ricky White's claims, although one interesting incident does point to the possibility that they were telling the truth. In 1975, a burglary occurred at the White's Texas home. When the burglars were arrested in Arizona, among the White possessions they had stolen was a never-before-seen version of the famous backyard photograph of Oswald. The FBI obtained the photo and turned it over to the Senate Intelligence Committee. It finally came into the possession of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, but it was never determined how the White family came to have the photograph in their home.

See also OSWALD, BACKYARD PHOTOGRAPH OF; SHAW, JACK.
High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Whitmeyer, George

Lieutenant Colonel Whitmeyer, commander of the Dallas area's Army Intelligence reserve unit, rode in the pilot car that traveled the motorcade route, but maintained a distance of about one-quarter of a mile in front of the car preceding the president's limousine.

Crossfire; *High Treason*

Book of Facts: Whitworth, Edna



Edna Whitworth operated the Furniture Mart in Irving, Texas. The store was less than two blocks from the Irving Sports Shop. She told the Warren Commission that a man she later identified as Lee Harvey Oswald, accompanied by a woman she identified as Marina Oswald and two small children, came into her store one day in November 1963. Oswald asked about a part for a gun, but Whitworth told him the gunsmith's shop was no longer located there, even though his sign was still outside the building. Whitworth's testimony appeared to lend credibility to the testimony of Dial D. Ryder concerning a repair tag at the Irving Sports Shop for work done on a rifle owned by someone named "Oswald." The Commission discounted Whitworth's testimony for trivial reasons, obviously wanting to discredit the implications of the rifle repair tag, because the work was not done on the Mannlicher-Carcano, which the Commission claimed was Oswald's only rifle.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Wilcott, James

In March 1978, Wilcott, who had been employed by the Central Intelligence Agency for several years, told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that shortly after the Kennedy assassination, a CIA case officer told him that Lee Harvey Oswald was an undercover CIA operative when he defected to the Soviet Union, but was brought home because the Soviets never believed in his defection. Wilcott claimed that the CIA had a hold over Oswald because of some major crime he had once committed, possibly a murder.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts; William Reily Coffee Company

Lee Harvey Oswald worked for a short period at this New Orleans company. It was next door to the Crescent City Garage, where several government agencies kept their cars parked. It is curious that Oswald, who was distributing pro-Castro literature in the streets, worked for William Reily, who was an outspoken supporter of the anti-Castro groups in New Orleans. An unusually high number of Reilly employees left the company to work at nearby aerospace companies and at the facilities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, raising questions about a possible preexisting - and continuing - link among the employees of the Reily Coffee Company.

On the Trail of the Assassins

Book of Facts: Williams, Bonnie Ray



An employee of the Texas School Book Depository Building, Williams ate lunch near a sixth-floor window on the day of the assassination. When he finished, he joined two coworkers on the fifth floor. He testified that he left the sixth floor about ten minutes before the shooting. He claimed he did not see Oswald or anyone else on the sixth floor while he was there. Williams and his coworkers, James Jarman, Jr., and Harold D. Norman, originally reported that they thought the shots came from the right side of the building, toward the Grassy Knoll. When they appeared before the Warren Commission, they said the shots came from above them.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Williams, Harold

Harold Williams is one of several people, including George Arnett, who said that Jack Ruby and J. D. Tippit knew one another. In April 1966, researcher and author Mark Lane interviewed Williams in Arlington, Texas, a Dallas suburb. Lane had heard that Williams knew from personal experience that Ruby knew Police Officer Tippit, which Ruby and the Warren Commission denied. Williams told Lane that in early November 1963, he had been arrested while working as a chef in an illegal after-hours club. He said that during the raid on the establishment, he was "roughed up" by a police officer who then placed him in the back seat of an unmarked car. Williams studied the faces of the two men who sat in the front seat of the car, because he considered complaining about the way he had been treated and wanted to be sure to remember who was involved. Williams told Lane that Tippit was the officer driving the car and that the man seated next to him was Jack Ruby, whom he recognized because Ruby had arranged for young women to work as entertainers at the after-hours club where Williams worked.

Williams explained that after the assassination, he began telling people about his experience with Tippit and Ruby. He said that as a result he was taken into police custody and threatened with arrest on a trumped-up charge if he did not keep his mouth shut.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Williams, Dr. Philip



Dr. Williams was a young intern at Parkland Memorial Hospital when the president was brought in after the shooting. After Kennedy died, Williams was sent to get something in which to wrap the body before it was placed in the coffin. He found a "whitish-gray plastic mattress cover," which he gave to the nursing supervisor, Audrey Bell. This story obviously conflicts with David S. Lifton's report that Paul K. O'Connor claimed to have removed the president's body from a zippered body bag when it arrived at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

See also BODY BAG CONTROVERSY.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Willis, Linda

Linda Willis accompanied her father, Philip L. Willis, to Dealey Plaza on November 22, 1963, to see the president and vice president of the United States. Linda and her younger sister, Rosemary, ran along Elm Street to keep up with the president's limousine. Interviewed by researcher and author Jim Marrs in 1978, Linda said that the "shots came from somewhere other than the Depository." She then charged that people who claimed they knew otherwise weren't even at the scene, but that she was, "that's what makes the difference."

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Willis, Philip L.



Willis, a retired Air Force major, took a dozen photographs of the Dealey Plaza area immediately before and after the assassination. Two of Willis's pictures are extremely important. Willis claims one of them was taken at the moment of the first bullet's impact to Kennedy's throat and shows the president reaching up to the spot where the bullet hit him.

A second photograph, identified by the Warren Commission as slide number eight, shows the front of the Texas School Book Depository Building. Clearly visible in Willis's original picture, but for some inexplicable reason cropped and only partially visible in the copy used by the Commission, is a man wearing dark glasses. Willis claims that FBI agents, when they first looked at the photo, seemed to think the man was Jack Ruby. When Willis saw Ruby in court, he was struck by his resemblance to the man in the picture. Willis said he pointed out Ruby's apparent presence at the assassination scene to Secret Service agents and Commission investigators, but "they weren't concerned." When asked about the single bullet theory, Willis called it "stupid."

Ruby claimed that at the time of the assassination, he was in the offices of the *Dallas Morning News*. Witnesses at the newspaper cannot account for the full duration of Ruby's presence there. As Willis pointed out, "it wouldn't take five minutes" for someone to walk from the *News* office to Dealey Plaza.

See also RUBY IN DEALEY PLAZA.

Crossfire; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Wilson, Eugene

Wilson was a salesman at Downtown Lincoln-Mercury in Dallas when a man calling himself Lee Harvey Oswald took a vehicle for a test drive. Never called to testify before the Warren Commission, Wilson confirmed to the FBI that on November 9, 1963, after being told he was not eligible for credit, Oswald commented, "Maybe I'm going to have to go back to Russia to buy a car."

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Wilson, Steven F.



In 1963, Wilson was vice president of the Southwest division of Allyn & Bacon, a publishing company with offices in the Texas School Book Depository Building. He was watching the presidential motorcade from a third-floor window when the assassination took place. On March 25, 1964, he told FBI agents that the shots sounded as if they came from the "west end of the building," the direction of the Grassy Knoll. He then said they "did not sound like they came from above my head." Frequent and annoying visits from the FBI failed to persuade Wilson to alter his statement. Despite the fact that he told the FBI he had no objection to testifying before the Warren Commission, he was never called.

Researcher Mark Lane writes that when he requested that Wilson take part in a filmed interview, Wilson declined because he feared the FBI agents would resume their regular visits to his office, and "my work would suffer and so might my health." We are left to wonder why, if the FBI believed Wilson's information was important enough to subject him to repeated questioning, he was never called before the Commission.

See also TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY BUILDING EMPLOYEES.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Wilson, Tom

In 1991, Wilson told a conference on the assassination that he had been able to break down the Kennedy autopsy photographs using a computer-based scanner that revealed the use of paint to alter areas of the photos. Wilson considered the result of his process evidence that the pictures released to the public were forgeries.

High Treason 2

Book of Facts: Winborn, Walter



Winborn was working along the railroad overpass when the president's motorcade entered Dealey Plaza. Along with fellow workers, he stopped to watch the president pass below, and thus became an eyewitness to the assassination. In 1966, Winborn told an assassination researcher that he saw smoke coming from the trees atop the Grassy Knoll after the shots were fired.

See also OVERPASS WITNESSES.

Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Windshield Damage



Questions have been raised about whether a bullet pierced the windshield of the president's limousine. Such damage would be proof of yet another shot fired at the president.

While the doctors at Parkland Memorial Hospital were attempting to save Kennedy's life, two Dallas Police Officers, Starvis Ellis and H. R. Freeman, were standing watch over the limousine. According to a report by David S. Lifton, Ellis said there was a bullet hole in the left side of the windshield large enough to "stick a standard writing pencil" through. Officer Freeman corroborated what Ellis found, calling it "a bullet hole. You can tell what it was."

Later accounts of the windshield's condition are contradictory. Secret Service agent Charles Taylor, Jr., is reported as describing a "small hole just left of center." Secret Service chief James J. Rowley wrote that other Secret Service agents found the windshield "smooth and unbroken." The FBI lab said the windshield it received for examination had damage on the front surface only. Lifton was left to wonder just how many windshields were examined to produce such contradictory results.

See also BULLETS FIRED, NUMBER OF.

Best Evidence

Book of Facts: Wise, Wes



A reporter for KRLD-TV, and later Mayor of Dallas, Wise was never called to testify before the Warren Commission, even though Malcolm Couch had told the Commission that Wise reported seeing Jack Ruby walking along the side of the Texas School Book Depository Building moments after the assassination.

See also RUBY IN DEALEY PLAZA.

High Treason; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Woodward, Mary E.

A staff writer for the *Dallas Morning News*, Woodward had walked the few minutes from her office to Dealey Plaza to see the president during her lunch break. She found an advantageous spot near the Stemmons Freeway sign at the base of the Grassy Knoll. Just as the president passed by, she heard a "horrible, ear-shattering noise" that came from behind her and a little to her right. The Texas School Book Depository Building was to her left. Seconds later, the noise, which she thought might be a car backfiring, was followed by two more, and she saw Kennedy slump down.

See also DEALEY PLAZA WITNESSES; GRASSY KNOLL WITNESSES.

Crossfire

Book of Facts: Wright, Frank and Mary



The Wrights lived at 501 East 10th Street in Dallas, close to the spot where Officer J. D. Tippit was murdered. The gunshots brought the Wrights from their house. Frank Wright reportedly saw the police officer on the ground and a man standing over him. The man circled the police car, then jumped into an old gray car and sped off. This may be the second participant in the murder as seen by Acquilla Clemmons.

Despite the fact that the Wrights were so close to the scene when Tippit was gunned down, and that Mary Wright placed the telephone call for the ambulance that took Tippit's body away, the couple was never questioned by the FBI or the Warren Commission. New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison charged that FBI director J. Edgar Hoover ordered that none of his agents were to question either the Wrights or Clemmons.

See also TIPPIT MURDER SCENE WITNESSES.

On the Trail of the Assassins; Rush to Judgment

Book of Facts: Wright, O. P.



Wright, a former deputy Dallas police chief, was the director of security at Parkland Memorial Hospital in 1963. It was to Wright that Darrel C. Tomlinson gave the bullet he found on a stretcher - the so-called magic bullet, as it came to be known. Wright, in turn, gave the bullet to a Secret Service agent. When an FBI agent later showed him exhibit #399 (which the Warren Commission had identified as the bullet that wounded both President Kennedy and Governor John Connally), Wright could not identify it as the same bullet he had had in his possession at the hospital.

High Treason

Book of Facts: X-Ray Controversy



X rays of the president's body have caused considerable controversy, including allegations that some X rays were altered or replaced by forged ones. Differences exist between some of the head X rays and the descriptions of the head wounds reported by the doctors who examined Kennedy at Parkland Memorial Hospital. Included in these disputes is the possible presence of metal fragments that would indicate the head wound was caused by an unjacketed bullet, instead of the jacketed bullets the Warren Commission claimed Lee Harvey Oswald used. There are also differences in the location and size of missing portions of the skull. These differences have led to speculation that the head was surgically altered between the time the body left Parkland and the time the autopsy was performed at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

At a news conference held in New York City on May 28, 1992, and reported by Reuters the next day, Jerrold F. Custer, who took the X rays of the president's head, said that the official X rays released to the public were "wrong." He then compared the wounds he had seen to those shown on the X rays and insisted, "These are fake X rays."

See also AUTOPSY CONTROVERSY; HEAD WOUND CONTROVERSY.
Best Evidence; High Treason

Book of Facts: Yarborough, Ralph

Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas was riding with Vice President and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson in the motorcade, two cars behind the presidential limousine. He reported that the first shot caused him to wonder whether someone had thrown a bomb. He also commented that he could smell a strong odor of gunpowder in Dealey Plaza, a perception others reported. The smell of gunpowder resulting from shots fired from six stories above street level would not be detectable on the ground; it would drift away in a breeze like the one blowing across the plaza that afternoon. It could, however, have resulted from a gunshot fired from the Grassy Knoll area.

Yarborough later expressed surprise at how slowly the Secret Service responded to the first sound. He said the agents responded "very slowly, with no more than a puzzled look."

Crossfire: High Treason

Book of Facts: Zapruder Film



Abraham Zapruder was standing on the concrete monument on the Grassy Knoll filming the presidential motorcade as it passed. He continued filming as the shots were fired. He testified that the shots "came from back of me," meaning the top portion of the Grassy Knoll where the stockade fence is located. Zapruder sold his film to *Life* magazine, although there are charges that the CIA had possession of the film for a time.

The Zapruder film shows the president reach to his throat at the moment of the first bullet's impact. It also shows his head snap back as the fatal bullet strikes, and the pieces of skull, blood, and tissue fly toward the rear of the car. Abraham Zapruder's film is probably the most closely studied and analyzed piece of film in history.

Best Evidence; Crossfire; High Treason

Descriptions of the Film:

(For "Little Girl Running" description, see "**Case Closed Analysis**", below)

Zapruder Warren Commission Analysis

The Warren Commission found that at Zapruder frame 166(Z166) the line of fire from a gunman located in the southeastern most window of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository was obstructed by a large oak tree. The President came back into view for a fleeting instant at Z186. The Presidential limousine emerged from behind the tree at Z210.

Kennedy is seen waving until about Z205 when a road sign blocks Kennedy from Zapruder's view. When Kennedy emerged at Z225, he appeared to be reacting to his neck wound.

The Commission found that Kennedy was probably not hit before Z210 and was probably hit by Z225. The bullet hit Kennedy in the back and exited his throat. The bullet could not have missed both the automobile and its occupants, and since it did not hit the automobile it probably struck Governor Connally. The Commission found that the exact positions of the men could not be recreated though it was probable that the men were sufficiently aligned such that the bullet which exited Kennedy's throat could have caused all of Connally's wounds. This finding is known as the Single Bullet Theory.

A subsequent shot, at Z313, entered the back of Kennedy's head and exited through the upper right portion of his skull. The finding is evident from the explosion of the President's skull from the right side of his head.

The Warren Commission concluded that three shots were fired, all from the south eastern sixth floor window of the Texas School Book Depository by Lee Harvey Oswald. One shot, called the "Single Bullet", caused Kennedy's back and throat wound, and all of Connally's wounds. Another shot hit Kennedy in the head, and a third shot ricocheted, wounding a bystander, James Tague, on the cheek.

Zapruder House Select Committee on Assassinations Analysis

In 1978, The House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA), based primarily on sophisticated acoustical analysis, concluded that a second gunman fired from the grassy knoll, affirming the theory that Kennedy was assassinated as the result of a conspiracy.

The HSCA found that four shots were fired; three from the Depository and one from the grassy knoll. The HSCA found that the first shot was fired from the Depository at Z157-Z161 and missed, wounding James Tague. The second shot was fired at Z188-Z191 and hit both Kennedy and Connally, affirming the Single Bullet Theory. The third shot was fired from the grassy knoll at Z295-Z296 and missed. The fourth shot, fired from the Depository at Z312, hit Kennedy in the head. The HSCA did consider the theory that the third shot from the grassy knoll hit Kennedy in the head at Z312, though the theory was eventually discarded.

Zapruder Conspiracy Theory Analysis

There are many widely varying conspiracy theories, the foremost being the 1978 findings of the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA). Conspiracy Theories include any theory which involves more than one gunman or more than three bullets. Even if Lee Harvey Oswald was the only gunman, the deduction that there was therefore no conspiracy may be invalid if Oswald was acting upon the orders of someone else. Conspiracy Theories include:

(i) the generally held theory based upon the movement of Kennedy's head at the moment of the head shot as seen in the Zapruder film that a shot was fired from the grassy knoll at Zapruder frame 312 (Z312);

(ii) a theory held by the HSCA and based upon acoustical analysis that a shot was fired from the grassy knoll at Z295-Z296 which missed;

(iii) a theory held by Robert Groden and based upon study of the Zapruder film that a shot was fired from the grassy knoll at Z189-Z191 which struck Kennedy in the throat and did not exit; (iv) a theory based upon the improbability of the Single Bullet Theory and the inability of one gunman to fire two shots in the time frame between Kennedy's hit and Connally's hit, that a shot was fired from the southeastern most window of the sixth floor of the Depository or from the southwestern most window of the sixth floor of the Depository which struck only Connally at Z2224-Z2240;

(v) a theory held by researchers Wallace Milam and David Lifton that Connally was not shot until Z327, after Kennedy's fatal head wound, based upon the reactions of Connally as seen in the Zapruder film;

(vi) a theory suggested by Harold Weisberg based upon a photograph taken by James Altgens which shows suspicious activity in the second floor window of the Dal-Tex Building, that a gunman fired from the second floor of the Dal-Tex building at an undetermined moment in the Zapruder film;

(vii) a theory held by researcher Robert Groden and based upon photographs of a bullet mark next to a manhole on the south side of Elm Street which traces back to the Dallas County Records Building that at an unidentified moment in the Zapruder film a gunman on the roof of the Records building fired at the Presidential limousine and missed; and

(viii) a theory held by researcher Robert Cutler that there were in all nine shots: four were hits, one miss, and four intentional misses. The first shot was fired from the southeastern window of the sixth floor of the Depository at Z152, intentionally missed and struck the pavement of Main Street wounding bystander James Tague. The second shot was fired from the third floor of the Dal-Tex Building at Z160, unintentionally missed and struck Elm Street. The third shot was a poisoned flechette fired from the umbrella man positioned near the Stemmons Freeway sign at Z187, wounded the President in the throat. The fourth shot was fired from the third floor of the Dal-Tex building at Z220, wounded the President in the back. The fifth shot fired from the southwestern window of the sixth floor of the Depository at Z222, wounded Governor Connally. The sixth shot fired from the southeastern window of the sixth floor of the Depository at Z231.5, missed and dented the windshield frame of the Presidential limousine between the visors. The seventh shot fired from the grassy knoll at Z294 intentionally missed and hit the turf between Elm and Main Streets. The eighth shot fired from the southwestern window of the sixth floor of the Depository. At Z312.5, hit the President in the head and fragments from the head wound caused Connally's thigh wound. The ninth shot fired from the grassy knoll at Z326, intentionally missed and hit the turf between Elm and Main Streets.

Zapruder Case Closed Analysis

The Warren Commission's finding that the first shot was fired between Z210-Z225 and the last at Z313 presented a timing problem. The assassin if there was only had a minimum of 4.8 seconds and a maximum of 5.6 seconds to fire all three shots. Gerald Posner in "Case Closed" attempts to solve the timing issue by suggesting that the first shot was fired not at Z210-Z225 but before Z166, resulting in 8.0 to 8.4 seconds of firing time.

Posner suggests that the evidence for an early shot is found in the reactions of the following around Z160: (1) 10-year-old Rosemary Willis, who, dressed in a red skirt and is running along side the Presidential limousine; stops running; (2) Kennedy, who stops waving; (3) Mrs. Kennedy, who's head abruptly twisted from her left to the right, the general direction of the School Book Depository.

Posner suggests that the shot around Z160 missed because the bullet was deflected by the large oak tree obstructing the line of fire.

Posner claims that the second shot hit Kennedy at Z223-Z224 and that this same shot then hit Governor Connally, thereby affirming the most controversial finding of the Warren Commission - The Single Bullet Theory. The evidence to support this claim is based on the observation that at Z226-Z227 Kennedy has assumed the Thorburn position, whereby, after spinal injury, a victim's arms jerk up into a fixed position almost parallel with the chin, with hands gathered near the neck and elbows pushed out to the sides. Posner claims that Kennedy assumed the Torburn position 1.8 to 3.66 Zapruder frames after he was hit and that therefore Kennedy was hit at Z223-224.

Posner's claims that the moment the bullet strikes Connally has been determined by "one of the most important timing confirmations in the case..." that at Z224 the right lapel of the governor's suit flies away from his chest. This lapel flap indicates the precise moment the Connally was shot, at Z224.

Posner places the third shot at Z313, claiming that computer analysis confirms that the third shot was fired from the Depository.

Book of Facts: ZR/Rifle

This was the code name the Central Intelligence Agency used for an assassination program that was also called Executive Action. The program employed criminals who were useful "if you need[ed] somebody to carry out murder," as former CIA director Richard Helms said. Assassination investigators have used this fact to point out that the CIA had relations with, and even employed people who were, professional assassins. ZR/RIFLE is a link in the chain that appears to tie Lee Harvey Oswald, the CIA, and the Kennedy assassination together.

Conspiracy

Book of Facts: A Readers Guide to the Assassination

Someone recently estimated that more than six hundred books have been published that concern the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Many of these books do not actually cover the assassination directly, but discuss issues that are, at best, peripheral to the subject. In some cases, discussion of the assassination is included in an attempt to boost a book's sales when the book's main subject might be of substantially less interest to those millions of people around the world who buy books on the assassination.

For the following Reader's Guide, we have decided to include only books and documentaries that are about the Kennedy assassination itself or that deal with subjects so closely related that they demand inclusion. We considered the possibility of separating the guide into specific subjects, but we found so many books and documentaries that would have neatly fit into more than one section that we fell back on the expedient course of making a standard bibliography, listing books and documentaries alphabetically by author. We have included books published in English in the United States or Great Britain. Our inclusion of a book or documentary on this list is no indication that we recommend it or support its thesis. We have for the most part excluded books that are self-published (a few do remain on the list) as well as many that are long out of print or otherwise difficult to find.

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Declassified: The Plot to Kill Kennedy (1979). This one-hour documentary examines the possible conspiracies behind the assassination.

Executive Action (1973). Based on the novel of the same name, co-authored by Mark Lane, this 90-

minute feature stars Robert Ryan and Burt Lancaster as leaders of a group of businessmen who plot to kill the president to protect their business interests.

The Fateful Trip to Texas: The Assassination of a President (1969). Produced by historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Fred Israel, the seven-minute documentary was released by Chelsea House Communications, New York.

Four Days in November (1964). This two-hour documentary was produced by Mel Stuart and released by United Artists.

JFK (1991). Oliver Stone's famous feature starring Kevin Costner as New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison was widely attacked by establishment press and television commentators for its distortions of history. The movie is based on Jim Marrs's *Crossfire* and Jim Garrison's *On the Trail of the Assassins*.

The Kennedy Assassination: What Do We Know Now That We Didn't Know Then? (1978). This film was produced by Witness Productions and released through Sundicast Services, Inc.

Ruby (1992). This feature film, starring Danny Aiello in the title role, is a fictionalized account of the underworld activities of Jack Ruby. In the film, Ruby is ordered to kill Lee Harvey Oswald to prevent him from talking about the assassination.

Ruby and Oswald (1978). This television film was based on the activities of Jack Ruby and Lee Harvey Oswald before and after the assassination; Frederic Forrest and Michael Lerner starred.

Rush to Judgment (1964). Co-produced by Mark Lane, this two-hour documentary is based on his book of the same title and focuses on the question, Where were the shots fired from? It was released by Impact Films.

The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald (1977). This TV miniseries cleverly blended fact and fiction; Loran Greene and John Placate starred.

The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald (1987). This 1987 miniseries created a trial for Lee Harvey Oswald - something he never had in reality. Working without a script and using no professional actors, Vincent Bugles attempted to convince a jury of Dallas residents (chosen from voter registration records) of Oswald's guilt. Gerry Spank, a famous trial lawyer, defended the absent accused assassin. The judge was a sitting Texas judge, and the action took place in a real courtroom and followed all the rules and procedures of an actual criminal trial. All the witnesses called to testify were actual witnesses to events surrounding the assassination. The film is a fascinating portrayal of what Oswald's trial might have been like, had he lived.

Two Men in Dallas (1977). Narrated by Mark Lane, this one-hour film focuses on the activities of one of the most important witnesses of the assassination, Deputy Sheriff Roger Craig. It was released by Alpha Productions.

Winter Kill. Jeff Bridges stars in this fictitious account of how the brother of a murdered president discovers that the killing was ordered by Mafia bosses.

Animation Menus

Analysis



Conspiracy Theory

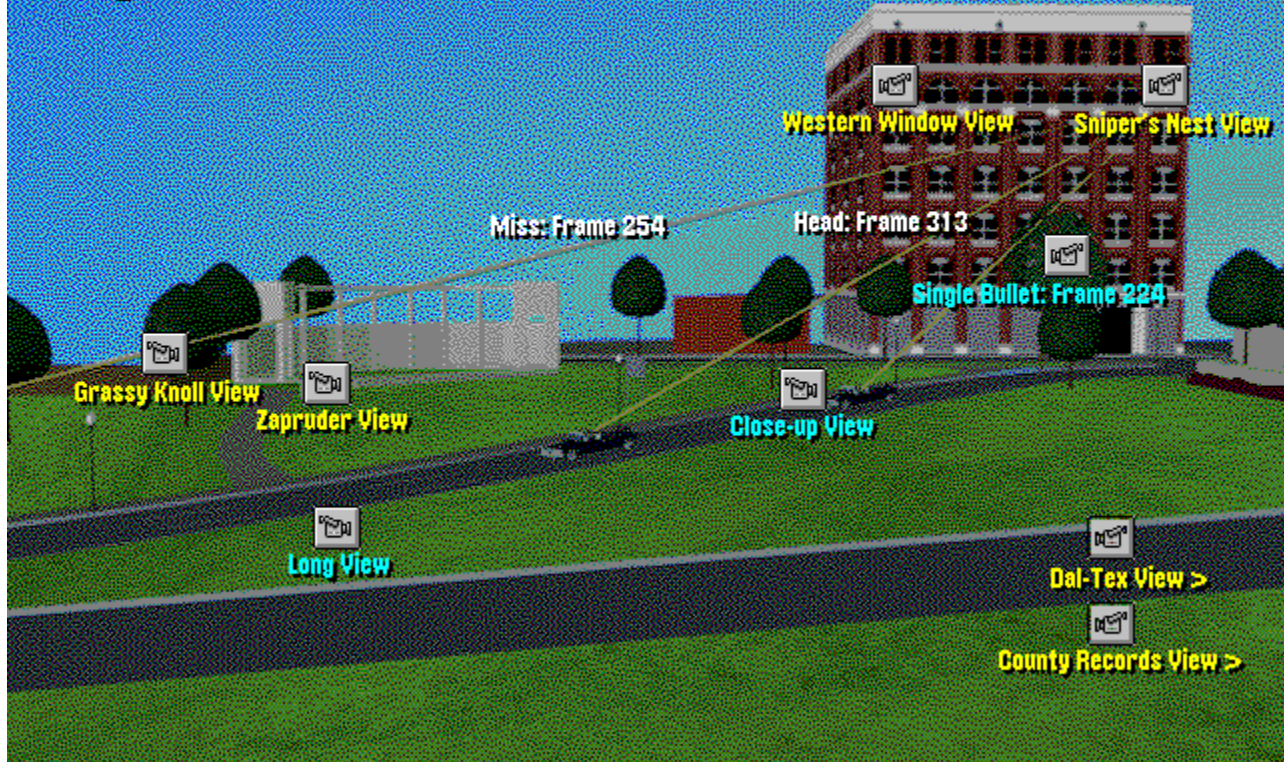


Warren Commission



House Committee

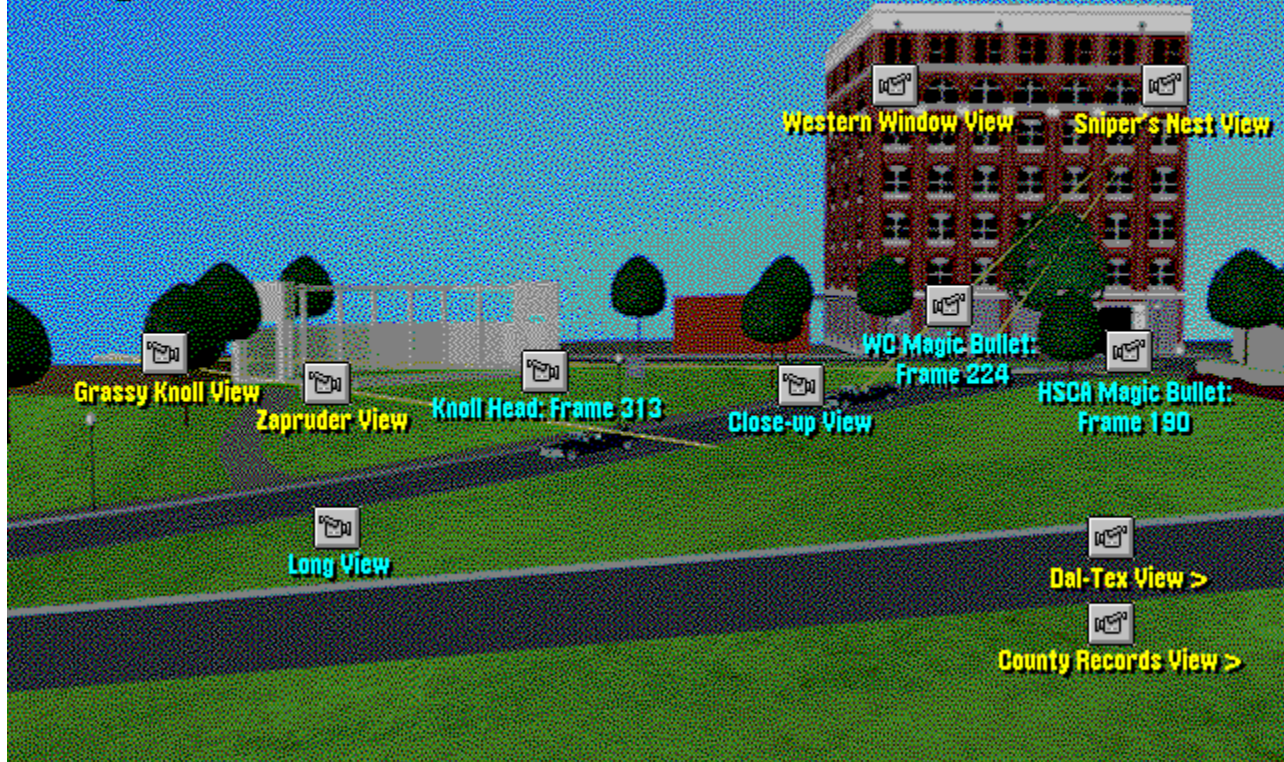
Warren Commission



House Committee



Conspiracy Theory




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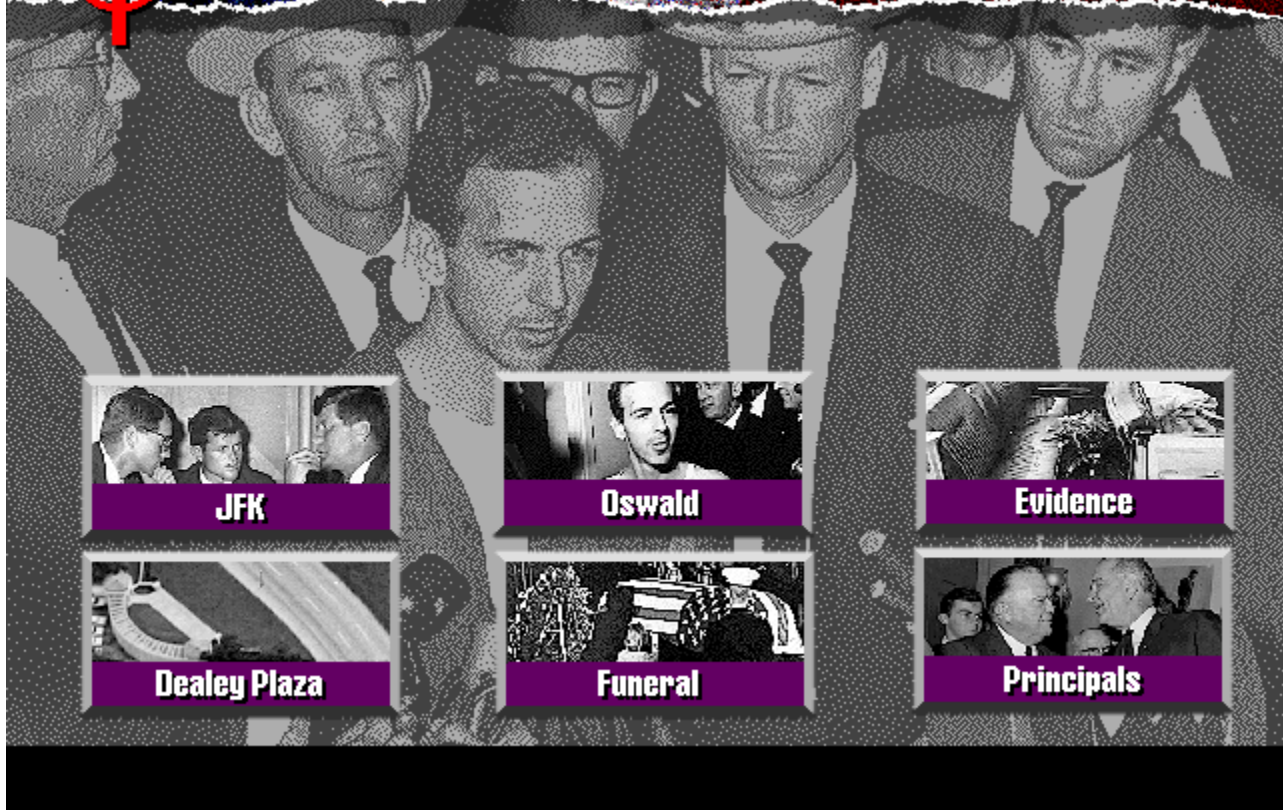


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Photo Library

Photo Library



JFK



Oswald



Evidence



Dealey Plaza



Funeral



Principals

Photographs: JFK, Football Player



John F. Kennedy, age 16, when he played football for the Choate School, in Connecticut.

Photographs: JFK, Family 1936



John F. Kennedy, far left, at age 17, with his family in 1936.

Photographs: JFK, 1941



John F. Kennedy around 1941.

Photographs: JFK, Navy



Lt. John F. Kennedy receives medal for extremely heroic conduct while commanding PT-109.

Photographs: JFK, Youthful Campaigner



JFK campaigning in 1946.

Photographs: JFK, Family in 1946



Standing outside St. Francis Xavier church, Hyannis, Massachusetts; l to r: Eunice Kennedy (sister), Joseph P. Kennedy (father), Bishop James Cassidy, Mrs. Joseph Kennedy (mother), John F. Kennedy, John F. Fitzgerald (grandfather), Edward Kennedy (brother) in 1946.

Photographs: JFK and Brothers 1958



Senator John F. Kennedy (D-Mass) and his two brothers, Edward, left, a student at the University of Virginia; and Robert, counsel of the Senate Rackets Investigating Subcommittee, on March 15, 1958.

Photographs: JFK and Brothers 1959



Senator John F. Kennedy conferring with brothers Edward and Robert in 1959.

Photographs: JFK and Lyndon B. Johnson



John F. Kennedy, democratic presidential candidate and Lyndon B. Johnson, vice presidential candidate, during the 1960 presidential campaign.

Photographs: JFK, Inauguration



JFK being sworn in as the 35th President of the United States by Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Photographs: JFK and Attorney General Robert Kennedy



President Kennedy with his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, in October 1962.

Photographs: JFK at the White House



President Kennedy at the White House, October 1962, between meetings with government leaders.

Photographs: JFK and John, Jr.



John Jr., 18 months old and walking, takes a few steps in the chief executive's White House office.

Photographs: JFK, Vietnam



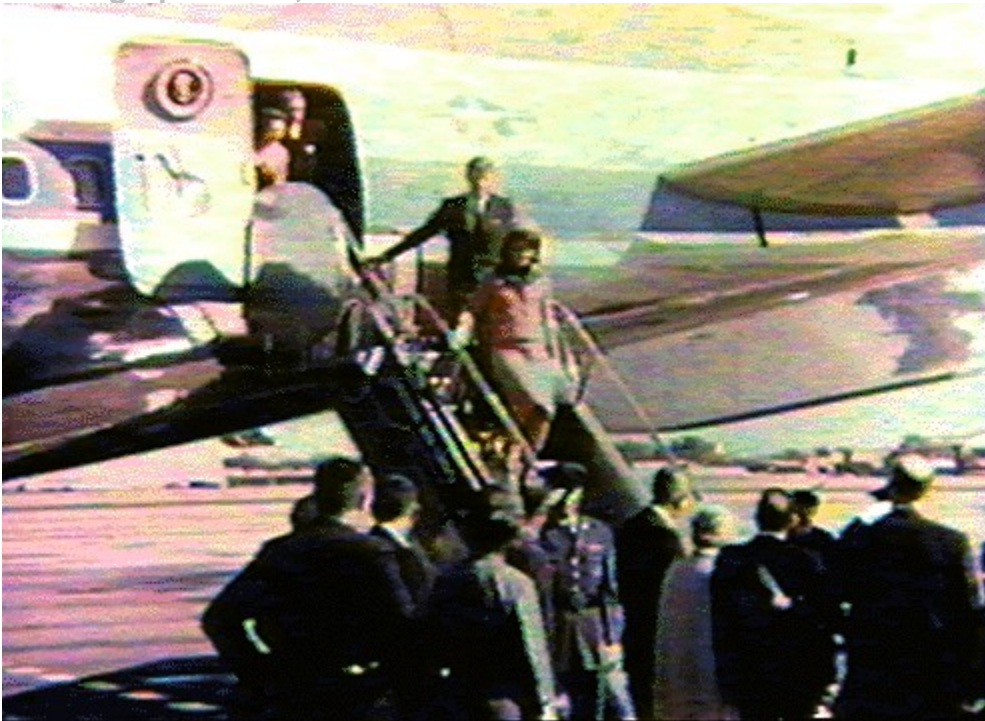
President Kennedy, in March 1961, illustrates pro-Communist infiltrations in southeast Asia.

Photographs: JFK, Houston



President Kennedy in Houston, Texas before the fateful journey to Dallas.

Photographs: JFK, Love Field Arrival



President and Mrs. Kennedy arrive at Love Field, Dallas, Texas on November 22, 1963.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Overhead



An overhead view of Dealey Plaza, the site of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Grassy Knoll



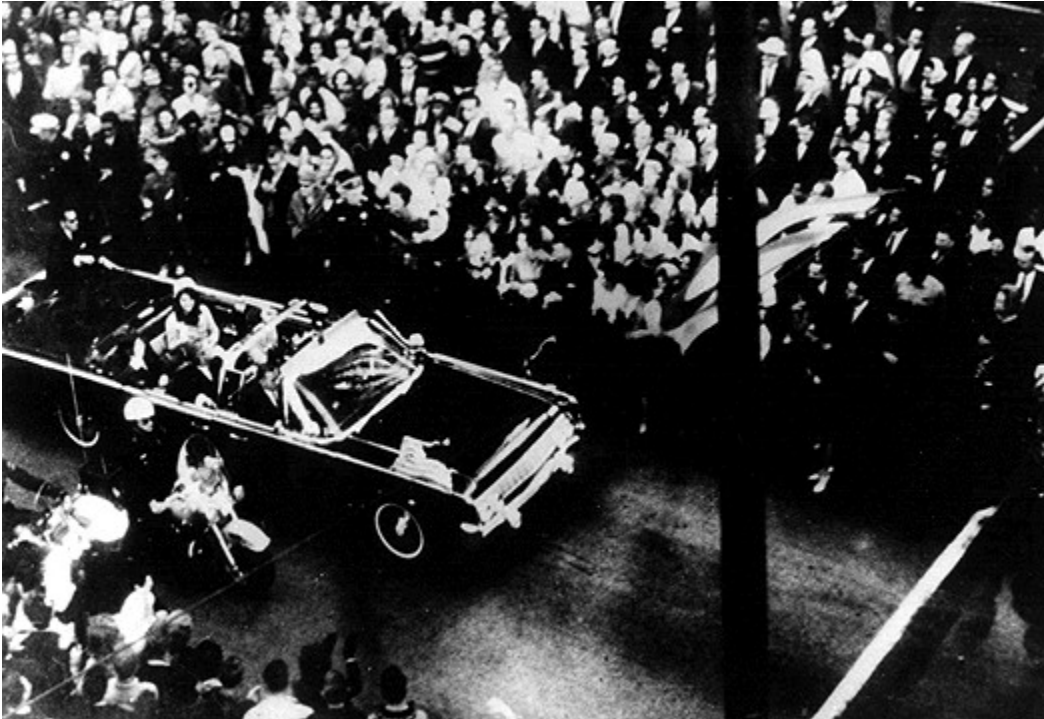
A view of the Grassy Knoll from the roof of the Dallas County Records Building.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Crowds



Dallas crowds cheer President Kennedy.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Presidential Limousine Approaches



The motorcade approaches Dealey Plaza. Secret Service Agent Clint Hill rides on the left rear bumper.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Entering The Plaza



The Presidential limousine enters Dealey Plaza.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Kennedy Waves, Altgens 01



President Kennedy waves moments before the shots.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, The First Shot, Altgens 02



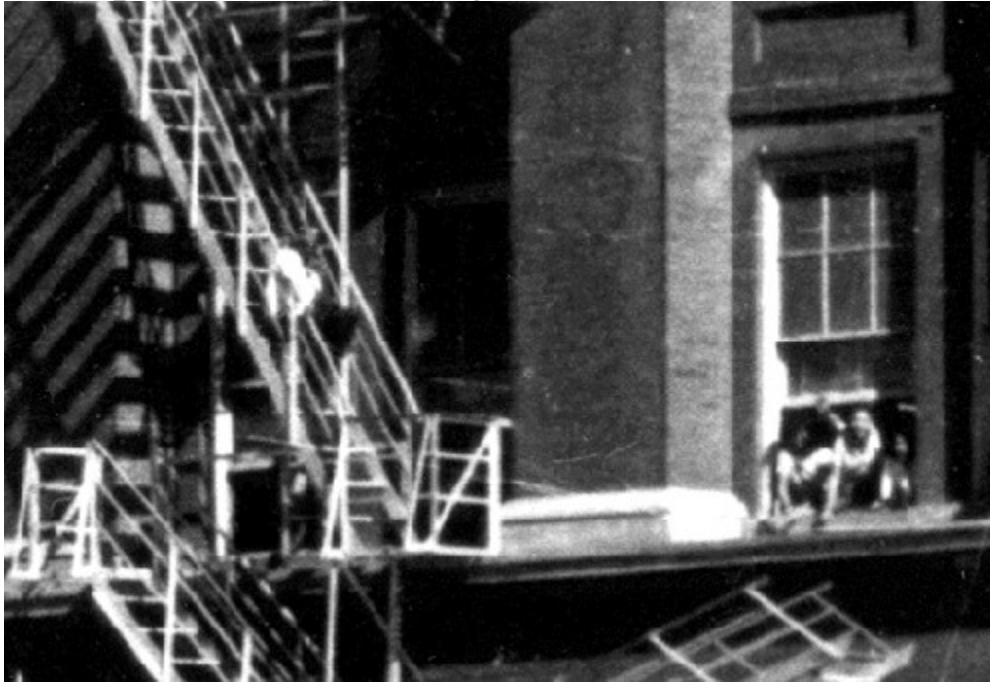
The moment of the first shot which struck President Kennedy.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Secret Service Men



Secret Service agents riding directly behind the President at the moment of the assassination.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Open Window



At the moment of the assassination, two windows are open on the second floor of the Dal-Tex building. Some Conspiracy theorists believe that a gunman fired from the second floor of the Dal-Tex building.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Man in Doorway



At the moment of the assassination, a man resembling Lee Harvey Oswald stood in the doorway of the Texas School Book Depository. The Warren Commission concluded that the man was not Oswald, but Billy Lovelady, an employee of the Book Depository.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, After the Shots, Altgens 03



This photograph, taken seconds after the shots, shows Secret Service agent Clint Hill clutching to the back of the Presidential limousine as Mrs. Kennedy reacts to the fatal wounds of the President.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Police



Police officers escort the Presidential motorcade at the moment the president is first struck by a bullet.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Babushka Lady



The Babushka Lady (brown coat, right side) in Dealey Plaza at the moment of the assassination.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Bullet Hits the President, Moorman



Mary Moorman took this well-known Polaroid picture just as Kennedy was struck in the head. Researchers examined the bushy area east from the corner of the fence and discovered what appeared to be two figures. The main figure has been dubbed the "badge man" because he appears to be wearing a dark shirt with a semi-circular patch on the left shoulder and a bright shiny object on his left chest.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 01



Phillip Willis, who took a series of pictures considered by many as the most important photos taken of the assassination. The Presidential limousine passes the Court House on Main and Houston, 25 seconds before the fatal shots.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 02



The Presidential limousine has turned onto Houston from Main.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 03



The motorcade approaches the final turn onto Elm.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 04



The Presidential limousine has turned onto Elm, just three seconds before the fatal shots.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 05



The black arrow points to the President the moment he was first struck by a bullet. A human figure known as the "black dog man" is visible at the top of the corner of the low retaining wall to the left of the Grassy Knoll pergola.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 06



Dealey Plaza moments after the fatal shots.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 07



The press bus, which was located at the end of the motorcade, passes the assassination site.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 08



The man with dark glasses at the far right may be Jack Ruby, placing him at the scene of the assassination.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 09



Police seal the Texas School Book Depository after the shooting.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 010



Police hold up the gun taken from the Texas School Book Depository.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 011



Police search for the assassin.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Phil Willis 012



The Texas School Book Depository one hour after the assassination.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Umbrella Man



The Umbrella man with the Dark Complexioned man moments after the assassination.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Race to Parkland



A wounded President Kennedy and Governor Connally race to Parkland Memorial Hospital.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Race to Parkland



Kennedy's foot is protruding over the side of the car as it speeds to Parkland.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Police Search for the Assassin



Police look toward the sixth floor window of the Book Depository after the assassination.

Photographs: Dealey Plaza, Acoustic Experts



A Texas police department sharpshooter fires a rifle from behind a fence on the grassy knoll in Dealey Plaza, as acoustics experts record the shots in an attempt to determine if more than three shots were fired from different positions in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Photographs: Oswald, The Marine



Lee Harvey Oswald, the accused assassin of President Kennedy, in the Marines at age 19.

Photographs: Oswald, Soviet Union



Lee Harvey Oswald in the Soviet Union, posing with Pavel Golovachev (right) a KGB informant.

Photographs: Oswald, Captured



Lee Harvey Oswald is captured by Dallas Police less than two hours after the assassination.

Photographs: Oswald, Texas Theater



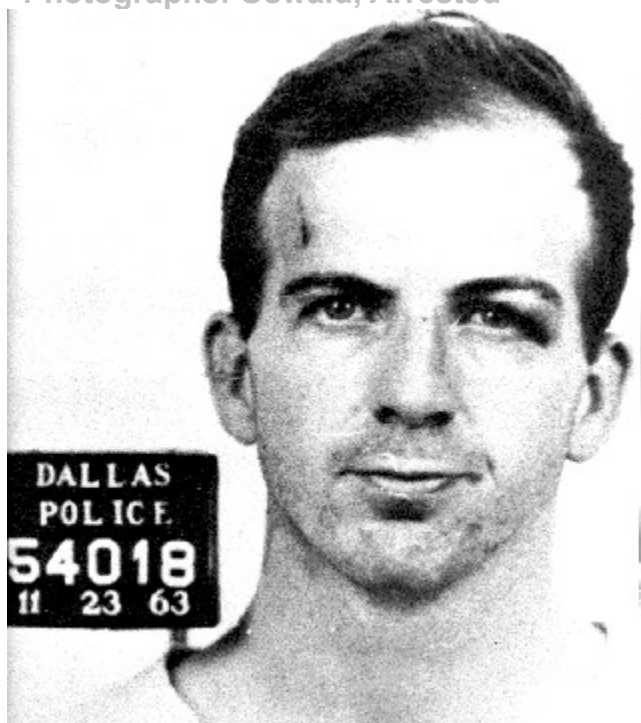
The Texas Theater, where Oswald was captured by Dallas Police.

Photographs: Oswald, Arrested



The suspected assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, 24 years-old, as he was led through the Dallas police station. Oswald was charged with the murder of Dallas policeman J.D. Tippit, and later that evening with the murder of President Kennedy.

Photographs: Oswald, Arrested



Dallas Police identification photograph of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Photographs: Oswald, Reporters



Lee Harvey Oswald, surrounded by detectives, responds to reporter's questions.

Photographs: Oswald, Denies Charges



Lee Harvey Oswald, before news reporters, repeatedly denies that he assassinated the President.

Photographs: Oswald, Ambulance



Oswald is put into an ambulance after he is shot by Jack Ruby in the basement of the Dallas Jail.

Photographs: Oswald, Funeral



Marina Oswald, her daughter June Lee, Robert Oswald, and Marguerite Oswald holding Rachel, Marina's other daughter at the funeral of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Photographs: Oswald, Defection Letter

ГОСТИНИЦА „МЕТРОПОЛЬ“
г. МОСКВА

I to Hong Council be hereby request
that my present citizenship in the
United States of America, be revoked.
I have entered the Soviet Union for
the express purpose of applying for citizenship
in the Soviet Union, through the means
of naturalization.
My request for citizenship is now
pending before the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.
I take this step for political reasons.
My request for the revoking of my American
citizenship is made only after the longest
and most serious considerations.
I affirm that my allegiance is to
the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Lee Harvey Oswald

Letter from Lee Harvey Oswald, requesting that his American citizenship be revoked.

Photographs: Oswald, Identification Card

**SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM
NOTICE OF CLASSIFICATION**

Approval not required

ALEK

JAMES

HIDELL

(First name)

(Middle name)

(Last name)

Selective Service No.

42 224 599 5521

has

been classified in Class 1-A (Until

19.....) by Local Board Appeal Board,

by vote of _____ to _____ President

(Show vote on appeal board cases only)

_____, 19.....

(Date of mailing)

(Member or clerk of local board)

(Registrant must sign here)



The law requires you, subject to heavy penalty for violation, to carry this notice, in addition to your Registration Certificate on your person at all times—to exhibit it upon request to authorized officials—to surrender it to your commanding officer upon entering the armed forces.

The law requires you to notify your local board in writing (1) of every change in your address, physical condition, and occupational, marital, family, dependency, and military status, and (2) of any other fact which might change your classification.

FOR ADVICE, SEE YOUR GOVERNMENT APPEAL AGENT

A forged picture identification card found on Lee Harvey Oswald at the time of his arrest.

Photographs: Oswald, Letter to Mr. Hunt

Nov. 8, 1963

Dear Mr. Hunt,

I would like information
concerning my position.

I am asking only for information
I am suggesting that we discuss the
matter fully before any steps are
taken by me or anyone else

Thank You,
Lee Harvey Oswald

A letter dated fourteen days before the assassination, possibly links Oswald to rogue CIA agents.

Photographs: Oswald, Edwin Walker - Home



General Edwin A. Walker's home, with the license plate of the car suspiciously blackened. The Warren Commission concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald attempted to kill General Walker at his home in April 1963.

Photographs: Funeral, Casket



Jacqueline and Robert Kennedy watch as the President's casket is placed in an ambulance.

Photographs: Funeral, Jacqueline Kennedy



Jacqueline Kennedy and her daughter kiss the casket of her husband in the rotunda of the U.S. Capital.

Photographs: Funeral, Kennedy Family Leaves the Capitol



The Kennedy family leaves the Capitol after the slain President's body was placed in the rotunda.

Photographs: Funeral, The Capitol



The flag draped coffin of President Kennedy pauses in front of the Capitol on route to burial at Arlington.

Photographs: Funeral, Procession



The funeral procession moves through the capitol.

Photographs: Funeral, Procession



The funeral procession crosses the Memorial Bridge leading to Arlington National Cemetery.

Photographs: Funeral, Arlington



The Kennedy family watches as a military team places the President's casket at the grave site.

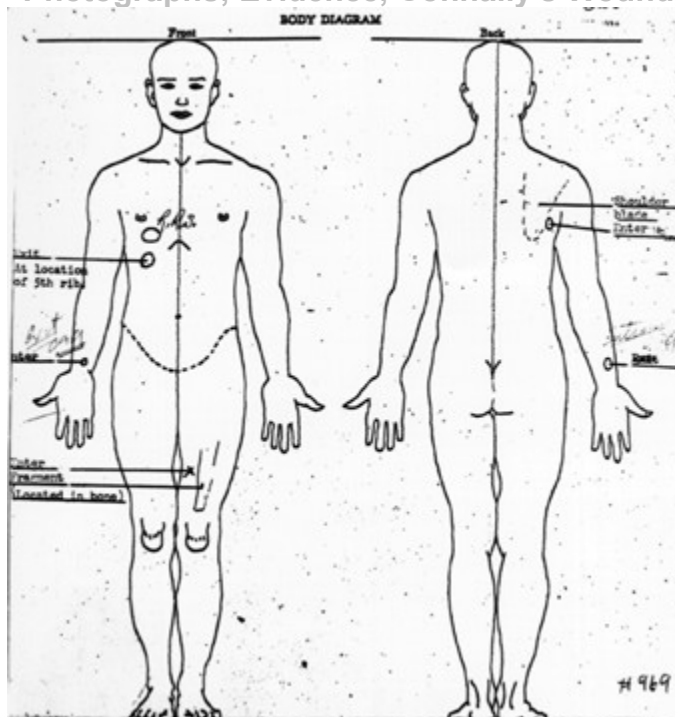
Photographs: Evidence, Kennedy's Wound Positions

NO. 1 0022336
 NAME: _____
 SEX: _____
 RACE: _____
 HEIGHT: _____
 WEIGHT: _____
 HAIR: _____
 EYES: _____
 BIRTH: _____
 OCCUPATION: _____
 RESIDENCE: _____
 MARITAL STATUS: _____
 RELIGION: _____
 EDUCATION: _____
 SERVICE: _____
 LAST MEASUREMENTS: _____
 SIGNATURE: _____

Wound on back of neck
 Wound on back of neck 12 inches from base of neck
 George Burkley
 11/22/63

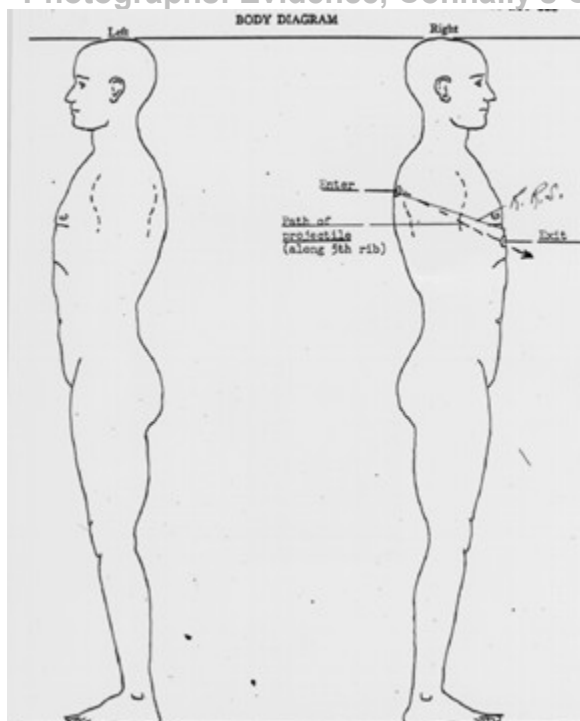
The autopsy face sheet signed by Admiral George Burkley verifying the location of President Kennedy's wounds. The report places the back wound well below the neck.

Photographs; Evidence, Connally's Wound Positions



Body diagram showing the positions of the wounds incurred by Governor Connally.

Photographs: Evidence, Connally's Chest Wound



Body diagram of Governor Connally's chest wound.

Photographs: Evidence, Autopsy - Back Wound



Autopsy photograph of the President's back, showing the location of his back wound. The Warren Commission found that the bullet which entered Kennedy's back exited his throat.

Photographs: Evidence, Back Wound - Diagram



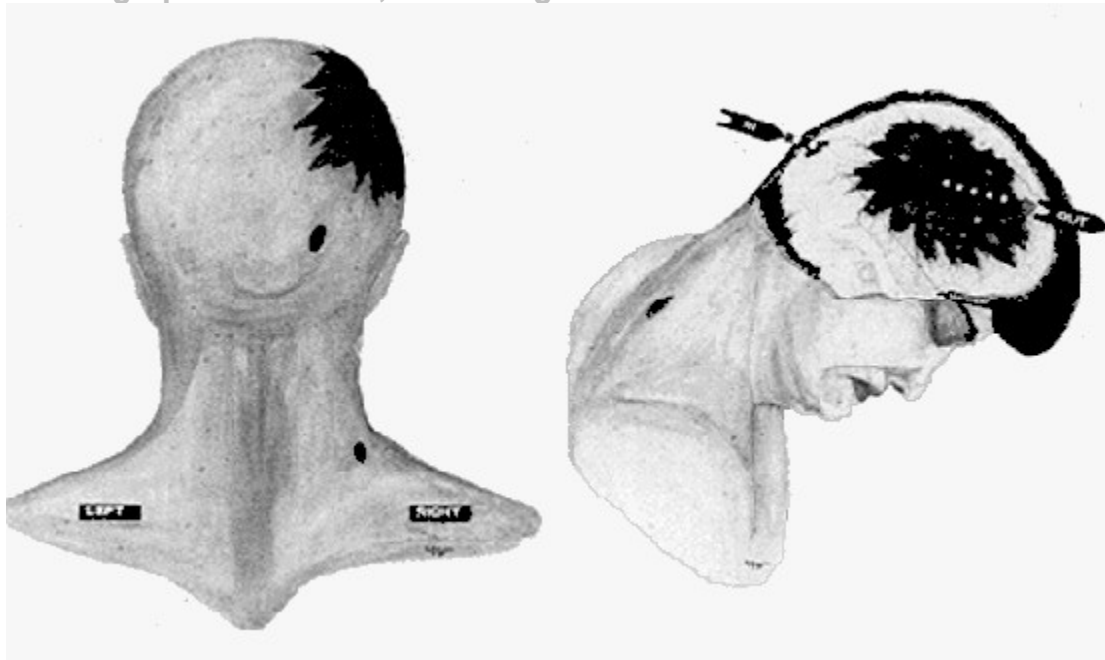
Placement of the back wound according to the Warren Commission. The back wound is high and the throat wound is depicted as an exit wound.

Photographs: Evidence, Head - Autopsy



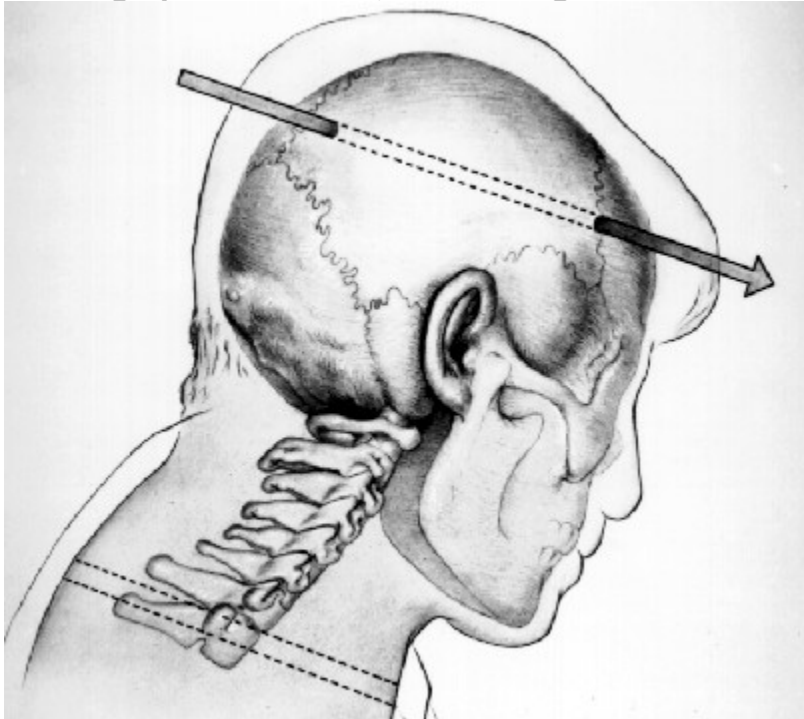
Autopsy photograph of the President's head, showing the back of the head intact. The picture disagrees with all accounts of the head wound by Parkland doctors and staff.

Photographs: Evidence, Head Diagram



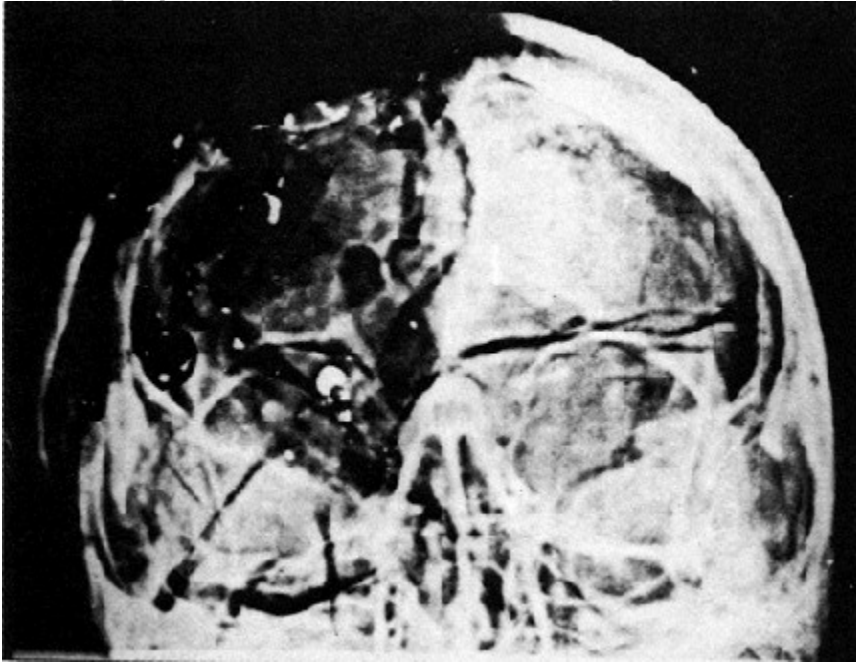
Diagrams of the head wound suffered by President Kennedy, according to the Warren Commission. The representation of the head wound partially to the rear of the head does not correspond to autopsy photographs of the head.

Photographs: Evidence, Head - Diagram



The version of the head wound as determined by the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

Photographs: Evidence, JFK Head X-ray



X-ray of President Kennedy's skull, showing that the bone of the right front forehead is missing as far down as the right eye socket, however autopsy photographs of the President's face do not show any such damage, suggesting that either X-rays or the photographs are forged.

Photographs: Evidence, Head - Z335



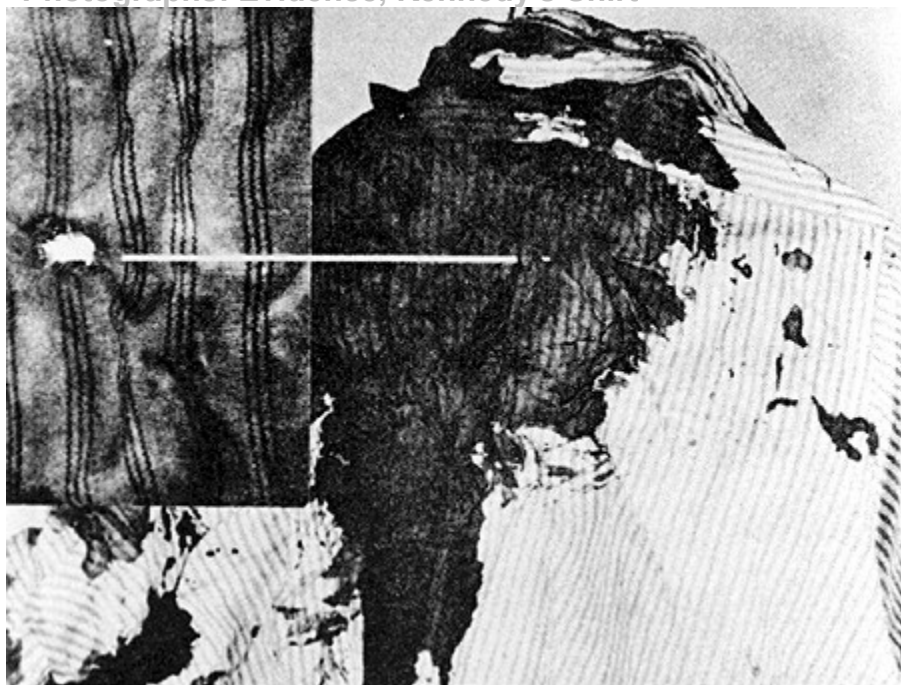
Frame 335 from the Zapruder film showing the wound to the President's head. The back of the President's head appears to be missing, confirming Parkland Doctor's descriptions of the head wound and the probability that the President was hit from the front.

Photographs: Evidence, Kennedy's Coat



President Kennedy's coat showing the bullet's point of entry, measured at 5 3/8 inches below the collar.

Photographs: Evidence, Kennedy's Shirt



FBI lab photographs showing the damage to President Kennedy's shirt. The bullet entrance hole in the back of the shirt is measured at $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches below the top of the collar.

Photographs: Evidence, Connally's Shirt



Governor Connally's shirt showing the rear entry wound.

Photograph: Evidence, Magic Bullet



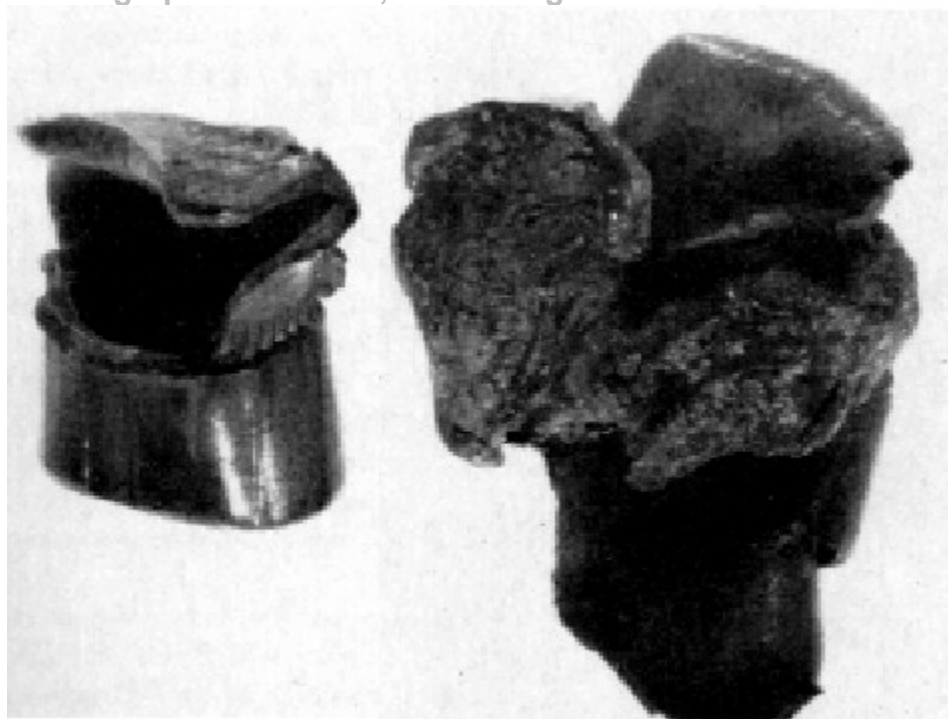
Commission Exhibit #399 which is alleged to have caused injuries to both President Kennedy and Governor Connally and to have emerged in near-perfect condition became known as the Magic Bullet.

Photographs: Evidence, Magic Bullet - Base



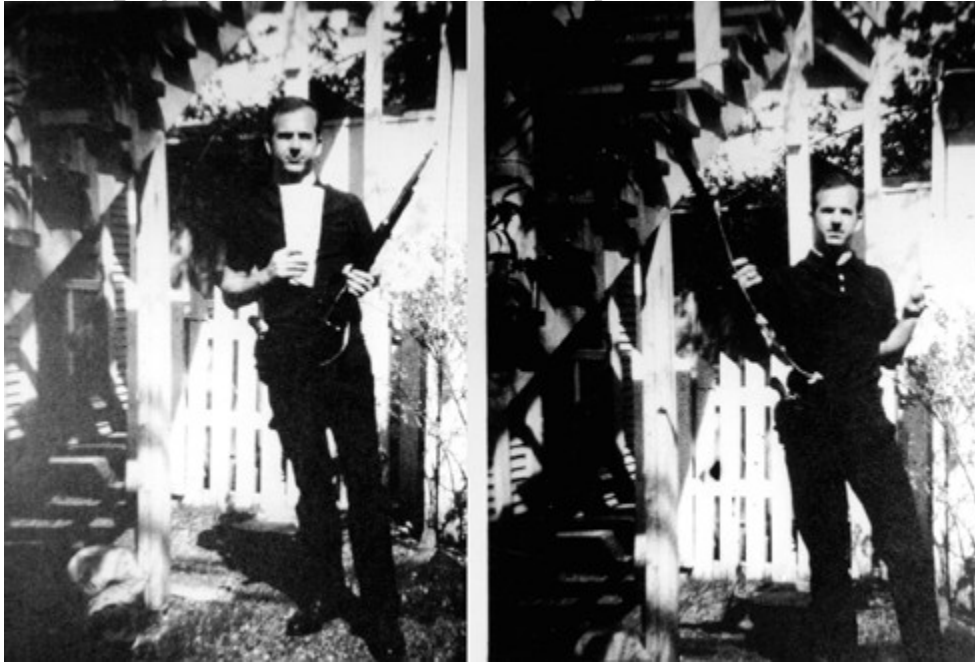
Damage to the base of the Magic Bullet, showing the distorted, flattened shape of the bullet.

Photographs: Evidence, Bullet Fragments



Bullet Fragments found in the Presidential limousine.

Photographs: Evidence, Oswald Backyard Photographs



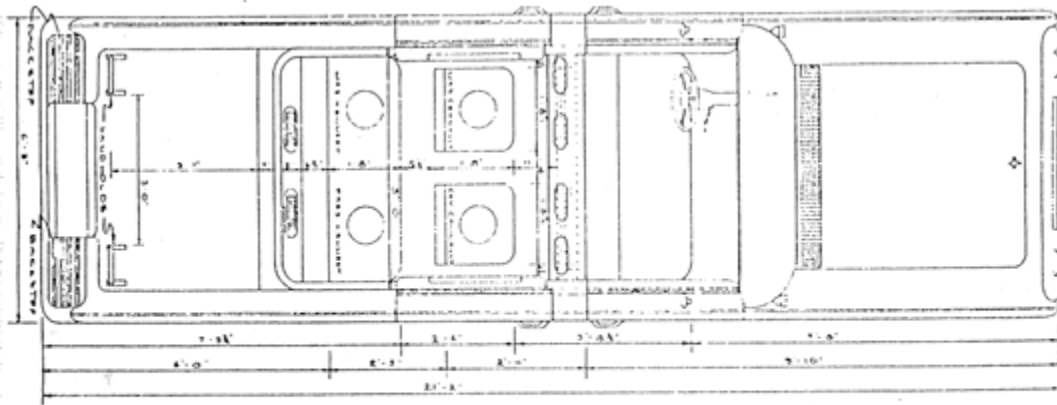
Allegedly taken by Marina Oswald in the backyard of their home at 214 Neeley Street in Dallas, Lee Harvey Oswald holds two communist newspapers, "The Worker" and "The Militant," as well as a rifle resembling the assassination weapon. Oswald claimed that the photographs were faked.

Photographs: Evidence, Presidential Limousine



Within 48 hours, the Presidential limousine was shipped to the Ford Motor Company in Detroit and completely dismantled, thus destroying any important bloodstains, bullet holes or more bullet fragments which could have shed light on the assassination.

Photographs: Evidence, Presidential Limousine



PRESIDENTIAL CAR — NOVEMBER 22, 1963 — SCALE $\frac{3}{4}'' = 1'-0''$
DRAWN BY RONALD S. KNOWLES WHCA

Scaled Secret Service drawing of the Presidential limousine.

Photographs: Evidence, The Rifle



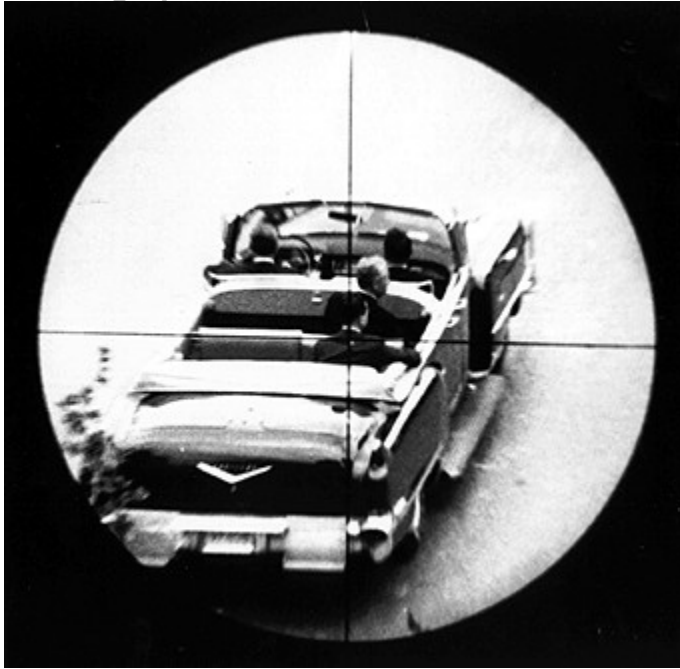
A detective holds the bolt action rifle allegedly used to assassinate President Kennedy. Originally identified as a German-made 7.65-caliber Mauser, the rifle is was later identified as a Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5-caliber Italian-made carbine.

Photographs: Evidence, Reenactment



Government reenactment of the assassination. The location of head entry is marked near the hair line, a position incompatible with autopsy conclusions. The back wound, as positioned in the reenactment, is not aligned with an exit wound at the level of the throat as the Warren Commission concluded.

Photographs: Evidence, Reenactment - Rifle Scope



View through the rifle scope from the sixth floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building during the reenactment of Kennedy's assassination.

Photographs: Evidence, Reenactment Z210



Photographs taken from the perspective of Zapruder's position and the sniper's nest during the reenactment of the assassination correspond to Zapruder frame 210, possibly the moment of the first shot which struck the President.

Photographs: Evidence, Throat - Diagram



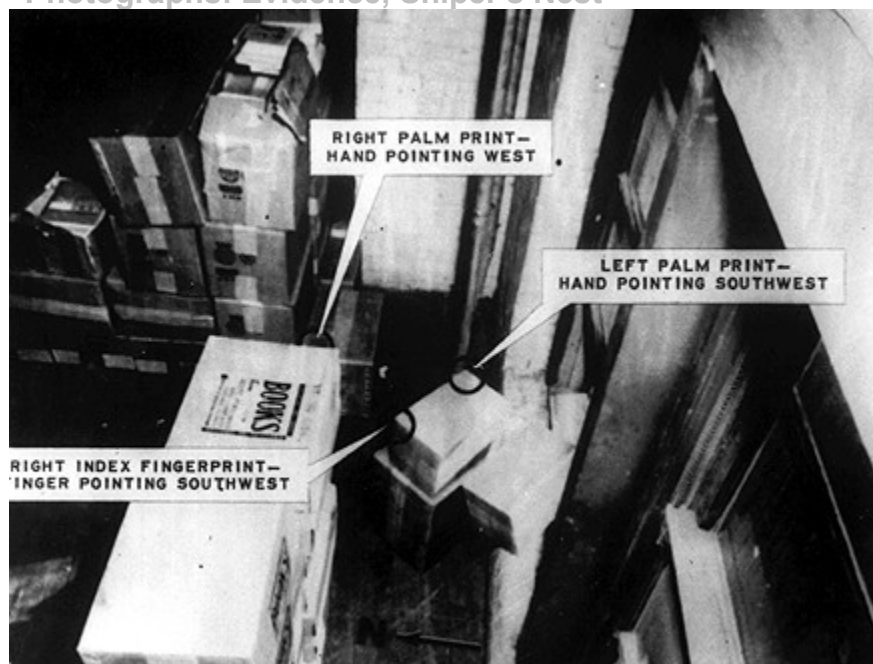
Diagram of the throat wound suffered by President Kennedy according to the Warren Commission. The back wound is high, compared to autopsy findings, and the throat wound is depicted as an exit wound.

Photographs: Evidence, Throat - Autopsy



Autopsy photograph of President Kennedy's throat wound. The wound is a result of a tracheotomy performed by Dr. Malcolm Perry at Parkland Memorial Hospital. The tracheotomy incision was made over a wound which Dr. Perry described as a bullet entry wound, based upon its size of 3 to 5 mm in diameter. Contrary to Dr. Perry's observation, the Warren Commission concluded that the throat wound was a wound of exit.

Photographs: Evidence, Sniper's Nest



Southeast corner of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository, the location where the Warren Commission concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald fired three shots killing President Kennedy and wounding Governor Connally. The arrangement of cartons and the location of prints are shown.

Photographs: Evidence, Windshield Damage



Damage to the windshield of the Presidential limousine, possibly caused by a bullet not accounted for by the Warren Commission.

Photographs: Principals, Altgens, James



James Altgens was an Associated Press photographer who photographed the assassination.

Photographs: Principals, Fidel Castro



The Cuban dictator Fidel Castro has long been suspected of ordering Kennedys death.

Photographs: Principals, Judith Campbell Exner



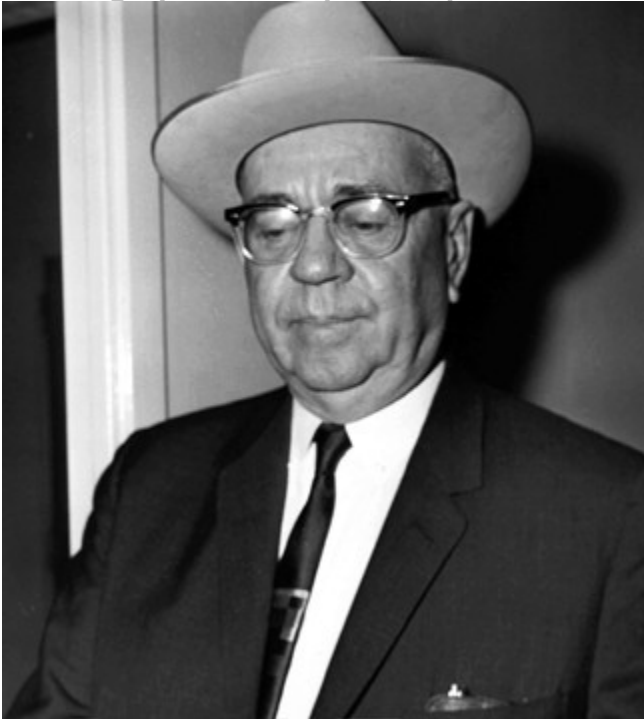
Judith Campbell Exner, who was connected to mobster Sam Giancana, had an affair with JFK.

Photographs: Principals, David Ferrie



A CIA contract agent, David Ferrie was a suspect in the Garrison investigation but died before the trial.

Photographs: Principals, Captain Will Fritz



Dallas police captain Will Fritz interrogated Lee Harvey Oswald after his arrest.

Photographs: Principals, Jim Garrison



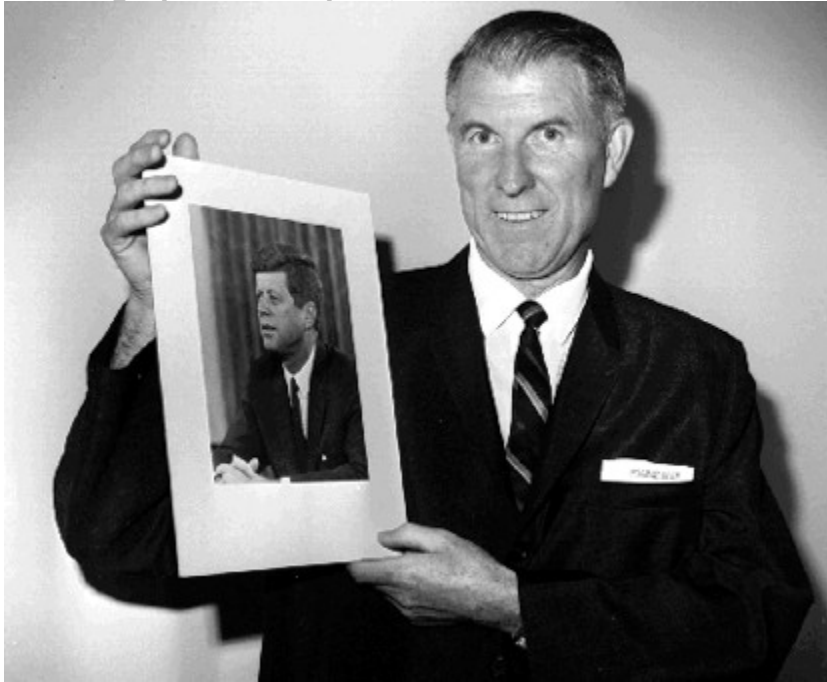
Jim Garrison, the New Orleans district attorney, conducted an investigation of the assassination.

Photographs: Principals, Sam Giancana



Sam Giancana was a Chicago mafia boss involved in CIA plots to kill Fidel Castro.

Photographs: Principals, William Greer



Secret Service agent William Greer was the driver of the limousine the day of the assassination.

Photographs: Principals, Jimmy Hoffa



Jimmy Hoffa, president of the National Teamsters Union, was a target of Robert F. Kennedy's investigations.

Photographs: Principals, J. Edgar Hoover



FBI director J. Edgar Hoover has been criticized because he consistently supported the idea that Lee Harvey Oswald was the sole assassin and not part of a larger conspiracy.

Photographs: Principals, E. Howard Hunt



CIA agent E. Howard Hunt was in charge of the CIA station in Mexico City, when Lee Harvey Oswald allegedly visited the Soviet and Cuban embassies, ostensibly to arrange for his return to the Soviet Union.

Photographs: Principals, Johnson is Sworn in



Aboard Air Force One, Johnson is sworn in as the President of the United States.

Photographs: Principals, President Johnson



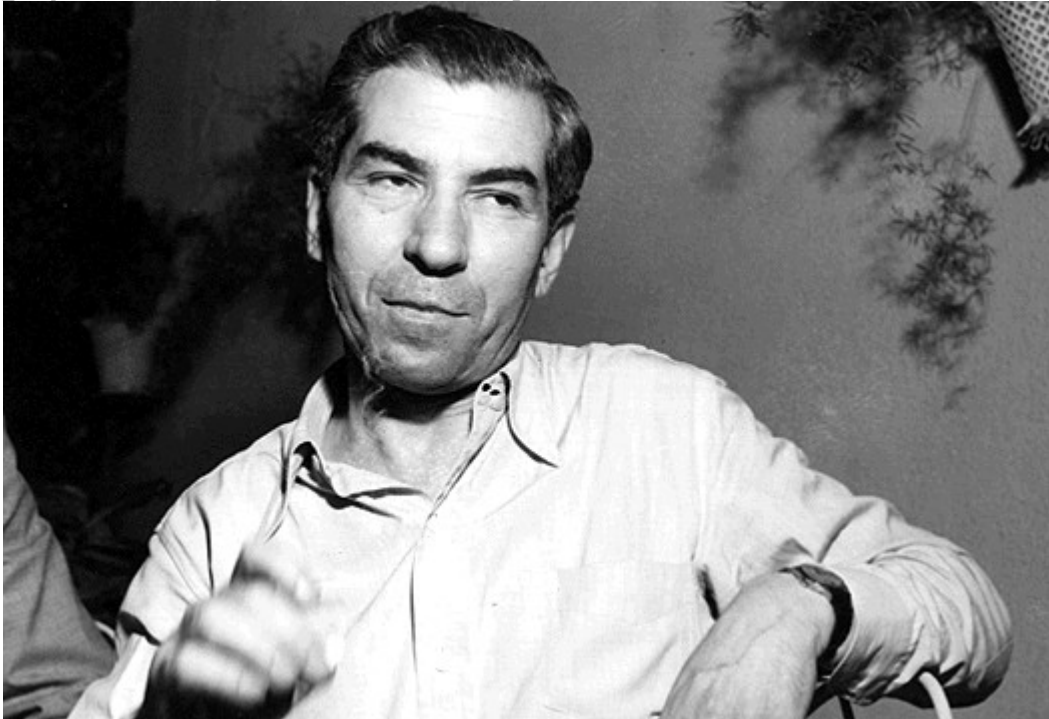
Lyndon B. Johnson make his first address to the nation as President.

Photographs: Principals, Meyer Lansky



By 1933, the Mob's financial wizard, Meyer Lansky, had obtained gambling concessions in Cuba.

Photographs: Principals, Charles "Lucky" Luciano



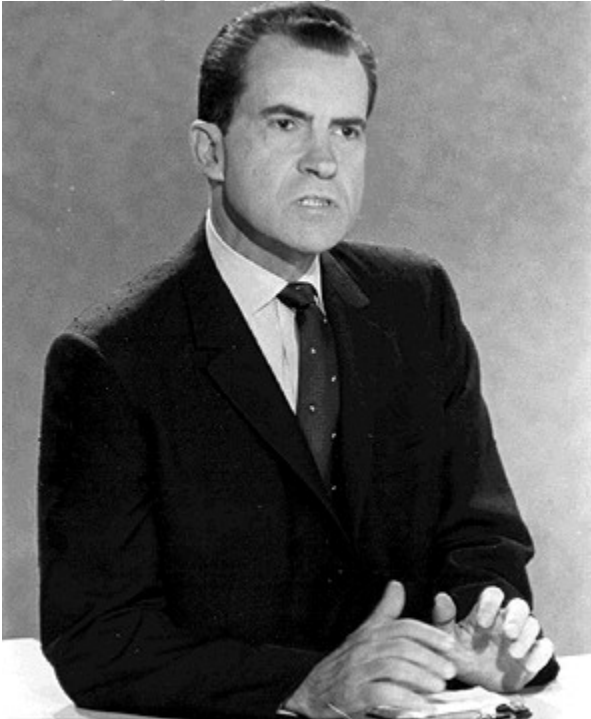
Lucky Luciano forged connections between the mafia and U.S. intelligence agencies.

Photographs: Principals, Carlos Marcello



Carlos Marcello was for decades the reputed head of the mafia organization in the South.

Photographs: Principals, Richard Nixon



Vice President Nixon during televised debates with Senator John F. Kennedy in October 1960.

Photographs: Principals, Marina Oswald



Marina Oswald, the wife of Lee Harvey Oswald, on the day of the assassination.

Photographs: Principals, Jack Ruby



Jack Ruby, the slayer of Lee Harvey Oswald, was a Dallas nightclub owner with ties to the mafia.

Photographs: Principals, Jack Ruby - Arrested



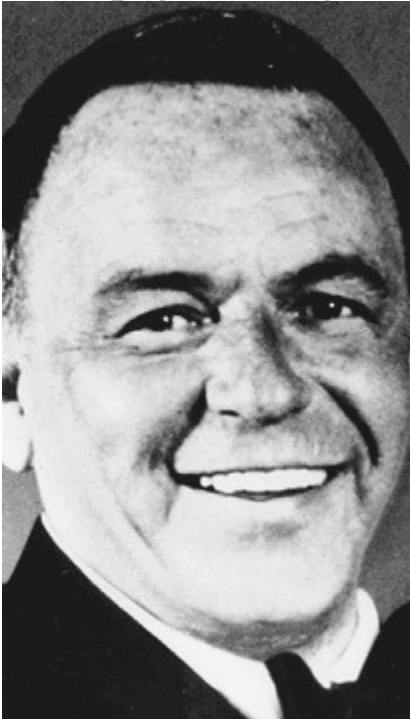
Jack Ruby under arrest after the shooting of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Photographs: Principals, Clay Shaw



New Orleans district attorney Jim Garrison charged Shaw with conspiracy to murder President Kennedy.

Photographs: Principals, Sinatra, Frank



Frank Sinatra introduced Judith Exner to John F. Kennedy. Exner was associated with the mafia.

Photographs: Principals, James Tague



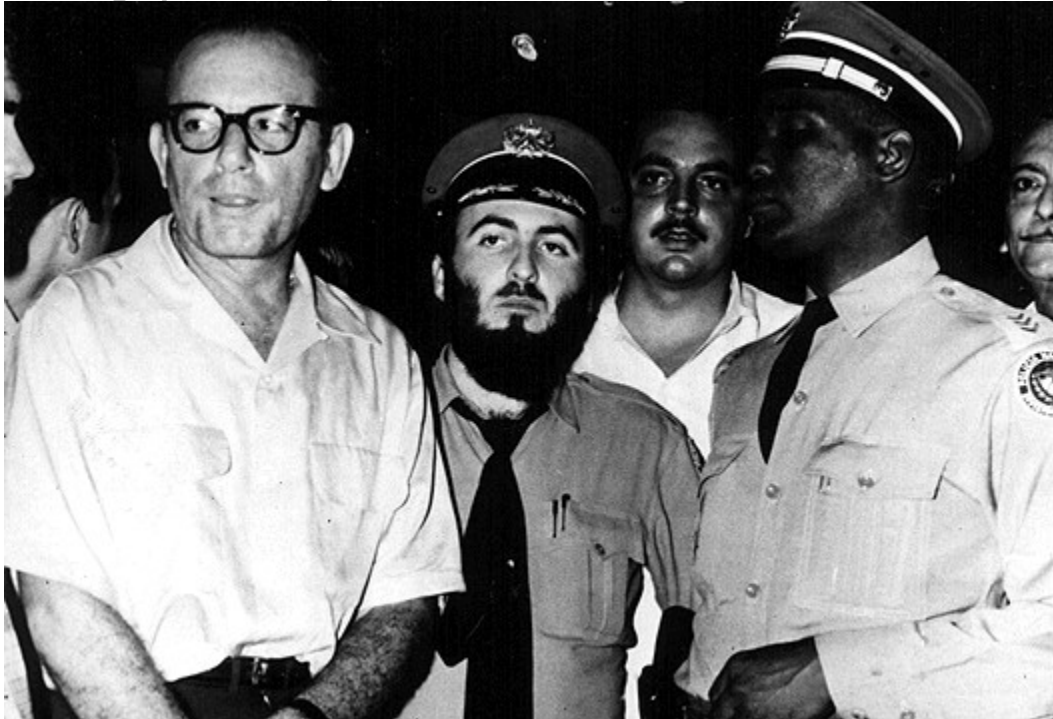
James Tague, who is behind the car door in the upper right of this frame from the Zapruder film, was the third man wounded in Dealey Plaza.

Photographs: Principals, Tippit, J. D.



Policeman J.D. Tippit was murdered shortly after the assassination, possibly by Lee Harvey Oswald.

Photographs: Principals, Santos Trafficante



Santos Trafficante, a Florida mafia boss, is reported to have made several threats on President Kennedys life.

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J.F.K. *Assassination*

A Visual Investigation



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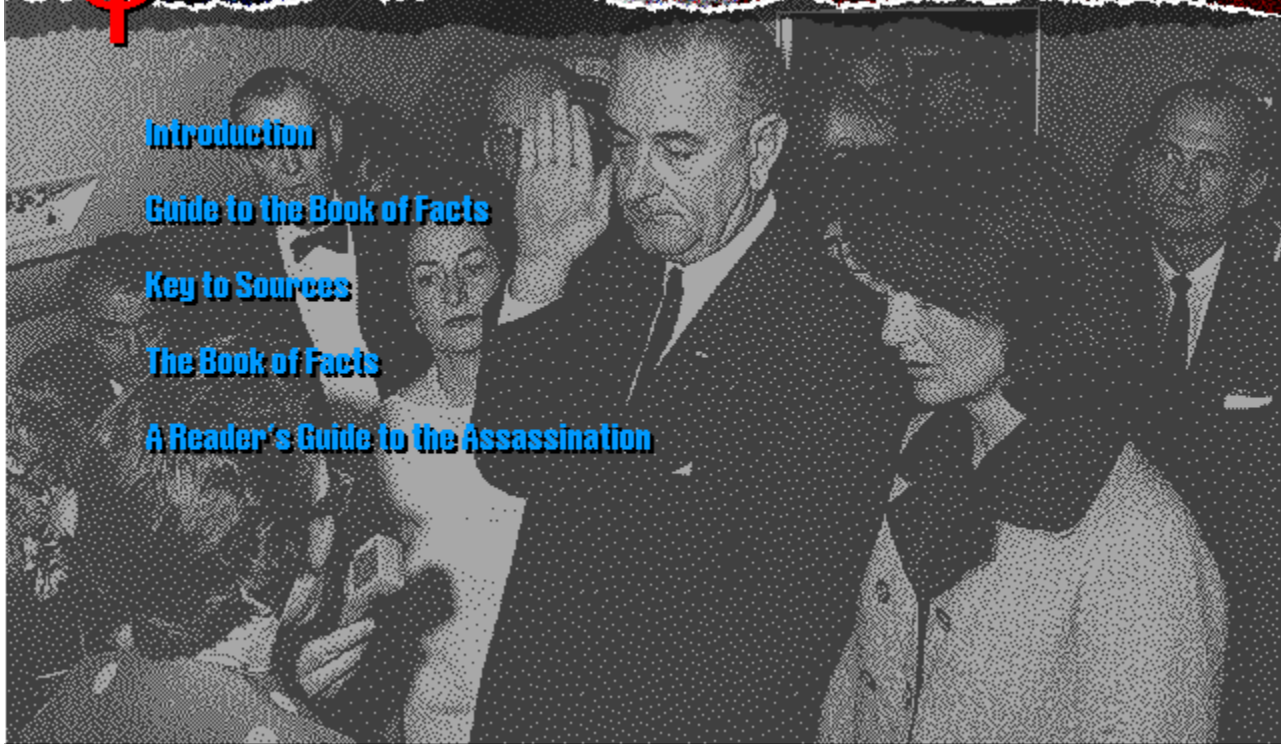
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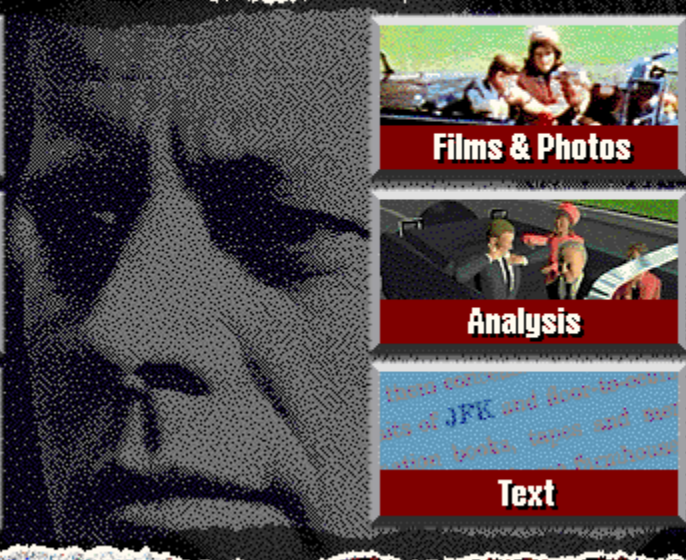
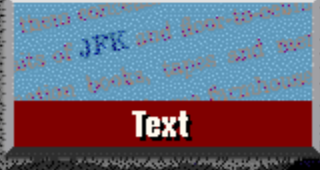
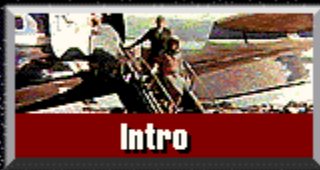
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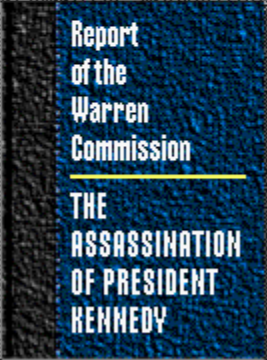
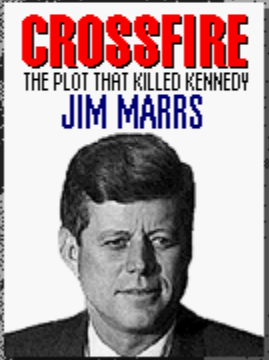
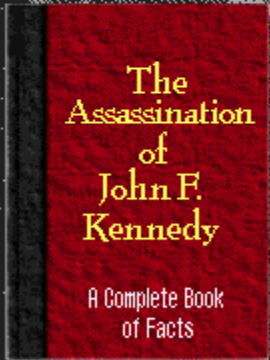
J.F.K. *Assassination*

A Visual Investigation




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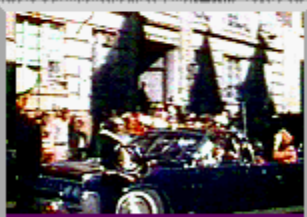
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Overview: JFK's Youth



Kennedy was born on May 29, 1917, in Brookline, Massachusetts, an unpretentious middle-class suburb of Boston.

He was the second oldest son of a family which began their American life with the immigration of Patrick Kennedy from Ireland in 1848. Both grandfathers were prominent Democratic Party ward bosses during the time when a group of Irish leaders ruled the local party.

While he grew to manhood, his father, Joseph P. Kennedy, amassed a considerable fortune. By age 25, Joe Kennedy had gained control of a bank in East Boston. By adroit investments in real estate, the stock market and the film industry - and perhaps some bootlegging money - Kennedy built an empire worth an estimated \$250 million.

Jack, as the future President was called, attended only the best schools, beginning with the Choate School in Connecticut, where he won an award for best combining sports and scholastics. While he graduated near the bottom of his class, he nevertheless was selected as the man "most likely to succeed."

A bout with jaundice forced him to drop out of college, but upon recovery, he joined his older brother, Joseph Kennedy Jr., at Harvard.

Overview: PT-109



JFK joined the U.S. Navy two months before the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor.

In the summer of 1943, Kennedy was in command of a Navy patrol boat, the PT-109. During a patrol in the Solomon Islands, the PT-109 was struck and broken in half by a Japanese destroyer, the only such incident during the war.

Although some negligence appeared to be involved, Kennedy went on to become a hero after saving the life of one of his men and helping to arrange their rescue.

He pulled his wounded chief engineer, Patrick McMahon, to a nearby island by swimming for four hours with the man on his back held in place by gripping a strap of the man's life jacket between his teeth. Later, Kennedy arranged for local natives to alert Navy officials of the group's location in enemy-held territory. Soon they were all rescued.

Overview: JFK - The Senator



The political aspirations of his father fell on Jack Kennedy after the death of the oldest brother, Joseph Kennedy Jr. After the war, a reluctant Kennedy ran for and won a House Seat from Massachusetts.

In later years, Joe Kennedy was quoted as saying:

"I told him Joe was dead and it was his responsibility to run for Congress. He didn't want to. But I told him he had to."

With the Kennedy name and Kennedy money behind him, Kennedy easily won two more elections to Congress. Then, in 1952, he defeated Henry Cabot Lodge to become junior senator from Massachusetts.

With an eye toward the 1960 Presidential election, Kennedy and his supporters went all out to ensure an impressive victory in his 1958 senate re-election campaign in Massachusetts. Indeed, he won by the largest margin in the state's history.

Overview: The 1960 Presidential Campaign



By 1960, Kennedy was ready for the Democratic presidential nomination. Entering the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles, Kennedy was unsuccessfully challenged by conservative Texas Senator Lyndon B. Johnson. The pragmatic Kennedy immediately knew that conservative Democrats were needed to win against Republican Richard Nixon, so he forged a temporary coalition by selecting the defeated Johnson as his vice presidential running mate. Perhaps the real turning point in the 1960 election came in September when Kennedy and Nixon met in the first televised debates in American history. The four debates were viewed by nearly half the population of the nation and no one denies that Kennedy emerged the victor - although radio listeners judged Nixon the winner.

On Election Day, Kennedy won, but by one of the slimmest margins in American history. He polled 34,227,096 votes to Nixon's 34,108,546 - a margin of 49.9 percent to 49.6 percent.

On January 20, 1961, standing coatless in bristling 20-degree temperature in Washington, Kennedy took the oath of office from Chief Justice Earl Warren and announced:

"The torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans..."

Later in his speech, he issued his famous challenge:

"Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

Overview: The 35th President



The 35th President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was the first U.S. President born in the 20th century. At age 43, Kennedy became one of the youngest Presidents and, at the time of his death at age 46, he lived a shorter life than any other President.

His brief presidency - 1,026 days- stirred the emotions of nearly every American. Hardly anyone was neutral about Kennedy. They either loved him or hated him.

By the fall of 1963, polls showed Kennedy popularity had dropped to 59 percent, largely due to his stand on civil rights

Kennedy supporters were looking toward the 1964 election, hoping for a mandate which would give Kennedy's ambitious programs much needed popular support. It never happened.

In the fall of 1963, he went to Texas.

Kennedy had carried Texas by the slimmest of margins in 1960, largely through the efforts of Lyndon Johnson. He needed the state badly in 1964, particularly if his hopes of achieving a large mandate were to be realized. So, in an effort to enhance his image and to raise money, Kennedy, along with his wife, made the fateful journey to Texas in November 1963.

Overview: Dallas - Stronghold of Arch Conservatives



By 1963, Dallas was the most influential city in the Lone Star State next to oil-rich Houston, however, Dallas also had a reputation for being the stronghold of arch conservatives.

In early June plans for a trip to Texas were finalized during a meeting between Kennedy, Johnson and Governor Connally in El Paso. In October, a motorcade was added to the plans.

On November 22, the apprehension of the Kennedy entourage about the trip was evident, especially in light of a full-page newspaper ad which ran that morning in the "Dallas Morning News" suggesting the President was soft on Communism and guilty of traitorous activities. A leaflet handed out to some of the people lining the motorcade route was not as subtle as the newspaper ad. It pictured Kennedy under a headline reading "Wanted For Treason".

Overview: JFK Arrival Love Field



Fort Worth and Dallas are so close that even before reaching its full climb, Air Force One began its descent to Dallas. Looking out the plane's window, Kennedy commented to Governor Connally:

"Our luck is holding. It looks as if we'll get sunshine."

When Air Force One landed at Love Field the sky had cleared and a bright sun brought Indian Summer weather to North Central Texas.

"The Dallas Morning News" carried headlines that morning reading, "Love Field Braces for Thousands" and "Detailed Security Net Spread for Kennedy". That morning's edition had even run a small map of the President's motorcade route which would take him from Love Field to the new modern Trade Mart.

Overview: Map of the Motorcade Route



A map of the President's motorcade route was published in "The Dallas Morning News", but only indicated that the motorcade would travel west on Main Street through the downtown area, through the well-known Triple Underpass and on to Stemmons Freeway and the Trade Mart, where President John F. Kennedy was scheduled to attend a 12:30 p.m. luncheon.

It was the city's other daily paper, the "Dallas Times Herald", which had given a more detailed description of the route. A story published the previous Tuesday mentioned that the motorcade would "pass through downtown on Harwood then west on Main, turning back to Elm at Houston and then out Stemmons Freeway to the Trade Mart."

This was one of the only newspaper mentions of a zig-zag in the motorcade route, which would violate Secret Service procedures and place the President in a small park area surrounded by tall buildings on one side and shrubs and trees on the other.

Overview: The Motorcade



Leading the presidential motorcade on November 22, 1963 was a enclosed sedan driven by Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry.

More than two car lengths behind this car was the presidential limousine, a specially-made long blue Lincoln Continental convertible sedan designated Secret Service Car No. 100-X. Driving the limousine was Secret Service Agent William Greer. Next to Greer sat Roy Kellerman, assistant special agent in charge of the Secret Service White House detail.

In the center of the car in fold-down jump seats were Governor Connally, on the right, and Mrs. Connally. In the rear, on a padded seat which could be raised or lowered mechanically sat Kennedy with Mrs. Kennedy on his left.

Behind the limousine was a follow-up car for Kennedy security guards. Following this security car was a 1964 Lincoln four-door convertible carrying Vice President Lyndon Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, and Sen. Ralph Yarborough. Their car was trailed by Johnson's Secret Service guards and the rest of the motorcade, consisting of five cars for local dignitaries, three cars for press photographers, one bus for White House staff and two press buses.

Overview: Dealey Plaza - November 22, 1963



With a phalanx of Dallas Police motorcycle officers clearing the way ahead, the presidential limousine carrying the Kennedys entered Dealey Plaza, making a 90-degree turn from Main onto Houston in front of the Dallas County Sheriff's Office.

In front of the Texas School Book Depository, the limousine slowed to a crawl to make a 120-degree turn onto Elm Street.

In the presidential limousine, Kennedy was waving to his right at a group of people standing near a sign reading "Stemmons Freeway". His right arm and hand were slightly over the side of the car. Mrs. Kennedy had been waving to her left, but her thoughts were on the Texas heat.

Mrs. Kennedy recalled seeing the Triple Underpass ahead:

"We could see a tunnel in front of us. Everything was really slow then. And I remember thinking it would be so cool under that tunnel."

Mrs. Connally had been wanting to mention the warm and enthusiastic welcome for some time, but she had held back. Now she could contain herself no longer. Turning to Kennedy, she said:

"Mr. President, you can't say that Dallas doesn't love you."

Overview: The Shots



Mrs. Connally heard a frightening noise off to her right. She looked in that direction and caught a glimpse of Kennedy raising both hands to his neck in her peripheral vision.

She heard no sound from the President, but noticed a blank, "nothing" expression on his face.

Although critically wounded, Connally was conscious of shots being fired other than the one which struck him. Realizing that he had been hit a second or so after hearing a shot, Connally told the Warren Commission:

"...there were either two or three people involved or more in this or someone was shooting with an automatic rifle."

Connally then heard a final boom and heard the bullet hit home. He later recalled:

"...it never entered my mind that it ever hit anyone but the President...He never uttered a sound that I heard."

During the initial phase of the shooting, Mrs. Kennedy did not realize what was happening. She was accustomed the sounds of motorcycle escorts backfiring and the motorcade had been a cacophony of sirens, racing motors, cheering and shouting.

She did hear Connally shout, "Oh, no, no, no!" She heard "terrible noises" to her right and turned to see Kennedy with his hand at his throat and a "quizzical look on his face". Then, the chief executive was struck in the head and fell into her lap.

All she could do was cradle him and say:

"Oh, my God, they've shot my husband...I love you, Jack."

It was the third and final shot, or volley of shots, which killed President John F. Kennedy. Until then, he had been immobile and quiet, only sagging slightly to his left.

Overview: Secret Service Reaction



The Secret Service agents assigned to Kennedy all acted with remarkable sluggishness when the firing began. Perhaps it was due to the visit they had paid to a "beatnik" nightspot in Fort Worth, where they stayed until early that morning. The club, "The Cellar," was owned by an acquaintance of Jack Ruby who had connections with both big-time gamblers and police officials.

The only agent to react with speed was Clint Hill. Hill had not been scheduled to make the Dallas trip, but came only after Mrs. Kennedy made a personal request.

Hill also thought the initial sound was a firecracker and began looking to his right for the source of the sound when he saw Kennedy grab at himself and lurch forward slightly. He then realized something was wrong and jumped off the follow-up car. He was racing the few feet to the limousine when he heard more shots. Hill had just secured a grip on a handhold when the car began accelerating. Looking into the back seat of the limousine, Hill saw the right rear portion of the President's head was missing.

Overview: Witnesses



The crowd of witnesses along the motorcade route through Dealey Plaza saw many things that differed from the later official version of the assassination published as the Report of the Warren Commission, for instance: (i) Many witnesses reported that shots were fired from the Grassy Knoll, not the Texas School Book Depository; (ii) Witnesses stated that a cloud of smoke was visible in the area of the Grassy Knoll; (iii) Even before the motorcade arrived, men with rifles were seen by people in downtown Dallas; and (iv) There were unexplained reports of witnesses' encountering mysterious Secret Service men in Dealey Plaza.

Overview: The Umbrella Man



About the time that Kennedy was first hit by a bullet, two men standing near each other on the north sidewalk of Elm Street acted most strangely - one began pumping a black umbrella while the other waved his right arm high in the air. The man's umbrella was only open during the shooting sequence. The second man - in photos he appears to be dark complected, perhaps a black man or Hispanic - raised his right hand into the air possibly making a fist.

Two main theories have emerged concerning the "Umbrella man" and his activities that day.

Assassination researcher Robert Cutler has long maintained that the umbrella may have been a sophisticated weapon which fired a dart or "flechette" filled with a paralyzing agent.

The alternative theory is that both of these suspicious men may have been providing visual signals to hidden gunmen.

Overview: The Babushka Lady



A woman seen in films taken the day of the assassination is known to researchers as "The Babushka Lady" because of a triangular kerchief she wore on her head that day. The Babushka Lady was filming the assassination sequence, however the "Babushka Lady" has never been identified with certainty and the film which she made has never been seen. Some researchers believe that the Babushka Lady is Beverly Oliver, a friend of Jack Ruby's. Oliver has stated that: (i) she is The Babushka Lady; (ii) her film was taken and never returned by FBI agents; and (iii) Jack Ruby once introduced her to "Lee Oswald of the CIA".

Overview: The Texas School Book Depository



According to the Warren Commission, it was from a sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository Building (TSBD) that Lee Harvey Oswald, on November 22, 1963, fired three shots at the presidential motorcade passing below, killing President Kennedy and wounding Governor John Connally. Overlooking Dealey Plaza at its northeast corner, the TSBD is a seven-story red-brick building which in 1963 housed the Texas School Book Depository.

On November 22, 1963, Lee Harvey Oswald was employed at the Book Depository. Oswald was paid \$1.25 an hour to fill book orders. Once he had been shown the procedures, he worked on his own. Roy Truly, Texas School Book Depository Superintendent, described Oswald as "a bit above average" as an employee. Co-workers said Oswald was pleasant enough, but kept mostly to himself.

Overview: The Sniper's Nest



Researchers refer to the southeastern most window of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository as the Sniper's Nest. It is the location in which the Warren Commission determined that Lee Harvey Oswald fired three shots at President Kennedy. Pictures of this position taken immediately after the shooting show cardboard boxes stacked upon each other. The boxes were used both to camouflage the assassin and as support to steady the rifle. Witnesses who claim to have seen a gunman in the sixth floor window refer to the boxes. 15-year-old Amos Lee Fuins, a schoolboy, was standing near Howard Brennan south of the Depository when he heard a shot. He stated: "I started looking around and then I looked up in the red brick building. I saw a man in a window with a gun and I saw him shot twice. He then stepped back behind some boxes. I could tell the gun was a rifle and it sounded like an automatic rifle the way he was shooting."

Overview: Man in the Doorway



Associated Press photographer James Altgens snapped a picture seconds after Kennedy was first struck by a bullet. In the background of this photo a man can be seen standing in the west corner of the Texas School Book Depository's front doorway. Soon after the assassination, many people - including his mother - suggested the man in the doorway looked amazingly like Lee Harvey Oswald.

The Warren Commission, based primarily on testimony from Depository employees, concluded the man in the doorway was Billy Lovelady. After being interviewed at length by the FBI, Lovelady identified the man in the photo as himself.

Overview: Where was Oswald?



Despite the years of confident statements by federal authorities, no one has unquestionably placed Oswald on the sixth floor at the time of the shooting.

Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry in later years admitted to newsmen:

"We don't have any proof that Oswald fired the rifle, and never did. Nobody's yet been able to put him in that building with a gun in his hand."

Oswald told Dallas Police he was eating lunch on the first floor of the Depository in what was called the "Domino Room" at the time of the assassination and there is some evidence to back up his statement.

Overview: The Triple Underpass



On the west side of Dealey Plaza is a large railroad bridge known as the Triple Underpass. This was the position of about a dozen men on November 22, 1963, as they stood along the eastern edge of the underpass to watch the Presidential motorcade approach and pass beneath them. One of these men was Dallas Policeman J. W. Foster. Foster said as the motorcade approached he was standing just behind the line of railway workers, about 10 or 11 of them, when he heard what sounded like a large firecracker. He moved up to the concrete railing to get a better view. He said he saw:

"...the President slump over in the car, and his head looked just like it blew up."

Overview: Smoke on Grassy Knoll



Despite immediate attempts to establish the Texas School Book Depository as the sole location from which shots were fired, public attention, both in 1963 and even today, continued to be drawn to the wooded area to the west of the Depository which has become known as the Grassy Knoll.

Sam M. Holland, a track and signal supervisor for the Union Terminal Railroad Company, told the Warren Commission that a "puff of smoke came out six or eight feet above the ground" in the area of the Grassy Knoll.

Due to Holland's credibility and clear description of what he saw, the Warren Commission Report accurately stated:

"According to S.M. Holland, there were four shots which sounded as though they came from the trees on the north side of Elm Street where he saw a puff of smoke."

Overview: The Third Wounded Man



James Thomas Tague was the third wounded man in Dealey Plaza. Tague stood by the Triple Underpass on a small concrete median separating Commerce and Main to watch the motorcade.

After the shots, Tague was approached by a police officer who noticed blood on Tague's face.

During late 1963 and early 1964, it was widely reported that the first shot struck Kennedy in the back, the second shot hit Connally and the third was the fatal head shot.

This was a consistent theory of three bullets. Tague's story of yet another bullet was totally inconsistent with the lone assassin-three shot theory being formulated by the Warren Commission.

The matter of the wounding of Tague was finally acknowledged and the Warren Commission was compelled to construct a scenario of the assassination which included the "Single-Bullet Theory", a theory which has not been accepted by a majority of Americans.

Overview: The Grassy Knoll



Probably no small section of land in the United States has been the object of more controversy than that small portion of Dealey Plaza known as the Grassy Knoll.

Located between the Texas School Book Depository and the Triple Underpass, the Grassy Knoll provided an ideal ambush site. Running along the top of the knoll was a wooden picket fence about five feet high. In front of this fence were shrubs and evergreen trees which, even in late November, provided a leafy canopy over the fence.

It was from a vantage point atop a low concrete wall on the south end of this pergola that the most famous home movie of all time was made - the Abraham Zapruder film.

Overview: The Zapruder Film



A 22-second, 8-mm film made on November 22, 1963, by Abraham Zapruder, became the cornerstone of investigations, both public and private, in the years after the Kennedy assassination. It has been regarded as the most objective, and thus most important, piece of evidence in the attempts to unravel what actually happened to President Kennedy.

The Zapruder film captures the entire assassination sequence from the perspective of the Grassy Knoll.

Overview: The Black Dog Man



A photograph of the Grassy Knoll area taken by Phil Willis reveals a figure resembling a black dog sitting on its haunches. With no known identity, this person was dubbed "the black dog man" by researchers and committee staffers. The House Select Committee on Assassinations had the photograph enhanced and concluded that it indeed was the figure of a person, who appeared to be holding a long object.

The federal investigations could provide an answer to the riddle of "the black dog man", so in the minds of many researchers, the "black dog man" joins "the umbrella man" as one of the more suspicious persons in Dealey Plaza.

Overview: The Badge Man



Mary Moorman took a now well-known Polaroid picture just as Kennedy was struck in the head

The photo was never examined nor printed by the Warren Commission, but was published widely in newspapers and magazines after the assassination.

For years, researchers pored over the Moorman picture looking for evidence of a Grassy Knoll gunman. In 1982, researchers studying the Moorman photo discovered what appeared to be two figures. When blown up, the figures are detectable by untrained observers. One police official even commented that one man seemed to be wearing "shooter's glasses".

The main figure has been dubbed the "badge man" because he appears to be wearing a dark shirt with a semi-circular patch on the left shoulder and a bright shiny object on his left chest - the exact configuration of a Dallas police uniform.

Overview: Lee Harvey Oswald - Assassin or Patsy?



Lee Harvey Oswald had a childhood which was no better nor worse than millions of other Americans. He was bright and eager to learn, despite a disrespect for educational systems and authorities.

At age 16, after joining the Civil Air Patrol and meeting Captain David Ferrie, he suddenly made some public posturings as a pro-Communist, despite the fact that he tried to join the Marine Corps at this same time. Once a Marine, several odd and troubling items filled his military record. Despite prior-service statements indicating interest in Communist activities, Oswald was granted a security clearance and stationed at the Japanese base where super-secret spy flights were being launched.

Later, the speed and ease of obtaining a hardship discharge and a United States passport raise questions regarding Oswald's possible relationship with U.S. intelligence.

Various discrepancies in Oswald's military records - notations made for the same date but different locations, unaccounted for periods of time - support the idea that Oswald was given secret intelligence training.

Oswald's military files were reported "routinely" destroyed and it may prove impossible to conclusively prove Oswald's intelligence connections.

Overview: Russians - Soviets and Solidarists



The fear of worldwide Communist revolution today has been discredited. However, this fear has been extremely strong among certain groups and cliques in America, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s. It was used to justify all sorts of intelligence skullduggery.

It appears obvious to most assassination researchers that Oswald's visit to Russia was a planned intelligence operation.

Oswald's suspicious manner of entering and leaving Russia reinforce the belief that he was an intelligence operative - as does the lavish lifestyle he enjoyed while living in Minsk.

Then there is tantalizing - though unproven - connections between Oswald and the ill-fated U-2 spy plane incident.

There is much to argue against Soviet intelligence involvement in the assassination. However, the same cannot be said for Oswald's involvement with non-Soviet intelligence work and the trail leads to the United States intelligence.

Overview: Cubans - Pro and Anti-Castro



After leading a successful revolution in Cuba, Fidel Castro angered many interests in the United States by freeing his island nation of Organized Crime and American business domination and turning to the Russians for help.

Responding to urgings from these factions, Vice President Richard Nixon initiated and encouraged action against Cuba - resulting in the ill-fated Bay of Pigs Invasion. President Kennedy would not use American military force against Castro. CIA officials planning the invasion ignored Kennedy and went ahead with their plans. The invasion was launched on April 17, 1961 - less than three months after Kennedy took office - and proved an utter disaster.

The invasion's failure was blamed on Kennedy's refusal to unleash military naval and air support. Everyone connected with the invasion - the anti-Castro Cubans, the CIA, the military and Organized Crime - was bitter toward the new President.

Into this world of passionate anti-Castro Cubans, adventurous CIA agents and Mafia soldiers was injected the odd ex-Marine Lee Harvey Oswald. Oswald, while maintaining a posture as a pro-Castro Marxist, nevertheless was in continuous contact with several anti-Castro elements. And while it may never be positively determined exactly who Oswald was working for, it is safe to assume that his employers represented the anti-Castro Cubans and their CIA and Mob allies.

Overview: Mobsters - Organized Crime



Since its inception in the 1930s, organized crime or the national crime syndicate has gained an ever-increasing chokehold on the United States.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy, backed by the President, waged war against Organized Crime. Every one of the major crime bosses - including the powerful Teamsters Union President Jimmy Hoffa - were reported to have issued threats against the Kennedys.

What the Kennedys may not have known were the connections between the Mob and U.S. intelligence agencies. These connections dated all the way back to Lucky Luciano and World War II. Hoover's FBI had always taken a laissez faire attitude toward the syndicate, while the CIA actually had worked with crime figures in assassination plots.

Many assassination researchers, including House Select Committee on Assassinations Chief Consul Blakey, today believe that organized crime was responsible for Kennedy's death.

Overview: Agents - The CIA and other intelligence agencies



There is little question that by the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion the Central Intelligence Agency was running out of control. It had gone far afield from the quiet, intelligence-gathering and coordinating agency envisioned when created in 1947 by President Truman. Documented CIA abuses included the overthrow of governments, secret mind-control experiments on unsuspecting victims and assassination plots.

It is entirely possible that Lee Harvey Oswald may have played some role in an Agency operation.

There can be little doubt that many persons in contact with Oswald also were in contact with the CIA. These contacts, plus the abundant evidence that Oswald was involved in intelligence work, raises serious questions about who may have been maneuvering Oswald in the fall of 1963.

For all this, it seems highly unlikely that the CIA, as an organization, initiated the assassination of Kennedy. This, however, does not preclude the possibility that rouge CIA agents may have played roles in an assassination conspiracy which later compelled their superiors and peers to cover up for fear that such connections might become public.

Overview: The G Men - J. Edgar Hoover's FBI and the Secret Service



Anyone making a serious study of the JFK assassination must take a long hard look at the FBI and the Secret Service. The former - as we now know - monopolized the investigation of the tragedy while the latter failed to prevent it.

The contacts between accused assassin Lee Harvey Oswald and the FBI are many and troubling. No less than seven FBI agents were associated with Lee Harvey Oswald during the year and a half between his return from Russia and the assassination.

In 1964, there was even the serious allegation that Oswald was working for the Bureau at the time of the assassination - a charge which the FBI emphatically denied.

While no unquestioned case for FBI involvement in the assassination can be made, there is now no doubt that the Bureau manipulated the subsequent investigation by suppressing and destroying evidence and by the intimidation of witnesses

Overview: Rednecks and Oilmen - Right-wing extremists and Texas Millionaires



Although his efforts were belated and timid, President Kennedy nevertheless did more to further the cause of civil rights in the United States than any of his predecessors. This human rights activity earned him the undying hatred of racist conservatives. One of the leaders of right-wing extremists in 1963 was Dallas-based Major General Edwin A. Walker.

It appears that some people, such as Miami States Rights Party member Joseph Milteer, had foreknowledge of Kennedy's assassination. Milteer was taped by a police undercover agent accurately predicting Kennedy's death more than two weeks before the assassination.

It is significant that one of the strongest allies of the Texas oilmen who loathed Kennedy was Vice President Lyndon Johnson. Johnson's ties with Herman Brown of Brown & Root Construction and with Texas oil interests are legend.

Several people close to the assassination - notably Jack Ruby and former New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison - have accused Johnson of some role in an assassination conspiracy.

As President and Commander-in-Chief, history will surely hold Lyndon Johnson responsible - if not for involvement in the assassination itself, at least for failing to uncover the conspiracy during his leadership.

Overview: The Soldiers - The Military



While the U.S. Military has attempted to keep a low profile in modern American life, there can be no question that the military-industrial complex is the preeminent force in the nation.

Vietnam may have been the straw that broke the generals' philosophic back. Much evidence exists that Kennedy would have disengaged this nation from Southeast Asia had he lived - in direct conflict with the wishes of the military-industrial complex.

Some generals - including Dallas Mayor Earl Cabell's brother, General Charles P. Cabell - even went so far as to brand Kennedy a "traitor".

The known connections between the military and the assassination - the military agents in Dealey Plaza and the Dallas Police Station, the agent who was with FBI man Hosty and the strange saga of Richard Case Nagell - are many and troubling.

All this - along with the mysterious disappearance of military files on Lee Harvey Oswald who had many opportunities to work with military intelligence - makes many assassination researchers believe that at least some members of the U.S. military may have played a role in an assassination conspiracy.

Overview: Two Hospitals



As the echo of shots died away in Dealey Plaza, Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry, riding in the lead car of Kennedy's motorcade, radioed his police dispatcher:

"Looks like the President has been hit. Have Parkland stand by."

At Parkland Memorial Hospital, Kennedy was attended to by no less than 12 of Parkland's doctors - including four surgeons, the chief neurologist, an oral surgeon and a heart specialist, but to no avail.

President Kennedy was pronounced dead at 1 p.m. (C.S.T.) by Dr. Kemp Clark, Parkland's director of neurological surgery.

Johnson decided to return to Washington as soon as possible. However, Mrs. Kennedy refused to leave without her husband's body and Johnson refused to leave without Mrs. Kennedy. It was finally decided to leave immediately and to return on Air Force One.

The decision created one of the assassination's most enduring problems - with the President's autopsy performed at the National Naval Medical Center at Bethesda, Maryland, two sets of doctors viewed the body at different times and their descriptions of wounds differed so widely that controversy remains to this day.

Overview: Tippit Murder



Jefferson Davis Tippit, a Dallas police officer, was murdered in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas approximately forty-five minutes after President Kennedy was shot. According to witnesses, Tippit stopped his squad car along the curb and spoke briefly to a man who the Warren Commission concluded was Lee Harvey Oswald. Tippit then got out of his car and walked around the front of the car toward the man, who pulled out a handgun and fired. Tippit was shot four times and died instantly. Oswald was apprehended at the Texas Theatre, a few blocks away, and charged with Tippit's murder but never stood trial because he, in turn, was murdered by Jack Ruby just two days later. Various assassination researchers have speculated that Tippit had connections with Oswald, Ruby, or both. The meaning of Tippit's murder remains one of the important mysteries surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy.

Overview: Oswald Arrest



According to the official version of events, it was for the murder of Police Officer J. D. Tippit that Lee Harvey Oswald was first p arrested by police, who discovered him hiding out in the Texas Theater.

The arrested Oswald was taken from the Texas Theater shortly before 2 p.m. and driven downtown to police headquarters. The police suspected Oswald had assassinated the President, when only one employee of the Texas School Book Depository was unaccounted for - Lee Harvey Oswald.

With a suspect in custody, the entire complexion of the assassination investigation changed. Despite what was heralded as overwhelming proof of Oswald's guilt in both killings, it was not until late Friday, November 22, 1963, that he was charged with the murder of Officer Tippit. And it was well after midnight before he was reportedly charged with the murder of President Kennedy.

Dallas Police and federal authorities quickly lost interest in any information, evidence or detained suspects which did not fit in with the presumed activities of Lee Harvey Oswald.

In an incredibly dramatic event witnessed by millions watching on TV, Oswald was himself killed two days after the assassination, when he was shot by Jack Ruby in the basement garage of Dallas Police Headquarters

Overview: Oswald Shooting



Detective Jim Leavelle, one of the men handcuffed to Oswald when he was shot, recalled the shooting:

"Captain Fritz had been talking to some men with the FBI and Secret Service when he turned and said, "All clear, take him down." ...We went down the elevator to the basement. An unmarked car was supposed to be right there for us but it wasn't. It was a few feet from where it was supposed to be. There was a pack of newsmen right close to us. We were heading for the car, L.C. (Graves) and I, with Oswald between us. Out of the corner of my eye I saw Ruby step out from the crowd. He was crouched and he had a pistol. He took a couple of steps and pulled that trigger. Ruby was aiming dead center at Oswald. I had a grip on the top of Oswald's trousers. When I saw Ruby, I tried to jerk Oswald aside to get him out of the way. I succeeded in turning him. The bullet hit him in the side rather than straight into the stomach."

Ruby's one shot had been remarkably efficient. It traversed Oswald's lower abdomen, rupturing two main arteries carrying blood to the heart, torn through the spleen, pancreas, liver and the right kidney. Oswald was taken to Parkland Hospital where he was pronounced dead at 1:07 p.m.

Overview: Jack Ruby



The world was introduced to Jack Ruby as the man who killed Lee Harvey Oswald. Next to Oswald himself, Ruby became the man most closely associated with the assassination. The November 24, 1963, murder of Oswald in the basement of the Dallas Police Station for many people was the starting point for continued suspicions about the assassination.

It was said that his killing of Oswald was simply the spontaneous act of a man hoping to right the wrong of the President's death. Today there is evidence that Ruby, a fixture on the Dallas scene in 1963, was more closely connected with organized crime figures than earlier believed and that he, in fact, stalked Oswald throughout the assassination weekend. It also is now known that Ruby tried to tell what he knew about the plot to kill Kennedy but was shrugged off by both Government investigators and the news media.

To a radio news reporter, Ruby said:

"I know there is a terrible conspiracy going on in the world right now...I'm speaking the truth....the world has the right to hear the truth..."

Overview: The Evidence



There was never a lack of evidence in the assassination of President Kennedy. In addition to the several hundred witnesses in Dealey Plaza, there was an abundance of film and still pictures plus a great deal of physical evidence.

In the hours following the assassination, this pile of evidence grew to include a rifle, empty shell cases, a "sniper's nest" and even a convincing - if belated - palm print on the suspected murder weapon. The rapid accumulation of evidence prompted Dallas County District Attorney Henry Wade to proclaim to the media he had an open-and-shut case against Lee Harvey Oswald the day after the shooting.

The best evidence would have been the autopsy reports. However, the medical evidence in this case continues to be a source of controversy - filled with inconsistencies, errors, missing items and photographs of questionable origin. About all one can say of the medical evidence is that Kennedy was shot at least twice.

The "pristine" condition of the "Magic Bullet" is perhaps the most hotly contested evidentiary issue. The Commission attempted to duplicate the feat of CE 399 - passing through seven layers of skin and muscle, striking bones in two male adults and emerging in near-perfect condition - but with no success. Similar ammunition fired into goat carcasses, human bodies and gelatin blocks all showed more deformity than CE 399.

Overview: The Warren Commission



On November 29, 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson issued executive order No. 11130, creating a commission to investigate the assassination of President Kennedy, the wounding of Governor John Connally, and the murder of Police Officer J. D. Tippit. Officially known as the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, it quickly became referred to as the Warren Commission, after its chairman, Chief Justice Earl Warren.

According to the Commission's widely disputed determinations, published as the Warren Commission Report, Lee Harvey Oswald, alone, fired three shots at the presidential motorcade passing through Dealey Plaza at 12:30 P.M. on November 22, 1963. One of these bullets struck the pavement, one delivered nonfatal wounds to both President Kennedy and Texas governor John Connally, and a third struck the president in the head, killing him. The Commission also reached the equally disputed conclusion that, after leaving the assassination scene, Oswald shot and killed Dallas police officer J. D. Tippit

The Garrison Investigation



Jim Garrison, the New Orleans district attorney, suspicious after reading the Warren Commission Report, investigated Oswald's activities while in New Orleans in the spring and summer of 1963. He discovered odd and mostly unexplained relationships between Oswald and anti-Castro Cubans, Oswald and intelligence agents including the FBI, and Oswald and 544 Camp Street, the offices of Guy Bannister.

By late 1966, Garrison had two suspects in mind in the murder of President Kennedy - the strange David Ferrie and the socially-connected Clay Shaw, both with suspected CIA links. Ferrie even went to far as to claim he had helped set up the JFK assassination and that Lee Oswald was a CIA agent who had been well taken care of until he made some mistakes which necessitated his death. On February 22, 1967, less than a week after the newspapers broke the story of Garrison's investigation, David Ferrie - his chief suspect - was found dead in his cluttered apartment under suspicious circumstances.

Despite media attacks and missing witnesses, Garrison moved ahead with his prosecution of Clay Shaw.

Garrison convinced the jury that a conspiracy to assassinate President Kennedy had existed. However, the evidence of Shaw's involvement proved not as convincing. Just past midnight on March 1, 1969 - two years to the day that Shaw had first been arrested - the jury announced Clay Shaw's acquittal after less than a hour of deliberation.

Overview: House Select Committee on Assassinations



By the mid-1970s, national polls indicated that very few Americans still believed the "lone assassin" theory of the Warren Commission despite the assurances of the national media and Government spokesmen.

These doubts prompted Texas Congressman Henry Gonzalez to introduce a House Resolution in February, 1975, calling for a select committee to study not only the death of John F. Kennedy, but also the deaths of Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King and the shooting of Gov. George Wallace.

Beginning in late July, 1978, the House Select Committee on Assassinations began a series of public hearings which lasted until September 28, 1978.

Based primarily on scientific studies of a Dallas Police radio recording which recorded the sounds of the shots, the House Select Committee on Assassinations concluded that more than one assassin was involved in Kennedy's death. This evidence, which prompted immediate controversy, destroyed the Warren Commission's theory of a lone gunman.

Overview: Was Oswald Really Oswald?



There is an abundance of evidence to suggest that one or more persons were impersonating Lee Harvey Oswald in the weeks and months prior to the assassination of President Kennedy.

A second impersonation issue suggests that the Oswald killed by Jack Ruby in Dallas was not the same man who was born to Marguerite Oswald in 1939. British author Michael Eddowes charged that a Soviet agent was substituted for Oswald while he was out of sight in Russia.

Even Oswald's mother and brothers noted how changed he appeared after his return from the Soviet Union. In 1967, his mother publicly raised questions over the identity of the body in Oswald's grave and asked to have his body exhumed.

When Oswald's grave was opened in the fall of 1981, a panel of four forensic pathologists declared the body that of Oswald.

However the two funeral directors who buried Oswald claim the man dug up in 1981 was not the same man they buried in 1963. They claim there was no sign of a craniotomy -- a standard autopsy procedure known to have been performed on Oswald's body - on the corpse when exhumed in 1981.

Overview: Convenient Deaths

In the three-year period which followed the murder of President Kennedy and Lee Harvey Oswald, 18 material witnesses died - six by gunfire, three in motor accidents, two by suicide, one from a cut throat, one from a karate chop to the neck, three from heart attacks and two from natural causes.

In the late 1970s, the House Select Committee on Assassinations felt compelled to look into the matter. However the Committee was unable to come to any conclusion regarding the growing number of deaths.

However, an objective look at both the number and the causes of death balanced against the importance of the person's connection to the case, raises concern.

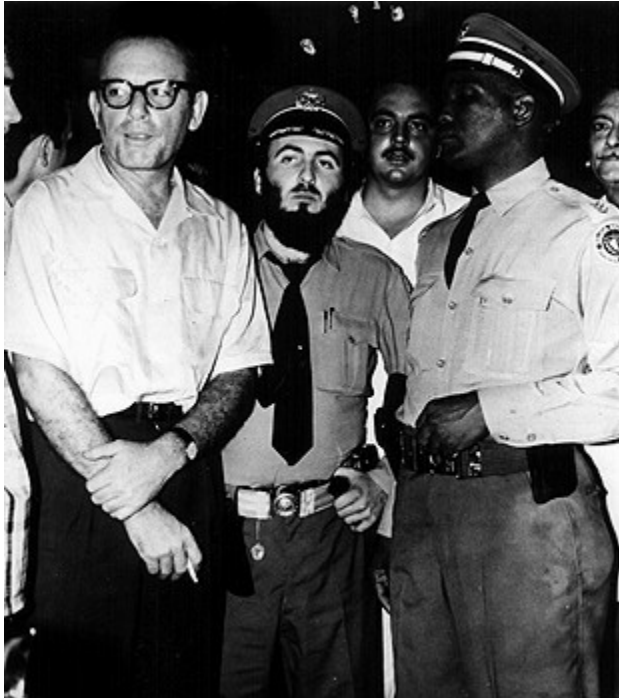
Overview: Jim Marrs' Conclusions



In his best-selling book, Crossfire, author Jim Marrs concluded the following:

1. Lee Harvey Oswald was involved in intelligence activities. He was, or at least he believed he was, working on behalf of the United States.
2. It is entirely possible that Lee Harvey Oswald did not fire a gun on November 22, 1963, thus making him innocent in both the death of President Kennedy and Police Officer Tippit.
2. If Lee Harvey Oswald did participate in the actual assassination, and much evidence indicates he did not, he certainly did not act alone.
3. An abundance of evidence indicates that Lee Harvey Oswald was framed for the assassination of President Kennedy.
4. This framing, plus a wealth of information revealing an attempt to cover up vital evidence in the case, proves the existence of a conspiracy to kill Kennedy.
5. Because this coverup went far beyond simple face saving and was conducted at the federal level, it is apparent that people within the federal Government of the United States were both involved in and aware of such a conspiracy.
6. The two most powerful men in the federal government in 1963, next to the President and his brother, were Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Overview: Jim Marrs' Assassination Scenario



In Crossfire, Jim Marrs constructed a scenario of the events that led to the assassination of President Kennedy:

By the beginning of 1963, serious talk against President Kennedy was circulating within many groups - organized crime, the anti-Castro Cubans, the CIA, business and banking, the oil industry and even the military. The decision was made at the highest levels of the American business, banking, politics, military, crime power structure - should anything happen to Kennedy, it would be viewed as a blessing for the nation.

Most assassinations are set in motion not so much by a specific plan to kill as by efforts to remove or relax the protection around as target. Once such a consensus was reached among the nation's top business-crime-military leadership, the assassination conspiracy went into action.

Operational orders most probably originated with organized crime chieftains such as Carlos Marcello and his associates Santos Trafficante and Sam Giancana - who already were involved with the CIA. But these Mob bosses were smart. They realized the consequences if their role in Kennedy's death should ever become known. Therefore a world-class assassin was recruited from the international crime syndicate - perhaps Michael Victor Mertz, the shadowy Frenchman with both crime and intelligence connections who may have been in Dallas on November 22, 1963, according to a CIA document.

Armed with a contract from the world crime syndicate, this premier assassin was given entree to the conspiring groups within U.S. intelligence, the anti-Castro Cubans, right-wing hate groups and the military.

But to keep public attention away from the real conspirators a scapegoat - or patsy - was needed. Enter Lee Harvey Oswald, a patriotic young man who followed the tradition of his father and brothers by voluntarily joining the U.S. Military.

After being sent to Atsugi Air Base in Japan - the CIA's largest Asian training center - Oswald's real activities become clouded. Apparently he was recruited into U.S. Intelligence, first through the Office of Naval Intelligence and then on to the CIA.

There is abundant evidence that author Michael Eddowes (a former member of British Intelligence) may be correct in charging that a duplicate Oswald returned to the United States. The question of Oswald's true identity - intriguing as it may be - is nevertheless only a side issue. The preponderance of evidence now clearly indicates that the Dallas Oswald did not kill Kennedy.

Real Oswald or impostor, this man was maneuvered about by the assassination conspirators who - knowing or suspecting him of being a Russian agent - had obtained him from U. S. Intelligence. Acting on orders, Oswald was put into contact with unsuspecting FBI and CIA agents, both pro and anti-Castro Cubans and others to confuse investigators after the crime.

Oswald was a perfect fall guy. His capture or death eliminated a possible Soviet agent and implicated Russia, Cuba and leftists - drawing attention away from the true right-wing perpetrators. Naming Oswald as the assassin also implicated the FBI and CIA as organizations, thus forcing uninvolved agency officials to help cover up incriminating evidence.

On Nov. 22, 1963, there were many people in Dealey Plaza who were not just innocent bystanders. There were cars roaming the area behind the famous Grassy Knoll with out-of-state license plates and extra radio antennas, men brandishing Secret Service identification when officially there were no agents in the vicinity and an odd assortment of people pumping umbrellas in the air, waving fists, speaking into walkie-talkies and even one man firing a rifle who apparently was wearing a uniform similar to that of the Dallas police.

Professional gunmen - the "mechanics" - quietly moved into position secure in the knowledge that security was minimal.

It was a textbook ambush and President Kennedy rode right into the middle of it in an open limousine which violated security regulations by making a 120-degree turn in front of the Texas School Book Depository and by slowing almost to a halt when shots first rang out. In fact, Kennedy's entire security force exhibited a startling lack of preparedness and response.

Three volleys of shots were fired - at least six and perhaps as many as 9 - most probably using fragmenting bullets or "sabot" slugs which could be traced to Oswald's 6.5-mm rifle.

Shots were fired from the Depository building to draw attention there while other gun teams were on the Grassy Knoll and perhaps even other locations, such as the Dallas County Records Building.

When the shooting started, confusion was rampant. No one except the conspirators knew what was happening and the Dallas Police radio channel used for the presidential motorcade security was blocked for more than eight minutes due to an open microphone. The true assassins simply strolled away, after dumping their rifles into a nearby car trunks or passing them to confederates.

Oswald most probably was exactly where he said he was during the shooting - safely out of sight in the lunchroom of the Depository. Perhaps he had been told to wait for a telephone call at that time by an intelligence superior.

Since there is evidence that Oswald may have been reporting to the Government on the activities of the assassination conspirators, he must have been shocked when he learned that Kennedy had been shot as planned. Shortly after his encounter with Officer Baker, Oswald may have begun to realize what was happening. He then left the Depository and made his way to his South Oak Cliff rooming house. Whatever plans Oswald had at this point, he most probably was slated to be killed by police for "resisting arrest" - a backup plan in the event he escaped Dealey Plaza alive.

The slaying of Dallas Officer J. D. Tippit may have played some part in this scheme to have Oswald killed, perhaps to eliminate co-conspirator Tippit or simply to anger Dallas Police and cause itchy trigger fingers.

There is an abundance of evidence to suggest that Tippit was killed by someone other than Oswald. However, if Oswald was responsible it may have been that he simply got the drop on Tippit, who - since his pistol was found lying near his body - was approaching his suspect with a drawn weapon.

When cornered in the Texas Theater, Oswald was given every opportunity to flee through a rear exit.

Whatever the plan, it backfired. Oswald was captured alive, creating a bad situation for the conspirators. Oswald could not be permitted to stand trial and reveal his true connections.

Jack Ruby - the Mob's "bag man" in Dallas and the man who apparently handled funds for the local activities of the assassination conspirators - received his orders to kill Oswald from organized crime leaders eager to protect the secret of their contract and there were no alternatives for a Mob directive.

The key to understanding the Oswald slaying is not that Ruby somehow knew when Oswald was to be transported from the police station, but rather, that the Oswald transfer was delayed until Ruby was in position.

One shot and Oswald was dead, leaving only his mother to question the official version of the assassination.

Films Section

Zapruder Film



- Normal
- Slow
- Frames
- Full Screen
- Full/Slow

Close-up Views

Little Girl Running

- Window
- Full

JFK

- Window
- Full

JFK/Frames

- Window
- Full

Facts



Facts

Normal

Slow

Frames

Full Screen

Full/Slow



Facts

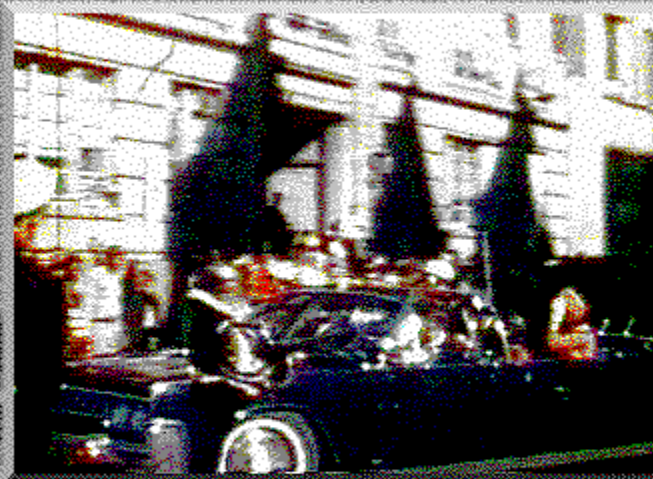
Normal

Slow

Frames

Full Screen

Full/Slow



Facts

Normal

Full Screen


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menu][stepsize 66.67][mute][slider][autostart] ...AVI}
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Marie Muchmore Film

{ewr MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device AVIVideo][buttons playpause scanl scanr menu][stepsize 1000][mute][slider][autostart] ...AVI}Marie Muchmore was filming the motorcade from the grassy area to the left of the president's limousine when the shots were fired. Some researchers believe her film confirms that the president was hit by a shot fired from in front of him. The Warren Commission disagreed.

Robert Hughes Film

{ewr MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device AVIVideo][buttons playpause scanr menu][stepsize 200][mute] [slider][autostart] ...AVI} It was nearly 12:30 on November 22, 1963 when Hughes heard the wave of shouting and applause ripple toward him down Main Street. As the pilot car driven by Police Chief Jesse Curry turned the corner, Hughes began filming. The motorcade turns onto Houston Street approximately 30 seconds before the fatal shots. Jacqueline Kennedy's left hand rises to steady her pillbox hat. The Record Building appears, then the Dal-Tex Building and finally the front of the Texas School Book Depository. As the Presidential limousine and the Secret Service follow-up car completed their turns onto Elm Street, Hughes stopped his camera. "About five seconds after I quit taking pictures," he later recalled, "we heard the shots." After the shots, Hughes filmed the scene. The crowd surges toward the grassy knoll.

Moments before the shots, the sixth floor window of the Depository is visible as the Presidential limousine passes below. Movement can be observed in the window. Apparently, the movement is of the gunman turning and raising his rifle into firing position.

Orville Nix Film

{ewr MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device AVIVideo][buttons playpause scanl scanr menu][stepsize 200][mute][slider]
[autostart] ...AVI} The Nix film shows the motorcade turn onto Houston street. The Presidential
Limousine is followed by the Queen Mary, the car carrying the secret service. Next the limousine carrying
Vice President Johnson passes. Senator Yarborough waves.

Just before the fatal head shot, the Presidential limousine slows. The red glow of the brake lights
can be seen. After the shot, the limousine accelerates, racing to Parkland Hospital.

Some researchers claim that the background of the Nix film when greatly magnified may show a
man on the top of a station wagon with what looks like a rifle. The station wagon is positioned behind the
fence in the area of the Grassy Knoll. ITEK, a photographic laboratory, analyzed the film and concluded
that the Nix film does not show a gunman.

ZapruderFilm

{ewr MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device AVIVideo][buttons play pause stop scanl scanr][stepsize 66.67][slider] [autostart] ...AVI} The Zapruder film is used as the reference point for timing the assassination sequence. Though the film ran at varying speeds the FBI found that the average film speed was 18.3 frames per second. FBI tests on the assassination rifle required a minimum firing time of about 2.3 seconds for two successive shots. For one assassin to have fired three shots, 42 frames of Zapruder film must elapse between each shot.

The recently published book, "Case Closed," based upon the findings of the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA), concludes that the first shot was fired between Zapruder frames 155(Z155) - Z160. The conclusion is based upon the reactions of Phil Willis' ten year old daughter (dressed in a red skirt), who stops running, possibly in reaction to the shot. "Case Closed" suggests that at Z160 the line of fire from the sniper's nest to the Presidential limousine was obstructed by a tree and that the bullet was deflected and missed the President.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) places a possible shot between Zapruder frames 188 - Z191. The shot was fired from the Depository, entered Kennedy's back, exited his throat and wounded Governor Connally.

Robert Groden, co-author of "High Treason," claims that a shot between Zapruder frames 189 - 191 hit the President in the throat. The shot may have been fired from the grassy knoll. By frame 220, Kennedy's hands are up to his throat. At frame 226, Kennedy is struck by another bullet and propelled forward. Groden states that Governor Connally is not hit until frame 237.

Other theories state that Kennedy's hand movements at Zapruder frame 224 are in reaction to a shot which hit Kennedy between frames 189 - 191. At frame 194, Kennedy's right hand, which had been waving to the crowd from eye level, suddenly shoots forward and upward, possibly in reaction to a shot.

At Zapruder frame 207, Kennedy disappears from view behind the Stemmons Freeway sign and does not emerge until frame 224. It is during this time that the Warren Commission places a shot. This shot is the basis for the single bullet theory, since it is supposed to have entered Kennedy's back, exited his throat, and caused all of Connally's wounds.

At Zapruder frame 224, Kennedy is visibly reacting to a shot, by frame 230 Kennedy's fists have reached the level of his neck.

Connally emerges from behind the sign at Zapruder frame 222.

Connally's lapel flips at Zapruder frame 224. The flip may be caused by a bullet striking Connally. However, another lapel flip has been observed, suggesting that the flip at frame 224 is not caused by a bullet.

At Zapruder frame 224, Connally's right hand moves toward his head.

Between Zapruder frames 228 - 230, Connally's Stetson hat flicks up and down.

By Zapruder frame 232 there is strong evidence that Connally is reacting to a shot. Connally's shoulder collapses, his hair is disheveled, his cheeks puff with air and his mouth opens.

Connally continues to turn in his seat until Zapruder frame 274, when he is looking directly to the rear.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations stated that a shot was fired from the grassy knoll between Zapruder frames 295 - 296. The shot missed.

Between Zapruder frames 312 - 313, Kennedy is struck in the head. At frame 312 Kennedy's head moves forward about 2.3 inches. At frame 314 Kennedy's head and body jerk backwards and to the left. The movement continues until frame 321.

The Warren Commission stated that the head shot at Zapruder frame 313 was fired from the Depository, entered the rear of Kennedy's head and exited from the right front. However, some Conspiracy Theorists maintain that the shot was fired from the grassy knoll, entered the top right front of the head and exited the back.

After Zapruder frame 313, the camera pans toward the triple underpass.

Some assassination researchers have suggested that Governor Connally was hit by a second bullet at Zapruder frame 328.

At Zapruder frame 335 Kennedy's head wound is visible. Robert Groden observes that this frame shows that the back of Kennedy's head is missing. If the assertion is true, then the autopsy photographs, which show the back of Kennedy's head intact, are forgeries. A large exit wound in the back of the head indicates that the head shot was fired from the vicinity of the Grassy Knoll and not the Book Depository.

Kennedy's back wound is visible at Zapruder frame 340.

Near Zapruder frame 414, a bush can be seen in which an object appears. The object resembles a man's head, and may be one of the bystanders seen in the Nix film.

At Zapruder frame 475 the corner of the stockade fence is visible. An undetermined shape appears near the top of the seventh picket.

Zapruder full speed/window

```
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Zapruder slow/window

```
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Zapruder Frame by Frame/Window

```
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```


Zapruder. Little Girl running/Window

```
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Zapruder. JFK Closeup/Window

```
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Zapruder. JFK Closeup Frame By Frame/Window

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Nix. Normal


```
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```


Nix. Slow

```
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Nix. Frame by Frame

```
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Muchmore. Normal

```
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Muchmore. Slow

```
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```

Muchmore. Frame by Frame

```
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[caption 'The Zapruder Film, (1/3 Speed)'][autostart] ...AVI}
```

The 22 second (at 18.3 frames per second) film shows the motorcade as it turns onto Elm Street. President Kennedy waves, before he is obscured by a freeway sign. When Kennedy emerges, he is reacting to a shot. He clenches his fists and brings both hands up to his throat. Connally turns to his right, his hair flies up and his mouth opens. He is obviously struck by a bullet. Mrs. Kennedy places her hand on her husband's arm as he continues to sag toward her. Seconds go by, Kennedy is bent slightly forward. Suddenly, after an almost imperceptible forward motion of his head, the entire right side of his skull explodes. Kennedy is slammed violently backwards to the left rear. Mrs. Kennedy climbs onto the trunk of the limousine while Secret Service Agent Clint Hill leaps onto the rear of the car, as it begins to accelerate.

Photos: Abraham Zapruder (Frame by Frame)

Photos: Abraham Zapruder (Enhanced)

{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device AVIVideo][buttons play pause stop scanl scanr][stepsize 66.67][slider]
[caption 'The Zapruder Film, enhanced'][autostart] ..E.I.AVI}

Zapruder full screen/Slow

Zapruder full screen

Zapruder Little Girl Running/Full

Zapruder JFK Closeup/Full

Zapruder JFK closeup frame by frame Full

Nix Full Screen

Nix Full Screen

Muchmore Full Screen

Muchmore Full Slow Screen

Hughes Full Screen


```
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Dealey Plaza: Hughes Film, The Depository

{ewr MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device AVIVideo][buttons play pause stop scanl scanr][stepsize 66.67][slider]
[autostart] ...avi}View of the Texas School Book Depository the moment the motorcade passes
underneath.

Dealey Plaza: Hughes Film, Old County Court House

{ewr MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device AVIVideo][buttons play pause stop scanl scanr][stepsize 66.67][slider]
[autostart] ...avi}View of the Old County Court House.


```
{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device AVIVideo][buttons playpause scanl scanr][stepsize 66.67][slider]
[caption 'Hughes Film: Rush to the Knoll '][autostart] .._GN.avi}
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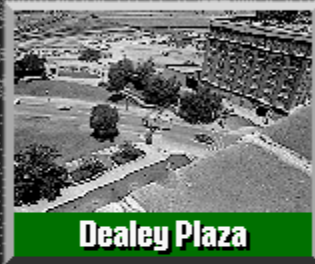
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{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device AVIVideo][buttons playpause scanl scanr][stepsize 66.67][slider]
[caption 'View from the SniperNest'][autostart] .._SN1.avi}
```



```
{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device AVIVideo][buttons playpause scanl scanr][stepsize 1000][slider]
[caption 'Hughes Film: Pan of Dealey Plaza'][autostart] .._DP.avi}
```


Dealey Plaza Menu Screens

Dealey Plaza



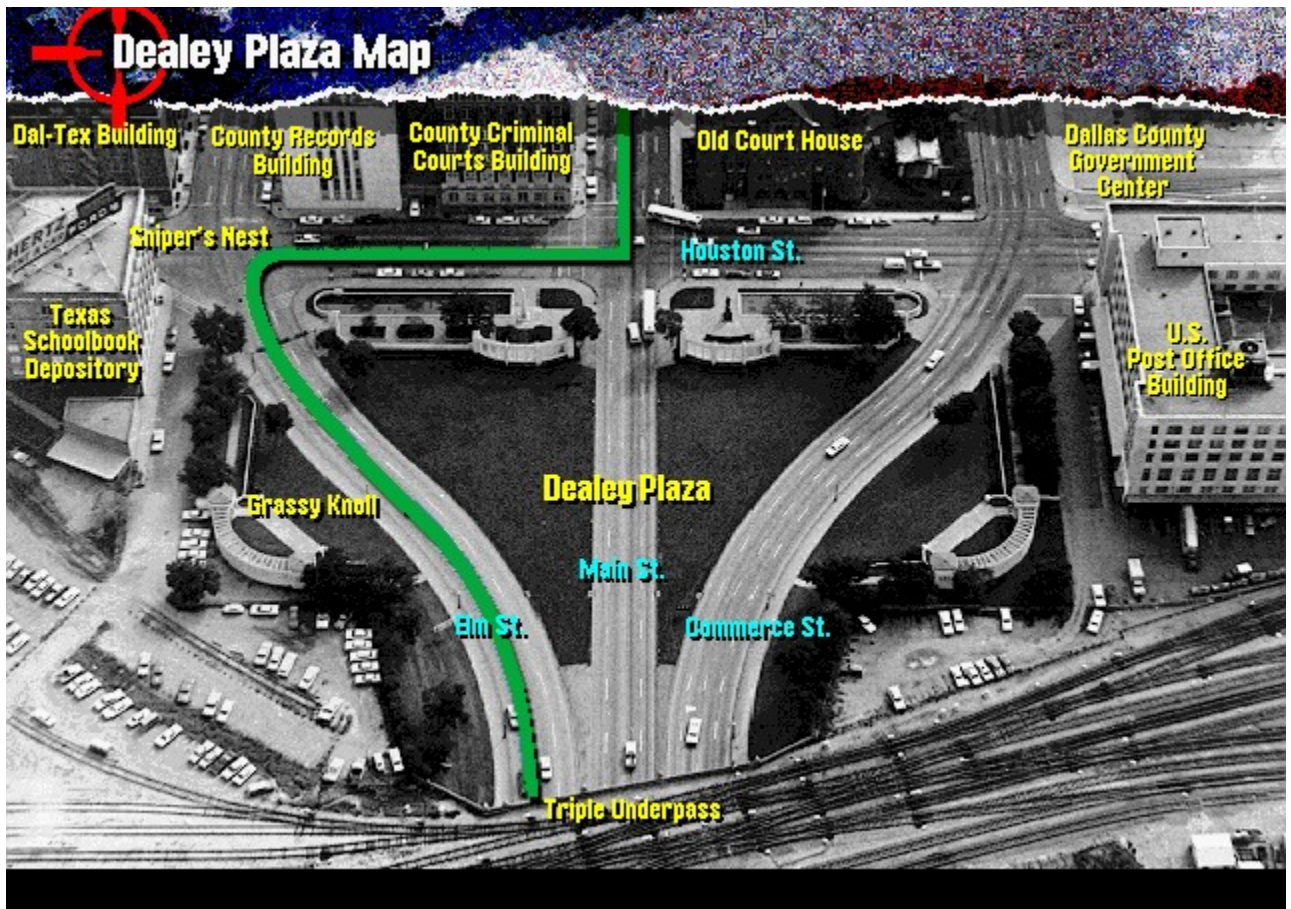
Dealey Plaza



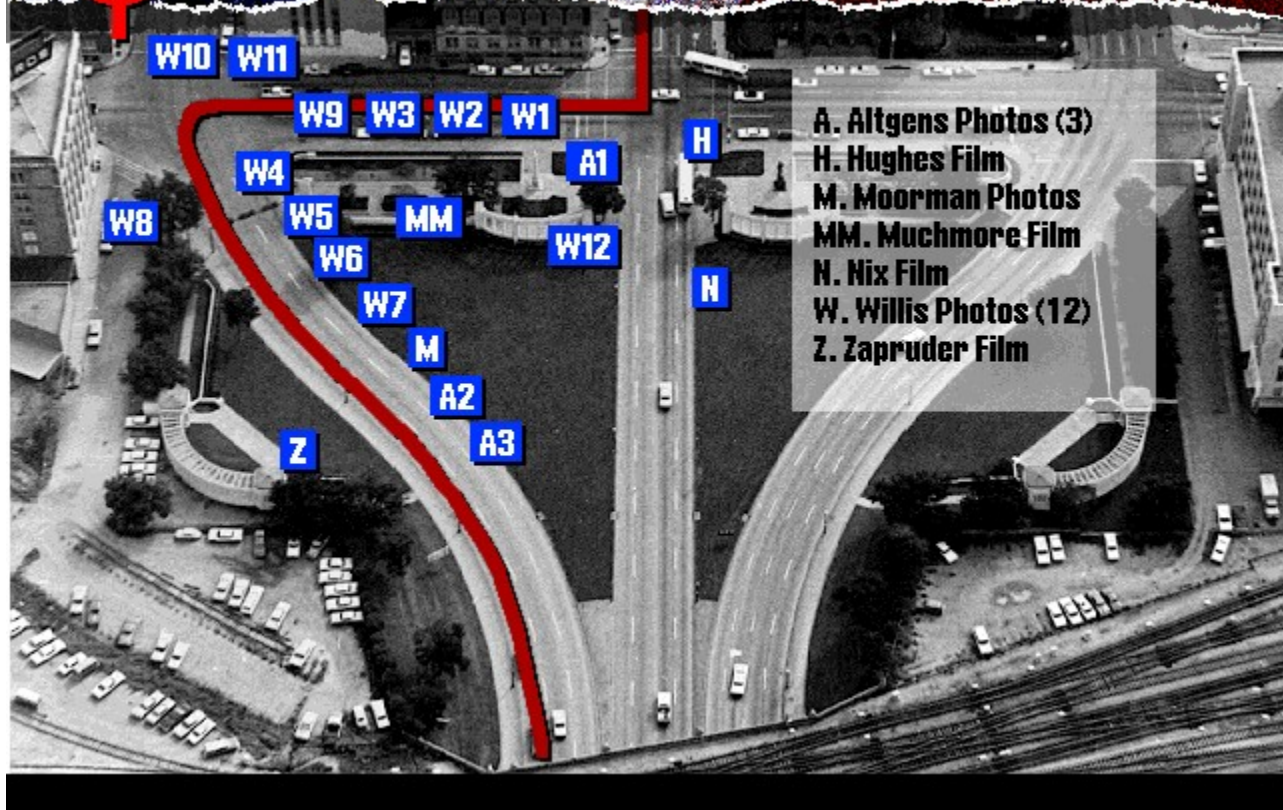
Witness Map



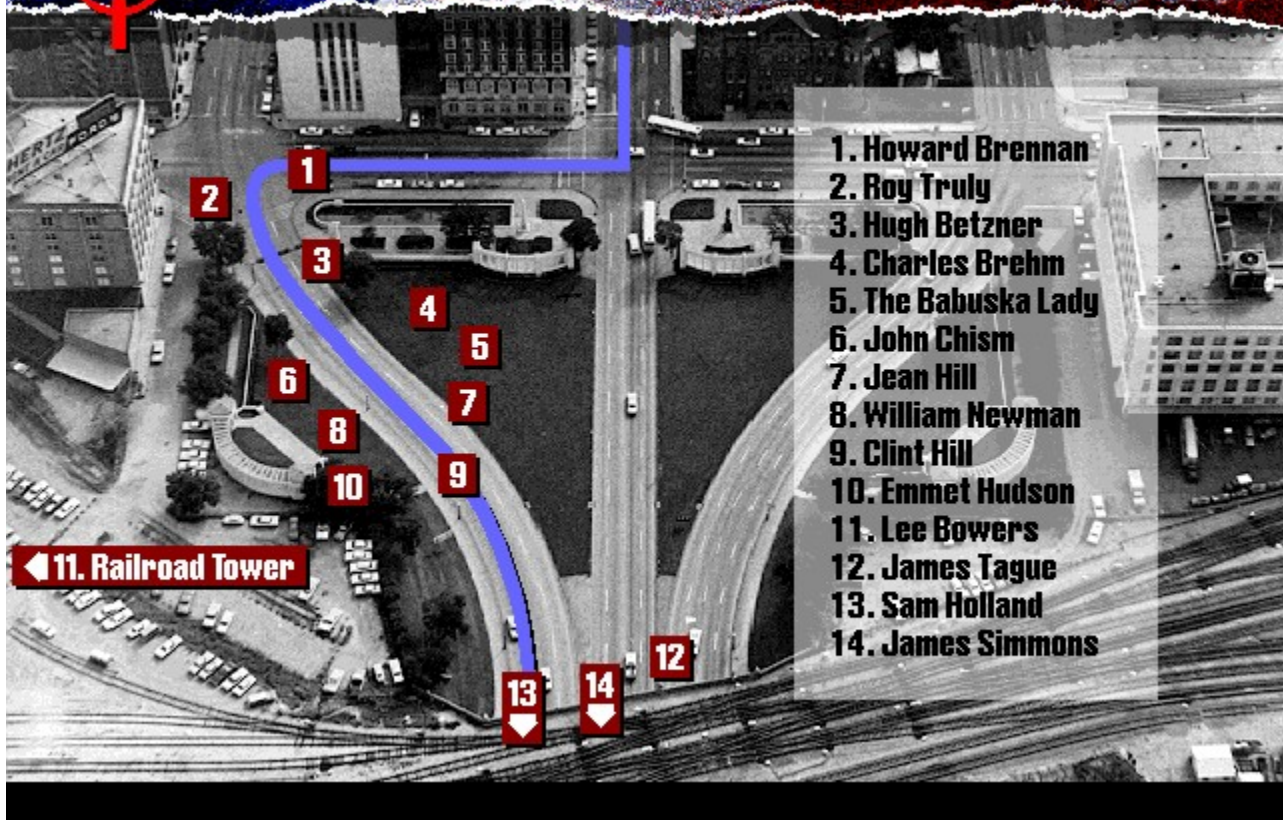
Film & Photo Map



Dealey Plaza Film & Photo Map



Dealey Plaza Witness Map



- 1. Howard Brennan
- 2. Roy Truly
- 3. Hugh Betzner
- 4. Charles Brehm
- 5. The Babuska Lady
- 6. John Chism
- 7. Jean Hill
- 8. William Newman
- 9. Clint Hill
- 10. Emmet Hudson
- 11. Lee Bowers
- 12. James Tague
- 13. Sam Holland
- 14. James Simmons

← 11. Railroad Tower

Popups for Dealey Plaza Photo Map Screen



Some conspiracy theorists claim that a gunman was positioned at an open second floor window of the Dal-Tex Building. A photograph taken at the moment of the assassination, shows an object projecting from the open window. It is claimed that a shot from this window is consistent with estimated Warren Commission trajectories. Curiously, the same photograph shows a man in distress on the fire escape.

Other conspiracy theorists have stated that as many as two shots were fired from the third floor of the Dal-Tex Building.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._DAL.WAV}Some conspiracy theorists claim that a gunman was positioned at an open second floor window of the Dal-Tex Building. A photograph taken at the moment of the assassination, shows an object projecting from the open window. It is claimed that a shot from this window is consistent with estimated Warren Commission trajectories. Curiously, the same photograph shows a man in distress on the fire escape.

Other conspiracy theorists have stated that as many as two shots were fired from the third floor of the Dal-Tex Building.



According to the Warren Commission, it was from the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository that Lee Harvey Oswald, on November 22, 1963, fired three shots, killing President Kennedy and wounding Governor Connally.

Overlooking the northeast corner of Dealey Plaza, the Depository was originally built to house the offices of a railroad company. In the early 1960s, it became a warehouse for the Texas School Book Depository. During the 1980s, Dallas County planned to sell the building, until it was learned that the buyer intended to dismantle it and sell the bricks as souvenirs. Today on the sixth floor is a re-creation of the so-called Sniper's nest.

Some conspiracy theorists claim that a second gunman may have been positioned in the southwestern window of the sixth floor.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._TSBD.WAV}According to the Warren Commission, it was from the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository that Lee Harvey Oswald, on November 22, 1963, fired three shots, killing President Kennedy and wounding Governor Connally.

Overlooking the northeast corner of Dealey Plaza, the Depository was originally built to house the offices of a railroad company. In the early 1960s, it became a warehouse for the Texas School Book Depository. During the 1980s, Dallas County planned to sell the building, until it was learned that the buyer intended to dismantle it and sell the bricks as souvenirs. Today on the sixth floor is a re-creation of the so-called Sniper's nest.

Some conspiracy theorists claim that a second gunman may have been positioned in the southwestern window of the sixth floor.



The Dallas County Records Building faces Houston Street. Some conspiracy theorists claim that a gunman may have been positioned on the roof of the Records Building. This claim is supported by a mark located in the concrete on the south side of Elm Street, which may have been made by a bullet. The mark traces back to the Records Building.



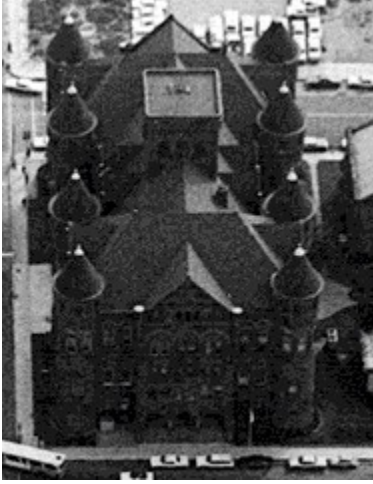
{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._DCR.WAV}The Dallas County Records Building faces Houston Street. Some conspiracy theorists claim that a gunman may have been positioned on the roof of the Records Building. This claim is supported by a mark located in the concrete on the south side of Elm Street, which may have been made by a bullet. The mark traces back to the Records Building.



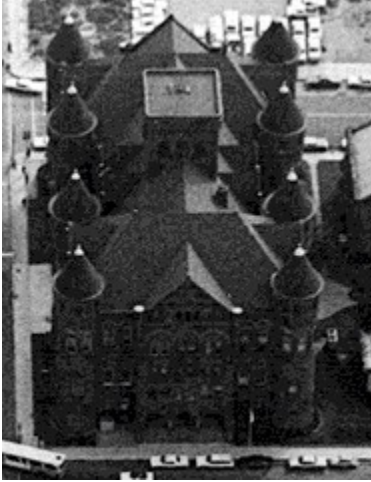
The Dallas County Criminal Courts Building bounds the eastern side of Dealey Plaza. On the day of the assassination, several prisoners watched the motorcade from their jail cell in the Criminal Courts Building. The prisoners saw two men, one with a rifle, in the sixth floor window of the Depository. Other witnesses located in the building also claim to have seen a man in the sixth floor window.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._CC.WAV}The Dallas County Criminal Courts Building bounds the eastern side of Dealey Plaza. On the day of the assassination, several prisoners watched the motorcade from their jail cell in the Criminal Courts Building. The prisoners saw two men, one with a rifle, in the sixth floor window of the Depository. Other witnesses located in the building also claim to have seen a man in the sixth floor window.



The historic Old County Court House is on the southeast corner of Main and Houston Streets. On November 22, 1963, crowds lined Main to cheer the President as the motorcade turned onto Houston. Robert Hughes was positioned directly across the street from the Court House when he made his well-known film.



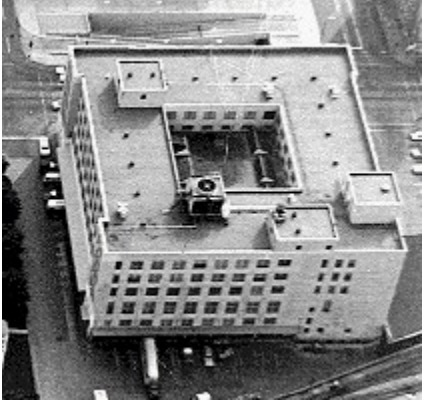
{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._OC.WAV}The historic Old County Court House is on the southeast corner of Main and Houston Streets. On November 22, 1963, crowds lined Main to cheer the President as the motorcade turned onto Houston. Robert Hughes was positioned directly across the street from the Court House when he made his well-known film.



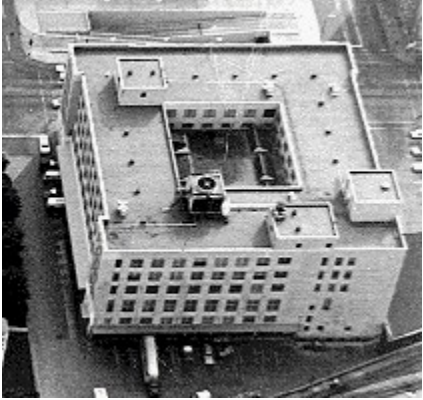
The Dallas County Government Center was under construction the day of the assassination. Steelworker Richard Randolph Carr was working on the seventh floor. Minutes before the motorcade arrived, Carr saw a heavy-set man in the sixth floor window of the Book Depository. After the shooting, Carr saw the same man walking on Commerce Street.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._GC.WAV}The Dallas County Government Center was under construction the day of the assassination. Steelworker Richard Randolph Carr was working on the seventh floor. Minutes before the motorcade arrived, Carr saw a heavy-set man in the sixth floor window of the Book Depository. After the shooting, Carr saw the same man walking on Commerce Street.



The United States Post Office Building bounds the southern side of Dealey Plaza. There is no claim of a gunman located in the Post Office Building, however, some conspiracy theorists claim that a shot may have been fired from a manhole north of the Post Office.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._POST.WAV}The United States Post Office Building bounds the southern side of Dealey Plaza. There is no claim of a gunman located in the Post Office Building, however, some conspiracy theorists claim that a shot may have been fired from a manhole north of the Post Office.



On November 22, 1963, Dealey Plaza was the site of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Named for George Dealey, founder of the Dallas Morning News and an early civic leader, the plaza was the site of the first home, store, and courthouse in Dallas.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._DP.WAV}On November 22, 1963, Dealey Plaza was the site of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Named for George Dealey, founder of the Dallas Morning News and an early civic leader, the plaza was the site of the first home, store, and courthouse in Dallas.



Probably no small section of land in the United States has been the object of more controversy than the Grassy Knoll. The Grassy Knoll provided an ideal ambush site. Running along the top of the knoll was a wooden picket fence about five feet high. In front of this fence were shrubs and evergreen trees which, even in late November, provided a leafy canopy.

It was from a vantage point atop the Grassy Knoll that the Abraham Zapruder film was made.

In 1978, acoustical evidence led the House Select Committee on Assassinations to conclude that a gunman fired from the Grassy Knoll.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._GN.WAV}Probably no small section of land in the United States has been the object of more controversy than the Grassy Knoll. The Grassy Knoll provided an ideal ambush site. Running along the top of the knoll was a wooden picket fence about five feet high. In front of this fence were shrubs and evergreen trees which, even in late November, provided a leafy canopy.

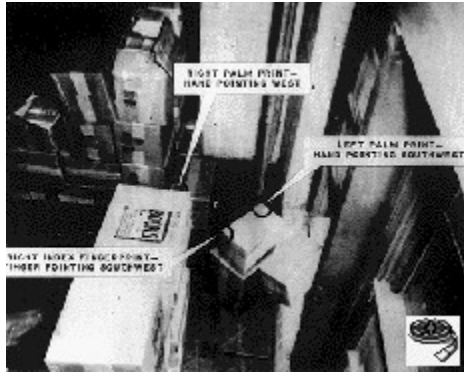
It was from a vantage point atop the Grassy Knoll that the Abraham Zapruder film was made. In 1978, acoustical evidence led the House Select Committee on Assassinations to conclude that a gunman fired from the Grassy Knoll.



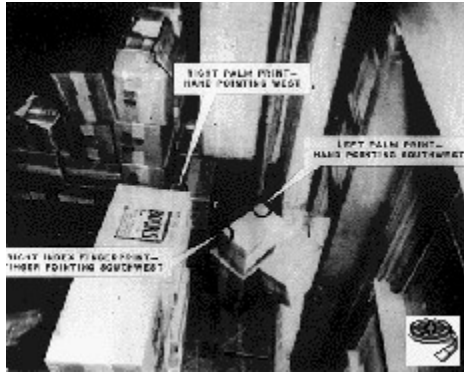
On the west side of Dealey Plaza is a large railroad bridge which spans the three main traffic arteries of Commerce, Main and Elm Streets. Since all three streets converge under this concrete bridge, it quickly became known as the Triple Underpass. This was the position of about a dozen men on November 22, 1963, as they stood along the edge of the underpass to watch the Presidential motorcade approach and pass beneath them.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._TU.WAV}On the west side of Dealey Plaza is a large railroad bridge which spans the three main traffic arteries of Commerce, Main and Elm Streets. Since all three streets converge under this concrete bridge, it quickly became known as the Triple Underpass. This was the position of about a dozen men on November 22, 1963, as they stood along the edge of the underpass to watch the Presidential motorcade approach and pass beneath them.



The sixth floor southeastern window of the Texas School Book Depository is referred to as the Sniper's Nest. According to the Warren Commission, it was from the Sniper's Nest that Lee Harvey Oswald fired three shots killing President Kennedy. Pictures of this position taken after the shooting show cardboard boxes stacked upon each other. The boxes were used both to camouflage the assassin and to support the assassination weapon.





{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._SN.WAV}The sixth floor southeastern window of the Texas School Book Depository is referred to as the Sniper's Nest. According to the Warren Commission, it was from the Sniper's Nest that Lee Harvey Oswald fired three shots killing President Kennedy. Pictures of this position taken after the shooting show cardboard boxes stacked upon each other. The boxes were used both to camouflage the assassin and to support the assassination weapon.

Pop-ups for Dealey Plaza Photo Map Screen

Instructions

This is a map of the location of photographers who recorded the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963. To view a photograph or film, click on the location in Dealey Plaza where it was taken. For example, to see Willis Photograph number 1, click on W1.

Clicking on the binoculars  will enlarge the photograph.

Clicking on the film reel  will play a film.



Phillip Willis took a series of pictures considered by many as the most important photos of the assassination. The first photograph shows the Presidential limousine as it turns onto Houston from Main, 25 seconds before the fatal shots.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW1.WAV}Phillip Willis took a series of pictures considered by many as the most important photos of the assassination. The first photograph shows the Presidential limousine as it turns onto Houston from Main, 25 seconds before the fatal shots.



The Presidential limousine has turned onto Houston Street.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW2.WAV}. The Presidential limousine has turned onto Houston Street.



The motorcade approaches the final turn onto Elm Street.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW3.WAV}The motorcade approaches the final turn onto Elm Street.



The Presidential limousine is on Elm, in front of the Texas School Book Depository, President Kennedy waves, three seconds before the fatal shots.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW4.WAV}The Presidential limousine is on Elm, in front of the Texas School Book Depository, President Kennedy waves, three seconds before the fatal shots.



Taken the moment the President was first struck by a bullet, this photograph shows a human figure behind a wall to the south of the Grassy Knoll. The figure is referred to as "the black dog man," because it resembles a black dog sitting on its haunches.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW5.WAV}Taken the moment the President was first struck by a bullet, this photograph shows a human figure behind a wall to the south of the Grassy Knoll. The figure is referred to as "the black dog man," because it resembles a black dog sitting on its haunches.



Taken moments after the fatal shots. The Presidential limousine has sped to Parkland Memorial Hospital.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW6.WAV}Taken moments after the fatal shots. The Presidential limousine has sped to Parkland Memorial Hospital.



The press bus, which was positioned at the end of the motorcade, passes the site of the assassination. The woman in the red coat is Jean Hill. The woman in the gray coat is known as "The Babushka Lady."



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW7.WAV}The press bus, which was positioned at the end of the motorcade, passes the sight of the assassination. The woman in the red coat is Jean Hill. The woman in the gray coat is known as "The Babushka Lady."



A woman seen in films taken the day of the assassination is known to researchers as "The Babushka Lady" because of a triangular kerchief she wore on her head that day. The Babushka Lady was filming behind Charles Brehm and his son. Her vantage point would show the Grassy Knoll. Some researchers have identified the Babushka Lady as Beverly Oliver, a friend of Jack Ruby's. Oliver claims that she is The Babushka Lady, that her film was taken and never returned by FBI agents and that Ruby once introduced her to "Lee Oswald of the CIA".



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._BABU.WAV}

A woman seen in films taken the day of the assassination is known to researchers as "The Babushka Lady" because of a triangular kerchief she wore on her head that day. The Babushka Lady was filming behind Charles Brehm and his son. Her vantage point would show the Grassy Knoll. Some researchers have identified the Babushka Lady as Beverly Oliver, a friend of Jack Ruby's. Oliver claims that she is The Babushka Lady, that her film was taken and never returned by FBI agents and that Ruby once introduced her to "Lee Oswald of the CIA".



A man wearing dark glasses stands in front of the Depository Building. Some believe that this man is Jack Ruby, placing him at the scene of the assassination.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW8.WAV}A man wearing dark glasses stands in front of the Depository Building. Some believe that this man is Jack Ruby, placing him at the scene of the assassination.



Police seal the Texas School Book Depository.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW9.WAV}Police seal the Texas School Book Depository.



Police take the assassination weapon from the Texas School Book Depository.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW10.WAV}Police take the assassination weapon from the Texas School Book Depository.



Police search for the assassin.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW11.WAV}Police search for the assassin.



The Texas School Book Depository, taken about one hour after the assassination. The Sniper's Nest is located at the far right sixth floor window. The cardboard boxes used to hide the assassin are visible.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._PW12.WAV}The Texas School Book Depository, taken about one hour after the assassination. The Sniper's Nest is located at the far right sixth floor window. The cardboard boxes used to hide the assassin are visible.



James Altgens a photographer for the Associated Press in Dallas, arrived in Dealey Plaza early. He had been assigned to get a picture of Kennedy as he passed through downtown Dallas. Altgens walked to the intersection of Main and Houston, where he took this photo as the President passed, moments before the shots.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._ALT1.WAV}James Altgens a photographer for the Associated Press in Dallas, arrived in Dealey Plaza early. He had been assigned to get a picture of Kennedy as he passed through downtown Dallas. Altgens walked to the intersection of Main and Houston, where he took this photo as the President passed, moments before the shots.



James Altgens made this photograph from the south curb of Elm Street. Taken the moment President Kennedy is struck by an assassins bullet, this photograph shows a man standing in the doorway of the Texas School Book Depository. Soon after the assassination, many people, including his mother, suggested that the man in the doorway looked like Lee Harvey Oswald.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._ALT2.WAV}James Altgens made this photograph from the south curb of Elm Street. Taken the moment President Kennedy is struck by an assassins bullet, this photograph shows a man standing in the doorway of the Texas School Book Depository. Soon after the assassination, many people, including his mother, suggested that the man in the doorway looked like Lee Harvey Oswald.



This photograph, taken seconds after the shots, shows Secret Service agent Clint Hill clutching to the back of the Presidential limousine as Mrs. Kennedy reacts to the fatal wounds of the President.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._ALT3.WAV}This photograph, taken seconds after the shots, shows Secret Service agent Clint Hill clutching to the back of the Presidential limousine as Mrs. Kennedy reacts to the fatal wounds of the President.



Mary Moorman took this well-known Polaroid picture just as Kennedy was struck in the head. Researchers examined the bushy area near the corner of the fence and discovered what appeared to be two figures. The main figure has been dubbed the "badge man" because he appears to be wearing a dark shirt with a bright shiny object on his chest.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._MORM.WAV}Mary Moorman took this well-known Polaroid picture just as Kennedy was struck in the head. Researchers examined the bushy area near the corner of the fence and discovered what appeared to be two figures. The main figure has been dubbed the "badge man" because he appears to be wearing a dark shirt with a bright shiny object on his chest.



Orville Nix captured the entire assassination sequence from an angle opposite the Zapruder film.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._NIX.WAV}Orville Nix captured the entire assassination sequence from an angle opposite the Zapruder film.



An 8-mm home movie made by Robert Hughes, who was standing at the intersection of Main and Houston streets, shows the motorcade turn onto Main Street and proceed towards the Texas Schoolbook Depository.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._HUGFS.WAV}An 8-mm home movie made by Robert Hughes, who was standing at the intersection of Main and Houston streets, shows the motorcade turn onto Main Street and proceed towards the Texas Schoolbook Depository.



Using a Bell and Howell 8mm camera with a telephoto lens, Abraham Zapruder captured one of the most shocking moments in history.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._ZAP.WAV}Using a Bell and Howell 8mm camera with a telephoto lens, Abraham Zapruder captured one of the mostshocking moments in history.



The 8mm film made by Marie Muchmore from the grassy area between Elm and Main streets caught the final and fatal head shot to Kennedy.



{ewc MVMCI2, ViewerMCI, [device WaveAudio][autostart] .._MUCH.WAV}The 8mm film made by Marie Muchmore from the grassy area between Elm and Main streets caught the final and fatal head shot to Kennedy.

WITNESS MAP POPUPS

Instructions

This is a map of the location of certain witnesses to the assassination of President Kennedy. To see information about a witness, click on the location in Dealey Plaza where they were standing. For example, to learn what Howard Brennan saw, click on the 1.



Clicking on the binoculars will enlarge the photograph.



Clicking on the film reel will play a film.



Sitting on a concrete retaining wall across from the Depository was 44-year-old Howard Leslie Brennan, who was to become the star witness for the Warren Commission. Brennan was one of the few witnesses to have seen a gunman fire from the Depository. He described the man as a slender white male in his early 30's wearing "light-colored clothing."

Brennan stated: "...I heard what I thought was a backfire. It ran in my mind that it might be someone throwing firecrackers out of the window of the red brick building and I looked up at the building. I then saw this man I have described in the window and he was taking aim with a high-powered rifle. I could see all of the barrel of the gun. I do not know if it had a scope on it or not. I was looking at the man in this window at the time of the last explosion. Then this man let the gun down to his side and stepped out of sight. He did not seem to be in any hurry...I believe I could identify this man if I ever saw him again."



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Charles Brehm, an ex-serviceman with experience in bolt-action rifles, was probably the closest witness to the fatal head shot, though, he was not called to testify before the Warren Commission.

Brehm stated: "I very definitely saw the effect of the second bullet that struck the President. That which appeared to be a portion of the President's skull went flying slightly to the rear of the President's car and directly to its left. It did fly over toward the curb to the left and to the rear."



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Across the street from Howard Brennan was Roy Truly, Superintendent of the Texas School Book Depository. Just after the Presidential limousine had turned onto Elm, he heard an explosion from the Depository. He thought it was a firecracker or toy cannon and said that after the initial explosion, everything seemed frozen. Then, there were two more explosions and he realized that shots were being fired.

Roy Truly was the man responsible for hiring Lee Harvey Oswald to fill book orders at the Depository. Truly recalled: "Actually, it was the end of our fall rush, if it hadn't existed a week or two longer, or if we had not been using some of our regular boys putting down this plywood, we would not have had any need for Lee Oswald at that time, which is a tragic thing for me to think about."



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Hugh Betzner Jr., who was 22 years old on November 22, 1963, said he heard at least three shots fired and saw the impact on the president. Betzner joined spectators running up the Grassy Knoll toward the wooden picket fence where he assumed the shots came from.

He stated: "I heard a loud noise. I thought this noise was either a firecracker or a car had backfired. I looked up and it seemed like there was another loud noise in a matter of a few seconds. I looked down the street and I could see the President's car and another one and they looked like the cars were stopped."



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John A. Chism, along with his wife and three-year-old son, were standing directly in front of the Stemmons Freeway sign. They said the first shots were fired just as the President passed in front of them. They saw Kennedy slump to his left and into his wife's arms.

That day Mrs. Chism told Dallas authorities: "there was a second shot that I heard, after the President's wife had pulled him down in the seat. It came from what I thought was behind us (the Grassy Knoll) and I looked but I couldn't see anything."



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Jean Hill, who was standing next to her friend Mary Moorman, was one of the closest witnesses to the fatal head shot. She heard between four and six shots altogether and then ran across the street in an effort to locate the men she had seen.

Hill said: "I knew he'd never look our way because all the people were on the other side of the street, so I jumped out into the street and yelled, "Hey, Mr. President, look this way. We want to take your picture." As he began turning toward us, he was hit. Then a bullet hit his head and took the top off. I saw a puff of smoke and some sort of movement on the Grassy Knoll."



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Directly across Elm from Jean Hill was the Newman family. Bill Newman, his wife Gayle and their two small children were standing west of the Stemmons Freeway sign directly below the Grassy Knoll.

Newman told Sheriff's officers: "We were standing at the edge of the curb looking at the (President's) car as it was coming toward us and all of a sudden there was a noise, apparently a gunshot....By (the) time he was directly in front of us...he was hit in the side of the head...Then we fell down on the grass as it seemed that we were in direct path of fire....I thought the shot had come from the garden directly behind me, that was on an elevation from where I was as I was right on the curb. I do not recall looking toward the Texas School Book Depository. I looked back in the vicinity of the garden."



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The only Secret Service agent to react with speed was Clint Hill. Hill had not been scheduled to make the Dallas trip, but came only after Mrs. Kennedy made a personal request. Hill thought the initial sound was a firecracker and began looking to his right for the source of the sound when he saw Kennedy grab at himself and lurch forward slightly. He then realized something was wrong and jumped off the follow-up car. He was racing the few feet to the limousine when he heard more shots.

Hill said: "the second noise that I heard had removed a portion of the President's head, and he slumped noticeably to his left. Mrs. Kennedy had jumped up from the seat and was, it appeared to me, reaching for something coming off the right rear bumper of the car, the right rear tail, when she noticed I was trying to climb on the car."



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Sitting on the steps leading to the top of the Grassy Knoll was Emmett J. Hudson, one of the grounds keepers of Dealey Plaza. In his testimony, Hudson told the Warren Commission: "the first shot rung out and, of course, I didn't realize it was a shot...the motorcade had done got further on down Elm...I happened to be looking right at him when that bullet hit him - the second shot...it looked like it hit him somewhere along about a little bit behind the ear and a little above the ear...this young fellow that was...standing there with me...he says, "Lay down, mister, somebody is shooting the President."



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One witness who was in a position to observe the area behind the picket fence was Lee Bowers, a railroad supervisor stationed in a tower just north of the Grassy Knoll. Bowers observed cars moving suspiciously in the sealed-off railroad yards minutes before the motorcade arrived.

Bowers told the Warren Commission: "...the area had been covered by police for some two hours. Since approximately 10 o'clock in the morning traffic had been cut off into the area so that anyone moving around could actually be observed...there were three cars that came in during the time from around noon until the time of the shooting...[the third car] spent a little more time in the area....he circled the area and probed one spot right at the tower...and was forced to back out some considerable distance, and slowly cruised down back towards the front of the School Depository Building....The last I saw of him, he was pausing just...above the assassination site."



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James Tague, was the third man wounded in Dealey Plaza. His cheek was bloodied by a cement fragment sent flying when a bullet struck the curb near him. The Warren Commission had originally concluded that all three shots had hit either President Kennedy or Governor Connally. Apparently, after reports of Tague's wounding, the Warren Commission revised their account of the assassination, adopting the "Single-Bullet Theory." According to this theory a single bullet struck both Kennedy and Connally, a second bullet fatally wounded President Kennedy and a third wounded bystander Tague.



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Sam Holland, a track and signal supervisor for the Union Terminal Railroad Company, was positioned on the Triple Underpass and saw smoke drift from the Grassy Knoll. He told the Warren Commission: "... the first report that I heard...was pretty loud...and the car traveled a few yards and Governor Connally turned...his hand out and...another report rang out and he slumped down in his seat...(then Kennedy) was hit again...it knocked him completely down on the floor...just slumped completely over...I heard a third report and I counted four shots...There was a shot, a report. I don't know whether it was a shot. I can't say that. And a puff of smoke came out about six or eight feet above the ground, right out from under those trees."



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James Simmons, a car inspector for the Union Terminal Railroad Company, was in the group on the Triple Underpass and saw a puff of smoke in the area of the Grassy Knoll.

Simmons stated: "As the President's limousine rounded the curve on Elm Street, there was a loud explosion...It sounded like it came from the left and in front of us, toward the wooden fence. And there was a puff of smoke that came from underneath the trees on the embankment directly in front of the wooden fence....I was talking to Patrolman Foster at the time and as soon as we heard the shots, we ran around to (behind) the picket fence...There was no one there but there were footprints in the mud around the fence and footprints on the two-by-four railing on the fence..."



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Crossfire: Introduction

Dallas, Texas

Friday, November 22, 1963

Approximately 12:30 p.m. C.S.T.

In the early morning hours, storm clouds had brought drizzle to Dallas. But by 10 a.m., the skies had cleared and a warm sun brought Indian Summer weather to this North Central Texas city. By the noon hour, it was shirtsleeve weather. The sky was an immaculate blue, unbroken by a single cloud. The occasional gust of cool breeze out of the north was welcomed by Texans weary of the interminable summer heat which usually lasts well into the fall. It was the sort of fall day that stirs the blood, that makes people want to attend a football game or get out and work in the yard. This day there were other reasons for wanting to get outside. The President of the United States was coming to town. The media had been full of news about the event for days.

The motorcade had been scheduled to pass through the downtown business section during the noon hour so office workers could watch the parade during lunch. The strategy worked well. Literally thousands of Dallasites turned out in the balmy weather for a view of Kennedy, already acknowledged as one of this nation's most controversial presidents. A month earlier, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson had been pushed, spat upon and hit in the head with a picket sign while visiting in Dallas and, just the previous Tuesday, cashiered Army Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker had made the news by shoving a TV cameraman during a Dallas speech by Alabama Governor George Wallace. Yet, after landing at Love Field about 11:45 a.m., Kennedy's people found the Dallas crowds large, enthusiastic and friendly.

As the motorcade cruised through the packed streets of downtown Dallas, the earlier apprehensions seemed to dissipate as quickly as the morning's overcast. Even the cynical Washington press corps were awed by the tumultuous welcome. The awe of the reporters was reflected in the silence which prevailed in the long, dark-blue Lincoln Continental serving as the presidential limousine. With sirens wailing, horns honking, radios blaring and the shouts and cheers of the crowd ringing off the sides of the office buildings, the scene was chaotic, despite what had been hailed as one of the tightest security efforts in recent memory. Twice the motorcade had ground to a halt, as Kennedy acknowledged pleas to stop and shake hands with some school children and nuns. As the presidential limousine pulled into an open plaza on the west end of the downtown area, security men began to relax. They knew that after passing through the plaza and underneath a railroad bridge, they would be on Stemmons Freeway and only a few minutes from the Trade Mart. However, the abundance of bushes and fences and buildings prompted at least one Kennedy staffer, Presidential Assistant David Powers, to view the plaza as a perfect ambush site.

Then came a 120-degree turn in front of a red-brick building with the name "Texas School Book Depository" above the door. It was in an upper floor of this building that several people saw a man with a rifle only moments before the motorcade arrived. Several people, their observations later buttressed by photographic evidence, saw another man standing next to the rifleman. The limousine slowed almost to a standstill as the Secret Service driver tried to negotiate the tight curve. As it began to slowly glide down the street through a small park-like arcade, there came a popping sound. Many people thought it was a firecracker, while others thought it was just one of the escorting motorcycles backfiring.

Only a handful of those present believed the sound to be a gunshot. But this sound was immediately followed by explosive booms which sent echoes bouncing off the surrounding buildings and the eastern face of the Triple Underpass.

Several bystanders, including the Dallas County Sheriff, saw at least one bullet strike the pavement of Elm Street, ricocheting off the west and sending up a shower of dust and cement. Another bullet was seen by a Secret Service agent in the follow-up car to the rear of the limousine. He reported it struck Kennedy in the back about four inches below his right shoulder.

Everyone saw the President grasp at his throat with both hands. He appeared immobilized, only sagging slightly to his left. Every doctor at Parkland Hospital would later report a wound in Kennedy's throat at about the location of his Adam's apple. They all described the wound as one of entrance, yet Kennedy had never turned to the rear, the direction of the depository.

One bullet struck the earth near a manhole cover on the south side of Elm, where it was guarded for a time by a Dallas policeman and a deputy sheriff and photographed by a newspaperman. Yet another struck the curb of Elm Street down near the Triple Underpass, sending up chunks of cement which

bloodied the cheek of a bystander. This shot was ignored by the official inquiry for several months and, by the time investigators came to test the bullet mark, it had been repaired. Some witnesses even thought a bullet struck a sign reading "Stemmons Freeway," which stood at a point almost perpendicular to where Kennedy was first hit. No one will ever know if the sign was hit as it disappeared later that afternoon and was never seen again.

More than a second after Kennedy was hit, Governor Connally was struck in the back with a bullet which pierced his chest and shattered his fifth rib. His right wrist bone also was broken by yet another bullet, although an official government commission concluded it was the same bullet which struck his back after passing through Kennedy. Later that afternoon, a single rifle slug - unmarked, undistorted and undamaged - was found in a public hallway at Parkland Hospital. This slug was to become an insult to the intelligence of the American people, for the government claimed that this "pristine" slug made an erratic trajectory through the bodies of both Kennedy and Connally, causing seven wounds and striking at least two bones. In later years, at least two bullet slugs were discovered by people digging around in the assassination area. Both were turned over the FBI, but were never investigated.

Most witnesses in or around the motorcade believed the first burst of fire came from the front, although several stated they also heard a noise to the rear. One policeman saw pigeons flutter off the depository roof and three depository workmen on the building's fifth floor heard a shot from above them and noticed plaster dust fall from the ceiling. Yet, even with that evidence, the trio ran to a west side window believing that other shots had come from the trees to the west of the depository. A few, including Governor Connally, recognized the sound of a high-powered rifle being fired during that opening volley. One combat veteran was standing with his family at the base of what was to become known as the Grassy Knoll. He reported that shots were coming in directly over their heads from atop the knoll. They fell to the ground and covered their children.

After the initial burst of fire, heralded by a faint popping sound, there was a pause. Time seemed to stand still for everyone in the plaza. It was during this brief span of time - probably about four seconds - that people began to realize that shots were being fired. A Secret Service agent leaped from the follow-up car and raced for the presidential limousine. His duty was to protect Mrs. Kennedy. In fact, he had not originally been scheduled to make the Dallas trip. Kennedy's security men were remarkably sluggish, perhaps because they had been up until early morning hours in a notorious Fort Worth nightclub owned by an associate of Jack Ruby.

Curiously, the brake lights on the presidential limousine remained on throughout this lull in the firing. In fact, many bystanders claimed the car came to a virtual halt with the driver looking back over his right shoulder in Kennedy's direction. Suddenly there came two loud explosions, one almost on top of the other. Critically wounded, Connally was conscious of the blasts and thought the firing must have come from an automatic rifle.

Kennedy's head flew forward about one-eighteenth of a second (as determined by analyzing films of the shooting) and then reversed direction, both his head and body thrown violently to the left and rear. His body bounced off the car's seat and he fell leftward into his wife's lap. Witnesses on the right side of the car heard shots coming in from the knoll, over their heads and saw the President's head open up on the right side. There was briefly a halo of crimson liquid and fleshy matter around his head, which then fell swiftly to the left and rear. A police motorcycle rider to Kennedy's left rear and witnesses on the south side of Elm saw fragments of his skull and brain fly in their direction and land in the grass. It was in this area that a student found a large piece of bone the next day. It was identified as a piece of the occipital bone, a large bone located at the back of the human skull. The two policemen riding to the left rear of the limousine were splattered with blood and tissue.

Filming the whole scene was a Dallas clothing manufacturer, who was standing on a four-foot-high pedestal of concrete next to a pergola on the Grassy Knoll. He said the final shot came from behind him in the direction of a wooden stockade fence which lined the top of the Grassy Knoll. A soldier, who was filming the motorcade about 15 feet to the right rear of the clothing manufacturer, heard the blast from behind him and felt a bullet whiz past his left ear. He threw himself on the ground. He was kicked to his feet moments later by a man in a uniform who took the film from his camera. The soldier fled and his film has never been seen. The man who took his film may have been the same man captured in a photograph made by a woman standing on the south side of Elm. She took a snapshot at the exact moment of the fatal head shot. Recently, when a section of this picture was blown up, it revealed a man in a uniform firing a rifle from behind the stockade fence. A woman standing nearby also had been taking pictures. She filmed the entire assassination sequence from a vantage point which had both the

depository and the Grassy Knoll in the background. Her film was taken the next day by men identifying themselves as FBI agents and was never seen again.

The grounds keeper for that area of the plaza was sitting on some steps halfway between the fence and the street. He saw the President struck in the right side of the head and then heard another shot which seemed to come from above and behind him.

A Dallas policeman along with about a dozen railroad workers were lining the top of the Triple Underpass to get a look at the President as he passed beneath them. They all heard the first burst of fire, but some thought the sound came from back up near Elm and Houston, while others believed it came from their left, the direction of the Grassy Knoll. But, at the final booms, there was no doubt in their minds. They unanimously said at least one shot came from behind the wooden fence atop the knoll. Several saw a puff of white smoke drifting out from under the trees covering the fence. Moments later, they ran to that location and found evidence that several people may have been waiting behind the fence. This was corroborated by a railroad supervisor stationed in a tower overlooking the railroad yards just north of the wooden fence. After watching some strange cars with radios and out-of-state license plates prowl the area prior to the arrival of the motorcade, the man saw several people, including a man in some sort of uniform, behind the fence and a flash of light at the time of the shooting.

One woman, standing on the south side of Elm, saw a man running westward behind the picket fence atop the knoll. This man, wearing a dark suit and carrying a rifle, was also seen by a Dallas man standing by Stemmons Freeway. Later, when the man tried to tell the FBI what he had seen, he was told to keep quiet "or you might get killed."

As the sound of the final shots died away, the scene in the plaza became unfrozen. Women screamed, some wept and shouted, "They've shot the President!". People threw themselves on the ground to escape the bullets, which to many seemed to be flying in every direction. The Secret Service agent managed to reach the rear of the presidential limousine and secure a handhold just as the big car finally began accelerating out of the plaza. Mrs. Kennedy crawled onto the trunk of the limousine and retrieved a piece of her husband's head. She was still clutching it in her hand while sitting outside the trauma room at Parkland Hospital. Sirens were blaring and engines racing as the motorcade moved through the plaza and up onto Stemmons Freeway for a frantic race to the hospital.

The assassination of John F. Kennedy was over. It had all happened in less than six seconds.

Both Dallas police and sheriff's deputies began racing up the incline of the Grassy Knoll, believing that the source of the shots. They were joined by dozens of bystanders, some of whom had heard shots in that direction and some who were just following the action. In the Texas School Book Depository, a motorcycle officer ran into the lobby and was joined by the building superintendent. Moving toward the stairway, the policeman saw a man calmly drinking a Coke in the building's lunchroom. The superintendent identified the man as an employee. His name was Lee Harvey Oswald. The policeman continued his race to the roof. Outside, it was a scene of panic and confusion. The depository was not sealed off by police for several more minutes, although some witnesses were already reporting that shots came from the building. Within 15 minutes of the shooting, Dallas police got a description of the gunman from unidentified man. They broadcast an alert for a "slender white male about 30, 5', 10", 165, carrying what looked to be a 30-30 or some type of Winchester." Oswald would not actually be missed at the depository until after his arrest about an hour later.

At the time of Oswald's arrest, he was carrying two different sets of identification - one in the name of Lee Harvey Oswald and one in the name of A.J. Hidell. The police asked him whether he was Oswald or Hidell and he told them, "You're the police, you find out." Yet, at this same time, when Dallas police were not even certain of the identity of the man in custody, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover was telephoning Attorney General Robert Kennedy in Washington, D.C.

An FBI memo released in 1977, Hoover wrote, "I called the attorney general at his home and told him I thought we had the man who killed the President down in Dallas." Hoover identified Lee Harvey Oswald as the assassin and described him as a "mean-minded individual...in the category of a nut." Hoover went on to give a detailed background on Oswald, including his attempted defection to Russia and his Fair Play for Cuba Committee activities. He also told Kennedy's brother that Oswald had "communist leanings".

By Saturday, Nov. 23, an extraordinary amount of material had suddenly become available about the suspect. Newspapers both in the Dallas area and across the nation were filled with stories about this "pro-communist," although the FBI and Secret Service were maintaining they had no interest in the

man nor any idea he was in the area prior to the assassination. Oswald maintained a calm attitude. When paraded in front of newsmen, he wore a small, smug smile, which many interpreted as arrogance. It may have been due to the fact that Oswald knew himself to be innocent of the crime. In fact, when his famous statement, "No sir, I didn't shoot anybody...I'm just a patsy," was subjected to voice stress analysis many years later, it showed virtually no stress in his voice indicating he was telling what he believed to be the truth.

Quickly, the evidence against Oswald piled up. A rifle and empty cartridges were found on the sixth floor of the depository. He was charged with the murder of Dallas Policeman J.D. Tippit. Dallas authorities were proclaiming an open-and-shut case.

Then, on Sunday morning, Nov. 24, Oswald was killed by one shot from a pistol carried by nightclub owner Jack Ruby while being escorted through the basement of the Dallas police station handcuffed to two officers. Oswald had been silenced. Dallas police claimed that although he had been in custody for nearly three days, no recordings or stenographic notes had been made of his statements. Every word attributed to Oswald has come second hand from police or federal officials.

Almost from the time the shots died away in Dealey Plaza, a troubling pattern began to take shape. The "Stemmons Freeway" sign was taken away and the bullet in the grass disappeared. Suspicious men arrested in the plaza were released after Oswald's capture with no official record of names or alibis taken. Film was confiscated from more than one person and there was evidence of intimidation being used to coerce witnesses to conform to the official story. Vital evidence disappeared or was forgotten. Other evidence was altered or suddenly appeared. Numerous people who tried to tell authorities that Ruby and Oswald knew each other were told to forget it.

Amid criticism of the Dallas Police handling of the case, Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr promised to create a state board of inquiry to find the truth of the assassination. However, five days after the assassination, the newly-installed President, Lyndon Baines Johnson, ordered the FBI to take control of the investigation. Consequently, all of the Dallas Police investigative files were turned over to the bureau. Asked how Carr could get the necessary evidence to hold a board of inquiry, Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry said, "I guess they'll just have to go to the FBI."

Then on Nov. 30, President Johnson announced he was creating a "blue ribbon" commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren to investigate both the death of Kennedy and Oswald and "satisfy itself that the truth is known." Carr called off the Texas inquiry on Dec. 7, conceding that it had been superseded by the federal investigation. Also, some federal agencies, the FBI and the Secret Service, had already made it known that they might not agree to have their agents testify in Carr's probe. The creation of Johnson's hand-picked commission also effectively halted attempts to start congressional inquiries into the assassination.

On Sept. 24, 1964, the Warren Commission announced its findings. Commission members concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald was the sole assassin of President Kennedy and that "no credible evidence" of any type of conspiracy could be found. They concluded that Oswald, who had a terrible marksmanship record, had used a \$12.78 Italian war-surplus military carbine to fire from the southeast corner of the Texas School Book Depository's sixth floor at a moving target almost 150 feet away and score two hits out of three shots within the space of 5.6 seconds. Furthermore, the commission concluded the first shot struck both Kennedy and Connally, causing seven separate wounds and hitting at least two bones (the culprit of this devastation is the untouched slug still available for viewing in the National Archives). The second shot missed the limousine and struck near the Triple Underpass, wounding James Tague with bits of concrete. The third shot tore open the right side of Kennedy's head and was lost as tiny fragments of the slug flew in all directions. These conclusions were direct, plausible-sounding and backed by some of the most prestigious men on the national scene. But, the fact remains that not one single person in Dealey Plaza saw the assassination happen the way the Warren Commission said it did.

In 1979, the House Select Committee on Assassinations reversed this picture of Kennedy's death by reporting that there probably was a conspiracy to kill the President and that at least one more gunman was involved in the shooting, but that this second assassin remains unidentified and probably missed his target anyway. After more than two decades, the questions still remain - who killed Kennedy and why? The following pages will try to answer these questions.

Crossfire: Acknowledgments

When a final "truth" concerning the assassination of President John F. Kennedy is accepted by the general population of the United States, it will have to be acknowledged that this truth came not from the Government, the legal profession or the news media - rather that truth will have come from the legion of individual citizens who have refused to accept superficial explanations. No one person will be credited with such a final "truth" because the names of the people who have fought to learn what really happened to President Kennedy - often at the risk of public ridicule and worse - have grown too numerous to enumerate. However, most researchers would include the names of Penn Jones Jr., Mark Lane, Vincent Salandria and Harold Weisberg as leaders of that first generation of critics who raised serious questions about the government's official lone-assassin theory. Special recognition will go to the two leading female researchers, the late Sylvia Meagher, whose incisive dissection of the Warren Commission Report set the standard for assassination research and Dallas' Mary Ferrell, that indefatigable collector of assassination lore.

Acknowledgment also will have to be given to Judge Jim Garrison - regardless of history's final judgment on his performance as district attorney - for the abundance of assassination information gleaned through his ill-fated investigations in New Orleans.

Others who have contributed greatly to the advancement of assassination knowledge - in no particular order - include Josiah Thompson, Col. Fletcher Prouty, George O'Toole, Gary Shaw, Larry Harris, Richard E. Sprague, Carl Oglesby, Mort Sahl, Seth Kantor, Edgar Tatro, Fred Newcomb, Greg Lowrey, Jack White, Gary Mack, Earl Golz, Anthony Summers, David Lifton, Bernard Fensterwald, William Turner, Gaeton Fonzi, Mark Allen, Jeff Goldberg, Dick Russell, Alan Weberman, Paul Hoch, Peter Dale Scott, Robert Sam Anson, Jerry Rose, Robert Groden and Harry Livingstone. Other names eventually will be added to this distinguished list.

Every citizen who gave of his time, effort and resources to study, assimilate and disseminate assassination information will someday come to be regarded as an object lesson on how the individual citizen can indeed make an impact on a system which has proven either unable or unwilling to police itself. And on that day, all of the assassination researchers will receive the public acknowledgment they so richly deserve.

Crossfire: Preface

Do not trust this book. In fact, when it comes to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, don't trust any one source or even the basic evidence and testimony. In the case of the JFK assassination, belief and trust have long been part of the problem. One's view of the events in Dallas in 1963 has depended upon whom one chooses to believe.

Do you believe Government experts who state that a man reputed to be a bad shot could take a bolt-action rifle which wholesaled for \$3 and twice hit a man in a moving car at more than 200 yards with three shots in less than six seconds? Do you believe a commission hand-picked by Kennedy's successor which concluded that Kennedy was killed by a lone assassin firing from a building behind him and who was, in turn, killed by yet another lone assassin? Or do you believe witnesses who saw a rifle fired at Kennedy's right front and films that show the rearward fall of the wounded President indicating just such a shot? For far too many years a majority of the American public chose to believe their federal Government, which assured them that Kennedy's death was the result of a tragic meeting between a powerful national leader and a warped solitary young man wanting to be somebody. Today many people believe differently. A poll taken by the "Washington Post" in 1983 showed more than 80 percent of the respondents expressed the belief that Kennedy died as the result of a high-level conspiracy. However, beliefs are neither facts nor knowledge.

This book is an effort to break through the massive amounts of obfuscation regarding this topic and bring to the public a basic overview of this tragic event. It is a distillation of the numerous books, articles and documentaries which have been produced over the years.

Already the assassination of President John F. Kennedy is recognized as a turning point in American history. Beginning on November 22, 1963, American attitudes slowly changed from post-World War II optimism and idealism to cynicism and mistrust of government. This loss of faith in government accelerated in the wake of the Vietnam War, the Watergate and the Iran-Contra scandals. A significant portion of this cynicism has been prompted by the wide difference between the official government version of the Kennedy assassination and the beliefs of a majority of Americans. Beginning only a week after the Dallas tragedy, national polls showed a majority of Americans disbelieved the official "lone assassin" theory of the assassination. By the late 1980s, that number had risen to nearly 90 percent of the population. Like the attack on Pearl Harbor, November 22, 1963, has been etched into the memory of every American who was of age on that day. In this Information Age, more than half the population alive today followed the events of that sad day through both broadcast and print media. Who could forget the shock of the early announcements from Dallas, the horror of the slaying of the chief suspect or the tears as "John John" Kennedy saluted his father's casket? To those today who were not yet born or of age in 1963, their knowledge of the assassination comes from history books - which for the most part are strangely silent about the details of the tragedy - stories from older people and other public sources.

No event in American history had caused such an abiding interest on the part of the general public. The assassination has spawned a legion of independent researchers - of all ages and classes - who study the bits of information seeking to determine what really happened to our 35th President.

Crossfire for the first time pulls together the massive amount of available facts and information concerning that tragic day in 1963. Until now, this material has been available only by carefully studying a wide range of books - many now out of print - and by researching periodicals on a continuing basis. *Crossfire* has been designed to provide an abundance of material in a concise and readable manner, so that both the mildly interested and serious researcher alike may get the overview necessary to detect and understand the broad outlines of the conspiracy behind the assassination. Long-standing controversies - such as mysterious men photographed in Dealey Plaza and the Oswald lookalike standing in the doorway of the Texas School Book Depository at the time of the shooting - are examined as well as new issues - such as the acoustical evidence indicating the existence of a second gunman and some brand-new questions concerning the 1981 exhumation of Lee Harvey Oswald. This book takes a close look at the events in Dealey Plaza through the eyes of the witnesses - including many overlooked by the government investigations and some new witnesses whose stories have never before been made public. As in any good homicide investigation, a list of suspects has been drawn up with information detailing their means, motives and opportunities. *Crossfire* provides detailed background information on the men and organizations considered most-likely to have been involved in a plot against the President. Also covered in *Crossfire* are the various attempts by governmental bodies to investigate and resolve what happened in Dallas. Attention is paid to the people behind these

investigations, how they arrived at their conclusions, the reliability of the information made available to them and the possibility of misdirection and deceit.

As an award-winning Texas journalist with more than 25 years of news gathering experience in the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex, I have been in a unique situation to learn the true story of the assassination. I have talked with many people closely connected to the assassination, including Dallas area government and law enforcement officials and newsmen. I spent many hours with Marguerite Oswald (mother of the accused assassin) and with Jeanne DeMohrenschildt (she and her husband, George DeMohrenschildt, were close friends of Oswald). I have interviewed assassination witnesses such as James Tague, Jean Hill, Bill Newman and many others. I have talked with witnesses never questioned by the official investigations, such as Ed Hoffman, Gordon Arnold, Ester Mash and Madeline Brown. And I have kept in contact with serious researchers of the assassination, collecting and correlating their work. Most importantly, I lived through the assassination time in the Dallas area. As a college student, I met Jack Ruby while visiting his Carousel Club in September, 1963. In the fall of 1964, I conducted an in-depth interview with Major-General Edwin A. Walker. Within five years of the assassination, I was working as a professional reporter in the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex. As a native Texan who grew up in this area, I understand its people, history and politics. Yet, as a journalist, I have maintained a professional objectivity. I have had time to study the JFK assassination both as a working newspaperman and a researcher. Since 1976 I have taught a course on the JFK assassination at the University of Texas at Arlington. I have been told that I was the first person in the United States to offer a university-level course on the assassination. Through this course, many new leads have been developed - such as a witness to gunmen on the Grassy Knoll and the intimidation of Dallas witnesses by Warren Commission staff members and FBI. My public presentations of assassination material - including talks to Texas police and medical examiner organizations - have always been well received.

To truly understand what happened in Dallas in 1963, one must get an overview of the event. Any one particular issue can be rationalized away as coincidence or happenstance. Only by gaining a broad view of the assassination can one begin to detect the outlines of the conspiracy which resulted in the deaths of Kennedy, policeman J.D. Tippit and the accused assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald. Always keep in mind that the United States in 1963 was an entirely different time and place from today. The public had a blind faith in Government which seems hard to believe by today's cynical standards. The news media uncritically accepted official pronouncements - a far cry from today's adversary relationship with officialdom. And police work was done in an unsophisticated manner which would shock the highly-trained and educated officers of today. Also know that many people were untruthful in their testimony to investigators while others had their statements misrepresented by investigating officials - for reasons both benign and otherwise. Many people tried to distance themselves from the accused assassin. Some - either due to ignorance, a desire to be helpful or on orders - lied about critical evidence in the case. Even Government agencies were deathly afraid of rumors linking Oswald to their organizations. Not one single matter of fact in this case can be accepted uncritically. Evidence of deceit, misrepresentation and manipulation is too plain to be ignored.

What then is the truth? One truth has become painfully obvious in recent years - the federal Government has not told the truth about the assassination to the American people. It has been left up to students, historians and private researchers to continue to dig out critical information. The reason for this book is to provide this information to a wider audience. While mistakes undoubtedly have slipped by, every effort has been taken to present the best account of assassination issues in this book. Statements have been checked and double-checked; facts reviewed and reviewed again.

So, who is to be believed when it comes to the JFK assassination? No one - not this author, not the various assassination researchers and certainly not the Government officials who have already been proven in error about so many aspects of this case. Only by studying ALL of the relevant information about the assassination and then applying common sense can one come to an understanding of the truth of the JFK assassination.

Why seek the truth of Kennedy's death? The answer is simple. Unless we, as a nation, come to a truthful understanding of what happened to our chief elected official in 1963, we obviously cannot begin to correctly understand the events which are affecting us today.

I seek not only the killers of President Kennedy, I seek the persons who killed Camelot - who killed the confidence and faith of the American people in their government and institutions. I seek elementary justice - for both the accused assassin and for the United States of America.

Jim Marrs

Crossfire: Notes on Sources

In a work such as this, extensive footnoting often can impede the flow of content and thus reduce comprehension. There is a further problem in the case of the JFK assassination. Too often official Government reports do not accurately reflect the actual evidence or statements of witnesses. This situation complicates effective documentation. Therefore it was decided to substitute the usual detailed footnoting procedure for simple attribution, in the manner of news reporting. Any statements of a controversial nature or ones that contradict the official version of the assassination have been attributed to its source, whether an individual, official report or publication. For example, the phrase "He told the Warren Commission" indicates that the particular quote may be found in the Warren Commission Report or its attendant 26 volumes; "They told Sheriff's deputies" indicates information found in Dallas County Sheriff's reports; "She told this author" is information gleaned during a personal interview; and so forth. Information or quotes taken from a newspaper, periodical or book are attributed to such.

Sometimes accounts of witnesses represent a synthesis of their words from more than one source. Any statements without attribution indicates historical fact or issues which are undisputed among the majority of credible assassination researchers. For example, it is unnecessary to document Richard Nixon's crucial role in initiating the Bay of Pigs invasion since historians already have documented that role and Nixon himself has written about it. In the case of controversies - such as the identity of a man photographed standing in the doorway of the Texas School Book Depository - every effort has been made to present both sides of the issue through the statements of both officials and participants. However, it should be noted that just because a statement is attributed to some source does not make that statement true. People's accounts can reflect mistakes as well as lies due to fear or intimidation.

It is significant to point out that while all assassination work - including this book - must rely heavily on official Government reports and publications, such reports often can be called into question. Therefore the burden of separating fact from fiction must unfortunately fall on the reader. This sad fact necessitates access to the broadest amount of information, often going beyond official sources. This book represents information collected from a wide variety of publications - most of which are listed in the Selected Bibliography -, newspaper accounts and personal interviews. Every effort has been made to authenticate the statements in this work.

Crossfire: Dallas - The Stage is Set

"Don't let it be forgot
That once there was a spot
For one brief shining moment
That was known as Camelot"
Alan Jay Learner

PART I

"The Kill Zone"

DALLAS - THE STAGE IS SET

Although one of the youngest cities in Texas, Dallas has recorded a meteoric rise to greatness and prosperity. Beginning in the days before Texas became a state, Dallas has grown from a small way station for pioneers to a center of corporate business, insurance, banking and oil and gas. By 1963, Dallas already was the most influential city in the Lone Star State next to oil-rich Houston. However, Dallas also had a reputation for being the stronghold of arch conservatives, if not outright right-wing extremists. It is well known in Texas police circles that during the 1940s and 1950s - and stretching into the early 1960s - if a man wanted a job as a Dallas policeman, he needed to be a member of the Ku Klux Klan or, at least, the John Birch Society. The city police and other governmental offices were filled with members of the Klan, the John Birch Society and other conservative groups. But Dallas was instrumental in carrying Texas in a national election. So in 1963, it was included on a quick political trip by President John F. Kennedy.

Crossfire: The 35th President

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was the first U.S. President born in the 20th century. At age 43, Kennedy became one of the youngest Presidents and, at the time of his death at age 46, he lived a shorter life than any other President. His brief presidency - 1,026 days - stirred the emotions of nearly every American. Hardly anyone was neutral about Kennedy. They either loved him or hated him. Yet Kennedy seemed oblivious to the controversies surrounding him. Perhaps due to his wealthy background, he appeared more concerned with great historical issues such as civil rights, war and peace rather than the parochial matters of business and politics.

Kennedy was born on May 29, 1917, in Brookline, Massachusetts, an unpretentious middle-class suburb of Boston. He was the second oldest son of a family which began their American life with the immigration of Patrick Kennedy from Ireland in 1848. Both grandfathers were prominent Democratic Party ward bosses during the time when a group of Irish leaders ruled the local party. While he grew to manhood, his father, Joseph P. Kennedy, amassed a considerable fortune. By age 25, Joe Kennedy had gained control of a bank in East Boston. By adroit investments in real estate, the stock market and the film industry - and perhaps some bootlegging money (See MOBSTERS) he built an empire worth an estimated \$250 million.

Jack, as the future President was called, attended only the best schools, beginning with the Choate School in Connecticut, where he won an award for best combining sports and scholastics. While he graduated near the bottom of his class, he nevertheless was selected as the man "most likely to succeed." A bout with jaundice forced him to drop out of college, but upon recovery, he joined his older brother, Joseph Kennedy Jr., at Harvard. Maintaining only a "C" average, Kennedy concentrated on sports, particularly football.

A somewhat sickly child, Kennedy had continuing bouts with illness compounded by a football injury which aggravated an already-weakened spinal column. For the rest of his life, Kennedy suffered recurring back problems. In an effort to recuperate, Kennedy left school during his junior year to travel in Europe, where his father had been appointed U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain after generous contributions to Franklin Roosevelt's election campaign. After war broke out, Ambassador Kennedy was forced to resign because of his undisguised admiration for Germany's Nazi regime. As a result of this trip and the contact he made with major British political figures, young Kennedy returned to write a senior thesis about England's complacent attitudes just before World War II. This thesis was well received at Harvard and later was rewritten to become the best-selling book, "Why England Slept". He began to show interest in a writing career, but was interrupted by joining the U.S. Navy two months before the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor by Japan.

Early in the war, Kennedy served as an intelligence officer in Washington, but was transferred to the South Pacific after J. Edgar Hoover told his father about young Kennedy's love affair with a suspected Nazi agent (See G MEN). In the summer of 1943, Kennedy was in command of a Navy patrol boat, the PT-109. During a patrol in the Solomon Islands, the PT-109 was struck and broken in half by a Japanese destroyer, the only such incident during the war. Although some negligence appeared to be involved, Kennedy went on to become a hero after saving the life of one of his men and helping to arrange their rescue. He pulled his wounded chief engineer, Patrick McMahon, to a nearby island by swimming for four hours with the man on his back held in place by gripping a strap of the man's life jacket between his teeth. Later, Kennedy arranged for local natives to alert Navy officials of the group's location in enemy-held territory. Soon they were all rescued. The story hit the front page of the New York Times and Kennedy's name became well known in Boston.

While recovering from his ordeal, Kennedy learned that his older brother had been killed while flying a secret mission over Europe. The political aspirations of his father now fell on Jack Kennedy. After the war, a reluctant Kennedy ran for and won a House Seat from Massachusetts. In later years, Joe Kennedy was quoted as saying:

"I told him Joe was dead and it was his responsibility to run for Congress. He didn't want to. But I told him he had to."

With the Kennedy name and Kennedy money behind him, Kennedy easily won two more elections to Congress. Then, in 1952, he defeated Henry Cabot Lodge to become junior senator from Massachusetts. In 1954, his back condition forced him to use crutches and Kennedy underwent dangerous and painful back surgery. While recuperating, he wrote "Profiles of Courage," a book detailing how past senators had defied public opinion. This book, actually written by associates such as Theodore Sorensen, helped identify Kennedy with political courage in the minds of voters. It was during

this bedridden convalescence that Kennedy was conveniently absent during the stormy Senate debates on Joseph McCarthy's censure. In fact, Kennedy refused to take sides on the issue.

Despite an uninspiring senatorial career, by 1956, Kennedy's name was brought up as a possible running mate for Democratic Presidential hopeful Adlai Stevenson. Although edged out as vice presidential candidate by Estes Kefauver, a graceful concession speech caused Kennedy's political stock to rise to new heights. With an eye toward the 1960 election, Kennedy and his supporters went all out to ensure an impressive victory in his 1958 senate re-election campaign in Massachusetts. Indeed, he won by the largest margin in the state's history. By 1960, Kennedy was ready for the Democratic presidential nomination, but there were hurdles to overcome. One of these was the fact he was a Catholic and no Catholic had ever been elected President. He overcame this problem by entering - and winning - a series of state primary elections. In West Virginia, with 95 percent Protestant voters, Kennedy beat Senator Hubert Humphrey handily, thanks, according to FBI reports, to large organized crime donations made through Frank Sinatra.

Entering the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles, Kennedy was challenged only by conservative Texas Senator Lyndon B. Johnson. Despite a late "draft Adlai Stevenson" movement, Kennedy won on the first ballot by 806 votes to Johnson's 409. The pragmatic Kennedy immediately knew that conservative Democrats were needed to win against Republican Richard Nixon, so he forged a temporary coalition by selecting the defeated Johnson as his vice presidential running mate, despite objections from labor and liberals. There was no thought of Johnson's qualifications as President should anything happen to Kennedy. It was sheer spur-of-the-moment political tactics. In his acceptance speech, Kennedy set the tone for his campaign and his Presidency:

"...we stand today on the edge of a new frontier - the frontier of the 1960s...Beyond that frontier are uncharted areas of science and space, unsolved problems of peace and war, unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus. It would be easier to shrink back from that frontier, to look to the safe mediocrity of the past...But I believe the times demand invention, innovation, imagination, decision. I am asking each of you to be new pioneers on that new frontier."

Nixon, and his running mate Henry Cabot Lodge (whom Kennedy had defeated in the 1952 Massachusetts senate race), tried to raise the issue of experience during the ensuing 1960 election campaign. "Experience Counts" was their slogan, despite the fact that both Nixon and Kennedy had been elected Congress in 1946 and that Nixon was only four years older than JFK. The slogan mostly was to call attention to Nixon's role as vice president to the popular Ike Eisenhower. Again the issue of Kennedy's Catholicism came up. Fundamentalist preachers regaled their congregations with the specter of a Vatican-dominated White House. The issue prompted Kennedy to tell a meeting of Protestant ministers in Houston:

"Because I am a Catholic and no Catholic has ever been elected President, it is apparently necessary for me to state once again - not what kind of church I believe in, for that should be important only to me, but what kind of America I believe in. I believe in an America where separation of church and state is absolute - where no Catholic prelate would tell the President (should he be a Catholic) how to act and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote."

Perhaps the real turning point in the 1960 election came in September when Kennedy and Nixon met in the first televised debates in American history. The four debates were viewed by nearly half the population of the nation and no one denies that Kennedy emerged the victor - although radio listeners judged Nixon the winner. It was all TV show business, the forerunner of the slickly-marketed candidates of today. It was all image - Kennedy with a good make-up job appeared robust and confident of himself while Nixon, suffering from little make-up and five-o'clock shadow, appeared uneasy and unsure of himself. The image differences aside, there was very little difference in the positions of the two candidates on most issues.

Ironically, when Kennedy called for support of the Cuban exiles in their attempts to regain Cuba from Castro, it was the very program which Nixon had been pushing for many months. However, Nixon felt compelled to attack Kennedy's suggestions as irresponsible since "the covert operation (the Bay of Pigs Invasion) had to be protected at all costs" and, thus, Nixon came out opposing his own plan. (See CUBANS)

On Election Day, Kennedy won, but by one of the slimmest margins in American history. He polled

34,227,096 votes to Nixon's 34,108,546 - a margin of 49.9 percent to 49.6 percent. Affluent whites, college graduates, women, Protestants, farmers, senior citizens, business and professional people mostly voted against this eastern liberal.

On January 20, 1961, standing coatless in bristling 20-degree temperature in Washington, Kennedy took the oath of office from Chief Justice Earl Warren (who would later head the commission looking into his death) and announced:

"The torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans..."

Later in his speech, he issued his famous challenge:

"Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

His original text carried the word "will", but Kennedy had marked it out and substituted "can".

Oddly enough, Kennedy's highest ratings in the polls came just after the disastrous Bay of Pigs Invasion as Americans rallied to their President. About 82 percent of those polled expressed approval of his handling of the situation, which prompted Kennedy to remark:

"My God, it's as bad as Eisenhower. The worse I do, the more popular I get."

By the fall of 1963, polls showed Kennedy's popularity had dropped to 59 percent, largely due to his stand on civil rights. However, his desire to negotiate with the communist world, his attack on the tax havens of the wealthy corporations and his attempts to regain civilian control over the Pentagon and its intelligence agencies also engendered hatred and fear among the most powerful cliques of this country.

"Newsweek" magazine reported that no Democrat in the White House had ever been so disliked in the South. A theater marquee in Georgia advertised the movie "PT-109" with these words on its marquee:

"See how the Japs almost got Kennedy."

Kennedy supporters were looking toward the 1964 election, hoping for a mandate which would give Kennedy's ambitious programs much needed popular support. It never happened. In the fall of 1963, he went to Texas.

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Crossfire: The Fateful Journey to Texas

Kennedy had carried Texas by the slimmest of margins in 1960, largely through the efforts of Lyndon Johnson. He needed the state badly in 1964, particularly if his hopes of achieving a large mandate were to be realized. According to Texas Governor John Connally, Kennedy first talked of coming to Texas in the summer of 1962. He again mentioned it in the summer of 1963. According to former Senator Ralph Yarborough, he was contacted by Kennedy aides in mid-1963 and was asked what could be done to help the President's image in Texas. Yarborough told this author:

"I told them the best thing he could do was to bring Jackie to Texas and let all those women see her. And that's what he did, although I thought it was premature. I didn't think he was going to do that until 1964."

So, in an effort to enhance his image and to raise money, Kennedy, along with his wife, made the fateful journey to Texas in November 1963. On November 21, they visited Houston and San Antonio, both cities with heavy defense and space industries. There, Kennedy came out strongly for defense and NASA expenditures. The crowds loved it. That evening, he flew to Fort Worth, landing at Carswell Air Force Base and driving to the historic Hotel Texas for the night. In his hotel suite, original paintings by Van Gogh and Monet had been hung on the walls in an effort to impress the Kennedys with Texas culture.

The morning of November 22, Kennedy spoke at a breakfast in the hotel sponsored by the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce. Beforehand, more than 1,000 persons crowded in front of the hotel stood in light drizzling rain to hear Kennedy make brief remarks. As the presidential party prepared to leave the hotel, Vice President Lyndon Johnson arrived to introduce his sister, Lucia Alexander, to Kennedy. Reflecting on the surprisingly warm welcome he had received in Texas, Johnson later was to recall Kennedy as saying:

"We're going to carry two states next year if we don't carry any others: Massachusetts and Texas."

Johnson wrote in "The Vantage Point" that these were the last words spoken to him by Kennedy. As the rain clouds were breaking up, Kennedy drove back to Carswell for the 15-minute flight to Dallas. Fort Worth and Dallas are so close that even before reaching its full climb, Air Force One began its descent to Dallas. Looking out the plane's window, Kennedy commented to Governor Connally:

"Our luck is holding. It looks as if we'll get sunshine."

When Air Force One landed at Love Field, the sky had cleared and a bright sun brought Indian Summer weather to North Central Texas. By the noon hour, many people were in their shirtsleeves. The occasional cool breeze from the north was welcomed by Texans weary of the interminable summer heat which often lasts well into the fall. It was the sort of day that stirs the blood, causing people to seek action outdoors, whether it is working in yard or attending the local football game. This day there was another reason for wanting to get outside. The President was coming to town. The local media had been full of the news for days.

"The Dallas Morning News" carried headlines that morning reading, "Love Field Braces for Thousands" and "Detailed Security Net Spread for Kennedy". That morning's edition had even run a small map of the President's motorcade route which would take him from Love Field to the new modern Trade Mart. However this map only indicated the motorcade would travel west on Main Street through the downtown area, through the well-known Triple Underpass and on to Stemmons Freeway and the Trade Mart, where President John F. Kennedy was scheduled to attend a 12:30 p.m. luncheon. It was the city's other daily paper, the "Dallas Times Herald", which had given a more detailed description of the route. In a story published the previous Tuesday headlined "Yarborough Gets JFK Table Spot," it told how liberal Senator Ralph Yarborough had been invited to sit with Kennedy at the head table during Friday's luncheon. It also mentioned that the motorcade would "pass through downtown on Harwood then west on Main, turning back to Elm at Houston and then out Stemmons Freeway to the Trade Mart." This was one of the only newspaper mentions of a zig-zag in the motorcade route, which would violate Secret Service procedures and place the President in a small park area surrounded by tall buildings on one side and shrubs and trees on the other. The motorcade had been scheduled to pass through the downtown business section during the noon hour so office workers could watch the parade during lunch. This strategy worked well. Literally thousands of Dallasites turned out in the balmy 68-degree weather for a view of Kennedy, already acknowledged as one of this nation's most controversial presidents.

For his part, Kennedy really had no choice but to visit the Lone Star State. With the 1964 election

year coming up, everyone - even his enemies - agreed he appeared to be unbeatable. However, a few states were still critical for Kennedy to acquire the broad mandate he was seeking. Texas was one of them. And Texas politics were in disarray. The Democratic Party, dominant in the state since Reconstruction, was split between conservatives, headed by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and Governor John B. Connally, and a small but noisy group of liberals, led by Senator Ralph Yarborough. To make matters worse, the Democratic Party had been aghast the previous year when a Republican, former school teacher and radio disc jockey John Tower, had been elected to fill Johnson's Senate seat. Tower was the first Republican to win a Texas Senate seat since Reconstruction following the Civil War. The Democratic rift was serious. Yarborough and Connally were hardly speaking to each other. And Texas conservatives were highly vocal against Kennedy's policies toward Cuba, civil rights, a nuclear test ban with Russia, not to mention Kennedy's plan to rescind the 27-1/2 percent oil depletion allowance, a mainstay of Texas oil wealth. Unity was needed badly as the 1964 election year approached. And a presidential visit to Texas seemed just the remedy.

Houston was the oil capital of the state while Fort Worth and San Antonio were big defense industry centers. It would be easy to tell those folks what they wanted to hear. Dallas was a problem. No visit to Texas could ignore Dallas, yet the city had earned a reputation for being both politically conservative and intolerant of any deviation from that position. A month earlier, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson had been pushed, spat upon and hit in the head with a picket sign while visiting in Dallas. Just the previous Tuesday, cashiered Army Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker had made the news by shoving a TV cameraman during a Dallas speech by Alabama Governor George Wallace. Stevenson, along with others close to Kennedy, warned the young President not to journey to Dallas. But Kennedy's Irish blood had never permitted him to back away from a challenge, especially in the political arena.

In early June plans for a trip to Texas were finalized during a meeting between Kennedy, Connally and Johnson in El Paso. In October, a motorcade was added to the plans. On November 22, the apprehension of the Kennedy entourage about the trip was still evident, especially in light of a full-page newspaper ad which ran that morning in the "Dallas Morning News" suggesting the President was soft on communism and guilty of traitorous activities. A leaflet handed out to some of the people lining the motorcade route was not as subtle as the newspaper ad. It pictured Kennedy under a headline reading "Wanted For Treason". Yet after landing at Love Field about 11:45 a.m., the Kennedy entourage found the Dallas crowds large, enthusiastic and friendly. With horns honking, radios blaring and the shouts and cheers of the crowd ringing off the sides of the office buildings, the scene was chaotic despite what had been hailed as one of the tightest security efforts in recent memory. As the motorcade swept toward the central business district, it reached speeds of almost 30 miles per hour. But once downtown, the crowds became larger, often spilling out into the street and the pace slowed considerably. The motorcade was the center of attention.

Crossfire: The Motorcade

"...we might have ridden into an ambush."

Kennedy Aide David Powers

DEALEY PLAZA - NOVEMBER 22, 1963

THE MOTORCADE

Leading the presidential motorcade on November 22, 1963 was an enclosed sedan driven by Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry. Sitting to Curry's right was Secret Service advance man Winston G. Lawson. In the back seat, behind Curry, sat Dallas County Sheriff J.E. "Bill" Decker and, to his right was Secret Service special agent-in-charge Forrest Sorrels. More than two car lengths behind this car was the presidential limousine, a specially-made long blue Lincoln Continental convertible sedan designated Secret Service Car No. 100-X. Driving the limousine was Secret Service Agent William Greer, the oldest man in the White House detail (See G MEN). Next to Greer sat Roy Kellerman, assistant special agent in charge of the Secret Service White House detail. In the center of the car in fold-down jump seats were Governor Connally, on the right, and Mrs. Connally. In the rear, on a padded seat which could be raised or lowered mechanically sat Kennedy with Mrs. Kennedy on his left. Behind the limousine about a full car length was a follow-up car for Kennedy security guards, a 1956 Cadillac convertible touring sedan specially equipped for the Secret Service and designated "SS Car No. 679-X". Following this security car was a 1964 Lincoln four-door convertible carrying Vice President Lyndon Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, and Senator Ralph Yarborough. The driver was Texas state trooper Hurchel Jacks and Secret Service Agent Rufus W. Youngblood rode to the right of him. Their car was trailed by Johnson's Secret Service guards and the rest of the motorcade, consisting of five cars for local dignitaries, three cars for press photographers, one bus for White House staff and two press buses.

A pilot car which preceded the motorcade by a quarter of a mile checking for "motor vehicle accidents, fires and obstructions along the route," contained Dallas Deputy Police Chief G.L. Lumpkin, two Dallas homicide detectives and Lt. Col. George Whitmayer, commander of the local Army Intelligence reserve unit. Oddly, while a press pool station wagon had been designated to follow Kennedy's Secret Service follow-up car (it had the number "5" taped on its side), for some unexplained reason it was shoved farther back in the motorcade. This prevented the media photographers from witnessing the assassination or capturing it on film. No one, then or now, has explained why this media car was out of position.

Everyone in the presidential limousine appeared to be enjoying the open-air ride and the cheering admiration of the crowd, although Mrs. Kennedy was beginning to feel warm in her pink wool suit and pillbox hat. As the motorcade cruised into the downtown area, apprehensions of the Dallas visit seemed to dissipate as quickly as the morning's overcast. Bob Hollingsworth, veteran Washington correspondent for the "Times Herald" had accompanied the Washington press corps to Dallas. He noted:

"On into Harwood and then into Main the motorcade traveled and the amazement over the size of the crowd turned to awe. For those of us who had been with the President since he left the White House for Texas Thursday morning, this was the largest, the most enthusiastic and the best reception he had received in Texas."

The awe of the news reporters was reflected in the silence which prevailed within the long, dark-blue Lincoln Continental limousine of the President. Few words were spoken by the car's occupants as they basked in the tumultuous shouts and cheers of the dense crowd packed along Main Street. Up ahead clear blue sky could be seen as the Presidential car began entering a small triangular-shaped plaza at the end of the long, dark corridor of tall buildings.

The motorcade broke into the open space of Dealey Plaza, named after George Bannerman Dealey, a pioneer Dallas civic leader and founder of the "Dallas Morning News". The 3.07-acre plaza, the site of the first home in Dallas as well as the first courthouse, post office, store, fraternal lodge and hotel, has been called the "Birthplace of Dallas". It was acquired by the city for the construction of the Triple Underpass which allows railroad traffic to pass over Commerce, Main and Elm Streets. The property was christened "Dealey Plaza" in 1935 and placed under the authority of the city's Park Board in 1936 with the official opening of the underpass. Both incoming and outgoing traffic between downtown Dallas and the major freeway systems to the west is channeled through Dealey Plaza. It is bounded on the east by Houston Street. Facing onto Houston are the new County Court House (still under construction

that day), the historic old County Court House, the Criminal Courts Building containing the County Jail and the Sheriff's Office, the Dallas County Records Building and the Dal-Tex office building. Just west of the Dal-Tex building, across Houston, is the red-brick building which in 1963 contained the Texas School Book Depository and publishers' offices. Bisecting Dealey Plaza is Main Street, with Commerce Street branching off to the south and Elm Street curving in on the north. These three main arteries converge on the west side of the plaza at the railroad bridge known as the Triple Underpass. Facing Houston Street on the west are fountains and monuments to Dealey. On the north and south sides of the plaza are two small arbors or pergolas, flanked on the east by a line of trees and shrubs and on the west by a wooden stockade fence about five feet high.

With a phalanx of Dallas police motorcycle officers clearing the way ahead, the big limousine carrying the Kennedys made a 90-degree turn from Main onto Houston in front of the Dallas County Sheriff's Office. Almost two dozen deputies and other lawmen stood on the sidewalk watching. All had been ordered not to take part in motorcade security. The bright sun began warming the car's occupants as they approached the Texas School Book Depository. Atop the building was a large Hertz Rent-A-Car sign containing a digital time and temperature display. In front of the Depository, the limousine slowed to a crawl to make a 120-degree turn onto Elm Street, although turns of more than 90-degrees were prohibited by the Secret Service. The turn was so tight that Greer almost ran the limousine up onto the north curb near the depository's front door, according to Depository Superintendent Roy Truly. The car continued a slow glide down the incline of Elm into Dealey Plaza, maintaining its position in the center lane of the three-lane street. The crowds thinned out as the Triple Underpass approached and security men began to relax.

About three car lengths ahead of the presidential limousine in the lead car, Agent Lawson, a former Army counterintelligence man now with the Secret Service White House detail, was sitting in the right front seat. He looked at his watch. It was 12:30 p.m. Picking up the car's microphone, he radioed the Trade Mart saying:

"We'll be there in about five minutes."

In the presidential limousine, Kennedy was waving to his right at a group of people standing near a sign reading "Stemmons Freeway". His right arm and hand were slightly over the side of the car. Mrs. Kennedy had been waving to her left, but her thoughts were on the Texas heat. Mrs. Kennedy later told the Warren Commission:

"And in the motorcade, you know, I usually would be waving mostly to the left side and he was waving mostly to the right, which is one reason you are not looking at each other very much. And it was terribly hot. Just blinding all of us."

Sensing her discomfort, Mrs. Connally turned and said:

"We'll soon be there."

Mrs. Kennedy recalled seeing the Triple Underpass ahead:

"We could see a tunnel in front of us. Everything was really slow then. And I remember thinking it would be so cool under that tunnel."

Mrs. Connally had been wanting to mention the warm and enthusiastic welcome for some time, but she had held back. Now she could contain herself no longer. Turning to Kennedy, she said:

"Mr. President, you can't say that Dallas doesn't love you."

According to Mrs. Kennedy, the President smiled and replied:

"No, you certainly can't."

Soon after his remark, Mrs. Connally heard a frightening noise off to her right. She looked in that direction and caught a glimpse of Kennedy raising both hands to his neck in her peripheral vision. She heard no sound from the President, but noticed a blank, "nothing" expression on his face.

Kellerman, sitting directly in front of Connally and Kennedy, noticed they had just passed a highway sign when he heard a "pop" to his right and immediately looked in that direction, surveying the easternmost slope of the Grassy Knoll. Kellerman told the Warren Commission:

"...as I turned my head to the right to view whatever it was...I heard a voice from the back seat and I firmly believe it was the President's (saying) "My God, I am hit," and I turned around and he has got his hands up here like this (indicating both hands up near the head)...(It) was enough for me to verify that the man was hit. So, in the same motion I come right back and grabbed the speaker and said to the driver, "Let's get out of here; we're hit," and grabbed the mike and I said, "Lawson, this is Kellerman...we are hit; get us to the hospital immediately." Now in the seconds that I talked just now, a

flurry of shells come into the car..."

Mrs. Connally testified she heard Kellerman say:

"Pull out of the motorcade. Take us to the nearest hospital."

The limousine indeed pulled out of the motorcade and raced to Parkland Hospital. Driver Greer said he was busy looking ahead to the railroad overpass when he heard a noise he thought was a motorcycle backfire. Then he heard the noise again and caught a glimpse of Connally starting to slump over. He then heard two more noises which seemed to come one on top of the other. Greer said after the second noise and a glance over his right shoulder at Connally, he stepped on the accelerator. However, a film taken that day shows the limousine brake lights remained on until after the fatal head shot to Kennedy.

Mrs. Connally recalled that after the first sound "very soon there was the second shot which hit John (Connally)." Connally, in testimony consistent both with that of Mrs. Connally and with films made that day, confirmed he was not hit by the first shot. The governor said just after making the turn onto Elm he heard a noise he took to be a shot from a high-powered rifle. He turned to his right because the sound appeared to come from over his right shoulder, but he couldn't see anything. He began to turn to his left when he felt something strike him in the back. Although critically wounded, Connally was conscious of shots being fired other than the one which struck him. Realizing that he had been hit a second or so after hearing a shot, Connally told the Warren Commission:

"...there were either two or three people involved or more in this or someone was shooting with an automatic rifle."

Connally then heard a final boom and heard the bullet hit home. He later recalled:

"...it never entered my mind that it ever hit anyone but the President...He never uttered a sound that I heard."

Connally noticed blue brain tissue covering his suit and knew Kennedy was dead. He also noticed blood on the front of his shirt and realized he was hurt badly, perhaps fatally. Crumpling into the arms of his wife, Connally screamed out:

"My God, they're going to kill us all!"

Connally heard his wife saying over and over, "Be still, you're going to be all right," and he felt the car accelerate. He then lost consciousness.

During the initial phase of the shooting, Mrs. Kennedy did not realize what was happening. She was accustomed to the sounds of motorcycle escorts backfiring and the motorcade had been a cacophony of sirens, racing motors, cheering and shouting. She did hear Connally shout, "Oh, no, no, no!" She heard "terrible noises" to her right and turned to see Kennedy with his hand at his throat and a "quizzical look on his face". Then, the chief executive was struck in the head and fell into her lap. All she could do was cradle him and say:

"Oh, my God, they've shot my husband...I love you, Jack."

Over the years a great deal of misinformation has been presented about her next actions. Many persons have stated she tried to climb out of the car in panic or to help Secret Service Agent Hill. Actually, she crawled onto the trunk of the limousine and reaching out, picked up a piece of her husband's head. Mrs. Kennedy, when talking to the Warren Commission on June 5, 1964, did not even recall this activity. But her action was captured in the films taken that day and later, sitting in Parkland Hospital, she still had the piece of skull clutched in her hand, according to a nurse who relieved her of the gruesome fragment.

Also, there is the testimony of Clint Hill, who told the Warren Commission:

"Between the time I originally grabbed the handhold and until I was up on the car, Mrs. Kennedy - the second noise that I heard had removed a portion of the President's head, and he slumped noticeably to his left. Mrs. Kennedy had jumped up from the seat and was, it appeared to me, reaching for something coming off the right rear bumper of the car, the right rear tail, when she noticed that I was trying to climb on the car."

In the lead car, which was just about to enter the Triple Underpass when the firing began, Agent Lawson was trying to signal a policeman standing with a group of people on top of the underpass. He didn't like the idea of the President's car passing directly below these people, so he was trying to get the officer to move them to one side. The policeman never noticed him. Just then, Lawson heard a loud report to his rear. It sounded more like a bang instead of a crack and Lawson didn't think it was a rifle shot. His first impression was that it was a firecracker. This description was to be repeated by nearly

everyone in Dealey Plaza, with some notable exceptions.

Forrest V. Sorrels, head of the Dallas office of the Secret Service, like Connally was certain the first sound was a gunshot. After a brief pause, Sorrels heard two more shots coming within close together. He shouted to Curry:

"Let's get out of here!"

On hearing the first burst of firing, Sheriff Decker glanced back and thought he saw a bullet bouncing off the street pavement. Another Dallas motorcycle officer, Starvis Ellis, in 1978 told the House Select Committee on Assassination that as he rode alongside the car in which Decker was riding he too saw a bullet hit the pavement. Neither Decker nor Ellis were ever questioned about this by the Warren Commission.

Curry saw a "commotion" in the presidential limousine. Then a motorcycle officer drew up alongside. "Anybody hurt?" asked Curry.

"Yes," replied the officer.

Stepping on the accelerator, Curry shouted:

"Lead us to the hospital."

Both Decker and Curry took the car's radio and ordered their men to rush to the top of the underpass and the railroad yards where they felt like the shots had come from.

Like the crowd of witnesses in the Dealey Plaza, those persons deep into the plaza believed shots were fired from the Grassy Knoll, while those further back in the motorcade - still on Houston and Main streets - believed shots came from the direction of the Depository.

Motorcycle Policeman Marrion L. Baker was riding near one of the press cars. He had just turned on to Houston and his cycle was about to tip over because of a gust of wind and the slow speed. He had just returned from deer hunting trip and recognized the first sound as a high-powered rifle shot. He thought the sound came from either the Depository or the Dal-Tex building.

Seeing pigeons fluttering off the Depository's roof, he gunned his motor and roared up to the entrance of the building. Within seconds, he and Depository Superintendent Roy Truly would encounter Lee Harvey Oswald calmly standing in the second-floor lunchroom of the Depository.

Secret Service Agent Paul Landis was riding in the right rear of the Secret Service follow-up car when he heard the report of a high-powered rifle. He saw Kennedy turn to look in the direction of the shot, which Landis believed came from "...somewhere towards the front, right-hand side of the road." With Landis was Secret Service Agent Glen Bennett, who thought the sound was a firecracker. But then he looked at the President. In notes he said were made later that day, Bennett wrote:

"(I) saw a shot that hit the Boss about four inches down from the right shoulder; a second shoot (sic) followed immediately and hit the right rear high (side?) of the Boss's head."

The Secret Service agents assigned to Kennedy all acted with remarkable sluggishness when the firing began. Perhaps it was due to the visit they had paid to a "beatnik" nightspot in Fort Worth, where they stayed until early that morning. The club, "The Cellar," was owned by an acquaintance of Jack Ruby who had connections with both big-time gamblers and police officials (See G MEN and REDNECKS AND OILMEN).

The only agent to react with speed was Clint Hill. Hill had not been scheduled to make the Dallas trip, but came only after Mrs. Kennedy made a personal request. Hill also thought the initial sound was a firecracker and began looking to his right for the source of the sound when he saw Kennedy grab at himself and lurch forward slightly. He then realized something was wrong and jumped off the follow-up car. He was racing the few feet to the limousine when he heard more shots. Hill had just secured a grip on a handhold when the car began accelerating. Looking into the back seat of the limousine, Hill saw the right rear portion of the President's head was missing.

Nearly everyone present recalled a pause of several seconds between the first burst of fire and the final two shots, these coming rapidly one after another. It was the third and final shot, or volley of shots, which killed President John F. Kennedy. Until then, he had been immobile and quiet, only sagging slightly to his left. Then his head pitched forward violently for a split second only to be pushed hard to the left and rear. A halo of crimson liquid and tissue surrounded his head momentarily and then fell to the rear. The head shot lifted him slightly then threw him against the car's back seat. He bounced forward and over into his wife's lap.

The two Dallas motorcycle officers riding to the left rear of the limousine, Bobby W. Hargis and B.J. Martin, were splattered by blood and brain matter. Martin, who had looked to his right after the first

shots, later found blood stains on the left side of his helmet. Hargis, who was riding nearest the limousine about six to eight feet from the left rear fender, saw Kennedy's head explode and was hit by bits of flesh and bone with such impact that he told reporters he thought he had been shot.

Presidential assistant David Powers was riding with Secret Service agents in the car directly behind the President. From this vantage point, he described the entire assassination:

"...I commented to Ken O'Donnell that it was 12:30 and we would only be about five minutes late when we arrived at the Trade Mart. Shortly thereafter the first shot went off and it sounded to me as if it were a firecracker. I noticed then that the President moved quite far to his left after the shot from the extreme right-hand side where he had been sitting. There was a second shot and Governor Connally disappeared from sight and then there was a third shot which took off the top of the President's head and had the sickening sound of a grapefruit splattering against the side of a wall. The total time between the first and third shots was about five or six seconds. My first impression was that the shots came from the right and overhead but I also had a fleeting impression that the noise appeared to come from the front in the area of the Triple Underpass. This may have resulted from my feeling, when I looked forward toward the overpass, that we might have ridden into an ambush."

Several persons in the motorcade smelled gunpowder as the cars swept through the lower end of Dealey Plaza.

Mrs. Earle Cabell, wife of the Dallas mayor, was riding in an open convertible six cars back from the motorcade's lead car. At the opening shots, the car in which she was riding was passing the Depository building. She told the Warren Commission she jerked her head up on hearing the first shot because "I heard the direction from which the shot came..."

Looking up, she saw an object projecting from one of the top windows of the depository building. She said:

"...I jerked my head up and I saw something in that window and I turned around to say to Earle, "Earle, it is a shot," and before I got the words out...the second two shots rang out....I was acutely aware of the odor of gunpowder. I was aware that the motorcade stopped dead still. There was no question about that."

Mrs. Cabell was riding beside Congressman Ray Roberts. She said he acknowledged smelling gunpowder too.

Former Senator Ralph Yarborough also smelled gunpowder as the car carrying him and Lyndon Johnson drove through the plaza. Yarborough, a former Army infantry officer and an avid hunter, also failed to recognize the sound of the first shot. He told this author:

"I thought, "Was that a bomb thrown?" and then the other shots were fired. And the motorcade, which had slowed to a stop, took off. A second or two later, I smelled gunpowder. I always thought that was strange because, being familiar with firearms, I never could see how I could smell the powder from a rifle high in that building."

It does seem strange that people would smell powder from a shot fired more than 60 feet in the air and behind them. However, it's not so strange, if a shot were fired on top of the Grassy Knoll, less than 12 feet in elevation with a breeze from the north to carry smoke to street level.

One of the strangest omissions in the subsequent investigation by federal authorities concerns a Navy commander who was assigned to film President Kennedy. White House photographer Thomas Atkins was riding six cars behind Kennedy and filmed the motorcade as it moved through Dealey Plaza. In a 1977 article, Atkin's film was described as "terribly damaging to the Warren Commission finding that Lee Harvey Oswald was the lone assassin." Perhaps this explains why neither Atkin's testimony nor his film were studied by either of the federal panels investigating the assassination. In early 1963, Atkins was assigned as an official photographer for the Kennedy White House. As such, he traveled to Texas with Kennedy and was photographing the motorcade with a quality camera, a 16-mm Arriflex S. Atkins, in the 1977 article, said he was in a car which had just turned onto Houston Street and was facing the Texas School Book Depository. He stated:

"...Kennedy's car had just made the left turn heading toward the freeway entrance. Although I did not look up at the building, I could hear everything quite clearly....The shots came from below and off to the right side from where I was (the location of the Grassy Knoll)....I never thought the shots came from above. They did not sound like shots coming from anything higher than street level."

After returning to Washington on Air Force Two, Atkins assembled his film into a movie he entitled, "The Last Two Days". Incredibly, Atkins was never called to testify nor was his film ever viewed by the Warren Commission. Atkins said in 1977:

"It's something I've always wondered about. Why didn't they ask me what I knew? I not only was on the White House staff, I was then, and still am, a photographer with a pretty keen visual sense."

Obviously, the federal authorities didn't want to hear from a man with a "keen visual sense" and strong credentials who might have told them things they did not want to hear. But if the stories of the motorcade witnesses differed from the later official version of the assassination, it was nothing compared to the stories to come from the crowd of bystanders.

Crossfire: The Crowd

"I saw a man fire from behind the wooden fence."
Assassination witness Jean Hill

The crowd of witnesses along the motorcade route through Dealey Plaza saw many things that differed from the later official version. Even before the motorcade arrived, men with rifles were seen by people in downtown Dallas.

Shortly before noon, Philip B. Hathaway and co-worker John Lawrence were walking on Akard Street toward Main to get an observation spot for the motorcade when Hathaway saw a man carrying a rifle in a gun case. He described the man as very tall, 6'5" or more, weighing about 250 pounds and thick in the chest. The man was in his early 30s with "dirty blond hair worn in a crewcut" and was wearing a gray business suit. Hathaway said the case was made of leather and cloth and was not limp, but obviously contained a rifle. He remarked to Lawrence that it must be a Secret Service man. Lawrence also saw the big blond man, but did not see the rifle due to the growing crowd around them. Lawrence said the man gave him the impression of being "a professional football player". This same man may have been seen later that day by Ernest Jay Owens, who told Sheriff's officers the afternoon of the assassination that he was driving on Wood Street near Good-Lattimer Expressway when he saw a white male of "heavy build" carrying a "foreign-made rifle" out of a parking lot. Owens said the man was bare headed and wearing a dark-colored suit. Once Oswald was captured and proclaimed the assassination suspect, there was no effort to investigate these stories further.

A similar - and more ominous - incident involved Julia Ann Mercer. Mercer, then 23 years old, later told authorities that shortly before 11 a.m. the day of the assassination she was driving a rented white Valiant west on Elm Street just past the point where Kennedy was killed about two hours later. Just after passing through the Triple Underpass, she found her traffic lane blocked by a green Ford pickup truck. While waiting for the truck to move, she saw a young man get out of the truck, walked to a long tool compartment along the side and remove a long paper bag. She could see the outlines of a rifle in the bag. The man then walked up on the Grassy Knoll carrying the package and was lost to her sight. She described this man as in his late 20s or early 30s, wearing a gray jacket, brown pants, a plaid shirt and some sort of wool stocking cap with a tassel on it. Mercer said as she pulled alongside the truck, she locked eyes with the driver, whom she described as heavily-built with a round face and light brown hair. She said during this time, she saw three Dallas policemen standing by a motorcycle on the underpass talking. In Warren Commission Document 205, a policeman did tell of seeing the truck, but believed that it had broken down. When she was finally able to change lanes, Mercer drove on toward Fort Worth, stopping at the halfway point of the Dallas-Fort Worth Toll Road (now Interstate 30) to have breakfast. While eating, she told her experience to some policemen, commenting, "The Secret Service is not very secret."

Later, as she drove on to Fort Worth, she was stopped by the policemen, who informed her of the assassination and took her back to Dallas for questioning. She was held for several hours and questioned by both local and federal authorities, although no one showed her a badge or identified themselves. Early the next morning, FBI men came to her home and took her back to the Dallas Sheriff's office where she was shown some photographs of various men. She picked out two as the men she had seen in the truck the day before. Turning one photo over, she read the name, "Jack Ruby".

During the TV coverage of the Oswald shooting the next day, Mercer claims she again recognized Ruby as the man driving the truck and that Oswald resembled the man carrying the rifle. Oswald's mother also claimed to have been shown a picture of Ruby prior to the Sunday shooting of her son (See LEE HARVEY OSWALD). Mercer later claimed that her story concerning the truck and its occupants was twisted and changed by both the FBI and the Dallas Sheriff's Office.

Her experience may have been partly corroborated by another Dallasite, Julius Hardie, who told "The Dallas Morning News" years later that on the morning of November 22, he saw three men on top of the Triple Underpass carrying longarms, although he could not tell if they were rifles or shotguns. Hardie said he reported the incident to the FBI, but no such report has been made public.

As the motorcade arrived in Dealey Plaza, it passed almost 20 sheriff's deputies standing at the intersection of Main and Houston in front of the Sheriff's office. The deputies almost unanimously agreed they thought the shots came from the railroad yards located just behind the Grassy Knoll. They all began running in that direction even before Decker's radio order to "...saturate the area of the park,

railroad and all buildings..." arrived.

Deputy L.C. Smith, in a report made that day, told a story which was typical of the deputies' experiences:

"...I was standing in front of the Sheriff's Office on Main Street and watched the President and his party drive by. Just a few seconds later, I heard the first shot, which I thought was a backfire, then the second shot and third shot rang out. I knew that this was gun shots and everyone else did also. I ran as fast as I could to Elm Street just west of Houston and I heard a woman unknown to me say the President was shot in the head and the shots came from the fence on the north side of Elm. I went at (once) behind the fence and searched also in the parking area. Then came...word the shot was thought to have come from the Texas School Book Depository..."

Supporting the deputies stories was W.W. Mabra, then a county bailiff. Mabra too was on the corner of Main and Houston:

"...so close to the President that I could almost have reached out and touched him. Then I heard the first shot. I thought it was a backfire. People ran toward the knoll. Some said they saw smoke there. I thought at first the shot may have come from there."

Across Main Street from the deputies and Mabra stood Dallas County surveyor Robert H. West, who watched the Presidential limousine move slowly toward the Triple Underpass. He heard one small report "similar to a motorcycle backfire" then three like "rifle fire". He said the shots came from the "northwest quadrant of Dealey Plaza (the area of the picket fence on the Grassy Knoll)". West later participated in reconstructions of the assassination for both "Life" magazine and the FBI which convinced him the crime could not have been the work of one man (See THE EVIDENCE).

Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Rowland were both high school students who had come to town to see the President. They were standing on Houston Street near Decker's office, the west side of which faces Dealey Plaza. Both of the Rowlands believed the shots came from down near the Triple Underpass despite the fact that 15 minutes before the motorcade arrived they had remarked about seeing two men, one with a rifle and telescopic sight, on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository. Arnold Rowland had assumed the men were part of the Secret Service protection. He said the man with the rifle was in the far west window of the Depository's sixth floor while the other man, described as an elderly Negro with thin hair wearing a plaid shirt, was seen in the easternmost window (the so-called "Sniper's Nest" window). Rowland said he lost sight of the man with the rifle as the motorcade approached, but again saw the black man just before Kennedy arrived. During the excitement of the moment, Rowland said he neglected to mention the black man when he talked to authorities in the sheriff's office. However, he said the next day FBI agents came to his home and got him to sign a statement. He recalled:

"At that time I told them I did see the Negro man there and they told me it didn't have any bearing or such on the case right then. In fact, they just the same as told me to forget it now."

Although the agents "didn't seem interested" in Rowland's story of two men on the sixth floor, they did attempt to get an identification of the man with the gun by showing Rowland photos of Oswald. However, Rowland said:

"I just couldn't identify him...because I just didn't have a good enough look at his face."

Rowland's story of seeing two men was corroborated to the Warren Commission by Deputy Sheriff Roger D. Craig (See AFTERMATH - DALLAS). Craig said Rowland told him about seeing two men pacing in the Depository approximately 10 minutes after the assassination as Craig interviewed Rowland in Dealey Plaza.

The two men also were seen by Mrs. Carolyn Walther, who worked in a dress factory in the Dal-Tex Building. About noon, she and another employee joined the crowd on the east side of Houston just south of Elm to watch the motorcade. Years later she recalled:

"I had gone out on the street at about twenty after twelve to get a look at the President when he came by. While I waited, I glanced up at the Depository building. There were two men in the corner window on the fourth or fifth floor. One man was wearing a white shirt and had blond or light brown hair. This man had the window open. His hands were extended outside the window. He held a rifle with the barrel pointed downward. I thought he was some kind of guard. In the same window, right near him,

was a man in a brown suit coat. Then the President's car came by. I heard a gunshot. People ran. Like a fool I just stood there. I saw people down. I walked toward them, with the thought they maybe were hurt and I could help them. People were running toward the Grassy Knoll. A woman cried out, "They shot him! In all, I heard four shots."

Steelworker Richard Randolph Carr, who was working on the seventh floor of the new Dallas Courthouse (then under construction at the intersection of Commerce and Houston), also reported seeing a man wearing a brown coat. Carr said minutes before the motorcade arrived he saw a heavy-set man wearing a hat, horn-rimmed glasses and tan sport coat standing in a sixth-floor window of the Depository. After the shooting, Carr saw the man walking on Commerce Street (See AFTERMATH - DALLAS).

Ruby Henderson, standing across the street from the Depository, also saw two men on an upper floor of the building. While she was uncertain if it was the sixth floor, she saw no one above the pair. She described the shorter of the men as having a dark complexion, possibly even a Negro, and wearing a white shirt. The shorter man was wearing a dark shirt.

The story of two men on the sixth floor of the Depository moments before the shooting has since been bolstered by two films made that day. One, an 8-mm home movie made by Robert Hughes who was standing at the intersection of Main and Houston, shows the front of the Depository just as Kennedy's limousine passes the building turning onto Elm. The Hughes film shows movement in both the corner window of the sixth floor and the window next to it. Deep within the Warren Commission exhibits is an FBI report acknowledging receipt of Hughes' film. In another FBI document, it is claimed that the figure in the second window from the corner was simply a stack of boxes. No reference is made to movement. In 1975, CBS television asked Itek Corporation to look again at the Hughes film. The company concluded that there were no moving images in the double window next to the sixth floor corner window, a conclusion which is still disputed by various photographic experts. And in late 1978, a second movie surfaced which supports the two-men allegation. This film, taken by Charles L. Bronson who was standing only a few feet west of Hughes, also shows the sixth-floor corner windows of the Depository just moments before the Kennedy motorcade passed. Bronson's film was viewed in 1963 by an FBI agent who reported that it "failed to show the building from which the shots were fired," thus relegating the film to obscurity. It was re-discovered in 1978 when the film was mentioned in de-classified FBI documents and was obtained by "The Dallas Morning News". The newspaper commissioned Robert Groden, who served as staff consultant on photographic evidence for the House Select Committee on Assassinations, to study the film. Groden told the newspaper:

"There is no question that there is movement. And, I'm sure, given time and money, a computer could probably clarify the images a bit more... You can actually see one figure walking back and forth hurriedly. I think what was happening there is the sniper's nest was actually being completed just prior to the shots being fired."

The House Assassinations Committee studied the Bronson film further and, while acknowledging movement in the second window, stated it was "more likely...a random photographic artifact than human movement". However, the committee did recommend that the film be analyzed further. There is no evidence such further study has been done.

Another witness to the pair of men in the Depository was an inmate of the Dallas County Jail, located just across the street to the east of the depository. Several prisoners were in a 6th-floor cell on a level with the sixth-floor Depository window. Oddly, none of the jail inmates were ever identified or sought by federal investigators despite their excellent vantage point. However, one of the inmates told the "Dallas Morning News" in 1978 that the prisoners saw two men, one with a rifle, in the Depository at the time of the assassination.

Confirmation of the presence of two men on the sixth floor might have come from Canadian journalist Norman Similas, who was in Dallas for a convention of carbonated beverage bottlers. It was a trip he would not soon forget. On November 21, Similas photographed and spoke with Vice President Lyndon Johnson, who had addressed the convention. Later that evening, Similas visited the Carousel Club and spent more than an hour talking with its owner, Jack Ruby. The next day, Similas strolled over to Dealey Plaza to photograph President Kennedy's motorcade. He stood on the south side of Elm not 10 feet from Kennedy's car at the time of the first shots. In a report published in the Canadian magazine "Liberty," Similas said:

"The Presidential limousine had passed me and slowed down slightly. My camera was directly angled toward the Texas School Book Depository in the background. The

picture I took on the curb of Elm Street was trained momentarily on an open, sixth-floor window. The camera lens recorded what I could not possibly have seen at that moment - a rifle barrel extended over the windowsill. When the film was developed later, it showed two figures hovering over it."

Were there two people in Similas' photo? No one will ever know for sure. In that same article, he added:

"Upon my return to Toronto, I submitted my developed negatives to a daily newspaper. When they were not used on Monday, November 25, I phoned and asked that they be returned. Later I received a fat cheque in the mail, but the one negative which clearly showed what I believe to be two figures in the window of the assassin's nest was missing. When I pressed for it, I was told that this negative had somehow become lost. It has never been returned to me."

An advertising salesman for the "Dallas Morning News," Jim Willmon, was standing with the crowd along Houston Street. He recalled:

"The car turned down Elm Street. A car backfired, or so I thought. I said to my buddy, "The Secret Service is going to have a heart attack!" But it wasn't a backfire. It was shots. People ran toward the Grassy Knoll. No one seemed to look up at the Book Depository."

Ronald B. Fischer, an auditor for Dallas County, and another county worker, Robert E. Edwards, were standing on the southwest corner of Elm and Houston, directly across the street from the Depository. Less than 10 minutes before the motorcade arrived, Edwards commented:

"Look at that guy there in the window."

Looking up, Fischer saw the head and shoulders of a man wearing a white T-shirt or possibly a light sport shirt. The man was surrounded by boxes and was staring "transfixed" not toward the approaching motorcade, but in the direction of the Triple Underpass. Less than a minute later the motorcade passed their position and both Fischer and Edwards forgot the man in the window. Then Fischer heard what he thought was a firecracker followed by sounds he knew to be shots. They seemed to be coming from "...just west of the School Book Depository building (the location of the Grassy Knoll)."

Hugh W. Betzner Jr. was 22 years old on November 22, 1963 and was taking pictures with an old camera near the intersection of Houston and Elm. After taking Kennedy's picture as he turned in front of the Depository, Betzner ran west into Dealey Plaza following the presidential limousine. In a sheriff's report that day, Betzner stated:

"I started to wind my film again and I heard a loud noise. I thought this noise was either a firecracker or a car had backfired. I looked up and it seemed like there was another loud noise in a matter of a few seconds. I looked down the street and I could see the President's car and another one and they looked like the cars were stopped."

Betzner said he then heard at least two more shots fired and saw the impact in the limousine. The motorcade then sped up and Betzner joined spectators running up the Grassy Knoll toward the wooden picket fence where he assumed the shots came from. Minutes later, he looked across Elm Street and saw "...police officers and some men in plain clothes...digging around in the dirt as if they were looking for a bullet."

Near Betzner was another photographer, Philip Willis, who took a series of pictures considered by many as the most important photos taken of the assassination other than the Zapruder film. Willis, along with his wife and two young daughters, were in Dealey Plaza to get pictures of the President and Lyndon Johnson, whom Willis said was a personal friend. As the presidential limousine turned onto Elm in front of the Depository, Willis snapped a photo, then ran further west on Elm. He told the Warren Commission:

"...Then my next shot...in fact, the shot caused me to squeeze the camera shutter, and I got a picture of the President as he was hit with the first shot. So instantaneous, in fact, that the crowd hadn't had time to react."

Willis said he did not see the effects of the next shots because his two daughters, Linda and Rosemary, were running along Elm and he became concerned for their safety. As a retired Air Force major and World War II veteran, Willis said he had absolutely no doubt that the shots were from a high-powered rifle and were coming from the direction of the Texas School Book Depository. (An interesting note: Willis was in Hawaii during the attack on Pearl Harbor and captured the sole surviving member of a Japanese midget submarine, thus becoming the first American to take a Japanese prisoner during

World War II.)

His youngest daughter, Rosemary, ran back to her father, saying:

"Oh, Daddy, they have shot our President. His whole head blew up and it looked like a red halo."

Willis said he took more photographs "knowing that the party had come to a temporary halt before proceeding on to the underpass..." In later years, this author interviewed Willis, who refuted two of the theories to come from federal investigations of the assassination.

One, the Single Bullet Theory of the Warren Commission, states that one shot (identified by the commission as the first shot) struck both President Kennedy and Governor Connally. Willis said: "There is no damn way that one bullet hit both men. That is the most stupid thing they ever stuck to - that one-bullet theory." (See THE WARREN COMMISSION) The House Select Committee on Assassinations, also attempting to deal with the wounds in Kennedy's back and throat which do not support a conclusion of one shot from the high rear (See THE EVIDENCE), theorized that Kennedy may have bent over momentarily while out of the Zapruder camera view and thus received a back wound lower than the throat wound. Willis retorted:

"That is not right. I got the nearest, best shot while JFK was behind the (Stemmons Freeway) sign. He was upright and waving to the crowd. A split second later, he was grabbing at his throat."

Willis also had a comment after telling of Kennedy falling to the left rear after the fatal head shot:

"As many deer as I have shot, I've never known one to fall towards me."

Although the Warren Commission quoted Willis as saying that he heard three shots, all from the Depository, Willis said:

"I always thought there had to be another shot from somewhere. I have always gone against the one-gunman theory. I always thought there had to have been some help. I saw blood going to the rear and left (of Kennedy). That doesn't happen if that bullet came from the Depository."

Willis further claimed:

"I also got a photo, taken immediately after (the shooting stopped) that shows Ruby standing in front of the Depository building. He was the only person there wearing dark glasses. He was identified by people who knew him and no one else has been able to say it was someone else. Ruby made a big effort to show he was in the "Dallas Morning News" at the time, but it wouldn't take five minutes to walk from the News (to Dealey Plaza)."

Interestingly, the Warren Commission cropped Willis' photograph right through the face of the man Willis claimed was Jack Ruby.

Linda Willis, who was running along Elm Street with Rosemary, told this author in 1978:

"I very much agree that shots came from somewhere other than the Depository. And where we were standing, we had a good view. So many of the people who have decided they know what happened there weren't even there. I was, and that's what makes the difference."

Neither Willis nor his daughters believed the Warren Commission or the House committee were serious in finding out the truth of the assassination (See THE WARREN COMMISSION and THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ASSASSINATIONS).

Behind Willis, sitting on concrete retaining wall across the street from the Depository was 44-year-old Howard Leslie Brennan, who was to become the star witness for the Warren Commission. Brennan, who had been working as a pipe fitter on a construction project behind the Depository, had eaten lunch and then taken this position to view the motorcade. It was determined that Brennan was 120 feet from the sixth-floor window. He said he saw a man in an upper floor of the Depository shortly before the motorcade arrived. He described the man as a slender white male in his early 30's wearing "light-colored clothing". Brennan stated:

"...I heard what I thought was a backfire. It ran in my mind that it might be someone throwing firecrackers out of the window of the red brick building (the Depository) and I looked up at the building. I then saw this man I have described in the window and he was taking aim with a high-powered rifle. I could see all of the barrel of the gun. I do not know if it had a scope on it or not. I was looking at the man in this window at the time of the last explosion. Then this man let the gun down to his side and stepped out

of sight. He did not seem to be in any hurry....I believe I could identify this man if I ever saw him again."

Brennan, who immediately rushed into the Depository to tell a policeman what he saw, apparently was one of the only witnesses to have actually seen a gunman fire from the Depository. However, later that evening Brennan was unable to pick Lee Harvey Oswald out of a police lineup. Much later, it was determined that Brennan had poor eyesight and, in fact, a close examination of the Zapruder film shows that Brennan was not looking up at the time of the shooting. Furthermore, Brennan's job foreman, Sandy Speaker, told this author:

"They took him (Brennan) off for about three weeks. I don't know if they were Secret Service or FBI, but they were federal people. He came back a nervous wreck and within a year his hair had turned snow white. He wouldn't talk about (the assassination) after that. He was scared to death. They made him say what they wanted him to say."

Brennan's story of a man firing from the sixth floor window was supported by a statement to Sheriff's deputies that day by 15-year-old Amos Lee Euins. Euins, a schoolboy, was standing near Brennan south of the Depository across Elm when he heard a shot. He stated:

"I started looking around and then I looked up in the red brick building. I saw a man in a window with a gun and I saw him shoot twice. He then stepped back behind some boxes. I could tell the gun was a rifle and it sounded like an automatic rifle the way he was shooting."

Another witness who saw a gunman in the Depository was L.R. Terry, who was standing across Elm Street near Brennan and Euins. Terry told this author:

"I was right across from that book store when Kennedy was shot. I saw a gun come out of there just after I saw Kennedy and Connally go by. I could only see a hand, but I couldn't tell if (the man) was right-handed or left-handed. He did not have on a white shirt. The parade stopped right in front of the building. There was a man with him. They (investigators) could find out that the man who killed Kennedy had somebody with him. But I don't know who it is....I just saw the gun barrel and the hand."

Across the street from Brennan, Euins and Terry were Texas School Book Depository superintendent Roy Truly and Depository vice-president O.V. Campbell. They had started to go to lunch about 12:15 p.m. when they saw the crowds and decided to wait and see the presidential motorcade. As the motorcade approached, they were having difficulty seeing over the heads of the crowd, so the two men moved closer to Elm Street and a bit further west into the plaza. Here they were joined by Mrs. Robert A. Reid, the Depository's clerical supervisor. Just after the presidential limousine had turned onto Elm and started into the plaza, both men heard an "explosion...from west of the building (depository)". Truly thought it was a firecracker or toy cannon. When Mrs. Reid turned to Campbell and said, "Oh my goodness, I'm afraid those came from our building," he replied:

"Oh, Mrs. Reid, no, it came from the grassy area down this way."

Danny G. Arce, who had been working in the Depository, also was standing near Truly and Campbell. He told the Warren Commission shots "came from the railroad tracks to the west of the Texas School Book Depository."

Truly said after the initial explosion, everything seemed frozen. Then, there were two more explosions and he realized that shots were being fired. He saw the President's car come to a stop.

Another Depository employee saw a bullet hit the street at the time of the first shot. Virgie Rachley (by the time of her Warren Commission testimony she had married and was Mrs. Donald Baker) was a bookkeeper at the Depository. She and other workers were standing near Truly and Campbell in front of the Depository facing Elm Street. She told the Warren Commission:

"...after he passed us, then we heard a noise and I thought it was firecrackers because I saw a shot or something hit the pavement....It looked just like you could see the sparks from it and I just thought it was a firecracker and I was thinking that... somebody was fixing to get in a lot of trouble and we thought the kids or whoever threw it were down below or standing near the underpass or back up here by the sign."

Mrs. Baker told Commission Attorney Wesley Liebeler that the stray bullet struck the middle of the southern most lane on Elm Street just behind the Presidential limousine.

Truly said the crowd around him began to surge backward. Moments later, a motorcycle policeman

pushed past him and ran into the Depository. Truly caught up with him in the lobby and they went to toward their encounter with a Depository employee - Lee Harvey Oswald (See THE TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY). Campbell ran with many others to where he believed the shots had come from, "...near the railroad tracks located over the viaduct on Elm Street."

Mary E. Woodward, a staff writer for the "Dallas Morning News", had gone to Dealey Plaza with four co-workers to get a look at the President while they ate lunch. As the limousine passed, she and another writer who had seen Kennedy during the final weeks of the 1960 campaign, commented on how relaxed and robust he appeared. Standing near the Stemmons Freeway sign located down the slope to the west of the Depository, Woodward heard a "horrible, ear-shattering noise" coming from behind them and to their right. She thought it was some sort of joke, a car backfiring perhaps. She saw both the President and Mrs. Kennedy look around as if they too had heard the sound. The presidential limousine came to a halt. Then Woodward heard two more shots, coming close together and the President slumped down in the car. A woman nearby began weeping and cried, "They've shot him!"

Mrs. Gloria Calvery and Karen Westbrook, both employees of a publishing firm with offices in the Texas School Book Depository, had gone out during lunch to see the President. They were standing almost halfway between the corner of Elm and Houston and the Triple Underpass. Both heard the first blast and saw Kennedy struck by a bullet just as the presidential limousine got directly in front of their position. Neither were questioned later as to the direction of the shots.

A.J. Millican, a coworker of Howard Brennan, had no difficulty in determining where the shots came from. Millican told authorities that day he was standing on the north side of Elm Street about halfway between Houston and the Triple Underpass. He said he noticed "a truck from Honest Joe's Pawn Shop" park near the Depository, then drive off about five or 10 minutes before the President arrived. He told Sheriff's deputies:

"Just after the President's car passed, I heard three shots from up toward Elm right by the Book Depository Building, and then immediately I heard two more shots come from the arcade between the Book Store and the Underpass, then three more shots came from the same direction only sounded further back. It sounded approximately like a .45 automatic, or a high-powered rifle."

Millican, who provided perhaps one of the clearest descriptions of the firing sequence and the location of the shots, was never interviewed by nor called to testify to the Warren Commission or the House Select Committee on Assassinations. He died in 1986, apparently having never been questioned by anyone. However, his supervisor, Sandy Speaker, said his entire work crew was there and they all corroborated Millican's story. In an interview with this author, Speaker said:

"I was the superintendent of construction for the Republic Bank project at the time. Millican and also Howard Brennan were working for me. We were fabricating plumbing piping for the Republic Bank Building under construction at the west end of Pacific Street (north of the Texas School Book Depository). Millican and the whole crew had knocked off for lunch and were by the Depository building to watch the parade. I hadn't gotten there when they (the motorcade) passed. I was less than a half-block away and heard the shots. I heard at least five shots and they came from different locations. I was a combat Marine with the First Marine Division in World War II, hand-to-hand combat, missions behind enemy lines, and I know what I am talking about. I've said for years there were more than three shots fired."

John A. Chism, along with his wife and three-year-old son, were near Millican, standing directly in front of the Stemmons Freeway sign. They said the first shots were fired just as the President got in front of them. They saw Kennedy slump to the left and into his wife's arms. Mrs. Chism told Dallas authorities that day:

"And then there was a second shot that I heard, after the President's wife had pulled him down in the seat. It came from what I thought was behind us (the Grassy Knoll) and I looked but I couldn't see anything."

Chism also looked behind him at the sound of the shots, then, as he again looked forward and saw "the motorcade beginning to speed up."

Jean Newman was a 21-year-old manufacturing company employee who came to view the motorcade in Dealey Plaza. She told Sheriff's deputies she was standing between the Stemmons Freeway sign and the book depository when the shots were fired. She stated:

"The first impression I had was that the shots came from my right."

To her right was the Grassy Knoll.

Also near the Stemmons Freeway sign were two of the most suspicious characters in Dealey Plaza that day. Despite their activities and the fact that both were captured in several photographs made at the time, this pair was never mentioned publicly until the House Select Committee on Assassinations investigation in the late 1970s.

Crossfire: Two Suspicious Men

About the time that Kennedy was first hit by a bullet, two men standing near each other on the north sidewalk of Elm Street acted most strangely - one began pumping a black umbrella while the other waved his right arm high in the air. These and subsequent actions by this pair aroused the suspicions of researchers over the years, yet the initial federal investigation ignored both men. Their activities are known only through analysis of assassination photographs.

As Kennedy's limousine began the gentle descent into Dealey Plaza, a man can be seen standing near the street-side edge of the Stemmons Freeway sign holding an open umbrella. He holds the umbrella in a normal fashion and the top of the umbrella almost reaches the bottom of the sign. In photos taken minutes before Kennedy's arrival, the umbrella is closed and, immediately after the shooting, pictures show the umbrella was closed again. The man's umbrella was only open during the shooting sequence. Furthermore, as seen in the Zapruder film, once Kennedy is exactly opposite the man with the umbrella, it was pumped almost two feet into the air and then lowered. At this same time, the second man - in photos he appears to be dark complected, perhaps a black man or Hispanic - raised his right hand into the air possibly making a fist. This man was located on the outer edge of the Elm Street sidewalk opposite the umbrella man, who was on the inner edge. The man with the open umbrella was the only person in Dealey Plaza with an open umbrella. Under the warm Texas sun, there was no reason for an open umbrella at that time.

Two main theories have emerged concerning the "Umbrella man" and his activities that day. Assassination researcher Robert Cutler has long maintained that the umbrella may have been a sophisticated weapon which fired a dart or "flechette" filled with a paralyzing agent. Cutler's theory is supported by the 1975 testimony of a CIA weapons developer who told the Senate Intelligence Committee that just such a umbrella weapon was in the hands of the spy agency in 1963. Charles Senseney, who developed weaponry for the CIA at Fort Detrick, described a dart-firing weapon he developed as looking like an umbrella. He said the dart gun was silent in operation and fired through the webbing when the umbrella was open. Senseney said the CIA had ordered about 50 such dart weapons and that they were operational in 1963. Cutler theorized that the umbrella was used to fire a paralyzing dart into Kennedy immobilizing him for marksmen with rifles. He claims this theory accounts for the small puncture wound in Kennedy's throat described by Dallas doctors, but which was altered by the time of the Bethesda autopsy (See TWO HOSPITALS). According to Cutler, this dart explains Kennedy's lack of motion during the shooting sequence. Since such a weapon existed and since both the actions of Kennedy and the "Umbrella man" are consistent with the operation of such a weapon, Cutler's theory cannot be completely dismissed.

However, most assassination researchers prefer the alternative theory that both of these suspicious men may have been providing visual signals to hidden gunmen. This theory suggests that Kennedy was killed by a crossfire coordinated by radiomen. The two men, who were among the closest bystanders to the President when he was first struck, gave signals indicating that he was not fatally hit and therefore more shots were needed. A fascinating twist on this latter theory came from researcher Gary Shaw who said the two men may have been providing Kennedy with a last-second sign of who was responsible for his death. Shaw recalled that throughout the planning of the Bay of Pigs invasion, CIA officers had promised an "umbrella" of air protection of the Cuban invaders. This "umbrella" failed to materialize because Kennedy refused to authorize U.S. military support for the invasion (See CUBANS). According to Shaw's theory, the man with the open umbrella symbolized the promise of an air-support "umbrella" while the dark-complected man may have been one of the anti-Castro Cuban leaders known to Kennedy. Thus, in the last seconds of his life, Kennedy may have seen the open umbrella and the face of a Cuban he knew was involved in the Bay of Pigs and realized who was participating in his death.

But this is all speculation. The existence of the "Umbrella man" and the dark-complected man is fact. Even their activities after the assassination bear study. While virtually everyone in Dealey Plaza was moved to action by the assassination - either falling to the ground for cover or moving toward the Grassy Knoll - these two men sat down beside each other on the north sidewalk of Elm Street. Here the dark-complected man appears to put a walkie-talkie to his mouth. In a photograph taken by Jim Towner, what seems to be an antenna can be seen jutting out from behind the man's head while his right hand holds some object to his face. Several photos taken in the seconds following the assassination show both of these men sitting together on the Elm Street sidewalk. Moments later, the man with the umbrella gets up, takes one last look toward the motorcade still passing under the Triple

Underpass and begins walking east in the direction of the Depository. The dark-complected man saunters toward the Triple Underpass passing people rushing up the Grassy Knoll. He can be seen stuffing some object - the walkie-talkie?- into the back of his pants.

Despite the suspicious actions of these two men, there is no evidence that the FBI or the Warren Commission made any effort to identify or locate them. Officially, they did not exist. Yet over the years, this pair became the focal point of criticism by private researchers. Researchers claimed the lack of investigation of these men was indicative of the shallowness of the government's handling of the assassination. Once the House Select Committee on Assassinations was formed, researchers urged an investigation of both men. The Committee finally released a photograph of the "Umbrella man" to the news media and urged anyone with knowledge of the man to come forward.

Coincidentally - if it was a coincidence - the "Umbrella man" suddenly was identified in Dallas a few weeks after this national appeal. In August, 1978, an telephone caller told researcher Penn Jones Jr., that the man with the umbrella was a former Dallas insurance salesman named Louis Steven Witt. Jones contacted some local newsmen and together they confronted Witt, who then was working as a warehouse manager. Witt refused to talk with newsmen but acknowledged that he was in Dealey Plaza on the day Kennedy was killed. Jones later wrote:

"I felt the man had been coached. He would answer no questions and pointedly invited us to leave. His only positive statement, which seemed to come very quickly, was that he was willing to appear before the House Select Committee on Assassinations in Washington."

Witt indeed appeared before the Committee during its public testimony. His story was comic relief compared to the intense scrutiny of witnesses like Marina Oswald and Warren Commission critics. His story was facile and improbable and when the umbrella which Witt claimed was the same one he had in Dealey Plaza in 1963 was displayed, it suddenly turned wrong-side out prompting one Committee member to quip:

"I hope that's not a weapon."

Witt told the Committee that on the spur of the moment, he grabbed a large black umbrella and went to Dealey Plaza to heckle Kennedy. He claimed that someone had told him that an open umbrella would rile Kennedy. While Witt offered no further explanation of how his umbrella could heckle the President, Committee members theorized that the umbrella in some way referred to the pro-German sympathies of Kennedy's father while serving as U. S. ambassador to Britain just prior to World War II. They said the umbrella may have symbolized the appeasement policies of Britain's Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain who always carried an umbrella. According to Witt:

"I think I went sort of maybe halfway up the grassy area (on the north side of Elm Street), somewhere in that vicinity. I am pretty sure I sat down....(When the motorcade approached) I think I got up and started fiddling with that umbrella trying to get it open, and at the same time I was walking forward, walking toward the street....Whereas other people I understand saw the President shot and his movements; I did not see this because of this thing (the umbrella) in front of me....My view of the car during that length of time was blocked by the umbrella's being open."

Based on the available photographs made that day, none of Witt's statements were an accurate account of the actions of the "Umbrella man", who stood waiting for the motorcade with his umbrella in the normal over-the-head position and then pumped it in the air as Kennedy passed. Witt's bizarre story - unsubstantiated and totally at variance with the actions of the man in the photographs - resulted in few, if any, researchers accepting Louis Steven Witt as the "Umbrella man". And there continues to be no official accounting for the dark-complected man who appears to have been talking on a radio moments after the assassination. The House Committee failed to identify or locate this man and Witt claimed he had no recollection of such a person, despite photographs which seem to show the "Umbrella man" talking with the dark man. Witt claimed only to recall that a "Negro man" sat down near him and kept repeating:

"They done shot them folks."

Interestingly, one of the Committee attorneys asked Witt specifically if he recalled seeing the man with a walkie-talkie, although officially no one has ever admitted the possibility of radios in use in Dealey Plaza. These two men are still among the mystery people of Dealey Plaza.

Crossfire: Other Witnesses

Dolores Kounas was a clerk-typist with McGraw Hill Publishing Company which had offices on the third floor of the Depository building. She, along with two other McGraw-Hill employees, were standing just west of the Depository across Elm Street from Millican and the Chisms. She too thought the first shot was a firecracker, but after hearing a second shot and seeing people fall to the ground, she realized they were shots. She later told the FBI:

"Although I was across the street from the Depository building and was looking in the direction of the building as the motorcade passed and following the shots, I did not look up at the building as I had thought the shots came from a westernly direction in the vicinity of the viaduct."

James Altgens, 44, a photographer for the Associated Press in Dallas, arrived in Dealey Plaza early. He had been assigned to get a picture of Kennedy as he passed through downtown Dallas and decided the west end of Dealey Plaza would provide an excellent opportunity to catch the President with the downtown buildings in the background. However, when Altgens tried to station himself on the Triple Underpass, he was shooed away by a Dallas policeman, who told him it was railroad property and only railroad employees were allowed there. So Altgens walked around by the Depository, then on to the intersection of Main and Houston, where he took a photo as the President passed. He then ran further into the plaza, where he made several photographs as the motorcade approached from the south curb of Elm. Altgens told the Warren Commission:

"I made one picture at the time I heard a noise that sounded like a firecracker....I figured it was nothing more than a firecracker because from my position down here the sound was not of such volume that it would indicate to me it was a high-velocity rifle....it sounded like it was coming up from behind the car...who counts fireworks explosions? I wasn't keeping track of the number of pops that took place, but I could vouch for No. 1 and I can vouch for the last shot, but I cannot tell you how many shots were in between. There was not another shot fired after the President was struck in the head. That was the last shot - that much I will say with a great degree of certainty."

One of Altgens' photos was taken just seconds after the first shots were fired and showed a slender man standing in the doorway of the Depository. Many people have claimed the man was Lee Harvey Oswald (See THE TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY) In the May 24, 1964, issue of the "New York Herald Tribune" magazine section, there was an article regarding Altgens' photograph. This article raised the question:

"Isn't it odd that J. W. Altgens, a veteran Associated Press photographer in Dallas, who took a picture of the Kennedy assassination - one of the witnesses close enough to see the President shot and able to describe second-by-second what happened - has been questioned neither by the FBI nor the Warren Commission?"

On June 2, 1964, Altgen was interviewed by FBI agents. The agents reported:

"He recalled that at about the instant he snapped the picture, he heard a burst of noise which he thought was firecrackers...he then turned the film in his camera...when he heard another report which he recognized as a gunshot."

Near Altgens on the grassy triangle in the lower part of Dealey Plaza were a handful of people, all the closest witnesses to the actual assassination. Only a couple of these witnesses testified to the Warren Commission and one of the closest was never identified until years later when she was interviewed by an assassination researcher.

Charles Brehm, along with his five-year-old son, had watched the Presidential motorcade turn onto Houston from near the Depository building. Then, holding his son, Brehm ran across Elm and stationed himself halfway between Houston and the Triple Underpass on the grassy triangle south of Elm. In a 1966 film documentary, Brehm stated:

"I very definitely saw the effect of the second bullet that struck the President. That which appeared to be a portion of the President's skull went flying slightly to the rear of the President's car and directly to its left. It did fly over toward the curb to the left and to the rear."

Brehm said the piece of skull landed in the grass not far from his location. He told the FBI some days later that "it seemed quite apparent to him that the shots came from one of two buildings back at the corner of Elm and Houston Streets". Brehm also said "it seemed to him that the automobile almost came to a halt after the first shot," but he was not certain. Brehm, an ex-serviceman with experience in

bolt-action rifles, was probably the closest witness to the fatal head shot. He was not called to testify to the Warren Commission.

Two significant home movies were made of the assassination other than the famous Zapruder film (See GRASSY KNOLL). One was made by Mrs. Marie Muchmore, who had moved from a position near Main and Houston to the center of the grassy triangle behind Brehm. She caught the final and fatal head shot to Kennedy and the disappearance of the limousine into the Triple Underpass on the frames of her film. Further behind Muchmore, across Main Street, Orville Nix captured the entire assassination sequence. It is the Nix's film which most clearly shows the Presidential limousine coming to a brief halt with its brake lights on prior to the fatal head shot. Also in the Nix film are suspicious flashes of light on the Grassy Knoll, which is in the background of the movie. Are these muzzle flashes from rifles? To date, no sophisticated analysis has been conducted. Nix was interviewed by an assassination researcher some years later and asked about the direction of the shots. He stated:

"I thought it (shots) came from a fence between the Book Depository and the railroad tracks."

He also said that he later talked about the assassination with a friend, Forrest V. Sorrels, then head of the Dallas Secret Service Office. He said at the time of the assassination, Sorrels too, believed shots had come from the picket fence on the Grassy Knoll.

The Warren Commission never called Nix to testify, although he indicated he was willing to do so to the FBI, nor did the commission have his film adequately analyzed. Only after some researchers claimed that photographs of a gunman on the Grassy Knoll were visible in the Nix film was it closely studied. In late 1966, Itek Corporation, which handles government contacts and is closely tied to the CIA, studied the film on the request of United Press International. Itek scientists concluded that the gunman figure was actually shadows from a tree branch. It might be noted that even this conclusion is not totally accepted by suspicious researchers since, moments later, Nix panned back over the same area and the "shadow" figure is no longer visible. If the figure was merely shadows, it would seem that they should still be there in the later frames.

Also taking films on the south side of Elm Street was Beverly Oliver, who stood filming right behind Brehm and his son. From her vantage point, Oliver's movie would show not only the Grassy Knoll in the background, but also the Texas School Book Depository at the time of the shooting. Despite the most intensive FBI investigation in history, federal authorities officially were unable to locate Oliver and, for years, she was known to researchers only as "The Babushka Lady" because of a triangular kerchief she wore on her head that day.

Crossfire: The Babushka Lady

Perhaps the reason that the federal authorities were unable to identify or locate "The Babushka Lady" is the explosive story she has to tell. Located only in recent years by assassination researchers, Beverly Oliver is now married to an evangelist, is a "re-born" Christian and claims:

- Her film was taken and never returned by FBI agents.
- She was a friend of Jack Ruby and many of his employees.
- Ruby once introduced her to "Lee Oswald of the CIA".
- She knows that Ruby, Oswald and David Ferrie were closely associated.
- She married a Dallas underworld character closely connected to Ruby and his associates who, in 1968, met briefly with Richard Nixon.

Oliver was 19 years old at the time of the assassination and worked for the Colony Club, a strip-show club located next door to Jack Ruby's Carousel Club. On November 22, she took a new Super-8 Yashica movie camera to Dealey Plaza and ended up just behind Charles Brehm on the grassy triangle just south of Elm Street. Photos taken that day show that Oliver filmed the entire assassination as the motorcade moved down Elm. Undoubtedly her film would have included the windows of the Texas School Book Depository as shots were fired, clear pictures of "The Umbrella Man" and "The Dark Complexioned Man" on the north side of Elm and the Grassy Knoll area at the time of the fatal head shot.

Oliver said on Monday following the assassination, she was approached by two men near the Colony Club. She believed they were either FBI or Secret Service agents. They said they knew she had taken film in Dealey Plaza and wanted to develop it for use as evidence. Oliver was told her film would be returned to her within 10 days. She complied. However she never saw her film again. There was no mention of either her or her film in the Warren Report. (Years later, when shown photographs of FBI agents involved in the assassination, Oliver identified Regis Kennedy as one of the men who took her film. Kennedy played a key role in the New Orleans aspect of the assassination investigation and came under suspicion in later years because of his insistence that reputed New Orleans Mafia Boss Carlos Marcello was merely a "tomato salesman".)

Not long after the assassination, Oliver married George McGann, a Dallas underworld character whose best man was R. D. Matthews. Matthews, a close friend of Jack Ruby, was described by the House Select Committee on Assassinations as "actively engaged in criminal activity since the 1940s." The committee also developed evidence connecting Matthews with associates of Florida Mafia chieftain Santos Trafficante (See MOBSTERS). Further, Matthews was a father figure to another Dallas thug, convicted murderer-for-hire Charles V. Harrelson (See Aftermath - DALLAS).

Oliver told researcher Gary Shaw that during the Presidential campaign of 1968, she and McGann had a two-hour conversation with candidate Richard Nixon in a Miami hotel. Why former President Nixon would meet with a well-known criminal is unclear, but in light of information which has been made public since the Watergate affair linking Nixon to organized crime figures, this story no longer seems so far-fetched (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN). In 1970, McGann was killed in a West Texas gangland-style slaying.

Oliver also said that two weeks prior to the Kennedy assassination, she was visiting in Ruby's club. There, she met a man whom Ruby introduced as "Lee Oswald of the CIA." She later recognized Oswald when his picture was broadcast following the assassination. She also said David Ferrie was in Ruby's club in late 1963, in fact, he was there so often, Oliver mistook Ferrie as an assistant manager of the Carousel Club. A friend of Oliver's also knew of Oswald being in Ruby's club and spoke openly about it. According to Oliver, her friend disappeared and she "decided it would be in her best interests not to say anything." She remained quiet until the mid-1970s when she was located and interviewed by Shaw and, later, by Texas newsmen.

Although Beverly Oliver was the object of a secret briefing by HSCA attorney Robert Tannenbaum on March 17, 1977 (a transcript of this briefing was accidentally leaked to the news media), there is no mention of her or her film in the Committee's report. Obviously, it is highly suspicious to researchers that one of the closest witnesses to the assassination and a witness who claimed to have been with both Ruby and Oswald prior to November 22, 1963, was never located or identified by federal authorities.

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Crossfire: Moorman and Hill

A few feet to the west of Oliver were two women - Mary Moorman, who took a photograph at the moment of the fatal head shot which may have included the gunman on the Grassy Knoll, and her friend, Jean Hill, who, like Willis, claims to have seen Jack Ruby in front of the Texas School Book Depository at the time of the shooting.

Ironically, neither Moorman nor Hill, probably the closest witnesses to the fatal head shot other than Brehm, were there to see Kennedy. Both women had come to Dealey Plaza to take pictures of a Dallas police motorcycle officer escorting the President whom Hill wanted to date. Hill had just moved to Dallas from Oklahoma and Moorman was showing her the city, as well as trying to get her a date with a policeman. The women were stopped by a policeman at the corner of Elm and Houston and prevented from entering the grassy triangle area of the plaza. However, after some flirting, the officer allowed them through and they took up a position on the south side of Elm midway between Houston and the Triple Underpass. Hill, who said she was getting in a "cops and robbers frame of mind" hoping to date the policeman, noticed a van with writing on it saying, "Uncle Joe's Pawn Shop" was allowed through the police lines and drove in front of the Depository and behind the concrete pergola on top of the Grassy Knoll. She thought this was suspicious since no one else had been allowed into that short street in front of the Depository. She jokingly said to Moorman:

"Do you suppose there are murderers in that van?"

As the presidential motorcade turned onto Elm, Moorman began taking snapshots with a Polaroid camera and handing the photos to Hill, who applied fixative and put them in the pocket of her red-cloth raincoat. Hill said Kennedy was smiling and waving to a crowd of people on the north side of Elm. She told this author:

"I knew he'd never look our way because all the people were on the other side of the street, so I jumped out into the street and yelled, "Hey, Mr. President, look this way. We want to take your picture." As he began turning toward us, he was hit. Then a bullet hit his head and took the top off. Mary fell to the ground and shouted, "Get down, they're shooting!" But being young and dumb, I kept standing for a minute trying to see where the shots came from. It was eerie. Everything seemed frozen. I saw a man fire from behind the wooden fence. I saw a puff of smoke and some sort of movement on the Grassy Knoll where he was. (She later pinpointed this location as about 15 feet north of the eastern corner of the wooden picket fence -the exact location of the figure discovered in Moorman's photograph.) Then I saw a man walking briskly in front of the Texas School Book Depository. He was the only person moving. Everybody else seemed to be frozen with shock. Because of my earlier thoughts, I became suspicious of this man and thought he might be connected with that truck I saw."

Hill said she heard between four and six shots altogether and then ran across the street in an effort to locate the men she had seen. She didn't find them, but claimed that on the following Sunday morning, she recognized TV photos of Jack Ruby as the man she had seen in front of the depository. Minutes after the shooting, Hill said she was standing just west of the Depository when she was taken into custody by two men who identified themselves as Secret Service agents.

Meanwhile, a Dallas reporter had talked with Moorman and taken her to the sheriff's office. Here she was later joined by Hill who said their photographs had been taken by federal authorities (See AFTERMATH IN DALLAS).

Directly across Elm from Hill and Moorman was the Newman family. Bill Newman, his wife Gayle and their two small children were standing west of the Stemmons Freeway sign directly below the Grassy Knoll. Newman told Sheriff's officers:

"We were standing at the edge of the curb looking at the (President's) car as it was coming toward us and all of a sudden there was a noise, apparently a gunshot...By (the) time he was directly in front of us...he was hit in the side of the head...Then we fell down on the grass as it seemed that we were in direct path of fire....I thought the shot had come from the garden directly behind me, that was on an elevation from where I was as I was right on the curb. I do not recall looking toward the Texas School Book Depository. I looked back in the vicinity of the garden."

A bit later, during a television interview, Newman was apparently the first person to speak of the Grassy Knoll. When asked where the shots had come from, Newman responded:

"...back up on the, uh, knoll...what you call it."

Another witness was far above the crowd in Dealey Plaza. He had a bird's eye view of the assassination. Jesse C. Price was the building engineer for the Union Terminal Annex, which is the southern counterpart of the Texas School Book Depository. The building stands at the corner of Houston and Commerce. Price said he went up on the roof to get "a better view of the caravan." While sitting on the edge of the building's roof overlooking the plaza, Price heard shots "...from by the...Triple Underpass." In an affidavit signed that day, Price stated:

"There was a volley of shots, I think five and then much later...another one."

He said the shots seemed to come from "just behind the picket fence where it joins the underpass." Price also said he saw a man, described as young wearing a white dress shirt, no tie and khaki-colored pants running behind the wooden picket fence "towards the passenger cars on the railroad siding..." with something in his hand "which could have been a gun." Price was never called to testify to the Warren Commission.

Despite the contradictions of evidence and testimony of those in Dealey Plaza, one fact seems inescapable - most of the witnesses in the crowd believed shots came from the Grassy Knoll. However, it is certain that at least one or more shots were fired from the red-brick building at the northwest corner of Elm and Houston - the Texas School Book Depository.

Crossfire: The Texas School Book Depository

"I thought at the time the shots...came from a point to the west of the building"

Depository employee Dorothy Ann Garner

THE TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY

Overlooking Dealey Plaza at its northeast corner is the seven-story red-brick building which in 1963 housed the Texas School Book Depository - which had almost nothing to do with Texas public schools. The Depository was a private company which acted as an agent for a number of book publishers, furnishing office space and providing warehousing, inventorying and shipping. School systems would place orders with the publishers for text books and the publishers would send the orders along to the Depository, where about a half dozen young men acted as order fillers - locating and collecting the books as per each order. On November 22, 1963, one of these order fillers was Lee Harvey Oswald.

Oswald and his wife, Marina, had separated at the time he left for New Orleans in the spring of 1963. They reunited in that Louisiana city, but in September, it was decided that since Marina was about to have a baby, she would return to Texas with a friend, Ruth Paine, while Oswald continued his activities - reportedly a trip to Mexico City. When Oswald arrived back in Dallas on October 3, Marina was living in Irving, a suburban city west of Dallas. She was staying in the home of Michael and Ruth Paine - they too were separated at the time - and over the weekend of October 12-13, 1963, Oswald had arrived there to visit. During this weekend, Mrs. Paine said she gave Oswald, who had no driver's license, a driving lesson in her car.

On Monday, October 14, Mrs. Paine drove Oswald to Dallas, where he rented a room at 1026 N. Beckley Avenue from Mrs. A.C. Johnson for \$8 a week. Oswald had filled out applications at the Texas Employment Commission and reportedly was looking for work. That same day, Mrs. Paine mentioned Oswald - and the fact that he needed work because his wife was about to have another baby - to neighbors, including Mrs. Linnie Mae Randle. Mrs. Randle mentioned that Wesley Frazier, a younger brother who lived with her, worked at the Texas School Book Depository and that a job might be available there. Marina Oswald, who was present at this gathering, reportedly urged Mrs. Paine to check into the job possibility. Mrs. Paine agreed and called Depository Superintendent Roy Truly that very day.

Before the Warren Commission, Truly recalled getting a call from a woman in Irving who said she knew a man whose wife was going to have a baby and needed a job. Truly agreed to talk with the man. Mrs. Paine mentioned her call to Oswald later that evening and the next day, October 15, Oswald interviewed with Truly for the job. Oswald began working as temporary help the next day. Truly said the fall was their busiest time of year. Truly told the commission:

"Actually, (it was) the end of our fall rush - if it hadn't existed a week or two longer (than usual), or if we had not been using some of our regular boys putting down this plywood, we would not have had any need for Lee Oswald at that time, which is a tragic thing for me to think about."

Oswald was paid \$1.25 an hour to fill book orders. Once he had been shown the procedures, he worked on his own. Truly described Oswald as "a bit above average" as an employee. Co-workers said Oswald was pleasant enough, but kept mostly to himself.

During his first week at work, Oswald got acquainted with Frazier and soon asked Frazier to drive him to Irving to visit his family. Frazier, who had only started working at the Depository the month before, said he was eager to make friends in Dallas. So Frazier agreed and, in fact, gave Oswald a ride to Irving every weekend prior to the assassination - except one when Oswald told Frazier he was staying in Dallas to take a driving test.

On Sunday, November 17, Marina Oswald had Mrs. Paine call a Dallas telephone number Oswald had given her. When she asked for Lee Oswald, Mrs. Paine was told there was nobody there by that name. The next day, Oswald called the Paine home and angrily told Marina he was using a fictitious name at the Beckley Avenue address and not to call him there.

On Thursday morning, November 21, Oswald reportedly asked Frazier to drive him to Irving after work because he wanted to get some curtain rods to put in his Beckley Avenue apartment. According to this curtain rod story - only Frazier and his sister claimed to have seen Oswald with a package and

their descriptions were inconsistent and vague - Frazier's sister saw Oswald the next morning place a paper-wrapped package in Frazier's car and Frazier noticed the packet as the pair drove to work. Frazier later said Oswald told him it was curtain rods. He also said he would not be riding to Irving as usual, but gave no explanation, according to Frazier. Frazier said once at the Depository, Oswald got out of the car and walked ahead into the building carrying his package with one end gripped in his right hand and the other tucked under his right arm, parallel to his body. Most researchers who have studied the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle claim that, even disassembled, the barrel is too long to carry in this position. When Frazier entered the building, he could not see Oswald and never knew what became of the "curtain rods". When questioned by the authorities about what he had taken into the Depository, Oswald denied the curtain rod story, saying he only carried his lunch to work.

Jack Dougherty, another Depository employee whose Warren Commission testimony appears somewhat incoherent, nevertheless said:

"Yes, I saw him (Oswald) when he first came in the door...(Commission Attorney

Joseph Ball asked, "Did he have anything in his hands or arms?") Well, not that I could see of."

Many Depository employees saw Oswald that morning. He appeared to be carrying on normal work duties, particularly on the sixth floor where he was assigned that day. Frazier said he didn't notice Oswald after noon. He told the Warren Commission that as the Presidential motorcade approached, he joined other Depository employees who were standing on the steps of the building facing Elm. Minutes before the Presidential motorcade arrived an odd incident occurred which has puzzled researchers for years.

Crossfire: The Distracting Seizure

About 12:15 p.m., a young man described as wearing green Army fatigues collapsed at 100 N. Houston, near the front door of the Texas School Book Depository. He apparently suffered some sort of seizure. Dallas Policeman D.V. Harkness radioed the police dispatcher to send an ambulance to that location at 12:18 p.m. Radio logs showed that the ambulance, after picking up the victim, radioed, "We are enroute to Parkland". However, Parkland never recorded a patient registering at this time and the entire incident seemed forgotten.

Despite the timing and proximity to the assassination, there is no mention of this incident in the Warren Commission Report and the FBI didn't get around to investigating until May 1964. And this investigation took place only after a former employee of O'Neal Funeral Home called the Bureau's Dallas office to report the incident, adding the patient "disappeared" after arriving at Parkland. Apparently more curious about the incident than the FBI, this caller stated he "felt it possible that this incident may have been planned to distract attention from the shooting that was to follow". The FBI detailed their investigation of the matter in Commission Document 1245, which was not included in the Warren Report or its 26 volumes.

Agents contacted the ambulance driver, Aubrey Rike, who said he had picked up a man "who was conscious and only slightly injured with a facial laceration". Rike added that in the confusion at Parkland, this man had simply walked off. Rike also said a Secret Service agent at Parkland told him to remain there "because they might need it (his ambulance) to move the President to another location."

On May 26, Bureau agents located the "victim" after finding his name in O'Neal records. Jerry B. Belknap had paid his \$12.50 ambulance charge back on December 2, 1963. Based on a later FBI report and an interview with Belknap by assassination researcher Jerry D. Rose, the following story came to light. Belknap said he suffered from seizures since being struck by a car while getting off a school bus as a child. He was standing near the Depository when he stepped back from the crowd and lost consciousness. He said the next thing he knew a policeman was standing over him. Once at Parkland, he was sitting on a small table and, after asking for attention, was told to lie down. He said a short time later, there was a great rush of people who went into a different section of the emergency room. He said a male attendant finally brought him some water and an aspirin, but that, after realizing that he was not going to get immediate treatment, he walked out without registering. Outside, Belknap caught a bus back downtown, where he first learned of the assassination. Intriguingly, Belknap told Rose that he had been interviewed by both Dallas Police and the FBI within days of the assassination, months before the FBI's reported investigation in May, 1964. He commented that the two police agencies apparently distrusted each other and both asked him the same questions. Asked about the June 1964 FBI report concerning him, Belknap offered the explanation that perhaps an agent had called him on the phone and simply confirmed the results of the earlier interview. Belknap also stated in 1983 that an investigator from "some committee in Washington" had contacted him within the past few years. However, if this investigator was with the House Select Committee on Assassinations, there is no reference to him in its report or attendant volumes. Belknap died in 1986.

The entire "seizure" episode is strange and full of contradictions and coincidence - Belknap even reported seeing Jack Ruby once "acting like a big shot" and he said he lost consciousness while the FBI report said he didn't. Researchers view the incident as either a strangely convenient coincidence or as some as-yet-undiscovered plot to distract police and bystanders while assassins moved into position just prior to Kennedy's arrival in Dealey Plaza. All agree that the incident deserves further investigation, particularly in light of the fact that the ambulance drivers who reportedly took Belknap to Parkland - Rike and Dennis McGuire - were the same ones who, while at Parkland Hospital, loaded Kennedy's body into their ambulance for the return trip to Love Field that fateful afternoon.

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Crossfire: Witnesses in The Texas School Book Depository

At the time of the shooting, even persons within the Depository believed the shots came from elsewhere. Steven F. Wilson was vice president of a school text book publishing company and had an office on the third floor of the Depository. Wilson told the FBI he watched the motorcade go by from a closed third-floor window but lost sight of the President when he "became obscured by some trees which are on Elm Street." He further stated:

"In a matter of 10 seconds or less...I heard three shots...there was a greater space of time between the second and third shots than between the first and second. The three shots were fired within a matter of less than five seconds. The shots sounded to me like rifle shots. At that time, it seemed like the shots came from the west end of the building or from the colonnade located on Elm Street across from the west end of our building (the pergola on the Grassy Knoll). The shots really did not sound like they came from above me."

Mrs. Elsie Dorman, who worked for Scott-Foresman Co. in the Depository, was in her fourth-floor office filming the Presidential motorcade as it passed below. With her were fellow workers Dorothy Ann Garner, Victoria Adams and Sandra Styles. Garner told the FBI:

"I thought at the time the shots or reports came from a point to the west of the building."

Adams told the Warren Commission:

"...we heard a shot, and it was a pause, and then a second shot, and then a third shot. It sounded like a firecracker or a cannon at a football game, it seems as if it came from the right below (the area of the Grassy Knoll) rather than from the left above (the sixth-floor window)."

Styles told Bureau agents she could not tell where the shots came from, but that she and Adams "left the office at this time, went down the back stairs and left the building at the back door."

Neither she nor Adams remarked about hearing anyone on the stairs moments after the shooting, although it was these same stairs that Oswald would have had to descend in time for his meeting with a Dallas policeman.

Wesley Frazier, who had driven Oswald to work that morning, was on the front steps of the Depository. He told the Warren Commission of his experience:

"...right after he (Kennedy) went by...I heard a sound and if you have ever been around motorcycles you know how they backfire, and so I thought one of them motorcycles backfired because right before his car came down, now there were several of these motorcycle policemen, and they took off down toward the underpass down there...I heard two more of the same type of, you know, sounds, and by that time people were running everywhere and falling down and screaming...I figured it was somebody shooting at President Kennedy...and from where I was standing it sounded like it was coming from down (at the) railroad tracks there....So, we started back into the building and it wasn't but just a few minutes that there were a lot of police officers and so forth all over the building there."

Frazier said one of the Depository employees standing by him on the steps of the building as Kennedy passed by was Billy Lovelady who was to become well-known to researchers as "The Man in the Doorway".

Crossfire: Man in the Doorway

Associated Press photographer James Altgens (See THE CROWD) snapped a picture seconds after Kennedy was first struck by a bullet. In the background of this photo a man can be seen standing in the west corner of the Texas School Book Depository's front doorway. Soon after the assassination, many people - including his mother - suggested the man in the doorway looked amazingly like Lee Harvey Oswald.

Obviously, if the man in the photo was Oswald, he could not have been firing a rifle on the sixth floor. The Warren Commission, based primarily on testimony from Depository employees, concluded the man in the doorway was Billy Lovelady. After being interviewed at length by the FBI, Lovelady identified the man in the photo as himself.

Lovelady, who had worked at the Depository since 1961, was one of the men assigned to lay plywood flooring on the sixth floor that day. He said about 11:50 a.m. he and other employees stopped work so they could clean up before taking their lunch break. Lovelady said the workers took both of the Depository's two elevators and were racing each other down to ground level. He recalled hearing Oswald shout to them from the fifth floor to wait or to send an elevator back for him. After buying a soft drink, Lovelady told the Warren Commission, he went out the main door and sat on the steps of the Depository to eat his lunch with some co-workers. Lovelady said he remained there as the motorcade passed by, then heard some noises:

"I thought it was firecrackers or somebody celebrating the arrival of the President. It didn't occur to me at first what had happened until this Gloria (Calvary - See CROWD) came running up to us and told us the President had been shot."

Asked where he thought the shots came from, Lovelady replied:

"Right there around that concrete little deal on that knoll."

In fact, Lovelady, along with his supervisor, joined the throng of people rushing toward the Grassy Knoll, but a short time later returned to the Depository, entering through a back door unchallenged. William Shelley, Depository manager and Oswald's immediate supervisor, acknowledged that Lovelady was on the steps of the building when Kennedy passed by. He told the Warren Commission he heard "something sounded like it was a firecracker and a slight pause and then two more a little bit closer together." He said the shots sounded like they came from west of the Depository. Shelley said Gloria Calvary ran up after about a minute and told them the President had been shot. Shelley and Lovelady both ran across a small street in front of the Depository to the north curb of Elm, then trotted down toward the railroad yards where police were converging. However, after seeing nothing remarkable, Shelley returned to the Depository. Additionally, Wesley Frazier and a Depository clerk, Sarah Stanton, both signed statements stating they were with Shelley and Lovelady on the Depository steps at the time of the shooting.

That should have been the end of questions concerning the identity of the man in the doorway. However, on February 29, 1964, the FBI interviewed Lovelady and photographed him wearing a short-sleeve shirt with vertical stripes, totally unlike the dark, mottled long-sleeve shirt in the Altgens picture. Later Lovelady explained the discrepancies in the shirts by telling CBS News:

"Well, when the FBI took (my picture) in the shirt, I told them it wasn't the same shirt."

The shirt Lovelady was wearing that day - and subsequently tried to sell it for a large sum of money - was a broad plaid, which he said was buttoned at the neck. The man in the doorway photo appears to be wearing a dark shirt open to the naval with a white tee shirt underneath, exactly what Oswald had on when arrested less than an hour and a half later.

And even Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry seemed to continue to question the identity of the man in the doorway. In his 1969 book, Curry compared photos of the doorway man with Oswald and wrote:

"The Warren Commission attempted to prove that the man was Billy N. Lovelady who worked at the depository."

The House Select Committee on Assassination considered this issue in depth. They had anthropologists study the features of the man in the photograph and were given photographic analyses of the man's shirt. The Committee concluded:

"...that it is highly improbable that the man in the doorway was Oswald and highly probable that he was Lovelady."

However, since Lovelady said he was sitting on the steps and the man in the photo is standing, peering around the edge of the front door alcove - and since the FBI did such a dismal job of proving it

was Lovelady, some suspicion still lingers about the identity of the man in the doorway. Most researchers today are ready to concede that the man may have been Lovelady

Crossfire: Where was Oswald?

But if the man in the doorway was not Oswald, then where was he? Was he on the sixth floor firing the

Mannlicher-Carcano just as two federal panels have concluded? Despite the years of confident statements by federal authorities, no one has unquestionably placed Oswald on the sixth floor at the time of the shooting. Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry in later years admitted to newsmen:

"We don't have any proof that Oswald fired the rifle, and never did. Nobody's yet been able to put him in that building with a gun in his hand."

Oswald told Dallas police he was eating lunch on the first floor of the Depository in what was called the "Domino Room" at the time of the assassination and there is some evidence to back up his statement.

Bonnie Ray Williams was one of the Depository workers who were laying plywood flooring on the sixth floor that day. During the elevator race to the first floor a few minutes before noon, Williams said he heard Oswald call, "Guys, how about an elevator?" from either the fifth or sixth floor. Oswald also apparently asked them to send an elevator back up to him. Williams told the Warren Commission he thought the others planned to gather on the sixth floor to watch the motorcade, so he returned there with his lunch, consisting of chicken, bread and a bag of chips in a brown paper sack along with a soft drink. Williams said he sat on some boxes near a window facing out onto Elm street and ate his lunch. He said he saw no one else on the sixth floor, which was one large open area. However he noted stacks of book cartons here and there. Becoming impatient because no other workers had joined him, Williams threw down the remains of his lunch and left the sixth floor at "approximately 12:20". In a January 14, 1964, FBI report, agents quoted Williams as saying he left the sixth floor after about three minutes, however, Williams denied ever saying that and it is reasonable that he couldn't have eaten his lunch in only three minutes. At the time, the news media made a great deal of comment about the chicken bones and lunch sack found on the sixth floor. Many people thought this proved that a cold and calculating assassin had patiently eaten his lunch while waiting for Kennedy to arrive.

Going down one of the elevators, Williams saw two other workers, Harold Norman and James Jarman, on the fifth floor and joined them to watch the motorcade. Two of these men were captured in a photograph taken that day as they leaned out of the fifth-floor window directly below the famous sixth-floor "sniper's" window to view the President. Williams told the Warren Commission:

"After the President's car had passed my window...(there) was a loud shot - first I thought they were saluting the President, somebody - even maybe a motorcycle backfire. The first shot - (then) there was two shots rather close together. The second and the third shot was closer together than the first shot...Well, the first shot - I really did not pay any attention to it, because I did not know what was happening. The second shot, it sounded like it was right in the building...it even shook the building, the side we were on. Cement fell on my head....Harold was sitting next to me and he said it came from right over our head....My exact words were, "No bullshit?" And we jumped up....I think Jarman, he - I think he moved before any of us. He moved towards us, and he said, "Man, someone is shooting at the President." And I think I said again, "No bullshit?"...Then we all kind of got excited....But, we all decided we would run down to the west side of the building....We saw policemen and people running, scared, running - there are some tracks on the west side of the building, railroad tracks. They were running towards that way. And we thought...we know the shots came from practically over our head. But...we assumed maybe somebody was down there."

Norman said he and Jarman had eaten lunch in the Domino Room on the first floor, then walked out the front door where they saw other Depository employees, including Lovelady sitting on the steps. As the motorcade approached, they took an elevator to the fifth floor and got seated in a southeast corner window where they were joined by Williams moments later. Norman said he heard three loud shots and "I could also hear something sounded like shell hulls hitting the floor..." Later, he said he also had heard the sound of the bolt working on a rifle above them.

After the three men ran to the west window and saw police combing the railroad yards, Norman said he and Jarman tried to leave the Depository, but were turned back by police officers. Jarman told the same story but said he didn't hear the shells hit the floor or hear the sound of the rifle bolt. He did say that when the three men ran to the Depository's west window:

"...I saw policemen and the secret agents, the FBI men, searching the boxcar yard and the passenger train and things like that."

One thing which has always puzzled assassination researchers is Williams' statement of being on the sixth floor until "approximately 12:20" then Norman's claim of hearing ejecting shell casings and the working of the rifle bolt.

It has been established that the plywood floor in the Depository was thin and full of cracks, which accounts for the plaster dust which fell on Williams' head. It could also account for Norman hearing shell casings hit the floor and even the working of the rifle bolt - except that apparently none of the three men on the floor below heard anyone moving above them. How could they have heard shells dropping and a rifle bolt operating and not heard movement above them in the minutes before the shooting? As confirmed by photographs taken at the time and the testimony of witnesses below (See THE CROWD), someone constructed a "sniper's nest" of book cartons in the minutes preceding the shooting. Yet, Williams, Norman and Jarman heard nothing?

Obviously, there was someone on the sixth floor, but was it Oswald? Oswald told police he had followed the workers down to the first floor and had eaten lunch in a domino room on the Depository's first floor. Oswald told interrogators he recalled two black employees walking through the room while he was there. He said he thought one was named "Junior" and the other was short. Jarman's nickname was "Junior" and Norman was indeed short. Norman, in commission testimony, said he ate his lunch in the Domino Room, adding:

"I can't remember who ate in the...domino room with me...I think there was somebody else in there... "

Jarman tells of helping Oswald correct a book order earlier that morning, then talking with him again on the first floor. Then at lunch time, Jarman said he bought a soft drink and returned to where he had been sitting by a first-floor window "where Oswald and I was talking." His testimony is confusing and appears incomplete. It was not helped by any clarifying questions from the Warren Commission attorney.

But if Oswald was not in the first floor domino room as he said, how could he have noted the presence of two men and described Norman and Jarman?

Bill Shelley, Oswald's supervisor, told the commission he saw Oswald near a telephone on the first floor about 10 minutes till noon. Carolyn Arnold, secretary to the Depository's vice president, was quoted in an FBI report saying "she thought she caught a fleeting glimpse of Lee Harvey Oswald standing in the (first floor) hallway" as she left the building to watch the motorcade. In 1978, Arnold told the "Dallas Morning News" she had been misquoted by the FBI. After reading over her statements of 1963, she stated:

"That is completely foreign to me. (The FBI account) would have forced me to have been turning back around to the building when, in fact, I was trying to watch the parade. Why would I be looking back inside the building? That doesn't make any sense to me."

After telling how Oswald had come to her office often for change, she gave this account of the incident:

"About a quarter of an hour before the assassination...about 12:15, it may have been later...I went to the lunchroom on the second floor for a moment...Oswald was sitting in one of the booth seats on the right-hand side of the room as you go in. He was alone as usual and appeared to be having lunch. I did not speak to him but I recognized him clearly."

While it is still possible that Oswald could have raced upstairs in time to be in the "sniper's" window by 12:30 p.m., recall that the Arnold Rowlands saw two men in the sixth-floor window, one with a rifle, at 12:15. This time can be fixed with confidence because Rowland reported seeing the man with the gun just as a nearby police radio announced that the Presidential motorcade was approaching Cedar Springs Road. Police dispatcher's records showed the motorcade passed Cedar Springs between 12:15 and 12:16 p.m.

The Warren Commission concluded that Oswald stayed on the sixth floor after he was seen by the elevator racers about 11:55 a.m. and remained there to commit the assassination.

As can be seen, there is quite credible evidence that he was exactly where he said he was -in the first-floor break or domino room - at the time of the shooting. Oswald then apparently walked to the Depository's second-floor lunchroom to buy a soft drink. It was here that a Dallas policeman

encountered Oswald less than 90 seconds after the final shot was fired in the assassination.

Crossfire: The Oswald Encounter

Since at 12:30 p.m. November 22, 1963, the Presidential motorcade was running approximately five minutes behind schedule - probably due to the two unscheduled stops along the way ordered by Kennedy - it is unbelievable that an assassin would leisurely wait in the Depository domino room until 12:15 to make his move to the sixth floor. It is equally unbelievable that, having committed the "crime of the century" an assassin could make his way down five flights of stairs and be standing calmly when a policeman rushed into the lunchroom. Understand that the first floor of the Texas School Book Depository is slightly above ground level. One entered the building by walking up a flight of outside steps, then an additional flight of stairs led to the second floor. It was here that an employee's lunchroom was located to the rear of the building away from Elm Street.

Dallas motorcycle patrolman Marrion Baker rushed to the Depository after seeing pigeons fly off the building's roof at the sound of the first shots (See MOTORCADE). In a later reenactment for the Warren Commission, it took Baker only 15 seconds to park his cycle and race up the front steps of the Depository.

Baker told the Warren Commission:

"I had it in mind that the shots came from the top of this building..."

He continued:

"As I entered this lobby there were people going in as I entered. And I asked ...where the stairs or elevator was, and this man, Mr. Truly, spoke up and says to me..."I'm the building manager. Follow me, officer, and I will show you." So we immediately went out through the second set of doors, and we ran into the swinging door."

Depository superintendent Roy Truly had followed Baker into the building. He quickly went to the building's elevators, but could not bring them down since someone had left them locked in position on an upper floor. Truly told the commission:

"...those elevators...were both on the fifth floor, they were both even. And I tried to get one of them...it would have been impossible for him (Oswald) to have come down either one of those elevators after the assassination. He had to use the stairway as his only way of getting down - since we did see the elevators in those positions."

Truly yelled, "Bring that elevator down here!" to no avail and Baker said, "Let's take the stairs."

Moving up the stairs trailing Truly, Baker said he noticed a man walking away from him through a glass window in a door near the rear second-floor landing. With drawn pistol, Baker confronted the man and ordered him to come to him.

In a handwritten report to the FBI on November 23, Baker stated:

"On the second floor where the lunchroom is located, I saw a man standing in the lunchroom drinking a Coke."

However, the words "drinking a Coke" were scratched out in this report and there was no reference to the Coke in his Warren Commission testimony. Truly said the man, whom he recognized as Oswald, "didn't seem to be excited or overly afraid." He told the Warren Commission he noticed nothing in Oswald's hands, but this was months later after many discussions with federal authorities. Baker turned to Truly and asked if the man was an employee and Truly replied he was. Baker then turned and continued his race for the roof. Oswald apparently simply sauntered down the steps and out the front door of the Depository.

Mrs. Robert Reid, clerical supervisor at the Depository, was standing with Depository officials in front of the building at the time shots were fired (See THE CROWD). She then turned and ran into the building to her second-floor office. She told the Warren Commission:

"...I looked up and Oswald was coming in the back door to the office. I met him by the time I passed my desk several feet and I told him, "Oh, the President's been shot, but maybe they didn't hit him." He mumbled something to me, I kept walking, he did too. I didn't pay any attention to what he said because I had no thoughts of anything of him having any connection with it at all because he was very calm. He had gotten a Coke and was holding it in his hands...The only time I had seen him in the office was to come and get change and he already had a Coke in his hand so he didn't come for change..."

Like Baker, Mrs. Reid reenacted her movements for the Warren Commission on March 20, 1964. She said it took approximately two minutes to move the distance from where she heard the final shot to the point she met Oswald. As can be seen, the issue of the Coke becomes critical here. It strains one's

imagination to believe that anyone could fire on the President of the United States, then run to the opposite corner of the sixth floor - where the rifle was discovered a short time later - stash the weapon, race down five flights of stairs and show no sign of exertion or anxiety when confronted by a policeman with a drawn pistol. This scenario becomes absurd if the purchase of a Coke from a vending machine with its attendant fumbling for pocket change is thrown into the time frame.

Baker told the FBI the next day that Oswald was "drinking a Coke" when he saw him, but then deleted any reference to the drink in his Warren Commission testimony. Truly, months later, said he did not notice anything in Oswald's hands. But Reid said Oswald was holding a Coke when she saw him seconds after his encounter with Baker. Even the accused assassin had something to say about the soft drink. In Appendix XI of the Warren Report, an FBI report tells of Oswald statements to police while in custody. According to this report:

"Oswald stated that on November 22, 1963, at the time of the search of the Texas School Book Depository building by Dallas Police officers, he was on the second floor of said building, having just purchased a Coca-Cola from the soft drink machine, at which time a police officer came into the room with pistol drawn and asked him if he worked there."

This Coke issue is a small one, but one which is indicative of the loopholes riddling the official story of the assassination. The issue of Oswald's documented presence in the Depository's lunchroom, with or without Coke, is further complicated by the statements of a Dallas deputy district court clerk.

Lillian Mooneyham, clerk of the 95th District Court, told the FBI that she watched the motorcade move west on Main from windows in the Dallas Criminal Courts Building, then ran with two others to the west side of the building. She heard an initial shot which she took to be a firecracker followed by a "slight pause and then two more shots were discharged, the second and third shots sounding closer together." According to an FBI report of January 10, 1964, Mrs. Mooneyham said:

"I left Judge (Henry) King's courtroom and went to the office of Judge Julian C. Hyer...where I continued to observe the happenings from Judge Hyer's window....Mrs. Mooneyham estimated that it was about four and a half to five minutes following the shots fired by the assassin, that she looked up towards the sixth floor of the TSBD and observed the figure of a man standing in the sixth floor window behind some cardboard boxes. This man appeared to Mrs. Mooneyham to be looking out of the window, however, the man was not close up to the window but was standing slightly back from it, so that Mrs. Mooneyham could not make out his features...."

Adding support to Mrs. Mooneyham's account of a man standing in the "sniper's nest" window minutes after the shooting are photographs taken about that time by military intelligence agent James Powell (See SOLDIERS) and a news photographer Tom Dillard. Dillard, who was riding in the motorcade said he took a picture of the Depository facade seconds after the last shot was fired. Powell estimated his picture was made about 30 seconds after the final shot.

A comparison with photos taken just prior to the shooting led photographic experts of the House Select Committee on Assassinations to conclude:

"There is an apparent rearranging of boxes within two minutes after the last shot was fired at President Kennedy."

Obviously, Oswald could not have been in the Depository lunchroom meeting Baker and Truly while arranging boxes on the sixth floor at the same time. Needless to say, Mrs. Mooneyham was never called as a witness before the Warren Commission. Her credible testimony remains buried in the Commission's 26 volumes. A further point here is that several Depository employees, including Billy Lovelady and William Shelley, were on or about the back stairway of the building just after the assassination. No one heard footsteps or saw Oswald racing down the five flights of stairs for his encounter with Baker and Truly. Recall that Victoria Adams and Sandra Styles, who worked for Scott, Foresman and Company in the Depository, told the FBI they both ran from the building down the back stairway after viewing the assassination from their fourth-floor office window. They neither encountered Oswald on the stairway nor remarked of hearing footsteps.

Did Oswald indeed fire the fatal shots, then stop to rearrange his box supports, then race to the opposite end of the Depository's sixth floor where he reportedly stashed his rifle, then race silently down five flights of stairs to be discovered calmly standing by a soft drink machine by Baker and Truly less than two minutes later? Or was it someone else who fired, then arranged a "sniper's nest" before quietly slipping out the rear of the Depository about the time Oswald was encountering Baker and

Truly?

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Also on the steps of the Depository was Joe R. Molina, the company's credit manager. Like most everyone else, Molina thought the shots came from west of the building. In 1964, Molina specifically asked to testify to the Warren Commission because of what happened to him after the assassination. Molina said about 1:30 a.m. on the Saturday following the assassination, he and his family were awakened by Dallas Police, who began searching his home. Molina told the commission:

"...they were looking for something...they sort of wanted to tie me up with this case in some way or another and they thought that I was implicated."

He said he was questioned about his membership in G. I. Forum, a predominately Hispanic group actively working to help veterans, and was told to report to Dallas Police headquarters later that day. Molina was kept waiting at the police station most of the day, then learned that his name had been given to the news media by Chief Curry, who described Molina as someone associated with "persons of subversive background." Unable to get a retraction from the Dallas Police, Molina asked to testify to the Warren Commission in an attempt to clear his name. But the damage had already been done.

On December 13, 21 days after the assassination, Molina was told that the Depository's credit system was to be automated and that he was to be replaced. He said the action came as no real surprise because the company had been receiving hate mail and phone calls accusing it of hiring communists. Despite assurances from Depository officials that Molina's firing was not connected to the events of the assassination, it appears obvious that Joe Molina too became one of its victims.

Many Depository employees went outside to view the motorcade. Most of them signed reports to the FBI during March 1964. Oddly, the reports all begin to sound alike in that the agents apparently never asked critical questions such as "Where did shots come from?", "How many shots?" or "Did you see the effect of any shot?" As the evidence quickly piled up against Oswald and the Depository became the center of the investigation, the authorities, news media and public soon forgot the initial focus of attention in Dealey Plaza - the Triple Underpass.

Crossfire: The Triple Underpass

"I saw something hit the pavement to the left rear of the car."
Assassination witness Royce G. Skelton

On the west side of Dealey Plaza is a large railroad bridge which spans the three main downtown Dallas traffic arteries of Commerce, Main and Elm Streets. Since all three streets converge under this concrete bridge, it quickly became known as the Triple Underpass. To the east of the Underpass is Dealey Plaza and downtown Dallas, while on the west are several roads leading to freeway systems and an industrial area. Atop the east side of the Triple Underpass, one has a panoramic view of Dealey Plaza from a position about 15 feet in the air.

This was the position of about a dozen men on November 22, 1963, as they stood along the eastern edge of the underpass to watch the Presidential motorcade approach and pass beneath them. Dallas policeman J. W. Foster was one of two police officers assigned as a security guard atop the Triple Underpass. His orders were to prevent any "unauthorized" personnel from standing on the railroad bridge when Kennedy passed. Foster had allowed some railroad workers, who had been repairing rails, to remain on the underpass after checking their identity. Since the bridge actually was railroad property and it was railway workers who walked over to the eastern banister to view the motorcade, he did not believe they fell into the "unauthorized" category.

He told the Warren Commission he had earlier prevented some people from standing on the bridge - one of these was AP photographer James Altgens (See THE CROWD). Foster said as the motorcade approached he was standing just behind the line of railway workers, about 10 or 11 of them, when he heard what sounded like a large firecracker. He moved up to the concrete railing to get a better view. He said he saw:

"...the President slump over in the car, and his head looked just like it blew up."

From his vantage point - above and directly in front of the car - this trained and experienced police officer may have been one of the best witnesses to what actually happened at the time of the shooting. However, neither in his report of December 4, 1963, nor in his April 9, 1964, testimony to the Warren Commission was he asked to describe in detail what he saw.

Warren Commission lawyer Joseph Ball did ask Foster his opinion as to the source of the shots and Foster replied:

"It came from back in toward the corner of Elm and Houston Streets (the location of the Texas School Book Depository)."

Foster said he ran from the underpass toward the Depository building, where he watched the rear exits until a sergeant came and told him to check out railroad cars in the nearby switching yard. However, Foster said he went instead to the front of the Depository and told a supervisor where he was when shots were fired, then "moved to - down the roadway there, down to see if I could find where any of the shots hit." He was successful. Foster told the commission he "found where one shot had hit the turf..." Foster said he found where a bullet had struck the earth just beside a manhole cover on the south side of Elm Street. Foster remained at this location for a time until the evidence was taken away by an unidentified man (See AFTERMATH IN DALLAS).

The spot where Foster found a tear in the grass was near where witness Jean Hill (See THE CROWD) was standing at the time of the assassination. Shortly after the shooting, she was questioned by Secret Service agents, one of whom asked her if she saw a bullet land in the grass near her feet.

Foster's counterpart on the west side of the Triple Underpass was Officer J.C. White. White said he was approximately in the middle of the underpass when the motorcade passed below, but that he didn't see or hear anything because a "big long freight train" was moving north between him and Dealey Plaza. Oddly, close scrutiny of films and photographs taken that day show no such freight train moving at that time. But if the stories of the two Dallas policemen on top of the underpass seem strangely incomplete and sketchy, this was not the case of the railroad workers standing over the motorcade.

These workers not only heard shots from their left, the direction of the infamous Grassy Knoll, but also saw smoke drift out from under the trees lining the knoll.

Crossfire: Smoke from the Grassy Knoll

Sam M. Holland, a track and signal supervisor for the Union Terminal Railroad Company, told the Warren Commission he went to the top of the Triple Underpass about 11:45 a.m. that day. He said there were two Dallas policemen and "...a plainclothes detective, or FBI agent or something like that..." there and that he assisted in identifying the railroad employees. He said by the time the motorcade arrived, other people were lining the Triple Underpass, but that the police were checking identification and sending them away.

By the time the Presidential limousine was approaching the underpass, Holland was standing just in front of Officer Foster. He told the commission:

"And the motorcade was coming down in this fashion, and the President was waving to the people on this (north) side (of Elm)...the first report that I heard...was pretty loud...and the car traveled a few yards and Governor Connally turned in this fashion, like that, with his hand out and...another report rang out and he slumped down in his seat...(then Kennedy) was hit again along...in here....I observed it. It knocked him completely down on the floor...just slumped completely over...I heard a third report and I counted four shots...There was a shot, a report. I don't know whether it was a shot. I can't say that. And a puff of smoke came out about six or eight feet above the ground right out from under those trees."

Holland said the first two or three shots seemed to come from "the upper part of the street," followed by others of "different sounds, different reports." In a 1966 filmed interview, Holland was even more specific:

"I looked over to where I thought the shot came from and I saw a puff of smoke still lingering under the trees in front of the wooden fence. The report sounded like it came from behind the wooden fence....I know where the third shot came from - behind the picket fence. There's no doubt whatsoever in my mind."

Due to Holland's credibility and clear description of what he saw, the Warren Commission Report accurately stated:

"According to S.M. Holland, there were four shots which sounded as though they came from the trees on the north side of Elm Street where he saw a puff of smoke."

Having mentioned the smoke in the trees, the Report went on to conclude:

"In contrast to the testimony of the witnesses who heard and observed shots fired from the Depository, the Commission's investigation has disclosed no credible evidence that any shots were fired from anywhere else."

The clear implication by the Warren Report is that Holland was mistaken in believing shots came from behind the wooden picket fence. However, the testimony of the other railroad workers on the Triple Underpass - none of whom were asked to give testimony to the Warren Commission - corroborated Holland's version of the assassination. The only account of what they saw is in FBI reports made during March 1964. These reports are sketchy and seem very incomplete in view of the questions that these men should have been asked.

James L. Simmons, a Union Terminal car inspector, was in the group on the Triple Underpass. In his FBI report, it merely states:

"...when the President's car started down Elm Street he heard three shots ring out. President Kennedy slumped down in his seat and appeared to have been hit by a bullet....Simmons said he thought he saw exhaust fumes of smoke near the embankment in front of the Texas School Book Depository building."

During a 1966 filmed interview, Simmons' account is much clearer:

"As the President's limousine rounded the curve on Elm Street, there was a loud explosion...It sounded like it came from the left and in front of us, towards the wooden fence. And there was a puff of smoke that came from underneath the trees on the embankment directly in front of the wooden fence....I was talking to Patrolman Foster at the time and as soon as we heard the shots, we ran around to (behind) the picket fence...There was no one there but there were footprints in the mud around the fence and footprints on the two-by-four railing on the fence..."

Railroad workers who also saw smoke off to their left included Nolan H. Potter, Richard C. Dodd and Clemon E. Johnson.

In an FBI report, Simmons was quoted as seeing smoke near the Depository in his FBI report, yet

he plainly stated later, it was in front of the Grassy Knoll fence. There is no mention of smoke in Dodd's FBI report, yet in a later filmed interview, he plainly stated:

"Smoke came from behind the hedge on the north side of the plaza."

In 1966 interviews in Dallas, both Walter L. Winborn and Thomas J. Murphy - who were among the railroad workers on the Triple Underpass - both confirmed seeing smoke in the trees on the Grassy Knoll. It would be most interesting to talk to the other people who stood on the Triple Underpass that day. Perhaps, they too saw the smoke but this sighting was left out of their reports, if any report was made.

Further corroboration of the smoke came well into the 1980s, when a frame from TV news film was analyzed by assassination researchers. NBC photographer Dave Weigman was riding in the seventh car in the motorcade. Hearing shots, Weigman started filming even before the firing stopped. He then jumped out of the convertible and ran up the Grassy Knoll with his camera still operating. Because of all this motion, his blurred and jerky film was overlooked as assassination evidence until recently. However, in one clear frame, which depicts the Presidential limousine just entering the Triple Underpass, a puff of smoke is clearly visible hanging in front of trees on the knoll - exactly where Holland and the other railroad workers claimed to have seen it.

It has been well established that there was no other natural source of smoke in that area that day, although the FBI reports attempted to show that it may have come from police motorcycles although none were on the knoll at the time. Warren Commission apologists for years have tried to argue that modern rifles do not smoke. This is an error, since a recently-oiled rifle or deficient ammunition certainly can cause white smoke during firing. This was made clear to this author in the summer of 1978 when the House Select Committee on Assassinations fired rifles in Dealey Plaza in connection with their acoustical studies. Visible puffs of smoke were common. And considering the slightly-gusting breeze from the north that day, the idea that smoke drifted over Elm Street from the knoll is most plausible. It is now obvious that many people that day saw this puff of smoke drifting down from the knoll - also recall those witnesses who said they smelled gunpowder in the lower end of Dealey Plaza. However, it is equally obvious that the authorities, particularly the FBI and the Warren Commission, did not want to hear about it.

Sam Holland also was supported in his testimony that shots came from the knoll by fellow railroad workers Richard Dodd, James Simmons and Thomas J. Murphy. Another railroad worker, Royce G. Skelton, supported the statements of Sheriff Decker and others who saw one of the first bullets strike the pavement near Kennedy's car.

In an affidavit signed the day of the assassination, Skelton stated:

"I was standing on top of the train trestle where it crosses Elm Street with Austin Miller. We saw the motorcade come around the corner and I heard something which I thought was fireworks. I saw something hit the pavement at the left rear of the (President's) car, then the car got in the right-hand lane and I heard two more shots. I heard a woman (say) "Oh no" or something and grab a man inside the car. I then heard another shot and saw the bullet hit the pavement. The concrete was knocked to the south away from the car. It hit the pavement in the left or center lane..."

Austin Miller, standing next to Skelton on the Triple Underpass, also mentioned this errant bullet in his affidavit that day. Miller stated:

"...I saw a convertible automobile turn west on Elm off Houston Street. It had (proceeded) about halfway from Houston Street to the Underpass when I heard what sounded like a shot (then in) a short second two more sharp reports...One shot apparently hit the street past the car. I saw something which I thought was smoke or steam coming from a group of trees north of Elm off the railroad tracks."

Dallas Policeman Earle Brown was standing on the catwalk of a railroad bridge crossing over Stemmons Freeway located just north of the Triple Underpass. Because of his location, Brown said he was unable to get a clear view of the motorcade. He told the Warren Commission:

"...actually, the first I noticed the car was when it stopped....after it made the turn (onto Elm Street) and when the shots were fired, it stopped."

Commission Attorney Joseph Ball asked, "Did it come to a complete stop?"

Brown replied:

"That I couldn't swear to."

"It appeared to be slowed down some," offered Ball, encouraging a subtle change in Brown's

testimony. Brown responded:

"Yes, it slowed down."

Brown said the first indication to him that something was wrong was when a large flock of pigeons suddenly flew up from a grassy low area between him and the Underpass. he said:

"...they heard the shots before we did because I saw them flying up...then I heard these shots and then I smelled this gunpowder...It come on...maybe a couple of minutes later."

Brown said the gunpowder smell seemed to come from the direction of the Depository. However, the Grassy Knoll was almost in a direct line between the officer and the Depository.

But the one assassination witness who single-handedly caused more concern within the 1963-64 federal investigation than anyone else was Jim Tague, who was the third man wounded in Dealey Plaza on November 22, 1963.

Crossfire: The Third Wounded Man

James Thomas Tague, like Jean Hill and Mary Moorman, was not planning to see President Kennedy. Shortly after noon that day, he had driven downtown to take a girlfriend (later his wife) to lunch. As Tague drove his car east on Commerce Street, he found himself stopped in the traffic which was halted at Houston Street due to the arrival of the Presidential motorcade. The hood of his car was just poking out the east side of the Triple Underpass. Tague got out of his car and stood by the underpass on a small concrete median separating Commerce and Main to watch the motorcade.

In an interview with this author, Tague said when the shots were fired, he immediately thought, "Who's the nut throwing firecrackers?" However, after hearing more shots, he realized what was happening and ducked behind the corner of the underpass. He said the shots were coming from the area of the Grassy Knoll "behind the concrete monument".

Tague was watching a policeman run up the Grassy Knoll with a drawn pistol when another policeman came up to him asking, "What happened?" "I don't know," mumbled the shocked Tague.

Dallas motorcycle patrolman Clyde A. Haygood had been riding back in the motorcade on Main Street approaching Main when he heard a shot, then a pause followed by two shots close together. He gunned his three-wheeled motorcycle on up Houston and turned on Elm in time to see people pointing toward the Grassy Knoll and the railroad yards. Haygood said he got off his cycle on Elm Street just below the Grassy Knoll and went up into the railroad yards but saw nothing suspicious despite quite a number people in the area. He said he returned to his motorcycle after speaking to a man he believed to be a railroad detective. Haygood told the Warren Commission:

"At that time some people came up and started talking to me as to the shooting...one came up...and said he had gotten hit by a piece of concrete or something, and he did have a slight cut on his right cheek, upper portion of his cheek just to the right of his nose."

Haygood said just then another witness came up and told him the first shot had come from the Texas School Book Depository. Using the call number 142, Haygood radioed the police dispatcher and asked that the Depository be sealed off. He also mentioned a man who had been wounded by flying concrete.

Tague and the policeman walked into the plaza a bit and encountered a man, who was sobbing, "His head exploded!" This man apparently was Charles Brehm (See THE CROWD).

Moments later Deputy Sheriff Eddy Walthers arrived and, pointing to Tague, said, "You've got blood on your face." In his report that day, Walthers, who was standing with the other deputies in front of the Sheriff's Office, stated:

"...I immediately went to the Triple Underpass on Elm Street in an effort to locate possible marks left by stray bullets. While I was looking for possible marks, some unknown person stated to me that something had hit his face while he was parked on Main Street...Upon examining the curb and pavement in this vicinity I found where a bullet had splattered on the top edge of the curb on Main Street...Due to the fact that the projectile struck so near the underpass, it was, in my opinion, probably the last shot that was fired and had apparently went high and above the President's car."

Tague said he called the Dallas FBI office later that afternoon, to tell them about the bullet striking the curb, but "they didn't want my testimony about the stray bullet."

Apparently, no one else wanted to hear about the extraneous bullet either. There was no mention of the incident in the news accounts at the time nor was there any investigation of the bullet mark on the curb until the summer of 1964.

During late 1963 and early 1964, it was widely reported that the first shot struck Kennedy in the back, the second shot hit Governor Connally and the third was the fatal head shot. This was a consistent theory of three bullets. Tague's story of yet another bullet was totally inconsistent with the lone assassin three shot theory being formulated by the Warren Commission, who initially appears to have been prepared to ignore both Tague and the bullet mark on the curb.

In fact, there may have been an effort to eliminate the evidence. In late May 1964, about a month before the Warren Commission finally talked to Tague, the car salesman took a camera to Dealey Plaza to photograph the mark on the curb. He was surprised to find that it was not there. Only faint traces of the bullet mark were found. Tague said it looked as if someone had tried to repair the curb.

Apparently it was a letter from an assistant U.S. attorney in Dallas which finally prompted the Warren Commission to confront the Tague wounding. Martha Jo Stroud mailed a letter to Commission General

Counsel J. Lee Rankin on June 9, 1964. In the letter was the comment:

"I am enclosing a photograph made by Tom Dillard of the Dallas Morning News. It is a shot of the curb which was taken shortly after the assassination on November 22, 1963. When I talked to Mr. Dillard yesterday he indicated he did not know whether the photograph was material. He did say, however, that he examined the curb when the photo was taken and that it looked like a piece of lead had struck it."

Faced with this official notification of the curb shot, the Commission was stirred to action. On July 7, 1964, the Warren Commission asked the FBI to look into the matter. In an FBI document dated July 17, the FBI stated:

"The area on the curb (where the bullet or fragment hit) was carefully checked and it was ascertained there was no nick in the curb in the checked area, nor was any mark observed."

The disappearance of a mark which had been plainly seen eight months earlier was explained in this document:

"It should be noted that, since this mark was observed on November 22, 1963, there have been numerous rains, which could have possibly washed away such a mark and also that the area is cleaned by a street cleaning machine about once a week, which could also wash away any such mark."

But if the FBI could ignore the mark, the Commission could not. Since both a Dallas policeman and a sheriff's deputy had mentioned Tague in their reports, although not by name, and after the arrival of Stroud's letter, his story could no longer be ignored.

On July 23, 1964, Tague finally was deposed in Dallas by Commission Attorney Wesley Liebeler. Following Tague's testimony, the Commission again asked the Bureau to investigate the matter. This time the FBI removed the piece of curb in question and took it to Washington for analysis. In an August 12, 1964, report signed by J. Edgar Hoover, it was stated:

"Small foreign metal smears were found adhering to the curbing section within the area of the mark. These metal smears were spectrographically determined to be essentially lead with a trace of antimony. No copper was found. The lead could have originated from the lead core of a mutilated metal-jacketed bullet such as the type of bullet loaded into 6.5 millimeter Mannlicher-Carcano cartridges or from some other source having the same composition...The absence of copper precludes the possibility that the mark on the curbing section was made by an unjacketed military-type full metal-jacketed bullet...Further, the damage to the curbing would have been much more extensive if a rifle bullet had struck the curbing without first having struck some other object. Therefore, this mark could not have been made by the first impact of a high velocity bullet."

So the FBI, which at first had stated no bullet hit the curb now said the mark had to have been made by a rifle bullet.

If the FBI is correct - and keep in mind the many instances of misinformation and omission by the Bureau regarding assassination evidence - the mark on the curb could only have been made by the lead fragment of a bullet. Yet the only one which could have lost such an amount of lead is the final head shot and that was at a location more than 270 feet away, a considerable distance for a small fragment to travel and still impact the curb as described. If the bullet mark on the curb was a miss, it was an incredible miss. If the shot which struck the Main Street curb came from the Texas School Book Depository's sixth floor, it must have missed Kennedy by 33 feet in the air and 21 feet to the right. Such a miss is hardly compatible with the claim that Oswald was able to hit home with two out of three shots from his inefficient rifle aiming at a target moving laterally and away from him at about 200 yards.

Another possibility, never considered by the Warren Commission, was that the mark was made by a lead bullet without copper jacketing. But of course, this would indicate different ammunition and perhaps a different rifle than the one allegedly used by Oswald. Or perhaps the curb was hit by a large fragment of bullet which had already struck the street (recall the witnesses who saw one do just that) and had separated from the copper jacket.

Whatever the truth of the curb bullet and despite the attempt to ignore this evidence, the matter of the wounding of Tague was finally acknowledged and the Warren Commission was compelled to construct a scenario of the assassination which included the "Single-Bullet Theory" (See THE WARREN COMMISSION), a theory which has not been accepted by a majority of Americans.

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Despite immediate attempts to establish the Texas School Book Depository as the sole location from which shots were fired, public attention, both in 1963 and even today, continued to be drawn to the wooded area to the west of the Depository which has become known as the Grassy Knoll.

Crossfire: The Grassy Knoll

"(Policemen were) running right behind me...in the line of the shooting."

Assassination witness Abraham Zapruder

Probably no small section of land in the United States has been the object of more controversy than that small portion of Dealey Plaza known as the Grassy Knoll.

While Elm Street and two large grassy areas of Dealey Plaza dip down approximately 24 feet as one travels the 495 feet from Houston Street on the east, the Grassy Knoll remains at ground level. There actually are two grassy knolls on both the north and south sides of the west end of the plaza, but during the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, it was the north knoll which drew public attention.

Located between the Texas School Book Depository and the Triple Underpass, the Grassy Knoll provided an ideal ambush site. Running along the top of the knoll was a wooden picket fence about five feet high. In front of this fence were shrubs and evergreen trees which, even in late November, provided a leafy canopy over the fence. The fence ran east approximately 75 feet from the north edge of the Triple Underpass, then turned north for about 50 feet, ending in a parking area behind a concrete pergola located to the west of the Depository.

It was from a vantage point atop a low concrete wall on the south end of this pergola that the most famous home movie of all time was made - the Abraham Zapruder film.

Crossfire: The Zapruder Film

A 22-second, 8mm film made on November 22, 1963, became the cornerstone of investigations, both public and private, in the years after the Kennedy assassination. It has been regarded as the most objective, and thus most important, piece of evidence in the attempts to unravel what actually happened to President Kennedy. And it almost didn't happen. Abraham Zapruder, a ladies dress manufacturer with offices at 501 Elm Street in downtown Dallas near Jack Ruby's nightclub, had not intended to film that day. What with his work and the morning rains, Zapruder thought "I wouldn't have a chance even to see the President." But his secretary, Lillian Rogers, urged him to make use of his new camera - a Bell & Howell 8mm camera with a telephoto lens. So Zapruder made a 14-mile round-trip drive to his home to retrieve his camera. By the time he returned, crowds were already gathering to watch the motorcade. After trying several different locations - none of which proved suitable for viewing the President without obstructions - Zapruder finally climbed onto a 4-foot-high concrete block at the end of two steps leading to the pergola on the Grassy Knoll. He almost lost his balance while testing his camera on some nearby office workers, so he asked one of the group, his receptionist Marilyn Sitzman, to join him and provide steady support. From this excellent vantage spot, Zapruder and Sitzman watched the motorcade approach Elm Street. Having set the camera's speed control on "run" and his lens on "telephoto," Zapruder proceeded to film the entire assassination sequence.

The film must be seen run in its entirety for a viewer to actually receive its maximum impact. But, in synopsis, the film shows:

"The motorcade curves onto Elm and begins moving slowly toward the camera. President Kennedy and his wife are smiling and waving to opposite sides of the street. Then the presidential limousine disappears for a brief second behind a freeway sign and when it emerges, Kennedy is already reacting to a shot. He clenches his fists and brings both up to his throat. He does not appear to say anything, but only remains stiff and upright, sagging slightly to his left. Connally turns to his right, apparently trying to see behind him, then begins to turn back to his left when he freezes. His hair flies up and his mouth opens. He is obviously struck by a bullet. Mrs. Kennedy meanwhile has placed her hand on her husband's arm and is looking at him horrified as he continues to sag toward her. Seconds go by and, by now, Kennedy is bent slightly forward. Suddenly, after an almost imperceptible forward motion of his head, the entire right side of his skull explodes in a halo of blood and brain matter. Kennedy is slammed violently backwards to the left rear where he rebounds off the back of the seat and falls toward the car's floor. Mrs. Kennedy climbs onto the trunk of the limousine in an effort to grab something while a Secret Service agent leaps onto the rear of the car, which finally begins to accelerate."

On July 22, 1964, Zapruder told the Warren Commission:

"I heard the first shot and I saw the President lean over and grab himself like this (holding his left chest area)."

His testimony is very pertinent because the Warren Commission, in its attempt to prove a lone assassin fired from the sixth floor of the Depository, stated:

"...the evidence indicated that the President was not hit until at least frame 210 and that he was probably hit by frame 225. The possibility of variations in reaction time in addition to the obstruction of Zapruder's view by the sign precluded a more specific determination than that the President was probably shot through the neck between frames 210 and 225."

By placing the moment of the first shot at the point where Kennedy was out of Zapruder's sight behind the sign, the commission moved the shot closer to the visual effect of a strike on Connally, buttressing the "Single Bullet" theory. By moving the time of the shot forward, the Commission also abolished the worrisome problem of how an assassin in the sixth-floor window could have accurately fired through obscuring tree branches.

The problem with the Commission's scenario of a hit between frames 210 and 225, of course, is that Zapruder claims he saw Kennedy react to the first shot, which had to have happened before he disappeared from camera view.

Zapruder went on to tell the Commission that following the shooting, he saw some motorcycle policemen "running right behind me...in the line of the shooting." He said:

"I guess they thought it came from right behind me."

When asked where he thought the shots came from, Zapruder replied:

"...I also thought it came from back of me."

In fact, during his testimony, Zapruder indicates on four separate occasions that he thought shots came from behind him in the direction of the picket fence on the Grassy Knoll. But then Commission Attorney Wesley J. Liebeler asked Zapruder, "But you didn't form any opinion at that time as to what direction the shots did come from actually?" Zapruder - who by this time was fully familiar with the public position that Oswald had fired three shots from the Depository -replied, "No."

Zapruder, who was very shaken by the assassination, noted that there was considerable reverberation in Dealey Plaza at the time. He said he did not remember jumping down from the cement block and crouching for cover inside the white pergola with Sitzman (as determined by photographs taken at the time) nor going back to his office. He only recalled walking back up Elm Street in a daze, yelling:

"They shot him, they shot him, they shot him."

His secretary called authorities and soon men came to take his film for processing. By Monday, November 25, Zapruder's film had been sold to "Life" magazine. In charge of the sale was "Life's" Publisher C.D. Jackson, who later claimed he was so horrified by the film that he wanted to lock it away. However, in later years, Jackson was shown to have been closely associated with CIA officials. In one instance, when former CIA director Walter Bedell Smith wanted prominent Americans as members of the shadowy and elitist Bilderberger organization, he said he "turned the matter over to C.D. Jackson and things really got going."

Asked about this sale by Liebeler, Zapruder said:

"Well, I just wonder whether I should answer it or not because it involves a lot of things and it's not one price - it's a question of how they are going to use it, are they going to use it or are they not going to use it..."

He finally said:

"I received \$25,000, as you know, and I have given that to the Firemen's and Policemen's Benevolence with a suggestion (to use the money) for Mrs. Tippit (The Dallas policeman slain the afternoon of the assassination - See AFTERMATH)."

Later in his testimony, Zapruder told of giving his camera to Bell & Howell for its archives. He said, in return, he asked the company to donate a sound projector to the "Golden Age Group". He told Liebeler:

"I didn't want anything for myself....I don't like to talk about it too much."

Like so much of the Warren Commission testimony, Zapruder's statement was less than truthful. A copy of his contract with "Life" reveals that his 18-second film brought him more than \$150,000. Why so much for one film? Perhaps it has something to do with the fact that no member of the American public saw the Zapruder film run as a movie while it was in the sole possession of Time-Life Corp.

While few, if any, of the Warren Commission members viewed the film, single frames from this important piece of evidence were printed in Volume XVIII. But an odd thing happened. No one who has viewed the Zapruder film has been unaffected by the final, gory head shot followed instantaneously by Kennedy's violent fall rearward. Most researchers consider this moment in the film as obvious evidence of a shot from Kennedy's right front (the area of the Grassy Knoll).

Yet when published by the Warren Commission, the critical frames which depict the rearward motion of Kennedy's head were transposed to indicate a forward motion. In 1965 FBI director J. Edgar Hoover explained this reversing of the Zapruder frames as a "printing error".

Further twisting of what was depicted in the film came soon after the assassination. In its December 6, 1963, issue, "Life" magazine reported the fact that the Dallas doctors regarded a small wound in Kennedy's throat as an entrance wound, a real problem considering that the Texas School Book Depository was to his rear at all times. So a "Life" writer simply threw out the explanation:

"But (Zapruder's) 8mm film shows the President turning his body far around to the right as he waves to someone in the crowd. His throat is exposed - toward the sniper's nest - just before he clutches it."

This account is patently wrong, as anyone who has seen the film can verify. The reason for such wrongful information at such a critical time will probably never be known, as the author of this statement, Paul Mandel, died shortly afterward (See CONVENIENT DEATHS).

Then there is the story of Dan Rather, which has been known to assassination researchers for years. Rather, then a CBS newsman, was the only newsman present at a private screening of the Zapruder film the day after the assassination. He described what was in the film over nationwide radio

and was fairly accurate until he described the fatal head shot. Rather stated Kennedy's head "went forward with considerable violence," the exact opposite of what is in the film. Several months later, Rather was promoted to White House correspondent for CBS and by the 1980s, he was chief news anchorman.

Another questionable statement by Rather involves his location at the time of the assassination. In his book, "The Camera Never Blinks," Rather wrote how he was waiting to pick up news film from CBS cameramen in the Presidential motorcade. He wrote he was standing on the west side of the Triple Underpass and missed witnessing the assassination by only a few yards.

However, recently discovered film footage of the west side of the underpass has now become public. This film plus some still photographs show the Kennedy limousine speeding through the underpass and on to Stemmons Freeway - but no sign of Dan Rather.

The American public finally got the opportunity to view the Zapruder film only because of the Clay Shaw trial in New Orleans during 1967-69. During that turbulent trial (See THE GARRISON INVESTIGATION), New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison attempted to prove there was a conspiracy to kill President Kennedy and that New Orleans Trade Mart director Clay Shaw was a member of that conspiracy.

As part of Garrison's attempt to prove the existence of a conspiracy, he subpoenaed the Zapruder film from Time-Life Corp. Time-Life fought this subpoena all the way to the Supreme Court, which finally ruled that the corporation had to comply with the legal subpoena. Time-Life grudgingly turned over to Garrison a somewhat blurry, copy of the film - but that was enough. Soon, thanks to the copying efforts of Garrison's staff, bootleg Zapruder films were in the hands of several assassination researchers. Finally in March 1975, a copy of the film was aired nationally about midnight on ABC's "Goodnight America". At long last, the American public was able to see for themselves the assassination of their 35th President.

Within a few years clearer copies of the Zapruder film became available to the public. From the beginning, researchers have used the Zapruder film as the cornerstone of assassination evidence - a virtual time clock of the events in Dealey Plaza based on the known average camera speed of 18.3 frames per second. However, today the Zapruder film itself has been called into question.

In 1971, author David Lifton was permitted to view an exceptionally good quality copy of the Zapruder in Time-Life Los Angeles office. He said the rear of Kennedy's head in the critical moments following the head shot appeared to have been "blackened out" and he discovered "splices on the film which had never been mentioned by Time-Life."

His suspicion that the film may have been tampered with by persons with access to sophisticated photographic equipment was heightened in 1976 with the release of CIA item 450. This group of documents, pried from the Agency by a Freedom of Information suit, indicated the Zapruder film was at the CIA's National Photo Interpretation Center (NPIC) possibly on the night of the assassination and "certainly within days of the assassination". One of the documents tells of the existence of either a negative or a master positive of the film and calls for the production of four prints - one "test print" and three duplicates. Interestingly, this number of prints is exactly what existed in Dallas the day after the assassination - one original and three copies.

Lifton wrote:

"In my view, previously unreported CIA possession of the Zapruder film compromised the film's value as evidence: (1) the forward motion of Kennedy's head, for one frame preceding frame 313 might be the result of an altered film, and if that was so, it made the theory of a forward high-angle shot...completely unnecessary; (2) an altered film might also explain why the occipital area (of Kennedy's head), where the Dallas doctors saw a wound, appears suspiciously dark, whereas a large wound appears on the forward, right-hand side of the head, where the Dallas doctors saw no wound at all."

Photographic analyst and researcher Jack White concurs with Lifton, stating he detected evidence of photographic retouching in some Zapruder frames.

If the CIA indeed tampered with the Zapruder film after the assassination, this piece of evidence - long considered one of the best pieces of evidence - becomes less credible. And like so much else in the assassination case, it is the suppression and deception involved with the Zapruder film which may eventually reveal more than the film itself.

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Just down the slope of the Grassy Knoll from Zapruder was the Bill Newman family. They not only noticed Zapruder with his camera, but in later years, Newman told this author:

"At first I thought he shot the President."

Bill and Gayle Newman, along with their two young sons, had gone to Love Field to see Kennedy. But when they didn't get a good view, they rushed downtown and situated themselves on Elm Street just below the concrete cupola.

Newman recalled for this author:

"We hadn't been there five minutes when the President turned onto Elm Street. As he was coming straight toward us there was a boom, boom, real close together. I thought someone was throwing firecrackers. He got this bewildered look on his face and was sort of slowing moving back and forth. Then he got nearer to us and, bam, a shot took the right side of his head off. His ear flew off. I heard Mrs. Kennedy say, "Oh, my God, no, they shot Jack!" He was knocked violently back against the seat, almost as if he had been hit by a baseball bat. At that time I was looking right at the President and I thought the shots were coming from directly behind us. I said, "That's it! Get on the ground!" The car momentarily stopped and the driver seemed to have a radio or phone up to his ear and he seemed to be waiting on some word. Some Secret Service men reached into their car and came out with some sort of machine-gun. Then the cars roared off. Very soon after this a man asked us what happened and we told him and he took us to Channel 8 (WFAA-TV) studios."

Newman said some sheriff's deputies were waiting for them after the TV interview and took them to the Sheriff's office where they joined other Dealey Plaza witnesses, who were held for about six hours.

He said on Sunday, November 24, some FBI agents came to their home and "took down what we said."

That was the last contact the Newmans had with federal authorities. He said:

"I was a little disappointed that I didn't get called to testify to the Warren Commission. Someone told me that the reason I wasn't asked to testify was that I was talking about shots from someplace other than the Depository building....I've already been corrected several times that I was wrong about several things and that there are experts who know more about it than I do. But it's real hard for me to believe that it was the act of one lone individual. I've gotten the feeling over the years that people in Washington know what really happened but it's never been divulged. But then I have no evidence to that."

Near the Newmans was Cheryl McKinnon, who later became a reporter for the "San Diego Star News."

In 1983, she wrote of her experience:

"On Nov. 22, 1963, I stood, along with hundreds of others, on the Grassy Knoll in Dealey Plaza, waiting for just one thing - a chance to see, even just for a moment, that magical person, the President, John F. Kennedy....As a journalism major in school, my plans were to write about my experiences as a class project....As we stood watching the motorcade turn onto Elm Street, I tried to grasp every tiny detail of both President Kennedy and Mrs. Kennedy. "How happy they look," I thought. Suddenly three shots in rapid succession rang out. Myself and dozens of others standing nearby turned in horror toward the back of the Grassy Knoll where it seemed the sounds had originated. Puffs of white smoke still hung in the air in small patches. But no one was visible....I tried to maintain the faith with my Government. I have read the Warren Commission Report in its entirety and dozens of other books as well. I am sorry to say that the only thing I am absolutely sure of today is that at least two of the shots fired that day in Dealey Plaza came from behind where I stood on the Knoll, not from the book Depository....I have never quite had the same faith and trust in those that lead us as I did before."

Sitting on the steps leading to the top of the Grassy Knoll at the time of the assassination was Emmet J. Hudson, one of the grounds keepers of Dealey Plaza. With Hudson were two other men, neither apparently were ever identified by the federal investigations. In his Warren Commission

testimony, Hudson recalled:

"Well, there was a young fellow, oh, I would judge his age about in his late twenties. He said he had been looking for a place to park...he finally (had) just taken a place over there in one of them parking lots, and he came on down there and said he worked over there on Industrial and me and him both just sat down there on those steps. When the motorcade turned off of Houston onto Elm, we got up and stood up, me and him both....and so the first shot rung out and, of course, I didn't realize it was a shot...the motorcade had done got further on down Elm...I happened to be looking right at him when that bullet hit him - the second shot....it looked like it hit him somewhere along about a little bit behind the ear and a little above the ear (on the right-hand side of his head)...this young fellow that was...standing there with me...he says, "Lay down, mister, somebody is shooting the President."...he kept on repeating, "Lay down", so he was already laying down one way on the sidewalk, so I just laid down over on the ground and resting my arm on the ground...when that third shot rung out...you could tell the shot was coming from above and kind of behind."

In his testimony, Hudson plainly tried to tell Commission attorney Liebeler that the shots came "from above and kind of behind" him, the location of the picket fence on the Grassy Knoll. Liebeler led Hudson, saying:

"And that would fit in with the Texas School Book Depository, wouldn't it?"

"Yes," replied an agreeable Hudson.

Liebeler then asked Hudson if he saw anyone standing in the area with a rifle "...on the grassy spot up there near where you were standing or on the overpass or any place else?"

Hudson replied:

"I never seen anyone with a gun up there except the patrols."

"The policemen?", asked Liebeler.

"Yes, sir," said Hudson.

In an affidavit signed the day of the assassination, Hudson was even more specific as to where shots came from. He stated:

"The shots that I heard definitely came from behind and above me."

Sitting near the mid-way point of the steps leading to the top of the Grassy Knoll, a location "behind and above" would be the exact position of the easternmost leg of the wooden picket fence.

Hudson said he did not know the young man who sat with him and, apparently, the federal authorities were never able to locate him. The third man appears behind Hudson in photographs taken in the seconds during which the head shot occurs. He too has been unidentified but, perhaps, is the explanation for one of the enduring assassination mysteries.

Crossfire: The Black Dog Man

In at least two photographs taken during the assassination by separate photographers, a human figure is visible behind a low retaining wall to the south of the Grassy Knoll pergola behind Zapruder's position. In photos made seconds later, this figure has disappeared, leading many assassination researchers to suspect that this figure may have been an assassin. This suspicion was heightened when the House Select Committee on Assassinations had photographs of the figure computer enhanced and concluded that it indeed was the figure of a person, who appeared to be holding a long object.

With no known identity, this person was dubbed "the black dog man" by researchers and committee staffers because in a photo taken by Phil Willis the figure resembles a black dog sitting on its haunches atop the wall. Closer examination of the photos, however, indicates the figure is most likely farther back from the retaining wall. And this may provide a partial answer to the figure's identity.

In photos of the assassination, a third man can be seen joining Hudson and his companion on the steps of the Grassy Knoll just as the Presidential limousine arrives opposite them on Elm Street. Within scant seconds of the fatal head shot, the third man lifts his left foot and within seconds has disappeared back up the steps.

"Life" magazine, in its November 24, 1967, issue, displays the photographs of Hugh Betzner and Phil Willis (See THE CROWD) and comments:

"A dark shape is seen in both pictures on the slope - which has become famous as the "grassy knoll" - to the left of the Stemmons Freeway sign and half hidden by a concrete wall. By photogrammetry Itek has verified it as the figure of a man.

Previously published photographs, taken at the moment of the fatal head shot, show that by then he had joined two men seen in Willis' picture standing behind a lamppost at left. There is no evidence to indicate he was anything more than an onlooker."

So the riddle of the "black dog man" appeared solved. It was the figure of a man seen from waist up as he stood or walked on the sidewalk behind the retaining wall approaching the top of the steps. Yet today many assassination researchers still deny it was the man who joined Hudson.

Seconds later - as determined in photographs - the unidentified man joined Hudson and companion, who were apparently unaware of the man behind them, then turned and ran back up the steps immediately after the head shot

However, this explanation does not exonerate the third man as simply an "onlooker".

Who was he? Where did he come from? What did he see both before and after he joined the two men on the steps? And, why did he turn and race back up the steps (he was gone within seconds) at a time when everyone else in Dealey Plaza was stationary with shock?

The federal investigations could provide no answers to these questions, so in the minds of many researchers, the "black dog man" joins "the umbrella man" and the "dark complected man" as one of the more suspicious persons in Dealey Plaza.

Crossfire: The Rush to the Grassy Knoll

Almost immediately after the final shot was fired, many people - including policemen, sheriff's deputies and spectators - began rushing toward the Grassy Knoll.

Dallas motorcycle officer Bobby Hargis (See THE MOTORCADE) thought the shots had come from the Triple Underpass because "...I had got splattered, with blood (and) I was just a little back and left of Mrs. Kennedy, but I didn't know."

Hargis stopped his motorcycle on the south side of Elm and ran up the Grassy Knoll to where the concrete wall of the Triple Underpass connected with the wooden picket fence on the Knoll. Peering over the wall, Hargis looked at the crowd standing on the Underpass. Asked if he saw anything out of the ordinary, Hargis told the Warren Commission:

"No, I didn't. That is what got me."

Hargis returned to his still-running motorcycle and rode through the Triple Underpass. He told the commission:

"...I couldn't see anything that was of a suspicious nature, so I came back to the Texas School Book Depository. At that time it seemed like the activity was centered around the...Depository."

Seymour Weitzman was a college graduate serving as a deputy constable of Dallas County. He had been standing with Deputy Constable Bill Hutton at the corner of Main and Houston when the motorcade passed. The pair had turned to walk to a nearby courthouse when Weitzman heard three shots, "first one, then ...a little period in between...(then) the second two seemed to be simultaneously."

Weitzman told the Warren Commission:

"I immediately ran toward the President's car. Of course, it was speeding away and somebody said the shots or firecrackers...we still didn't know the President was shot...came from the wall. I immediately scaled the wall...apparently, my hands grabbed steam pipes. I burned them. (In the railroad yards behind the picket fence) We noticed numerous kinds of footprints that did not make sense because they were going different directions...(with Weitzman at the time were) other officers, Secret Service as well..."

Behind Weitzman came Dallas policeman Joe M. Smith, who had been handling traffic at the intersection of Elm and Houston in front of the Depository. Smith had helped at the scene of a strange seizure incident minutes before the motorcade arrived (See THE TEXAS SCHOOL BOOK DEPOSITORY) and had returned to his position in the middle of Elm where barricades had been placed to halt traffic. Moments after the President's car passed him, he heard shots, but he couldn't tell from which direction they came. He told the Warren Commission an hysterical woman ran up to him, crying:

"They are shooting the President from the bushes!"

Smith said he immediately went up the short street that branches off of Elm in front of the Depository and entered the parking lot behind the wooden picket fence. He told the commission:

"I looked into all the cars and checked around the bushes. Of course, I wasn't alone. There was some deputy sheriff (Weitzman) with me, and I believe one Secret Service man when I got there. I got to make this statement, too. I felt awfully silly, but after the shot and this woman, (I) pulled my pistol from my holster, and I thought, this is silly, I don't know who I am looking for, and I put it back. Just as I did, he showed me that he was a Secret Service agent...he saw me coming with my pistol and right away he showed me who he was."

In 1978, Smith told author Anthony Summers that "around the hedges (lining the parking lot), there was the smell, the lingering smell of gunpowder."

Smith then moved on toward the Triple Underpass because "it sounded to me like they (shots) may have come from this vicinity here."

In his testimony, Smith said he saw "two other officers there," but it is unclear if he was speaking about behind the fence or the Triple Underpass. After 15 or 20 minutes, Smith said he returned to the front of the Depository where he helped other officers seal the building.

(For some unexplained reason, at the end of his testimony Commission attorney Wesley Liebeler suddenly asked Smith if there was any reason why the Presidential motorcade could not have gone straight down Main Street and turned onto Stemmons Freeway on its way to the Trade Mart. "As far as I know, there is no reason," replied Smith.)

One witness who was in a position to observe the area behind the picket fence was Lee Bowers, a railroad supervisor who was stationed in a tower located just north of the Grassy Knoll. Bowers told a fascinating story of suspicious cars moving in the sealed-off railroad yards minutes before the motorcade arrived and of seeing strange men behind the picket fence. Incredibly, his testimony takes less than six pages of the Warren Commission volumes.

Bowers, an ex-Navy man who had studied religion at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, was working for the Union Terminal Co. controlling the movement of trains in the railroad yards from a tower about 14 feet off the ground. The tower is located about 50 yards northwest of the back of the Texas School Book Depository. A block-long street breaks off from Elm and passes in front of the Depository, ending in a parking lot bordered on the south by the wooden picket fence atop the Grassy Knoll. It was the only paved artery in or out of the parking area.

Bowers told the Warren Commission:

"...the area had been covered by police for some two hours. Since approximately 10 o'clock in the morning (of the assassination), traffic had been cut off into the area so that anyone moving around could actually be observed. Since I had worked there for a number of years, I was familiar with most of the people who came in and out of the area....there were three cars that came in during the time from around noon until the time of the shooting. They came into the vicinity of the tower, which was at the extension of Elm Street...which there is no way out. It is not a through street to anywhere."

Bowers said he noticed the first car about 12:10 p.m. It was a blue and white 1959 Oldsmobile station wagon with out-of-state license plates and some bumper stickers, "one of which was a Goldwater sticker". The station wagon circled in front of the railroad tower "as if he was searching for a way out, or was checking the area, and then proceeded back through the only way he could, the same outlet he came into."

About 12:20 p.m., a black 1957 Ford with Texas license plates came into the area. Inside was "one male...that seemed to have a mike or telephone or something...He was holding something up to his mouth with one hand and he was driving with the other..." Bowers said this car left after three or four minutes driving back in front of the Depository. "He did probe a little further into the area than the first car," Bowers added.

Minutes before the assassination, Bowers said a third car - this one a white 1961 or 1962 Chevrolet four-door Impala - entered the area. Bowers said:

"(It) showed signs of being on the road...It was muddy up to the windows, bore a similar out-of-state license to the first car I observed (and was) also occupied by one white male. He spent a little more time in the area....he circled the area and probed one spot right at the tower...and was forced to back out some considerable distance, and slowly cruised down back towards the front of the School Depository Building....The last I saw of him, he was pausing just about in - just above the assassination site....Whether it continued on...or whether it pulled up only a short distance, I couldn't tell. I was busy."

Bowers said about eight minutes later, he caught sight of the Presidential limousine as it turned onto Elm Street. He stated:

"I heard three shots. One, then a slight pause, then two very close together. Also, reverberation from the shots....The sounds came either from up against the School Depository Building or near the mouth of the Triple Underpass."

Standing directly between Bowers' vantage point and the Triple Underpass, the tower operator said he saw two men, but they "gave no appearance of being together" although they were only 10 or 15 feet from each other.

Bowers described this pair:

"One man, middle-aged, or slightly older, fairly heavy-set, in a white shirt, fairly dark trousers. Another younger man, about mid-twenties, in either a plaid shirt or plaid coat or jacket....They were facing and looking up toward Main and Houston and following the caravan as it came down."

Bowers also saw the railroad employees and the two Dallas policemen standing on the Triple Underpass.

Toward the eastern end of the parking lot, Bowers saw two other men. He said:

"Each had uniforms similar to those custodians at the courthouse."

And speaking of the white Impala again. Bowers said:

"...at the moment of the first shot...the car was out of sight behind this decorative masonry wall in the area....at the moment of the shots...I do not think that it was in sight. It came in sight immediately following the last shot."

Bowers then described what he saw following the shots:

"At the time of the shooting there seemed to be some commotion, and immediately following there was a motorcycle policeman who shot nearly all of the way to the top of the incline....He was part of the motorcade and had left it for some reason, which I did not know....He came up into the area where there are some trees and where I had described the two men were in the general vicinity of this...one of them was (still there). The other one, I could not say. The darker dressed man was too hard to distinguish from the trees. The one in the white shirt, yes, I think he was."

Asked by Commission attorney Joseph Ball to describe the "commotion" which attracted his attention, Bowers said:

"I just am unable to describe rather than it was something out of the ordinary...but something occurred in this particular spot which was out of the ordinary, which attracted my eye for some reason, which I could not identify....Nothing that I could pinpoint as having happened that -"

Ball interrupted. "Afterwards did a good many people come up there on this high ground at the tower?" he asked, before Bowers could tell what caught his attention on the knoll.

In a later filmed interview, Bowers did describe what caught his eye. He stated:

"At the time of the shooting, in the vicinity of where the two men I have described were, there was a flash of light or ...something I could not identify...some unusual occurrence - a flash of light or smoke or something which caused me to feel that something out of the ordinary had occurred there."

Bowers said after the shooting, "a large number of people" converged on the parking lot behind the picket fence, including "between 50 and a hundred policemen within a maximum of five minutes." He added:

"(Police) sealed off the area and I held off the trains until they could be examined, and there were some transients taken (off) at least one train."

One witness who may have encountered one or more of the men Bowers saw behind the picket fence was Gordon Arnold, who never testified to either of the federal panels investigating the assassination.

On the day of the assassination, Arnold was a 22-year-old soldier who had just arrived back in Dallas after Army training. He went downtown to have lunch when he decided to take movies of the President. Parking his car near Bowers' railroad tower, Arnold took his movie camera and walked toward the Triple Underpass. He told this author:

"I was walking along behind this picket fence when a man in a light-colored suit came up to me and said I shouldn't be up there. I was young and cocky and I said, "Why not?" And he showed me a badge and said he was with the Secret Service and that he didn't want anyone up there. I said alright and started walking back along the fence. I could feel that he was following me and we had a few more words. I walked around to the front of the fence and found a little mound of dirt to stand on to see the motorcade....Just after the car turned onto Elm and started toward me, a shot went off from over my left shoulder. I felt the bullet, rather than heard it, and it went right past my left ear...I had just gotten out of basic training. In my mind live ammunition was being fired. It was being fired over my head. And I hit the dirt. I buried my head in the ground and I heard several other shots, but I couldn't see anything because I had my face in the dirt. (His prone position under the trees on the knoll may explain why Arnold did not appear in photographs taken of the knoll at that time.) I heard two shots and then there was a blend. For a single bolt action (rifle), he had to have been firing darn good because I don't think anybody could fire that rapid a bolt action....The next thing I knew, someone was kicking my butt and telling me to get up. It was a policeman. And I told him to go jump in the river. And then this other guy - a policeman - comes up with a gun. I don't recall if it was a shotgun or what. And he was crying and

that thing was waving back and forth. I felt threatened. One of them asked me if I had taken any film and I said yes. He told me to give him my film, so I tossed him my camera. I said you can have everything, just point that gun somewhere else. He opened it, pulled out the film and then threw the camera back to me. All I wanted to do was get out of there. The gun and the guy crying was enough to unnerve me."

Arnold ran straight back to his car and drove out of the parking area unchallenged. Two days later, Arnold reported to duty at Fort Wainwright in Alaska and he did not return for several years. Arnold's presence on the Grassy Knoll has been questioned by some researchers because he doesn't appear in photographs taken that day. His position well under the overhanging trees on the Knoll left him in deep shadow. He was seen, however, by at least one person in the Presidential motorcade. Former Senator Ralph Yarborough, who was riding in the same car as Vice President Johnson (See THE MOTORCADE), confirmed Arnold's position in 1978 when he told "The Dallas Morning News":

"Immediately on the firing of the first shot I saw the man you interviewed (Arnold) throw himself on the ground. He was down within a second of the time the shot was fired and I thought to myself, "There's a combat veteran who knows how to act when weapons start firing."

Arnold, later an investigator for the Dallas Department of Consumer Affairs, did not give his name to authorities and was never questioned by either the Warren Commission or the House Select Committee on Assassinations, although his account of the assassination appeared in the July 27, 1978, edition of "The Dallas Morning News".

Corroboration of Arnold's story may have come in 1982 with discovery of a figure in the background of a snapshot made at the instant of the fatal head shot to President Kennedy by a woman standing on the south curb or Elm Street.

Crossfire: The Badge Man

Mary Moorman took a now well-known Polaroid picture just as President Kennedy was struck in the head (See THE CROWD). She sold her rights to the photo that day to the Associated Press and to United Press International for \$600. The photo was never examined nor printed by the Warren Commission, but was published widely in newspapers and magazines after the assassination.

For years, researchers pored over the Moorman picture looking for evidence of a Grassy Knoll gunman. Despite some tantalizingly blurry objects discovered along the top of the west leg of the picket fence, no credible photo of a gunman was found.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations did study the picture, but found it had badly faded and "was of quite poor quality." However, because of acoustical evidence (See THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ASSASSINATIONS), the committee recommended "...this particular photograph should be re-examined..."

Then, in 1982, Texas researchers Gary Mack and Jack White began studying the Moorman photo in light of the experience of Gordon Arnold. After obtaining a clear slide made from an original, quality copy of Moorman's photo, Mack and White began studying the bushy area east from the corner of the fence. It was here they discovered what appeared to be two figures. Interestingly, the figures appear in the same general area that the House committee's acoustical tests indicated shots were fired, though the sound experts located a shot west of the corner of the fence, while the figures are north of the corner. When blown up, the figures are detectable by untrained observers. One police official even commented that one man seemed to be wearing "shooter's glasses". The main figure has been dubbed the "badge man" because he appears to be wearing a dark shirt with a semi-circular patch on the left shoulder and a bright shiny object on his left chest - the exact configuration of a Dallas police uniform.

Although the "badge man's" hairline, eyes, left ear and jaw are visible, his mouth and neck are obscured by a bright flash - apparently the muzzle blast of a rifle he is holding in the classic rifle-firing position.

After analyzing the photographic blowup as well as making reenactment photos in Dealey Plaza, Mack and White feel the "badge man" and perhaps even a companion are standing behind the wooden, picket fence about 15 feet north from the corner. This places the figure just to the left of Gordon Arnold's position and to the right and rear of Abraham Zapruder.

Mack and White tried unsuccessfully to interest a major news organization in financing a scientific analysis of the "badge man" photo. Finally in 1984, a national tabloid agreed to have the blowup studied. White and a representative from the news magazine flew to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where the photo was subjected to sophisticated computer enhancement. They were told that, without question, the photo showed a man firing a rifle. The next day, however, the chairman of the M.I.T. department involved suddenly gave all materials back to them and, with no explanation, told them the school would no longer participate in any study of the photo. Today, efforts continue to have the photo enlargement further enhanced by sophisticated means.

The "badge man" blowup was included in "The Men Who Killed Kennedy", a British television documentary produced in 1988. In this program, the "badge man" was identified as a professional Corsican assassin named Lucien Sarti (See AGENTS). This documentary, which was nominated for awards in Britain and shown to millions of people around the world, has yet to be aired in the United States.

Whatever the end result of a scientific study of the blowup may be, the collection of supporting evidence indicates that the "badge man" may indeed have been the Grassy Knoll gunman which the majority of witnesses in Dealey Plaza reported on November 22, 1963. The "badge man" fits the following accounts: - Gordon Arnold's story of hearing a shot come from his left rear. - Zapruder's testimony that shots came from his right rear. - Bowers' testimony that he saw a flash of light and smoke near two men wearing uniforms near the east end of the fence. He also saw a man in a white shirt behind the fence moments before Kennedy was shot. - The House Select Committee on Assassinations which placed at least one shot within 10 feet of the fence corner (although on the west leg). - Jean Hill, who said she saw smoke and movement north of the fence corner at the moment of the head shot.

- Sam Holland and others who told of finding muddy footprints, cigarette butts and mud on a car bumper behind the picket fence minutes after the shots were fired.

- Numerous witnesses who ran behind the fence but said they only saw railroad workers and policemen there.

- The testimony of Emmet Hudson, Constable Weitzman and Officer Smith, all of whom saw policemen on the knoll when there were none officially accounted for in that area.

All in all, the photographic blowup of these figures on the knoll may be the most important evidence yet confirming the existence of assassins on the Grassy Knoll.

Amazingly, however, no official Government agency or major news organization seems willing to either make a serious study of the Moorman photo or present it to the general public.

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Further evidence of what went on behind the picket fence at the moment of the assassination can be found in the heretofore untold story of a crucial witness.

Crossfire: A Grassy Knoll Witness

It is strange irony that the one person who apparently witnessed men with guns behind the wooden picket fence on the Grassy Knoll at the time of the Kennedy assassination was unable to tell anyone what he saw. Ed Hoffman of Dallas has been deaf since birth and, as is common with that disability, he cannot speak. However, this did not prevent Hoffman from attempting to alert authorities to what he saw behind that fence.

Although he told his family and friends what he saw at the time and later reported it to the FBI, Hoffman's story has remained unpublicized over the years. Finally, in the summer of 1985, he told his story to this author. It was later substantially confirmed by FBI documents.

Hoffman was 26 years old on Nov. 22, 1963, and at noon time was driving toward downtown Dallas on Stemmons Expressway when he noticed numerous people lining the freeway. He suddenly realized that President Kennedy was to motorcade through the city that day, so he stopped his car just north of a railroad bridge across Stemmons and joined the spectators.

(Only someone who was there that day could have known that many people were lining Stemmons to get a glimpse of the President since all news coverage of the motorcade stopped after the shooting in Dealey Plaza.)

After waiting for a time, Hoffman decided to walk along the shoulder of the freeway to a point where it crossed over Elm Street in hopes of getting a view into Dealey Plaza. From this vantage point, Hoffman was approximately 200 yards west of the parking lot behind the picket fence at an elevation of about the height of the first floor of the Texas School Book Depository.

Being unable to hear, he was not aware that Kennedy's motorcade was passing through the plaza. However, he was aware of movement on the north side of the picket fence. He became aware of a man running west along the back side of the fence wearing a dark suit, tie and a overcoat. The man was carrying a rifle in his hands. As the man reached a metal pipe railing at the west end of the fence, he tossed the rifle to a second man standing on the west side of the pipe near the railroad tracks which went south over the Triple Overpass. The second man was wearing light coveralls and a railroad worker's hat.

The second man caught the rifle, ducked behind a large railroad switch box - one of two at that site - and knelt down. The man disassembled the rifle, placed it in a soft brown bag (His description matches that of the traditional railroad brakeman's tool bag.), then walked north into the rail yards in the general direction of the railroad tower containing Lee Bowers.

The man in the overcoat, meanwhile, had turned and run back along the picket fence until midway, when he stopped and began walking calmly toward the corner of the fence. Hoffman could not see the corner of the fence due to cars and overhanging tree branches. Unable to hear, Hoffman was at a loss to understand what was happening as he watched these men. However, moments later Kennedy's car came into sight out of the west side of the Triple Underpass. Hoffman saw the President lying on the seat, the blood-splattered car and realized something terrible had occurred. As the presidential limousine turned onto the Stemmons access ramp just below his position, Hoffman decided to try and alert the Secret Service agents to what he had witnessed.

He ran down the grassy incline waving his arms and trying to make them understand that he had seen something, when one of the agents in the President's follow-up car reached down and produced a machine-gun, which he leveled at him. Hoffman stopped and threw up his hands and could only watch helplessly as the motorcade rushed past him onto Stemmons in the mad rush to Parkland Hospital.

There was no mention at the time of any Secret Serviceman with a machine-gun, yet Hoffman was emphatic that it was an automatic weapon with a pistol grip and clip. It is now known that Secret Service Agent George W. Hickey Jr. in the follow-up car did display an AR-15, the civilian model of the M-16 machine gun, further corroborating Hoffman's story.

Upset over what he had seen, Hoffman looked around for help. He saw a Dallas policeman standing on the railroad bridge crossing Stemmons and he walked toward him waving his arms in an attempt to communicate what he had seen. However, the policeman, unable to understand, simply waved him off. (This part of Hoffman's story also is corroborated, since policeman Earle Brown filed a report stating that he was on the Stemmons railroad bridge at the time of the assassination. However, questioned recently about these events, Brown said he has no recollection of seeing Hoffman.)

Unable to get help, Hoffman walked back to his car, then drove behind the Texas School Book Depository for several minutes trying to locate the man with the rifle in the brown bag. He was unsuccessful. However, this is indicative of the total lack of security around the Depository in the

chaotic minutes following the assassination. Hoffman was able to drive around in the rail yards behind the Depository for some time and then leave without being stopped or questioned by authorities.

He then drove to the Dallas FBI office but found no one there except a receptionist. He left his name and address with the FBI and then drove to the Dallas Police station. The FBI never responded.

At the time, Hoffman had a relative at the Dallas Police station and he drove there next, hoping to find some help. However, the station was sealed off and the officer on the door refused to allow him to enter. Thwarted in his attempts to tell authorities what he had seen, Hoffman finally went home where his parents, also deaf-mutes, urged him not become involved.

Hoffman remained silent until Thanksgiving, 1963, when he met his policeman relative at a family function. Despite his parents' warnings, he told his story to the policeman, who assured him that the federal authorities were investigating the case and that, in fact, the assassin had already been caught. Confident that the case was closed, Hoffman said he didn't consider telling his story to anyone else. However, as the years went by, he became more and more aware of the official version of the assassination and knew that one man firing from the sixth floor of the Depository did not agree with what he had seen.

Finally on June 28, 1967, at the urging of co-workers, Hoffman visited the Dallas FBI once again. Apparently Hoffman had difficulty in communicating with the agents or they purposely distorted his story because the FBI report of that day states:

"Hoffman said he observed two white males, clutching something dark to their chests with both hands, running from the rear of the Texas School Book Depository building. The men were running north on the railroad, then turned east, and Hoffman lost sight of both of the men."

The report added:

"Approximately two hours after the above interview with Hoffman, he returned to the Dallas Office of the FBI and advised he had just returned from the spot on Stemmons Freeway where he had parked his automobile and had decided he could not have seen the men running because of a fence west of the Texas School Book Depository building. He said it was possible that he saw these two men on the fence or something else (sic)."

Whether or not the FBI agents were able to understand Hoffman correctly, they did talk to his father and brother on July 5, 1967. Both said Hoffman loved President Kennedy and had told his story to them just after the assassination. However they also said Hoffman "has in the past distorted facts of events observed by him." (Of course, it was his father who had urged him not to become involved in the case at all, so there was motivation to downplay his son's story.)

Officially, this was the end of any investigation into Hoffman's story at that time. Unofficially, Hoffman said one FBI agent told him to keep quiet about what he had seen or "you might get killed".

Hoffman kept quiet until Oct. 3, 1975, when his interest was rekindled by talk of re-opening the investigation into Kennedy's death. This provoked him to write of his experiences to Senator Edward Kennedy. Experts in deafness who have seen the letter say it is typical of the writing of a deaf person who try to write as they sign. Although somewhat disjointed, the letter briefly mentioned what he had seen and added that his relatives said he could be in danger from the CIA or other persons if he told what he saw.

In a letter dated Nov. 19, 1975, Kennedy responded:

"My family has been aware of various theories concerning the death of President Kennedy, just as it has been aware of the many speculative accounts which have arisen from the death of Robert Kennedy. I am sure that it is understood that the continual speculation is painful for members of my family. We have always accepted the findings of the Warren Commission report and have no reason to question the quality and the effort of those who investigated the fatal shooting of Robert Kennedy."

Kennedy concluded that sufficient evidence to re-examine the two Kennedy deaths would have to come from "legal authorities responsible for such further investigation (and) I do not believe that their judgment should be influenced by any feelings or discomfort by any member of my family."

Despite this further, if more gentle, attempt to tell Hoffman to be quiet, he continued to tell his story to fellow workers at the Dallas electronics firm where he has been employed since before the assassination.

On March 25, 1977, one of Hoffman's supervisors who understood sign language, contacted the

Dallas FBI office. He said he felt that the FBI did not fully understand what Hoffman was trying to tell them during the 1967 interview and that he felt Hoffman deserved to be heard.

At this urging, FBI agents again talked with Hoffman on March 28, 1977, and even accompanied him to the site on Stemmons Expressway. This time, with his supervisor acting as translator, Hoffman was able to give more details. He said he thought he saw a puff of smoke near where the men were standing and essentially his story was the same as the one he told in 1985 except he said he saw both men run north into the rail yards.

Although this time the FBI took photographs of the area based on Hoffman's testimony, they again showed little interest in pursuing his story.

On the cover sheet of their report to the FBI director, the Dallas agents wrote:

On Pages 71 - 76 of the 'Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy,' the witnesses at the Triple Underpass are discussed, but the Warren Commission's investigation has disclosed no credible evidence that any shots were fired from anywhere other than the Texas School Book Depository building. In view of the above, the Dallas Office is conducting no additional investigation...

In other words, since the federal government concluded Oswald was the lone assassin, Hoffman must have been mistaken. In fact, there was no mention of Hoffman or his testimony by the U.S. government until researchers obtained reports on him through the Freedom of Information Act in 1985.

Since Hoffman, despite his hearing disability, appears to be a most credible witness and since his story only reinforces others who told of gunmen on the knoll, his story deserves serious consideration. There are several interesting aspects of Hoffman's story. First, since many of the details have been independently corroborated - The crowds on Stemmons, the machine gun, the cop on the railroad bridge - his story may be the best version of what happened behind the picket fence to date. Hoffman's story also may have pinpointed the role of convicted Texas hitman Charles V. Harrelson, who has admitted participating in the JFK assassination (See Aftermath DALLAS). His story also serves as a vivid commentary on the FBI's failure to follow serious leads and its attempts to intimidate witnesses into silence.

Crossfire: Summary - The Kill Zone

In reviewing the experiences of the people in Dealey Plaza the day President Kennedy died, it is apparent that not one single person saw the assassination as it was described by the Warren Commission.

In the motorcade, Governor Connally's testimony - totally corroborated by the Zapruder film - indicated that both he and Kennedy could not have been struck by the same bullet.

Many people, including Sheriff Decker, Royce Skelton and Austin Miller, saw one bullet strike Elm Street. Others, like Policeman Foster, saw a bullet hit the grass on the south side of Elm.

Many people heard shots coming from at least two separate locations, while those on the Triple Underpass even saw smoke from a rifle drift out from under the trees on the Grassy Knoll.

The motorcade had difficulty negotiating the sharp turn onto Elm which the Secret Service advance men had failed to properly scrutinize. The Secret Service also refused additional security offered by Dallas police (See G MEN).

An unexplained change in the motorcade lineup moved press photographers far back in line preventing them from photographing the assassination.

Motorcade riders heard shots from separate locations, but the majority believed shots came from the direction of the Triple Underpass. Both Sheriff Decker and Police Chief Curry ordered their men to rush to the railroad yards behind the Grassy Knoll.

The only Secret Service agent to react quickly to the assassination was Clint Hill, who was not originally scheduled for the Dallas trip and was assigned to Mrs. Kennedy.

Mrs. Cabell and former Senator Yarborough, among others reported smelling gunpowder while passing through Dealey Plaza.

Some members of the crowd, such as Philip Hathaway, Julia Ann Mercer, Julius Hardie and the Arnold Rowlands, saw men with rifles in the area of Dealey Plaza long before the Kennedy motorcade arrived.

Several bystanders, their testimony supported by at least two films made that day, claimed to have seen more than one man on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository moments before the assassination.

Some witnesses - Phil Willis, Jean Hill, Julia Mercer and Dallas Policeman Tom Tilson (See Aftermath - DALLAS) - even claim they saw Jack Ruby in Dealey Plaza at the time of the assassination.

People standing in front of the Depository thought shots came from down near the Triple Underpass. Others, such as A.J. Millican, the John Chisms and Jean Newman, who were standing between the Depository and the Underpass believed the shots came from the Grassy Knoll.

Two of the most suspicious men in Dealey Plaza - subsequently nicknamed the "Umbrella Man" and the "Dark-complected Man" - were never identified or even mentioned by the Warren Commission. Yet both men made visual signals just as Kennedy drew opposite to them. Moments later the dark man appeared to be talking into a radio. The House Select Committee on Assassinations claimed to have located the "Umbrella Man," however the man they found told a story totally inconsistent with the activities of the "Umbrella man" as recorded on film that day. And the Committee never bothered to mention the man with what appeared to be a walkie-talkie.

Neither could the Warren Commission seem to locate a woman filming the assassination who came to be known as the "Babushka Lady" to researchers. The House Committee took testimony from this woman after she was identified as Beverly Oliver by researchers, but never mentioned her in its report. Oliver, an acquaintance of Jack Ruby, has told researchers she was introduced by Ruby to "Lee Oswald of the CIA" prior to the assassination.

Jean Hill, who was standing beside Mary Moorman on the south side of Elm Street at the moment of the assassination, said she saw a man fire from behind the wooden picket fence on the Grassy Knoll and saw smoke drift from his location. Hill's story is supported by the testimony of railroad supervisor S.M. Holland, who told government investigators he too saw smoke drifting from the Knoll. Holland's account is corroborated by other men on the Triple Underpass, such as Richard Dodd, James Simmons, Austin Miller, Frank Reilly and Thomas Murphy - none of whom were asked to testify before the Warren Commission.

Even employees of the Depository, both inside and outside that building, stated shots came from the direction of the Grassy Knoll. Three employees - Bonnie Ray Williams, Harold Norman and James Jarman - were sitting just below the sixth-floor window later identified as the sniper's window. Despite

their later testimony that they heard shots right above their heads, they all said they ran to the west side of the building because they believed that shots had come from west of the Depository.

Less than 60 seconds after shots were fired, Dallas Policeman Marrion Baker and Depository Superintendent Roy Truly encountered another Depository employee - Lee Harvey Oswald - in the building's second-floor lunchroom holding a Coke in his hand and appearing calm and unperturbed.

At least one Depository employee, Joe Molina, was intimidated by authorities and lost his job soon after the assassination.

One man, James Tague, was the third man wounded in Dealey Plaza when his cheek was bloodied by cement sent flying by a bullet striking the curb just east of the Triple Underpass. Apparently it was reports of Tague's wounding which forced the Warren Commission to revise their account of the assassination. Where they had originally concluded that one shot hit Kennedy in the upper back, another struck Governor Connally and a third struck Kennedy's head, they finally settled on the "single-bullet theory," which states that one bullet passed through both Kennedy and Connally, another missed altogether striking the curb near Tague and a third shot struck Kennedy fatally in the head.

Despite great efforts on the part of authorities to establish the Depository as the source of all shots, public attention - both in 1963 and today - kept returning to the infamous Grassy Knoll.

Photographer Abraham Zapruder clearly stated that the shots came from the Knoll behind him. His testimony is corroborated by Dealey Plaza groundskeeper Emmet Hudson, who reported that shots came from the Knoll above and behind him.

Lee Bowers, a railroad employee who was in a railroad tower overlooking the backside of the Knoll, told of seeing men with radios in strange cars cruising the area just prior to the assassination. He also reported seeing a flash of light and smoke from behind the fence on the Knoll at the time of the shooting.

Gordon Arnold, a young soldier, said he was chased from behind the wooden picket fences shortly before Kennedy arrived by a man showing Secret Service identification. He said he was in front of the fence on the Knoll filming the motorcade when a shot was fired from over his left shoulder from behind the fence. He said moments later two policemen took his film and he fled.

A gunman behind the picket fence may have been captured in a photograph taken by Mary Moorman. A recent enlargement of the Knoll area in her photo seems to reveal a man firing a rifle. The man is dressed in what appears to be a police uniform. The existence of this gunman is further confirmed by the acoustical studies commissioned by the House Select Committee on Assassinations in 1979. The results of these tests forced the Committee to reluctantly conclude that a second gunman fired on Kennedy from behind the Knoll fence.

The deaf-mute Ed Hoffman tried to inform the FBI after the assassination that he had witnessed a man with a rifle behind the picket fence on the Grassy Knoll. However Hoffman was warned to keep quiet or "you might get killed" by an FBI agent and reports of his sighting were hidden from the public for 22 years.

Conclusions to be drawn from the wide range of testimony by people in Dealey Plaza on November 22, 1963, include:

- There was much confusion and panic among the people watching the Presidential motorcade.
- The majority of witnesses originally believed the shots came from the area of the Grassy Knoll.
- The preponderance of evidence indicates shots came from two different directions - the Grassy Knoll and the direction of the Depository.
- There is nothing in the available evidence which rules out the possibility that more shots from other directions were fired.
- The activities of the federal authorities, especially the Secret Service and the FBI, both before, during and after the assassination, have raised serious suspicions in the minds of researchers.

Crossfire: Means, Motives and Opportunities

"I knew then what I know now: Oswald was on an assignment in Russia for American intelligence."

Oswald's Marine roommate James Botelho

The assassination of President John F. Kennedy was not an isolated event. It occurred within a complex matrix of national and international events and issues. Therefore, this event must be placed within a context of the times.

As President, John F. Kennedy daily was juggling a wide variety of responsibilities on many different fronts - foreign policy, civil rights, agriculture, finance, politics, crime-busting and defense considerations.

Likewise, Lee Harvey Oswald - the man identified by two government panels as Kennedy's assassin - did not live isolated from the world of his time. During his brief 24 years of life, Oswald came into contact with an incredible array of groups and individuals, all of whom had reason to wish the elimination of Kennedy. Beginning with an uncle connected to organized crime, young Oswald moved through a shadowy world of soldiers, intelligence agents, Russian communists and anti-communists, pro and anti-Castro Cubans, FBI men and right-wing anti-communists. To place the events of November 22, 1963 in proper perspective, it is necessary to become familiar with these groups and with their relationships to Oswald and each other.

After all, every good detective begins his murder investigation by determining who had the means, motive and opportunity to commit the act.

The obvious starting place is with the one man universally acknowledged as being the person most closely connected with the assassination - Lee Harvey Oswald. (See OSWALD)

Crossfire: Lee Harvey Oswald - Assassin or Patsy?

Prior to his enlistment in the Marines and with the exception of the death of his father, Lee Harvey Oswald's boyhood was little different from that of millions of other Americans.

Oswald was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, on October 18, 1939, two months after the death of his father, Robert E. Lee Oswald, a collector of insurance premiums. While this unfortunate event must have had some effect on young Oswald, it was a fate endured by many thousands of other young Americans, none of whom have felt compelled to murder national leaders. In 1945, Oswald's mother married for a third time but three years later it ended in divorce. From that point on, Oswald and his brother, Robert, were brought up by their mother, Marguerite. (See A MOTHER IN HISTORY)

Crossfire: A Mother in History

The House Select Committee on Assassinations in 1979 concluded that President Kennedy was "probably assassinated as the result of a conspiracy." However they maintained that Lee Harvey Oswald was the actual killer and that another gunman -whose presence was established by two separate scientific tests based on a Dallas police recording of the gunfire in Dealey Plaza - escaped and remains unidentified.

This finding was a milestone to the many Americans who had come to disbelieve the lone assassin theory of the Warren Commission.

Typically, however, this reversal of official American history was still not enough for the mother of the accused assassin, Marguerite Oswald. She told newsmen:

"The committee members have made a first step in the right direction. It's up to us to do the rest...I hope and know the future will vindicate my son entirely. It took us 15 years to come this far. It may take another 15 years or longer. I probably won't be around, but the world will know that Lee Harvey Oswald was innocent of the charges against him."

This was the statement of a woman who was much more than just a supportive mother. It came from a woman who faced more public hostility than most murderers...a woman who faced the autumn of her years alone and in poverty. And all because of a child she bore.

Marguerite Claverie was born in New Orleans in 1907. Her family was of French and German extraction. Her mother died a few years after her birth, leaving young Marguerite and her five siblings in the care of her father, a streetcar conductor. According to relatives, the Claverie family was poor but happy. Marguerite, at the age of 17, completed one year of high school. She then dropped out to become a law firm receptionist. In August 1929, she married Edward John Pic Jr., a clerk. However, the marriage was not successful and the couple divorced in 1931, several months before the birth of her first son, John Edward Pic.

In 1933, she married Robert Edward Lee Oswald, himself recently divorced. She described her marriage to Oswald as the "only happy part" of her life. Out of this union came a second son, Robert. Then her happiness came to an end. Two months before the birth of Lee Harvey Oswald in October 1939, her husband died of a sudden heart attack. Making her way alone, she saw an opportunity of establishing a family once again by remarrying in 1945. Sending the two elder sons off to boarding school, she and her new husband, Edwin A. Ekdahl, took six-year-old Lee and moved to Benbrook, Texas, a small town south of Fort Worth.

However, there were soon arguments over money and charges of infidelity against Ekdahl. A divorce was granted in 1948 and she was allowed to use her former name of Oswald. It is interesting to note that Ekdahl's divorce attorney was Fred Korth, who in the fall of 1963 was fired as Secretary of the Navy by President Kennedy amid charges that Korth may have been involved in a scandal over the General Dynamics TFX airplane (See SOLDIERS).

John Pic and Robert Oswald rejoined their mother, but both soon left home to join the military. Marguerite was left with only young Lee. Some accounts say Lee was overly mothered by her, while others claim she neglected the boy. However, the former seems to be closer to the truth in light of the fact that she became a practical nurse charged with keeping the children of prominent Texans such as the late Amon Carter Jr. and former Congressman Tom Vandergriff. Despite much conjecture, there is little evidence that Lee's childhood was any better or any worse than others.

In 1959, after serving three years in the Marines, Lee received a sudden discharge and came back to Fort Worth for a two-day visit with his mother. Lee said he was off to New Orleans to work for an import-export firm, but several weeks later, Mrs. Oswald read that her 20-year-old son had turned up in Russia where he told U.S. officials he wanted to defect.

Mrs. Oswald's statements to the press at that time were unpopular. Instead of branding her son a traitor, she said:

"I feel very strongly that as an individual, he has the right to make his own decision. Lee has definite ideas. I believe God gives us a conscience and the ability to know right and I feel he has the right to make his own decision."

Despite this motherly support, Lee seemed to make every effort to avoid Marguerite after his return from the Soviet Union in 1962. At one point, he moved his family from Fort Worth to Dallas without leaving his mother a forwarding address. Her family was reunited only briefly during those dark days of November 1963.

Mrs. Oswald was on her way to work on November 22, when she heard over the car radio that Kennedy had been shot while riding in a motorcade in downtown Dallas. She also learned that a young ex-Marine named Lee Harvey Oswald was being held by police as the suspected assassin.

Concerned by the broadcasts and apparently with no friends to turn to, she contacted the local newspaper, "The Fort Worth Star-Telegram," and asked if someone would take her to Dallas. She told the newspapermen who drove her to the Dallas Police Station:

"I want to hear him tell me that he did it."

Mrs. Oswald also told them that she had been persecuted since her son's journey to Russia and knew the meaning of suffering. She also told of being fired by her last employer, "Star-Telegram" Publisher Amon Carter Jr. She said she had been acting as a day nurse for the Carter's children until about two weeks prior to the Kennedy assassination. After a weekend trip to Las Vegas, the Carters suddenly let her go.

She once told this author:

"You don't know what it's like to have someone look at you and say, You've done a good job, but we no longer need your services."

In Dallas Mrs. Oswald was disappointed in her desire to hear a confession from her son. She was not allowed to talk with him. And Oswald steadfastly maintained his innocence. He shouted to newsmen gathered in the police station hallway:

"No, sir, I didn't kill anybody. I'm just a patsy!"

After the murder of Oswald by Jack Ruby two days later, his mother's tone changed to one of suspicion and accusation, blaming the Dallas Police and federal authorities for her son's death.

She asked bitterly:

"Why would (Jack Ruby) be allowed within a few feet of a prisoner - any prisoner - when I could not even see my own son?"

To compound her suspicions, she maintained until her death that the FBI had shown her a photo of Ruby the night before her son was slain. She said about 6:30 p.m. on November 23, the night after the assassination, an FBI agent and another man knocked on the door of the hotel where she and Lee's wife were staying. After being told that her daughter-in-law was tired and couldn't talk with the men, the FBI agent said he wanted to ask her a question. She recalled the incident to newsmen a week later:

"He had a picture coupled (sic) inside his hand and asked me if I had ever seen that man before. I told him, "No sir, believe me, I never have." Then he left. A few days later, I walked into the room where I was staying and, in front of my son Robert and lot of witnesses, I picked up a paper and when I turned it over I said, "This is the picture of the man that FBI agent showed me." I did not even know at the time he was the man who shot my son. I was told that the picture was (of) Mr. Jack Ruby."

FBI officials, when informed of her statement, speculated that she must have been confused as to the date she was shown the photograph.

On July 10, 1964, FBI Agent Bardwell D. Odum signed an affidavit with the Warren Commission stating that he had shown the picture to Mrs. Oswald. He said the photo was furnished by FBI superiors, who obtained it from the CIA. The photo was included in Warren Commission exhibits and depicts a man who is obviously not Oswald. This photo was reportedly supplied by the CIA, which was secretly photographing visitors to the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City (See AGENTS). This incident was the beginning of a life-long suspicion of federal authorities by Mrs. Oswald. To the end of her life, she maintained that Lee had been working as some sort of agent for the U. S. Government and that unnamed "high officials" were part of the plot to kill Kennedy and blame her son.

After Watergate, she told a local newspaper:

"If you called in all the FBI men involved in Lee Harvey Oswald's life and questioned them, one thing would lead to another and it would probably break the assassination case."

Just after the assassination, Mrs. Oswald said:

"They (the public) all turned their backs on me before (when Oswald appeared in Russia) and they will turn their backs on me again, but my faith will see me through."

And faith was truly about the only thing left for Mrs. Oswald. With the exception of a couple of mysterious "benefactors" who kept her supplied with publications concerning the assassination, she was forced to live through the next two decades on less than \$500 a month in Social Security payments.

In the Bicentennial summer of 1976, she was without a refrigerator for almost two months because she could not afford to repair hers. The loneliness and poverty of her life, however, failed to crush her fighting spirit.

She continued to assail the official version of the assassination and to strike out at media presentations of the event.

In 1978, after viewing a CBS "docu-drama" entitled "Ruby and Oswald," she told the local newspaper:

"I have every right to be upset over that program as well as many other things because they are talking about my son and my family. They sit there and tell the gullible American public that their program is the truth and based on documentation. Well, I'm sitting here with things you've never heard of. I can tear that CBS program apart like I did the Warren Commission."

Her thoughts on the Warren Commission, whose conclusions were taken as gospel at the time but gradually lost the confidence of the majority of Americans (See THE WARREN COMMISSION), are summed up in a letter Mrs. Oswald wrote to several congressmen in 1973 at the height of the Watergate crisis:

"On Nov. 29, 1963, the then President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, created a commission to evaluate all the facts and circumstances surrounding the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and the subsequent killing of the alleged assassin and to report its findings and conclusions to him....President Johnson selected Earl Warren, chief justice of the United States, as its chairman. Because I was critical of the commission, I was asked, "Mrs. Oswald, are you implying that the Chief Justice would whitewash evidence or hide information so that the American people, as well as the whole world, would never learn the truth?" I answered, yes, in the name of security, men of integrity and who are the most esteemed, most respected and honored, who have the welfare of the country at heart, would be most likely to do what the White House wanted and thought necessary. The Watergate affair has followed this pattern. Those we believe are above reproach, those who have reached the pinnacle or are near it, those who are guiding our nation's destiny are found to have manipulated events to accomplish certain things they think were for the good of the country. Those who have a deep sense of patriotism and loyalty are most likely to twist events to accomplish their purposes....The Watergate affair only strengthens my convictions and proves my theory. (In 1963) The suspect was my son and seven such respected men branded a dead man who was neither tried nor convicted, assassin."

Through the years, Mrs. Oswald, who always claimed to be a "mother in history," was quick to point out that her defense of her son went beyond simple motherly love.

She once told this author:

"If he was truly guilty, I can accept that. But whether it's my son or someone else's son, I want the proof and the proof is just not there."

In her last years, Mrs. Oswald was virtually a recluse in her modest, but well-kept, brick home on the west side of Fort Worth. An occasional visitor - usually a journalist - and her small dog, Fritz, were her only company.

Neither her other sons nor Lee's wife, Marina, ever spoke to her again after those days in November 1963. When money problems pressed too hard, she would sell a book or a letter from her mammoth collection of assassination materials. It was such money problems that helped create the belief that Mrs. Oswald would only talk for profit.

However, as several Fort Worth newsmen can confirm, she never hesitated to pick up her telephone and call the media when a particular news item rankled her. She once explained the charge of talk-for-cash this way:

"Well, here I am without money, wondering where my next meal is coming from and these writers come to my house wanting an interview. Then, they go out and write some piece - some of them don't even talk to me more than 15 minutes or so - and they get all this money for their work. That's not fair!"

Over the years, Mrs. Oswald made repeated attempts to publish a book based on her knowledge, memories and research of the assassination. Oddly enough, in light of the hundreds of books on the

subject by authors ranging from the famous to crackpots, no one would publish a book by the mother of the accused assassin.

In January 1981, Mrs. Oswald quietly entered a Fort Worth hospital. Rumors circulated that she had cancer. By the end of that month, Marguerite Claverie Oswald was dead. Her memorial service was private. But her cause lives on. In one of her last letters to this author she wrote but one simple sentence:

"Again - The charges against my late son Lee Harvey Oswald are false."

Crossfire: Oswald's Early Life

Oswald's early life is shrouded in innuendo and misinformation, much of it stemming from the passionate attitudes following the assassination.

Anyone who had any contact with Oswald was hunted down and interviewed by newsmen and many were deposed by the Warren Commission. And no one, including some family members, had anything good to say about the man accused of killing one of this nation's most popular presidents.

Some examples of misinformation include the statement that his two older brothers, and eventually Lee himself, were placed in an orphanage by their mother. While true in one respect, a closer look shows that Mrs. Oswald had to work to earn a living for their fatherless family. Keep in mind there were no daycare centers in 1942.

Mrs. Oswald explained to newsmen years later that she placed the boys in the Bethlehem Children's Home, operated by the Lutheran Church. Admittedly it was also an orphanage, but more precisely, it was the forerunner of a daycare center. She saw the boys on weekends and holidays.

It was quite a different situation than that described in the Warren Commission Report:

"Reminding her sons that they were orphans and that the family's financial condition was poor, she placed (them) in an orphan's home."

Lee's oldest brother, John Pic, told the Warren Commission that Lee slept with his mother until almost 11 years old, thus supplying much fodder for later psychological speculation. Mrs. Oswald's version sounds more mundane:

"...(while) I was married ...Lee had his own bed, of course, all the while. After I divorced this man (Ekdahl), all I got from this divorce was \$1,500 and I paid a \$1,000 down on a home. Well, I had to buy furniture. I bought used furniture, and one of the boys slept on an army cot, and the other on a twin bed, and, because of the circumstances, Lee slept with me; which was a short time because then his brother joined the service and when he did, Lee took his bed. But it just implies that throughout his life he slept with his mother, which isn't the case, you see. It's quite a difference."

Robert Oswald supported his mother's version of this issue by writing:

"If this (sleeping arrangement) had a bad effect on Lee, I'm sure mother didn't realize it. She was simply making use of all the space she had."

Much was made of Oswald's truancy in New York during 1953-54, as well as the psychological testing resulting from this infraction.

In the summer of 1952, shortly before Lee's 13th birthday, he and his mother had gone to live with his half-brother John Pic and his wife in New York City, where Pic was stationed with the Coast Guard. There were reports of fights and divisions within the group and by the start of the school year, Lee and his mother had moved into their own apartment in the Bronx.

Teased at junior high school because he wore jeans and spoke with a Texas accent, Lee began staying away. However, unlike most truants who ended up in pool halls or street gangs, Lee continued his education on his own, frequenting the local library and the zoo. Finally caught, the youngster was handed over for psychiatric observation to an institution called Youth House. Here he stayed from April 16 until May 7, 1953. Mrs. Oswald said it was only after having both her gifts and her person searched for cigarettes and narcotics, that she realized Youth House was one step short of jail. She said her son implored her:

"Mother, I want to get out of here. There are children in here who have killed people and smoke. I want to get out."

While under the care of the state, Oswald was given psychiatric tests. The results were essentially inconclusive. They showed him to be a bright and inquisitive young man who was somewhat tense, withdrawn and hesitant to talk about himself or his feelings.

Even the Warren Report, which generally tried to depict Oswald in the worst possible light, conceded:

"Contrary to reports that appeared after the assassination, the psychiatric examination did not indicate that Lee Oswald was a potential assassin, potentially dangerous, that "his outlook on life had strongly paranoid overtones" or that he should be institutionalized."

After his experience in Youth House, there were no further truancy problems from young Lee. In January 1954, Lee and his mother returned to New Orleans where he finished the ninth grade and

began the tenth.

Upon arriving in New Orleans, the Oswalds lived initially with Mrs. Oswald's sister and her husband, Lillian and Charles "Dutz" Murret (See MOBSTERS), before finding an apartment of their own.

Everyone who knew Oswald as a youth agrees that he was somewhat introverted and was what could be best described as a "bookworm." His interests ran to a wide variety, including animals, astronomy and classic literature...and, eventually, politics. Reading comic books and listening to radio and TV were also among his favorite pastimes.

Robert Oswald later recalled:

"One of his favorite (TV) programs was "I Led Three Lives," the story of Herbert Philbrick, the FBI informant who posed as a communist spy. In the early 1950s, Lee watched that show every week without fail. When I left home to join the Marines, he was still watching the reruns."

There can be little doubt that the well-read, but lonely young Oswald spent much of his time daydreaming, fantasizing about being an important person some day.

Oswald appears to have been drawn at an early age to the epic and intense ideological struggle between communism and democratic capitalism. He claimed his first contact with communist ideology came with a pamphlet handed to him on a New York street corner. In a Moscow interview shortly after arriving in Russia, Oswald told Associated Press reporter Aline Mosby:

"I'm a Marxist...I became interested about the age of 15. From an ideological viewpoint. An old lady handed me a pamphlet about saving the Rosenbergs...I looked at that paper and I still remember it for some reason, I don't know why."

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg had been convicted of passing atomic bomb secrets to the Russians in a celebrated - and still controversial - case beginning in 1950. They were executed on June 19, 1953.

However, this story of early interest in communism must be taken with a grain of salt. After all, this is simply what Oswald told a reporter at a time he was trying hard to prove he was a devout communist supporter.

His brother Robert also expressed puzzlement over this story, writing:

"If Lee was deeply interested in Marxism in the summer of 1955, he said nothing about it to me. During my brief visit with him in New Orleans, I never saw any books on the subject in the apartment on Exchange Place. Never, in my presence, did he read anything that I recognized as communist literature. I was totally surprised when the information about his interest in Marxism came out, at the time of his defection to Russia. I was amazed that he had kept to himself ideas and opinions that were evidently so important to him."

In New Orleans, Oswald's study of communism allegedly intensified. Strangely enough, at the same time he was making a patriotic move - joining the Civil Air Patrol (CAP).

It was at this point that Oswald made one of the most intriguing connections of his life. And it may have been in the Civil Air Patrol that Oswald the "communist" was truly born.

It has been established that Oswald's CAP leader was a strange and mysterious character named David W. Ferrie. Ferrie, an airline pilot, private investigator and outspoken right-winger, went on to have connections with reputed Mafia boss Carlos Marcello, anti-Castro Cuban groups, former FBI agent Guy Banister and his anti-Castro activities and the CIA. Ferrie will be discussed at length in other sections of this book. Could Ferrie, who reportedly used his CAP position to establish homosexual contacts with young boys, have influenced Oswald to begin making a pro-communist "cover" for himself with an eye toward becoming a U.S. agent? Did Ferrie seek to take advantage of the impressionable young Oswald with stories of using his intelligence contacts to help Oswald enter the exciting world of espionage? Considering Ferrie's known homosexuality and intelligence connections, this speculation is not as farfetched as it sounds.

We may never know, however, since in 1967 Ferrie was found dead in his New Orleans apartment the day after being released from protective custody by District Attorney Jim Garrison, who named Ferrie as his chief suspect in a plot to assassinate President Kennedy and described him as "one of history's most important individuals."

Crossfire: Ferrie and Oswald's Library Card

A puzzling, incident occurred involving David Ferrie and Oswald's library card which, while not proving ongoing links between the two men, provides tantalizing evidence that such a connection may have existed.

Within hours of the assassination of President Kennedy, an employee of former FBI agent Guy Banister contacted New Orleans authorities and said both Banister and Ferrie had been in touch with Oswald. (Oswald used the same address - 554 Camp Street - as Banister's office on some of his Fair Play For Cuba material - See CUBANS). Banister, a supporter of right-wing causes, had been assisting anti-Castro Cubans through his New Orleans private detective agency.

Authorities could not immediately locate Ferrie. Some time later, Ferrie told New Orleans Police he had driven to Texas the night of the assassination to go goose hunting. However, subsequent investigation of Ferrie's companions revealed that they had decided not to hunt geese but, instead, had gone to a Houston skating rink where Ferrie spent two hours at a pay telephone making and receiving calls.

One of Ferrie's friends told New Orleans police that shortly after Kennedy's assassination, an attorney named C. Wray Gill had come to Ferrie's home and mentioned that when Oswald was arrested in Dallas, he was carrying a library card with Ferrie's name on it.

Gill, an attorney for Carlos Marcello, promised to act on Ferrie's behalf upon his return to New Orleans. On the evening of the Sunday that Jack Ruby killed Oswald, Ferrie contacted Gill who then accompanied Ferrie to the authorities the next day. Ferrie denied knowing anything about Oswald or the assassination and was released. However, one of Oswald's former neighbors in New Orleans later recalled that Ferrie visited her after the assassination asking about a library card. And Oswald's former landlady said Ferrie came to her asking about the library card just hours after the assassination and BEFORE the bizarre Texas trip.

After all this furor over the library card, there is nothing in the official record indicating such a card was ever found in Oswald's possession. Yet the Secret Service, when they questioned Ferrie, reportedly asked if he had lent his library card to Oswald.

Could such a library card have disappeared from Oswald's belongings while in Dallas Police custody? It certainly would not be the only such incident - an incriminating photograph of Oswald was discovered after nearly 15 years among the possessions of a retired Dallas policeman (See THE EVIDENCE). And, if such a card existed, it would have been strong evidence that a relationship between Oswald and Ferrie continued long after young Oswald moved away.

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In the fall of 1955, Oswald began the 10th grade at Warren Easton High School in New Orleans but dropped out soon after his birthday in October.

Oswald himself wrote to school authorities, stating:

"To who it may concern,

Because we are moving to San Diego in the middle of this month Lee must quit school now. Also, please send him any papers such as his birth certificate that you may have.

Thank You.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. Oswald"

This note gave evidence of what young Oswald had in mind. He had his mother sign a false affidavit stating he was 17 and he tried to join the Marine Corps. Undoubtedly, he was looking forward to Marine training in San Diego. His brother Robert, who had joined the Marines three years earlier, had given Lee his training manual. His mother later recalled:

"He knew it by heart."

His desire to join the Marines was decidedly odd if we are supposed to believe, as the Warren Commission did, that he was a full-blown Marxist by this time. It makes more sense to believe that Oswald eagerly looked forward to serving in the military because he already knew that plans were being made for his service in intelligence. But his hopes were dashed when the recruiting authorities failed to believe the affidavit. Oswald had to wait another year for his chance at the Marines.

His mother noted:

Lee lived for the time that he would become 17 years old to join the Marines - that whole year.

During that time, he continued to build an identity as a communist sympathizer. During a meeting

of the New Orleans Amateur Astronomy Association, he began expounding on the virtues of communism, saying communism was the only way of life for the workers and that he was looking for a communist cell to join but couldn't find one. Another time, he was kicked out of the home of a friend after the friend's father overheard him praising the communist system.

Some have interpreted this penchant for communism as sincere and as evidence of how deeply disturbed Oswald had become. However, when viewed from another side, there is the real possibility that - believing the promises of Captain Ferrie that the adventuresome world of spies lay ahead of him - Oswald was already concocting a pro-communist cover.

After all, up until his meeting with Ferrie his interest in politics and ideology had been no different than any other bright kid. And his family had a tradition of honorable military service. It is clear that Oswald couldn't wait to join the military, yet at the same time was going out of his way to offend nearly everyone with his pro-communist posturing. The question of the genuineness of his regard for communism only intensified after he entered the Marine Corps.(See THE MARINE)

Crossfire: Oswaldskovich the Marine

Six days after his 17th birthday, Oswald was sworn in as a U.S. Marine

On October 26, 1956, Oswald arrived at the Marine Corps Recruit Depot in San Diego, California. Here he completed basic training with no apparent problems, although his marksmanship on the rifle range was less than what was desired by his fellow Marines.

Former Marine, Sherman Cooley, recalled that Oswald was given the name "shitbird" because initially he couldn't qualify on the M-1 rifle. Cooley said:

"It was a disgrace not to qualify and we gave him holy hell."

Another Marine buddy, Nelson Delgado, also has publicly told of Oswald's ineptness with a rifle. However, when Delgado tried to tell this to the FBI after the assassination, he claimed:

"They attacked my competence to judge his character and shooting ability and criticized my efforts to teach him Spanish."

A hounded and fearful Delgado finally moved his family to England because "...the conspirators may think I know more than I do."

Oswald went on to qualify as a "sharpshooter" by only two points in December, "sharpshooter" being the second of three grades of marksmanship. He did not do nearly so well when he again fired for the record shortly before leaving the Marines.

On January 20, 1957, he completed basic and went on to Camp Pendleton, California, where he completed advanced combat training. While learning combat skills, Oswald reportedly continued to speak favorably of communism - an odd circumstance for the Marines in the 1950s unless he was still trying to establish a pro-communist "cover."

Odder still is the fact that at no time did any of Oswald's Marine superiors note for the record his displays of pro-communist sentiment.

In March, Oswald reported to the Naval Air Technical Training Center in Jacksonville, Florida. Here he studied to be a radar air controller, a job given only to men with higher-than-average intelligence. This job also required a security clearance of "Confidential" which Oswald obtained about the time he was promoted to private, first class.

Daniel Patrick Powers, who was with Oswald in Jacksonville, recalled that Oswald used almost all his weekend passes to go to New Orleans, presumably to visit his mother. However, Mrs. Oswald was in Texas at the time and relatives in New Orleans could only recall one phone call from Oswald. pro- Could he have been gaining more advice on how to concoct a pro-communist "cover" in preparation for becoming a spy from Captain Ferrie or someone else?

He graduated May 3 and was sent to Kessler Air Force Base in Mississippi, where he completed an Aircraft Control and Warning Operator Course. pro- During this time, Oswald apparently was liked well enough by his fellow Marines, who called him "Ozzie Rabbit" after a TV cartoon character "Oswald the Rabbit." (This cartoon, it has been claimed, was taken out of syndication after Kennedy's assassination.)

After finishing seventh in a class of 50, Oswald was given a Military Occupational Specialty (MOS) of Aviation Electronics Operator and, after a brief leave, was sent to the Marine Corps Air Station at El Toro, California. He stayed there until shipped to Japan aboard the U.S.S. Bexar on August 22.

Shipmates noticed that Oswald read "Leaves of Grass" by Walt Whitman, and other "good type of literature."

Upon arriving in Japan, the young Marine was sent about 25 miles southwest of Tokyo to the air base at Atsugi, home of the First Marine Aircraft Wing - and one of two bases where the then top-secret U-2 spy plane flights were originating. pro- Also at Atsugi was an innocuous group of buildings housing what was known only as the "Joint Technical Advisory Group." In reality, this was the CIA main operational base in the Far East and it was here that speculation has arisen that the young Oswald got into the real spy business.

During his duty hours, Oswald sat in a hot, crowded semicircular radar control room known as the bubble and intently watched his radarscope for signs of Russian or Chinese aircraft crossing into allied air space. pro- The job was mostly monotony, broken only by an occasional unidentified aircraft and the strange utility plane code-named "Race Car."

The radar operators would overhear "Race Car" asking for wind information at 90,000 feet. They at first thought this was some sort of joke, since the world altitude record at that time was only slightly more than 65,000 feet and the radar height-finding antenna read only up to 45,000 feet. pro- However, slowly the men of Oswald's unit, Marine Air Control Squadron No. 1 (MACS-1), realized that they were

overhearing conversations from the strange-looking aircraft that they would soon see wheeled out of a large nearby hangar and then scream into the air. When asked about the craft, the officers would only say it was a "utility plane."pro- The men didn't know this utility plane, or U-2, was being used to penetrate Soviet and Chinese airspace for the purpose of photographing military and industrial targets.

Oswald seemed to show particular interest in the "secrets" of Atsugi. One Marine recalled seeing Oswald taking photographs of the base and he showed special interest during unit briefings on classified material.

Just as he had gone off alone to New Orleans, Oswald began making two-day visits to Tokyo. Years later, Oswald is reported to have confided that he made contact with a small group of Japanese communists in Tokyo while in the Marines. Even Warren Commission lawyers, W. David Slawson, and William T. Coleman Jr., stated in a report which was classified for a time:

"...there is the possibility that Oswald came into contact with communist agents at that time..."

Oswald told a friend at the time that he was having an affair with a Japanese girl who worked as a hostess in a Tokyo nightclub called the Queen Bee.pro- This was a strange connection indeed, for the Queen Bee at that time was one of the three most expensive nightspots in Tokyo. It catered especially to officers and pilots (including U-2 pilots, according to author Edward Jay Epstein). An evening at the Queen Bee could cost up to \$100.

It was a decidedly odd meeting place for Oswald, who was making less than \$85 a month with much of that being sent back to help support his mother.

It was believed that the hostesses of the Queen Bee, 100 of the most beautiful women in Tokyo, were using their charms to gain information from American servicemen.

Was the poor Marine, Private Oswald, being used to gather intelligence or was Oswald testing his intelligence abilities to infiltrate communist agents in the Queen Bee?

The answer to this question may have come when author/researcher Mark Lane interviewed one of Oswald former Marine pals from Atsugi.

David Bucknell, who was never interviewed by the Warren Commission, told of an incident in which he and Oswald went for beers at a bar near Santa Ana, California, where they were both stationed in 1959. While sitting there, the two Marines were approached by two women who engaged them in conversation.

Bucknell said later that day Oswald said this incident reminded him of a similar experience at Atsugi. According to Oswald's story, he was sitting alone in a Japanese bar when an attractive woman joined him and began asking questions regarding his work at Atsugi.

Since his work involved the highly-secret U-2 plane, Oswald reported this meeting to his superior officer. Soon this officer arranged a meeting between Oswald and a man in civilian clothes.

Oswald told Bucknell the man explained that Oswald could do his country a great service by giving false information to the woman, a known KGB agent. Oswald agreed and thus became an intelligence operative. Oswald said he had been encouraged to continue meeting the woman and was given money to spend at the Queen Bee.

While no U.S. intelligence agency has admitted it, there is evidence to suggest that Oswald was an agent. Sgt. Gerry Patrick Hemming, who served in Japan with Oswald and later went on to join anti-Castro Cubans, said he was recruited into the CIA while in the service and, while Oswald never admitted it, he believed the same thing happened to Oswald based on conversations between the two.

A former CIA finance officer, James Wilcott, testified to the House Select Committee on Assassinations that colleagues told him that Oswald was a secret operative for the spy agency in Japan.

Wilcott, who served in the CIA from 1957 through 1966, said after President Kennedy's assassination he had several conversations with CIA personnel involved in covert operations. He said, based on these conversations and his experience of paying CIA funds to secret operations through the use of code names, or "cryptos," he became convinced that Oswald was brought into the CIA while serving as a radar operator in Japan and later was sent to infiltrate Russia as a spy.

When CIA officials denied these charges - one went so far as to suggest that Oswald was actually recruited by the Soviet KGB while in Japan - the Committee decided not to believe Wilcott.

Another tantalizing piece of evidence that Oswald was involved in intelligence work while stationed in Japan comes from his Marine Corps medical records, which show that on September 16, 1958, Oswald was treated for "Urethritis, acute, due to gonococcus..." Gonorrhea is a venereal disease

preached against loudly by the military. For servicemen, a case of gonorrhea often results in disciplinary measures.

However, Oswald's medical record goes on to state:

"Origin: In line of duty, not due to own misconduct."

The fact that Oswald was absolved of any responsibility in contacting gonorrhea astounds service veterans and is strong evidence that his extracurricular activities had the blessings of the military, if not the CIA.

Another small but eye-opening revelation came from secret meetings of the Warren Commission. General Counsel J. Lee Rankin - armed with initial reports from the military - told Commission members two months after the assassination:

"...we are trying to run that down, to find out what he studied at the Monterey School of the Army in the way of languages..."

The Monterey School, now called the Defense Language Institute, is one of the government schools for giving sophisticated and rapid language courses.

Rankin's remark, made public only after a Freedom of Information suit, seems to imply that the Commission had knowledge of Oswald attending courses at Monterey.

And it is certainly easier to believe that Oswald got a crash course in the Russian language in the military than to believe that this high school drop-out learned one of the world's hardest languages by reading books and listening to records as implied by the Warren Commission. (Incidentally, fellow Marines testified they could not recall Oswald listening to any language records.)

It is possible that undercover work was behind a strange shooting incident which took place just as his unit was scheduled to be transferred to the Philippines in late 1957.

On October 27, Oswald was gathering gear from his locker when reportedly a .22-caliber derringer fell onto the floor and discharged, grazing his left elbow.

As nearby Marines rushed into his room, all Oswald would say was:

"I believe I shot myself."

Before the incident, Oswald had told a friend, George Wilkins, that he had ordered the derringer from a mail-order firm in the United States.

At least two of the Marines present, Thomas Bagshaw and Pete Connor, now claim the bullet missed Oswald altogether. Others at the time had the impression that Oswald shot himself in an attempt to prevent being transferred to the Philippines.

If that was the case, it failed. Although absent almost three weeks for medical treatment, he was returned to duty just in time to ship out with his unit on November 20.

The maneuvers of Oswald's unit the Philippines and South China Sea were largely uneventful, although one companion recalled:

"He did a little growing up in that time...he started acting like a man."

Interestingly, while the unit was on Corregidor, actor John Wayne stopped in briefly and a photograph was taken of him. In a background doorway stands Marine Oswald, who was serving his third straight month on mess duty.

His hospital stay following the derringer incident and the amount of time he spent pulling KP (Kitchen Police) may be indicative of time away from his regular unit spent in intelligence training.

According to witnesses, his elbow wound was very minor, yet Oswald spent nearly three weeks in a hospital. More time gaps in his military career were to come.

Back at Atsugi, Oswald was court-martialed for possessing an unregistered weapon - the derringer. On April 11, 1958, he was found guilty and sentenced to 20 days at hard labor, forfeiture of \$50 in pay and reduced to the rank of private. His confinement was suspended for six months on the condition that he stay out of trouble.

It was about this time that Oswald put in for a hardship discharge. As this application was being processed there apparently was a need for more time away from his unit for additional intelligence training.

This may have been accomplished by an incident which began in the Enlisted Man's Club at Atsugi.

Oswald, who heretofore had not been known as violent, tried to pick a fight with Technical Sgt. Miguel Rodriguez, allegedly the man who had assigned him to so much KP duty. Rodriguez failed to rise to the bait.

On June 20, Oswald sought out Rodriguez at the Bluebird Club in Yamato and again tried to fight with the sergeant. After pouring a drink on Rodriguez, military police intervened and the next day,

Rodriguez signed a complaint against Oswald.

At the court-martial, Oswald acted as his own defense, claiming he was drunk and spilled the drink on Rodriguez accidentally.

Rodriguez said then - and after the assassination - that Oswald had not been drunk and had poured the drink on him deliberately.

The judge ruled that Oswald was guilty of using "provoking words" to a noncommissioned officer and sentenced him to 28 days in the brig and forfeiture of \$55. Furthermore, his previous suspension of sentence was revoked and Oswald supposedly went to the brig until August 13, a period of more than 45 days.

Only one Marine who was in the Atsugi brig during this time recalled seeing Oswald and he said during this brief encounter Oswald was wearing civilian clothes.

After his release, several Marines commented that Oswald seemed different. Joseph D. Macedo said he found him "a completely changed person..." Others said that where "Ozzie Rabbit" had been extroverted and fun-filled, this new Oswald was cold and withdrawn.

It may well be right here that a new Oswald - an entirely different man - was substituted for the New Orleans-born Marine. (See WAS OSWALD REALLY OSWALD)

Meanwhile, a previously-granted extension of overseas duty was canceled and it appeared that Oswald would soon be on his way home.

However, on September 14, the Chinese communists began making moves against the Nationalist islands of Quemoy and Matsu and there was a general mobilization. Oswald accompanied his unit to Formosa (now Taiwan).

Not long after their arrival on the island, Oswald was assigned guard duty. About midnight, the officer of the guard, Lt. Charles R. Rhodes, heard several shots.

Running to the scene, Rhodes found Oswald slumped against a tree holding his M-1 rifle in his lap. Rhodes recalled:

"When I got to him, he was shaking and crying. He said he had seen men in the woods and that he challenged them and then started shooting...He kept saying he couldn't bear being on guard duty."

Almost immediately, Oswald was shipped back to Atsugi, arriving on Oct. 5, 1958, according to official reports. Years later, Rhodes said he still believed that Oswald planned the shooting incident as a ploy to get himself transferred back to Japan.

Rhodes was never given any explanation for the willingness of the Marine Corps to go along with this "ploy" except that Oswald was being returned for "medical treatment."

Recall the medical records concerning Oswald's gonorrhea contracted "in line of duty." However, this record is dated September 16, 1958, two days AFTER Oswald officially left with his unit for Formosa.

There has been no explanation for this, as well as several other discrepancies in Oswald's military service records. This has caused some assassination researchers to believe that more than one man was using the name Oswald during this time.

Or could it be that even more time was needed to prepare Oswald for upcoming intelligence missions?

Back at Atsugi and with his unit gone, Oswald was temporarily assigned to a Marine squadron at Iwakuni, an air base about 430 miles southwest of Tokyo.

Here, quite by accident, he came into contact with Owen Dejanovich, a Marine who had attended radar school with him. Dejanovich tried to renew the acquaintanceship but was rebuffed by Oswald, who made efforts to avoid the one man around who had known him previously.

Dejanovich also found Oswald changed. He said Oswald kept referring to the Marines as "you Americans" and raving about "American imperialism" and "exploitation." He also noticed that Oswald was keeping company with locals again, this time with a "...round-eyed Russian girlfriend."

On November 2, 1958, Oswald boarded the USS Barrett for the two-week trip to San Francisco. On November 19, he took a 30-day leave, traveling by bus to Fort Worth where he stayed with his mother, but spent most of his time with his brother Robert hunting squirrels and rabbits.

On December 22, he was assigned to Marine Air Control Squadron No.9 (MACS-9) at El Toro, California. Here he was one of seven enlisted men and three officers who formed a radar crew. According to the Warren Report:

"This work probably gave him access to certain kinds of classified material, some of which, such as aircraft call signs and radio frequencies, was changed after his

(attempted) defection to Russia."

It was here that Oswald's public embracing of communism reached new heights.

He would answer questions with "Da" or "Nyet" and address fellow Marines as "Comrade." When playing chess, he always wanted the red playing pieces, which he referred to as the "victorious Red Army."

His Marine companions began calling him "Oswaldskovich."

One of his fellow Marines, Kerry Thornley, was so impressed by this "eightball" that he later wrote a novel using a character based on Oswald.

Here are some of his recollections:

"I have never personally known an individual more motivated by what appeared to be a genuine concern for the human race than Lee Harvey Oswald...His concern for other people, not as individuals but as a mass, was real. Oswald was unselfish. He was so unselfish that he couldn't seem to concentrate on his own affairs. He would rather be busily solving the problems of mankind...(Once) I explained that I was an atheist."

"So am I," said Oswald, glancing up from his notebook. "I think the best religion is communism."

"Yeah, Oswald's a Red," said one of the men, to me.

"No, I'm not a communist. I just think they have the best system."

"Why?" I wanted to know.

"Because they have a purpose. And the communist way of life is more scientific than ours. You don't have to believe in a bunch of fairy tales to accept it."

"...What causes me to have second thoughts about his commitment to communism is his enthusiasm for a book unpopular with the few self-admitted communists I have known, for obvious reasons. The book is George Orwell's "1984," a severe criticism in fiction form of socialist totalitarianism....I read "1984" and for a while decided Oswald was not truly in sympathy with Marxism. It had to be a joke, I concluded. That explained his tight little smile. He was laughing to himself, I was sure. He saw all the fallacies in socialism that George Orwell saw. And, on this final point, I am still not convinced I was wrong...And, the one thing I remember most about Lee is that he was a comedian...his wit got him into the most trouble...One of his favorite games was to compare the United States Marine Corps to the society in "1984." "Be careful, comrade, with Big Brother's equipment," he would say...

Thornley said he was greatly surprised when he read about Oswald going to Russia.

He was even more surprised to learn that Oswald was identified as Kennedy's assassin. Although he was convinced of Oswald's guilt by the time he put down his recollections, thanks to the barrage of damaging information offered by the authorities through the news media, he nevertheless wrote:

"From the moment I first heard of his arrest until after he was gunned down by Jack Ruby, I did not believe Oswald could be guilty. But, as the facts came in, as the evidence piled up, I decided there must have been more violence in him than I thought."

Another Marine, Nelson Delgado, also got along well with Oswald. Delgado, a Puerto Rican, said Oswald "treated him like an equal."

Oswald and Delgado talked at length about Cuba and Fidel Castro's coming to power. After a while, Oswald began asking Delgado how he could get in touch with some Cubans.

Delgado said one day he handed Oswald a note saying he should write the Cuban Embassy in Washington, D.C. Not long after that, Delgado noticed that Oswald, who previously received few letters, began receiving mail several times a week and that at least some of this mail came from the Cuban consulate.

Delgado also told investigators after the assassination that during this time, Oswald was often "gigged" for having a dirty rifle and that, when the unit went to the rifle range, Oswald got "Maggie's drawers," - a red flag signifying that he hadn't even hit the target.

If Oswald was a genuine Marine communist, it begs the imagination to think that his officers took no notice.

In fact, Thornley tells of an incident in which a young lieutenant did notice that Oswald was receiving a Russian newspaper in the mail. According to this story:

"...the lieutenant grew very excited over his discovery and possibly made an open issue of Oswald's probable sympathy to the communist cause. Most of the troops...were very much amused at the lieutenant's having "pushed the panic button." Oswald, of course, didn't think it was so funny. But apparently the lieutenant's warnings were ignored by the command..."

Were these warnings ignored or were higher-ups more knowledgeable about Oswald's communist activities?

Another hint as to Oswald's true allegiances may be found in an odd incident involving his friend Thornley, with whom Oswald spent many hours in ideological and philosophical discussions.

Thornley told the Warren Commission that one day while he and Oswald were preparing for a military parade and were remarking about the stupidity of the thing, Oswald said it made him angry. Thornley then said:

"Well, comes the revolution you will change all that."...at which time he (Oswald) looked at me like a betrayed Caesar and screamed, "Not you, too, Thornley!" And I remember his voiced cracked as he said this. He was definitely disturbed at what I had said and I didn't really think I had said that much....I never said anything to him again and he never said anything to me again."

This sounds more like a person deeply hurt that a good friend would seriously believe him to be a communist than a communist sympathizer angered over an innocuous jibe.

James Botelho, today a California judge, was a roommate of Oswald's during his stay at El Toro. Botelho even once took Oswald home to meet his parents. He has never bought the idea that Oswald turned communist.

In an interview with Mark Lane, Botelho stated:

"I'm very conservative now and I was at least as conservative at that time. Oswald was not a communist or a Marxist. If he was I would have taken violent action against him and so would many of the other Marines in the unit."

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Whatever his true beliefs concerning communism, Oswald at this time knew bigger things were looming on his horizon.

In the spring of 1959, he had applied to study philosophy at the Albert Schweitzer College in Switzerland and had been accepted.

In a cryptic letter to his brother, he wrote:

"Pretty soon I'll be getting out of the Corps and I know what I want to be and how I'm going to be it..."

Years later, Marine Bucknell told Mark Lane that during 1959, both he, Oswald and other Marines at El Toro Base were ordered to report to the military Criminal Investigation Division (CID). There a civilian tried to recruit those present for an intelligence operation against "communists" in Cuba.

Oswald was selected to make several more trips to CID and later told Bucknell that the civilian was the same man who had been his intelligence contact at Atsugi. Some time later, Oswald confided to Bucknell that he was to be discharged from the Marines and go to Russia.

Oswald said he was being sent to Russia by American intelligence and that he would return to America in 1961 as a hero.

Judge Botelho, the former roommate of Oswald, told of his reaction to Oswald's trip to Russia:

"Well, when Oswald's presence in the Soviet Union was made public, it was the talk of everyone who knew him at the base. First of all, I was aware of the fact that the radio codes and other codes were not changed and that Oswald knew all of them. That made me suspicious. I knew Oswald was not a communist and was, in fact, anti-Soviet. Then, when no real investigation about Oswald occurred at the base, I was sure that Oswald was on an intelligence assignment in Russia....Two civilians dropped in (at El Toro), asked a few questions, took no written statements and recorded no interviews with witnesses. It was the most casual of investigations. It was a cover-investigation so that it could be said that there had been an investigation.... Oswald, it was said, was the only Marine ever to defect from his country to another country, a communist country, during peacetime. That was a major event. When the Marine Corps and American intelligence decided not to probe the reasons for the "defection," I knew then what I know now: Oswald was on an assignment in Russia for American

intelligence."

Whether an intelligence agent or true defector, Oswald obviously had plans made and the Navy seemed oddly obliging.

On August 17, 1959, Oswald applied for a dependency discharge on the grounds that his mother needed his support. This application was accompanied by affidavits from his mother, an attorney, a doctor and two friends - all supplied by his mother - stating she had been injured at work in December 1958 and was unable to support herself.

Later investigation showed a candy box had fallen on her nose and that she had not even bothered to see a doctor until well after the incident.

Nevertheless, within two weeks, to the surprise of his fellow Marines, Oswald's request was approved and he was released from service on September 11.

On September 4, Oswald applied for a passport, plainly stating that he might travel to various countries including Russia and Cuba. This, of course, was in opposition to his claim that he was going home to care for his injured mother.

His passport was "routinely" issued six days later, just in time for his exit from the Marines.

After a brief stopover in Texas with his mother, Oswald withdrew \$203 from his only-known bank account and continued on to New Orleans, where he purchased a ticket for Le Harve, France, on the freighter "Marion Lykes" for \$220.75.

He had told his mother he was going to New Orleans to work for an import-export firm, but in a letter mailed just before he sailed, he wrote:

"I have booked passage on a ship to Europe. I would have had to sooner or later and I think it's best I go now. Just remember above all else that my values are different from Robert's or yours. It is difficult to tell you how I feel. Just remember, this is what I must do. I did not tell you about my plans because you could hardly be expected to understand."

On September 20, 1959, Oswald left on the first leg of a journey which would take him to his destiny - via Russia.

Crossfire: Oswald Summary

Lee Harvey Oswald had a childhood which was no better nor worse than millions of other Americans. He was bright and eager to learn, despite a disrespect for educational systems and authorities.

At age 16, after joining the Civil Air Patrol and meeting Captain David Ferrie, he suddenly made some public posturings as a pro-communist, despite the fact that he tried to join the Marine Corps at this same time.

Once a Marine, several odd and troubling items appeared in his military record.

Despite prior-service statements indicating interest in communist activities, Oswald was granted a security clearance and stationed at the Japanese base where super-secret spy flights were being launched.

Further evidence of Oswald's involvement with undercover work can be seen in his off-duty activities at the Queen Bee and his strange case of venereal disease "in line of duty."

Fellow Marines and even a former CIA clerk have stated publicly that Oswald was recruited into U.S. intelligence while stationed in Japan.

Various discrepancies in Oswald's military records - notations made for the same date but different locations, unaccounted for periods of time - support the idea that Oswald was given secret intelligence training.

And consider the circumstance of a Marine in 1959 who was vocally supportive of communism and Castro, yet was "ignored" by higher command - further evidence that Oswald was creating a cover story as a pro-communist on orders.

The speed and ease with which he obtained a hardship discharge and a United States passport raise questions regarding Oswald's possible relationship with U.S. intelligence.

Until the United States Government decides to divulge all it knows about Oswald's career -there are still numerous files locked away until the year 2039 and Oswald's military files were reported "routinely" destroyed - it may prove impossible to conclusively prove Oswald's intelligence connections.

Until the day she died, Oswald's mother maintained her son was an agent of the U.S. Government, and the evidence of Oswald's spy work is there for anyone to see.

Crossfire: The Russians

"... I believe he (Oswald) worked for the American Government."

Marina Oswald

Stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which many still refer to as Russia, covers the largest territory in the world. It contains a wide diversity of peoples, many with separate customs, traditions and even languages. Spreading from the duchies around Moscow and Kiev, Ivan the Great and his son ultimately brought areas from the Volga Steppes and the Caspian Sea under control during the 16th century.

Modern Russia was created by annexing or conquering a long string of small nations such as Ukraine, Belorussia, Georgia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Kazakh, Armenia, Uzbek, Turkmen, Latvia, Estonia and Azerbaijan. By World War I, this giant collection of peoples was held together by the czarist monarchy. Battered by world war, famine, public discontent, a shattered economy and political intrigues within the monarchy, Russia collapsed into revolution in February 1917. With the abdication of Czar Nicholas II and Czarina Alexandra, a provisional government was set up under Aleksandr Kerenski. Kerenski attempted to bring Western democratic ideals to his beleaguered nation, but the fury of the revolution continued unabated.

In the fall of 1917, hoping to pull Russia out of the war, the Germans instigated the return of the leader of the radical Bolsheviks, Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov, better known as Lenin, leader of the Bolsheviks. After the October Revolution instigated by Lenin, Russia fell under control of the Bolsheviks, who declared themselves dedicated to the ideals of communism.

In 1922, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was established in Russia.

On January 21, 1924, after suffering three strokes, Lenin died. It has been rumored he may have been helped along by poison ordered by his successor, Joseph Stalin. Stalin, who may have murdered as many as 12 million people in his drive to power, held Russia in his dictatorial grip until his death in 1953.

In the five years following Stalin's death, there was a quiet, but deadly, struggle for power in the USSR, with former secretary of the communist Party Nikita Khrushchev coming out on top.

Khrushchev continued to take the offensive against Stalinist hard-liners, first by denouncing Stalin's purge of Secret Police Chief Lavrenti Beria in 1953 in return for Russian Army support and then by staging a series of impressive foreign visits during the late 1950s. Both Khrushchev and his western counterpart, U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower, both seemed sincere in wanting to ease the tensions between their two countries.

In the summer of 1959, Khrushchev visited the United States. Newsweek described the results:

"After two private days with Eisenhower at Camp David, Khrushchev lifted an ultimatum on Berlin, announced that the President had "captivated" him and praised (Eisenhower's) wisdom and love of peace in terms no cold-war Soviet leader has used either before or since. The stage was set for a full-fledged negotiation at the summit in Paris."

This summit, scheduled for mid-May 1960, might have produced a limited nuclear-test-ban treaty, already foreseen as the first major accord of the cold war.

But it was not to be.

On May 1, the traditional Russian celebration of May Day, CIA pilot Francis Gary Powers was captured alive after his U-2 spy plane crashed in the Soviet Union following an explosion. Khrushchev was furious, yet tried to give Eisenhower latitude in disclaiming any knowledge of the incident. He stated that the U-2 flight may have been the work of "American aggressive circles" trying to "torpedo the Paris summit or, at any rate, prevent an agreement for which the whole world is waiting."

After days of half-truths and evasions, Eisenhower finally admitted that the spy plane was acting on his orders and took responsibility for the fiasco, just as John Kennedy took the responsibility for the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion a year later.

However, questions still surround the U-2 incident and some students of history such as David Wallechinsky and Irving Wallace in "The People's Almanac" note:

"It is possible that certain U.S. military leaders deployed Powers purposely to sabotage the peace talks which Eisenhower himself acutely desired."

Crossfire: Oswald and the U2

Francis Gary Powers and his ill-fated U-2 spy plane were brought down six months after a former Marine named Lee Harvey Oswald arrived in Moscow and told an American Embassy official he planned to give the Soviets classified information he had gained as a radar operator in the Marine Corps.

Richard E. Snyder, a CIA intelligence operative serving as senior consular officer at the Moscow embassy, recalled that Oswald went so far as to state that he knew something that would be of "special interest" to Soviet intelligence. What "special interest" information did Oswald have?

The Russians had known about the U-2 program for some time and their anti-aircraft missiles were capable of shooting down the high-flying craft. What the Soviets lacked was detailed altitude information on the U-2 which would have allowed them to accurately control their missiles at great altitudes.

Oswald, who served as a radar operator at Atsugi, Japan, one of the staging bases for the U-2 flights, had that information.

After being swapped for a Soviet spy, Powers returned to the U.S. and wrote a book about his ordeal entitled "Operation Overflight." He pointed out Oswald's claim that he had information for the Soviets and inferred that if indeed Oswald gave information pertaining to U-2 operational altitudes and radar techniques used during its flight, the Russians may have learned enough to enable them to shoot down the U-2. Powers also said his Soviet interrogators seemed to have special knowledge about the Atsugi base, although Powers maintained he had never been stationed there.

Files detailing Oswald's connection with the U-2 flights have been withheld from the American public for years by the Warren Commission.

Colonel Fletcher Prouty, who served as focal point officer between the CIA and the Air Force, was particularly concerned with the U-2 flights. He has stated that it is preposterous to assume that information Oswald might have given the Russians could have led to their shooting down the craft. Prouty told author Anthony Summers:

"The Russians simply had nothing that could touch a plane flying that high."

Prouty concluded that, based on his interpretation of U-2 technical evidence, Power's plane was flying below its operational altitude when brought down. Some people familiar with the U-2 incident believe it may have been downed due to sabotage. In 1977, Powers told a radio audience that he believed his U-2 had been brought down by a bomb placed on board. Shortly after making this statement, he was killed when his helicopter, used to report news for a Los Angeles television station, ran out of gas and crashed.

There are two tantalizing clues that Oswald may have indeed had some connection with the U-2 incident. In a letter to his brother, Oswald wrote regarding Powers:

"He seemed to be a nice bright American-type fellow when I saw him in Moscow."

There is no explanation as to how or when Oswald might have seen Powers, particularly when viewed from the standpoint that officially Oswald never returned to Moscow after being sent to Minsk in 1960.

Next, after his return to the United States, Oswald told Dennis Ofstein, a fellow employee of Jagers-Chiles-Stovall who had worked for Army security, that he had only seen Russian jets in Moscow on May Day. And of Oswald's three May Days spent in Russia, the only one unaccounted for is May 1, 1960 - the day the U-2 was captured.

Because of the U-2 flights during this time, Soviet intelligence was extremely interested in America defectors, both because of the knowledge they might have and the suspicion that most, if not all, were American spies. Apparently American intelligence was equally interested in learning about the Soviets. According to author Anthony Summers, who studied documents from both the State Department and the House Select Committee on Assassinations, there were only two U.S. enlisted men to defect to Russia between the years 1945 and 1959. Yet in the 18 months prior to January 1960, no fewer than nine defected, five of them U.S. Army men from West Germany and two Navy men. All these defectors, including at least three civilians, had backgrounds in the military or in sensitive defense work. It is known that, like Oswald, at least four of these returned to the United States after a few years.

Crossfire: Robert E. Webster - Another Oswald?

The case of Robert E. Webster, an American who told officials he was defecting to Russia less than two weeks before Oswald, is worth considering since there appears to be many similarities between the two.

Webster, a former Navy man, was a young plastics expert who simply failed to return home with colleagues after working at an American trade exhibition in Moscow. He had been an employee of the Rand Development Corp., one of the first U.S. companies to sell Russia technical products. Although Rand Development was thought to be separate from the more notorious Rand Corporation - the CIA "think-tank" front where Daniel Ellsberg copied the Pentagon Papers - there appears to be some evidence of connections between the two. The firms were at one time located across the street from each other in New York City; Rand Development did hold several CIA contracts and several top officials of Rand Development - President Henry Rand, George Bookbinder and Christopher Bird - were later connected with the CIA.

While in Russia, Webster took a Soviet girl as common-law wife (he was already married to a woman in the United States) and the couple had a child. Like Oswald, Webster claimed to have become disenchanted with Soviet life and he returned to the United States about the same time as Oswald.

The story becomes even stranger.

Although Webster is said to have told American officials he never had any contact with Lee Harvey Oswald, when Oswald was arranging his return to the United States in 1961, he "asked (U.S. Embassy officials) about the fate of a young man named Webster who had come to the Soviet Union shortly before he did..."

Furthermore, there are some intriguing connections between Webster and Oswald's wife, Marina. Years later in America, Marina told an acquaintance that her husband had defected after working at an American exhibition in Moscow. This, of course, reflects Webster's story, not Oswald's. After the assassination, when American intelligence was looking into Marina's background, they discovered an address in her address book matching that of Webster's Leningrad apartment. Were Webster and Oswald two of several fake defectors being sent into Russia during 1958 and 1959? The parallels of their stories are striking.

Author Summers talked with former CIA Officer Victor Marchetti, who analyzed the Soviet military during the time Oswald went to Russia, and was told:

"At the time, in 1959, the United States was having real difficulty in acquiring information out of the Soviet Union; the technical systems had, of course, not developed to the point that they are at today, and we were resorting to all sorts of activities. One of these activities was an ONI (Office of Naval Intelligence) program which involved three dozen, maybe 40, young men who were made to appear disenchanted, poor, American youths who had become turned off and wanted to see what communism was all about. They were sent into the Soviet Union or into eastern Europe, with the specific intention the Soviets would pick them up and "double" them if they suspected them of being U.S. agents, or recruit them as KGB agents. They were trained at various naval installations both here and abroad, but the operation was being run out of Nag's Head, North Carolina."

This is particularly interesting because this Navy program sounds exactly like Oswald's experience and because of an unexplained incident after Oswald was in Dallas Police custody.

The night of the assassination, Oswald attempted to place a call from the Dallas Police Station. According to one of the police telephone operators, Oswald was told his number didn't answer although the call was never put through. The operator retrieved a slip of paper with the number Oswald tried to call on it and learned that Oswald had tried to reach a man named "Hurt" in Raleigh, North Carolina.

One man whose 1963 telephone number matched the number on the Dallas operator's note was a John D. Hurt, who has disclaimed any knowledge of Oswald. Yet Hurt, it was learned, served with U.S. Military Intelligence during World War II. Further, Oswald had no known contacts in North Carolina.

During the years Oswald was in Russia, the State Department was engaged in a study of U.S. defectors to Russia. Otto Otepka, the official in charge of the study, said one of its goals was to determine which defectors were genuine and which may have been U.S. intelligence operatives.

In June 1963, five months prior to the assassination of President Kennedy, Otepka said he was ousted from his job and, in fact, barred from access to his study material on defectors, one of whom

was Lee Harvey Oswald. Asked if Oswald was a real or fake defector by a researcher in 1971, Otepka replied:

"We had not made up our minds when...we were thrown out of the office."

This incident is especially troubling, for if the shut-down of the State Department investigation was because of Oswald, this is evidence of someone within the U. S. government having prior knowledge of the assassination.

Crossfire: Oswald's Defection

Oswald's attempted defection to Russia was as strange as many other aspects of his life.

The "Marion Lykes" arrived in Le Havre, France, on October 8, 1959. Oswald arrived in Southampton, England, October 9 and, according to the Warren Commission, set off for Helsinki, Finland, arriving and checking into the Tornio Hotel that same day. However, in Oswald's passport, the British immigration stamp reads, "Embarked 10 Oct. 1959." This presents a real problem, since the only direct flight from London to Helsinki that day did not arrive in time for Oswald to have checked into the Tornio Hotel at the hour shown in the hotel's register. The discrepancy in times has led some researchers to believe that Oswald got to Finland by some means other than public transportation - perhaps in U.S. military aircraft. But this possibility, of course, smacks of intelligence work and had been avoided by the official investigations.

Another oddity: throughout his life, Oswald exhibited a tightness with money, usually staying in cheap rooming houses and apartments. However, once in Helsinki, he registered in the Tornio Hotel, then moved the next day into the Klaus Kurki Hotel, two of the city's most expensive and luxurious lodgings. The Warren Commission claimed Oswald then visited the Soviet consulate in Helsinki and obtained a visa in two days, which must have been some sort of record, as the Commission also determined that the shortest normal time for obtaining a visa was one week.

Oswald's visa was issued October 14 and the Commission said Oswald left by train the next day for Moscow, arriving on October 16. However, the leading Swedish newspaper "Dagens Nyheter" reported three days after the assassination information - which since has been confirmed by Swedish Intelligence - that Oswald failed to get his Soviet visa in Helsinki. The paper said Oswald instead came to Stockholm, where he obtained a visa at the Russian Embassy after two days. Curiously, neither the Warren Commission nor the House Select Committee on Assassinations mentioned this side trip.

Whatever the facts, the speed and ease with which Oswald journeyed to Moscow leaves one with the impression that there was more motivating this young man than a lone American seeking to experience a communist state.

Arriving in Moscow by train, Oswald was taken in tow by a representative of Intourist, the official state tourist agency, who placed him in the Hotel Berlin where he registered as a student. The next day Oswald went sightseeing with his Intourist guide, a young woman named Rima Shirokova, and promptly told her he wanted to defect. Despite his proclamation that he was a "communist" desiring to live in Russia, after several contacts with Soviet authorities Oswald was informed on October 21 that his visa had expired and he had two hours to leave Moscow.

Faced with deportation, Oswald reportedly cut his left wrist in a suicide attempt. Conveniently, this was done just before a meeting with his Intourist guide. She found him in his hotel room and had him taken to a hospital. This act accomplished the same result of the Marine shooting incident - he was out of sight in the hospital for 11 days. He was released on October 28 and, accompanied by Rima Shirokova, he checked out of the Hotel Berlin and into the Metropole. The Warren Commission concluded:

"The government undoubtedly directed him to make the change."

Oswald had, in fact, been in touch with Soviet government officials from the "Pass and Registration Office."

He remained in his hotel room three days, apparently awaiting orders from someone. He told Shirokova he was impatient, but didn't say why.

By Saturday, October 31, 1959, Oswald was ready to make his move. Striding past the Marine guards at the U.S. Embassy, he plopped his passport down in front of a receptionist and declared he had come to "dissolve his American citizenship." He was directed to Richard E. Snyder, the second secretary and senior consular official, who tried dissuade the young ex-Marine from his planned course of action.

Oswald handed Snyder an undated, handwritten note that displayed a sophisticated knowledge of the legal subtleties concerning the revocation of citizenship. It reflected the same type of knowledge which had allowed Oswald to make his journey to Moscow in a most unorthodox manner.

The note stated:

"I, Lee Harvey Oswald, do hereby request that my present citizenship in the United States of America, be revoked....I take these steps for political reasons. My request for the revoking of my American citizenship is made only after the longest and most serious considerations. I affirm that my allegiance is to the Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics."

Present with Snyder was John McVickar, another senior consular officer. In later years, McVickar said he felt Oswald:

"...was following a pattern of behavior in which he had been tutored by a person or persons unknown...seemed to be using words he had learned but did not fully understand...in short, it seemed to me there was the possibility that he had been in contact with others before or during his Marine Corps tour who had guided him and encouraged him in his actions?"

In later years Snyder himself came under suspicion of aiding Oswald in an intelligence mission when it was revealed that he had worked for the CIA - although the Agency claimed it was only for a brief time in 1949.

When the House Select Committee on Assassinations looked into the matter, investigators found that Snyder's CIA file was unavailable "... (as) a matter of cover." The committee found this revelation "extremely troubling."

According to the Warren Commission, Snyder did not permit Oswald to renounce his citizenship. Since it was a Saturday, Snyder explained that Oswald would have to return on a normal business day to fill out the necessary paperwork. Oswald never returned and, therefore, technically never renounced his citizenship.

Could the three-day wait in his hotel room have been because he had been coached not to defect unless it was on a Saturday? How could a lowly high school drop-out know all of these legalistic subtleties without being briefed by someone much more knowledgeable?

Even American newswoman, Priscilla Johnson, who interviewed Oswald a few days later in his hotel room, thought he "may have purposely not carried through his original intent to renounce (citizenship) in order to leave a crack open."

On November 3, Oswald sent the embassy a letter protesting its refusal to accept his renunciation of citizenship. However, he never showed up in person to pursue that act. And when embassy personnel attempted to contact Oswald, he refused to see them.

During this time, Oswald granted two newspaper interviews, one to Aline Mosby of UPI and the other to Johnson, who said she represented the North American Newspaper Alliance syndicate. Oswald harangued both reporters with his fervent support of Marxism and its ideals and both dutifully reported his comments in newspaper articles that appeared back in the United States.

Johnson (now Priscilla Johnson McMillan), interestingly, would later write the book "Marina and Lee," which supposedly "reveals the innermost secrets of (Marina's) life with the man who shot JFK."

She once was an assistant to Senator John F. Kennedy and went on to become an acknowledged expert on Soviet affairs. It is Mrs. McMillan who has been responsible for much of the information concerning Oswald's personal life shortly before the assassination. There has been much speculation over the years that Mrs. McMillan was operating for U. S. intelligence when she was in contact with Oswald. She has testified that she never worked for the CIA. However, the House Select Committee on Assassinations reported that she had applied to work for the CIA in 1952, had been "debriefed" by that agency after a trip to Russia in 1962 and, in fact, had provided the CIA with "cultural and literary" information.

Suspicion about Johnson grew in light of an FBI memorandum dated November 23, 1963, in which a State Department security officer informed the FBI:

"...one Priscilla Johnston (sic) and Mrs. G. Stanley Brown also had contact with Oswald in Russia. Both these women were formerly State Department employees at the American Embassy and their contact with Oswald was official business."

By December 1959, Oswald had dropped from sight in the Soviet Union and was not heard from again for more than a year. During that time, most of what is known about Oswald's activities come from his "Historic Diary," supposedly a day-to-day account of his life in Russia.

Even the Warren Commission had trouble with Oswald's diary, noting:

"...it is not an accurate guide to the details of Oswald's activities. Oswald seems not to have been concerned about the accuracy of dates and names and apparently made many of his entries subsequent to the date the events occurred."

For instance, Oswald notes in his entry for October 31, 1959 - the day he visited the American Embassy - that John McVickar had taken Richard Snyder's place as "head consul." This change did not take place until two years after that date, at a time Oswald was preparing to leave Russia.

In later years, experts hired by the House Select Committee on Assassinations concluded the "diary" was written entirely on the same paper and was most probably written in one or two sittings. In other words, it was intended as a chronicle of his time in Russia, but was by no means contemporary. This fact further fuels the charge that Oswald, even while in the Soviet Union, was acting on orders from someone else. This charge was even voiced by Warren Commission general counsel J. Lee Rankin, who told commission members in executive session:

"That entire period is just full of possibilities for training, for working with the Soviet(s), and its agents."

Aside from the "diary" there is precious little documentation about Oswald's stay in Russia.

In early 1964, the Soviet government provided the Warren Commission with 15 pages of documents, including copies of Oswald's passport, a job application form from a Minsk radio factory, some hospital records and a supervisor's report from the factory.

Crossfire: Comrade Oswald

Although much about Oswald's life in Russia is unknown, there are pieces of information tell a decidedly different story of his sojourn.

After spending New Year's Day 1960 in Moscow, Oswald reportedly was then sent to Minsk with 5,000 rubles. The money supposedly came from the "Red Cross," although Oswald himself wrote that the money actually came from the Soviet MVD (the Soviet secret police) after he "denounced" the United States. He reported that he was greeted in Minsk on January 8 by no less than the mayor of the city, who promised him a rent-free apartment. And what an apartment it was - a spacious flat with a separate living room, tile floors and modern furniture, accommodations far beyond the means of the average Russian worker. Two private balconies overlooked a picturesque bend in the Svisloch River. It was here that Oswald entertained his new-found Russian friends, such as Pavel Golovachev. Golovachev was pictured in some of the snapshots Oswald made in his Minsk home. Golovachev was the son of Hero of the Soviet Union General P.Y. Golovachev and a man who reportedly traveled in Minsk's highest social circles.

Oswald was assigned duties as a "metal worker" in the Belorussian Radio and Television factory. Here, between his wages and the continuing "Red Cross" allowance, Oswald reportedly was making more money than the factory's director.

In his "diary," Oswald wrote about affairs with at least five local girls, with whom he would take to nearby movies, theaters and opera. Oswald wrote in his "diary," that he was "living big."

On a darker side, it should be noted that Minsk, along with being a somewhat cosmopolitan city by Russian standards, also was the site of an espionage training school made known to the CIA as far back as 1947. In testimony to the Warren Commission on May 14, 1964, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover said:

"...just the day before yesterday information came to me indicating that there is an espionage training school outside of Minsk - I don't know whether it is true - and that he (Oswald) was trained at that school to come back to this country to become what they call a "sleeper," that is a man who will remain dormant for three or four years and in case of international hostilities rise up and be used."

Almost adjacent to this spy school is the Foreign Language Institute. Oswald in a manuscript about his life in Minsk wrote, "I was in the Foreign Language Institute," realizing his slip, Oswald edited this remark to read, "I was visiting friends in the Foreign Language Institute."

In addition to his money and lavish apartment, there is evidence to suggest that Oswald was living a privileged life with his Soviet hosts. Although officially, he never left Minsk - in his manuscript, Oswald pointed out how most Soviet citizens were prohibited from traveling far from their home - Oswald apparently traveled extensively in Russia.

Jeanne DeMohrenschildt, who along with her husband befriended Oswald after his return to the United States, said he was quite interested in photography. She said he had photographs of various locations in Russia which he showed her with great pride. He also told her about his enjoyable weekends hunting. And, found among his possessions was a Soviet hunting license showing he had been a member of the Belorussian Society of Hunters and Fishermen which carried with it the privilege of owning a 16-gauge shotgun, another feat impossible for the average Russian.

About the only fact that can be stated without question concerning Oswald's life in Russia is that he lived well beyond the means of the ordinary Soviet citizen. To most researchers, this abundant life was indicative of some sort of special relationship with Soviet officials. The exact nature of this relationship is still unknown, however many assassination students believe two things: one, that Oswald's fake "defection" to Russia may have had something to do with the downing of the U-2 spy plane on May 1, 1960 and, second, whatever the purposes of his intelligence mission to Russia, it had nothing to do with the subsequent assassination of President Kennedy except to paint the accused assassin as a communist operative.

Although Oswald was not heard from in Russia between December 1959 and February 1961, the wheels of the U.S. bureaucracy were turning. As early as November 10, 1959, the FBI, upon learning of Oswald's attempted defection, placed a "flash" notice on his fingerprint card. This would serve to alert Bureau officials should Oswald's fingerprints turn up in any FBI investigation. It also placed his name on a "watch" list used in monitoring overseas communications.

By the summer of 1960, the FBI was fully alert to Oswald and to the possibility that some sort of espionage game was being played out.

On June 3, 1960, FBI director Hoover wrote to the State Department's Office of Security, warning: "Since there is a possibility that an impostor is using Oswald's birth certificate, any current information the Department of State may have concerning subject will be appreciated."

About this same time, the Marine Corps, informed that Oswald had offered to tell military secrets to the Soviets, took action. After failing to reach Oswald with certified letters, the Marine Corps officially changed Oswald's "honorable discharge" to "dishonorable" on September 13, 1960.

But it was Oswald's mother who seemed to get the swiftest reaction from queries about her son. After phone calls to the FBI and letters to her congressmen failed to turn up information about her son, Mrs. Oswald spent her small savings on a train ticket to Washington. Arriving on January 28, 1961, she called the White House wanting to speak to President Kennedy, who had just been inaugurated eight days before. Failing to reach the President, she asked to speak to Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Instead, she was granted an immediate interview with Eugene Boster, White House Soviet affairs officer. Although she had not heard from her son in more than a year and his trip to Russia allegedly was done entirely on his own, Mrs. Oswald quoted Boster as saying, "Oh, yes, Mrs. Oswald, I'm familiar with the case." As before, she charged that her son was working for the government of the United States and demanded that the government locate him in Russia. Memos were routinely sent to Moscow.

On February 1, 1961, less than a week after Mrs. Oswald's Washington visit, the State Department sent a "Welfare-Whereabouts" memo to Moscow.

On February 13, 1961, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow received a letter from Oswald dated February 5, stating:

"I desire to return to the United States, that is if we could come to some agreement concerning the dropping of any legal proceedings against me."

Secretary Snyder was understandably astonished that Oswald should write to him just after he had been asked to locate the ex-Marine. Mrs. Oswald maintained that the rapidity of response from her son indicated that the U.S. government was in contact with Oswald while in Russia. The Warren Commission attributed his sudden reappearance to coincidence, in light of the fact that routine queries about Oswald had not yet been initiated by the American Embassy.

In his letter, Oswald showed unusual knowledge of the legalities of citizenship. He pointed out that he had never "taken Russian citizenship" and added:

"If I could show (the Soviets) my American passport, I am of the opinion they would give me an exit visa."

Perhaps recalling Hoover's memo of the previous summer, the State Department informed Snyder that Oswald's passport was to be delivered on "a personal basis only."

On May 16, 1961, after some written sparring with the Embassy, Oswald further complicated the entire matter by writing:

"Since my last letter I have gotten married...My wife is Russian, born in Leningrad, she has no parents living and is quite willing to leave the Soviet Union with me and live in the United States...I would not leave here without my wife so arrangements would have to be made for her to leave at the same time I do."

Oswald was ready to return to the United States, but only with his new bride, Marina Nikolaevna Prusakova.

Crossfire: A Whirlwind Romance

A little more than a month after telling the American Embassy that he wished to return home, Oswald met the Russian woman who would become his wife and a chief witness against him after the assassination.

Around March 17, 1961, - nobody seems to be certain of the date, including Marina Oswald attended a trade union dance at the Palace of Culture in Minsk. Here he met 19-year-old Marina Nikolaevna Prusakova, who was the hit of the party in a red brocade dress and hair style "a la Brigitte Bardot." Oswald was introduced to her as "Alik" and soon they were dancing. Marina said they spoke Russian and she believed "Alik" to be a Soviet citizen, but from the Baltic area - Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania. She was greatly surprised to learn this man was really an American named Lee Harvey Oswald. After the dance, Oswald and Marina visited in the home of friends, where Oswald spoke up in defense of the United States, saying that while there were defects such as unemployment and discrimination, there still was "...more democracy..."

According to Oswald's diary, the pair hit it off well and he obtained Marina's telephone number before going home. The following week they again met at a dance and this time Oswald was allowed to accompany Marina home, where he was introduced to the aunt with whom she lived. Marina then agreed to go out on a date with Oswald, but the appointment fell through on March 30, the day before his scheduled date with Marina, Oswald entered the Fourth Clinical Hospital for an adenoids operation. Although the hospital visiting hours were Sundays only, Marina was able to visit Oswald almost every day, perhaps because she wore the white uniform of a pharmacist. She felt sorry for Oswald and on Easter Sunday, the day after his operation, brought him a painted Easter egg. Oswald immediately asked her to become his fiancée and she agreed.

Oswald wrote in his diary: "We are going steady, and I decide I must have her, she puts me off, so on April 15 I propose, she accepts." They married on April 30, less than six weeks after first meeting.

In later years, Marina exhibited a strange memory loss about many aspects of their meeting, whirlwind romance and wedding. She told varying stories as to who first introduced her to Oswald, then finally stated she just couldn't remember. She also told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that Oswald had proposed to her "a month and a half" before their wedding. This would mean Oswald proposed the first night they met. However, this was by no means the only inconsistency in Marina's recollections.

Marina claimed to be born on July 17, 1941, in the northern seaside town of Molotovsk. A war baby, she never knew who her father was and took her mother's name. In the book "Marina and Lee," she suddenly revealed that she had found out that her real father was a Soviet traitor named Nikolai Didenko. This may be a small matter, but it was never revealed to the Warren Commission. Her mother left her as an infant with elderly relatives in Arkhangelsk, where she grew up until rejoining her mother at age seven. By then her mother had married an electrical worker named Alexander Medvedev and by 1952, the family was living in Leningrad, where Marina attended a pharmacist school. She was a young student when her mother died. She said life with her stepfather became intolerable after the death of her mother.

Upon graduation from school in June 1959, she was assigned a job in a pharmaceutical warehouse, but quit after only one day and spent the rest of the summer on vacation. At the end of the summer, she went to Minsk to live with her maternal uncle, Colonel Ilya Vasilyevich Prusakov, a ranking officer in the MVD (the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs, portions of which function as secret police), a leading citizen in Minsk and a communist Party member. It was at her uncle's urging that she attended the dance where she met Oswald. Marina's uncle apparently never protested her marriage, although his position could have allowed him to study Oswald's KGB file which must have shown that Oswald had written to the American Embassy about returning to the United States since it is now known that the KGB was keeping him under surveillance.

Within a matter of days after their marriage, Oswald informed Marina of his desire to return to the United States. Soon, Marina began to apply for the documents necessary to leave the Soviet Union. Her exit visas appeared to have been expedited despite the fact that there were several problems with her background information. She stated her name as "Marina Nikolaevna," which indicated her father's name was Nikolai. She insisted, however, that she never knew the name of her father. Her birth certificate identified her birthplace as Severodvinsk. This was the name given to Molotovsk, but not until 1957.

Furthermore, since being a member of the communist Party might cause problems in leaving

Russia, she denied any membership. Actually, she was a member of the Komsomol, the communist Party's youth movement.

These discrepancies did not escape the notice of the CIA. Shortly after the assassination, a CIA memorandum noted:

"...at the time (the Agency) was becoming increasingly interested in watching develop a pattern that we had discovered in the course of our bio(graphical) and research work: the number of Soviet women marrying foreigners, being permitted to leave the USSR, then eventually divorcing their spouses and settling down abroad without returning "home". ...we eventually turned up something like two dozen similar cases."

Noting that the birth certificate Marina brought to the United States was issued July 19, 1961, and that she had to have one to obtain a marriage license, author Edward Epstein concluded:

"It thus seemed that new documents - and possibly a new identity - were furnished to Marina after it was decided that she would accompany Oswald to the United States."

On July 8, 1961, Oswald had flown to Moscow to retrieve his passport at the American Embassy. Since he had never technically defected, his passport was promptly returned, although the State Department cautioned the Embassy to proceed carefully in Oswald's "involved case" and to make sure "that the person in communication with the Embassy is...Lee Harvey Oswald." With all their applications made, the Oswalds settled down to wait for approval to leave Russia.

To further complicate the situation, a baby girl - June Lee Oswald - was born to Marina on February 15, 1962. On May 10, the Oswalds heard from the American Embassy that everything was in order and that they should come to Moscow to sign the final papers.

It was during this time that Marina noted a cooling in Oswald's attitude toward her. This coolness was to increase after they left Russia. It was almost as if he had made up the story of his love and instead was simply following some sort of orders in his courtship. Afterward, with his assignment completed, he didn't bother to act like his love was real.

Accounts of Oswald's time during this period also is filled with inconsistencies. For example, in his diary he claims to have returned to Minsk from Moscow on July 14. However, on August 1, Rita Naman and two other tourists reported meeting a young American in Moscow and snapping his picture. Two photos made by these tourists were displayed by the House Select Committee on Assassinations, which said the young American was Oswald.

On May 24, 1962, the Oswalds arrived in Moscow to attend to the final details of their departure from Russia. On June 1, Oswald signed a promissory note at the American Embassy for a repatriation loan of \$435.71, the money needed for his return and the couple boarded a train that same evening. Interestingly, just before their departure, both Oswalds met with Captain Alex Davison, the American Embassy doctor. The address of Davison's Russian-speaking mother - who lived in Atlanta, Ga. - can be found in Oswald's address book. Some time later, Davison was revealed as the contact man for U.S. intelligence operations involving a Soviet colonel who spied for the CIA.

Their trip home also has nagging indications of intelligence handling. The Warren Commission said they crossed out of communist territory at Brest. Yet, Marina's passport was stamped at Helmstedt, one of the major checkpoints on the East German border. Intriguingly, Oswald's passport shows no Helmstedt stamp at all, raising the possibility that he somehow traveled a different route from Marina's.

Arriving in Amsterdam, the Oswalds stayed - not in a hotel - but in a private establishment recommended by someone in the American embassy in Moscow, according to Marina. She described this place variously as a "private apartment" and as a "boardinghouse". While the official record shows they stayed here only one night, after the assassination, Marina recalled a three-day stay and she reacted with confusion when questioned about this by the House Select Committee on Assassinations. She did note that advanced arrangements had been made at this place and that their hosts spoke English. Many researchers suspect that Oswald, and perhaps Marina, were "debriefed" by U.S. intelligence during their Dutch stopover. Even the chief counsel of the Warren Commission called the episode "unexplained." Furthermore, in a statement to the Secret Service just after the assassination, Marina gave a version of their trip from Russia that was totally different from that given in the Warren Report. She claimed they "then arrived in New York by air...stayed in some hotel in New York City for one day and then went by train to Texas."

The Warren Commission, backed by tickets, documents and Marina's later testimony, stated that the couple arrived in Hoboken, New Jersey, on June 13, 1962 aboard the ship SS Maasdam. There they were met by Spas T. Raikin, a representative of the Traveler's Aid Society, which had been notified

of the Oswalds' arrival by the State Department. Raikin helped whisk the Oswalds through customs and then found them a place to stay in New York. He later arranged contact with Lee's brother, Robert, who sent the couple \$200 to pay for plane fare to Fort Worth, Texas.

According to BBC researcher and author Anthony Summers, Raikin was also an official with an anti-communist émigré group with links to both the FBI and U.S. military intelligence as well as anti-communist groups in New Orleans "headquartered in the very building where, in months to come, Oswald's name was to be linked with CIA-backed anti-Castro activists."

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) had approved the financial aid to Oswald upon urging from the State Department. In Dallas HEW records, it states that Oswald went to Russia "with State Department approval," an allegation later repeated by Oswald himself on a New Orleans radio program.

When the Oswalds arrived in New York, they had seven suitcases. When they left by plane, they only had five. Asked about the dwindling number, Oswald stated he had sent them ahead by rail. However, when the couple arrived in Fort Worth, Robert stated they had only two suitcases. The lost baggage may have something to do with their flight to Texas, which, although many direct flights were available, went by way of Atlanta. Atlanta was the home of Natasha Davison, the mother of Captain Davison, the U.S. attaché with intelligence connections who had met with the Oswalds in Moscow.

Yet, with all this evidence suggesting that Marina may have been part of some unrevealed intelligence program, she was accepted publicly by the Warren Commission as "a simple, devoted housewife..." Privately, commission members thought differently. At one point, they voiced the fear that she might be a KGB agent. Commission member Senator Richard Russell commented:

"That will blow the lid if she testifies to that."

One Warren Commission lawyer described Marina as "a very different person (from her public image)...cold, calculating, avaricious..."

Some believe that Marina lied in many instances during her testimony to the Warren Commission. And, keep in mind the fact that as Oswald's wife, her testimony would not have been admissible had Oswald come to trial.

Despite all this, Marina's testimony proved very damaging to Oswald. In the hours after the assassination, Marina was quoted as saying: "Lee good man. Lee not shoot anyone." But after being held for weeks by the federal authorities, her statements began to change. Instead of telling what a good husband Oswald had been, she began saying he was violent to her. After initially being unable to identify the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle as her husband's, she later described it as "the fateful rifle of Lee Harvey Oswald." She also began to tell stories of other attempts at assassination by Oswald - one against Richard Nixon and another against General Edwin Walker (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN).

Today Marina has reversed her statements of 1963-64 and publicly made several astounding admissions, including:

- How federal authorities forced her Warren Commission testimony by threatening deportation and ordered her not to read or listen to anything pertaining to the assassination.

- That today she believes a conspiracy resulted in President Kennedy's death. Lee Harvey Oswald was an agent who "worked for the American Government" and was "caught between two powers - the Government and organized crime."

- Oswald was "killed to keep his mouth shut."

That someone impersonated Oswald to incriminate him and "that's no joke." Lee Harvey Oswald "adored" President Kennedy.

In a 1988 interview published in the "Ladies' Home Journal," Marina said: "When I was questioned by the Warren Commission, I was a blind kitten. Their questioning left me only one way to go: guilty. I made Lee guilty. He never had a fair chance...But I was only 22 then, and I've matured since; I think differently."

By 1979, Marina - by then a mature woman with a good command of English - had begun to doubt the official explanation of the assassination and joined with British author Michael Eddowes in seeking to have Oswald's body exhumed (See WAS OSWALD REALLY OSWALD?).

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Considering the background of both Lee and Marina and the length of time spent by Oswald in Russia, it seems inconceivable that they were not interrogated by U. S. intelligence after their return. Yet the official story is that no U.S. intelligence agency had any interest in this ex-Marine.

Considering the Marine career of Oswald and the military information available to him as a radar operator, it is equally unbelievable that the Soviets did not interrogate Oswald at great length, especially if they found out about his connections with the U-2 flights from Atsugi.

Yet, this is precisely what the Soviets claimed in what has to become one of the most bizarre aspects of the Kennedy assassination - an aspect kept from the American public by the Warren Commission.

Crossfire: A Soviet Defector's Story

The strange story of Yuri Nosenko began on January 20, 1964, just two months after the events in Dallas.

Nosenko, an officer in the American Division of the KGB (Soviet Intelligence), had contacted the CIA initially on June 3, 1962, just two days after Oswald left Russia for the United States. Nosenko offered to spy for the Americans. However, nothing further had been heard from him and U.S. analysts were highly suspicious of his offer. Then on January 20, 1964, Nosenko landed in Geneva as part of a Soviet disarmament delegation. He soon made his way to a telephone and renewed his offer to American intelligence, but with a difference - this time he wanted to defect.

The defection of Yuri Nosenko set in motion a chain of events which would lead to bitter divisions between the CIA and FBI as well as within the CIA itself.

Once he was in American hands, CIA officials were shocked to learn that Nosenko claimed to have been the KGB official who had personally handled the case of Lee Harvey Oswald during his stay in Russia. Nosenko said - based on two mental examinations made of Oswald - the KGB found the would-be defector not very bright and even "mentally unstable." Furthermore, the KGB never debriefed Oswald about his military background nor ever considered recruiting him as an agent, claimed Nosenko.

This was exactly what many people in the CIA and on the Warren Commission wanted to hear. However, there were others in the agency who were immediately suspicious of this man. After all, it appeared Nosenko had forever left a ranking position and his family simply to assure the U.S. government that the man accused of killing the President was not a Soviet agent.

CIA Chief of counterintelligence James Jesus Angleton was particularly wary of Nosenko. He observed that most of the information provided by Nosenko revealing Soviet agents and operations were already known to the CIA prior to his defection. Furthermore, shortly after bringing Nosenko to the United States, CIA interrogators began to find errors and gaps in his testimony. For example, there was the question of Nosenko's rank. He initially told the CIA he was a lieutenant colonel in the KGB. But another KGB defector, Major Anatoli Golitsin, stated he had been in close contact with the KGB departments described by Nosenko but had never run across the man. Under pressure, Nosenko admitted that he had exaggerated his rank to make himself more attractive to the CIA. However, detailed KGB documents provided by Nosenko refer to him as a lieutenant colonel, the senior rank he had repudiated. This caused CIA officials severe concern because it appeared that this defector was being aided in his cover story by the KGB.

To make matters worse, Nosenko's story was corroborated by one of the FBI's deepest secrets - their own Soviet KGB defector referred to only by his code name Fedora. Thus, if Nosenko was lying, then Fedora too became suspect.

In a remarkable attempt to resolve the issue, Nosenko underwent "hostile interrogation." He was kept in solitary confinement for 1,277 days under intense physical and psychological pressure. He was put on a diet of weak tea, macaroni and porridge, given nothing to read, a light was left burning in his unheated cell 24 hours a day, and his guards were forbidden to speak with him or even smile. His isolation was so complete that Nosenko eventually began to hallucinate, according to CIA testimony before the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Toward the end of this ordeal, Nosenko was given at least two lie detector tests by the CIA. He failed both. But Nosenko failed to crack.

The believers of Nosenko, headed by CIA's Richard Helms and J. Edgar Hoover, took his intransigence to mean that he was telling the truth about the KGB having no interest in Oswald. But doubts remained. So at the CIA's request, the Warren Commission obligingly made no reference to Nosenko.

Angleton retired from the CIA and later wrote:

"The...exoneration or official decision that Nosenko is/was bona fide is a travesty. It is an indictment of the CIA and, if the FBI subscribes to it, of that bureau too. The ramifications for the U.S. intelligence community, and specifically the CIA, are tragic."

The counterintelligence faction, led by Angleton, still believes that Nosenko's defection was contrived by the KGB for two purposes: to allay suspicions that the Soviets had anything to do with the JFK assassination and to cover for Soviet "moles," or agents deep within U. S. intelligence.

Today, Nosenko continues to be an advisor on Soviet intelligence to the CIA and the FBI at a salary of more than \$35,000 a year. He has been given a new identity as well as more than \$150,000 as payment for his ordeal. But questions remain. No researcher seriously believes the Soviets failed to

question Oswald about his Marine background. When they learned that he served as a radar operator at the base where U-2 flights were launched, he must have undergone intense interrogation.

Crossfire: Oswald's Contact with the Soviets

Furthermore, there appears to be evidence that Oswald continued to keep in touch with Soviet officials almost up until the time of the assassination of President Kennedy. According to CIA documents, Oswald visited the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City on September 23, 1963, and met with Valeriy Vladimirovich Kostikov, who was described as "(functioning) overtly as a consul...." However, the CIA memorandum added: "(Kostikov)...is also known to be a staff officer of the KGB. He is connected with the Thirteenth, or 'liquid affairs' department, whose responsibilities include assassination and sabotage."

Of course, Oswald's contact with this man, who was operating as a normal member of the Soviet Embassy, may have been coincidental. However, it is significant that the Warren Commission, aware of the implication of this contact, failed to pursue the matter or include this information in their report.

Years later, FBI Agent James Hosty, who was connected to Oswald prior to the assassination (See G MEN), said he was unhappy with the revelation about Kostikov's KGB ties and that, had he been made aware of this connection by the CIA, he would have placed Oswald's name on the Bureau's "Security Index."

Two theories have emerged:

One, Oswald was recruited by the KGB while serving in Japan and encouraged to defect to Russia, then sent back to the U. S. to kill President Kennedy. This theory is rejected by most students of the subject, including author Edward Jay Epstein, whose book "Legend" studies the Oswald-Soviet connections in detail. Epstein reasons:

"I think that the fact that Oswald traces so clearly back to the Russians makes it extremely unlikely that they would have recruited him as an assassin."

Second, that Oswald was recruited into U.S. intelligence as a spy and sent to Russia. There, the KGB attempted to turn him into their agent and sent him back to the United States, unaware that he would be blamed for Kennedy's death. This would explain the extraordinary lengths taken by the Soviets to disavow any connection with Oswald.

In the overall view, it is probable that Oswald was mixed up in some sort of intelligence work. And, while it is likely that the Soviets would recruit this lowly Marine would-be defector, it is highly unlikely that they would consider using him in something so dangerous as assassinating the U.S. President. In murdering Kennedy, the Soviets would have been risking all. World War III would be the likely result should a Soviet assassination plot be uncovered. And what would they have gained by killing Kennedy? Virtually nothing except gaining Lyndon Johnson as president, a man with far better anti-communist credentials than Kennedy and a man with closer ties to the military-industrial complex most feared by the Soviets.

Testifying to the Warren Commission on June 10, 1964, Secretary of State Dean Rusk said:

"I have seen no evidence that would indicate to me that the Soviet Union considered that it had any interest in the removal of President Kennedy...I can't see how it would be to the interest of the Soviet Union to make any such effort."

In 1979, the House Select Committee on Assassinations, even after hearing the Nosenko story, concluded:

"The committee believes, on the basis of the evidence available to it, that the Soviet Government was not involved in the assassination of President Kennedy."

But perhaps the best argument against Soviet involvement comes from the memoirs of the highest-ranking Soviet official ever to defect to the west. In his book, "Breaking With Moscow," Arkady N. Shevchenko writes:

"In November 1963, President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas. Everyone in the (Soviet) mission was stunned and confused, particularly when there were rumors that the murder had been Soviet-inspired....Our leaders would not have been so upset by the assassination if they had planned it and the KGB would not have taken upon itself to venture such a move without Politburo approval. More important, Khrushchev's view of Kennedy had changed. After Cuba, Moscow perceived Kennedy as the one who had accelerated improvement of relations between the two countries. Kennedy was seen as a man of strength and determination, the one thing that Kremlin truly understands and respects. In addition, Moscow firmly believed that Kennedy's assassination was a scheme by "reactionary forces" within the United States seeking to damage the new trend in relations. The Kremlin ridiculed the Warren Commission's

conclusion that Oswald had acted on his own as the sole assassin. There was in fact widespread speculation among Soviet diplomats that Lyndon Johnson, along with the CIA and the Mafia, had masterminded the plot. Perhaps one of the most potent reasons why the U.S.S.R. wished Kennedy well was that Johnson was anathema to Khrushchev. Because he was a southerner, Moscow considered him a racist (the stereotype of any American politician from below the Mason-Dixon line), an Anti-Soviet and anti-communist to the core. Further, since Johnson was from Texas, a center of the most reactionary forces in the United States, according to the Soviets, he was associated with the big-time capitalism of the oil industry, also known to be anti-Soviet."

A final argument against Soviet involvement goes like this - While it is conceivable that the Russians somehow contrived Kennedy's death and that high-level U. S. government officials were forced to cover up this fact to prevent a devastating world war, it makes no sense that these facts would not have been leaked slowly to the American public in the late 1960s and early 1970s in an effort to gain support for the anti-communist war in Vietnam and blunt the growing anti-war movement.

The fact that this didn't happen goes far to prove that hard evidence of Soviet involvement in Kennedy's death is non-existent.

But if Russian communists had nothing to do with the assassination, the same could not be said for their protogOs on the island of Cuba. Cubans - both communist and anti-communist - would not have shed tears over the death of the American President.

Crossfire: Russians Summary

It appears obvious to most assassination researchers that Oswald's visit to Russia was a planned intelligence operation - perhaps he was one of the members of the Office of Naval Intelligence defection program. After all, the Marines are technically part of the Navy.

Oswald's suspicious manner of entering and leaving Russia reinforce the belief that he was an intelligence operative - as does the lavish lifestyle he enjoyed while living in Minsk.

His hurried romance and marriage to Marina is yet another aspect of his time in Russia which hints at intelligence undertones.

Then there is the tantalizing - though unproven - connections between Oswald, the ex-Marine radar operator and the ill-fated U-2 spy plane incident.

And consider the men with whom Oswald came in contact and their U.S. intelligence connections - U.S. embassy second secretary Snyder, Traveler's Aid Society representative Raikin and embassy doctor Captain Davison. Recall that both embassy personnel and news reporters voiced the belief that Oswald was acting under orders from someone.

All this is capped by the strange defection and interrogation of Yuri Nosenko, who apparently went to great lengths to assure U.S. Government officials that the Soviets were not responsible for Kennedy's death.

There is much to argue against Soviet intelligence involvement in the assassination.

However, the same cannot be said for Oswald's involvement with non-Soviet intelligence work and the trail always leads back to the United States.

Crossfire: The Cubans

"(Assassinating Kennedy) would have been to run the risk that our country would have been destroyed by the United States."

Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro

On October 28, 1492, Christopher Columbus stepped ashore from the long boat of his flagship "Santa Maria" in the Caribbean to become the first western European to land in the New World which would come to be known as America. This landing began a Spanish empire which included the island of Cuba, located on the northern edge of the Caribbean and 90 miles south of Key West, Florida.

During the centuries of Spanish rule, Cuba - the most westerly of the West Indies - suffered the same fate as most islands in that chain. There was an unrelenting search for gold and other precious minerals, exploitation of the land and resources, on-going raids by pirates and the importation of black slaves, natives were decimated. Of the approximately one million Ciboney Indians living on Cuba when Columbus arrived, all but a handful were dead by 1600.

On July 15, 1895, a group of Cubans in exile, encouraged by business interests in the United States, proclaimed Cuba a republic and a long-standing revolt against Spain was intensified. What followed was the Spanish-American War and in the summer of 1898 - while Commodore George Dewey was conquering Manila Bay in the Philippines - Col. Theodore Roosevelt led his Rough Riders up San Juan Hill as his part in subduing the island. A treaty was signed on Dec. 10, 1898, and Spain was expelled from the Western Hemisphere.

The United States established a military occupation government which finally relinquished power to an elected Cuban government headed by Tomas Estrada Palma on May 20, 1902. However, Cuba remained a trusteeship of the United States, which directly or indirectly remained dominant in the decision-making process of that country.

In 1952, former army sergeant Fulgencio Batista seized control in Cuba by means of a military coup. A dictator and a despot, Batista nevertheless worked closely with many American groups, especially organized criminals. By the late 1950s, Cuba was a mecca for American gamblers, tourists, investors and off-shore banking speculators. Only one man seemed determine to overthrow Batista - Fidel Castro.

Crossfire: Fidel Castro

Born the son of a Spanish-born plantation owner on Aug. 13, 1926, Fidel Castro had an active boyhood in rural eastern Cuba. He once threatened to burn the house down if his parents didn't send him to school. In 1945, Castro entered Havana University and began studying law. He also became involved in radical politics. In 1947, after buying a pistol, Castro joined an ill-fated attempt to overthrow Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo and the next year, he joined a student uprising in Colombia. Castro received his doctoral degree in law in 1950 and, for a time, set up a practice dealing with political dissident and poverty cases.

In 1952, he ran for Parliament but was blocked when the dictator Batista canceled the elections.

From that time on, Castro devoted himself to ousting Batista. Gathering some followers, Castro's first assault on Batista took place on July 26, 1953, when they attacked Batista's Moncada Barracks.

The attack was a military disaster. About half of the rebels were caught, tortured and killed. Castro was put on trial. Conducting his own defense, the youthful Cuban lawyer stated: "Condemn me. It does not matter. History will absolve me."

Sentenced to 15 years in prison, Castro was released after 22 months. He then fled to Mexico where he began reorganizing his guerrilla fighters. He used the brutality displayed by Batista at the Moncada Barracks as a rallying point and named his revolution "the 26th of July Movement" after the disastrous attack. Since 1959, this date has been celebrated as Cuban Independence day.

In 1956, Castro swam the Rio Grande and entered the United States to arrange the purchase of a dilapidated yacht named the "Granma." Returning to Mexico, he began planning the next stage of his revolution - the invasion of his homeland. Confident that he would rapidly gain followers, Castro even made his invasion plans public.

On December 2, 1956, when he and 82 guerrillas waded ashore on the swampy coast of his native Oriente Province, Batista's soldiers were waiting in ambush. Only 12 guerrillas, including Castro, survived and escaped into the Sierra Maestra mountains. After Batista proclaimed his death, Castro invited a reporter for the "New York Times" to his camp to show he was very much alive and predicted that final victory would be his. After several years of basic survival in the mountains, - during this time, Castro grew his now-famous beard - Castro and his followers began to take the initiative. By the summer of 1958, his guerrilla band had grown to more than 800 and later that year, a detachment led by Ernesto "Che" Guevara captured the provincial capital of Santa Clara in Central Cuba.

Although backed by an army of some 30,000, Batista panicked and decided to quit the island. Taking bags of cash, Batista fled to the Dominican Republic in the first few hours of 1959. Castro's fantasy revolution had suddenly become a dream come true. For two weeks, Castro slowly moved toward Havana. The excitement and passions of the moment were almost overpowering. Veteran news correspondents could not recall a more jubilant scene since the liberation of Paris in World War II. For a period of weeks, the jubilation continued, but then became subdued in the wake of trials and executions of pre-revolution "war criminals."

Castro began the formidable task of restructuring Cuban society and despite many problems and opposition, he maintained his charisma with the Cuban people. After an economic blockade by the United States followed by an unsuccessful invasion of Cuba in 1961, Castro proclaimed himself a "Marxist-Leninist" and began dealing with the Russians. The honeymoon between Castro and the United States quickly ended and the tribulations of modern "Marxist-Leninist" Cuba began.

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With the defeat of the dictator Batista, Castro became the undisputed leader of Cuba, even proclaiming himself "Jefe Maximo" (maximum leader). And he began making drastic changes in the island. After a period of weeks when the world - including most Cubans and Americans - welcomed his ascension to power, attitudes began to change. Castro closed down the gambling casinos and houses of prostitution which had been the source of an estimated \$100 million a year for organized crime in the United States. He nationalized the sugar industry, the backbone of Cuba's economy, and by the summer of 1960, he had seized more than \$700 million in U.S. property, including banks which had been accused of laundering money for American interests. Even his parents' plantation was nationalized, angering his own mother and prompting his younger sister, Juanita, to leave Cuba and become an anti-Castroite.

Some social gains were made on the island. Within a few years, illiteracy had been reduced from 24 percent to 4 percent. But Castro also proclaimed that he was the leader of socialist revolution in South America, although he strongly maintained that he was not a communist.

American interests were quick to respond. The U. S. government abruptly restricted sugar imports and began encouraging its allies not to trade with Castro. With his trade restricted and hearing rumors that the U.S. might invade the island at any time, Castro was forced to turn to the Soviet Union for support. He began selling sugar to Russia in 1960 and soon Soviet technicians and advisers began to arrive on the island. This confirmed the darkest suspicions of conservative American interests, who began to brand Castro a communist and a subversive to the status quo in Central and South America.

As Castro's social, economic and agricultural reforms continued, often with brutal effectiveness, Cubans began to split into two factions - the Fidelistas (supporters of Castro) and the Anti-Castroites, many of whom fled Cuba. By the end of the first year of Castro's takeover, more than 100,000 Cubans were living in the United States. Those who left the island were largely the wealthy, the powerful and the people who had gained so much by working closely with American interests. The Cuban revolution was in many respects reminiscent of the Russian revolution of 1917.

As the United States stepped up its program of isolating Cuba - first with cutting off the island's sugar markets and oil supplies, then through diplomatic maneuvers with other South American countries and finally by introducing arms and saboteurs into Cuba - Castro grew more and more fearful of an armed invasion by the United States. In November 1963, Castro was quoted as telling the United States: "Of course we engage in subversion, the training of guerrillas, propaganda! Why not? This is exactly what you are doing to us."

On January 3, 1961, the United States ended diplomatic relations with Cuba after Castro demanded the U.S. Embassy staff be cut to only 11 persons. Castro charged that 80 percent of the staff were "FBI and Pentagon spies." Two weeks later, the United States forbade its citizens to travel to Cuba.

In the same month, the month that John F. Kennedy took office as President, Castro had placed his militia on 24-hour alert, proclaiming that the "Yankee invasion" was imminent. In February, Soviet deputy prime minister Andrei Gromyko arrived in Cuba to arrange large-scale economic and military assistance to Castro. And on April 17, 1961, less than three months after Kennedy became president, Castro's fears were realized. A force of anti-Castro Cubans landed at the Bay of Pigs.

Crossfire: Disaster at the Bay of Pigs

The plans to destroy Castro and regain control of Cuba began more than a year before Kennedy became President. On January 18, 1960, a handful of CIA officers met in the office of the chief of the CIA's Western Hemisphere Division. It was decided to look into the possibility of staging a "typical Latin political upheaval" in Cuba, which would involve no more than 30 Cubans connected to the Agency as a "training cadre." By early 1960, thousands of Cuban refugees in the United States began forming small groups, dedicated to reclaiming their homeland and claiming to be the one true voice of the exiles. To bring order to this situation, the CIA in May 1960 assisted in the creation of a Cuban coalition which came to be known as the Cuban Revolutionary Council (CRC). Early on this task was handled by CIA officer E. Howard Hunt - later to be involved in the Watergate affair and to be accused of being in Dallas the day Kennedy was killed. Hunt's idea of what should be done in Cuba was summed up in his book, "Give Us This Day":

"Assassinate Castro before or coincident with the invasion (a task for Cuban patriots)..."

As the election year of 1960 moved on, so did the CIA's plans for an "upheaval" in Cuba. Once in the hands of CIA staffers and adventurous case officers, the plan seemed to take on a life of its own.

Secrecy was the prime concern of everyone involved. Even CIA director Allen Dulles did not know much of what was happening with the plan. He had simply turned the whole project over to his deputy director for plans, Richard M. Bissell Jr. Bissell, in turn, handed the project to the former CIA station chief in Caracas, who recruited various CIA personnel, such as Hunt, Tracy Barnes and propagandist David Atlee Phillips. It was intended to stage a low-key coup in Cuba similar to the CIA's successful overthrow of the popularly-elected government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954. Many of the CIA officers involved in the Bay of Pigs had participated in the 1954 Guatemala action. Unknown to these CIA officers who began to create a Cuba refugee fighting force, Bissell was working on a concurrent project - the assassination of Fidel Castro.

Bissell's idea began to work its way through the CIA bureaucracy with unintended humorous results. Plans were conceived to poison Castro's cigar, to slip him a depilatory so his famous beard would fall out or give him an LSD-type chemical so that the Cuban leader would hallucinate. These schemes took on a more sinister aspect, however, with the suggestion that American gangsters be hired to do the job. Bissell put the director of the CIA's Office of Security, Colonel Sheffield Edwards, in charge. Edwards then assigned the mission to former FBI man James O'Connell, chief of his Operational Support Division. O'Connell turned to another former FBI man, Robert A. Maheu, to make contact with the Mafia.

Soon the CIA was up to its neck in murder plots involving some of this nation's top-ranking Mafia chieftains (See MOBSTERS). President Dwight Eisenhower knew none of this. All he knew was that on March 17, 1960, at the urging of a top-secret committee for covert operations - known as the 5412 Committee because it was authorized by National Security Council Directive 5412/2 - he had authorized a CIA plan entitled "A Program of Covert Action Against the Castro Regime." This plan offered a four-point program - 1) the creation of a Cuban government in exile, 2) a "powerful" propaganda offensive, 3) the creation of a "covert intelligence and action organization" inside Cuba and 4) "a paramilitary force outside of Cuba for future guerrilla action." The fourth point, the "paramilitary force," was to evolve into Brigade 2506, a Cuban-exile expeditionary force supported by air and sea power as well as U.S. military units.

One man who did understand what all this might mean was Eisenhower's vice president, White House action officer and the head of the 5412 Committee - Richard M. Nixon. Nixon had several reasons for supporting action against Castro. A year earlier, the anti-communist Nixon had met with Castro and concluded: "Castro is either incredibly naive about communism or is under communist discipline."

And, as one of the congressmen who passed the legislation creating the CIA, Nixon undoubtedly wanted to support the men who through the years had passed along information politically helpful to him. Then, too, the November election was approaching and Nixon was anxious to have the Republican administration get the credit for ending Castro's reign. There also might have been another reason for Nixon's interest in Cuba. Prior to his election as vice president, Nixon was a frequent visitor to Cuba. It has been widely alleged that Nixon had serious contacts within organized crime and, if that were true, it is certain they would have let him know of their displeasure at losing the profitable gambling operations in Havana. Whatever the reason, Nixon kept exhorting his executive assistant for

national-security affairs, General Robert E. Cushman Jr., to press the CIA officers for action.

Meanwhile, Hunt and an associate, Bernard L. Barker (who later participated in the Watergate break-in under Hunt's guidance), were wheeling and dealing in the Miami Cuban exile community, sometimes carrying as much as \$115,000 in a briefcase to secure agents. Training camps were located, arms secured and Cubans recruited. The plan was advancing into broader and grander stages and still it was the lower-level operators who were in charge.

By August 1960, security was already breaking down. Acting against orders, a CIA officer met a Cuban contact in Miami and was overheard by a woman who passed the information of a coming invasion of Cuba to the FBI. Worse yet, reporters for the "Miami Herald" were getting wind of the exile training operation and only a direct appeal from Allen Dulles preventing the story from breaking to the public.

Not long afterward, Hunt himself gave photographs of the exile training to Miami newspapers to "stimulate recruiting."

The whole scheme was running into trouble - the Cuban exiles were fighting among themselves over who would command, supplies and arms were not being delivered on schedule and the U.S. military was foot dragging on CIA requests for support (mostly because the military men were put off that such action was being taken by a "spy" agency).

Finally, the CIA prevailed upon Maj. General George R. Doster, commander of the Alabama Air National Guard, to assemble 80 American pilots who agreed to act as Cubans in the forthcoming action.

It was two years after the ill-fated invasion that Kennedy even learned that American pilots had been involved. As late as 1978, it was reported that the body of one of the American pilots remained in a Havana morgue waiting for the U.S. Government to claim it.

On July 23, 1960, presidential candidate John F. Kennedy was first briefed by Dulles about the Cuban operation. Since at that time only guerrilla infiltration and air drops were contemplated, Kennedy did not learn of the full invasion plan until after his election.

In an ironical twist, some of Kennedy's speech writers encouraged the Senator to speak out against Castro and urge U.S. support for Cuban exiles. Nixon was furious, believing that Kennedy had been told about the invasion and was compromising security by using this knowledge as a political weapon against him. Nixon, who encouraged the invasion, was forced to attack Kennedy's proposal as "wrong and irresponsible because it would violate our treaty commitments" to protect the covert operation.

Shortly after the election, Dulles - along with Bissell - again briefed Kennedy on the Cuban plan. Again the briefing was long on vague generalities and short on details.

It was not until near the end of 1960 that anyone outside of the CIA officers in charge was told that the plan had been expanded to include an invasion with air support. Even military brass, who were being asked for material assistance, were sworn to secrecy. Most of those ranking military officers brought into the plan thought it sounded "impractical." There were two main reasons for the impracticality of the invasion: one, it was predicated on a massive revolt against Castro by the Cuban people, a concept loudly advanced by the CIA analysts but doubted by most others involved, and two, it was apparent that to succeed, the invasion had to have the support of U.S. naval and air power, a contingency both Eisenhower and Kennedy had rejected.

By mid-March, 1961 - with the invasion only a month away - Kennedy was having second thoughts. The Trinidad Plan, an invasion proposal hastily put together by the Pentagon, was rejected by the new President as "too spectacular," with its amphibious assault, air strikes and landing of a provisional government. Kennedy wanted something quiet, something that would not involve the United States. Kennedy told the invasion planners:

"Remember, I reserve the right to cancel this right to the end."

But in the few days before the invasion, he found he could not stop the project. Too much planning and effort had gone into it. The previous administration had approved it, he was told. The Cuban exiles were armed and ready. What would happen to them?

The atmosphere was charged like that of the locker room before the big game. No one wanted to say, "We might lose." So the operation continued.

A week before the invasion, Kennedy left no doubt as to his position on using U.S. military forces to help the Cuban exiles. The "New York Times" carried a two-column headline reading: "President Bars Using U.S. Force to Oust Castro." The Cuban exiles were aghast, but their CIA officers quietly assured them that no one would stand by and watch them die. Miscommunication was

rampant up and down the chain of command.

On Saturday, April 15, 1961, less than three months after Kennedy took office, a force of six B-26 bombers left a secret airfield in Nicaragua for Cuba. It was to have been 16, but Kennedy ordered a reduction to "minimum" scale. This weekend air strike was a partial success. Castro's tiny air force was caught on the ground. Only three T-33 jets - considered good only as trainers - along with two B-26 bombers and a few decrepit British Sea Furies escaped the bombing raid. But it was enough.

On Monday, April 17, the Cuban Brigade landed at Bahia de Cochinos, or Bay of Pigs (named after the wild boars which inhabited this desolate area of Cuba). Ironically, Castro knew the area intimately as it was his favorite hunting spot.

It was a good location for a landing, with only two main road arteries leading past swamps and dense undergrowth. But this same attribute also made it a formidable trap should Castro's forces arrive too soon.

A second air strike had been planned and, by most accounts, would have completed the destruction of Castro's air force. However, the CIA planners had failed to reckon with John F. Kennedy. Kennedy hesitated, growing more and more concerned that the entire world was realizing that the United States was supporting this invasion of another country.

A CIA B-26 bomber had landed in Miami with the cover story that it belonged to Cubans who had defected and were attempting to aid the exiles in freeing their homeland. This story immediately fell apart when newsmen noticed that bomber had a nose of solid metal, a U. S. Air Force modification. Castro's B-26s had plastic noses.

United Nations Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, who had been lied to by the CIA, was facing intense pressure after telling the General Assembly that the United States had nothing to do with the invasion.

Although the Cuban Brigade already was running into trouble on the beaches - one of their ships, the "Houston," was set afire by Castro planes - Secretary of State Dean Rusk was more concerned that the "international noise level" had risen to an intolerable degree. Rusk argued that no further air strikes be made until it could be made to look like the planes came from captured Cuban airfields.

Kennedy concurred and ordered a halt to any air strikes. It was the death knell for the Cuban Brigade. Castro's surviving planes were able to disrupt the landing and allow Castro's troops to bottle up the beaches. The Bay of Pigs had become a death trap.

Kennedy authorized U.S. Navy ships sitting offshore to help evacuate the Brigade, but the Cuban commanders didn't want evacuation. They wanted the ammunition, naval support and the "umbrella" of air cover which had been promised to them. It never came. As the remnants of the Brigade called for help from the beaches, U.S. military men could only stand silent by their weapons, some with tears in their eyes. As soldiers they had to stand by and watch the gallant Cuban Brigade torn to bits.

As news of the debacle spread, everybody concerned was furious.

Kennedy believed he had been led down a prim-rose path by optimistic CIA officials. He felt betrayed. The CIA planners felt betrayed in that the actual invasion had been scaled down on Kennedy's orders. The military felt betrayed because they had not been allowed to help in the planning of the invasion. And the Cuban exiles felt betrayed most of all because they had been led to believe they had the full support of the U.S. Government. In Guatemala City, staging area for the Brigade, the CIA officers were devastated. Many were getting drunk. CIA Station Chief Robert Davis described them this way: "If someone had gotten close to Kennedy, he'd have killed him. Oh, they hated him!"

Of the 1,600 men of the Cuban Brigade, 114 were killed, 1,189 were captured by Castro's forces and 150 either never landed or made their way back to safety. The captured Brigade was finally freed on December 23, 1962, after the United States agreed to exchange them for \$53 million worth of food and drugs. Infuriated by this disastrous defeat, Kennedy nevertheless took the burden of blame. He told reporters:

"There's an old saying that victory has a hundred fathers and defeat is an orphan.

What mattered was only one fact: I am the responsible officer of government."

No one - especially in the CIA, the military, organized crime or in the Cuban exile community - was to forget this acceptance of responsibility.

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Following a shake-up in U. S. intelligence over the Bay of Pigs disaster (See AGENTS), Attorney General Robert Kennedy took responsibility for overseeing Cuban affairs.

Soon another war - this one much more secret - was being waged against Castro under the code name "JM/WAVE." JM/WAVE operated on the campus of the University of Miami under the cover of an electronics firm called Zenith Technological Services. By mid-1962, this operation involved nearly 600 CIA case officers, as many as 3,000 contract agents and numerous fronts such as boat shops, detective and travel agencies and gun stores. With nearly 250,000 Cuban refugees living in the United States, it was easy to find those with a burning passion to liberate their island and return home.

The JM/WAVE operation seemed inconsistent from the start. President Kennedy stated "all actions should be kept at a low key," while his brother, Robert, told CIA officials "no time, money, effort - or manpower - be spared." The near-nightly raids on Cuba - landing saboteurs, dropping propaganda leaflets and occasional military-style raids - actually achieved very little except to confirm Castro's accusations that the United States was guilty of criminal aggression. Today, several of the military and intelligence officials who were dealing with President Kennedy during this period say they believed that the assassination of Castro was to be a part of this "Cuban crusade." However there is no documentation of this and, in fact, the only documentation available shows quite the opposite.

Early in 1962, Robert Kennedy was trying to prosecute a top Mafia boss named Sam Giancana, when he found the CIA interceding on Giancana's behalf. Pursuing the matter, Kennedy was finally told about the earlier deals between the CIA and Mafia to kill Castro. The younger Kennedy later told aides: "I stopped it...I found out that some people were going to try an attempt on Castro's life and I turned it off."

However, the lethal partnership between the Agency and the crime syndicate didn't stop until well after President Kennedy was assassinated, indicating the CIA continued to operate out of control even after the agency shake-up following the Bay of Pigs disaster.

One of the only instances of President Kennedy discussing Castro's assassination came during an interview with a "New York Times" reporter. Kennedy asked the reporter how he personally felt about the prospect of assassinating Castro and the newsman replied in the negative, saying it was a matter of principle. Whereupon Kennedy agreed, adding he was under "terrific pressure...to okay a Castro murder."

Whatever the Kennedy's role in Castro assassination plots, they got nowhere. Castro outlived both Kennedys and there is now some evidence to suggest that the CIA-Mafia plots may have been nothing more than a "scam" on the part of organized crime (See MOBSTERS).

The ongoing tension with Cuba took on a more serious and urgent tone when on October 22, 1962, Kennedy announced that U.S. reconnaissance aircraft - the same U-2 spy plane which had ended Eisenhower's hopes for the 1960 summit meeting - had photographed offensive missile sites with nuclear capability being constructed in Cuba. President Kennedy called for emergency meetings of the United Nations Security Council and the Organization of American States. He also ordered a "quarantine" of Cuba and vowed full retaliation against Russia if a nuclear warhead was launched from Cuba. As Soviet ships carrying missiles approached the U. S. naval blockade of Cuba, the world watched and trembled. Nuclear holocaust seemed imminent. Then, the Soviets blinked. Their freighters turned back and everyone breathed a sign of relief. Only much later did the American people learn of the deal which ended the Cuban missile crisis.

Khrushchev, in his memoirs, claimed he never believed he could keep missiles in Cuba. He said he made the attempt in an effort to prevent another Bay of Pigs-type invasion by the United States. He ended the threat to Cuba by offering Kennedy a deal. It was set forth in a message to the U.S. President on October 26, 1962:

"Let us therefore show statesmanlike wisdom. I propose; we, for our part, will declare that our ships, bound for Cuba, will not carry any kind of armaments. You would declare that the United States will not invade Cuba with its forces and will not support any sort of forces which might intend to carry out an invasion of Cuba. Then the necessity for the presence of our military specialists in Cuba would disappear."

The deal was cut and, although some have claimed that the pledge not to invade Cuba never actually took effect because Castro refused to allow U.N. inspection of the missile sites, it is apparent that Kennedy took it seriously. But even Kennedy's diplomacy which ended the missile crisis earned him further rebuke by military and CIA officers who believed the presence of missiles gave the United States every right to justify an invasion of Cuba and the elimination of the Castro regime.

Even Robert Kennedy voiced this view in an October 16 meeting, saying:

"...if you're going to get into it at all...(maybe) we should just get into it and get it over

with."

Many CIA officers and Cuban exiles believed the missile crisis to be a hoax and that Soviet missiles were never really removed from Cuba. E. Howard Hunt told author Anthony Summers:

"It has never been established that any missiles were removed from the island....there have been no satellite scanners or aircraft cameras developed yet that can peer inside a wooden crate or through a tarpaulin."

These suspicions only made the military and intelligence officers, along with their Cuban protégés, more convinced that Kennedy was "soft on communism."

Following the missile crisis - which may have made Kennedy realize the serious consequences of trying to interfere with another country - the war against Castro's Cuba began winding down.

In Miami's Orange Bowl in late December 1962, Kennedy spoke to the recently-returned survivors of the Bay of Pigs invasion. Lashing out at communism in general and Castro in particular, Kennedy accepted the Brigade's flag and pledged:

"I can assure you that this flag will be returned to this brigade in a free Havana."

Most of those present believed this statement indicated a continued commitment to overthrow Castro. But future events dictated otherwise.

In 1976, Cuban Brigade veterans had to hire a lawyer to get their flag back from the Government, which had stored it away in the basement of a museum. Likewise, beginning in 1963, the Cubans found U. S. government support for their continuing efforts against Castro non-existent. In fact, moves were soon underway to stop exile action against Cuba.

In February 1963, the Kennedy administration withdrew support for Brigade 2506 and urged its members to join Cuban units being established within the U.S. armed forces. The State Department announced that efforts would be made to assure that raids were not "launched, manned or equipped from American soil."

By March 1963, the very government agencies which had been aiding the Cuban exiles now received orders to obstruct them. Along the Florida coast, the FBI, Coast Guard and Customs and Immigration authorities all began frustrating the Cubans' raids.

In April, a group of exiles were arrested in the Bahamas by British authorities on a tip from the U. S. government. And on July 31, the FBI raided a Louisiana camp where Cuban exiles had stored a large cache of arms - these arms later were said by Jim Garrison to be part of a New Orleans anti-Castro operation involving David Ferrie and Lee Harvey Oswald. Despite this obvious effort to shut down the secret war against Castro, hit-and-run raids continued through 1963 - either in defiance of orders or perhaps with an official turn of the head.

Controlling the Cuban exiles was easier said than done. As one Bay of Pigs veteran put it:

"We used the tactics we learned from the CIA because we were trained to do everything. We were trained to set off a bomb, we were trained to kill."

The clamp-down on exile activity - whether sincere or official window-dressing - marked the beginning of a new relationship with both Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Kennedy used Jean Daniel, a journalist with the French newspaper "L'Express" as an unofficial contact with Castro. On October 24, 1963, Kennedy met with Daniel and urged him to pass along his good intentions to the Cuban premier during a scheduled interview in Havana. Daniel did meet with Castro and reported the Cuban leader as saying:

"I believe Kennedy is sincere. I consider him responsible for everything, but I will say this...in the last analysis, I'm convinced that anyone else would be worse...You can tell him that I'm willing to declare (Senator Barry) Goldwater my friend if it will guarantee Kennedy's reelection!"

Ironically, Daniel was with Castro on November 22, when the Cuban leader received word of Kennedy's assassination. "Es una mala noticia ("This is bad news")," Castro said three times, adding:

"All will have to be rethought. I'll tell you one thing; at least Kennedy was an enemy to whom we had become accustomed. You watch and see...I know that they will try to put the blame on us for this thing."

Castro was correct. From the day of the assassination, there was an effort to lay the blame on Castro. But the attempt to reconcile relations with Castro was not strictly unofficial.

On September 17, 1963, Ambassador Seydou Diallo of Guinea in West Africa brought word to William Attwood, then a special adviser to the United States delegation to the United Nations and a former U.S. ambassador to Guinea, that Castro wanted to reach some sort of understanding with the

Kennedy Administration. According to Diallo, Castro was unhappy at being forced to align closely with the Soviet Union and wanted to normalize relations with the U.S. Attwood reported Diallo's conversation to his superior, U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, who telephoned President Kennedy. Kennedy directed Stevenson to have Attwood meet with Cuban U.N. delegate Carlos Lechuga. This led to discreet meetings between Attwood and Lechuga, where it was decided that Attwood would travel to Cuba for direct meetings with Castro. Although these unprecedented approaches to Cuba were strictly secret, it is almost certain that people within U.S. Intelligence were aware of this rapprochement. Attorney General Robert Kennedy himself told Attwood the secret maneuvering was "bound to leak."

Three days after Kennedy's assassination, Attwood was formally notified that Havana was ready to proceed with a meeting. President Lyndon Johnson was briefed on the situation, but turned a cold shoulder. Attwood sadly told author Anthony Summers:

"The word came back that this was to be put on ice for the time being, and the time being has been ever since..."

Outside Miami, the next largest operational area for militant anti-Castro Cubans was the city of New Orleans, Lee Harvey Oswald's birthplace. It was in New Orleans that numerous leads have been developed linking the CIA, the FBI, anti-Castro Cubans and perhaps military intelligence with Oswald.

Oswald's interest in Cuba went back to his Marine days, when he and Marine buddy Nelson Delgado toyed with the idea of traveling to Cuba and assisting Castro in his war against Batista. There was nothing unusual here. That same idea had crossed the minds of thousands of day-dreaming American school boys. But in Oswald's case, this dream may have taken on some reality.

According to Delgado, the Marine Oswald began receiving letters plainly stamped with the seal of the Cuban Consulate in Los Angeles. Oswald once traveled to Los Angeles with Delgado, saying his purpose was to "visit the Cuban Consulate." There also were reports of Oswald meeting with mysterious strangers, who Delgado believed had to do with "the Cuban business." But whose side was Oswald really on?

Gerry Patrick Hemming, a Marine with Oswald who was recruited into the CIA, has told of meeting Oswald in the Cuban Consulate. Hemming, himself working for Naval Intelligence, said Oswald seemed to be "an informant or some type of agent working for somebody."

On April 24, 1963, less than a year after arriving back in Fort Worth from Russia, Oswald packed a bag and bought a bus ticket for New Orleans, telling Marina and friends that he couldn't find a job in Texas.

Shortly before leaving for New Orleans, he had written a letter to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC), a pro-Castro organization headquartered in New York City and the object of intense scrutiny by various U. S. intelligence agencies, including the FBI and Army Intelligence. Oswald praised Castro and asked for FPCC pamphlets, membership applications and advice on tactics. He also mentioned that he "was thinking about renting a small office at my own expense." The FPCC director, V.T. Lee, promptly answered, saying the committee faced serious opposition and warned Oswald against provoking "unnecessary incidents which frighten away prospective supporters." It was advice which Oswald was to totally ignore.

Staying with relatives in New Orleans, Oswald managed to get a job at the William B. Reily Co. Inc., a coffee manufacturer. The company's owner, William Reily, was a financial backer of the Crusade to Free Cuba Committee, one of the many front groups raising money for the Cuban Revolutionary Council. Through the spring and summer of 1963, Oswald, an avid reader, checked out 27 books from the New Orleans Library. His reading ran from Ian Fleming's James Bond novels to Aldous Huxley and science fiction. Library records show Oswald also read two books about John F. Kennedy, "Profiles in Courage" and "Portrait of a President." Oswald read nothing about Cuba. In fact, it was during this time that a strange incident occurred which throws further doubt on Oswald's sincerity as a communist sympathizer. In July 1963, Oswald accompanied his uncle, Charles "Dutz" Murret (See MOBSTERS), to a Jesuit seminary in Mobile, Alabama, where a cousin was enrolled. Here Oswald made what audience members thought was a well-constructed speech against Soviet-style communism. It was the opposite position to his pro-communist public posturing over the past few months in New Orleans - further evidence that Oswald was living some sort of dual life. Back in New Orleans, this duplicity continued.

Although Oswald handed out leaflets for the FPCC and continued to write to the national organization, his New Orleans chapter was a complete fraud. He even had his wife sign the name "Hidell" as president of his New Orleans Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

While there has been no documented evidence that - letters aside - Oswald was in contact with any pro-Castro group, he definitely was in touch with anti-Castro Cubans.

On August 5, 1963, Oswald entered a store owned by Cuban militant Carlos Bringuier, a man with connections to both the CRC and the CIA. Oswald told Bringuier and friends that he was a Marine veteran with experience in guerrilla warfare and offered to train Cuban exiles. Pushing his point, Oswald returned the next day with a Marine training manual which he left with Bringuier. He again repeated his desire to join the fight against Castro. Bringuier already was on guard. In his Warren Commission testimony, he said that some time earlier he had been interviewed by FBI Agent Warren DeBrueys (See GMEN) and that DeBrueys had told him the Bureau might try and infiltrate his anti-Castro Organization. Three days later, Bringuier was shocked when a friend rushed into his store and said that the same man who had wanted to train exiles was on the New Orleans streets passing out pro-Castro literature. Bringuier and others sought out Oswald and confronted him. A crowd gathered as Bringuier railed against this "communist" who had tried to infiltrate the exiles. Displaying a loss of temper, Bringuier cursed Oswald, threw his leaflets into the air, then drew back his fist as if to strike. Oswald, who kept smiling throughout this episode, said:

"Okay, Carlos, if you want to hit me, hit me."

But there was no fight. Police arrived and took Oswald, Bringuier and two others into custody. All were charged with disturbing the peace. Oswald tried to contact his uncle for the \$25 bail money but failed. His uncle's daughter, however, contacted a family friend, New Orleans gambler Emile Bruneau, who put up the money. However, before leaving the New Orleans police station, Oswald oddly asked to speak to an FBI agent. Despite being outside normal business hours, FBI Agent John Quigley soon arrived and spent more than an hour with Oswald (See G MEN). It is interesting to note the impression of Oswald by the New Orleans police. Speaking of the Bringuier episode, Lt. Francis Martello later said: "He seemed to have them set up to create an incident."

While Sgt. Horace Austin recalled:

"(Oswald) appeared as though he is being used by these people..."

After this brush with the law, Oswald's pro-Castro stance became even more public. He was soon on New Orleans radio and television telling his pro-Castro story to a wider audience. The radio interview is significant in that it was widely used after the assassination to "prove" his pro-communist credentials. One of these interviews may have provided an accidental peek at Oswald's real identity. Tipped off to Oswald by Bringuier, radio reporter William Stuckey allowed Oswald to expound about his thoughts on Cuba and South America.

A few days later, armed with information obtained from the FBI, Stuckey and right-wing broadcaster Ed Butler verbally ambushed Oswald in another radio interview. Oswald was suddenly confronted with his attempted defection to Russia. The pro-Castro Oswald, self-proclaimed secretary of the New Orleans Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, was suddenly revealed to have been a communist sympathizer who had tried to renounce his American citizenship.

Caught off guard, Oswald stammered:

"I was under the protection of the...uh that is to say, I was not under the protection of the American government...but I was at all times considered an American citizen."

Could this slip of the tongue have revealed Oswald's true role as an agent of the U. S. Government while in Russia?

It is also interesting that the radio newsmen handily obtained this derogatory information on Oswald so quickly and from such sources as the FBI and, according to Butler, the House Un-American Activities Committee. It has been documented that both the CIA and the FBI at that time were making efforts not only to penetrate the FPCC but also to discredit the pro-Castro organization. Was this revelation of Oswald's Soviet life part of this program? But the most intriguing aspect of Oswald's stay in New Orleans centered around a meeting place for anti-Castro militants, CIA and FBI agents and organized crime figures - 544 Camp Street.

Crossfire: 544 Camp Street

It was at 544 Camp Street in an old, three-story office building that the paths of Lee Harvey Oswald, the FBI, the CIA, anti-Castro Cubans and organized crime figures all crossed.

Until a few months prior to Oswald's arrival in New Orleans, the aging building housed the offices of the Cuban Revolutionary Council (CRC), that umbrella anti-Castro organization which was created by CIA Officer E. Howard Hunt.

CRC members included Carlos Bringuier, the man who had the much-publicized street encounter with Oswald; Sergio Arcacha Smith, a CRC top official with close documented ties to CIA operative and adventurer David Ferrie; and Carlos Prio Socarras, former President of Cuba under Batista and one of the leading Cuban exiles close to CIA agents E. Howard Hunt, Bernard Barker and Frank Sturgis (all of later Watergate fame).

Prio - who had paid for the yacht "Granma" used by Castro to land his revolutionaries on Cuba - had turned on Castro and became one of the leading anti-Castroites. It is alleged that Prio was to become the new President of Cuba following after the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion. Prio once was arrested in a gun-running conspiracy along with a man named Robert McKeown. McKeown, according to evidence developed by the Warren Commission, had been involved in a deal "running jeeps to Cuba" and other smuggling operations with Jack Ruby, the man who killed Oswald (See JACK RUBY). In April 1977, before he was scheduled to testify for the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Prio was found shot in the chest in his Miami Beach garage. The wound was ruled self-inflicted.

Although the CRC had left 544 Camp Street by the time Oswald was seen there in the summer of 1963, there were still plenty of Cuban connections.

A side entrance to 544 Camp Street was 531 Lafayette Street, the address of Guy Banister Associates, a private detective agency (See AGENTS and G MEN). Banister, whom the "New Orleans States Item" in 1967 claimed helped supply munitions to the Bay of Pigs invaders, was a former FBI man with connections reaching into the Bureau, the CIA and organized crime as well as the Cuban exiles. His secretary, Delphine Roberts, in 1978 told the "Dallas Morning News" that Oswald had worked for Banister as "an undercover agent" in the summer of 1963. During that same time, another of Banister's employees was Oswald's former Civil Air Patrol leader, David Ferrie.

In the Warren Commission exhibits are some of Oswald's "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" leaflets. They are stamped:

FPCC
544 Camp Street
New Orleans, La.

Another intriguing contact point between Oswald, 544 Camp Street and the Cubans, was Ernesto Rodriguez. Recall that in the summer of 1963 Oswald wrote the Fair Play for Cuba Committee stating he was going to get a small office. During this same time period, the owner of the 544 Camp Street building, Sam Newman, said he was approached by a Latin man who asked about renting an office and said he was an electrician by day and wanted to teach Spanish at night. Shortly after the assassination and acting on a tip, authorities talked with Rodriguez who did teach Spanish and whose father was in the electrical business. Rodriguez, an anti-Castro militant, denied a rumor that he had tapes of Oswald speaking Spanish, but admitted that he had met Oswald, who apparently wanted to learn Spanish. Rodriguez also said that Oswald had offered to train anti-Castro exiles and, in fact, it was Rodriguez who had sent Oswald to meet Carlos Bringuier.

There was plenty of undercover activity going on at 544 Camp Street in the summer of 1963. The location may have had something to do with it. The building was located close to the New Orleans offices of both the FBI and the CIA, it was near the Crescent City Garage where Oswald was seen in the company of FBI agents and it was just around the corner from the William Riley Coffee Co., Oswald's employer. According to New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, it was here - at 544 Camp Street - that plans were set in motion which culminated in Dealey Plaza.

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It was reported to the Warren Commission by the CIA that Oswald's pro-Castro contacts included an attempt to secure a visa to visit Cuba during a trip to Mexico City in late September 1963. The Agency apparently went to great lengths to prove that Oswald was in Mexico City at this time but the effort was not entirely successful.

Photographs of a man entering the Soviet Embassy and a tape recording made at the time were shown to be of someone other than Oswald (See AGENTS). To document Oswald's visit to the Cuban

Embassy, the CIA relied on the testimony of a Mexican who worked at the embassy, Silvia Tirado de Duran. Duran, however, is a dubious witness at best since it is now known that the 26-year-old woman was arrested twice following the assassination on orders from the CIA (See AGENTS) and may have been coerced into giving false testimony. But again, it is the connections between the assassination and anti-Castro groups which has always turned up the most intriguing evidence - evidence which has largely been ignored by U.S. authorities, particularly the Warren Commission.

Crossfire: Oswald and the Exiles

One of several incidents that tend to connect Lee Harvey Oswald with the anti-Castro Cubans involves one of the most violent of the exile groups, Alpha 66, and its founder, Antonio Veciana Blanch. Veciana, a former Cuban bank accountant who turned against Castro, was conducting raids against the island during the missile crisis and has consistently maintained that he was working for the CIA.

In the spring of 1963, Kennedy publicly criticized the hit-and-run raids of Alpha 66, to which Veciana replied publicly:

"We are going to attack again and again."

The militant Cuban leader has claimed to have worked for a CIA officer known to him as "Maurice Bishop." According to Veciana, he met with Bishop more than 100 times and the CIA officer helped guide the activities of Alpha 66, including plans to assassinate Castro. Veciana said his relationship with the Agency did not end until 1973, when Bishop paid him \$253,000 as back pay for his services. But Veciana's most astounding claim is that, during a visit to Dallas in late August or early September 1963, he saw his CIA case officer in conversation with a man he later recognized as Lee Harvey Oswald.

Although the House Select Committee on Assassinations failed to "credit" Veciana's story of the Oswald-Bishop meeting, it nevertheless went to great lengths in an attempt to locate the mysterious Bishop, including sending an artist sketch of Bishop to U.S. newspapers. The committee also scoured CIA files in an effort to identify Bishop. The Agency, unsurprisingly, denied ever assigning a case officer to Veciana.

Veciana also told the committee that shortly after the assassination, Bishop contacted him and reminded him that he had a relative working for Cuban intelligence living in Mexico. According to Veciana, Bishop wanted Veciana to offer his relative a "large sum of money" to say that the relative and his wife met with Oswald during his Mexico City trip. Veciana said he agreed to this scheme, but was unable to contact his relative.

The House Committee later developed information that Bishop may have been none other than former chief of the CIA's Western Hemisphere Division's Directorate of Operations David Atlee Phillips. Phillips denied being Bishop and a fearful Veciana agreed. However, after arranging a meeting between Veciana and Phillips, the Committee staff reported it "suspected that Veciana was lying when he denied that the retired CIA officer was Bishop."

A prime example of interference with an investigation into links between anti-Castro Cubans and the assassination came just days after Kennedy was killed. The Chicago Field Office of the Secret Service reported to superiors that it had heard from an informant that a Chicago group "may have (had) a connection with the JFK assassination." The informant reported that on the day before the assassination, a Cuban militant named Homer S. Echevarria had stated that he had "plenty of money" for an illegal arms deal and would proceed with the plan "as soon as we take care of Kennedy."

The Secret Service checked on Echevarria and discovered he was an associate of the military director of the Cuban Student Directorate (the New Orleans chapter of the CSD was headed by Carlos Bringuier, who squabbled with Oswald on the streets of that city.) and that the munitions deal was financed by "hoodlum elements...not restricted to Chicago." Although the Secret Service wanted to pursue the matter, the FBI - which on November 29, 1963, was designated to control the assassination investigation by President Johnson - "made clear that it wanted the Secret Service to terminate its investigation" of the Echevarria report. The case was closed.

One anti-Castro Cuban-Oswald story which was not so easy to brush off is that of Cuban exile Siliva Odio. She and her sister, Annie, came from a distinguished and wealthy Cuban family. The sisters had been forced to flee Cuba after her parents were imprisoned by the Castro government. Their father, who initially had supported Castro's revolution, had turned against the bearded leader and was arrested for concealing a man named Reinaldo Gonzales, who was involved in a plot to kill Castro. Interestingly, Gonzales' co-conspirator was Antonio Veciana, the leader of Alpha 66 who operated under the instructions of Maurice Bishop.

Shortly before moving to Dallas, Sylvia Odio had joined with other anti-Castro Cubans in Puerto Rico and formed Junta Revolucionaria (the Cuban Revolutionary Junta) or JURE. One night in late September 1963 - they believe it was the 26th or 27th - three men came to Odio's Dallas apartment. There were two Latins and one Anglo, described as weary, unkempt and unshaved. The leader of the trio identified himself as "Leopoldo" and introduced the other Latin as "Angel" or "Angelo." He introduced the American as "Leon Oswald." The men said they had just arrived from New Orleans,

were members of JURE and were working with the Cuban Revolutionary Council (CRC). They knew her father's underground name and also many details of anti-Castro activities in Cuba, including recent plots to kill Castro. They told Sylvia Odio that they were trying to raise funds for anti-Castro operations and wanted her help in translating solicitation letters to American businessmen. Something about the men, however, made Odio uneasy and she sent the men away after warning them that she did not want to be involved in a campaign of violence. During their brief stay, her sister Annie also got a good look at the trio. Within 48 hours, "Leopoldo" called Sylvia Odio and asked for her thoughts on their American companion. She said the man then made a series of comments, saying:

"Well, you know he's a Marine, an ex-Marine, and an expert marksman. He would be a tremendous asset to anyone, except that you never know how to take him...He's kind of loco, kind of nuts. He could go any way. He could do anything - like getting underground in Cuba, like killing Castro...The American says we Cubans don't have any guts. He says we should have shot President Kennedy after the Bay of Pigs. He says we should do something like that."

Apparently, that was all "Leopoldo" had to say for he quickly hung up and Odio was never to hear from him again. She later told author Anthony Summers:

"Immediately, I suspected there was some sort of scheme or plot..."

Although the Odio's wrote of the incident to their father and told the story to friends well BEFORE Kennedy's assassination, they did not tell authorities of the strange visitors.

Both sisters were shocked and frightened to see photographs of Lee Harvey Oswald since, then and now, they both believe him to be the same man who was introduced to them as "Leon Oswald."

After the assassination, word of the Odio visit reached the FBI, which investigated the matter for the Warren Commission. The Commission, having already accepted FBI and CIA evidence that Oswald was on his way to or in Mexico City at the time of the Odio visit, stated:

"While the FBI had not yet completed its investigation into this matter at the time the report went to press, the Commission has concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald was not at Mrs. Odio's apartment in September 1963."

Another factor which enabled the Commission to dismiss the Odio story was reports from the FBI concerning anti-Castro militant, Loran Eugene Hall. Although Warren Commission staff lawyers asked the FBI to prove or disprove the Odio story in August 1964, it was not until September 26 - just days before the report was finalized - that the Bureau reported on the matter. An FBI report stated that the Bureau had located Hall, who admitted traveling to Dallas with two other Cubans and that they had visited Odio. Hall said neither of his companions was Oswald. The matter was dropped.

Even before the Warren report was issued, FBI agents located Hall's two companions, Lawrence Howard and William Seymour. Both denied ever meeting Sylvia Odio. Confronted with their statements, Hall retracted his story. In fact, Hall denied he ever told the FBI any such thing. The Bureau failed to tell the Commission about this development.

Hall, who acknowledged being imprisoned in Cuba with Mafia leader Santos Trafficante, also was an associate of Frank Sturgis (Watergate burglar and CIA-Mafia-connected anti-Castroite) and was twice taken into custody for engaging in unauthorized exile activities.

The Odio story caused great problems with the Warren Commission Report. If Oswald was in Dallas, he couldn't have been traveling by bus to Mexico at the same time. And, if the Oswald in Odio's apartment was not the real Oswald, then it is clear that someone was impersonating him with an eye toward implicating Oswald in the assassination. Small wonder the Commission decided to let the matter rest.

There is even some evidence to suggest that Oswald was in contact with anti-Castro Cubans on the Sunday prior to the assassination. In 1979, "The Dallas Morning News" reported that a photographer in Abilene, Texas, recalled a Cuban friend receiving a note from "Lee Oswald" on Sunday, November 17, 1963. Harold Reynolds said he had been friends with a Pedro Valeriano Gonzales for some time and knew him to be active in anti-Castro activities. Gonzales was president of the Cuban Liberation Committee, an exile organization in Abilene, where Gonzales worked as a school system maintenance man. Reynolds said he was showing Gonzales some baby pictures that Sunday when the landlady knocked on the door and said she had noticed a note stuck in Gonzales' door for two or three days. Reynolds took the note. He recalled:

"In handwriting, it said something like "Call me immediately. Urgent" and had two Dallas phone numbers written on it. I noticed the name "Lee Oswald" and asked

Gonzales who he was. Seems like he said, "Some attorney from Dallas." He looked nervous and sweat started appearing on his forehead. So, I left to go up the street and deliver some photos. As I was coming back, I noticed his car a few blocks from his house and him standing in a pay phone booth."

Reynolds said he thought this unusual as Gonzales had a telephone in his home.

The Warren Commission could not account for Oswald's presence on the Sunday prior to the assassination.

At an organizational meeting of the Abilene Cuban Liberation Committee, Gonzales had read a letter from his friend in Miami, Manuel A. de Varona, who expressed his desire to visit his friends in Abilene. Varona, the former Cuban prime minister under Carlos Prio Socarras, was involved in the CIA-Mafia plots to kill Castro (See MOBSTERS). Varona also was coordinator of the Cuban Revolutionary Council. In fact, "The Dallas Morning News" reported having obtained copies of letters from the owner of the building at 544 Camp Street in New Orleans to Varona asking for help in paying for the CRC's office space there. (Some of Oswald's FPCC material was stamped "544 Camp Street").

Reynold's wife said Gonzales came to her home just after the assassination and demanded all photos and negatives that Reynolds may have taken of him and his friends. Gonzales simply dropped from sight in Abilene a short time later. Reynolds said Gonzales never admitted knowing Oswald, but that on at least one occasion, he asked his friend about Kennedy. Gonzales told him:

"Somebody is going to kill him."

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While many people, particularly those close to U.S. intelligence and military sources, claim that Kennedy may have been killed on orders from Castro as a reprisal for the CIA-Mafia-Cuban plots against him, the evidence seems to point more toward the anti-Castro Cubans.

One anti-Castro leader, John Martino, even spelled out the assassination plan to a Texas business friend in 1975. In a startling telephone conversation with Fred Claasen, repeated by author Summers, Martino admitted to serving as a CIA contract agent. He told Claasen:

"The anti-Castro people put Oswald together. Oswald didn't know who he was working for - he was just ignorant of who was really putting him together. Oswald was to meet his contact at the Texas Theater. They were to meet Oswald in the theater, and get him out of the country, then eliminate him. Oswald made a mistake.... There was no way we could get to him. They had Ruby kill him."

Others such as former Senator Robert Morgan, a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee which looked into CIA-Mafia plots, continued to maintain that Kennedy brought about his own death. Morgan, differing from the conclusions of his own committee, stated flatly:

"There is no doubt in my mind that John Fitzgerald Kennedy was assassinated by Fidel Castro, or someone under his influence, in retaliation for our efforts to assassinate him.

But most researchers today doubt seriously that Castro had a hand in Kennedy's death. Even the accused assassin couldn't buy it. During interrogation on the Sunday morning he was killed by Jack Ruby, Oswald was asked if his beliefs regarding Cuba played a role in the assassination. He replied:

"Will Cuba be better off with the President dead? Someone will take his place, Lyndon Johnson, no doubt, and he will probably follow the same policy."

Also, while Castro eventually did learn of the plots against him, there is no firm evidence that he knew of these schemes in time to have launched a retaliatory strike by November 1963.

And again, there seems no serious motive for Castro killing Kennedy - outside of simple revenge - and every motive against the idea. In a 1977 interview with Bill Moyers broadcast on CBS, Castro denied any thought of trying to kill the U.S. President:

"It would have been absolute insanity by Cuba...It would have been a provocation. Needless to say, it would have been to run the risk that our country would have been destroyed by the United States. Nobody who's not insane could have thought about (killing Kennedy in retaliation)."

But if the evidence of Castro's involvement in the assassination is meager, it is more than made up for by the abundance of evidence of anti-Castro Cuban involvement, as we have seen in this chapter. And behind the anti-Castro Cubans always lurked the shadowy hands of U.S. intelligence and the even darker specter of organized crime.

Crossfire: Cubans Summary

After leading a successful revolution in Cuba, Fidel Castro angered many interests in the United States by freeing his island nation of organized crime and American business domination. Castro chose to turn to the Russians for help after the United States initiated sanctions against Cuba. This Moscow-Havana connection further incensed conservative factions within the U.S. Responding to urgings from these factions, Vice President Richard Nixon encouraged action against Cuba - resulting in the ill-fated Bay of Pigs Invasion. This invasion was to be launched by a brigade of anti-Castro Cubans under the direction of the CIA and with the assistance of the U.S. military. But right from the start, President Kennedy let it be known that he would not use American military force against Castro. Despite this knowledge, the CIA officials behind the invasion went ahead with their plans. The invasion was launched on April 17, 1961 - less than three months after Kennedy took office - and proved an utter disaster.

The invasion's failure was blamed on Kennedy's refusal to unleash military naval and air support. Everyone connected with the invasion - the anti-Castro Cubans, the CIA, the military and organized crime - was bitter toward the new President. This acrimony only increased with Kennedy's attempts to bring tighter control over the CIA and with his decision not to order a second invasion of Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis.

More hatred toward Kennedy was generated as the secret war against Cuba was geared down after the missile crisis and with Kennedy's attempts at reconciliation with Castro.

Into this world of passionate anti-Castro Cubans, adventurous CIA agents and Mafia soldiers was injected the odd ex-Marine Lee Harvey Oswald. Oswald, while maintaining a posture as a pro-Castro Marxist, nevertheless was in continuous contact with several anti-Castro elements. During the summer of 1963, Oswald was loose in a deceptive world of undercover agents while living in New Orleans. And while it may never be positively determined exactly who Oswald was working for, it is safe to assume that his employers represented the anti-Castro Cubans and their CIA and mob allies. Oswald's activities during this period of time - and particularly the Sylvia Odio affair - point to a sinister manipulation of Oswald and others in laying a trail of incriminating evidence connecting the ex-Marine and vocal Castro supporter to Kennedy's assassination.

Crossfire: Mobsters

"Kennedy's not going to make it to the election. He's going to be hit."

Miami Mafia boss Santos Trafficante

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, immigrants arrived in the United States from all corners of the world seeking the golden American dream. What most found was an impoverished and bleak existence in one of the many big city ghettos, where immigrants were trapped by the inability to speak English, lack of education and training along with class and cultural differences. Just like the cities of today, these ghettos spawned a multitude of street gangs with names like the Whyos, the Dead Rabbits, the Bowery Boys, the Tenth Avenue Gang, the Village Gang, the Gas House Gang, the Midnight Terrors and the Growler Gang. Despite their colorful names, these gangs were anything but funny.

Young toughs would rob and beat their victims in broad daylight, with little to fear from the police - as long as they kept their illegal activities confined to the ghetto and its cowed population. Many an immigrant's son came to see the hypocrisy of American society. The elite of America gained their positions by wealth and its attendant power, not by adhering to the Puritan Work Ethic. The weight of a man's pocketbook meant more than blood lines. With enough money, all things were possible in America for, after all, wasn't this the land of opportunity?

Initially, the neighborhood gangs were undirected and largely unorganized. They often were a means of protection, with safety in numbers. But soon the more ambitious gangs devised ways of making their associations profitable. In the various ethnic communities there were those who had belonged to the secret societies of other countries - the Mafia of Sicily, the Camorra of Italy and the Tongs of China. They brought the learned terror and intimidation of these societies to their new home, where it found fertile soil.

The Mafia used a technique involving the Black Hand. The victim, usually a successful businessman, would receive a letter demanding money. It would be signed with the imprint of a black hand. Rumors were spread that the Black Hand was a secret society of assassins which operated with impunity. If the demands for money were not met, the recipient's business might burn down or a relative might be kidnapped or beaten. The Mafia offered protection from the Black Hand - its own invention. Even the famous Italian singer, Enrico Caruso, was shaken down in this early-day protection racket.

As America entered the 20th century, the city gangs were becoming more adept at their profession and expanding operations to include gambling, prostitution and lotteries. They also were the bankers for the poor, charging exorbitant interest rates from those who could borrow money nowhere else.

The Irish brought a new dimension of power to the gangs. Unhampered by a language barrier and experienced in politics in their homeland, the Irish gangs gained advantages by allying themselves with political figures. Initially, it was the politicians who used the gangsters. Ballot boxes were stuffed, voters intimidated and opposition rallies broken up. But as the gang leaders grew more wealthy, and thus more powerful, soon it was the politician who came seeking favors. Through the years that Tammany Hall controlled New York City, the Irish gangsters which provided the enforcement muscle. Another source of power for Tammany was the 1,200-member Eastman gang, run by a Jewish immigrant named Monk Eastman (real name: Edward Osterman). After a furious public gun battle in August 1903 between the Eastmans and a rival gang, the authorities stepped in - not to eliminate the gangs, but to arrange a truce.

As the fortunes of America soared between 1910 and 1929, so did those of the gangs, particularly those with far-sighted leadership. Another Jewish gangster from New York, Arnold Rothstein, became the example of the successful underworld leader. Nicknamed "The Brain," Rothstein moved from being a small-time gambler to one of the most powerful men in the city. He even reportedly fixed the 1919 World Series. Rothstein moved in the most respectable circles, rubbing elbows with city and state officials.

His success did not go unnoticed in other areas of the underworld. A small-time hood by the name of Johnny Torrio was unhappy with the peaceful climate of New York created by Rothstein's ability to use political corruption as part of his business plan. In 1909, after receiving a letter from a cousin, Torrio traveled to Chicago where he became a trusted lieutenant to the leader of that city's rackets, Big Jim Colosimo. Soon Torrio was managing Colosimo's criminal empire, slowly turning it toward accommodation with the authorities as had his former employer, Rothstein. In 1919, upon the urging of some associates back in New York, Torrio hired a young murderer as a bouncer at one of his brothels.

His name was Alphonse "Al" Capone. Under brutal, though often brilliant leadership, the gangs prospered during World War I, but it was nothing compared to what happened following the single most important event in the history of crime -Prohibition.

Crossfire; Bootleggers and Boozers

If there was ever a drug which genuinely could be classified as dangerous, it would have to be alcohol. Although the fermentation of grains and fruits goes back further than man's recorded history, the abuse of alcohol has remained one of the chief plagues of human society through the ages. Even today with the wide variety of recreational drugs publicized in the media, alcohol remains the chief culprit behind wife and child abuse, automobile fatalities and many types of crime.

For more than 50 years prior to 1920, American groups such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League and others had lobbied Congress and state legislatures to prohibit the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits. Finally, with many male voters off serving in the military and with the emotional exhaustion and moral primness following World War I, their dream became reality. In December 1917, Congress passed the 18th amendment to the Constitution prohibiting intoxicating beverages and by January 1919, the necessary 36 of the 48 states had ratified it.

In October 1919, - overriding the veto of President Woodrow Wilson - Congress passed the Volstead Act, which created the government bureaucracy needed to enforce the 18th amendment. On midnight January 16, 1920, prohibition became the law of the land. Less than an hour after midnight, six masked men drove a truck into a Chicago railroad switchyard, broke into two freight cars and made off with \$100,000 worth of whiskey marked "For Medicinal Use Only."

It was just the beginning of an era which witnessed rapid decay of public morality, disrespect for law and the rise of a gigantic criminal empire which remains with us even today. Studying the Prohibition era, one is struck by the many similarities of today's drug prohibitions.

The catalyst for all this change was money - the immense profits to be made from the sale of illegal alcohol. Before Prohibition, a single shot of uncut Scotch sold for 15 cents. Quickly, the cost of that same shot of Scotch rose to 75 cents with the quality of the alcohol making a comparative drop. Bootleggers bought a quart of quality Scotch at sea for \$4, then diluted the Scotch into three quarts selling for as much as \$40 a bottle. Plus there was plenty of alcohol available at home. Homemade "hootch" was often the life of the party - provided it didn't blind or kill.

But - profits aside - the greatest impact of Prohibition was to make crime and criminals acceptable in the minds of the general public. City hoodlums who before would never have been allowed in genteel circles became the heroes of the hour. The enormous profits from selling illegal alcohol made respectable businessmen of men who months before had been thugs. Because of the unpopularity of Prohibition, buying protection from city and police officials became an easy chore. Chicago Police Chief Charles Fitzmorris once stated:

"Sixty percent of my policemen are in the bootleg business."

Many people thought his estimate was too low. Local governments, overwhelmed by the wealth and power of the gangs, increasingly turned to Washington for help. Federal authorities found their hands were tied since, at that time, crimes were the jurisdiction of the states. To counter the growing crime rate, more and more federal laws were passed, giving authority to federal agents. Now, in addition to the growing power of the criminal empire, Americans saw law enforcement powers slowly shift from local officials to the national government.

New power bases arose, such as the fledgling Federal Bureau of Investigation begun in 1909 and a variety of Prohibition agencies, which were to evolve into such modern forms as the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (forerunner of the Drug Enforcement Agency) and the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agency.

Illegal booze was smuggled into the United States in every conceivable manner and from every conceivable point - across the Mexican and Canadian borders and off loaded from ships to small powerboats which moved out of remote bays almost at will. The profits were enough to turn even erstwhile honest businessmen to bootlegging. One such businessman would seem to be Joseph P. Kennedy, patriarch of the Kennedy clan. Although no conclusive evidence of Kennedy's bootlegging seems to be available, - his business papers are still kept locked away in Boston's John F. Kennedy Library - it has been widely rumored that the elder Kennedy got started on the road to riches by importing illegal booze.

Several of Kennedy's Harvard classmates claim he supplied all the liquor for class reunions held during Prohibition. Well-known gangsters such as Frank Costello, Meyer Lansky and Sam Giancana all have told of Joe Kennedy's bootlegging endeavors.

Rumors have it that Kennedy made a fortune bringing Canadian whiskey into Boston. This charge is supported by the fact that as soon as Prohibition ended, Kennedy immediately was in the Scotch, gin

and rum business through a firm he founded called Somerset Importers.

Everyone fared well by flouting Prohibition. "I admit quite frankly that I made a fortune from bootlegging," Meyer Lansky was to tell biographers, adding:

"Everybody I knew treated Prohibition with contempt. The most important people in the country - respectable businessmen, politicians, senators, congressmen - they all bought illegal booze from me or from other men in the business."

After 13 years of Prohibition, even its most ardent supporters were forced to concede that it simply didn't work. If enough people want a commodity, others will find a way to get it to them - for a price. The price of prohibited alcohol - the massive corruption of the political and legal system, the enormous power wielded by the criminal gangs and the deaths and maimings from toxic hooch and gangland wars - was too steep.

On December 5, 1933, Prohibition was repealed. The parallels between the prohibition of alcohol and the present prohibition of other types of drugs should be so obvious that no further explanation need be given. Today the prohibition against certain drugs continues to promote official corruption on a massive scale. But it appears that the American people never seem to learn their lessons.

After national Prohibition ended, each state created its own liquor authority, opening up avenues of bribery and payoffs which hadn't existed before. Liquor and beer laws differed widely from state to state and even from city to city. Even today, liquor laws are a bewildering forest of statutes, regulations and directives which defy any pretense of rationality. And the gangsters didn't get out of the liquor business. Their illegal "speakeasies" simply became legitimate cocktail lounges and bars, often with frontmen to apply for the necessary licenses. By the early 1930s, a multitude of powerful criminal gangs existed in almost every large city. There remained only one more step - consolidation.

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As the Prohibition era dawned, many gangsters recognized the opportunity which presented itself. In Chicago, Big Jim Colosimo was not one of them. Afraid of bringing federal lawmen down on him, Colosimo prevented his right-hand man, Johnny Torrio, from handling any alcohol other than what was needed for the gang's brothels and speakeasies. Torrio was frustrated. On orders from Torrio, an ambitious New York gangster named Frankie Yale came to Chicago and on May 11, 1920, put a bullet through the head of Colosimo. Colosimo's funeral lasted three days, with more than 5,000 mourners including two congressmen, three judges, one soon-to-be federal judge, ten aldermen, a state representative and many other community leaders. It became the prototype for subsequent gangster funerals. By now, every section of Chicago was ruled by a gang. The North Side was run by Irishman Dion O'Banion, the West Side by another Irish mob headed by the O'Donnell brothers and the famous South Side - which encompassed Little Italy - ruled by the notorious six Gennas brothers. Then there were the lesser gangs, like the Valley Gang, the Saltis-McErlane Gang and the Ragen Colts.

Torrio tried to make peace. Calling the gang leaders together, he argued persuasively that peaceful cooperation would lead to higher profits for all concerned. There was no argument.

During the early 1920s, the Chicago underworld prospered. Then, in 1923, another O'Donnell gang from the far South Side tried to muscled in on Torrio's bootlegging operation. This challenge was halted quickly with the deaths of eight of the O'Donnell gang members. But the bloodletting - along with a new reform-minded mayor - resulted in strong pressure on the gangs from the authorities. This prompted Torrio to move his entire headquarters to a suburb - Cicero, Illinois - where by bribery and threats, he became undisputed master of the town. This was the beginning of a movement out of the traditional cities into new and more controllable communities.

Opting for semi-retirement, Torrio traveled to his native Italy, where he was greeted like a conquering hero. He left the Chicago operation in the hands of an underling, Al Capone.

Where Torrio was quiet, debonair and opposed to unnecessary violence, Capone was the distinct opposite. A gambler, bully and womanizer, Capone's answer to every problem was to apply gangland muscle.

In 1924, in an effort to forestall election of officials opposed to the gangster in Cicero, Capone sent his hired guns to the polls, seizing ballot boxes and threatening voters. Pleas for help brought in Chicago police, who engaged in running gun battles with the thugs. Capone's brother, Frank Capone, was killed but Cicero was saved as the capital of the criminal empire.

However, inside Chicago, Torrio's fragile peace was coming to an end. The O'Banions were fighting with the Gennas over bootlegging operations. Having returned home, Torrio sought to smooth relations, but was arrested after police were tipped off by Dion O'Banion. This was too much.

On November 10, 1924, O'Banion was in his North Side flower shop when two Sicilian immigrants came in and shot him six times. O'Banion's successor, Hymie Weiss, vowed revenge on Capone and Torrio. In Mid-January 1925, Torrio was suddenly trapped by four men (one of them was O'Banion's chief killer, George "Bugs" Moran) and shot four times. He lived and not long after was sentenced to a prison term, taking him out of the city and turning the organization over to Capone once more.

In the summer of 1926, Weiss and some henchmen were attacked by a carload of Capone gunmen near the new Standard Oil Building. Bullets flew but only a bystander was injured. A month later, as Capone relaxed in a restaurant, a 10-car motorcade of Weiss killers passed out front, every car spitting machine-gun bullets. Capone was unhurt but three innocent bystanders were wounded. Capone paid their hospital bills.

The shooting wars now began in earnest. On October 11, 1926, Weiss was killed by two machine-gun-toting gunsels and Moran took over the gang. Over the next two years, there were periodic skirmishes between the gangsters of Capone and Moran, culminating on February 14, 1929. That day, six of Moran's men were waiting for a shipment of whiskey in a North Clark Street warehouse when a black car pulled up. Two men in uniform and two in civilian clothes went inside. Moran witnessed this from down the street and, thinking it was a police raid, turned and hurried away. Suddenly, there was the hammering of a machine-gun and within minutes the St. Valentine's Day Massacre had become history.

The movies of later years were to glorify the Chicago gangster with his pin-striped suit and holstered "heater," but at the time, it was a dirty, bloody business which eventually caused a backlash by citizens of conscience. The battles in Chicago were bringing official wrath down on the gangs everywhere.

In Mid-May, 1929, a meeting of the nation's underworld leaders was held in Atlantic City. It was decided that Capone had to go and that the gangs had to start looking for other avenues of profits since it appeared that Prohibition was on its way out. This was one of the first major meetings between gangsters, who only years before would have been blood enemies. But times were changing and so were the methods of the criminals.

On his way home from the meeting, Capone was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon and sentenced to one year in prison. After serving that sentence, he soon was convicted of income tax evasion and sentenced to federal prison for 11 years. "You won't see me for a long time," he said while being led away. Capone was released in 1939, but died soon afterwards, insane from the ravages of syphilis.

In New York, Arnold Rothstein, who initially had stayed aloof from bootlegging, took the plunge and soon was the largest supplier of illegal booze in the East. Soon Rothstein and his cohorts were solidifying their empire of gambling and other vices with the help of a young killer named Legs Diamond (real name: John T. Noland).

Gang wars erupted in New York too as ambitious newcomers tried take their share of Rothstein's operations. When Diamond's hijackings and killings became too noticeable, Rothstein told newcomers, William "Big Bill" Dwyer and Frank Costello that he wouldn't be upset if something happened to Diamond. It wasn't easy. It took them years to get rid of Legs Diamond. Rothstein went earlier, gunned down at the Park Central Hotel in November 1928.

Rothstein was considered a wealthy front man by New York's real Mafia leaders which by the late 1920s were two large families run by Giuseppe Masseria and Salvatore Maranzano. Both families were locked in a protracted blood feud known as the Castellammarese War (from Maranzano's Sicilian hometown of Castellammare del Golfo). Eventually, gangsters from both New York and Chicago were drawn into the war.

By 1931, the war was going against Masseria when one of his lieutenants, Charles "Lucky" Luciano (real name: Salvatore Lucania) decided to arrange a "peace." On April 15, 1931, Luciano, along with some Masseria men loyal to him, met with Masseria in a Coney Island restaurant. After lunch, everyone left except Luciano and Masseria. Moments later, after Luciano stepped out "to go to the washroom," three men entered and fired more than 20 rounds at Masseria. Six hit Masseria in the head and back.

Luciano immediately called a meeting with Maranzano ending the war. But, Maranzano declared himself "capo di tutti capi" (boss of all bosses) and announced a new family structure which remained in place into the 1960s. Soon Luciano and his underboss, Vito Genovese, learned that Maranzano was planning to eliminate them, so plans were set in motion to end Maranzano's rule. Maranzano had scheduled a meeting with Luciano and Genovese in his office on September 10, 1931, but before it could take place, four men posing as police officer came in and murdered Maranzano. Luciano was

now the preeminent leader of the criminal mobs. Wisely, he declined the title of "boss of all bosses." Instead, Luciano created a commission of bosses and organized the old Mafia families into a national crime syndicate.

The murder of Maranzano was accompanied by the killing of several Maranzano henchmen -and, it has been alleged, as many as 40 other Mafia chieftains across the country - thus breaking the power of the old Mafia guard, called Mustache Petes.

It was Luciano who finally realized the dream of Torrio and Rothstein - the merging of the criminal gangs into a national crime syndicate. Backed by the deadly power of Murder, Inc. - a group of killers organized by Louis "Lepke" Buchalter in 1927 whose sole client was the Mafia - Luciano continued to gain absolute control of the syndicate he created.

During this time, Luciano began to move control of crime away from the traditional Italian and Sicilian families. New faces were beginning to show up at the crime syndicate. The Jewish math wizard, Meyer Lansky; Legs Diamond (real name: John T. Nolan); Dutch Schultz (real name: Arthur Flegenheimer) and Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel were among those slowly being admitted to policy meetings.

But Luciano was still the man in charge. After extensive investigation, Senator Estes Kefauver wrote: "The Mafia is the cement that binds organized crime and the man who perfected the cement was Luciano."

(The name Mafia came from the slogan "Morte Alla Francia, Italia Anela" meaning "Death to the French is Italy's cry!" It originated during the French occupation of Sicily during the 19th century, but remained a rallying cry against Italian rule on the island.)

Next to Prohibition, one of the most far-reaching events in the history of organized crime came during World War II when Luciano became partners with the U.S. government.

Crossfire: Lucky Goes to War

Lucky Luciano, by the mid-1930s, was a wealthy crook with interests in a wide variety of legal and illegal activities. However, he never gave up his original means of making money - prostitution. It proved his undoing. In 1936, under special New York County prosecutor, Thomas E. Dewey, Luciano's phones were tapped and his prostitutes brought in for questioning. On April 1, Luciano, along with several associates, was indicted on 90 counts of compulsory prostitution. His trial was a sensation.

The public was entranced and appalled as one prostitute after another told tales of beatings, degradation and drug addiction. Luciano was convicted and sentenced to 30 to 50 years in prison. He was first taken to Sing Sing, but later transferred to Clinton State Prison at Dannemora near the Canadian border.

organized crime investigator and writer Hank Messick has claimed that Luciano issued this order to his Mafia subordinates - "Cooperate with Meyer." Thus, Meyer Lansky, the outsider, became head of the Crime Syndicate.

Dewey was exuberant. It was the first successful prosecution of a major racketeer in New York State. He issued a statement:

"This, of course, was not a vice trial. It was a racket prosecution. The control of organized prostitution in New York by the defendants was one of their lesser rackets. It was merely the vehicle by which these men were convicted."

It appeared Luciano was safely put away. But then came World War II. The war produced un-dreamed of wealth for the mobs wherever they were. The friendly bootlegger of yesterday became the friendly black marketers of today, supplying nylons, new cars, gasoline coupons, tires, food ration stamps and even military commissions and discharges.

It was even unnecessary to counterfeit ration coupons. Gangsters simply obtained real ones from corrupt officials within the Office of Price Administration, a semi-volunteer organization which counted among its young lawyers an aspiring politician from California, Richard M. Nixon. One man who dealt with the OPA and became rich in the automobile tire business during the war was Charles G. "Bebe" Rebozo, who remained close friends with Nixon through the years.

It was also during the war that gangsters found the profit - and legitimacy - of investing in the arms industry. Arms and munitions still remain the largest-selling commodity in the world today.

Toward the end of 1942, the first year of war for the United States, things were not going well for the U.S. Navy. In March of that year alone, 24 American ships had been sunk by German U-boats. Then on November 9, 1942, the former French liner "Normandie," caught fire and rolled over in her North River moorings in Manhattan while being refitted as a troop carrier. It was plainly an act of sabotage - and later was attributed to mobster Vito Genovese, who returned to Italy during the war and supported dictator Benito Mussolini. Furthermore, Naval intelligence was convinced that information about ship convoys was being transmitted to the Axis by longshoremen of German and Italian extraction.

In a desperate attempt to compensate for years of neglect in the intelligence field, U.S. military officers decided to contact the mob for help. Navy Secretary Frank Knox created a special intelligence unit for the Third Naval District, which included the Port of New York which handled nearly one-half of all U.S. foreign shipping. This unit was headed by Lt. Commander Charles Radcliffe Haffenden, who quickly opened an unobtrusive office in Manhattan's Astor Hotel where he met with mob figures.

The Navy appealed to Manhattan District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey to put them in touch with Mafia leaders. A Dewey investigator, Murray Gurfein, contacted Mafia boss Joseph "Socks" Lanza as a first step. Lanza immediately went to Meyer Lansky, who had helped guide Luciano in organizing the national crime syndicate. Lansky, sensing an opportunity to build his prestige with the syndicate, met with Commander Haffenden and promised to get the support of Luciano.

Years later, Lansky told biographers:

"Sure, I'm the one who put Lucky and Naval Intelligence together....The reason I cooperated was because of strong personal feelings. I wanted the Nazis beaten....I was a Jew and I felt for those Jews in Europe who were suffering. They were my brothers."

Although officially no deals were made with Lansky and Luciano - they supposedly cooperated out of sheer patriotism - soon, Luciano was transferred from the "Siberia" of Dannemora to the more genial surroundings of Great Meadow Prison near Comstock, New York.

Here, on a regular basis, Luciano was visited by Lansky, Frank Costello and attorney Moses Polakoff. Lansky became a frequent visitor at naval headquarters.

The partnership prospered. Lansky told biographers how it worked:

"One big problem was getting the cooperation of the International Longshoremen's Association. I got hold of Johnny "Cockeye" Dunn, who ran the West Side piers in Manhattan, and took him to meet Commander Haffenden. I mentioned Lucky's name and Cockeye came right along. I had to get him out of jail first, as it happened, but I told the Navy he was the man for the job and he came out on bail. The Navy saw to it - I know they went very high up to pull that one off. Cockeye didn't have any official position in the union and he'd been in prison a lot of times, for robbery and other crimes. But, he was the power over there no matter what anybody said."

Lansky even claimed that the FBI was able to round up a group of Nazi infiltrators after he passed along information from an Italian fisherman who had seen them land from a U-boat.

Even the arrest and conviction of Joe Lanza for extortion and conspiracy didn't hamper the cooperation between the U.S. Government and the Mafia. If Lanza didn't receive any preferential treatment at the hands of authorities, Luciano was a different story. Although in subsequent investigations into the Mafia-Navy partnership, the Government denied any deals were made, the alliance proved effective.

Union strikes and sabotage were practically non-existent on the New York docks during the war. And when U.S. forces landed in Sicily, there were Mafia men waiting to show them safe routes through minefields and the location of German positions.

During this final phase of the war, the Mafia-military cooperation - known as Operation Underworld - moved from the Navy to the Office of Strategic Services, forerunner of the CIA.

On January 3, 1946, Dewey - by then governor of New York - forwarded to the state legislature an executive clemency for Luciano which noted Luciano's "aid" to the war effort. Luciano was freed from prison, but promptly deported. He had never bothered to become a naturalized citizen. He sailed for Italy aboard the S.S. Laura Keane on February 3, 1946. Once ensconced in Italy, Luciano didn't accept retirement. He began to bring his formidable organizational abilities to worldwide crime. Later that year, he turned up in Havana, Cuba, where Lansky was busy consolidating the gambling and prostitution business. However, American authorities warned the Cubans that medical supplies would be shut off if Luciano was allowed to remain. He soon departed.

Returning to Italy, Luciano began to organize an international narcotics syndicate which remains with us today.

Veteran mob reporter David Hanna wrote:

"...narcotics (soon became) bigger than Luciano. The French Connection had started in Marseilles and its chairmen were not bumbling, Italo-American crooks, spawned in the gutters of New York's Little Italy. They were smooth, suave Corsican masters of commerce and shipping, big business men, tied to banks through directorships, to the police by being part of them, to politics by holding office. The Corsican mobs had earned the support of the French right wing and the CIA by smashing unions and beating up left-wing politicians, just as Giuliano had done in Sicily and the colonels had done in Greece. No one was going to bother them over a few kilos of heroin. They would become the Syndicate of tomorrow."

But the wartime alliance of U.S. Intelligence and the mob was to continue through the years - first by breaking communist unions in Marseilles and then by murder-for-hire assassination plots against Fidel Castro and others and finally to the CIA involvement with heroin traffickers in Vietnam and Panama.

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The first national awareness of organized crime dates back to a conference of law enforcement officials called together by U.S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath in 1950.

Officials from New Orleans, Dallas and other cities testified to the brutal takeover of crime in their areas of jurisdiction. One dissenter was Otto Kerner, the U.S. Attorney from Chicago, who maintained there was "no organized gambling in the city of Chicago..." In 1973, Kerner was convicted of accepting \$150,000 in bribes from horse-racing interests.

One of the results of the 1950 conference was the creation of a Select Senate Committee to probe organized crime under the sponsorship of Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee. The Kefauver Committee hearings lasted well into 1951 and provided much more public knowledge about the national crime syndicate. While Attorney General McGrath - along with FBI director J. Edgar Hoover - had maintained that no crime syndicate existed, Kefauver and his committee provided the evidence

that it did. The committee found that organized, professional gambling and bookmaking was widespread throughout the nation, that the narcotics industry was a "highly organized crime" and that the mobs had infiltrated legitimate businesses ranging from advertising to transportation. It also showed the amount of official corruption which was necessary for the syndicate to flourish. The committee's final report quoted a mobster named John Roselli, who later became embroiled in the CIA-Mafia assassination schemes:

"(T)he wire service, the handbooks, the slot machines, and the other rackets which have thrived in the city of Chicago cannot operate without local corruption; if the handbooks are open, the conclusion is inescapable that the police are being paid off."

The Kefauver Committee also found that organized crime had spread from the cities of New York and Chicago to new markets in places like Kansas City, New Orleans and Dallas.

After visiting New Orleans, the committee described it as "one of America's largest concentrations of gambling houses." One of these houses, the Beverly Club, was found to be owned by Phil Kastel, Frank Costello, Jake Lansky (Meyer's brother) and a local Mafia leader, Carlos Marcello.

Crossfire: Carlos Marcello

Carlos Marcello (real name: Calogero Minacore) was born in 1910, the child of Sicilian parents living in Tunisia. That same year, the family came to New Orleans. At that time, the leader of the Mafia in New Orleans was Charles Montranga, who had survived a mass lynching in 1891 following the murder of Police Chief David Hennessey.

In 1922, Montranga was succeeded by Sam Carolla, one of Montranga's lieutenants. Carolla became a bootlegger during Prohibition and consolidated the mob's control of New Orleans.

In 1932, Carolla was convicted of shooting a federal agent and was sent to prison, where he continued to run his crime organization. That same year, New York Mayor-elect Fiorello LaGuardia was clamping down on mob operations there, so Frank Costello moved his slot machine business to New Orleans with the permission of Carolla. Carolla even supplied a young associate to run the newly-arrived gambling operation - Carlos Marcello.

By 1947, Carolla and Marcello - with the aid of Costello and Meyer Lansky - had expanded their gambling operations to include a racetrack, wire service and several plush casinos. That year, Carolla was deported to Sicily and, despite two illegal trips back, his control over New Orleans passed to Marcello.

By 1963, Marcello's empire was estimated by the New Orleans Metropolitan Crime Commission to range into the hundreds of millions of dollars, although Marcello claimed he made only about \$1,600 a month as a tomato salesman. Much of Marcello's ownings were put under the names of close relatives, thus hiding his true worth.

Marcello's national crime contacts included Costello, Joe Civello of Dallas, Sam Yaras of Chicago, Mickey Cohen of Los Angeles and the man in Tampa, Florida, identified by the Kefauver Committee as it's Mafia leader of more than 20 years, Santos Trafficante Sr.

From the time of the Kefauver Committee hearings, the U. S. Government has tried unsuccessfully to deport Marcello, who holds only a Guatemalan passport obtained allegedly by bribes.

In the spring of 1961, Marcello found he was facing a new, and much tougher government opponent than in the past. Entering the offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Services in New Orleans for his regular quarterly appointment to report as an alien, Marcello found himself handcuffed and driven to Moisant International Airport on direct orders from the new U.S. Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy. He was flown 1,200 miles to Guatemala City, where he was dumped without luggage and with little cash. Forced to leave Guatemala because of the ensuing political uproar, Marcello somehow found his way back to Miami.

(House Select Committee on Assassinations Chief Counsel Robert Blakey claims wiretaps showed Marcello was flown back to the United States by a Dominican Republic Air Force plane, however, others claim he was flown back by pilot David Ferrie (See CUBANS and AGENTS).

Although still fighting deportation, Marcello managed to remain in the United States since that time. But his Sicilian pride must have been greatly injured at Kennedy's unceremonious actions in 1961. It was not long after this that Marcello reportedly made threats against the Attorney General. Edward Becker, a Las Vegas promoter and corporate "investigator," told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that he was present at a meeting in September 1962, at Marcello's estate just outside New Orleans, Churchill Farms. Becker said at the mention of Kennedy's name, Marcello became angry and stated:

"Don't worry about that little Bobby son-of-a-bitch. He's going to be taken care of."

According to Becker, Marcello then uttered a Sicilian curse:

"Livarsi na petra di la scarpa" (Take the stone out of my shoe).

Marcello described President Kennedy as a dog with Bobby Kennedy being the tail. He then gave a startlingly accurate prophesy of what was to come. He said the dog will keep biting you if you only cut off its tail, but cut off the head and the dog will die, tail and all. The analogy was clear - with John Kennedy out of the way, Bobby Kennedy and his war on crime would come to an end. Becker said Marcello even had a plan. Marcello said he would use a "nut" for the job, someone who could be manipulated so that the killing could not be traced back to him.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations determined that there were many connections between Marcello and the JFK assassination - Marcello's associate in Dallas, Joe Civello, was close with Jack Ruby; a Marcello employee, David Ferrie, was Lee Harvey Oswald's first Civil Air Patrol leader and said to have been in contact with Oswald during the summer of 1963; and that Oswald's uncle, Charles "Dutz" Murret was acquainted with Marcello's personal driver as well as other

associates of Marcello. It was just a few months after Marcello's reported threat that Lee Harvey Oswald arrived in New Orleans.

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In 1957, a conflict over who would lead the American crime syndicate was resolved on October 25, when two gunmen shot Albert Anastasia out of a barber's chair in New York. Earlier that year, Frank Costello, Luciano's successor, was shot while entering his Manhattan apartment. He lived, but was charged with tax evasion after a note was found on him listing receipts from the recently-built Tropicana Hotel in developing Las Vegas. Costello retired from the rackets. Three weeks after the Anastasia's death, a mob conference was called by Vito Genovese. It was held at the country estate of a Mafia lieutenant near the small town of Apalachin in upstate New York. On hand was a collection of almost every leader of the crime syndicate. The purpose of the meeting, according to later testimony of some of those present, was the demand that Genovese be named "boss of all bosses" after he justified the attacks on Costello and Anastasia. One argument presented was that Anastasia had tried to move in on the Cuban gambling operations of Santos Trafficante Jr. of Florida. But before business could be settled, the police arrived, tipped off by an alert New York State Police sergeant who had become suspicious of all the big black cars with out-of-state license plates. Police roadblocks and searches of surrounding woods netted 59 of the crime leaders, most of whom claimed that had come to visit a sick friend. They included Joe Bonanno, Joseph Magliocco, Carlo Gambino, Carmine Lombardozi, John Bonventre and Joseph Profaci from New York; Anthony Magaddino from Niagara Falls; Vito Genovese, Gerardo Catena, Joseph Ida and Frank Majuri from New Jersey; Frank DeSimone from California; Joe Civello from Dallas, Texas; and Trafficante. Carlos Marcello had wisely sent a surrogate while others, such as Sam Giancana of Chicago, escaped. It was the first public look at organized crime since the Kefauver Committee hearings in the early 1950s.

But some people were already aware of the serious threat posed by the mob's syndicate. One of these was young Robert Kennedy who, after making a nationwide fact-finding tour in 1956 and 1957, became most concerned with the mob's takeover of labor unions. On January 30, 1957, the U.S. Senate unanimously created the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field - which became known as the McClellan Committee after its chairman, Senator John L. McClellan of Arkansas. The committee's chief counsel was Robert F. Kennedy. One of the senators on the McClellan Committee was a young man from Boston, John F. Kennedy. Kennedy later said his brother wanted him on the committee to keep it from being overloaded with conservative, anti-labor people. Both Kennedys were highly active in the committee's work, which first took on the corrupt leader of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Dave Beck. Following the committee's investigation, Beck was convicted in a state court of larceny and then convicted of tax evasion in federal court. Beck went to prison in 1957. (He was granted a full pardon by President Gerald Ford in May 1975.) With Beck gone the presidency of the Teamsters Union went to Jimmy Hoffa. Even before Hoffa could be brought before the McClellan Committee, he was indicted for attempting to bribe commission attorney, John Cye Cheasty. At his trial, the FBI showed a film of the men conversing and Hoffa being arrested right after money was exchanged. However, the jury of eight blacks and four whites was more impressed with former World Heavyweight Champion boxer Joe Louis, who embraced Hoffa in court and Hoffa's defense attorney, Edward Bennett Williams (now owner of the Washington Redskins). Hoffa went free to testify before the McClellan Committee. But Hoffa said he had faulty memory when it came to most questions concerning his association with underworld characters, such as Paul Dorfman. Dorfman was described by the McClellan Committee as "an associate of Chicago mobsters and the head of a local of the Waste Material Handlers Union." Dorfman also was connected to Jack Ruby, the man who silenced Lee Harvey Oswald. Dorfman's step-son, Allen Dorfman, was to play a major role in Hoffa loans to the underworld using the Teamster's Central States Health and Welfare Fund. In 1951, shortly after setting up the Michigan Conference of Teamsters Welfare Fund, Hoffa persuaded the fund's two trustees - one of whom was Hoffa's successor, Frank Fitzsimmons - to place the fund with a newly-formed branch of Union Casualty Agency. Union Casualty was owned by Paul Dorfman's step-son, Allen, and the elder Dorfman's wife, Rose. Later Hoffa also sent the Central States fund to the Dorfman-controlled agency. These two funds made up 90 percent of the branch company's contracts, according to author Dan Moldea. There continues to be claims of the close ties between Hoffa and two of the underworld's most powerful men - Carlos Marcello and Santos Trafficante Jr.

Crossfire: Santos Trafficante and Cuba

During the mid-1950s, with gunfire punctuating internal mob leadership disputes in New York and the various government panels revealing the extent of organized crime in the United States, crime bosses began to look south for relief. As early as 1933, the mob's financial wizard, Meyer Lansky, had obtained gambling concessions in Cuba, located just 90 miles off the Florida coast (See CUBANS). He had originally visited Cuba seeking molasses to make rum but discovered a suitable climate for gambling operations. Befriending the self-proclaimed dictator of Cuba, former Army sergeant Fulgencio Batista, Lansky soon opened several gambling casinos. But World War II brought a halt to his plans for turning the island into a haven for gamblers. There simply weren't enough planes and boats available to make the project profitable. In 1944, the Cuban economy was sagging and Batista was forced to make concessions to his political opponents, which included pro-communists. According to investigative reporter Howard Kohn, the Office of Naval Intelligence - already in contact with Lucky Luciano through Lansky - asked Lansky to pressure Batista into stepping down. On Lansky's urging, Batista called an election, was defeated and left Cuba for an eight-year exile in Florida.

On March 10, 1952, Batista returned to Cuba and seized power in a bloodless military coup. Reportedly, it was large amounts of money placed in numbered Swiss bank accounts by Lansky which convinced Cuban President Carlos Prío Socarras not to resist Batista's comeback. Under Lansky's manipulation, Batista's government agreed to match investments in Cuba dollar for dollar and to grant a gambling license to any establishment worth more than \$1 million. Soon the island's economy was booming as hotels and gambling casinos were quickly built. Lansky built the Hotel Nacional, whose pit boss was his brother, Jake.

He and other associates had interest in the Sevilla Biltmore and the Havana Hilton. Lansky himself built the \$14 million Hotel Havana Riviera, which was run by Dino and Eddie Cellini, organized crime figures from Ohio. But Lansky, a Jew, was still not considered an official member of the Mafia-dominated American crime syndicate. organized crime authority G. Robert Blakey wrote:

"...the undisputed Mafia gambling boss in Havana was Santos Trafficante Jr."

Trafficante was born in Tampa, Florida, on November 14, 1914, the son of Santos Trafficante Sr., described by the Kefauver Committee as "a reputed (mob) leader in Tampa for more than 20 years." When Trafficante Sr. died in 1954, his family crime business - mostly narcotics trafficking and gambling - went to his namesake. By the late 1950s, Trafficante Jr. was well situated in Cuba, owning substantial interest in the Sans Souci, a renowned nightspot partly managed by a Trafficante associate, John Roselli, later a central figure in the CIA-Mafia plots against Castro. Both Trafficante and Lansky also were part owners of the Tropicana Casino in Havana, which was managed by former Dallas gambler Lewis McWillie, the "idol" of Jack Ruby (See JACK RUBY). To gain an insight into the opportunities for mob graft at the Cuban casinos, consider that in 1958 U.S. Customs inspectors in Miami caught Jake Lansky with \$200,000 in cash and \$50,000 in checks. Lansky claimed he was taking the money for deposit in the Bank of Miami.

In Cuba, Meyer Lansky and associate Bugsy Siegel used the same tactics they had used successfully in 1945 when they turned a dusty strip of Nevada desert into the Las Vegas strip - flying in high-rollers to stay at their hotel-casinos. In reviewing the Havana operations during those years, Blakey wrote:

"Havana, in short, was a full-service vice capital, owned and operated by the mob."

Others who had gambling interests in Cuba during this time were men connected to Teamster boss Jimmy Hoffa. Two New York underworld figures allied with the Tommy Lucchese family, Salvatore Granello and James Plumeri, were part owners of a Havana race track and a large gambling casino. Granello and Plumeri also helped Teamster officials get Miami Local 320 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters started, according to "The Hoffa Wars" author, Dan Moldea. Moldea also wrote that Granello and Plumeri at the time were splitting kickbacks with Hoffa on loans made through the Central States Pension Fund.

One high-placed guest in Cuba at the time was Congressman Richard Nixon, who made frequent trips to the island, visiting both President Batista and the gambling casinos. According Nixon biographer Earl Mazo, Nixon visited Cuba as early as 1940 considering "the possibilities of establishing law or business connections in Havana." Less than a month after Batista took power, Nixon made a late-night stop at one of Havana's casinos, where a companion lost \$4,200 gambling. Nixon's friend, Dana Smith - who later administered Nixon's famous secret "Checkers" slush fund - wrote a check to cover his losses, but stopped payment after returning to the United States. Legal action was begun by the

casino, but charges were dropped after Nixon intervened with State Department officials.

The glamorous night life of Havana came to an abrupt end on New Year's Day, 1959, when Fidel Castro entered the city and proclaimed a new Cuban revolution (See CUBANS). Both Batista and Lansky fled Cuba that same day. Lansky later lamented that he caught one of the last planes leaving Havana and was forced to leave behind \$17 million in cash which had been earmarked for his various partners via Swiss bank accounts. Jake Lansky, left behind to hold together his brother's gambling and narcotics operations, was jailed by Castro along with Santos Trafficante.

Castro loudly proclaimed:

"I'm going to run all these fascist mobsters, all these American gangsters, out of Cuba.

I'm going to nationalize everything. Cuba for Cubans!"

Jack Ruby, the Dallas nightclub owner who killed Lee Harvey Oswald, also was interested in Cuba at this time. He was involved in gun running activities just prior to Castro's revolution and he visited there at least twice to see his close friend Lewis McWillie. Ruby may have even met with Trafficante while in Cuba (See JACK RUBY).

By 1960, Castro had made good on his threat to expel organized crime. He had deported all syndicate members, closed the whorehouses and casinos and shut down the drug labs along with expropriating other American business interests. Both the crime syndicate and some government officials were appalled at this turn of events. The CIA particularly wanted something done since, according to Agency sources quoted by journalist Howard Kohn, the Agency had used the underworld's Havana casinos to hide payments to the crime figures it sometimes employed.

Thus the idea of an invasion of Cuba was born. It developed into a murky alliance between the CIA, the crime syndicate, the U.S. military and anti-Castro Cuban exiles. This alliance produced the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion (See CUBANS). Four ex-casino bosses - including Hoffa associates Salvatore Granello and James Plumeri - even supplied the CIA with intelligence reports gathered from trusted Cuban contacts. Trafficante, who had gained power in 1957 by alerting Lansky that Albert Anastasia planned to undercut Lansky's control of the Cuban operations, helped guide the Bay of Pigs activities through Frank Sturgis. Sturgis (real name: Frank Fiorini) was an American soldier of fortune who had fought with Castro and then served as Castro's supervisor of gambling before the casinos were all closed. Having attended the meeting in which Castro announced his plans to shut down mob operations in Cuba, Sturgis immediately reported this decision to Miami mob boss Santos Trafficante. After gambling was stopped, Sturgis came to the United States, saying that he had been working undercover against Castro all the time. He was quickly recruited by the CIA (See AGENTS).

Richard Whattley, another mercenary hired for the Cuban invasion, later reported:

"Trafficante would order Sturgis to move his men and he'd do it. Our ultimate conclusion was that Trafficante was our backer. He was our money man."

Along with the plans to invade Cuba, there were concurrent schemes to eliminate Castro by assassination. Involved in these plots were Trafficante, Sturgis, Robert Maheu (the ex-FBI man who was liaison between the CIA and the Mafia and later became manager of the Howard Hughes empire) and two Mafia chiefs, John Roselli and Sam "Momo" Giancana.

Teamster boss Jimmy Hoffa was the original liaison between the CIA and the mob, according to Charles Crimaldi, a Chicago killer turned government informer and considered reliable by Charles Siragusa, former deputy director of the Bureau of Narcotics.

During the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion, it has been reported that some of Lansky's casino operators - escorted by a CIA man - waited in a boat offshore, ready to rush in and resume the Havana operations. With the failure of the invasion, the mob joined with the CIA, the military and the Cuban exiles in putting the blame squarely on President John F. Kennedy. Although mob gambling activity quickly shifted to Las Vegas and the Bahamas, crime leaders did not forget who cost them their Havana "vice capital."

Like Marcello, Trafficante began to feel the heat of Robert Kennedy's anti-crime crusade and said something was going to be done about it. According to evidence gathered by the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Trafficante was in touch with a wealthy Cuban exile living in Miami named Jose Aleman. Trafficante had offered to arrange a million-dollar loan for Aleman which was coming from the Teamsters Union and had "already been cleared by Jimmy Hoffa himself." Aleman said he met with Trafficante at Miami's Scott-Bryant Hotel in September 1962, and the talk turned to Hoffa. According to Aleman, Trafficante brought the conversation around to President Kennedy, saying:

"Have you seen how his brother is hitting Hoffa, a man who is a worker, who is not a

millionaire, a friend of the blue collars? He doesn't know that this kind of encounter is very delicate...It is not right what they are doing to Hoffa...Hoffa is a hard-working man and does not deserve it...Mark my words, this man Kennedy is in trouble and he will get what is coming to him."

Aleman said when he disagreed, saying Kennedy was doing a good job and probably would be re-elected, Trafficante replied:

"You don't understand me. Kennedy's not going to make it to the election. He's going to be hit."

Later Aleman said Trafficante "made it clear" he was not guessing and even gave "the distinct impression that Hoffa was to be principally involved in the elimination of Kennedy." Unknown to Trafficante, Aleman was an informant for the FBI at the time of this alleged conversation. He promptly reported what he had heard to the Bureau, but said FBI officials would not listen nor take him seriously. In 1978, when Aleman testified before the House Select Committee on Assassinations, his story became vague. He said perhaps Trafficante meant Kennedy was going to be "hit" by a lot of Republicans votes in 1964. Aleman also admitted he was "very much concerned about my safety..."

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Jimmy Hoffa survived the McClellan Committee hearings. But it was the start of a personal war between two of the nation's most powerful men - Bobby Kennedy and Teamster leader Jimmy Hoffa.

On January 20, 1961, John F. Kennedy was sworn in by Chief Justice Earl Warren as the 35th President of the United States. At the insistence of his father, Joseph P. Kennedy, and because he wanted someone in his cabinet completely trustworthy, Kennedy selected his younger brother, Robert F. Kennedy, as Attorney General. Just two months before, Robert Kennedy had turned 35. He was the one of the youngest attorney generals in the history of the United States. It was a decision roundly criticized by the news media and other politicians. Alexander Bickel, writing in the "New Republic," was blunt:

"On the record, Robert Kennedy is not fit for the office."

The younger Kennedy immediately let it be known that his primary target was organized crime. Well-informed about the national crime syndicate thanks to his tenure on the McClellan Committee, Kennedy said:

"Organized Crime has become big business."

Later he said he was appalled:

"(at the) private government of organized crime, resting on a base of human suffering and moral corrosion...(and that the modern gangster was no longer) someone dressed in a black shirt, white tie and diamond stickpin, whose activities affect only a remote underworld circle. He is more likely to be outfitted in a gray flannel suit and his influence is more likely to be as far-reaching as that of an important industrialist."

Packing his staff with some of the finest legal minds in the nation, Kennedy continually regaled reluctant Justice Department officials:

"Don't tell me what I can't do, tell me what I can do."

Soon even Kennedy's opponents were expressing admiration for the energy and talent exhibited by the new attorney general. Bickle later wrote:

"...It was the most brilliantly staffed department we had seen in a long, long time and that was very impressive. One immediately had a sense of a fellow...who had a vision of public service that would have done anyone proud."

Bucking the reluctance of J. Edgar Hoover and other veteran Justice officials, Kennedy began to achieve results. Between 1960 and 1964, the number of attorneys in the organized crime and Racketeering Section grew from 17 to 63. Criminal intelligence from various agencies was pooled. The statistics tell the story. In 1960, attorneys from the organized crime section spent 61 days in court, 660 days in the field and 100 days before a grand jury. In 1963, they spent 1,081 days in court, 6,177 days in the field and 1,353 days before a grand jury. Individual indictments rose from 121 in 1961 to 615 in 1963. Convictions increased from 73 in 1961 to 288 in 1963. In all, 116 members of the mob were indicted between 1960 and 1964. A list of syndicate members targeted for prosecution grew from 40 in 1960 to 2,300 by 1964, plus the organized crime section accumulated 175,000 cards in its master file of information on racketeers and their associates. Among these were the nation's top mobsters, including Marcello and Trafficante. But Kennedy's personal attention went to his old enemy, Jimmy Hoffa.

Crossfire: War on Hoffa

James Riddle Hoffa was born on February 14, 1913, in Brazil, Indiana. After the death of his father when he was seven, young Hoffa moved to Detroit with his mother, brother and two sisters. By 1932, Hoffa was already involved in the union movement. Angered over low pay and working conditions at the Kroger Food Company, Hoffa helped organize a work stoppage. After several days of negotiation, the company signed a one-page contract. It was the start of a one-company union and was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. By the mid-1930s, Hoffa's fledgling union was absorbed by bigger organizations. After being fired by Kroger, he joined Detroit Teamsters Joint Council 43 as an organizer and negotiator.

In the early 1930s, Hoffa had a love affair with Sylvia Pigano, a woman with family connections to organized crime figures. This was Hoffa's introduction to the underworld, which over the years became an invaluable source of support. From that point on Hoffa's rise to the presidency of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters continued unabated. Hoffa walked a thin line, maintaining contacts with mobsters on one hand and presenting the image of a respectable labor leader on the other.

After World War II, two deported Detroit mobsters, Frank Coppola and Salvatore Vitale, became top lieutenants to Lucky Luciano. Both men were well acquainted with Hoffa. Hoffa, through organized crime figure Santo Perrone, also met Paul Dorfman, a former Al Capone henchman, union official and friend to Jack Ruby. Dorfman had become president of the mob-controlled Chicago Scrap Handlers Union following the murder of its founder, Leon Cooke. Ruby was one of those arrested for questioning in Cooke's death (See JACK RUBY).

In "The Enemy Within," a book describing organized crime growth in the United States, Robert Kennedy wrote that while Hoffa had consolidated his position within the Michigan Teamsters Union, he was largely unknown outside that state. Kennedy wrote:

"For him, the key to the entire Midwest was Chicago. He needed a powerful ally there - and he found his man in Paul Dorfman. Dorfman, (McClellan Committee) testimony showed, was a big operator - a major figure in the Chicago underworld who also knew his way around in certain labor and political circles."

Through Dorfman, Hoffa made connections with another Chicago mobster, Sam Giancana. Dorfman's step-son, Allen Dorfman, - with no insurance experience - opened the Chicago branch of Union Casualty Agency. By 1951, Hoffa had managed to bring Dorfman's Union Casualty office both the Michigan Conference of Teamsters Welfare Fund and the Central States Health and Welfare Fund. Hoffa also was working closely with underworld figures in maintaining Teamster control over strikes and other union activity. Vincent Piersante, head of the organized crime unit of the Michigan Attorney General's Office, told author Dan Moldea:

"There is little doubt about the fact that Hoffa, consciously and willingly, protected the rackets in Detroit by protecting their legitimate fronts with the Teamsters Union. And that included those gangsters who were deeply involved in the drug traffic."

In 1957, fresh from his victory in exposing Teamster President Dave Beck's embezzlement of union money, McClellan Committee Chief Counsel Robert Kennedy turned his sights on Beck's successor, Jimmy Hoffa. On March 13, 1957, Hoffa was arrested after passing \$2,000 to a Committee attorney. But he was acquitted after a brilliant defense by Washington attorney Edward Bennett Williams, who had also defended Frank Costello and Dave Beck. After the committee hearings, Hoffa also was acquitted on charges of wiretapping and perjury. He was living a charmed life. but his hatred for Kennedy was increasing. The McClellan Committee, in its first interim report, stated:

"The power of the Teamsters Union president is so extraordinary that the committee finds the fact this power is now lodged in the hands of a man such as Hoffa tragic for the Teamsters Union and dangerous for the country at large."

Kennedy elaborated in his book:

"The Teamsters Union is the most powerful institution in this country -aside from the United States Government itself. In many Metropolitan areas the Teamsters control all transportation...between birth and burial the Teamsters drive the trucks that clothe and feed us and provide the vital necessities of life...Quite literally, your life - the life of every person in the United States - is in the hands of Hoffa and his Teamsters...But though the great majority of Teamsters officials and Teamster members are honest, the Teamsters Union under Hoffa is often not run as a bona fide union. As Mr. Hoffa operates it, this is a conspiracy of evil."

The major concern seems to have been the threat of mob blackmail. If organized crime so desired, it could have pressured Hoffa into calling a nationwide Teamsters strike which could have totally paralyzed the nation. For the Kennedys, this was an intolerable situation.

When the election year of 1960 arrived, Hoffa knew which side he had to be on. He and the Teamsters threw their support behind Richard Nixon.

In fact Edward Partin, a Louisiana Teamster official and later a government informant, has revealed that Hoffa met with Carlos Marcello. He related:

"I was right there, listening to the conversation. Marcello had a suitcase filled with \$500,000 cash which was going to Nixon. It was a half-million-dollar contribution. (Another half million) was coming from the mob boys in New Jersey and Florida."

But money wasn't enough. Nixon lost and Robert Kennedy became Attorney General. After the election, Hoffa was quoted as saying:

"Nobody had to tell me that he was really going to go after my scalp now."

In 1958, U.S. Attorney General William P. Rogers formed a special group on organized crime to investigate the Alalachin meeting. Kennedy, following that precedent, organized a special unit within the organized crime and Racketeering Section to investigate the Teamsters Union. Headed by Walter Sheridan, who had been an investigator for the McClellan Committee, the unit became known as the "Get Hoffa Squad." The squad managed to bring 201 indictments and 126 convictions against Teamster officials. On May 18, 1962, Hoffa was indicted for receiving a million dollars in illegal payments through the Test Fleet Corporation, a trucking company set up under his wife's name. His trial ended in a hung jury. As a result of this trial, Hoffa was indicted along with five others for jury tampering on May 9, 1963. On June 4, 1963, Hoffa was indicted for fraudulently obtaining \$20 million in loans from Teamsters' the Central States Pension Fund.

Earlier, in September 1962 - about the same time that Marcello and Trafficante had hinted that President Kennedy was going to be assassinated - Ed Partin, the Teamster official turned informant, went to Louisiana law enforcement officials to tell of a threat by Hoffa. Partin believed that Hoffa thought he was closely associated with Marcello since he lived in Louisiana. Visiting in Hoffa's Washington office in August 1962, Partin said Hoffa began talking about plans to kill Robert Kennedy. Thinking out loud, Hoffa discussed two schemes. One involved the firebombing of Hickory Hill, Kennedy's Virginia estate. The second plan involved shooting Kennedy with a rifle while he rode in an open car.

The "ideal setup," Hoffa reportedly told Partin, would be to catch Kennedy somewhere in the South, where "segregation people" might be blamed for the crime. The "ideal time" would be to hit Kennedy while he rode in a convertible, said Hoffa. Partin quoted Hoffa as saying:

"Somebody needs to bump that son of a bitch off. Bobby Kennedy (has) got to go."

Partin's story was passed along to Kennedy aides, who were highly skeptical until an FBI lie detector test indicated Partin was telling the truth. Further confirmation of the seriousness of the threat came when federal officials taped a conversation between Partin and Hoffa.

Partin said he had obtained some plastic explosives and Hoffa asked him to bring them to Nashville. The threat even reached the ear of President Kennedy, who confided to journalist Benjamin Bradlee in February 1963, that Hoffa's men intended to kill his brother with a "gun fitted with a silencer." Bradlee, in notes taken at the time, wrote he found the story "hard to believe, but the President was obviously serious."

It was in the middle of Hoffa's jury tampering case that President Kennedy was shot in Dallas. Hoffa, upon learning that flags were flying at half-mast at Teamster headquarters in Washington, regaled officials there, shouting:

"Why the hell did you do that for him? Who the hell is he?"

Two of Hoffa's top officials resigned over the incident.

On the day that Ruby murdered Oswald, Hoffa told a Nashville reporter:

"Bobby Kennedy is just another lawyer now."

Hoffa was convicted in both the jury tampering and the fraudulent loan cases and sentenced to both fine and imprisonment. He received executive clemency from President Richard Nixon on December 23, 1971, without the customary consultation with the sentencing judge. However, the clemency contained a provision prohibiting Hoffa from seeking office in the union. Hoffa filed suit to have the restriction nullified and began making overtures to Teamster rank and file. Ironically, he pledged that, if elected Teamster president in 1976, he would purge the union of all mob influence.

On July 30, 1975, Hoffa was to meet Anthony "Tony Pro" Provenzano, a New Jersey Teamster official and reputed member of the crime syndicate. He never returned and no one has been convicted in his disappearance. Hoffa's unsolved disappearance is grim evidence that neither Teamster officials, the crime syndicate nor the U.S. Government wanted him to regain control of this nation's mightiest union.

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One of the biggest boosts to Robert Kennedy's anti-crime campaign began in June 1962, when an underworld tough serving a prison term in Atlanta for narcotics murdered a fellow inmate with an iron pipe. The convict's name was Joseph Valachi and he killed the man believing him to be an assassin sent from his long-time boss and cellmate, Vito Genovese. Genovese had slipped back into the United States after World War II to resume his narcotics operations. Imprisoned, Genovese heard rumors - apparently false - that Valachi was cooperating with authorities and had given his veteran soldier the "kiss of death." Soon after, there were three attempts on Valachi's life. Valachi didn't want to wait for the fourth. So believing a man in the prison courtyard was a Genovese killer, Valachi beat him to death. He picked the wrong man.

With both the Government and the mob seeking his life, Valachi decided he had nothing to lose by cooperating with authorities. Over the next year, he provided federal agents with a bonanza of information on the national crime organization which is known as the Mafia, La Cosa Nostra (Our Thing), the Outfit, the Arm, the Syndicate and other names. On September 25, 1963, Valachi took his story public, testifying before McClellan's Senate committee.

Valachi presented a wealth of detail about the organization of the mob, its codes, rules and regulations and its most important members, including those who sat on the "Commissione," the Syndicate's board of directors. Organized crime authority and former New York Police official Ralph Salerno evaluated Valachi's testimony:

"The Valachi confessions are ranked next to Apalachin as the single greatest (intelligence) blow ever delivered to organized crime in the United States. This evaluation came from the lips of those most affected by it: members of the criminal network whose comments were overheard through bug and wiretap....Many of the incidents Valachi described had...been known to the police, but...(Valachi) was able to fill in the gaps and connect one incident with another....The pattern that Valachi furnished made it possible for police intelligence men to begin to see the dimensions of syndicated crime and stop looking at it as a series of unconnected cases."

Valachi's relations were compared to those of Nicola Gentile, a self-exiled Sicilian "Mafioso" who had been high in the councils of crime during the 1920s and 1930s. Gentile had recounted the growth of organized crime to a special unit of the Justice Department during the Eisenhower Administration, but nothing had been done with the information. The accounts were generally the same and, for the first time, the American people got a glimpse of the scope and danger of organized crime.

The Valachi revelations were a great embarrassment to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. They forced Hoover to grudgingly admit that such a thing as a crime syndicate must exist.

In his ever-increasing war against organized crime, Kennedy made use of the Treasury Department's Internal Revenue Service to go after mob members. Man-hours of IRS agents working on organized crime cases grew from 8,836 in 1960 to 96,182 in 1963. John H. Davis, a Kennedy relative and author of "The Kennedys," wrote:

"Given another five years in office, the Kennedys could conceivably have exterminated the Cosa Nostra entirely, or at least crippled it beyond repair."

But the mob wasn't about to sit back and wait for destruction, although at least one gangster was overheard by police bugs saying he was thinking of closing shop and leaving the country. Crime bosses wanted something done about the Kennedys, especially since they felt "double crossed" by the two brothers. After all, the connections between crime and the Kennedys reportedly went back a long way.

Back in 1927, a shipment of bootleg whiskey on its way from Ireland to Boston was hijacked in southern New England. Almost the entire guard was killed in the resulting shoot-out. The hijackers were part of the Luciano-Lansky mob, while it was rumored that Joseph P. Kennedy was involved in the shipment. Kennedy reputedly lost a fortune on the deal and was besieged by widows of the guards seeking financial assistance. Lansky later told biographers he was convinced that Kennedy held a grudge against him personally from that time on and, in fact, had passed the hostility on to his sons.

This unproven contact between the Kennedy family and Prohibition bootlegging might well be the basis for the younger Kennedy's war against organized crime. It well may be that both sons - having

heard the rumors of their father's Prohibition activities - were determined to wipe away this stain on the family's honor. But the crime contacts didn't stop with Prohibition.

According to crime author Ovid Demaris, Kennedy would likely have lost the state of Illinois -and possibly the 1960 presidential election - except for overlarge voting in Cook County, home of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley.

Following the election, Illinois Republicans made an unofficial check of 699 paper ballot precincts in Cook County and turned up enough irregular votes to shift the victory to Richard Nixon. However, demands for an official recount were blocked by Daley's political machine. And behind that machine was the real power in Chicago at that time - Sam Giancana.

Crossfire: Momo and his Girlfriends

Sam Giancana (real name: Momo Salvatore Guingano) was born May 24, 1908, to poor Sicilian immigrants living in Chicago. He grew up in the ghettos and was street wise at an early age. A member of a gang called the "42's," Giancana was first convicted of car theft in 1925. Before he was 20, he was arrested in connection with three murders, including the slaying of Octavius Granady, a black who sought election as a committeeman. In 1932, he came to the attention of Paul "The Waiter" Ricca (real name: Felice DeLucia) who worked for the notorious Genna brothers. Giancana became the personal driver for Ricca, who took over the Chicago syndicate after the suicide of Frank Nitti in 1943. In 1944, Ricca went to prison for extortion and Anthony Accardo took over as Chicago's syndicate boss. Giancana became his chauffeur. Giancana helped Accardo consolidate the rackets and gambling operations in Chicago. In 1957, Giancana was one of those forced to flee from the ill-fated Apalachin meeting.

In 1960, when Accardo retired after an income tax evasion indictment, Giancana took over the syndicate. By 1963, Giancana had been arrested 60 times and had served time for burglary, auto theft and moonshining. He also was one of the wealthiest and most powerful men both in Chicago and in the syndicate. After the death of his wife Angeline in 1954, Giancana became well-known as a ladies man. He reportedly chased waitresses, dancers and secretaries.

While visiting Las Vegas in 1960, Giancana met Phyllis McGuire, the youngest of the McGuire Sisters singing group. According to Robert Blakey, chief counsel of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, McGuire had run up gambling debts of more than \$100,000. Giancana - who along with Accardo secretly owned interests in the Desert Inn and the Stardust casinos although both were nominally owned by Morris "Moe" Dalitz - made good her debt. Soon afterwards, Giancana made his Las Vegas headquarters at the nearby Green Gables Ranch, which records showed had been leased by McGuire.

One story related in William Brashler's book "The Don" and repeated by Blakey tells of Giancana and McGuire being stopped by FBI agents during a stopover at Chicago in 1961. Angered when the agents tried to question McGuire, Giancana snapped:

"Whataya wanna know. I'll tell ya, I'll tell ya anything you wanna know."

"Tell us what you do for a living," said one agent.

Giancana replied:

"Easy, I own Chicago. I own Miami. I own Las Vegas."

When McGuire failed to return immediately from her separate interview, Giancana became enraged. He shouted at the agents:

"F-k you, F-k your boss, too. F-k your boss's boss. I'll get you for this. You lit a fire tonight that will never go out ... I'll get you!"

During the 1960 election, Giancana and other mob leaders apparently thought they had bought some relief from this growing government awareness and prosecution of the syndicate. In addition to meeting mob leader Joseph Bonanno in the winter of 1959, Kennedy reportedly received campaign contributions from the syndicate channeled to his father by singer Frank Sinatra. Yet another conduit for these funds may have been a beautiful woman with connections to both Kennedy and Giancana.

Ironically, evidence of these contributions to Kennedy was picked up by FBI phone taps which were part of an electronic surveillance program initiated by Attorney General Kennedy's war on crime.

But Giancana believed he had an even better hold on Kennedy - the beautiful dark-eye brunette named Judith Exner. Exner, going then as Judy Campbell, said she was introduced to John F. Kennedy on February 7, 1960, by Frank Sinatra, whom she had been dating. In her 1977 book, "My Story," she wrote that both John Kennedy and his brother, Edward, were sitting with Sinatra in the lounge of Las Vegas' Sands Hotel. She said she and John Kennedy met again a month later, this time alone and in the Plaza Hotel in New York where, according to Exner, they shared a bed. From that point on Kennedy was to see Exner on a regular basis. The pair exchanged telephone calls frequently, including some to the White House which were noted by the FBI.

Why the FBI? The Bureau had been monitoring the activities of Exner because of another man in her life - Chicago mob boss Sam Giancana. Exner claimed she was introduced to Giancana, again by Sinatra, a month after she had become Kennedy's lover. When Giancana discovered she was seeing the Democratic presidential candidate, he took an immediate and continuing interest in Exner. And soon Giancana - one of the top Mafia bosses in the nation - was bedding the paramour of the soon-to-be President.

In later years, Exner said:

"I feel like I was set up to be the courier. I was a perfect choice because I could come and go without notice, and if noticed, no one would've believed it anyway."

What passed between Kennedy and Giancana in this extraordinary triangle is not known, but in 1988, Exner revealed that she had acted as a courier carrying sealed envelopes for the two men on at least 10 occasions.

Given only a short time to live by her doctors, Exner said she wanted to set the record straight. She said she did not tell about the envelopes during 1975 testimony to the Senate Intelligence Committee because she feared for her life. She also claimed that she never opened the envelopes nor knew their contents. Most of her courier activities took place during the tough 1960 campaign and Exner speculated that her actions may have been connected with attempts to influence the critical West Virginia Democratic primary.

Once, after being questioned by FBI agents, Exner complained to Kennedy. She claimed Kennedy - by then President - assured her:

"Don't worry. They won't do anything to you. And don't worry about Sam. You know he works for us."

Kennedy continued to see Exner until a meeting with J. Edgar Hoover on March 22, 1962. It is now accepted that on that date Hoover revealed to the President the extent of Exner's ties with organized crime and the obvious fact the he knew about Kennedy's liaison with her. Shortly after Hoover left the White House, there was one more call sent to Judith Exner. No more were ever logged. Kennedy also broke off his friendship with Sinatra, perhaps suspecting that the singer had set him up.

But the worst was yet to come. Although still seeing Exner, Giancana became suspicious that Phyllis McGuire was seeing comedian Dan Rowan. Giancana asked his contact with the CIA, Robert Maheu, to place a wiretap on Rowan's telephone. This was done, using CIA personnel and equipment, but a maid discovered the tap and told Rowan, who brought it to the attention of the federal Government. The Justice Department initiated proceedings against Maheu for illegal wiretapping.

In May 1962, a month after the Kennedy-Hoover meeting apparently ended the President's relationship with Exner, Robert Kennedy was asked by CIA officials not to prosecute Maheu for fear that Giancana's role in the incident would become known. They reminded Kennedy that Giancana had played a role in the clandestine effort against Castro's government. Kennedy, thinking the plots against Castro had been stopped in 1961, was adamant about pressing the charges.

Then on May 7, CIA General Counsel Lawrence Houston finally told Kennedy the whole ugly truth - that the Agency had contracted with Giancana and John Roselli to murder Fidel Castro. According to Houston, Kennedy fixed him with a cold look and said:

"I trust that if you ever try to do business with organized crime again -with gangsters - you will let the attorney general know."

From that moment on, both Kennedys must have feared what Sam Giancana might reveal if he chose -the CIA-Mafia murder plots and Giancana's girl in bed with the President. However, this fear did not stop the younger Kennedy from going on with his war against targeted Mafia big shots, including Giancana.

The FBI haunted Giancana day and night, watching his home and trailing his car. It was most effective. Crime associates wouldn't come near and Giancana couldn't go where he pleased. He was effectively isolated.

In June 1963, Giancana caused chins to drop throughout the underworld by becoming the first mobster ever to go to court seeking an injunction against FBI surveillance. To gain the injunction required Giancana to swear in court that he was an honest businessman, which, in turn, would expose him to government cross-examination - an unprecedented hazard for a crime boss.

Giancana must have felt confident that the government would not question him too closely. And he was right. To a stunned courtroom, the U. S. Attorney announced that the government waived the right to cross-examination. The decision not to question Giancana had come straight from the attorney general. But while one effort against Giancana was deflected, the Kennedy Justice Department's all-out war against the underworld continued. The top crime bosses were incensed. Hadn't they contributed to Kennedy's election? Hadn't they help steal critical votes? Hadn't Kennedy dabbled with one of their women? It undoubtedly looked like double-cross to the mob chieftains. And in the underworld the only solution for a double-crosser is elimination - a "hit."

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On November 22, 1963, Attorney General Kennedy met with about 40 of his organized crime and Racketeering Section staff. They had been meeting regularly for the past two and a half years. Interestingly enough, one of the young crime busters was G. Robert Blakey, who years later would become chief counsel of the House Select Committee on Assassinations created to investigate the murders of John and Robert Kennedy. Just before they broke for lunch, the last topic of discussion was Sam Giancana and political corruption in Chicago. The attorney general had just finished lunch at his McLean, Virginia, home when J. Edgar Hoover called to inform him:

"The President's been shot."

Kennedy never met with the organized crime and Racketeering Section again. With the death of John F. Kennedy, the war on crime was lost. Organized crime was ecstatic, but on FBI wiretaps, older and wiser mob leaders urged caution in speaking about the assassination. One was overheard explaining:

"...police spies will be watching carefully to see what we...think and say about this."

Such caution was certainly justified. In the years following the assassination, more and more attention has been drawn to the mob as one of the most likely suspects.

Beginning with Jack Ruby right on through to David Ferrie and Jim Braden (See AFTERMATH), crime figures keep cropping up throughout the assassination case. There now can be no question that organized crime had the means, motive and the opportunity to murder the President. But could the crime bosses have effectively covered their tracks without the help of highly-placed federal Government officials?

As powerful as organized crime had become, they could never have taken such momentous action as the assassination without assurance that the crime could not be traced back to them. They had to know that highly-placed protection existed. It now appears that the vocal wishes of the crime bosses to eliminate the Kennedys were echoed by certain powerful men in both government and big business.

G. Robert Blakey, chief counsel of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, pulled no punches on the cover of his book, "The Plot to Kill the President." The subtitle stated:

"Organized crime assassinated J.F.K."

Blakey once told this author:

"One reason no one realized organized crime's involvement (for many years) was that people never saw before...what was going on in Cuba. They failed to see the significance of men like Lewis McWillie and Russell Matthews (See JACK RUBY) (and) because they did not understand these men's connections."

Blakey said the House Committee's inability to prove the mob was not behind the assassination led him to conclude that it was involved. Asked if the fact that organized crime has been connected with the assassination only in recent years might suggest some control over the Government on the part of the mob, Blakey replied:

"That's conceivable...I would find that troubling, but no more so than the fact that they killed the man and got away with it."

Following his brother's death, Robert Kennedy appeared to lose interest in prosecuting the mob and the Justice Department staff seemed to follow suit.

By 1966, organized crime and Racketeering Section man-hour figures for days in court, in the field and before grand juries were half of those in 1963.

While there must have been the desire to maintain the loving-husband image of his dead brother, the cooling of the attorney general's passion for fighting the mob likely was due more to the revelations of CIA-Mafia assassination plots, an issue which affected national security. In fighting what the Kennedys had perceived as a great internal evil, they had once again found themselves confronted with a run-away intelligence agency - the CIA.

Crossfire: Mobsters Summary

Since its inception in the 1930s, organized crime or the national crime syndicate has gained an ever-increasing choke hold on the United States.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy, backed by his brother the President, waged war against organized crime as never before or since, causing great fear and hatred in the ranks of crime leaders. The simple statistics of the Kennedy Justice Department tell a story of a sincere, all-out war against "the enemy within." Every one of the major crime bosses - including the powerful Teamsters Union President Jimmy Hoffa - were reported to have issued threats against the Kennedys. What the Kennedys may not have known were the connections between the mob and U.S. intelligence agencies. These connections dated all the way back to Lucky Luciano and World War II.

Hoover's FBI had always taken a laissez faire attitude toward the syndicate, while the CIA actually had worked with crime figures in assassination plots. These CIA-Mafia assassination plots continued right up to Kennedy's assassination in Dallas. Considering the Kennedy war against the mob as well as its vital interests in Cuba lost to Castro and Kennedy's failure to militarily support the Bay of Pigs Invasion, mob bosses had more than enough motive to want the President dead.

If Judith Exner is to be believed, there were contacts between Kennedy and Sam Giancana during the 1960 campaign which may have led to Kennedy winning the Democratic nomination and the election. With Kennedy's support of Robert Kennedy's "war on crime" it must have looked like a double-cross to the mob.

There most certainly existed the opportunity to utilize intelligence contacts in an assassination plot.

Many assassination researchers, including House Select Committee on Assassinations Chief Consul Blakey, today believe that organized crime was responsible for Kennedy's death. But is the American public expected to believe that the mob could kill a President and the combine resources of the FBI, CIA, Secret Service, the military and the nation's police agencies could not discover that fact?

If American crime bosses ordered the assassination, they must have received some assurance of protection after the fact. And such assurance would have had to come from persons in high Government positions. Perhaps, in time, such connections between government leaders of the time and the mob will become more fully documented. Until such time, the American public is left with only tantalizing bits of information and common sense to suggest such complicity.

Crossfire: Agents

"(I will) splinter the CIA into a thousand pieces and scatter it to the winds."

President John F. Kennedy

Since the first conflicts of man, there has been a need for intelligence, or information on the activities and purposes of a perceived enemy. However, in modern America the growth of several intelligence organizations over the years has spawned an intelligence industry unparalleled in the history of the world. Going under acronyms such as CIA, DIA, NSA, ONI and others, these intelligence power bases have grown far beyond what their creators originally intended. The history of the Central Intelligence Agency - the most publicized of the spy agencies - reveals a government organization which quickly moved far beyond its intended purpose of merely collecting and interpreting intelligence.

In less than 10 years, this coordinating agency grew to include full-scale military operations, destabilization efforts in foreign countries and the assassination of national leaders - and an unholy alliance with organized crime. Today, it has become far removed from what was intended when the CIA was created in 1947.

At the end of World War II, President Harry S. Truman and others perceived a need for a coordinating intelligence unit. Information on a wide variety of issues and activities was then being handled by as many as a dozen various intelligence organizations, including those within the Army and the Navy.

This need was further reinforced by the Congressional Joint Committee on the Pearl Harbor Attack, which concluded that the fragmentation of U.S. intelligence prior to 1941 resulted in the Japanese taking this nation by surprise. The Committee recommended a unified intelligence service. This was not easy. None of the existing intelligence units wanted to relinquish power or authority.

During World War II, one of the organizations which proved most effective against the Axis powers was the Office of Strategic Services, headed by the colorful Gen. William "Wild Bill" Donovan. The OSS not only gathered a remarkable amount of information on the enemy, but also engaged in various covert activities. It was a rough and tumble wartime operation which provided the factual background for many a fictional spy novel or movie.

The OSS was closed down at the end of the war, and on January 22, 1946, just four months after the OSS closed shop, President Truman signed a directive creating the National Intelligence Authority (NIA) composed of the secretaries of state, war and navy as well as the president's personal representative. The operating arm of the NIA was the Central Intelligence Group (CIG), made up of veteran intelligence officers from the participating departments. These men were managed by a director appointed by the President. Since both personnel and funding came from the departments, this unit was nowhere near the autonomous intelligence organization originally recommended. To further limit the CIG, Truman specifically prohibited any clandestine or paramilitary activities. The CIG was to have "no police, law-enforcement or internal-security functions" nor conduct "investigations inside the...United States." The veteran spies and operatives of the old OSS were soon transferred to this new organization, operating under the designation of the Office of Special Operations (OSO). And these men of action were soon wanting more elbow room in their restricted world of intelligence gathering.

By 1947, the CIG's staff had grown to nearly 2,000, with about one third operating overseas. But it continued to be only one of several intelligence organizations. This was changed on September 15, 1947, when Truman signed the National Security Act, creating the National Security Council (NSC), the Air Force as a separate branch of the services and the Department of Defense uniting the Departments of the Army, Navy and Air Force. With little notice, this act also created the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), giving the United States its first full-blown peacetime intelligence service.

In later years, Truman was to state:

"I never had any thought...when I set up the CIA, that it would be injected into peacetime cloak and dagger operations. Some of the complications and embarrassment that I think we have experienced are in a part attributable to the fact that this quiet intelligence arm of the President has been so removed from its intended role."

Under the National Security Act - passed in the heat of the growing anti-communist hysteria sweeping the United States - the CIA was responsible only to the National Security Council, which was

headed by the President. This effectively gave the President absolute control over the new agency.

The CIA was given its own budget and the authority to hire and train its own personnel. Yet the same restrictions of the old CIG remained - no clandestine or paramilitary operations and no internal spying. However, a catch-all phrase had been included in the CIA's charter which stated the Agency could perform "such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security as the NSC may from time to time direct." Utilizing this phrase - and with the blessings of the National Security Council - the CIA in 1948 became active in suppressing communist influence in the national elections in Italy. It was the beginning of the Agency's career of meddling in the affairs of other nations.

In 1949, the Central Intelligence Act was passed, completing the Agency's secrecy. This act exempted the CIA from all laws requiring the disclosure of "functions, names, official titles, salaries and number of personnel employed by the Agency" and allowed the director to spend money from its secret budget simply by signing vouchers.

Now operating with secret funds and with the vague authority of "...other such functions and duties related to intelligence...", the CIA began to flex its muscles. Victor Marchetti, a former executive assistant to the CIA's deputy director, wrote:

"From those few innocuous words the CIA has been able, over the years, to develop a secret charter based on NSC directives and presidential executives orders, a charter almost completely at variance with the apparent intent of the law which established the Agency. This vague phrase has provided the CIA with freedom to engage in covert action, the right to intervene secretly in the internal affairs of other nations. It has done so usually with the express approval of the White House, but almost always without the consent of Congress, and virtually never with the knowledge of the American people."

By 1955, Allen Dulles was director of the CIA, now more than 15,000 strong not including thousands of foreign agents and contract employees. His brother, John Foster Dulles, was Eisenhower's secretary of state and together, the brothers set out to remake the world in the image they desired.

In addition to its enormous secret budget - often disguised as portions of other U.S. governments budgets - the CIA created a number of wholly or partly-owned properties, or "fronts," to provide cover for clandestine operations. These fronts included airlines, import-export companies, "high tech" firms, advertising agencies, foundations and many others. And these were not dummy businesses. In most ways they operated normally, generating additional money to fund Agency operations. Using such fronts, the CIA channeled money to academic, labor, youth, and cultural organizations. The Agency soon had agents or contacts in virtually every walk of American life.

Many foreign leaders - such as Jordan's King Hussein, Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus, Luis Echeverria of Mexico and Willy Brandt of West Germany - have been named as recipients of CIA funds over the years.

It has been charged that the CIA, whose leaders have been drawn from the highest circles of business and wealth in the United States, often has been more concerned with American big business investments than in true national security questions. For example, in 1953 the popularly-elected Prime Minister of Iran, Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh, whose government had nationalized the oil industry, was overthrown in a coup initiated by the CIA. The CIA man in charge of that operation was Kermit Roosevelt, who later became vice president of Gulf Oil. Gulf Oil benefitted greatly from the new Iranian political situation.

On June 18, 1954, a CIA-financed right-wing coup in Guatemala overthrew the popularly-elected government of Jacobo Arbenz, which had nationalized the property of United Fruit Company. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' law firm had written the United Fruit contracts with Guatemala in the 1930s. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs John Moors Cabot was a major United Fruit stockholder. And CIA director Allen Dulles had been president of United Fruit, while his predecessor as CIA director, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, was soon to become a United Fruit vice president.

One reason for the CIA's success in becoming a world-class force was due to the relationship of its long-time director, Allen Dulles, with the Secretary of State, his brother John Foster Dulles. David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, authors of "The Invisible Government," wrote:

"Uniquely, they embodied the dualism - and indeed the moral dilemma - of United States foreign policy since World War II....Foster Dulles reflected the American ethic; the world as we would like it to be. While he took this position, his brother was free to

deal with nastier realities, to overturn governments and engage in backstage political maneuvers all over the globe with the CIA's almost unlimited funds. He was, as Allen Dulles once put it, able to "fight fire with fire"...it was under Allen Dulles' stewardship that the CIA enjoyed its greatest expansion, particularly in the field of government-shaking secret operations overseas."

Activities at the CIA covered a wide range. Air Force Col. Edward Lansdale - whose activities on behalf of the CIA became so well known that a book and movie, "The Ugly American," were based on his experiences - once used the threat of vampires to break up guerrilla actions in the Philippines. After planting rumors that a vampire lived where the communist Huk was based, a CIA ambush team nabbed the last member of a Huk patrol and drained his body of blood after making two puncture marks in his neck. The superstitious Huk fled the area.

The creation of the U-2 spy plane, on the other hand, represented the awesome production and technical capability of the Agency. And during the time the Agency was expanding and initiating its activities across the globe, few Americans had even heard of the organization. This was certainly true at the time of the JFK assassination, which may explain why many people, in their Warren Commission testimony referred to "government agents" or "FBI men" when they may have meant CIA employees.

Texas researchers today have even located two witnesses at the Texas Theater who overheard plainclothes men identify themselves as CIA officers to Dallas police. Until recently, no one would believe their stories.

The Agency's anonymity was largely the product of a timid news media. Former CIA director William Colby wrote:

"The press, by and large, willingly accorded the CIA a privileged position among government agencies and refrained from inquiring into and reporting on its activities as a self-imposed act of patriotism."

"Patriotism" and "national security" were the watch words of the CIA and other intelligence organizations and were used effectively to keep secret a multitude of sins and questionable activities. Some CIA activities were clearly in violation of both the Agency's charter and United States laws. One Agency endeavor - the search for effective brain-washing and behavior-modification methods - is especially chilling.

Crossfire: Manchurian Candidates

It is well documented how Nazi rocket scientists were brought to the United States after World War II to become the leaders of the U.S. space program. Not so well known is how Nazi experimentation with mind control also was continued in America after the war. Although U. S. Judges at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials sentenced seven German scientists to death for their part in human experimentation in the concentration camps, their research material was forwarded to the OSS and their work was continued.

With the creation of the CIA, this work became part of the Agency's behavior modification program, first called BLUEBIRD then later changed to ARTICHOKE. By 1954, the ARTICHOKE program was part of the CIA's Technical Services Staff (TSS), which also provided the Agency with weaponry, disguises, gadgets, forged documents and codes. ARTICHOKE teams usually consisted of a psychiatrist, a drug expert, a technician and a hypnotist, who sometimes posed as a polygraph operator.

The CIA was not alone in attempting to develop brain-washing techniques. The Navy in 1947 began a top secret program, named Project CHATTER, designed to develop a truly effective truth serum. Such programs to alter minds was the basis of a 1959 book by Richard Condon entitled, "The Manchurian Candidate." The book, later a movie which reportedly was one of John F. Kennedy's favorites, concerned an American soldier captured in Korea who is brainwashed into becoming a remote-controlled killer for the purpose of assassinating the President of the United States. On April 13, 1953, the CIA mind-control program - including "covert use of biological and chemical materials" proposed by Richard Helms and managed by Dr. Sidney Gottlieb - was authorized by director Dulles under the overall name MK-ULTRA. Under MK-ULTRA, the CIA went beyond mind-control experimentation to develop deadly toxins capable of killing without leaving a trace. One such toxin - botulinum - was later used in pills given by Agency officials to a mobster in the CIA-Mafia plots to assassinate Fidel Castro.

Also in 1953, the CIA, with Dulles' approval, spent \$240,000 to purchase all of the LSD then available in the world. LSD (D-lysergic acid diethylamide) had been discovered by a Swiss doctor in 1943 and was believed to be a potential mind-control substance. Back in America, samples of LSD were later sent to various universities staffed by scientists on the CIA payroll. Some of these schools included the University of Minnesota, Harvard, University of Washington, Baylor University and the University of Maryland. Soon the "high" generated by the chemical was being experienced not only by the CIA-approved scientists, but by their assistants and their friends. It has since been acknowledged that the CIA initially was the catalyst behind the drug revolution which swept American college campuses in the 1960s. However, LSD did not accomplish what the Agency experts had hoped - a means to extract information and service from individuals. In fact, even staunch CIA officials who took the drug experimentally found their perceptions altered in unusual ways. Author John Marks, who made a major investigation into CIA mind-control experiments, quoted a CIA official who took LSD:

"...you tend to have a more global view of things. I found it awfully hard when stoned to maintain the notion: I am a U. S. citizen - my country right or wrong...You tend to have these good higher feelings. You are more open to the brotherhood-of-man idea and more susceptible to the seamy sides of your own society...I think this is exactly what happened during the 1960s, but it didn't make people more communistic. It just made them less inclined to identify with the U.S. They took a plague-on-both-your-houses position."

In one documented case, a CIA official named Frank Olson was given LSD without his knowledge by Gottlieb in 1953. Olson was driven psychotic by the drug and a few days later killed himself by crashing through a tenth-floor window of a Washington hotel. Olson's family was not told the truth about his death until 1975, when reports gathered by the Rockefeller Commission studying CIA abuses appeared in the news media.

Interestingly, one of the two CIA field stations which was involved in MK-ULTRA and had quantities of both LSD and other chemical mind-altering agents was Atsugi in Japan, the same station where Lee Harvey Oswald served as a Marine radar operator and apparently was mixed up in undercover operations.

Since the CIA has admitted that their most convenient source of mind-control guinea pigs were "individuals of dubious loyalty, suspected agents or plants, subjects having known reason for deception, etc.", the question has arisen if perhaps Oswald was part of the mind-altering program of the

Agency.

In an article published in "Rolling Stone," the authors claim to have contacted a Marine from Oswald's unit who said he participated in some of the LSD experiments.

Furthermore, Judge Edward Gillin, then serving as an assistant district attorney in New Orleans, has told how a young man came to his office in the summer of 1963 and asked about a mind-altering drug. The young man wanted to know if use of the drug was legal. Surprised and puzzled, Gillin sent the man to the city chemist and thought no more about the incident. Then, on November 22, 1963, Gillin was shocked to learn that the man who asked about the drug was Lee Harvey Oswald. The exact nature of Oswald's relation to the CIA mind-control program - if there was one - will likely never be known. According to Marks, Gottlieb, upon his retirement from the Agency in 1973 and with the agreement of Helms, destroyed what they thought were the last remaining documents on MK-ULTRA. But some vestiges of the CIA's work survived, including one incident which suggests mind-control activity in connection with JFK's assassination.

In 1967, a 24-year-old Filipino named Luis Angel Castillo was arrested by Philippine authorities who believed he was conspiring to assassinate President Ferdinand Marcos. Under both drugs and hypnosis, Castillo revealed a more bizarre story which was detailed in author W. H. Bowart's book, "Operation Mind Control." Castillo claimed he was hypno-programmed to kill a man riding in an open car. He said he didn't know the man's identity but that the "hit" was to have taken place in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963.

Under the treatment of a hypnotist, Castillo revealed many other things. He said that his real name was Manuel Angel Ramirez and that he was born in the Bronx, New York. He had no real memory of his childhood, except for a hazy memory of a father, whom he said was a high official of "the Agency."

Further, Castillo said he traveled under a variety of aliases and, at all times, had been under the control of a woman with a German accent named "Mrs. Kreps." At one point, Castillo said he had been a private in Castro's Cuban Militia and, at another, he claimed to be a sergeant assigned to the Strategic Air Command in South Vietnam. His hypnotist in the Philippines claimed to have discovered four levels of hypnosis-induced behavior in Castillo, which he termed "Zombie" states and came closer to the truth at each deeper level. In was in the fourth level that Castillo revealed his Ramirez identity and added that he had operated for the Special Operations Group of the CIA. Awakened, Castillo was dumfounded to learn of his "Zombie" identities. He grew agitated and said "Papa" didn't know about these "Zombie" states. Pressed for the identity of "Papa," Castillo said he was a real man who had a mustache and smoked a pipe. He said "Papa's" initials were A.D. and that his first name was Allen.

Castillo said in 1963, he had been taken to a tall building overlooking a street by his handlers, who gave him a rifle and told him to watch for a signal, then shoot a man riding in a motorcade.

However some time later, one of the men rushed into the room and said, "They got him already. Let's get out of here." As the men drove away, Castillo said he was given an injection and later woke up in a Chicago hotel room. Just after this Castillo said he learned that President Kennedy had been assassinated in Dallas.

After press accounts of Castillo's story appeared both in the Philippines and the United States, agents of the FBI arrived in Manila and a news blackout was dropped on the case. Later it was learned that Castillo had been spirited out of the Philippines following the hypnosis sessions.

According to some reports, Castillo was convicted of robbery and sentenced to six years in the Missouri Penitentiary in June 1971. He reportedly was released after serving 37 months and has since disappeared.

Neither the CIA nor the FBI has given any explanation of Castillo's remarkable story.

Since Oswald apparently voiced an interest in a mind-altering drug; since his killer, Jack Ruby, was to tell Dallas Police he had no recollection of shooting Oswald; since Sirhan Sirhan, the presumed assassin of Robert Kennedy still claims he can't remember what happened in the Ambassador Hotel and since a San Quentin psychologist, Dr. Eduard Simson, proclaimed that Sirhan had been "programmed" by drugs, hypnosis or both, the possibility of mind control in the JFK assassination - while admittedly unlikely - cannot be totally ruled out. But the techniques of using someone under mind control by drugs and hypnosis as an assassin or decoy in an assassination had not yet been perfected in 1963. It is more likely that conspirators at that time would have resorted to a less sophisticated method - they would simply have hired the mob.

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For all the myths which have arisen about CIA prowess - communists and leftists throughout the

world accuse the Agency of acting in the same way we have been told the Soviet KGB operates -the actual history of the CIA reveals as many glaring errors as victories. Agency analysts failed to foresee the 1967 Arab-Israeli War or the 1968 Tet Offensive in South Vietnam. They also failed miserably in appreciating the popular support enjoyed by Fidel Castro at the time of the ill-fated Bay of Pigs Invasion. Initiated by then-Vice President Richard Nixon and guided by CIA officers such as E. Howard Hunt, Tracy Barnes and David Phillips, the Bay of Pigs Invasion was to have been a crowning achievement of the Agency. Instead, the operation was a total fiasco, largely because President Kennedy maintained his long-standing position against the use of U. S. military support for the Cuban Brigade (See CUBANS). The failure at the Bay of Pigs caused many CIA officials to turn against Kennedy. Deputy CIA director Gen. Charles Cabell publicly branded Kennedy a "traitor."

Kennedy felt betrayed by the Agency for forcing the invasion on his fledgling administration -it occurred less than three months after he took office. He was quoted as threatening to "splinter the CIA into a thousand pieces and scatter it to the winds."

As late as November 1963, Kennedy aide Roger Hilsman quoted his boss as telling staff members:

"The CIA will have to be dealt with."

A pertinent point which arose in the heat of the Bay of Pigs debacle concerns the lack of control over the Agency and its operations. Against Kennedy's expressed orders, CIA officers landed on the beach with their Cuban protégés. Earlier, these CIA agents told the Cubans they should go ahead with the invasion even if Kennedy ordered it canceled at the last minute. This was "virtually treason," commented Robert Kennedy later.

One CIA officer deeply involved in the Cuban adventures, was William Harvey, who established and managed the CIA's now-famous "Executive Action" program - a program of calculated assassination code named ZR-RIFLE. Referring to Harvey's program, President Lyndon Johnson once commented:

"...we were running a damn Murder, Inc. in the Caribbean."

It is in this area - assassination plots - that the U.S. intelligence community in general, and the CIA in particular, have created serious suspicions in the minds of researchers regarding possible complicity in the death of President Kennedy.

Crossfire: CIA-Mafia Death Plots

On November 16, 1961, in an address to students of the University of Washington, President Kennedy said:

"We cannot, as a free nation, compete with our adversaries in tactics of terror, assassination, false promises, counterfeit mobs and crises."

However, even as Kennedy spoke, CIA officials were furthering assassination plans which involved an alliance with organized crime. These efforts began long before John Kennedy ever took office.

One aspect of the Bay of Pigs planning was to eliminate Fidel Castro prior to any invasion. This aspect, which was not mentioned when President Eisenhower approved a four-point Agency plan against Cuba on March 17, 1960, originated with the chief planner of the invasion, CIA Deputy Director for Plans Richard M. Bissell Jr. Bissell got the idea from Col. J.C. King, chief of the CIA's Western Hemisphere Division. In a memo to Allen Dulles which was passed along to Bissell, King had recommended "thorough consideration be given to the elimination of Fidel Castro." Both Dulles and Bissell approved the memo by initialing it. Later the claim was made that "elimination" did not necessarily mean assassination.

But King had no doubt what "elimination" meant. After being advised that a volunteer CIA agent in Cuba would soon be in personal contact with Castro's brother, Raul, the Agency sent a message to Havana stating:

"Possible removal top three leaders is receiving serious consideration at HQS."

So there wouldn't be any misunderstanding, the message went on to ask if the agent was willing to risk "arranging an accident" for Raul Castro and offered to pay \$10,000 "after successful completion." The message was signed, "By direction, J.C. King."

A short time later, a second message came from CIA headquarters:

"Do not pursue. Would like to drop matter."

Apparently there was dissension within the Agency. But the matter was not dropped entirely. The Agency's Technical Services Division continued to devise exotic - and even laughable - ideas on eliminating Castro. Poison cigars, a depilatory to cause his famous beard to fall out and even a booby-trapped diving suit were considered. Finally it was Col. Sheffield Edwards, director of the CIA's Office of Security, who offered what seemed to be the most sensible plan - recruit members of the American underworld to kill Castro.

Bissell liked the idea. He reasoned the mob was sufficiently motivated by their lost revenues in Cuba to undertake such a mission and, by using organized crime, it would be difficult to trace the act back to the Agency. Bissell ordered Edwards to proceed and Edwards turned the job over to James O'Connell, the chief of his Operational Support Division and a former FBI man. O'Connell then contacted another former FBI man, Robert Maheu, who at this time headed Robert Maheu & Associates, a private investigation firm whose clients included recluse millionaire Howard Hughes. Another Maheu client was the CIA, which had been paying Maheu a \$500-a-month retainer for jobs in which it "didn't want to have an agency person or a government person get caught."

According to Maheu, it was O'Connell who suggested contacting gangster Johnny Rosselli to ask "if Mr. Rosselli would be inclined to help in a program for removing Mr. Castro from the scene or eliminating him in connection with the invasion of Cuba." O'Connell also said to offer Rosselli \$150,000. Maheu said he reluctantly agreed to the scheme because "we were involved in a just war."

After being contacted by Maheu, Rosselli was receptive to the scheme but agreed only after a face-to-face meeting with O'Connell to assure himself that "high government officials" indeed were behind the plan. Rosselli had started his crime career under Al Capone (See MOBSTERS) and had run the mob-owned Sans Souci casino in Havana prior to Castro's takeover. At this time, he was working for Chicago boss Sam Giancana (See MOBSTERS) running mob operations in Las Vegas and southern California.

By September 1960, there had been a number of top-level CIA conferences regarding Maheu's Mafia contacts - including at least one where Allen Dulles was present. Dulles never revealed these unsavory plots when he served as a Warren Commission member three years later.

On October 11, 1960, almost a month before Kennedy was elected President, Maheu and O'Connell met Rosselli in Miami's exclusive Fontainebleau Hotel, where the gangster introduced him to two associates, Sam Gold and Joe.

Only later did Maheu learn that Sam Gold was actually Rosselli's boss, Sam Giancana, while Joe was none other than Florida Mafia chieftain, Santos Trafficante Jr. (See MOBSTERS).

Rosselli, who was facing deportation by the U.S. government as well as being one of the Justice Department's organized crime targets, must have delighted in the overtures of the Agency. Sensing this partnership might ensure leverage with the federal Government, Rosselli had lost no time in bringing Giancana and Trafficante into the plot.

The FBI, which had begun eavesdropping on Giancana and Trafficante as part of Robert Kennedy's war on organized crime, now also was aware of CIA involvement with the gangsters.

Agency officials, particularly O'Connell, began to have second thoughts about hiring gangsters after they learned Giancana and Trafficante were involved. Plus, Giancana's personal use of a CIA wiretap backfired when it was discovered by a maid (See MOBSTERS). And in addition, Agency officials had learned of Judith Campbell Exner, who was dating both Giancana and Kennedy (See MOBSTERS). Nevertheless, the intrigues against Castro continued. Initially, Castro was to be shot down "gangland-style" by assassins hired by Rosselli and Giancana. But Giancana thought the idea too risky and asked for poison instead. O'Connell and the Technical Services Division obligingly provided him with pills containing a deadly toxin. However, the mob leaders failed to succeed in several attempts to place the pills in Castro's food. Rosselli and Giancana blamed their failure on their fearful and timid Cuban contacts. Others have suggested other reasons the plots failed.

In his memoirs, gangster Aladena "Jimmy the Weasel" Fratianno revealed that, from the mob's standpoint, the Castro plots may have been a hoax - a joke played out in an attempt to maintain favorable relations with a Government agency. According to Fratianno, he and Rosselli met three weeks after Kennedy's assassination. Asked if Castro may have been aware of the plots against him, Rosselli said no.

Fratianno asked:

"Why not? You've been at it three, four years. Something's got to leak in that time."

Fratianno claims Rosselli confided:

"Jimmy, I'm going to tell you something you won't believe. This whole thing has been a scam. Santos never did nothing but bullshit everybody. All these fucking wild schemes the CIA dreamed up never got further than Santos. He just sat on it, conned everybody into thinking that guys were risking their lives sneaking into Cuba, having boats shot out from under them, all bullshit."

Whether the assassination plans were real or a Mafia "scam," by the time of the Bay of Pigs Invasion Castro was still very much alive.

After the loss of the Cuban Brigade and the bureaucratic shake-up at CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia, Bissell looked coldly at any continued activity with Rosselli and Giancana. Instead, he turned toward William Harvey and his internal "executive action" capability.

In the spring of 1962, Robert Kennedy, in the process of prosecuting Giancana, learned of the gangster's involvement with the CIA. He later told friends he had put a stop to such activities (See MOBSTERS). But such activities did not stop. After the failure of the Bay of Pigs, aggressive action against Castro's Cuban continued under the code-name MONGOOSE and the leadership of Robert Kennedy (See CUBANS). Even as late as January 1963, Harvey paid Rosselli \$2,700 for expenses incurred by Rosselli's Cuban agents. While further attempts on Castro's life were planned within the Agency, this payment reportedly marked the end of the strange CIA-Mafia partnership.

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In September 1963, CIA officers again tried to hatch an assassination plot against Castro -this time using a Cuban government official named Dr. Rolando Cubela. His CIA codename was AMLASH.

Some two years earlier, Cubela, a Cuban minister had contacted the CIA and offered to defect. The Agency had persuaded him to remain in place as a valuable means of inside information.

This time, meeting in a Sao Paulo, Brazil, safe house, Cubela startled his CIA contacts by offering to assassinate Castro if he had the support of the U.S. Government. This offer was sent to Desmond FitzGerald, a personal friend of Robert Kennedy and one of the CIA officials in charge of Operation MONGOOSE.

Despite cautions from CIA counterintelligence that Cubela might be a Castro agent testing U.S. Government intentions, FitzGerald ordered Cubela told that his offer to eliminate Castro was under consideration at the "highest levels." This strange story has been related in both "Legend: The Secret World of Lee Harvey Oswald" by Edward Jay Epstein and "The Kennedys" by John H. Davis.

Toward the end of October Cubela made an extraordinary demand. He wanted personal assurance that his plan to kill Castro was to be actively supported by the Kennedy administration. On October 29,

again against the advice of counterintelligence, FitzGerald personally met with Cubela and assured him that once Castro was gone, the Kennedy administration would support a new Cuban government. But when Cubela asked for a rifle with telescopic sights and the means to deliver poison, FitzGerald declined to speak of such specifics. Another meeting with Cubela was set and on that day, the CIA case officer supplied Cubela with a poison ball-point pen. Cubela was told the rifle plus some explosives would be delivered to him soon. Cubela received his assassination tools from the CIA on November 22, 1963.

Although no documentation of the AM/LASH plot has survived, some senior CIA officials now claim that the plot did have the support of both Robert Kennedy and his brother. Since both are now dead, there's no real way to be sure.

It was the knowledge of AM/LASH, however, which caused consternation among CIA officials when Castro made certain public statements concerning assassination plots. While attending a reception in the Brazilian Embassy in Havana, Castro told an Associated Press reporter:

"Kennedy is the Bastista of our time and the most opportunistic President of all time."

Castro went on to warn against "terrorist plans to eliminate Cuban leaders" adding:

"United States leaders should think that if they assist in terrorist plans to eliminate Cuban leaders, they themselves will not be safe."

This warning has for years been used to support the theory that somehow Castro had learned of the CIA plots against him and, in retaliation, sent assassins after Kennedy.

But since Cubela was not caught by Castro until 1966, it is unlikely that AM/LASH was the impetus of his 1963 remarks.

While the CIA MONGOOSE program continued in Florida, similar operations were being conducted in New Orleans, long a hot bed of Cuban exile-CIA activity. One of the centers of this activity was the shabby, three-story office building at 544 Camp Street, a connecting point for the CIA, FBI, anti-Castro Cubans and Lee Harvey Oswald.

Crossfire: New Orleans

Within days of the assassination of Kennedy, the FBI questioned David Ferrie in New Orleans. Ferrie denied any knowledge of the assassination and the FBI agents let him go, apparently unaware of Ferrie's Civil Air Patrol connection to accused assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald (See OSWALD), or to New Orleans crime boss Carlos Marcello (See MOBSTERS). Neither apparently did the agents know that Ferrie had been working for Detective Guy Banister in the summer of 1963 (See G MEN).

Whatever information Ferrie gave the FBI will never be known, since the interview was classified and locked away on orders of J. Edgar Hoover. In 1976, the National Archives reported that the original statement of Ferrie was missing from its collection of assassination documents.

It was Ferrie's connections to Oswald which set New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison on the trail of an assassination conspiracy (See THE GARRISON INVESTIGATION). Both Banister and Ferrie were well-connected with the Cuban exiles living in New Orleans.

Ferrie, as a contract agent for the CIA, claimed to have flown hazardous missions into Cuba, including landing there on the night of the ill-fated Bay of Pigs Invasion. Ferrie's role as CIA agent was confirmed in 1975 when former executive assistant to the CIA's deputy director, Victor Marchetti, stated that during high-level CIA meetings in 1969, CIA director Richard Helms disclosed that Ferrie and other figures in the Garrison investigation had indeed worked for the Agency.

Garrison made it plain that he had found links to the CIA throughout his assassination investigation. At one point, Garrison stated:

"A number of the men who killed the President were former employees of the CIA involved in its anti-Castro underground activities in the New Orleans area...The CIA knows their identity. So do I."

One such man connected with Banister, Ferrie and the anti-Castro Cubans was Sergio Archaca Smith. Smith created the Crusade to Free Cuba, an organization to raise money in the Anglo community. Banister was one of this group's incorporators.

Another group formed by Smith was the Friends of Democratic Cuba (FDC). The FDC, according to Smith's public relations man Ronnie Caire, doubled as "an undercover operation in conjunction with the CIA and FBI which involved the shipment and transportation of individuals and supplies in and out of Cuba."

These Cuban groups were in contact - and likely received guidance from - the Cuban Revolutionary Council (CRC) which was created by CIA officer E. Howard Hunt as part of the Bay of Pigs operation. The CRC maintained offices at 544 Camp Street until the spring of 1963, shortly before the arrival of Lee Harvey Oswald.

After the Bay of Pigs, Smith wrote to Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, then chairman of Eastern Airlines, Ferrie's employer. After praising Ferrie's work for the CRC, Smith asked that Ferrie be granted a leave of absence "so that the work at hand can be completed." This became unnecessary when Eastern fired Ferrie in 1963 for homosexual conduct, despite the objections of Carlos Marcello's top lawyer and two U.S. Congressmen.

Ferrie officed with Banister at 544 Camp Street - the same address used on some of the "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" material handed out in New Orleans by Oswald.

Banister's secretary, Delphin Roberts, told the House Select Committee on Assassinations in 1978 that her boss operated a network of agents with CIA funding. She claimed two of these agents were Oswald and Ferrie. Roberts recalled Ferrie vividly. She told author Anthony Summers:

"Many times when he came into the office he used the private office behind Banister's, and I was told he was doing private work. I believe his work was somehow connected with the CIA rather than the FBI..."

Banister investigator Jack Martin and others have told investigators through the years of contact between CIA contract agent Ferrie and Oswald during 1963. He said he suspected that Ferrie "had taught Oswald how to purchase a foreign-made firearm..."

According to Beverly Oliver, the "Babushka Lady" (See THE CROWD), Oswald and Ferrie were even seen together in Jack Ruby's Carousel Club shortly before the assassination.

Roberts also claims that Oswald and Ferrie were together. She said on one occasion, Ferrie even took Oswald to an anti-Castro guerrilla training camp outside New Orleans "to train with rifles."

Once, according to Roberts, she saw Oswald handing out pro-Castro literature on a New Orleans street. Reporting this to her boss, Banister reassured her, "He's with the office."

She later said:

"I knew there were such things as counterspies, spies and counterspies, and the importance of such things."

The day after Kennedy's assassination, Secret Service agents went to 544 Camp Street after seeing the address on some of Oswald's pamphlets. Guy Banister's office was closed. They learned that "Cuban revolutionaries" had officed there and that Sergio Archaca Smith signed their checks. But Smith had moved to Texas and the CRC office was closed.

The agents brushed the whole thing off by reporting that they hadn't found a trace of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee at 544 Camp Street.

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Throughout 1963 the CIA continued to work with anti-Castro Cubans and others such as Ferrie and Banister, who were in contact with Lee Harvey Oswald.

Considering all this, as well as Oswald's bizarre military record and his trip to Russia, one must consider if the ex-Marine was working in intelligence.

Crossfire: Was Oswald a Spy?

After reviewing all available evidence, the answer to the above question seems to be a resounding "Yes."

The following is a quick look at some of the evidence pointing to Oswald's involvement with spy work:

- His childhood - a bright loner who read a wide range of books and was drawn to unpopular ideas, attracted by spy stories (The TV show "I Led Three Lives for the FBI" and Ian Fleming's James Bond novels were among his favorites) - perfectly fits the profile of persons most desired for intelligence work.
- His attempt to join the Marines while underage shows a patriotic streak, a highly desirable attribute in intelligence operatives.
- Oswald's Marine career is checkered with inconsistencies and unexplained events which suggest secret intelligence training (See OSWALD).
- His assignment to Atsugi base in Japan, which housed a large CIA facility.
- Oswald's incredible ability with the Russian language. Several Russians, including his wife, said he spoke like a native, yet this high-school dropout reportedly taught himself Russian from books.
- The fact that several persons - including a former CIA paymaster, Oswald's Marine roommate and fellow Marine Gerry Patrick Hemming - have stated that Oswald worked for U.S. intelligence.
- The manner in which Oswald traveled so easily in and out of Russia as well as the unaccounted-for funds he used suggests intelligence guidance.
- The ability of this American "defector" to leave the Soviet Union with his Russian-born wife at a time when most Russians were being denied exit permits.
- The ease with which this would-be defector obtained passports both in 1959 and 1963.
- The fact that Oswald wrote a lengthy report on his activities in Russia and, later, made a detailed report to the FBI concerning his Fair Play for Cuba activities in New Orleans.
- Oswald's notebook contained the word "microdots," a common spy technique of photographically reducing information to a small dot.
- Oswald's non-binding "defection" to Russia fit perfectly the profile of an Office of Naval Intelligence program to infiltrate American servicemen into the Soviet Union during the late 1950s.
- One of Oswald's closest contacts, George DeMohrenschildt, was himself an intelligence operative, first for the Nazis and later for the CIA (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN).
- There is evidence that Oswald may have had sources of income not accounted for by his sporadic employment record. His 1962 income tax form was classified for a number of years.

One of the strongest pieces of evidence for Oswald's involvement in spy work concerns a small Minox camera found among his effects by Dallas Police.

Information developed by the "Dallas Morning News" in 1978 revealed the camera was not available to the public in 1963. It may have been spy equipment issued to Oswald. This evidence was so explosive that the FBI tried to get Dallas detectives to change their reports regarding the camera and also kept photos taken by Oswald hidden for nearly 15 years.

Dallas Detectives Gus Rose and R.S. Stovall reported finding the Minox camera loaded with film in Oswald's Marine seabag in the home of Michael and Ruth Paine hours after the assassination. The three-inch-long German-made camera was famous for being used by spies on both sides during World War II. An inventory of Oswald's property taken from the Paine home was made on November 26, 1963. Listed under item 375 was "one Minox camera." This inventory list was witnessed by FBI Agent Warren DeBrueys, the FBI man in New Orleans who had been assigned to monitor Oswald during the spring and summer of 1963.

Later however, the FBI property inventory listed item 375 as a "Minox light meter."

Detective Rose told the "Dallas Morning News":

"They (the FBI) were calling it a light meter, I know that. But I know a camera when I

see it...The thing we got at Irving out of Oswald's seabag was a Minox camera. No question about it. They tried to get me to change the records because it wasn't a light meter. I don't know why they wanted it changed, but they must have had some motive for it."

The motive may have been that the existence of the camera pointed to Oswald's intelligence connections.

"Dallas Morning News" reporter Earl Golz contacted Minox Corporation and spoke to Kurt Lohn, formerly in charge of Minox distribution in New York City. According to Lohn, the serial number of the camera found in Oswald's belongings - number 27259 - did not exist among any Minox cameras distributed for commercial sale in the United States. Lohn said all Minox cameras distributed in the U.S. carried six-digit serial numbers beginning with number 135000. Number 27259 was "not a registered number...not a valid number," said Lohn. Golz also determined that Minox did not sell a light meter in the U.S. in 1963.

A later FBI report stated that a Minox III camera was obtained on January 31, 1964, from Ruth Paine and that it belonged to her husband who worked for Bell Helicopter. However, Mrs. Paine told Golz she did not remember being asked to turn over such a camera.

Michael Paine reportedly also had a Minox camera but it was damaged and "unworkable."

The Dallas detectives both claimed to have found a Minox camera in Oswald's possessions. The FBI later claimed no such camera existed and that they had actually found a Minox light meter.

Yet in 1979, acting on a Freedom of Information Act request by an assassination researcher, the Bureau released about 25 photographs and stated they were taken with a Minox camera belonging to Oswald. Michael Paine was unable to recall taking any pictures such as the ones released by the FBI.

On Page 113 of a book published by Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry in 1969 is a photograph of Oswald's property taken from the Paine home. Clearly pictured is various Minox camera equipment, included a binocular-type telephoto lens.

Where did Oswald get an unregistered Minox "spy" camera? More importantly, why did the FBI attempt to have Dallas police change their reports to indicate a light meter was found rather than a camera?

In 1976, a CIA document was released which showed that the Agency indeed considered Oswald for recruitment. This contradicted the sworn Warren Commission testimony of CIA official Richard Helms who stated the Agency never had "or even contemplated" any contact with Oswald. This document, written by an unidentified CIA officer three days after Kennedy's assassination states "we showed intelligence interest" in Oswald and "discussed...the laying on of interviews."

Then there are the questions concerning a CIA "201" file on Oswald discovered only in 1977. Many persons knowledgeable with the Agency equate a "201" file with a personnel file, implying Oswald had worked for the CIA.

In 1977 the issue of an Oswald "201" file came to light after a Freedom of Information Act request was pressed by assassination researchers. CIA officials told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that the Agency's file on Oswald was nothing unusual and merely reelected that Oswald had "potential intelligence or counterintelligence significance." However, at least three former CIA officers have stated publicly that the mere existence of a "201" file on Oswald indicated a relationship between the ex-Marine and the Agency. Victor Marchetti, formerly an executive assistant to the CIA's deputy director, said:

"Basically, if Oswald had a "201" file, he was an agent."

Bradley E. Agers, a CIA officer who trained anti-Castro Cubans:

"(A "201" file meant Oswald was)...either a contract agent, working for them full time, or he was on some kind of assignment for the CIA."

Former CIA agent Patrick McGarvey:

"If a guy has a "201" file, that means he's a professional staff employee of the organization."

The CIA went to great lengths to convince the House Committee that its having a "201" file on Oswald - and the fact that this information was kept secret for nearly 15 years - was in no way suspicious.

The Committee, however, found many problems with the Oswald "201" file. For example, Oswald's file reportedly was opened on December 9, 1960, yet a confidential State Department telegram reporting Oswald's attempted defection to Russia - cause enough to open a file on him - was sent to the

CIA back on October 31, 1959.

Other problems with the Oswald file are that one CIA employee gave a reason for an "AG" code on the file which was at variance with the official Agency explanation; the "201" file was under the name "Lee Henry Oswald" leading the Committee to wonder if dual files were kept (a suspicion the CIA denied); and one CIA memo indicated as many as 37 documents were missing from the Oswald file although Agency officials later claimed they were only missing at the time the memo was written.

Further, a recently obtained CIA document states that Oswald's "201" file filled "two four-drawer safes," yet the House Committee was given a virtually empty folder.

The whole question of Oswald's connection to U.S. intelligence is so full of claims and counterclaims, deceit and misinformation, it is unlikely the whole truth of the matter will ever be known.

What is known - or at least believed by most people who have studied the issue at any depth - is that the weight of the evidence suggests that Oswald indeed was in some way connected with U. S. intelligence work.

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Even the FBI apparently believed that Oswald may have been involved in spy work. In a report dealing with Oswald's possessions taken from the Paine home in Irving, FBI laboratory personnel listed the items - which included shoes, socks, a pair of cotton gloves, towels, shirts, soap, office supplies and toiletries - then stated:

"Nothing was noted...which would indicate that these specimens would be particularly useful in the field of espionage."

This report went on to state that all of the items were checked carefully, but unsuccessfully, for microdots, a common method of concealing spy information. There has been no explanation why the Bureau was so concerned about such spy methods at a time when its official position was that Oswald was only a malcontented loner.

While at the time of the JFK assassination, the official story was that no U.S. Government agency had been interested in Oswald or knew of his whereabouts, it is now known that both the CIA and the FBI were keeping a close watch on the ex-Marine's activities.

Oswald's alleged trip to Mexico City between September 26 and October 3, 1963, is a case in point. According to the Warren Commission, Oswald was in Mexico City for the purpose of visiting the Soviet and Cuban embassies. Proof of these visits were in the form of the statement of a Cuban Embassy employee, Silvia Duran, and from CIA operatives monitoring the Soviet Embassy.

On October 10, 1963, more than a month before the JFK assassination, the CIA sent a teletype to the State Department, the FBI, immigration authorities and the Department of the Navy regarding the "possible presence of Subject (Oswald) in Mexico City."

The teletype message stated:

"On October 1, 1963, a reliable and sensitive source in Mexico reported that an American male, who identified himself as Lee Oswald, contacted the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City...The American was described as approximately 35 years old, with an athletic build, about six feet tall, with a receding hairline...It is believed that Oswald may be identical to Lee Harvey Oswald, born on 18 October 1939 in New Orleans, Louisiana."

Obviously, this description did not match the 23-year-old, 5'- 9", slender-built Oswald in Dallas.

The Warren Commission, seriously concerned about the ties between Oswald and the Soviets and Cubans in Mexico City, asked the CIA for documentation of Oswald's activities. After months of foot-dragging, the Agency could only provide the unsupported statement of Duran as proof that Oswald was at the Cuban Embassy.

Then on January 22, 1964, the CIA leaked to Commission members that Oswald had contact with a KGB officer, Valeriy Kostikov, while in the Soviet Embassy. The Agency said Kostikov's responsibilities included "assassination and sabotage" (See RUSSIANS). This possible link between Oswald and a KGB assassination plot so frightened Commission members that they were content to take the CIA's word for Oswald's Mexico activities.

Not shown to the Warren Commission was a cable sent by the director of the CIA to its station in Mexico City urging the secret arrest of Silvia Duran on the day after the assassination. Duran, a 26-year-old Mexican national, had been employed at the Cuban Embassy only one month before Oswald allegedly arrived in Mexico. Her predecessor had been killed in an odd automobile accident.

The CIA cable regarding Duran's arrest, only declassified in recent years, stated:

"Arrest of Silvia Duran is extremely serious matter which could prejudice U.S. freedom of action on entire question of Cuban responsibility...With full regard for Mexican interests, request you ensure that her arrest is kept absolutely secret, that no information from her is published or leaked, that all such info is cabled to us, and that fact of her arrest and her statements are not spread to leftist or disloyal circles in the Mexican government."

In a 1978 article, Mark Lane concluded:

"This almost incredible cable reveals the extent of CIA control over Mexican police officials, many of whom had been trained by the CIA, and many of whom were engaged by the CIA while they ostensibly worked for the Mexican government. The CIA's willingness to order Mexican police officials to make false statements to their own superiors and to mislead the "circles in the Mexican government" provides an insight into the CIA's desperation to secure some evidence to prove...that Oswald had gone to the Cuban Embassy."

Apparently the statements which Duran gave to the Mexican authorities were not to their liking. She was not released for several days and only after she had identified Oswald as the man who visited the embassy.

Once free, Duran began to speak of her experience. This prompted yet another CIA cable, which ordered CIA personnel to have Duran rearrested, but to conceal who was behind the action. A portion of this cable stated:

"...to be certain that there is no misunderstanding between us, we want to insure that Silvia Duran gets no impression that Americans are behind her rearrest. In other words we want Mexican authorities to take responsibility for the whole affair."

Duran was rearrested and did not speak of her experiences afterward. She was never interviewed nor called as a witness by the Warren Commission, which never learned of her two arrests and seemed content to take the CIA's word for Oswald's Mexico activities.

Since the Oswald in the Cuban Embassy apparently made quite a scene when told he could not get a visa to Cuba in three days - he shouted and called the embassy personnel "bureaucrats" -he should have been well remembered by Duran and others there. But in 1978, Cuban Consul Eusebio Azcue told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that he was convinced the man who visited the embassy in 1963 was not the Oswald arrested in Dallas.

After viewing photos of Oswald, Azcue stated:

"My belief is that this gentleman was not, is not, the person or the individual who went to the consulate."

Duran - perhaps due to her experience in the hands of the police - has maintained over the years that the man was Oswald. However, in 1979, author Anthony Summers arranged for Duran to watch films of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Duran, who admitted that her identification of Oswald was more from the name than from the fuzzy newspaper photos printed at the time, watched the Oswald films and concluded:

"I was not sure if it was Oswald or not...the man on the film is not like the man I saw here in Mexico City."

To add to Duran's confusion, she recalled the man who visited the consulate was short, no more than 5'-6" in height - far shorter than the 5'-9" Dallas Oswald.

One story which surfaced in recent years had the Mexico City Oswald attending a party hosted by Duran's brother-in-law, Ruben Duran. This allegation came from Mexican author Elena Garro de Paz. Although Duran recalled such a party, she denied that Oswald was ever there. A State Department report in 1969 described Garro as "a professional anti-communist," while her associates in Mexico claimed she had connections with U.S. intelligence.

Could the CIA have arranged for Garro's story, much as CIA case officer "Maurice Bishop" tried to get Antonio Venciana to have relatives in Mexico claim they saw Oswald at the Cuban Embassy for money? (See CUBANS)

While the CIA stated that both the Cuban and Soviet embassies were under photographic surveillance during the Oswald's visits, they could offer no proof. Lamely, CIA officials explained to the Warren Commission that the camera at the Soviet Embassy was turned off on Saturdays (the day Oswald supposedly was there) and that the camera at the Cuban Embassy just happened to break down the day Oswald was there. However, the day of the assassination, CIA officials sent photos taken

outside the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City to the FBI, claiming they were of Oswald. They are obviously of someone else. This someone does appear to be about 35 years old, six feet tall with an athletic build.

Questioning the photos, the FBI reportedly showed one of them to Oswald's mother who said she had never seen the man depicted before. Later she claimed the photo was that of Jack Ruby (See OSWALD).

CIA officials admitted there had been a "mix-up" on the photos, but never submitted photographs of the real Oswald nor explained the identity of the man they photographed as Oswald.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations noted that Oswald allegedly made at least five trips to the two embassies and found it hard to believe that he was not photographed even once. The committee expressed the belief that "photographs of Oswald might have been taken and subsequently lost or destroyed."

The absence of any photos of Oswald at the embassies raises even further suspicion that an impostor was posing as Oswald during these embassy visits. Further evidence of this comes from an episode involving tape recordings.

In 1976, at the onset of the House assassinations investigation, CIA officer David A. Phillips, one of the Bay of Pigs organizers (See CUBANS) who at the time of Oswald's alleged visit was stationed in Mexico City.

Phillips told the House committee's general counsel that the CIA had tape-recorded conversations between Oswald and the Soviet Embassy but had not informed the Warren Commission about this. When pressed on why the tapes, clear proof of Oswald's Mexican visits, had not been given to the Warren Commission, Phillips said they had been routinely destroyed about a week later since prior to the assassination Oswald was not considered important. However, long after Phillip's 1976 testimony, a five-page FBI document dated November 23, 1963, became public which throws doubt on Phillips' story. According to this report, which was kept from the Warren Commission, FBI agents who were questioning Oswald in Dallas were informed by CIA officers that Oswald had contacted the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City. It went on to state:

"Special agents of this Bureau, who have conversed with Oswald in Dallas, Texas, have observed photographs of the individual referred to above and have listened to a recording of his voice. These special agents are of the opinion that the above-referred-to individual was not Lee Harvey Oswald."

This FBI report, if correct, means the CIA wiretap tape of Oswald was not destroyed in October but was available to Bureau agents the day after the assassination. When then were the tapes destroyed and by whom?

It can now be seen why this FBI report was not shown to the Warren Commission or the American people for nearly 20 years. The FBI agents - and obviously the CIA - knew that the voice on the tape was not Oswald's.

One speculation for all this is that the CIA wanted the Warren Commission to believe that Oswald was in touch with the KGB assassination chief, Valeriy Kostikov, in Mexico City - the implications of this connection being so monstrous that commission members would be forced to keep quiet about Oswald's contacts in the interest of national security. To accomplish this, however, required positive proof that Oswald had visited the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City. The CIA had no such proof, since both the photographs and tape recordings indicated an impostor rather than the real Oswald.

So CIA agents fabricated such evidence, first by the arrest and intimidation of Silvia Duran and then by issuing the October report to the FBI and State Department.

The disturbing aspect of this is that either the CIA notified other agencies in October that Oswald was in Mexico City not knowing the man was an impostor, then failed to follow up on their mistake later. Or - more ominously - the Agency knowingly participated in a scheme to place Oswald in Mexico City at that time - nearly two months BEFORE the assassination!

It is equally disturbing that the House Select Committee on Assassinations made a 300-page report on these mysterious happenings in Mexico City, then failed to put it into its published report claiming it was withheld to protect "sensitive sources and methods" of the CIA.

Another Mexico incident, which has been misreported for years, concerns a note from Oswald to a "Mr. Hunt."

Crossfire: A Message from Oswald

In August 1975, JFK researcher Penn Jones Jr. received a typewritten letter in Spanish from Mexico City signed only with the initials "P.S." Translated, the letter reads:

"Dear Sir:

At the end of last year I gave Mr. (Clarence) Kelly, the director of the FBI, a letter from Lee Oswald. To my understanding it could have brought out the circumstances to the assassination of President Kennedy.

Since Mr. Kelly hasn't responded to that letter. I've got the right to believe something bad might happen to me, and that is why I see myself obligated to keep myself away for a short time.

Convinced of the importance of that letter mentioned and knowing that you have been doing some investigation independently of the assassination, I'm sending you a copy of the same letter."

Accompanying this typed letter was a copy of a handwritten note in English dated November 8, 1963 which reads:

"Dear Mr. Hunt,

I would like information concer(n)ing my position.

I am asking only for information. I am suggesting that we discuss the matter fully before any steps are taken by me or anyone else.

Thank you,

Lee Harvey Oswald"

Jones too sent this information to the FBI and he too received no reply.

Later, a reporter for the "Dallas Morning News" obtained a copy of the Oswald note from Jones. He had three handwriting experts in Dallas compare the note to known examples of Oswald's handwriting. The experts all agreed that the handwriting was the same.

The "Dallas Morning News" carried an accurate account of the strange note and raised the question if "Mr. Hunt" might refer to Dallas oilman H.L. Hunt. In 1983, it was learned that the FBI studied the note with the idea it may have been intended for Hunt's son, Nelson Bunker Hunt. The results of the FBI probe, however, have never been made public.

Jones, then and now, points out that note came from Mexico City and that allegedly CIA officer E. Howard Hunt, who was in charge of anti-Castro Cubans at the time (See CUBANS), was stationed there at the time of Oswald's reported visit.

Jones told this author:

"To me, knowing Hunt's background with the Cuban Revolutionary Committee and the CIA, it makes more sense that the note is addressed to E. Howard Hunt."

But since neither the FBI nor the House Select Committee on Assassinations appears to have taken an interest in the note, there the matter rests - except for some very strange news media handling of this story.

After the Oswald note story had been published in Texas media, "Newsweek" picked it up. In its March 7, 1977, Periscope section, "Newsweek" told the story in one paragraph containing no less than seven factual errors. "Newsweek" stated:

"A typewritten letter (it was handwritten), dated two weeks before the 1963 murder of John F. Kennedy and allegedly written by assassin Lee Harvey Oswald (since he never got a trial, he is only an ACCUSED assassin) to the late Texas oil baron H. L. Hunt (simply not true), has turned up as the focus of a new investigation by Justice Department and FBI experts (who have never publicly mentioned the note). It was given to the government by an assassination "buff" (Penn Jones was a respected publisher in the Dallas area for many years), but officials will divulge no other details of its origin. Ambiguously worded, it has Oswald referring to "marching orders" and suggests links between the two men, but Justice is "more than skeptical" about it. The fact that it has appeared only now, one source commented, prompts doubts that "it could be anything more than another example of the dementia that affects some people looking for a conspiracy." The FBI is reported to be checking to see whether the letter matches a typewriter that Oswald could have used (the note was handwritten)."

The misinformation contained in this one paragraph suggests more than just sloppy journalism. But

then the media's deficiencies regarding the JFK assassination are legion.

The fact that the Oswald note and its accompanying letter came from Mexico City leads assassination researchers to believe that Oswald's brief visit to that Latin city could provide a key to understanding who was really behind the assassination.

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Yet another contact with the CIA which has only become known in recent years involves a man who "coincidentally" obtained the Mexican travel permit number just before Oswald's - William George Gaudet.

When applying for a new passport in June 1963, Oswald did not try to hide his past nor his intentions. On the application, he acknowledged he might travel to Russia and other European countries later that year. He also noted that his previous passport had been canceled. Despite these admissions - coupled with the fact that the State Department, which lent him money to return from the Soviet Union, knew of his attempted defection and threat to give military secrets to the Soviets - Oswald received a new passport within 24 hours.

On September 17, a week after the alleged meeting between Oswald and CIA case officer "Maurice Bishop" (See CUBANS), Oswald visited the Mexican consulate in New Orleans and applied for a tourist card. He was issued card number 24085, which was valid for 15 days.

After the assassination, the FBI, with the help of Mexican authorities, identified every person who had applied for Mexican entry papers on September 17 - all but one. The FBI reported they could not locate the record of the card holder immediately preceding Oswald, NO. 24084.

However, in 1975 - apparently due to a bureaucratic mix-up in declassifying FBI documents - it was learned that card holder No. 24084 was Gaudet, who had worked for the CIA for more than 20 years.

In later years during a television interview, Gaudet said:

"The CIA may have felt that it would be better that any reference to my contact with Oswald be removed."

Gaudet claimed it was sheer coincidence which placed his name just ahead of Oswald on the Mexican tourist card application sheet.

Gaudet, who worked in the area of Latin American for the Agency, operated the "Latin American Newsletter" for a number of years.

Shortly after the assassination, Gaudet said he was interviewed by FBI agents, but only after obtaining approval of his CIA boss in New Orleans. No record of that interview has been made public.

In a 1978 interview with author Anthony Summers, Gaudet admitted he had "known" Oswald in New Orleans, but then qualified this by saying he had only observed Oswald handing out leaflets. However, then and in other interviews, Gaudet acted as though he had actually met with Oswald.

"He was strange man, an unusual man," was Gaudet's description of Oswald to TV newsmen.

Gaudet did firmly state that while in New Orleans, Oswald was in contact with known CIA and FBI agents. Gaudet told Summers:

"I do know that I saw him one time with a former FBI agent by the name of Guy Banister."

He also mentioned David Ferrie. "He was with Oswald..." said Gaudet.

Gaudet described Cuban exile leader Sergio Archaca Smith as "a vital person" and added:

"I know he knew Oswald and knows more about the Kennedy affair than he ever admitted."

Gaudet, angered by the revelation of his name being connected to Oswald, went on to say:

"I've given this a lot of thought. I am now convinced in my own mind that those who are truly behind the conspiracy to kill Mr. Kennedy have done things purposely to draw attention to me. There are too many coincidences that involve me, unless someone was behind all this."

Gaudet said he did not accompany Oswald on a bus to Mexico, but went by air. He now claims he cannot remember if his 1963 Mexican trip involved intelligence activity.

Gaudet said through his experience with the CIA, he is not surprised that little information concerning Oswald's intelligence activities has been forthcoming. He said:

"They (CIA officials) told me frankly when I did things for them that if something went awry they would never recognize me or admit who I was. If I made a mistake, that was just tough, and I knew it."

The former CIA operative went on to say he finds it "extremely possible" that Oswald was working for

some American intelligence agency and added:

"I think he was a patsy...I think he was set up on purpose."

Gaudet also agreed with many assassination researchers who believe that the anti-Castro Cubans were involved in a plot to kill Kennedy. However, asked by newsmen if he thought the Cubans could have carried out an assassination alone, he replied:

"No, I don't think so."

But if Gaudet did not actually accompany Oswald to Mexico, one very strange and suspicious man did - Albert Osborne. Although the passenger list for Continental Trailways bus No. 5133 which allegedly carried Oswald to Mexico City is missing, the FBI managed to locate some of the travelers, including two Australian girls who told of a conversation with a man who told them of his experiences in the Marines and in Russia. These girls told the FBI that the man also had sat next to and talked at length with an older man.

FBI agents tried to locate a man named John Howard Bowen, who had been on Oswald's bus. However they only found Albert Osborne, but Osborne seemed to know a lot about Bowen. After three visits from the FBI, Osborne finally admitted that he was the man they were seeking, having used the alias "John Bowen" for many years. He denied ever having met Oswald. Even the gullible Warren Commission didn't buy that, stating "his denial cannot be credited."

Osborne claimed to be a missionary who traveled extensively all over the world, although he never said how these travels were financed. Also, no confirmation of his story could be found by checking border records in the countries he claimed to have visited.

Despite his lies to the FBI regarding his name, no charges were ever brought against Osborne.

In recent years, several assassination researchers have claimed that Osborne worked for the CIA, but no hard evidence of this has been established. It is interesting to note, however, that when Oswald ordered "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" materials printed in New Orleans, he used the name "Osborne."

Other intriguing connections between the CIA and the JFK assassination concern George DeMohrenschildt and the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found in the Texas School Book Depository.

Crossfire: DeMohrenschildt and the Agency

George DeMohrenschildt, along with his wife, Jeanne, were identified by the Warren Commission as the people closest to Lee Harvey Oswald just before the assassination. If there was anyone guiding Oswald's activities during late 1962 and early 1963, it would have been DeMohrenschildt (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN). DeMohrenschildt's son-in-law, Gary Taylor, even told the Warren Commission:

"...if there was any assistance (to Oswald) or plotters in the assassination that it was, in my opinion, most probably the DeMohrenschildts."

DeMohrenschildt undoubtedly is one of the most colorful and suspicious of all the persons connected to Oswald. Based on CIA memos now available thanks to Freedom of Information Act suits, it is known that DeMohrenschildt had a relationship with the Agency dating back to OSS days. In one memo by former CIA director Richard Helms, it states that DeMohrenschildt applied to work for the government as early as 1942, but was rejected "because he was alleged to be a Nazi espionage agent." It was a charge which had some substance. After a trip to Yugoslavia with his wife in 1957 (They were shot at by guards of Marshal Tito), DeMohrenschildt provided the CIA with "foreign intelligence which was promptly disseminated to other federal agencies in 10 separate reports," according to the Helms memo. Another Agency memo indicted DeMohrenschildt also furnished lengthy reports on travels he made through Mexico and Panama at the time of the Bay of Pigs Invasion.

Asked by a Warren Commission attorney if he believed the DeMohrenschildts may have been spying on the invasion preparations, Taylor replied, "Yes."

In fact, at the time DeMohrenschildt was befriending Lee Harvey Oswald, one of his close friends in Dallas was J. Walter Moore. Moore just happened to have been an agent of the CIA's Domestic Contacts Division. DeMohrenschildt publicly stated that before becoming involved with Oswald, he had checked with Moore. Moore, according to DeMohrenschildt, said unhesitatingly:

"Yes, he's okay. He's just a harmless lunatic."

Privately, DeMohrenschildt indicated a closer relationship between both Moore and Oswald.

In a CIA memorandum written not long after Oswald returned from Russia, the CIA author wrote:

"Don't push too hard to get the information we need, because this individual (Oswald) looks odd."

Much later it was learned how the CIA was to "debrief" Oswald - by using the genial George DeMohrenschildt. Author Edward Epstein interviewed DeMohrenschildt on the morning of March 29, 1977. That same morning, an investigator from the House Select Committee on Assassinations had attempted to contact DeMohrenschildt. Three hours later DeMohrenschildt was dead due to a shotgun blast to the head. His death was ruled a suicide, but questions remain (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN).

According to Epstein, DeMohrenschildt said Moore encouraged him to see Oswald and that, in fact, he was to question Oswald "unwittingly" about his stay in Russia. DeMohrenschildt said, after his first meeting with the ex-Marine, Oswald gave him a lengthy memo covering his activities in Russia.

DeMohrenschildt, a petroleum engineer, and Moore officed in the same Dallas bank building and often ate lunch together, according to Jeanne DeMohrenschildt.

DeMohrenschildt also told the Warren Commission that he had cleared his contact to Oswald with Fort Worth attorney Max Clark. Clark, who had married a Russian princess during World War II, was connected with defense security at Fort Worth's General Dynamics plant in 1963.

The CIA memos, Moore's closeness and DeMohrenschildt's own testimony all confirm that a certain relationship existed between the CIA and the man closest to Oswald in early 1963. While this does not necessarily involve the Agency in a plot to kill Kennedy, it raises significant questions about what Agency officials might have known regarding such a plot.

In a related issue which belies the idea set forth in 1963 that the CIA was neither aware of Oswald nor interested in him, it is now known that the Agency was opening Oswald's mail while he was in Russia.

In letters to his mother, Marguerite Oswald, written in 1976 by former CIA legislative counsel George L. Cary, Cary admitted that the Agency had opened mail from her to her son while he was in Russia. Cary said the admission was a result of an investigation into the CIA's mail intercept program - known as HT-Lingual - by the government information and individual rights subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee.

Another possible connection between the CIA and the JFK assassination concerns a former Agency

operative named Robert D. Morrow. In his book, "Betrayal," former CIA operative Robert D. Morrow tells how he purchased four 6.5 mm Mannlicher-Carcano rifles on orders from a CIA superior. Morrow remains convinced that at least one of these rifles ended up in the hands of Dallas Police on November 22, 1963.

Morrow even presents a plausible, though unproven, account of the assassination:

"Oswald, who went to Russia for the CIA and was an FBI informant by the summer of 1963, was brought into an assassination plot led by CIA consultant Clay Shaw, using right-wing CIA operatives and anti-Castro Cubans headed by Jack Ruby in Dallas and Guy Banister in New Orleans. This group, operating outside Agency control, manipulated events to insure Oswald being named as the assassin. They also used an Oswald lookalike to incriminate the ex-Marine by firing shots from the Texas School Book Depository. Dallas Policeman J.D. Tippit was killed by this Oswald substitute when he failed to go along with the group's scheme to have Tippit kill the real Oswald in the Texas Theater. With the capture of Oswald, Ruby was compelled to stalk and finally kill the accused assassin."

The Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition also raises questions about CIA involvement. According to FBI documents, the 6.5 mm ammunition found in the Texas School Book Depository was part of a batch manufactured on a U.S. Government contract by Western Cartridge Corp. of East Alton, Illinois, which is now a part of Winchester-Western Division of Olin Industries.

In the mid-1950s, four million rounds of this ammunition was purchased by the Marine Corps, prompting the author of the FBI document to state:

"The interesting thing about this order is that it is for ammunition which does not fit and cannot be fired in any of the United States Marine Corps weapons. This gives rise to the obvious speculation that it is a contract for ammunition placed by the CIA with Western Cartridge Corporation under a USMC cover for concealment purposes."

It is well known that the CIA had used "sanitized" weapons - that is weapons which cannot be traced directly back to the Agency or the United States - in various missions around the world .

Obviously the Agency must have ammunition for the weapons it delivers to the various groups it supports. And while this whole issue is admittedly inference, it is based on knowledgeable information suggesting that the 6.5 mm ammunition used to kill Kennedy originally came from the CIA.

Most of the information available suggesting links between the assassination and the CIA is circumstantial - which is hardly surprising. After all, Agency officials could hardly be expected to reveal information connecting them to the death of the President. However, at this time there can be little doubt that many persons connected to Oswald also were connected to the CIA - David Ferrie, Guy Banister, Carlos Bringuier and other anti-Castro Cubans. Some knowledgeable persons - such as former CIA operative Morrow and others - claim these CIA people were operating outside of Agency control.

One strange incident involved an intelligence operative named Gary Underhill, who had served in World War II and was considered one of the top U.S. experts on limited warfare. At the time of the assassination, Underhill performed "special assignments" for the CIA and was on close terms with officials of both the Agency and the Pentagon. Several days after the assassination, Underhill visited friends in New Jersey. He was badly shaken and fearful. He said that President Kennedy had been killed by a small group within the CIA and that he believed his life was in danger. A short time later, reports have it that Underhill was found fatally shot in his Washington apartment. His death was ruled suicide although he was shot in the left side of the head and a pistol was found in his left hand - and it was well known that Underhill was right-handed.

There is some evidence - the suspicious activities of the Agency in Mexico City; Morrow's purchaser of Mannlicher-Carcano rifles and the ZR/RIFLE program which may have included the French criminal Christian David, for example - which suggests a foreknowledge of the assassination within the CIA.

Even Kennedy's successor once voiced suspicion of the spy agency. According to the "Washington Post," Marvin Watson of President Johnson's White House staff in 1967 confided to an FBI official who wrote that:

"(Johnson) was now convinced there was a plot in connection with the assassination.

Watson stated the President felt that the CIA had something to do with this plot."

Naturally, the CIA has long maintained innocence in the assassination and the House Select Committee on Assassinations concluded that, while the Agency was "deficient in its collection and

sharing of information both prior to and subsequent to the assassination," the CIA was not involved. Many researchers today are not as certain as the House Committee. However most agree that the CIA - as a Government agency - most probably did not plan nor authorize Kennedy's death.

Crossfire; The French Connection to the Assassination

There is also a real possibility that the assassins who killed Kennedy may have had no direct link with Oswald and his Cuban contacts at all. This intriguing possibility - which could go far in explaining why none of the trails leading backward from Oswald seem to connect firmly with the shooting in Dealey Plaza - became apparent several years ago with the revelation of a French connection to the assassination.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations concluded in 1979 what most Dealey Plaza witnesses said in 1963 - that at least one gunman fired on Kennedy from the Grassy Knoll. While the committee said it could not identify the Grassy Knoll gunman, that second gunman may well have been a premier French assassin with close contacts to the CIA, organized crime and even an oblique connection with Jack Ruby. According to recently uncovered evidence by a California writer, more than one French assassin may have been operating in Dealey Plaza.

Central to this point is CIA Document No. 632-796, which was released by the Agency in 1977 along with more than 3,000 other documents. These documents were pried from the Agency by a Freedom of Information Act suit filed by Washington attorney and JFK assassination researcher Bernard Fensterwald. A poor quality reproduction with numerous blanked out spaces, the document was painstakingly deciphered by veteran Dallas researcher Mary Ferrell.

Dated April 1, 1964, the CIA document carries a handwritten title stating, "Jean Souetre's Expulsion from U.S."

The half-page document reads:

"8. Jean SOUETRE aka (also known as) Michel Roux aka Michael Mertz - On March 5, (1964) the FBI advised that the French had (withheld) the Legal Attache in Paris and also the (withheld) had queried the Bureau in New York City concerning subject, stating that he had been expelled from the U.S. at Fort Worth or Dallas 18 hours after the assassination. He was in Fort Worth on the morning of 22 November and in Dallas in the afternoon. The French believe that he was expelled to either Mexico or Canada. In January he received mail from a dentist named Alderson...Subject is believed to be identical with a Captain who is a deserter from the French Army and an activist in the OAS (a right-wing French militant group). The French are concerned because of DeGaulle's planned visit to Mexico. They would like to know the reason for his expulsion from the U.S. and his destination. Bureau files are negative and they are checking in Texas and with the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service)..."

And the government did check - first with the dentist, who was still practicing in Houston, Texas, in the 1980s.

Dr. Lawrence M. Alderson told researchers that FBI agents began watching him in early 1964. He said finally agents contacted him and said they were trying to find the Frenchman "under any circumstances under any conditions."

Alderson said:

"They felt that Jean knew who, or he himself had, assassinated Kennedy. And they wanted to know who in Washington had had him flown out of the Dallas. And, to my knowledge, nobody ever found out or nobody knew."

Alderson said he had not seen the Frenchman since serving as a security officer with him shortly after World War II. He confided that he was working for the CIA at the time.

The dentist gave the following information about the Frenchman, Jean SOUETRE (pronounced Sweat-ra):

"He's a career soldier. From what I can gather, he was in the French underground movement in Algiers. I do know he left the French Air Force...I believe he was in the Fourth French Air Force Headquarters in France. He was a very prominent and upcoming French security officer. When I knew him, he was a lieutenant...I lived with him so I knew him quite well. He was very well educated, very outgoing, forward, dynamic. He came from a very poor family. In France, you don't have a thing if you're from a poor family unless you have a military career behind you. So, he was very interested in his career and this is why I never did really understand why he left it. But, he very definitely life, I presume, his wife. I have not heard from her in many years. She was a well-to-do, beautiful woman from a Southern France wine family. The last I heard from her, she was the one who told me that he had left the French Army and

had gone underground trying to save Algeria. So, evidently, he was rather committed, or felt committed, to leave his career, which was the only career he had. The next time I heard of him, quite truthfully, was when the CIA, or the FBI rather, had me tailed for about two months following the assassination...The last contact I had with the CIA was in France when I was working for them. So, the only contact I had in this country was with the FBI."

Alderson, after providing a snapshot of his French friend, said Souetre in the early 1950s was about 25 years old and spoke English, Spanish and German without a trace of an accent. He was about 6'1" tall and weighed about 175 pounds. Souetre was a "sharp dresser," seldom seen in uniform and had the reputation of being a "ladies man," Alderson said.

In 1963, Houston was the only Texas city with flights outside the United States. A later FBI report stated there were no direct flights from Houston to Canada. However, at the end of the FBI report, it stated that three persons named John Mertz, Irma Rio Mertz and Sara Mertz flew from Houston to Mexico City on November 23, 1963, according to records of Pan American World Airways. The FBI report concluded:

These records contain no further identifying data regarding these individuals.

Although Souetre could have flown out of the country by private or even military aircraft, it is interesting to note the coincidental departure of the Mertzses at a time corresponding to that in the CIA document.

After all, even the FBI report noted that Souetre also was known as Michel Roux and Michael Mertz.

Today, it is known that Roux and Mertz are the names of two real individuals, both of whom were connected to the shadowy world of intelligence work.

The name "Mertz" crops up in the 1974 Pulitzer Prize winning investigative book, "The Heroin Trail," compiled by the staff of Newsday. According to this book, Michael Victor Mertz was a World War II French Resistance hero and a captain in the French secret service after the war. Mertz operated in Germany, Turkey and Morocco under the cover of his military title. In April 1961, Mertz was ordered to penetrate the terrorist group, Organization se Armie Secrete (OAS). Posing as an OAS sympathizer, Mertz was arrested later in 1961 for distributing pro-OAS leaflets and sent to an internment camp. There he worked his way into the highest levels of the OAS and was able to break up a bomb plot against Charles DeGaulle.

However, security work was not the only activity in which Mertz became involved. Even before saving DeGaulle, Mertz had become one of France's biggest heroin smugglers, according to Newsday, which cites numerous French police and court records.

It is known in intelligence circles that DeGaulle often turned his back on drug smuggling, particularly if it involved people he was indebted to for their work against either the Nazis or the OAS.

One of Mertz' contacts in both heroin smuggling and the French secret service was a man named Christian David, a petty hoodlum who had escaped a French prison and later was recruited into French intelligence for use against the OAS. According to Newsday and other knowledgeable sources, David was one of the men involved in the 1965 murder of Moroccan opposition leader MehdiBen Barka. Barka was opposing Moroccan strongman General Oufkir and French authorities wanted him out of the way.

In 1972, this murder - which is still officially unsolved - was brought up when David was arrested in Brazil and charged with being a member of a smuggling ring which had imported more than 1,000 pounds of heroin into the United States over a three-year period.

Breaking under torture by the Brazilian police, David said he had been paid \$150,000 for his part in the Barka killing. He told how Barka had been lured to Paris by telling him a film company wanted to make a movie of his life. In Paris, Barka was arrested by two members of the French narcotics squad, then turned over to secret service agents including David. He was taken to a private home where he was killed, his body burned and then buried in lime.

After this arrest in Brazil, David was extradited to the United States and sentenced to 20 years in prison for heroin smuggling. He didn't stay there long.

In 1975, when the Senate Intelligence Committee began looking into the CIA's "Executive Action" program, David was suddenly ordered extradited back to France and was quietly taken out of the country.

Researchers believe this sudden move was due to what David might have told the Senate committee.

The committee was especially concerned with the Agency's "Executive Action" program because it was established for the purpose of committing assassinations. The program was part of the operational arm of the CIA's Technical Services Division and was code-named ZR/RIFLE. Former CIA director Richard Helms spoke at length about ZR/RIFLE to the committee. Two members of the ZR/RIFLE team were identified by Helms only by their CIA cryptonyms -WI/ROUGUE and QJ/WIN. According to evidence gathered by the committee, WI/ROUGUE was a French Corsican, a stateless soldier of fortune and a criminal. This man approached QJ/WIN and attempted to recruit him into the CIA's assassination program. Although it was never learned if this recruitment effort was successful, there is evidence that it was.

In declassified CIA notes concerning the ZR/RIFLE project, it states:

"4. Operational assets:

(1.) Personnel: QJ/WIN is under written contract as a principal agent, with the primary task of spotting agent candidates. QJ/WIN was first contacted in (deleted by CIA), in conjunction with an illegal narcotics operation into the United States. For a period of a year and a half, he was contacted sporadically by CIS Lucien Conien (who later became chief of foreign intelligence for the Drug Enforcement Agency) on behalf of the Bureau of Narcotics. Files of this bureau reflect an excellent performance by QJ/WIN."

Helms said this about QJ/WIN:

"If you needed somebody to carry out murder, I guess you had a man who might be prepared to carry it out."

Until the Senate hearings, the ZR/RIFLE program with its agents, WI/ROUGUE and QJ/WIN, were among the CIA's most closely-guarded secrets. Several separate sources familiar with both intelligence operations and drug smuggling, claim that WI/ROUGUE and Christian David are one and the same. This claim is further supported by David's own admission of intelligence associations and by his convenient extradition to France just as the Senate committee hearings got underway.

And based on the association of David and Mertz coupled with their descriptions and backgrounds which match those of the CIA agents, it is not mere speculation to suggest that QJ/WIN was Michael Victor Mertz, who also used the name Jean Souetre.

If this isn't complicated enough, QJ/WIN even had a tenuous connection with Jack Ruby - in the person of Thomas Eli Davis III.

Tom Howard, Ruby's first attorney (See CONVENIENT DEATHS), asked his client if there were any persons the prosecution might produce who could be damaging to Ruby's defense of momentary insanity. Ruby unhesitatingly came up with the name "Davis" (See JACK RUBY). Ruby said Davis had first approached him about using some of Ruby's strippers in pornographic movies, but that later the two had become involved in gunrunning activities. The FBI told the Warren Commission they could not locate such a person. However the CIA did - and still does - have a classified file on Thomas Eli Davis III.

Veteran newsman Seth Kantor details Ruby's connection to Davis in his book, "Who Was Jack Ruby?" Born to a respectable Texas rancher couple on August 27, 1936, Davis was discharged from the Army in 1958 and attended the University of Michigan until he was asked to leave for failing to make his grades. In June, 1958, Davis entered a Detroit bank and handed a teller a note which threatened her life if she didn't give him money. According to the teller, Davis then said, "I can't do it. I can't do it" then threw his \$1,000 take on the floor. Davis fled from the bank only to be caught by police a block away. Because of his family's good reputation and no previous criminal record, Davis was given a five-year probated prison sentence. While on probation, Davis obtained passport No. D236764, issued by the State Department on January 31, 1963, in New Orleans, a feat almost impossible for a convicted felon without highly-placed and powerful help. Davis' ensuing activities took him into the murky world of anti-Castro gunrunning and it was here Davis met Ruby.

Ruby told his attorney that Davis had come to one of his nightclubs and that he had intended to go into the gun running business with Davis on a regular basis. However, apparently Davis' activities were not limited to dealing with Cuban gun runners.

At the time of the Kennedy assassination, Davis was in North Africa, allegedly setting up a deal to supply arms to the OAS.

Less than a month later, he was jailed in Tangiers in connection with the assassination.

His wife told authorities that her husband was a soldier of fortune, who had operated in such diverse

countries as Indonesia, Algeria and Cuba and in the months prior to his arrest, they had traveled through London, Paris and Madrid.

According to correspondence between J. Edgar Hoover and the State Department, Moroccan security police detained Davis "because of a letter in his handwriting which referred in passing to Oswald and the Kennedy assassination."

Kantor wrote that evidence showed Davis was freed from jail through the efforts of QJ/WIN, "the code name given by the CIA to an unsavory foreign agent with a network of Mafia contacts." Here could be the connection, not only between Davis and the CIA, but between Davis and Mertz (if indeed Mertz was QJ/WIN).

Through early 1963, Davis had contact with the anti-Castro Cubans, as confirmed by his wife and family. And he not only was in New Orleans during the same time as Oswald in the summer of 1963, but once admitted to reporter George Carter that he had used the name Oswald while in North Africa.

Based on similar statures, ages, and features, many researchers today believe that Davis may have posed as Oswald in the months leading up to the assassination.

For example, recall the story of Sylvia Odio (See CUBANS), who told of a visit by three anti-Castro operatives shortly before the assassination. Her description of "Leon Oswald" varied from that of Oswald only in that the man she met had a faint mustache. As far as can be determined, Oswald had no such mustache at the time - but Davis did, according to an FBI report of an investigation four months prior to the Odio incident.

Neither the Warren Commission nor the House Select Committee on Assassinations chose to investigate the Davis story. Whatever information Davis had was carried to his grave.

Former Wise County, Texas, Sheriff Eldon Moyers said in September 1973, Davis was attempting to steal copper wire from a construction site when he cut into a 7,000-vote power line and was electrocuted.

Through his connection to QJ/WIN, Davis certainly was in the right circles to be involved in assassination attempts.

According to testimony given to the Senate Intelligence Committee, QJ/WIN's boss on the ZR/RIFLE team was the CIA's William Harvey. Harvey's specialty was anti-Castro activities in general and the attempts to assassinate Castro in particular (See AGENTS). Harvey, of course, was in contact with Johnny Roselli and Florida Mafia Chief Santos Trafficante (See MOBSTERS).

A reporter from Dallas once queried the FBI about Jean Souetre and his presence in Dallas in 1963 and was told that man was not Souetre, but another Frenchman named Michel Roux, whose name just happened to coincide with one of Souetre's aliases. However the Bureau, who could find nothing concerning Souetre/Mertz/Roux in 1964, could not offer any substantiating documents to support their story about the Souetre namesake.

At the heart of this labyrinth of intelligence and mob intrigue is QJ/WIN, who appears to have been Michael Victor Mertz.

Souetre today has been located, working as the public relations director for a French casino. He denied any inside knowledge of the assassination. However he also denied knowing Alderson, although Alderson had a photograph of himself and Souetre together. Souetre did suggest that Mertz, an old enemy, may have been in Dallas using his name.

Virgil Bailey, an inspector for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, has told Texas researchers he remembered being ordered to pick up a Frenchman in Dallas at the time of the assassination. Bailey complied, but today cannot recall the man's name. However, Bailey described the Frenchman to researcher Gary Shaw as a man about 45 years old with thin, graying hair.

In 1963, Souetre was about 35 years old and Roux was about 25. Mertz, the agent connected to both intelligence and worldwide organized crime, was about 45 years old.

The answers to questions raised by the French Connection to the Kennedy assassination lie in locked files in Washington. But some assassination researchers feel the other gunman in Dealey Plaza just might have been the Frenchman known to the FBI as Michel Roux, to the French authorities as Jean Souetre, to the CIA as QJ/WIN and to the international crime syndicate as Michael Victor Mertz.

Further evidence of the French Connection to the assassination came in 1988 when Los Angeles author Steve J. Rivele revealed that he had the names of the French assassins who participated in Kennedy's assassination. Rivele claimed that after several years of investigative work he had learned the names of three French gangsters who killed Kennedy. He cited one source for his information as the imprisoned Christian David. Rivele said David claimed to have been offered a contract to kill JFK by

the chief of the Marseilles Mafia, Meme Guerini. The three hitmen were Sauveur Pironti, who today still lives in Marseilles; Lucien Sarti, who was killed in Mexico in 1972; and a man named Bocognoni, who is believed to be living in Central or South America.

According to Rivele's sources, Sarti wore a police uniform and fired from behind the wooden picket fence on the Grassy Knoll (See THE GRASSY KNOLL). Pironti and Bocognoni reportedly fired on Kennedy from a nearby building - either the old Dal-Tex Building or perhaps the Dallas County Records Building. Pironti, questioned by European newsmen after Rivele's book, "The Murderers of John F. Kennedy" was published in France in 1988, denied any involvement. His denial was supported by French military authorities who said Pironti was serving at a sea post at the time of the assassination. However, later investigation failed to substantiate this alibi.

According to Rivele, David and another mobster, Michel Nicoli, claimed that Lee Harvey Oswald played no part in the assassination.

Reportedly, the three assassins - Pironti, Sarti and Bocognoni - were hired to kill Kennedy by the French Union Corse - the European branch of the international crime syndicate - on orders from organized crime figures in America. The trio of hitmen flew to Mexico where they were met at the Texas border by some Chicago mobsters who drove them to Dallas. After the assassination, the trio remained in a "safe house" for more than a week and then were flown out of the country.

Interestingly enough, when Rivele approached U.S. Government officials with David's story, he was put in touch with Lucien Conein - the same man who was working with QJ/WIN, the shadowy CIA "asset." Conein, known in Vietnam as "Black Luigi," often bragged about his connections with the Union Corse. It seems Conein was made an honorary member of this branch of the Sicilian Mafia after serving with Corsican partisans as an officer in the OSS and the French Foreign Legion.

It was Conein who, at the urging of Nixon aide Charles Colson, implicated President Kennedy in the assassination of Vietnam's Diem by suggesting to newsmen that Kennedy knew in advance of the plot to overthrow Diem, a charge which today is considered fraudulent by most researchers and historians.

Asked to comment on the French Connection to Kennedy's death, James H. Lesar, vice president of the Assassination Archives and Research Center in Washington, D.C., said:

"I think that it's sufficiently serious that the Department of Justice and the U.S. Secret Service should investigate it further."

Today it appears that no such investigation has been forthcoming, the U.S. media has paid little attention to Christian David's admissions and Rivele reportedly has gone into hiding after receiving death threats.

Crossfire: Agents Summary

There is little question that by the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion the Central Intelligence Agency was running out of control. It had gone far afield from the quiet, intelligence-gathering and coordinating agency envisioned when created in 1947 by President Truman.

Documented CIA abuses included the overthrow of governments, secret mind-control experiments on unsuspecting victims and assassination plots - all wrapped in a blanket of "national security" secrecy with any information given out strictly on an individual "need-to-know" basis.

As evidenced by the Yuri Nosenko affair (See RUSSIANS) and the on-again, off-again anti-Castro MONGOOSE program, there appears to have been serious divisions within the CIA in the early 1960s.

While some factions undoubtedly supported President Kennedy and his programs, others did not disguise their hatred toward him.

The CIA had become highly compartmentalized. Often CIA employees working on one project would have no idea that people they came into contact with also were working for the Agency. And the Agency - for expediency - employed and used some very unsavory characters - such as David Ferrie.

Thus it is entirely possible that Lee Harvey Oswald may have played some role in an Agency operation - without the knowledge of both the Agency and himself.

There can be little doubt that many persons in contact with Oswald also were in contact with the CIA.

These contacts, plus the abundant evidence that Oswald was involved in intelligence work, raises serious questions about who may have been maneuvering Oswald in the fall of 1963.

However, it seems highly unlikely that the CIA, as an organization, initiated the assassination of Kennedy.

This, however, does not preclude the possibility that persons within the CIA may have played roles in an assassination conspiracy which later compelled their superiors and peers to cover up for fear that such connections might become public.

The possibility also exists that all of the Agency intrigues involving Oswald, Ferrie and the Cuban exiles were only so much window dressing to draw attention away from the real assassins - French "hitmen" hired by the American mob with money and promises of protection from highly-placed sources within the U.S. Government.

Crossfire: G-Men

"They (the FBI) have tried the case and reached a verdict on every aspect."

Warren Commissioner Senator Richard Russell

Anyone making a serious study of the JFK assassination must take a long hard look at the FBI and the Secret Service. The former - as we now know - monopolized the investigation of the tragedy while the latter failed to prevent it.

The contacts between accused assassin Lee Harvey Oswald and the FBI are many and troubling. No less than seven FBI agents were associated with Lee Harvey Oswald during the year and a half between his return from Russia and the assassination.

In 1964, there was even the serious allegation that Oswald was working for the Bureau at the time of the assassination - a charge which the FBI emphatically denied. While the Bureau has been especially sensitive when it comes to the JFK assassination, it also has been unintentionally helpful. During the past 20 years, nearly 100,000 pages of documents regarding the assassination have been released by the Bureau, often as the result of Freedom of Information Act suits. The occasional nuggets of information buried in the raw ore of these documents have helped piece together some of the more mysterious aspects of the case.

Increasingly, the Bureau has been called to task for its handling of the JFK assassination. At least two government panels have chided the Bureau for inadequacies in its assassination investigation.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations concluded that the Bureau:

"...failed to investigate the possibility of a conspiracy to assassinate the President."

Likewise the Senate Intelligence Committee chastised the Bureau for shoddy work in the assassination investigation.

Ironically, it was government corruption which prompted the creation of the FBI in the first place. Just after the turn of the century, there was a growing demand in Washington to combat the "public-be-damned" attitude of the giant trusts -later to become multinational corporations - and corruption within a number of federal agencies.

Such abuses were the province of the Department of Justice, which Congress had never seen fit to equip with investigators. It was most difficult to prosecute a legal case without investigators. When investigators were required, Treasury agents were called in on a temporary basis.

In 1907, Attorney General Charles J. Bonaparte, despite objections in Congress, went ahead with plans to create an investigative force, stating:

"...a Department of Justice with no force of permanent police in any form under its control is assuredly not fully equipped for its work."

With the approval of President Theodore Roosevelt, Bonaparte issued an order dated July 26, 1908, creating an investigative agency within the Justice Department.

Less than one year later, Bonaparte's successor, Attorney General George W. Wickersham, gave the new agency a permanent position and a name - the Bureau of Investigation. But the new Bureau could only enforce federal crimes and - outside of counterfeiting - there were hardly any federal crimes at that time. The Bureau had little to do.

But in 1910, Congress, pressured by a public which was shocked and outraged by press accounts of world-wide prostitution, or "White Slave" rings, unanimously passed the White Slave Traffic Act. This law became known as the Mann Act after its sponsor, Rep. James Robert Mann of Illinois.

The Mann Act gave federal agents authority in any case where a woman was taken across state or national boundaries for immoral purposes. The law was loosely written, applying to crime-minded women as well as innocent "slaves." In effect, it gave the fledgling Bureau an excuse to intervene in any case where a woman crossed state lines.

World War I boosted the Bureau into national prominence. During 1914 and 1915 there were explosions, fires and other acts of sabotage at several war plants. In the morning hours of July 10, 1916, some 2 million pounds of dynamite exploded and wrecked Black Tom island in New York Harbor, a major transfer point for supplies being shipped to Europe.

American public opinion slowly began shifting from neutrality to animosity toward Germany. The pace of this shift quickened in January 1917, when Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare on American shipping.

War against the Central Powers, led by Germany, was declared by Congress on April 6 and

President Woodrow Wilson ordered the Bureau to begin wartime activities.

Wisely noting that all Americans of German descent could not be interred for the duration of the war, Wilson nevertheless required more than one million "enemy aliens" to register. The Bureau, which had only 300 agents by then, was expected to enforce this Presidential edict.

The nation suddenly became aware of the danger of spies and a full-blown spy scare swept across the land - much of the suspicion directed at labor unions and anarchists.

Badly undermanned, Bureau chief A. Bruce Bielaski was agreeable to a suggestion by a Chicago advertising man that a private volunteer organization be formed to aid federal agents in national defense work.

Thus was formed the American Protective League, which eventually numbered more than 250,000 persons. These vigilantes carried hidden badges which identified them as "American Protective League, Secret Service Division."

The words "Secret Service" were dropped after Treasury Secretary William McAdoo complained that league members were being confused with his Secret Service agents.

The league became the object of many complaints to Washington. Suspected enemy sympathizers were beaten, some were killed and many people charged that the league was being used to intimidate labor organizations.

Smarting under criticisms of its connection with the league, the Bureau came under further attack after leading a roundup of "slackers," men who failed to register for the draft. Responding to congressional calls for action against slackers, Bureau agents had joined with local police and army units to round up more than 50,000 men off the streets of New York and Brooklyn to check for draft registration papers in early September 1918.

The offensive was roundly criticized. Senator Hiram Johnson of California told his colleagues:

"...to humiliate 40,000 citizens, to shove them along with bayonets, to subject them to prison and summary military force, merely because they are "suspects," is a spectacle never before presented in the Republic."

The next year a bomb exploded at the home of the new Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, killing the two bombers.

Palmer was incensed and immediately took action. He replaced Bureau director Bielaski with William J. Flynn, a former chief of the Secret Service. Palmer also created a General Intelligence Division under the command of his 24-year-old special assistant who had come to the Bureau fresh out of the George Washington University Law School two years before - J. Edgar Hoover.

Crossfire: The Top G-Man

No one man has held so much power so long in the history of the United States as John Edgar Hoover. In the naive 1950s, Hoover was an honors-encrusted hero, hailed as the foremost defender of American freedom and democracy. By the 1970s, he was being likened to Heinrich Himmler, Hitler's dreaded SS commander.

By the 1980s, knowledge of abuses under Hoover's leadership had become widespread although the major news media - perhaps recalling the veneration it had lavished on Hoover for so long - seemed reluctant to spotlight his darker activities.

The truth of Hoover's place in the still-untold history of modern-day America lies in the man's background and motivations, much of which is still an unknown area to most writers and researchers. Little detail is known about Hoover the man, or about his personal background, friends and associations. One reason for this is that for so long everything printed about Hoover was either a product of FBI public relations or, at least, was approved by Hoover or a subordinate. Newsmen, in order to get any cooperation from the Bureau - a necessity for obtaining any information involving a federal investigation - were forced to stay on Hoover's good side. Any story criticizing the director was an excuse to place the writer on the Bureau's list of people to be ignored.

John Edgar Hoover entered the world on January 1, 1895, five years before the 20th century began. He was the youngest of four children. Born in Washington, D.C., Hoover rarely left the city his entire life. Until her death in 1938, he lived with his mother in the family home at 413 Seward Square. Afterwards he continued living there with his constant companion and the FBI's associate director, Clyde Tolson. His father, Dickerson N. Hoover, was a minor bureaucrat who served as chief of the Coast and Geodetic Survey's printing division. His mother, Annie M. Scheitlin Hoover, was a plump housewife who faithfully instilled American middle-class virtues and Lutheran Christianity in her children.

As a schoolboy delivering groceries, young Hoover discovered the quicker he delivered, the more trips he could make which meant more money. He soon was given the nickname "Speed." Active in athletics, Hoover was once hit in the nose by a baseball - the basis of his bulldog-like appearance. After graduating from Washington's Central High School, Hoover got a job as a clerk in the Library of Congress. At night he began attending George Washington University Law School, where he obtained his law degree in 1916 and a Master of Law in 1917.

With the world at war, there was frantic activity in the Department of Justice. Jobs were opening up every day. On July 26, 1917, Hoover joined the department and was placed in the enemy alien registration section. Earning a reputation as a diligent and efficient worker, Hoover soon became an assistant to the Attorney General who placed him in charge of the General Intelligence Division.

Soon after taking charge of the division, Hoover was instructed by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer to make a study of subversive groups within the United States. Hoover went at it with zeal. As he studied the background of communism, Hoover came to a studied conclusion - the teaching of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Nikolai Lenin encouraged a worldwide revolution by the workers.

If this was taken literally and since the American communist Party - actually there have been several - agreed to follow the dictates of the Soviet leadership in Russia, the communists were guilty of advocating the violent overthrow of the United States Government.

From that time onward Hoover fought an unyielding war against what he perceived as communist penetration of America, despite equal numbers of people who did not perceive the communists as a direct threat (See [RUSSIANS](#)).

In 1919, Hoover presented this argument with the aim of deporting several persons believed to be communists:

"America communists supported the Third International which was run by Soviet communists who advocated the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. Therefore American communists were advocating the violent overthrow of the government and could be deported as "enemy aliens.""

Two of the "enemy aliens" rounded up by Hoover's men in 1919 were the famous anarchists Alexander Beckman and Emma Goldman. Beckman had shot steel magnate Henry C. Frick during the 1892 Homestead Steel strike, blaming the industrialist for the deaths of 10 workers. Goldman, a vibrant orator who is said to have influenced such notables as writer Henry Miller, George Orwell and Edna St. Vincent Millay, was Beckman's lover. Furthermore, Leon Czolgosz, the assassin of President William McKinley, stated he had been greatly influenced by Goldman's talks. Beckman and Goldman, along

with many Russian immigrants who had not applied for citizenship, were shipped back to Russia aboard a ship dubbed "the Soviet Ark" in December 1919.

It was the beginning of the famous "Palmer Red Raids" in which the legal cases were prepared by Hoover.

Early in 1920, at the orders of Palmer, the Bureau launched a series of raids on communist meeting places in 33 cities, rounding up more than 2,500 aliens. These raids drew both praise and condemnation. U.S. District Court Judge George W. Anderson, hearing one of these cases, stated:

"...(the communist Party's) whole scheme is for propaganda by words, not by deeds. No weapons of the cutting or exploding kind, with which...revolutions are carried on, were found in this raid. There is therefore not a scintilla of evidence warranting a finding that the communists are committed to the "overthrow of the Government of the United States by violence"...it is notorious that political platforms generally adopt the language of exaggeration.... Here...freedom and a saving sense of humor and of proportion, have, until recently, saved us from being frightened by crusaders' rhetoric."

However in another federal court, U.S. District Judge John C. Knox saw things quite differently, stating:

"I am of the opinion that the manifesto and program of the communist Party, together with other exhibits in the case, are of such character as to easily lead a reasonable man to conclude that the purpose of the communist Party is to accomplish its end, namely, the capture and destruction of the State as now constituted by force and violence..."

These opposite views of two judges looking at the same evidence is indicative of the split in American opinion over the danger presented by communists. It is a divergence of opinion which persists today.

Whether there was a real danger or not, the Palmer raids drove the American communist Party underground and reduced its membership from an estimated 60,000 to a hard-core of about 10,000.

Through the years, Hoover continually used the communist threat to great personal advantage, even to putting his name on a popular book, "Masters of Deceit," which helped fan the fires of the 1950s communist scare.

Was there any real threat from American communists? In his resignation letter to Hoover, William C. Sullivan, at one time third-ranking official at the FBI, wrote:

"In the mid-Forties when the membership of the Party was about 80,000 and it had many front organizations, you publicized this widely month in and month out. In fact it was far too widely publicized to the point where you caused a communist scare in the nation which was entirely unwarranted...I am just as opposed to communism as you but I knew then and I know now that it was not the danger you claimed it was and that it never warranted the huge amounts of the taxpayer's dollars spent upon it...What happened when the communist Party went into a rapid decline? You kept the scare campaign going just the same for some years. However, when the membership figures kept dropping lower and lower you instructed us not to give them to the public any more and not even to the Justice Department...At the time of my leaving the Bureau (1971)...the membership figures of the communist Party are down to an amazing 2,800 in a nation of over 200 million people and you still conceal this from the people."

It has been said that of the small number of members of the communist Party in those days, almost half were FBI informers.

But Hoover never let the facts stand in the way of his campaign to eradicate communism, even if it meant neglecting one of the true menaces of America - organized crime.

In the 48 years that Hoover controlled the United States' only national police organization, he served eight Presidents and outlasted more than a dozen attorney generals.

Hoover's FBI kept files on an estimated 200 million persons, most of whom had never been charged with a crime.

With almost 20,000 active agents plus thousands of contract agents and informers, no facet of American life went undetected by the Bureau.

Yet Hoover never publicly admitted the growing cancer of organized crime.

Organized crime investigator Peter Maas has reported that prior to Robert Kennedy becoming attorney general, only four FBI agents in the New York office were assigned to organized crime and

those were kept busy with in-office "bookkeeping" duties. Yet about 400 agents were on the streets of the city searching out communists.

As late as January 1962, Hoover was on record as saying:

"No single individual or coalition of racketeers dominates organized crime across the nation."

As with the communist threat, Hoover was not telling the truth.

Shortly after the aborted mob conference at Apalachin in 1957 (See MOBSTERS), Sullivan and other top FBI officials prepared a monograph on the Mafia which was sent to the top 25 government officials concerned with law enforcement. Learning of this, an angry Hoover recalled all 25 copies and had them destroyed. He denounced the monograph as "baloney" and this report on organized crime was never heard of again. It was not until Mafia thug Joe Valachi was brought to Washington by Attorney General Robert Kennedy's Justice Department for testimony before a Senate committee (See MOBSTERS), that Hoover was grudgingly forced to admit to the existence of an organized crime structure in this nation. Why did Hoover act like there was no such thing as the Mafia when there was so much evidence to the contrary? In his book, "The Bureau," Sullivan wrote:

"He (Hoover) didn't want to tackle organized crime. He preferred his agents to spend their time on quick, easy cases - he wanted results, predictable results which produced the statistics Hoover thrived on....Investigating the Mafia promised to be more difficult than rounding up juvenile auto thieves. Organized crime is far more complicated: the Mafia runs legitimate businesses as a front for their illegal operations. Mafiosos are rich and can afford the best lawyers, while we have to use government lawyers, some of whom are excellent, some of them aren't worth a damn. And the Mafia is powerful, so powerful that entire police forces and even a mayor's office can be under Mafia control. That's why Hoover was afraid to let us tackle it. He was afraid we'd show up poorly."

There were also other considerations. Hoover was well known for his ingratiating attitude toward Washington politicians. The more powerful the politician, the more Hoover tried to befriend him.

Considering the resources of the FBI, it is reasonable to assume that Hoover knew many of the politicians on Capitol Hill were under the control of organized crime. All the more reason to leave well enough alone.

Then there is the suggestion, backed by only vague circumstantial evidence, that Hoover, through the years may have reached some sort of tacit agreement with certain mob leaders.

According to an article in the December 22, 1975, issue of "Time" magazine:

"Hoover was reluctant to move against organized crime. Some FBI agents think they know why. They tell stories of Hoover sometimes traveling to Manhattan to meet one of the Mafia's top figures, Frank Costello (New York's "Boss of all Bosses"). The two would meet in Central Park. Costello apparently convinced Hoover that there was no organized Mafia - merely a loose collection of independent racketeers."

Once in the late 1930s, a government agent named John Cye Cheasty - assigned to survey crime figures - was shocked to see Costello and Hoover sitting at adjoining tables in the New Yorker Hotel's Manhattan Room. Cheasty told this story in a 1957 trial involving Costello.

There is also a tenuous connection between Hoover and Mafia Boss Meyer Lansky in the mutual friendship of Lewis S. Rosenstiel of Schenley Industries. According to evidence gathered by organized crime author Hank Messick, Rosenstiel - in addition to being close friends to both Hoover and Lansky - eventually employed former FBI assistant director Louis B. Nichols and in 1969 created the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation.

Other organized crime contacts may have come through Hoover's love for horse racing and gambling.

In "The Bureau," Sullivan wrote:

"He (Hoover) and (associate director Clyde) Tolson used to be driven from the courtyard of the Department of Justice to the track in a black bullet-proof car. Although Hoover always told people that he and Tolson were going off to work on a case, it was common knowledge that they were actually rushing to make the first race."

Once at the track, Hoover conducted a subterfuge in order to conceal his gambling. Sullivan wrote:

"Hoover did make a few bets at the two-dollar window, but that was just for show. He had agents assigned to accompany him to the track to place his real bets at the hundred-dollar window, and when he won he was a pleasure to work with for days."

While in California, Hoover delighted in visiting the Del Mar Racetrack, which had been bought in 1954 by his Texas oilmen buddies, Clint Murchinson - whose chief attorney was John Connally - and Sid Richardson. He usually stayed free of charge in the nearby Hotel del Charro at La Jolla, which had been bought by Murchinson in 1951. Hoover often was seen having breakfast with the oilman. This information came to light during a California Senate investigation in 1966.

The Del Mar Racetrack was owned by a state agency but leased to private management. Hoover and Tolson often timed their summer vacation to coincide with the Del Mar racing season. At one point, the track was managed by Boys Club Inc., which investigators discovered was not connected with the helpful youth organization, but instead was a front for Murchinson and Richardson. Murchinson had even attempted to get Hoover to head the tax-exempt organization built on track revenues, but the director declined.

But Hoover may have helped in other ways. Before further investigation could be conducted by the California Senate, Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown stepped in.

According to the "Journal of Commerce and Independent Review," a Los Angeles legal-notice newspaper:

"It developed that the Governor had been contacted by J. Edgar Hoover to put the quash on the Senate's probe or at least to keep concealed Hoover's involvement with horse racing and the Texans."

Apparently Hoover's desire to gain extra money did not end at the betting windows.

According to Sullivan, who helped author Hoover's best selling book, "Masters of Deceit," Hoover helped himself to the profits from this and other FBI-produced publications. Sullivan wrote:

"...Hoover...set it up so that all future royalties would go into the FBI Recreation Fund instead. Although agents were supposed to share the money in the Recreation Fund, it was actually nothing more than a tax dodge. The money in the fund was available to Hoover, at all times, and he used it."

And it was pressure from Hoover's friend oilman Clint Murchinson - a major stockholder in Holt Publishing Company - which got the director a lucrative contract for this anti-communist book.

That Hoover had ambitions greater than the FBI can be shown by his ill-fated attempt at the presidency.

By 1936, Hoover's name had become a household word and the director believed he could count on the support of the nation's law enforcement community. His plan was to win election as a Republican and drive the liberal Roosevelt from office.

However, when he had selected agents to tour the South and Southwest - the areas where he felt his support was strongest - he was chagrined to learn that not only did local lawmen not want him as President, many didn't want him to continue as FBI director. According to Sullivan, Hoover never mentioned running for President again.

After that Hoover dedicated himself to building the strength and power of the FBI - even to details on how agents should look and act.

Regarded as extremely Puritanical - gambling being the apparent exception - Hoover set strict rules and regulations within the Bureau. Agents were not to drink alcohol while on duty and were discouraged from drinking off duty. Any employee caught cheating on his wife or not paying his debts was fired immediately. Hoover even went so far as to institute a dress code - FBI men were expected to wear their hair short and well groomed (bald men need not even apply) and dress in dark, conservative suits. Sullivan tells the story of Hoover riding in his office elevator one day with an FBI clerk who happened to wear a red vest under his suit coat:

"And as if the red vest wasn't bad enough, the poor fellow's face was broken out. As soon as Hoover got to his office, the order went out to find the young man with pimples wearing a red vest, fire him, and discipline the man who recommended him for employment."

One undocumented story which circulated through the Bureau was retold in Sullivan's book, "The Bureau."

It seems that Hoover's omnipresent assistant, Clyde Tolson, came into the office one day and announced he was depressed. In an effort to cheer him up, Hoover gave Tolson a list of FBI supervisors. "Pick out one you don't like and fire him, then you'll feel better," Hoover reportedly told Tolson.

"With prejudice?" said Tolson with a smile.

"Dismissed with prejudice" was a term coined by Hoover to use against agents who especially

angered him. It was a serious matter since an agent with this blot on his record would have difficulty in finding other work.

Whether or not the Tolson story is true, it is indicative of how Bureau employees saw the relationship between the two men.

A native of Laredo, Missouri, Tolson came to Washington at the age of 18 to work as a clerk in the War Department. Soon he was made confidential secretary to Secretary of War Newton D. Baker. For the next eight years, while serving two other war secretaries, Tolson attended night school at George Washington University, obtaining a law degree in 1927.

Tolson was known as "the man who came to dinner" at the FBI because when he applied to be an agent in 1928, instead of extolling the virtues of a lifetime Bureau career, he truthfully wrote that he was just looking to gain a little experience and make some money so he could open a law practice in Iowa. The unusual letter was brought to Hoover's attention, who hired him anyway.

Several months later, Tolson came to FBI headquarters as chief clerk. Working close to Hoover, he moved up fast, becoming assistant director in 1931. In 1947, Tolson became associate director, but his position in the Bureau was actually much more than number-two man. Tolson and Hoover, both described in FBI publicity as "bachelors," were constant companions. They rode to work together, lunched together and even vacationed together. Both were Masons - as were many of the Bureau's top officials. After the death of Hoover's mother, with whom he had lived for years, Tolson shared Hoover's Washington home. Bureau personnel took to calling the pair the "unipersonality" - two people who acted as one. Even after Tolson reached age 71 and had suffered more than one stroke leaving him partially paralyzed, Hoover bypassed the retirement laws by retiring him, then rehiring him under a legal loophole allowing the hiring of retired personnel on a temporary basis to complete projects in progress.

Just as Bureau agents were known to have regularly performed personal work for Hoover, Tolson too had his perquisites. Tolson, according to Sullivan, liked to think on himself as an inventor. He would come up with an idea but often he would ask FBI laboratory employees to work out the details. When patents resulting from this work were filed, they were in Tolson's name.

Tolson retired from the Bureau the day after Hoover's strange death on May 2, 1972, and soon died.

There can be little doubt that the relationship between Hoover and Tolson was a strange one. Rumors have circulated for years that the pair were homosexuals. However, no proof has been forthcoming. Hoover, it is known, had a penchant for detecting any signs of homosexual behavior in others. He took great delight in passing on such information to his close friends.

Of one thing there is certainty - by the time of World War II, the vast power of the FBI was centered solely in J. Edgar Hoover, considered by nearly all who knew him as a "strange" man. But if blame has to be laid for this situation, it may, as argued by Tom Wicker, associate editor of the "New York Times," be laid on the American public.

Wicker wrote:

"...the public - gulled, it is true by the Bureau's incessant propaganda - until recent years loved it all; and what considerable percentage of voters Washington believed were still devoted to J. Edgar Hoover at his death was suggested by the President's funeral oration and by Congress's decision that his body should lie in state, where Lincoln and Kennedy had lain. There was little or no outcry when the director, guardian of liberty, spoke up for Joe McCarthy, called Martin Luther King a liar and for years single-handedly held up congressional passage of a consular treaty with the Soviet Union. There was always a radio audience for "The FBI in Peace and War" and the G-Man movies to which the director invariably lent "technical assistance" and his seal of approval - as long as they pictured his men on the side of the angels. For decades, his turgid and moralistic articles appeared with the regularity of the seasons in "Reader's Digest" and "American" magazines, and publishers took turns presenting his self-aggrandizing books to the waiting public. If J. Edgar Hoover passed eventually beyond the normal restraints of office, the American public seemed to view this process happily, and with a sense of gratitude."

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But if Hoover's reputation grew overlarge in later years, it certainly had no such problem back in the 1920s. In late 1920 the scene in Washington was like that at the height of the anti-war crusades of the 1960s.

Public criticism had arisen over Palmer's "Red Raids." Federal agents were charged with unconstitutional searches and seizures, individual rights violations and even using "agents provocateurs."

One federal judge, after hearing testimony of warrantless arrests and prisoners being held incommunicado, declared:

"It may...be observed that a mob is a mob, whether made up of government officials acting under instructions from the Department of Justice, or of criminals, loafers, and the vicious classes."

Later a Senate committee looked into the raids, but divided on its views of the operation and no consensus was reached. It was the first - and last - Congressional investigation of the FBI.

During this time, Warren G. Harding was sworn in as President and he named his close friend, Henry Daugherty, as attorney general.

Harding, who once said, "I am not fit for this office and never should have been here," headed one of the most scandal-ridden administrations in U.S. history.

His secretary of interior, Albert B. Fall, was convicted of bribery and became the first cabinet officer in U.S. history to go to jail.

In August 1921, in an effort to clean house, Daugherty replaced Flynn as Bureau director with a famous detective who happened to also be a childhood chum, William J. Burns.

Burns was a colorful character with a flair for gaining favorable publicity. It was a trait not lost on his new assistant director. J. Edgar Hoover.

Fresh from the complaints over the Red Raids, morale in the Justice Department went from bad to worse.

Daugherty was accused of influence peddling and, in 1923, a top aide - allegedly holding evidence against Daugherty - committed suicide under strange circumstances in Daugherty's apartment. Daugherty was indicted in connection with the death but went free after two successive hung juries.

Then the famous "Teapot Dome" scandal broke, revealing that Harding and other officials had shifted public oil property into private hands amid bribery and favoritism.

On August 2, 1923, Harding himself died under sudden circumstances still not fully understood - Some researchers have claimed he may have been poisoned by his wife to protect him from the disgrace of his probable impeachment.

In an effort to demonstrate leadership in this moral crisis, newly-elected President Calvin Coolidge demanded and received Daugherty's resignation as attorney general. He was replaced by Harlan Fiske Stone, a former dean of the Columbia University Law School.

Soon after taking control of what had become known as the "Department of Easy Virtue," Stone removed Burns as head of the Bureau and named 29-year-old Hoover acting director. Hoover moved rapidly to restore respect for the Bureau, which was in real danger of being disbanded due to the years of problems and criticism. His actions produced immediate results. Asked if one of his agents would investigate the activities of a senator's son, Hoover replied:

"This Bureau cannot be used for partisan purposes."

Backed solidly by Stone, Hoover completely rebuilt the image of the Bureau of Investigation. And on December 10, 1924, Stone made Hoover director. Stone later told a friend:

"I took the responsibility of appointing Mr. Hoover...although many people thought that Mr. Hoover was too young a man and had been in too close contact with the Burns regime to be given the post. I thought I knew my man and the event has proved that I was right....Mr. Hoover has steadily built up the Bureau..."

Over the next 15 years, Hoover was to move the Bureau from a few hundred unarmed investigators to a full-fledged national police agency. And all the while, Hoover kept an eye open for favorable public relations opportunities.

By the early 1930s, Prohibition had propelled crime into the national spotlight and Hoover was there to share the glory. During the heyday of Bonnie and Clyde and the Ma Barker Gang, hardly a day passed that Hoover wasn't being quoted in the nation's press. His legend grew.

Incomplete as they are, statistics indicate that crime actually decreased during the Depression years, but the sensational media accounts of crime celebrities led the public to perceive an upswing in criminal activities.

In 1934, a loser with a perpetual grin named George Kelly was trapped by federal agents in his Memphis hideout. Hoover later claimed that "Machine Gun" Kelly - who never killed anyone nor even

fired his machine gun in anger - cried, "Don't shoot, G-men, don't shoot!" However, Memphis police who were along on the raid heard Kelly say nothing of the kind. Undaunted by this fact, Hoover sensed great propaganda value at hand and used the term "G man" to boost the image of his force, despite the fact that government employees had long been called "G men." This story became part of FBI folklore - just like the killing of John Dillinger. The official story of Dillinger's death is well known - Anna Sage, the famous "Lady in Red," led a man called James Lawrence into an FBI trap outside Chicago's Biograph Theater where the man was killed by a volley of gunfire on July 27, 1934. "Lawrence" was later identified as Dillinger and the Bureau got credit for eliminating Public Enemy No. 1. The only problem is that Lawrence was not Dillinger. An autopsy of the man shot outside the Biograph turned up missing within days. Three decades later a copy was uncovered which showed the man killed had brown eyes (Dillinger had blue), had a congenital heart condition (Dillinger had none) and that the dead man was shorter and heavier than Dillinger and lacked all of Dillinger's known scars, wounds and birthmarks. The whole story, made public in a book by journalist Jay Robert Nash, suggests that Lawrence was set up by criminal associates of Dillinger, who reportedly watched the entire Biograph shooting from a nearby alleyway before escaping in a car.

The FBI, particularly famed G-Man Melvin Purvis, was duped into killing the wrong man and announcing their feat. Later some Bureau officials apparently became aware of the deception but covered the story up in an effort to protect the Bureau. Under pressure from Hoover, Purvis quit the FBI less than a year after the Biograph shooting. He committed suicide in 1960.

It might be well to remember this 1934 experience of Hoover's when considering the 1963 assassination. The use of doubles, decoys, dupes and the ability to force the FBI to cover up embarrassing issues for the self-protection were not unknown to Hoover in 1963. Another example of Hoover's penchant for good publicity at the expense of truth came with the arrest of another Public Enemy No. 1 - Alvin "Creepy" Karpis. Less than a month before the arrest of Karpis, Hoover had been taken to task by Senator K.D. Mckeller of Tennessee of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee. Mckeller had chided Hoover for never personally having made an arrest.

So when Karpis - kidnapper, bank robber and associate of Ma Barker - finally was located by the FBI in New Orleans in May 1936, Hoover personally flew in to make the collar.

Karpis was Hoover's first arrest and the news of his courage and daring was distributed widely. However, after his release from prison in 1969, Karpis declared:

"Hoover waited until the coast was clear. Then he came out to reap the glory...(and gain) a reputation he didn't deserve."

In the early 1930s Hoover, a staunch Republican, was very cautious about his moves within Franklin Roosevelt's Democratic administration.

By 1933, kidnapping was added to the list of crimes under the jurisdiction of the FBI due to the famous abduction of Charles Lindbergh's infant son. This list grew longer the next year, with the addition of killing or assaulting a federal officer, fleeing across state lines and extortion involving interstate commerce.

By 1935, Bureau agents were given the power to go beyond investigation. They were allowed to serve warrants and subpoenas, to make seizures and arrests, and to carry arms. The Bureau had become the very thing that Hoover had often spoken against - a national police force.

Also that year, the word "Federal" was added to the Bureau's name and soon, the initials "FBI" were well-known all over the world.

By the beginning of World War II, the FBI boasted an Identification Division with thousands of fingerprint records, a complete and up-to-date laboratory, and a National Police Academy for training state and local law enforcement officers.

Even today, it is considered the peak of a lawman's career to be selected for training at the FBI Academy at Quantico, Virginia. And, Hoover made use of this too.

According to former Assistant director Sullivan:

"...Hoover felt that the alumni of the FBI training course were his men. Thanks to this network of FBI-trained police officers, we had a private and frequently helpful line to most city and state police organizations throughout the country."

Hoover also used the FBI Academy against perceived enemies.

On the day of the JFK assassination, a shocked Dallas FBI Agent named James Hosty told Dallas Police Lieutenant Jack Revill that Lee Harvey Oswald was a communist known to the FBI, and that the Bureau had information that Oswald was capable of committing the assassination. Since all

government agencies were saying they had no knowledge of Oswald, this story was a bombshell.

As a result of this conversation, Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry told TV newsmen that the FBI was aware of Oswald but had not informed the Dallas Police.

When challenged to prove his charge by the head of the Dallas FBI office, Curry qualified his statement by saying he had no personal knowledge of the issue. But the damage had been done.

Until Curry's retirement in 1966, Hoover conducted a vendetta against the Dallas police, according to FBI documents released in 1980.

The documents show that under orders from Hoover, FBI officials were prohibited from conducting training courses for Dallas Police and policemen from that city were not invited to attend the FBI Academy.

Furthermore, Curry resigned as chief in February of 1966, less than a month after Dallas Mayor Erik Jonsson had visited Hoover in Washington. After hearing Hoover's complaints against Curry, Jonsson told the petulant director he would "immediately instruct the city manager to have a stern talk" with the police chief.

Hoover did not gain such immense power overnight. After turning his Bureau into an anti-crime force, he began look into other areas.

Beginning with secret meetings between President Roosevelt and Hoover in the summer of 1936, the Bureau began moving quietly into the areas of intelligence gathering.

It was all explained in a "Strictly Confidential" staff memorandum written by Hoover:

"In talking with the Attorney General today concerning the radical situation, I informed him of the conference I had with the President on September 1, 1936, at which time the Secretary of State (Cordell Hull) was present, and at which time the Secretary of State, at the President's suggestion, requested of me, the representative of the Department of Justice, to have investigation made of the subversive activities in this country, including communism and fascism. I transmitted this request to the Attorney General, and the Attorney General verbally directed me to proceed with the investigation and to coordinate, as the President suggested, information upon these matters in the possession of the Military Intelligence Division, the Naval Intelligence Division, and the State Department.

This, therefore, is the authority upon which to proceed in the conduct of this investigation, which should, of course, be handled in a most discreet and confidential manner."

It was the beginning of this nation's multi-agency intelligence establishment and marked a period of extraordinary growth for the Bureau. The FBI, which boasted only 391 agents in 1933, counted nearly 5,000 by the end of the war.

In 1939, on the eve of World War II, the Bureau was directed to investigate espionage, sabotage and violations of neutrality regulations. It also handled draft evaders and the apprehension of enemy aliens.

It should be noted that Hoover was one of the few government officials that opposed the relocation and incarceration of Japanese Americans as a violation of their civil rights. He probably recalled the criticism which arose over his very first job of deporting aliens.

However, it also should be noted that, prior to the war, Hoover never felt the same sense of danger from fascists that he did from the communists. In fact, during 1939 Hoover served as vice president of the International Police Organization (Interpol), then headquartered in Berlin. The president of Interpol was the German dictator, Adolf Hitler.

During the war, the FBI was called upon to gather intelligence on activities detrimental to the American interests in South America. And while this activity was ordered terminated with the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency in 1947, the FBI still retains a large office in Mexico City.

Also during the war, Hoover's path crossed that of a young Naval intelligence officer with unexpected and long-term repercussions.

The FBI had been snooping after a suspected Nazi agent, a beautiful woman named Inga Arvad who had attended the wedding of Germany's Field Marshal Hermann Goering and met with Adolf Hitler. A former Miss Denmark, she had no trouble attracting young men in wartime Washington. One of these men was Naval Ensign John F. Kennedy. Hoover's FBI wiretapped an apartment shared by Kennedy and "Inga Binga," as he called his paramour, and picked up the sounds of sexual play. They also picked up a few remarks by Kennedy concerning sensitive security matters. After both the Navy and his father had been alerted to the danger presented by Kennedy's involvement with a suspected agent, young Kennedy was quickly transferred to the South Pacific. It was here, of course, where Kennedy led the survivors of PT-109 back to safety, thus becoming a war hero which helped launch his political career

leading to the White House - all thanks to the diligent J. Edgar Hoover. Thus it could be argued - with great irony - that it was Hoover who actually set young Kennedy on the course which ended in Dallas.

After World War II, FBI intelligence activities actually increased, thanks to the anti-communism hysteria of the Cold War years. In fact it was the FBI which launched Senator Joseph McCarthy on his ill-fated anti-communist crusade. In 1950, a 100 page FBI document alleging communist infiltration of the U.S. Government was leaked to a military intelligence officer with instructions to pass it along to the Jewish American League Against communism. The League offered the document to McCarthy, who was further encouraged to fight communism by Father Edmund A. Walsh, vice president of Georgetown University and an anti-communist author. A top McCarthy assistant, Roy Cohn, later said:

"Joe McCarthy bought communism in much the same way other people purchase a new automobile."

Assistant FBI director Sullivan wrote:

"We gave McCarthy all we had, but all we had were fragments, nothing could prove his allegations."

While Hoover always claimed that information collected by the Bureau was never to be released to unauthorized persons, it was a rule which he bent for friends.

In 1948, when New York Governor Thomas Dewey - Nixon's political mentor - ran for President, Hoover secretly agreed to put the resources of the Bureau at his disposal hoping that he would be made attorney general upon Dewey's election.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, in 1954, used FBI material to chide the Truman administration about a questionable employee. That same year Vice President Richard Nixon was able to obtain information in FBI files to use in his attack against Rep. Robert L. Condon of California.

It is well known now that Hoover deliberately leaked derogatory material on Dr. Martin Luther King during the 1960s as a part of his secret counterintelligence (COINTELPRO) program.

It was this ability, first to gather information and then to control it, which gave Hoover his extraordinary power.

Former Assistant FBI director Sullivan wrote:

"Hoover was always gathering damaging material on Jack Kennedy, which the President, with his active social life, seemed more than willing to provide. We never put any technical surveillance on JFK, but whatever came up was automatically funneled directly to Hoover. I was sure he was saving everything he had on Kennedy, and on Martin Luther King, Jr., too, until he could unload it all and destroy them both. He kept this kind of explosive material in his personal files, which filled four rooms on the fifth floor of headquarters."

Perhaps the presence of these files, which still held information on Kennedy and Inga Arvad, explains why the reappointment of Hoover was one of JFK's first actions on becoming President.

It has been reported that Hoover's Personal and Confidential files were destroyed soon after his death by Tolson and Hoover's faithful secretary Helen Gandy.

Hoover's reappointment by Kennedy certainly wasn't due to Hoover's politics. A Republican who liked to boast that he had never voted, Hoover had quietly helped Nixon as much as possible during the 1960 campaign.

According to Sullivan, Hoover did his best to keep the news media supplied with anti-Kennedy stories.

It has been well documented how Hoover ingratiated himself both to the Presidents and Attorney Generals he served. He would send them letters marked "Top Secret, Eyes Only" filled with juicy tidbits of gossip about Congressmen and political enemies.

Most Presidents disdained this practice, but two - Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard Nixon -seemed to enjoy this unusual channel of information.

Nixon and Hoover were GOP Allies from the days that Nixon was representative from California. Sullivan wrote:

"I spent many days preparing material based on research taken from FBI files that I knew was going straight from Hoover to Congressman Nixon, material which Nixon used in speeches, articles and investigations."

Nixon had been rejected as an FBI agent in 1937 - Nixon was told later by Hoover that the Bureau wasn't hiring at the time, but the agent who rejected him reported that Nixon was "lacking in aggression." Despite this, Nixon and Hoover remained close friends. Hoover was a regular dinner

guest at the Nixon White House in later years. In White House tapes transcripts made during the Watergate era, Nixon said:

"Edgar Hoover...I have seen socially at least a hundred times. He and I were very close friends...(expletive deleted) - Hoover was my crony. He was closer to me than (Lyndon) Johnson actually, although Johnson used him more."

Later in the same conversation, Nixon laments that Hoover's 1972 death prevented the director from aiding his Watergate defense. He said:

"Well, Hoover performed. He would have fought. That was the point. He would have defied a few people. He would have scared them to death. He has a file on everybody."

Lyndon Johnson had no such problem. With Hoover very much alive during his presidency, Johnson had a strong right-hand man.

According to Sullivan, Johnson - worried that Robert Kennedy might make a grab for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1964 - asked Hoover for a special security team of FBI men, headed by Cartha D. DeLoach. Sullivan wrote:

"Ostensibly, the agents would be there to guard against threats to the President, but this security force was actually a surveillance team, a continuation of the FBI's surveillance on Martin Luther King in Atlantic City. By keeping track of King, LBJ could also keep track of RFK."

Johnson and Hoover had much in common, according to Sullivan. He wrote:

"Johnson and Hoover had their mutual fear and hatred of the Kennedys in common - and more. As neighbors in Washington since the days when Johnson was a senator from Texas, they had been frequent dinner guests in each other's homes."

The Hoover-Johnson friendship dated back to 1945 when young Senator Johnson and his family moved onto the same block of Washington's Thirtieth Place where Hoover lived.

In later years Hoover relished in telling how he helped raise the two Johnson daughters and how he would help Johnson hunt for the family dog.

The nearly two decades of closeness between Johnson and Hoover led Johnson's last attorney general, Ramsey Clark, to comment that their friendship "almost disqualified" Johnson from being able to properly supervise the dour Bureau director.

Hoover made several trips to Texas, both to visit his oilmen friends, Murchinson and Richardson, and to help his friend Johnson politically.

Hoover biographer Richard Gid Powers said Johnson would telephone his friend Hoover regularly to chat about the issues of the day and noted that Johnson's diary listed some 60 such conversations during the Johnson administration.

Johnson cemented his friendship - and perhaps his power - over Hoover in January 1964, less than two months after Kennedy's assassination. In a ceremony conducted in the White House Rose Garden, Johnson praised his friend Hoover as "a hero to millions of decent citizens, and an anathema to evil men."

After noting Hoover's accomplishments through the years, Johnson said:

"Edgar, the law says that you must retire next January when you reach your 70th birthday, and I know you wouldn't want to break the law. But the nation cannot afford to lose you. Therefore, by virtue of and pursuant to the authority vested in the President, I have today signed an Executive Order exempting you from compulsory retirement for an indefinite period of time."

It was tantamount to installing Hoover as FBI director for life since it would have required a subsequent Executive Order to rescind this action. This extraordinary action coupled with the timing - with both the Warren Commission and the FBI's assassination investigation just getting into full swing - has led more suspicious assassination researchers to suspect that this Presidential exemption was a partial payment to Hoover for his lack of a penetrating probe of Kennedy's death. Shortly after this event, Hoover replaced Courtney Evans as the Bureau's White House liaison man with Cartha DeLoach, an FBI official who had been quite intimate with Johnson since his early days in the Senate. It was DeLoach who figured prominently in the assassination investigation and it was DeLoach who revealed in the 1970s that Johnson had begun to suspect that the CIA may have had something to do with Kennedy's death. According to Sullivan, once Johnson assumed the powers of the Presidency, his relationship with the trusty Hoover began to change. He wrote:

"They remained close when Johnson served as vice President, but there was a

change in their relationship when Johnson became President. The director was over 65 by that time, past retirement age for federal employees, and he stayed in office only because of a special waiver which required the President's signature each year. That waiver put Hoover right in Johnson's pocket. With that leverage, Johnson began to take advantage of Hoover, using the Bureau as his personal investigative arm. His never-ending requests were usually political, and sometimes illegal...And Hoover hot-footed it to Johnson's demands...he found himself very much in the back seat, almost a captive of the President ..."

There is also the possibility that Hoover actually liked and respected the lanky Texas politician. Speaking to newspaper editors in 1965, Hoover said:

"Texans (like Johnson) don't like to be told what to do. This is characteristic of Texans. They are a separate breed of man. I admire the intelligence and fearlessness of a man of that kind."

In addressing the relationship between Hoover and Johnson, author Richard Gid Powers stated:

"Because of the extraordinary rapport between them, there was no service Hoover would refuse Johnson, no matter how far removed it might be from his law enforcement or domestic intelligence responsibilities."

Some researchers have darkly hinted that LBJ may have had more leverage on Hoover than simply securing his job as director - that it may have had something to do with the JFK assassination. There can be no doubt that Hoover had an abiding and intense hatred for both John and Robert Kennedy, because of their politics, their associates, their personal lives and their style. Sullivan recalled hearing Clyde Tolson, Hoover's associate director, confidant and roommate, once say:

"Goddamn the Kennedys. First there was Jack, now there is Bobby, and then Teddy. We'll have them on our necks until the year 2000."

Hoover reportedly nodded in agreement.

This hatred for the Kennedys makes the Bureau's numerous contacts with Lee Harvey Oswald all the more suspicious.

The FBI was involved with Oswald from the time he went to Russia. Recall Hoover's 1960 memo to the State Department warning "...there is a possibility that an impostor is using Oswald's birth certificate." Very much aware of Oswald and even suspecting that someone may have been posing as the ex-Marine, the FBI attempted to keep tabs on Oswald after his attempted defection to Russia.

On April 27, 1960, John W. Fain, a resident FBI agent in Fort Worth, interviewed Robert Oswald concerning his brother's activities in the Soviet Union. The older Oswald said his whole family was shocked at his brother's behavior and that Lee had never had any sympathy for or connection with communism before his trip to Russia. Fain also interviewed Marguerite Oswald the next day concerning a \$25 money order she tried to send her son.

Apparently the FBI was not the only U.S. agency to have an active interest in Oswald. On July 3, 1961, more than a year before Oswald arrived back home from Russia, Fain prepared another report on Oswald. This report is rich in detail of Oswald's life history as well as his activities in the Soviet Union. According to this document, much of the information on Oswald came from the district office of the Office of Naval Intelligence in New Orleans.

Armed with this Naval Intelligence information, Fain and FBI Special Agent Tom Carter requested a meeting with Oswald at the Fort Worth FBI office on June 25, 1962, less than two weeks after the Oswalds arrived back in Fort Worth from Russia. According to their report, Oswald told of flying home with Marina and their child, but failed to mention the stopover in Atlanta (See OSWALD). He also told of borrowing \$435 to get home, but declined to talk about why he went to Russia, saying only that he didn't want to relive the past. The agents said during this interview, Oswald "exhibited an impatient and arrogant attitude." He also denied that he had attempted to renounce his American citizenship nor had he offered the Russians any military information.

Interestingly, Oswald did tell the FBI agents that "in the event he is contacted by Soviet Intelligence under suspicious circumstances or otherwise, he will promptly communicate with the FBI." Could this agreement have been the beginning of a special relationship between Oswald and the Bureau?

Oswald's next recorded contact the Bureau was on August 16, 1962, when Fain and Special Agent Arnold Brown approached Oswald near his home at 2703 Mercedes St. in Fort Worth, where he and Marina had lived for about a month. Believing that Oswald had been "evasive" during his first interview, Fain had decided to contact him again, only this time the agents sat with Oswald in a parked car near

his home. Fain explained that they didn't want to embarrass Oswald in front of his wife, so they declined his offer to come into the house. The more suspicious researchers view this unusual meeting in a car as a time when the FBI may have begun to recruit Oswald as an informant. But according to the agents, Oswald once again denied any misconduct in Russia, denied that he tried to defect and denied that any Soviet Intelligence personnel had ever tried to contact him or offer any "deals." Once again, Oswald agreed to contact the FBI if anyone connected with Soviet Intelligence tried to meet with him.

After satisfying themselves that Oswald was not a member of the American communist Party, Fain and Brown marked the Oswald file "closed." Fain retired from the Bureau on October 29, 1962.

However, it was not the last contact between Oswald and the Bureau. After arriving in New Orleans in the spring of 1963, Oswald became the object of yet another security investigation by the FBI, this time the Special Agent in charge of Oswald's file was Milton R. Kaack, who prepared a detailed report dated October 31, 1963, on Oswald, his background and his New Orleans activities. But the strangest contact between Oswald and the Bureau came on August 10, 1963, the day after his arrest for disturbing the peace while handing out Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) leaflets on a New Orleans street corner (See CUBANS). It seems utterly outlandish that a man who tried to defect to Russia and was a self-confessed pro-Marxist should request to see an FBI agent after being arrested in connection with pro-Castro activities - but that is exactly what Oswald did. This contact with the FBI, initiated by Oswald, has caused many people - not the least of which were Warren Commission members - to speculate on whether Oswald might indeed have been acting as an informant for the FBI.

Crossfire: Did Oswald Work for the FBI?

As can be seen in the activities of Lee Harvey Oswald while in the Marines and in Russia, there appear to be traces of intelligence work. If Oswald had participated in spy work, particularly for the United States, it is most likely that this information would become known to the FBI. And what better prospect to recruit as an informant than an experienced American agent with a pro-communist background or "cover." The day after his arrest in New Orleans for disturbing the peace was a Saturday, hardly a time for a quick FBI response to the request of a police prisoner jailed for a minor infraction. Yet Special Agent John Quigley soon arrived at the New Orleans police station and met with Oswald for an hour and a half.

The five-page report of that meeting written by Quigley reads like a comprehensive report on the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Oswald gave the agent background information on himself, then detailed his activities since coming to New Orleans, including his attempt to form a Fair Play for Cuba Committee chapter and the squabble between Oswald and anti-Castro Cubans.

Quigley, who told the Warren Commission he had never heard of Oswald until that Saturday, had a faulty memory. He later admitted that on April 18, 1961, he had reviewed Oswald's Navy file at the nearby U.S. Naval Air Station in Algiers, Louisiana, at the request of the Dallas FBI office. Quigley could give the commission no reason why Oswald had wanted to see an FBI agent in 1963, but an FBI document released in 1977 may give a clue. In that document, Quigley reports being contacted by a New Orleans police intelligence officer who "said that Oswald was desirous of seeing an agent and supplying to him information with regard to his activities with the FPCC in New Orleans." Again this statement, along with the detailed description Oswald gave of his activities, seems to indicate that Oswald was trying to make some sort of report.

In this "report," Oswald continually mentions the fictitious head of the New Orleans FPCC, A.J. Hidell, saying that he had talked with him several times by telephone but had never met him. Asked for Hidell's number, Oswald said he couldn't remember it.

In all, at least 10 FBI agents all filed affidavits with the Warren Commission stating unequivocally that Lee Harvey Oswald was never an informant for the Bureau.

Could they have said the same for "Harvey Lee Oswald," or "A.J. Hidell?" During his Warren Commission testimony, Quigley made an odd slip of the tongue, referring to Oswald as "Harvey Lee Oswald" until corrected by Assistant Counsel Samuel Stern. It is well known that FBI informants, and even agents themselves, often used code, or cover names. For example, Henry Wade, the powerful district attorney of Dallas who played such a prominent role in post-assassination investigations and Jack Ruby's prosecution, served as an FBI agent during World War II. While operating undercover in Ecuador in 1942, he assumed the code name "James" and was listed in Bureau reports as "Confidential Informant Number 6."

It is interesting to note that L. Gordon Shanklin and Kyle G. Clark, the FBI supervisors in the Dallas office, only mention the fact that no payment was made to Oswald for information in their affidavits. They do not specifically deny knowledge of Oswald as an informant as in the other agents' affidavits.

Other circumstances of Oswald's New Orleans stay also indicate the possibility of a relationship with the FBI.

In 1975, a New Orleans bar owner, Orest Pena, claimed to have seen Oswald in his Habana Bar in the company of both Cubans and FBI Agent Warren DeBrueys. Pena, himself an FBI informant and a Cuban exile associated with the CIA-backed Cuban Revolutionary Council, said he remembered Oswald as a man who came into his bar with a Cuban and ordered a lemonade, then vomited it up. He said he saw Oswald together with DeBrueys and other "government agents" on several occasions. The bar owner also stated the DeBrueys had been active in the Cuban Revolutionary Council, along with himself, Sergia Arcacha Smith, and Smith's close associate, David Ferrie. He said DeBrueys had participated in CRC meetings on his own and that everyone knew he was an FBI agent. Pena also said he was certain that DeBrueys was transferred to the Dallas FBI office at the same time Oswald was "transferred" there. And indeed, DeBrueys did end up in Dallas working on the FBI investigation of the JFK assassination. Pena also said about 10 days before he was to testify before the Warren Commission, DeBrueys threatened him, saying:

"If you ever talk anything about me, I will get rid - I'll get rid of your ass."

Pena added that Commission staff counsel Wesley J. Liebeler did not let him speak freely, so he decided to keep his mouth shut.

Agent DeBrueys denied both allegations and the House Select Committee on Assassinations chose

to believe him.

Interestingly enough, despite the allegations of a DeBrueys-Oswald link plus the fact that it was Agent DeBrueys who brought pertinent pieces of assassination evidence to FBI headquarters from Dallas, Agent DeBrueys himself was never questioned by the Warren Commission.

Then there is the strange story of William S. Walter, who served as a security clerk for the New Orleans FBI office in 1963. Like CIA paymaster James Wilcott, Walter was a minor functionary who claims to have seen the wrong things. When he tried to tell what he knew, he found himself facing an official stone wall. Testifying to the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Walter said he was on duty the day that Quigley interviewed Oswald in the New Orleans police station. He said, in response to Quigley's request for a file check on Oswald that day, he found that the New Orleans FBI office maintained both a security and an informant file on Oswald. Quigley told the Committee that there was no informant file on Oswald, only the security file. Walter's story apparently was echoed by Dallas FBI Agent Will Hayden Griffin. According to a 1964 FBI memorandum, Griffin reportedly told people that Oswald was definitely an FBI informant and that files in Washington would prove it. Griffin later denied making any such comment. But Walter had other information for the committee. He claimed that while serving night duty in the FBI office on November 17, 1963, the New Orleans FBI office received a teletype from FBI headquarters warning against a possible assassination attempt on Kennedy during the coming trip to Dallas on November 22. Walter said he was alone in the New Orleans FBI office in the early morning hours when the teletype came through. He said it was headed "urgent," marked to the attention of all Special Agents and signed "director."

The thrust of the teletype was that the Bureau had received information that a "militant revolutionary group" might attempt to assassinate Kennedy on his proposed trip to Dallas. It went on to say that all receiving offices should "immediately contact all CI's (Criminal Informants), PCI's (Potential Criminal Informants), local racial and hate group informants and determine if any basis for threat. Bureau should be kept advised of all developments by teletype ."

Walter said he telephoned special agent in charge Harry Maynard, who ordered Walter to call Special Agents with CI's and PCI's. Walter said he did this, writing the names of five agents contacted on the face of the teletype. By 8 a.m., Maynard had arrived for work and Walter went home.

Five days later, on November 22, 1963, Walter said he was in a barber shop when he heard about Kennedy's assassination. Rushing back to the FBI office, he showed the teletype to various agents and asked:

"How could this have happened? We had five days notice!"

Later that day, Walter said he typed a copy of the teletype, writing the five agents' names on the copy which he took home.

Walter said soon after the assassination, director Hoover ordered all agents in the New Orleans office who had written reports dealing with the case to review those reports. The object was to make sure there was nothing in them which might "embarrass the Bureau." Originals of the reports were to be destroyed. Checking the relevant file later, Walter discovered the teletype was missing.

In 1975, Walter told his story and showed his copy of the teletype to Senator Richard Schweiker. Later the House Select Committee on Assassinations looked into the matter.

The Committee checked with New Orleans agents, supervisor Maynard and even Walter's ex-wife, who also worked for the FBI. All claimed to know nothing about a teletype.

The Committee, declaring that it "declined to believe that many employees of the FBI would have remained silent for such a long time," concluded that Walter's story was "unfounded."

Unfounded or not, there were other stories in New Orleans which were even harder to dismiss -take, for example, Adrian Thomas Alba, operator of the Crescent City Garage. The Crescent City Garage was located next door to the William Reilly Coffee Company, Oswald's employer while in New Orleans. Alba, a quiet man who has not sought publicity, was both operator and part owner of the garage. Alba said the garage had a contract to maintain a number of cars for the nearby Secret Service and FBI offices. Alba said Oswald made frequent visits to his garage during the summer of 1963 and he got to know the ex-Marine quite well. They talked about firearms and whether Alba would loan Oswald his gun magazines. He claimed to have helped Oswald fix a sling on his Mannlicher-Carcano rifle.

But Alba's best story concerns a visit in early summer 1963. He said a man he believed to be an "FBI agent visiting New Orleans from Washington" came to his garage and took a green Studebaker from the car pool, after showing his credentials. The next day Alba said he saw the same car parked by Oswald's work place about 30 yards away. According to Alba:

"Lee Oswald went across the sidewalk. He bent down as if to look in the window and was handed what appeared to be a good-sized white envelope. He turned and bent as if to hold the envelope to his abdomen, and I think he put it under his shirt. Oswald went back into the building and the car drove off."

Years later, Alba said he saw the same thing happen the next day, but was farther away and could not see what was passed to Oswald. He said he did not tell the Warren Commission about these incidents because he did not recall them until 1970 when he was reminded of this by a TV commercial depicting a man running to and from a taxi.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations checked garage records and found that two Studebakers had been signed out during that time in 1963, but by Secret Service agents.

Alba recalled seeing Oswald after he was fired from the coffee company allegedly for malingering. Alba said Oswald seemed pleased with the turn of events and said he expected to soon be working at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) plant near New Orleans.

Alba quoted Oswald as saying:

"I have found my pot of gold at the end of the rainbow."

Of course, this was not to be. Oswald's destiny lay in Dallas. But oddly enough, five Reilly Coffee employees, all of whom were in contact with Oswald, did join the NASA facility shortly after Oswald's departure. Former New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison came across these intriguing employment shifts during his ill-fated JFK assassination probe. Oswald left the coffee company on July 19, 1963, just a few weeks before he began his public show of handing out FPCC material. According to Garrison, Alfred Claude, the man who hired Oswald at Reilly, went to work for Chrysler Aerospace Division located at NASA's New Orleans facility. Emmet Barbee, Oswald's immediate superior at Reilly followed Claude to the NASA center in a few days. And within a few weeks they were joined by John D. Branyon and Dante Marachini, both of whom worked with Oswald. Branyon and Marachini also began aerospace careers at the New Orleans NASA center. Marachini, who had gone to work for Reilly the same day as Oswald, also was a friend of CIA-Mafia agent, David Ferrie.

To compound these oddities, Garrison found that two of Ferrie's friends also went to work for the NASA center about this same time. James Lewallen, a friend of Ferrie who lived in the same apartment house as Marachini, went to work for Boeing, located in the NASA complex. Melvin Coffee, who had accompanied Ferrie on his strange Texas odyssey the night of the assassination, was hired by NASA at Cape Kennedy.

Was all this coincidence or was there some connecting link between these occurrences? Garrison claimed these men were lured into government-connected jobs so as to make them unavailable during the subsequent assassination investigation. And in fact, none of these men were called to testify before the Warren Commission.

Garrison wrote in "Heritage of Stone":

"The fact that these transfers were being made not in direct support of the assassination, but looking far beyond that, in order to complicate further investigations, which might afterward occur, serves to give some idea of the scope and professional nature of the entire operation."

Other Dallas FBI agents swore under oath that Oswald was never an FBI informant. However, the truthfulness of their statements has come under severe question in light of the saga of FBI Agent James P. Hosty, Jr. Hosty, who worked in the Dallas FBI office, was assigned to check on Oswald prior to the assassination. Although Hosty claims to never have met Oswald in person, his name, address, telephone number and car license number appeared in Oswald's personal notebook - a fact omitted from a December 23, 1963, FBI report to the Warren Commission. In testimony to the Commission, director Hoover explained that the omission was due to the fact that the report was not originally intended for the Commission. He said that the information on Hosty in Oswald's notebook was presented to the Commission in a February 11, 1964 report. Of course, by that time, the Commission was already very much aware of the connection between Hosty and Oswald. Hoover also explained that it was not unusual for agents to leave their name, address and telephone number for persons they were attempting to contact. He said Oswald's wife Marina probably jotted down Hosty's license number for her husband. Hosty, however, claimed he had parked his car some distance from the house where Marina was staying to avoid drawing attention to his visit.

Despite FBI assurances that Oswald had not worked for the Bureau, Warren Commission members remained suspicious. These suspicions were aggravated by news stories appearing early in 1964

suggesting a relationship between Oswald and the Bureau.

Things came to a head on January 22, 1964, when Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr called Warren Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin to report that he had information that Oswald had been recruited as an informant for the FBI in September 1962. He further stated that Oswald was being paid \$200 a month and assigned Informant Number S-179. Carr cited Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade, a former FBI man, as the source of this information. Carr's call prompted a special executive session of the Warren Commission that same day (See THE WARREN COMMISSION). The minutes of that meeting were classified "Top Secret" until March 1975.

At this meeting Commissioners were tense. What could they do with this report that Oswald, already designated as JFK's assassin, was working for the FBI?

Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin said:

"...When the Chief Justice and I were just briefly reflecting on this (the Oswald-FBI informant rumor), we said if that was true and it ever came out, could be established, then you would have people think that there was a conspiracy to accomplish this assassination that nothing the Commission did or anybody could dissipate."

Representative Hale Boggs mused:

"Its implications are... fantastic..."

Referring to the fact that the Commission had no independent investigators and was forced to rely on the FBI for its information, Rankin said:

"They (the FBI) would like us to fold up and quit...They found the man. There is nothing more to do. The Commission supports their conclusions, and we can go on home and that is the end of it." Boggs remarked: "...I don't even like to see this being taken down." Former CIA director and Commission member Allen Dulles agreed:

"Yes, I think this record ought to be destroyed. Do you think we need a record of this?" Two days later, at the request of the Commission, Carr flew to Washington along with Henry Wade and one of his assistants, William Alexander. Also with Carr was a Texas attorney who had been designated as the state liaison with the Warren Commission, Leon Jaworski, who would later come to fame as the Watergate Special Prosecutor.

(Assassination researchers are intrigued by the fact that Wade, Jaworski and John Connally were classmates and friends at the University of Texas Law School in the late 1930s.)

Carr reiterated his story of Oswald as an FBI informer and said this information came from Wade. Wade then said he heard it from Alexander and Alexander claimed he got it from "Houston Post" reporter Alonzo Hudkins. Wade even said he had heard that Oswald also was an informant for the CIA with the number 110669.

On January 27, the Commissioners met again to consider this information. It is obvious from the transcripts that they feared approaching Hoover with the matter. Turning to the former CIA director Allen Dulles, Boggs asked how the FBI could disprove that Oswald was an informant.

Dulles replied:

"That is a hard thing to disprove, you know...I never knew how to disprove it...The record may not be on paper. But on paper you would have hieroglyphics that only two people know what they meant, and nobody outside of the agency would know; and you could say this meant the agent and somebody else could say it meant another agent."

"...The man who recruited (the agent) would know, wouldn't he?" asked Boggs.

"Yes, but he wouldn't tell," replied Dulles.

"Wouldn't tell under oath?" asked an incredulous Earl Warren.

Dulles replied:

"I wouldn't think he would tell under oath, no...He ought not tell it under oath...What I was getting at, I think, under any circumstances. I think Mr. Hoover would say certainly he didn't have anything to do with this fellow."

Exasperated, Boggs said:

"...What you do is...make our problem utterly impossible because you say this rumor can't be dissipated under any circumstances."

During this same meeting Rankin revealed that he had received the same Oswald-informant information from yet another source - the Secret Service. He said the Secret Service named a Dallas deputy sheriff, Allen Sweatt, as its source of information.

It was here that the Commissioners decided to just drop the entire matter. The FBI was informing them that Oswald was never an informant, and they could never prove or disprove it. Furthermore, although it would be several weeks before the Commission began hearing witnesses and taking testimony, it now appears the verdict already was in. In the same Commission minutes, Senator Richard Russell commented:

"They (the FBI) have tried the case and reached a verdict on every aspect."

The entire Oswald-FBI story is strange. Initially, officials in Texas seemed certain of their information. But soon they were backtracking, laying the story on newsman Hudkins. Hudkins claimed to have gotten the information from Allen Sweatt, who said he got it from Assistant DA Alexander. Interestingly, Alexander was never asked to explain where he got the story. And there the matter rested.

If Oswald was working for the FBI, it could explain many things. It could explain his mysterious movements and associations in New Orleans, where he tried to join both pro and anti-Castro groups. It could explain why he asked for Agent Quigley after his arrest. It could explain his light sentence after being found guilty of disturbing the peace. It could explain the remarks - later denied - by Agent Hosty in Dallas that the FBI knew about Oswald. It also could explain why the FBI did not pass along its security file on Oswald to the Dallas Police and it could explain why Dallas FBI chief Shanklin demanded that Hosty be allowed to question Oswald while in police custody. It also might explain a well-documented instance of the FBI destroying evidence after the assassination.

In August 1975, the "Dallas Times Herald" reported it had recently learned that two weeks before the JFK assassination, Oswald had delivered a note to the Dallas FBI office and that the note had been destroyed after the assassination. This story prompted an investigation by the Justice Department and eventually became the center of hearings before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee.

It is now certain that two to three weeks prior to the assassination, Oswald came to the Dallas FBI office and asked a receptionist to see Agent Hosty. When told Hosty was not in, Oswald left a note. The receptionist, Nancy Fenner, noted that Oswald asked for "S.A. (Special Agent) Hosty...(in) exactly those words." It's surprising that Oswald would be so familiar with Bureau jargon.

Years later Fenner recalled the note said something like:

"Let this be a warning. I will blow up the FBI and the Dallas Police Department if you don't stop bothering my wife - Lee Harvey Oswald."

Hosty, who said he was told not to mention the note at the time of the assassination, said the note was not violent in tone and that it said something more like:

"If you have anything you want to learn about me, come talk to me directly. If you don't cease bothering my wife, I will take appropriate action and report this to the proper authorities."

Hosty also said the note was folded and expressed doubts that Fenner had read it properly. He said that within hours of the assassination, he was called into the office of Special Agent in Charge L. Gordon Shanklin. Hosty said Shanklin was visibly "agitated and upset" and wanted to know about the Oswald note.

After Oswald had been killed, Shanklin again called in Hosty. Hosty said Shanklin produced the Oswald note from his desk drawer and said:

"Oswald's dead now. There can be no trial. Here, get rid of this."

As Hosty tore up the note, Shanklin cried:

"No? Get it out of here. I don't even want it in this office. Get rid of it!"

Hosty said he took the pieces of note to a nearby restroom and "flushed it down the drain." Before the House subcommittee, Shanklin denied any knowledge of the Oswald note. But Assistant FBI director William Sullivan said Shanklin had discussed an "internal problem" concerning a message from Oswald with him and that the presence of the note was common knowledge at FBI headquarters.

Another Dallas agent, Kenneth Howe, also testified he showed Shanklin the Oswald note the weekend of the assassination. Existence of the note also was talked about among some members of the Dallas Police Department, suggesting they had heard about it from Bureau personnel.

Mrs. Ruth Paine even mentioned that Oswald had dropped off a note to the FBI in her testimony to the Warren Commission in 1964. She told the Commission:

"He (Oswald) told me he had stopped at the downtown office of the FBI and tried to see the agents and left a note..."

Why then did the Bureau only acknowledge the existence of the note after media reports in 1975? The House Select Committee on Assassinations said the incident concerning the note was a "serious

impeachment of Shanklin's and Hosty's credibility," and that with the note's destruction," it was not possible to establish with confidence what its contents were."

It seems unbelievable, however, that the FBI would knowingly destroy evidence, especially if it would have proven Oswald prone to violence. Some researchers say a more plausible explanation is that Oswald, as an FBI informant, tried to warn the Bureau about the coming assassination. This could explain the receptionist's insistence that the note contained threatening words. It also could explain why the FBI was so concerned and fearful of the note that it was ordered destroyed.

Hosty, incidentally, was one of 17 FBI agents reprimanded for the way they handled the assassination case. He was suspended for 30 days without pay and transferred to Kansas City. However, after the Oswald note matter was investigated by the House Select Committee on Assassinations and despite the contradictions between Hosty's testimony and that of his superior, Shanklin, Hosty was given more than \$1,000 in repayment for the Hoover-imposed suspension.

"Rather than come out and admit (that I was wronged in 1963)...they (the FBI) just gave me my money back," commented Hosty.

In light of the FBI's meticulously-worded denials that Oswald had never been paid as an FBI informant, it should be noted that all informants don't work for money. It is common practice for the FBI to gain information from people who have something to fear from the Bureau, perhaps the possibility of being charged with a past crime or even possible deportation. Oswald's wife, Marina, had never become a U.S. citizen and therefore was subject to deportation at the government's pleasure. She even mentioned this to the Warren Commission, saying:

"Sometimes the FBI agents asked me questions which had no bearing or relationship (to the assassination), and if I didn't want to answer, they told me that if I wanted to live in this country, I would have to help in this matter..."

According to Dallas Police Capt. Will Fritz, Oswald became angry when FBI Agent Hosty confronted him. According to Fritz, Oswald "beat on the desk and went into a kind of tantrum," telling Hosty:

"I know you. You accosted my wife on two occasions."

Asked by Fritz what he meant by "accosted," Oswald replied:

"Well, he threatened her...he practically told her she would have to go back to Russia."

Perhaps Oswald was not recruited by the promise of money, but by the threat of Marina's deportation.

Finally, while it cannot be established with any certainty that Oswald was working for the FBI, it is now known that his killer definitely was.

In early 1959, at a time when Jack Ruby may have been involved in smuggling activities with Cubans, he contacted the FBI and said he wanted to provide the Bureau with information(See JACK RUBY). Accordingly, Agent Charles W. Flynn opened a Potential Criminal Informant (PCI) file on Ruby. This relationship between Ruby and the Bureau was mentioned in a letter from Hoover to the Warren Commission dated June 9, 1964. However, this information was kept classified until 1975.

In the 1964 letter, Hoover stated that Ruby "furnished no information whatsoever and further contacts with him were discontinued." This disclaimer is difficult to swallow, since records show that agents met with Ruby on at least eight occasions between April and October 1959. Since Ruby was an FBI informant, and considering the massive circumstantial evidence now available concerning Oswald's relationship to the Bureau, the possibility of Lee Harvey Oswald having worked for the Bureau cannot be ruled out.

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And if by the spring of 1963, when Oswald arrived in New Orleans, he was indeed working with the FBI, it could explain his contacts with the strange characters at 544 Camp Street.

Crossfire: 544 Camp Street

By the spring of 1963 the faded, three-story Newman Building at the corner of Camp and Lafayette Streets in New Orleans had become known as the "Cuban Grand Central Station." Housed in this building was the CIA-backed Cuban Revolutionary Council, as well as Sergio Archaca Smith's Crusade to Free Cuba, both virulently anti-Castro groups. Also, in the same building was the private detective firm of Guy Banister. In the summer of 1963, Banister's employees included Jack Martin and David Ferrie, Oswald's former Civil Air Patrol leader, and perhaps Oswald himself.

During the 1940's Banister was the Special Agent in Charge of the FBI office in Chicago, Jack Ruby's hometown. One of his FBI associates at that time was Robert Maheu, who left the Bureau in the 1950's and later became the chief go-between in the CIA-Mafia assassination plots against Castro (See MOBSTERS and AGENTS).

According to Banister's family, he was also involved with Naval Intelligence during the war and maintained contacts with that intelligence group throughout his life. Banister left the Bureau and came to New Orleans in the 1950's at the request of the mayor to become chief of police. However, in 1957 he was forced to retire after an incident in the Old Absinthe House, where Banister allegedly threatened a waiter with a gun.

After this incident, he formed Guy Banister Associates which occupied a ground floor office in the Newman Building with the address of 531 Lafayette Street, the side entrance to 544 Camp Street. This office was within walking distance of the New Orleans FBI office, Naval Intelligence offices and other Government agencies. It was here that Banister became embroiled in right-wing causes. A member of the John Birch Society, Banister also was a member of the Minutemen, the Louisiana Committee on Un-American Activities and the publisher of a racist publication entitled "Louisiana Intelligence Digest."

Reportedly an alcoholic, Banister was later described as "a tragic case" by a member of the New Orleans Crime Commission.

With the advent of Fidel Castro, Banister threw himself into the anti-Castro Cuban activity in New Orleans. He helped organize such anti-Castro groups as the Cuban Revolutionary Democratic Front and Friends of a Democratic Cuba. According to an April 25, 1967, story in the "New Orleans States Item," Banister even served as a munitions supplier during the planning stages of the Bay of Pigs invasion. In fact, Banister employees have said that as late as 1963, guns of every type littered Banister's office.

It was shortly before the Bay of Pigs invasion that a strange incident happened in New Orleans which tied the name of Oswald to Banister's Friends of a Democratic Cuba group.

After the assassination, Oscar Deslatte, in 1961 the assistant manager of a Ford dealership in New Orleans, told authorities that a man approached him in January 1961 wanting to buy 10 Ford trucks for an Anti-Castro organization called Friends for a Democratic Cuba. Deslatte said the man gave the name Oswald as the man who would pay for the trucks (See WAS OSWALD REALLY OSWALD?).

Lee Oswald, of course, was still in Russia at that time, but the coincidence of an "Oswald" connected to Banister's anti-Castro group is intriguing.

Banister also ran a network of young informants on the campuses of Tulane and Louisiana State Universities, collecting what he hailed as the largest file of anti-communist intelligence in the South. Jerry Milton Brooks, a former Minuteman who worked for Banister, said he would regularly take Banister's updated files to the New Orleans FBI office where they were integrated into the Bureau's files. Brooks also said Maurice B. Gatlin, another Banister employee who regarded the younger Brooks as a protégé, once said:

"Stick with me - I'll give you a license to kill."

Although Banister's files were scattered after his sudden death in 1964 - he reportedly died of a heart attack before authorities could question him about his contacts with Oswald and the assassination - some idea of their scope can be found in indexed titles made public by Louisiana lawmen. "Central Intelligence Agency," "Ammunition and Arms," "Civil Rights Program of JFK," and significantly, "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" and "International Trade Mart" are just a few of these titles. Banister's operation was right in the thick of New Orleans intelligence activities, located near Government offices and just around the corner from the Reilly Coffee Company, Oswald's employer and a supporter of anti-Castro Cuban exiles.

On at least two separate occasions, Banister employees saw Oswald handing out pro-Castro literature and reported it to their boss. In one instance Banister simply laughed, and on the other, he told his secretary Delphine Roberts:

"Don't worry about him...He's with us. He's associated with the office."

Roberts also said she saw Oswald at 544 Camp Street, and that he filled out one of Banister's "agent" application forms. She later told author Anthony Summers:

"Oswald came back a number of times. He seemed to be on familiar terms with Banister and with the office."

Roberts' daughter had a photography studio at 544 Camp Street and she too recalled Oswald:

"I knew he had his pamphlets and books and everything in a room along from where we were with our photographic equipment. He was quiet and mostly kept to himself, didn't associate with too many people. He would just tell us "hello" or "good-bye" when we saw him. I never saw him talking to Guy Banister, but I knew he worked in his office. I knew they were associated. I saw some other men who looked like Americans coming and going occasionally from the room Oswald used....I got the impression Oswald was doing something to make people believe he was something he wasn't. I am sure Guy Banister knew what Oswald was doing..."

One of the things that Oswald and Banister might have been doing involves the small town of Clinton, Louisiana. Located about 90 miles northwest of New Orleans, Clinton was a small community of about 1,500 people in 1963. Like most small towns, it was difficult to keep the townspeople from knowing just about everything that went on there - especially if it involved strangers.

In 1963, the civil rights program was gaining strength throughout the South. That summer would become known as "civil rights summer" and tiny Clinton was one of the communities targeted for a black voter registration drive by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Tension in Clinton was high. Earlier in the summer, several blacks were arrested there simply for writing appeals to the mayor and district attorney. One morning, between August 22 and September 17 - a time when Oswald's whereabouts remain officially unaccounted for - a long line of blacks waited to undergo the then-tedious process of registering to vote. Local police stood nearby, watchful for any breach of the peace. The incident that morning - pieced together from several witnesses - began with the arrival of a large, black Cadillac carrying three men. After parking near the registrar's office, one of the men - a slightly-built white man - got out and joined the line of blacks. Later, witnesses were unanimous in identifying the man as Lee Harvey Oswald.

The registrar, Henry Palmer, had more to go on than just looks. He later recounted:

"I asked him for his identification and he pulled out a U.S. Navy I.D. card...I looked at the name on it and it was Lee H. Oswald with a New Orleans address."

Palmer said Oswald told him he wanted to get a job at a nearby East Louisiana State Hospital and thought he would have a better chance if he was a registered voter. Oswald was told he had not lived in the area long enough to qualify as a voter and, after thanking Palmer, he returned to the Cadillac. Meanwhile, Town Marshal John Manchester had approached the car, but left after speaking to the driver, whom he later described as "a big man, grey-haired, with ruddy complexion."

Other witnesses, including the local CORE chairman, had no trouble recalling the third man. They said he had hair and eyebrows which didn't appear real. Recalling Ferrie's use of false eyebrows and wigs, it is almost a certainty that the third man in the Cadillac was David Ferrie.

New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison later tried to prove that the driver was Clay Shaw, the defendant in Garrison's JFK assassination plot trial in 1967 (See THE GARRISON INVESTIGATION).

Today many researchers believe the driver might well have been Guy Banister. But what would Banister (or Shaw), Ferrie and Oswald be doing in Clinton? One suggestion - that fits the facts - is that the trio were somehow involved in the FBI's Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO). It is now well established that COINTELPRO was a ruthless long-term Bureau program designed by Hoover to disrupt and discredit political groups he opposed. The notorious wire-tapping of Dr. Martin Luther King is just one example of this program.

It appears that part of the purpose of the Clinton incident was to link Oswald - the self-professed Marxist - with the CORE voter registration program. Any other purposes remain unclear. But it is certain that by late summer 1963, Oswald was playing a dangerous game - caught up in a mixture of CIA and FBI-related agents who were operating largely on their own and in touch with both anti-Castro Cubans and organized crime.

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Despite the contacts between Oswald and both current and former FBI agents - plus the evidence of advance warnings of the assassination to the Bureau - the Dallas tragedy still occurred.

While no unquestioned case for FBI involvement in the assassination can be made, there is now no doubt that the Bureau manipulated the subsequent investigation. In fact, FBI activities after the assassination fall into the realm of criminal behavior. Consider:

SUPPRESSION OF EVIDENCE - Examples include the loss of Beverly Oliver's assassination film which she claimed was taken by FBI agents; the disappearance of an assassination bullet taken from under the noses of a police guard by an FBI agent; the suppression of testimony, such as Ed Hoffman who which failed to support the lone assassin theory; and the failure of the Bureau to follow important leads, even when requested to do so by the Warren Commission.

DESTRUCTION OF EVIDENCE - Examples include the destruction of the Oswald note by FBI Agent Hosty; the destruction of a license plate number on a photograph of General Edwin Walker's home found intact among Oswald's possessions; and the immediate cleaning of the Presidential limousine which effectively destroyed vital ballistic evidence.

INTIMIDATION OF WITNESSES - Examples include Richard Carr who saw two men run from the Texas School Book Depository but later was told by FBI agents, "If you didn't see Lee Harvey Oswald in the School Book Depository with a rifle, you didn't witness it."; Ed Hoffman who was told by a Bureau agent, "You'd better keep quiet, you could get killed"; and Jean Hill who said she was hounded by Bureau agents until she stopped giving media interviews.

In any normal criminal case, such behavior would constitute a jailable offense, but this was not an ordinary case, and the culprits were not ordinary citizens but FBI agents. If a local police agency proves to be corrupt, the FBI can be brought in to investigate. But in the case of the Bureau - who watches the watchers?

Also consider the documented matter of warnings that Oswald would be shot while being transferred from Dallas police headquarters. An anonymous telephone call was received at the Dallas FBI office at 2:15 a.m. Sunday, November 24, 1963. The caller warned that Oswald would be killed during the transfer to the county jail later that morning. The police were in charge of the transfer and apparently the Bureau decided not to step in. There were no significant change of plans and by that afternoon, Oswald was dead.

Since there can be no question that in 1963 the FBI was personified by J. Edgar Hoover, the questions of means, motives and opportunities must fall on his shoulders. Did Hoover have the means of committing the assassination? Surrounded by countless informers, agents and former employees - many of whom were in contact with Lee Harvey Oswald - Hoover's means were limitless. Hoover's motives are obvious. First, his hatred of the Kennedys was notorious, and second, he was justly fearful that upon re-election John Kennedy would not allow him to continue as FBI director.

This fear was well founded. Rumors in Washington were plentiful that Hoover would be eased out as FBI director after Kennedy's re-election in 1964.

William Hundley, former head of the Justice Department's organized crime section, is quoted in "The director" as saying the thing which finally destroyed the fragile relationship between Hoover and Attorney General Robert Kennedy was:

"...that Bobby mentioned to too many people who complained to him about Hoover that, "Look, just wait," and we all got the message that they were going to retire him after Jack got re-elected and Hoover hit seventy. And it got back to him."

Presidential aide David Powers stated he believes that the question of Hoover's retirement was the subject of one of the very few private meetings between Kennedy and the Bureau chief:

"He (Hoover) had a long lunch with the President and Bobby (on October 31, 1963,) and, as you know, three weeks later we went to Dallas."

But did Hoover have the opportunity? Hoover built his immense power base by currying favor with men more powerful than himself. It is extremely unlikely that Hoover - the ultimate bureaucrat - would have assumed the responsibility for initiating the assassination. However it is certainly plausible that Hoover - once having discovered the assassination plot through his network of agents and informers - caused it to happen simply by not preventing it. Of course this is tantamount to criminal complicity and would have required substantial manipulation of testimony and evidence to prevent the Bureau's role from being discovered.

Hoover would have required help. And help he had - in the form of the new President, his former neighbor and dinner friend Lyndon B. Johnson - another man about to lose his job thanks to the Kennedys, as well as Johnson's powerful friends in oil and business.

However, the question of the protection of the President must be taken into account. Could this

protection be circumvented? Could a plot to assassinate a U.S. President succeed without in some way neutralizing or involving the Secret Service?

Crossfire: The Secret Service

On the day of his inauguration, Thomas Jefferson walked from the Washington boarding house where he was staying to the Capitol without the benefit of any protection. It was symptomatic of the young Republic that presidents had not yet acquired the mantle of royalty and thus, did not require protection.

This naiveté began to change after an assassination attempt on President Andrew Jackson on January 10, 1835. An English-born house painter named Richard Lawrence aimed two pistols at Jackson as he walked out of the Capitol. However, both weapons misfired. Lawrence was determined to have been insane and was incarcerated for the remainder of his life. But America had become aware of the possibility of assassination.

In August 1842, a drunken painter threw some rocks at President John Tyler, who was walking on the White House grounds. Congress soon passed an act creating an auxiliary watch of the Washington Metropolitan Police for the protection of public and private property consisting of a captain and 15 men. Although the act was primarily aimed at protecting property - particularly the White House - it was the crude beginning of presidential protection.

Protection was more pronounced for Abraham Lincoln, who guided the nation through the emotional years of the American Civil War. From the moment of his election in 1860, Lincoln was the object of hate mail and threats. During his inauguration, unprecedented protective measures were taken - especially in light of a threat to kill Lincoln as he passed through the city of Baltimore. Union soldiers guarded strategic points all along his way to Washington and the inauguration platform.

Even after Lincoln was fatally shot by actor John Wilkes Booth in Ford's Theater on April 14, 1865, there was no clamor to create official protection for the President. Americans thought his death was just a freak accident of the war.

The Secret Service, which was organized as a division of the Treasury Department the year Lincoln was killed, was to only pursue counterfeiters. It was not until after the assassination of President James A. Garfield in 1881 that serious attempts at presidential protection were taken. While the number of White House policemen was increased to 27 after mail threats increased against President Grover Cleveland, it was not until 1894 that Secret Service agents were informally assigned to the President. Throughout the Spanish-American War, a small detail of Secret Service men were stationed at the White House. However, Secret Service protection of President William McKinley did not prevent his assassination on September 6, 1901.

McKinley was attending a public reception at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, N.Y., when self-professed anarchist Leon F. Czolgosz fired two bullets into him despite the proximity of four Buffalo detectives, four soldiers and three Secret Service agents. McKinley died eight days later and Czolgosz was executed.

The McKinley assassination finally provoked a response from Congress, which in 1902 ordered the Secret Service to assume full-time protection of the President. Two agents were permanently assigned to the White House. This onset of around-the-clock presidential protection prompted President Theodore Roosevelt to write:

"The Secret Service men are a very small but very necessary thorn in the flesh."

Slowly over the years, the power and funding of the Secret Service was increased. Their jurisdiction eventually covered threats against the President and even security for presidential candidates.

By World War II, the White House detail of the Secret Service had grown to 37 men. Following an unsuccessful attack on President Harry S. Truman by Puerto Rican nationalists in 1951, legislation was passed permanently authorizing the Secret Service to protect not only the President, but also his immediate family, the president-elect and the vice president. By 1963, the Secret Service remained a small and specialized group restricted by law, funding and rivalry by the largest of the governmental investigative agencies - the FBI. Nevertheless, the Secret Service had an average strength of more than 500 and 65 field offices throughout the country.

Protecting President John F. Kennedy was no easy matter, as Kennedy had an active personal life which included the desire to meet and be with people.

Kennedy assistant, Kenneth O'Donnell, was in charge of the White House staff and, as such, had control over the Secret Service. However, O'Donnell left security measures up to the Special Agent-in-Charge of the White House Detail, Gerald Behn. Sizing up the problems of protecting an active President such as Kennedy, O'Donnell once told Behn:

"Politics and protection don't mix."

During his fateful trip to Texas, Kennedy was assigned no less than 70 Secret Service agents plus eight clerks. This was about 14 percent of the entire Secret Service force. Yet glaring deficiencies with the President's protection are now known. First, although apparently there were at least three assassination attempts planned against Kennedy in the fall of 1963, information on this was not forwarded to either the agent in charge of Kennedy's protection or the special agent-in-charge of the Dallas Secret Service office.

An ex-Marine named Thomas Arthur Vallee, who was a member of the right-wing John Birch Society and a vocal Kennedy critic, was arrested by the Secret Service in Chicago. Vallee was discovered to have an M-1 rifle, a handgun and 3,000 rounds of ammunition in his car. It was also learned that Vallee had asked for time off from his job on November 2, the date Kennedy was to visit Chicago. Despite the weapons found, Vallee was released from custody on the evening of November 2 and was still considered a threat. Yet no word of the Vallee matter was transmitted to Dallas.

One of the strangest stories to come out of the Secret Service at this time, however, concerned the first black man to serve on the Service's White House Detail. Abraham Bolden was personally selected by Kennedy, apparently in an attempt to integrate the previously all-white Secret Service detail. Born in poverty, Bolden had been a police officer with an outstanding record before joining the Service. However, Bolden criticized the White House Detail for laxity and was transferred to the Chicago office and assigned to routine counterfeiting duties. According to Bolden, the Chicago Secret Service office received a teletype from the FBI shortly before Kennedy's November 2 visit warning that an assassination attempt would be carried out in that city by a four-man Cuban hit squad armed with high-powered rifles. Bolden said the entire office was involved in this matter, but that it was kept top secret. Bolden, years later, could not identify Vallee as a participant in this threat and the belief among researchers is that Vallee played no part in this second assassination plan.

Regardless, Kennedy's trip to Chicago was canceled, although the House Select Committee on Assassinations could not determine the cause of the cancellation. Three weeks after Kennedy's death, Bolden discovered that information on the Chicago threat was to be kept from the Warren Commission and he made a trip to Washington to tell what he knew. However, he was quickly taken back to Chicago, where he was later charged with discussing a bribe with two known counterfeiters. Brought to trial, Bolden was convicted of accepting a bribe - even after one of the two counterfeiters admitted perjury - and was sentenced to a lengthy prison term after his motion for a retrial was denied.

While the Secret Service had admitted the Chicago threat occurred, it has repeatedly refused to clarify the matter.

Bolden, who had since been released from prison, claimed he was framed and convicted to silence him regarding the Kennedy threat.

Whether the Chicago threat was real or not, the information again was not passed along to Dallas. Likewise, the Service failed to follow up on another threat, this time from the volatile Miami area. Here a wealthy right-wing extremist named Joseph A. Milteer accurately predicted what was to happen to Kennedy in Dallas almost three weeks before the event (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN). Again, while this information was forwarded to the Service's Protective Research Section (PRS) in Washington, it was never relayed to Winston G. Lawson, the advance agent in Dallas, or Forrest V. Sorrels, the special agent-in-charge in Dallas.

And, in Dallas, neither Lawson nor Sorrels got a preview of the zig-zag turn which placed Kennedy under the Texas School Book Depository on November 22.

On Monday, November 18, Lawson and Sorrels drove the motorcade route with Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry. The trio noted potential security problem areas and estimated the entire motorcade trip would last about 45 minutes. However, during this dry run, the agents did not get a chance to observe the Z-shaped turns in Dealey Plaza. According to the Warren Commission testimony of Sorrels, after driving from Dallas' Love Field to the downtown area:

"We came up on Houston Street from Union Station (entering Dealey Plaza from the south), turned right on Main Street, right on Main Street, through the very heart of the town." The agents apparently never made the 90-degree turn from Main onto Houston, then the 120-degree turn from Houston onto Elm Street, which would have taken them through Dealey Plaza. By missing the turn in front of the Texas School Book Depository, perhaps the agents didn't realize that it violated Secret Service regulations, which stated that when a Presidential motorcade must slow down for a turn, "...the entire intersection must be examined in advance, searched and inspected from top to bottom." It would appear from Sorrels' testimony that the Secret Service officials were unaware of the torturous turn in

front of the Depository. However, before the Warren Commission, Dallas Police Chief Curry stated:

"...we left the parade route up to the host committee. They chose the route, asking that we go down Main Street, and then we would go on to what is known as the...Triple Underpass onto Stemmons Expressway. It was necessary to get on this expressway to get to the Trade Mart, the building where the dinner, or luncheon, would be held. But, had we proceeded on down Main Street, we could not have gotten onto Stemmons Expressway unless we had public works to come in and remove some curbing and build some barricades over it. (NOTE: Elm is one-way westward. To enter Stemmons from Main would have required the Presidential limousine to jump a curb, make a 100-degree turn and cross the three lanes of Elm in order to reach the northbound Stemmons entrance ramp.) So, in talking with the Secret Service people they suggested we come to Main Street to (Houston) Street, turn one block north and turn back west and go through the triple underpass on the Elm Street side...So that was the reason that it was necessary to take this motorcade one block north and then turn west again in order in order that we could get...through the triple underpass onto Stemmons Expressway without coming down and removing some curbing or building over the curbing and disturbing the regular flow of traffic."

Curry's argument appears rational enough - after all this was the normal flow of traffic. Yet in hindsight, it would not have been that difficult to simply place some 2-by-4 lumber in the Main Street curbing to allow the presidential limousine to cross to the Stemmons entrance (This author has made u-turns at that same location and it's not that difficult since the curb there is quite low.)

By this simple method the deadly zig-zag through Dealey Plaza could have been avoided.

The journey through Dealey Plaza itself was made necessary because of the selection of the Dallas Trade Mart as the site of the noon luncheon for the Kennedy entourage. And according to White House aide and advance man Jerry Bruno, this decision was made by Texas Governor John Connally after some questionable manipulations. After reviewing possible luncheon sites, the Secret Service and White House advance men settled on two locations - the new Dallas Trade Mart on Stemmons Expressway and the Women's Building in Fair Park, home of the Texas State Fair located south of the downtown area.

The Secret Service and the Kennedy people decided the Women's Building would be a preferable location because of fewer security problems plus it could accommodate more people. However, Democrats headed by Lyndon Johnson and John Connally wanted the Trade Mart because it was more modern and would be more acceptable to Dallas' wealthy elite.

Bruno wrote:

"There was another point about the Women's Building site that didn't seem important to anyone at the time. If Kennedy had been going there instead of to the Trade Mart, he would have been traveling two blocks farther away from the Texas School Book Depository - and at a much faster rate of speed."

The struggle over the luncheon site continued until November 18, when Bruno got a call from White House Aide Kenneth O'Donnell. Bruno quoted O'Donnell as saying:

"We're going to let Dallas go, Jerry. We're going to let Connally have the Trade Mart site."

Bruno was flabbergasted. Despite the recommendations of the Secret Service, the Kennedy White House and himself, Connally had managed to swing the decision to the Trade Mart. Bruno said he later learned that Johnson-Connally people had held up selling tickets to the fund-raising luncheon in an effort to force the site location selection their way. Bruno wrote that upon learning of Kennedy's death:

"...I was angry, furious, at Connally and his demands to control the trip, where Kennedy should go, and now the President had been shot because we went here instead of there."

But if the Secret Service had no control over the luncheon site, they certainly were in control of the motorcade. And several strange things happened there. Police Chief Curry originally had asked that the presidential limousine be flanked by eight motorcycle policemen, four on each side of the car. However, Curry told the Warren Commission that Secret Service Agent Lawson ordered the number of cycles reduced to four, two on each side, and that the cycles were told to stay by the rear fender of the limousine. This order seems unusual to persons familiar with motorcade security, since the purpose of

motorcycle outriders is to form a screen for the President in the event of trouble.

Curry too was puzzled over this apparent lack of concern for security as well as the fact that Dallas authorities were kept in the dark about Oswald. Years later, he wrote:

"In retrospect the physical security arrangements provided by the Dallas Police Force for the Secret Service were carried out exactly as they had requested. In my opinion all police officers involved gave their complete and whole-hearted cooperation. Yet the Dallas Police Department was never given any information or asked to cooperate with the FBI or Secret Service in any attempt to locate possible conspirators. The Dallas Police Department was never informed of the presence of Lee Harvey Oswald in Dallas, of his connections with the communist Party, or the fact that he "was capable of committing the assassination of President Kennedy." The enclosed sworn statement of Jack Revill, Lieutenant of the Criminal Intelligence Section revealed later that FBI agents were aware of Oswald and his movements but made no attempt to communicate this to the Dallas Police Department."

Curry also had planned to have a car containing Police Captain Will Fritz and other Dallas detectives immediately following the Presidential Limousine, a traditional practice during similar motorcades in the past. However, again Lawson vetoed this plan, "...so Fritz and his men were not in the motorcade."

Curry said Fritz later told him:

"I believe that had we been there we might possibly have got that man before he got out of that building or we would have maybe had the opportunity of firing at him while he was still firing."

And certainly the Dallas detectives could not have moved any slower than Kennedy's Secret Service protectors when the shots were fired in Dealey Plaza. Photos taken several seconds after the first shots show almost a total lack of response by the agents riding in a back-up car behind the Presidential limousine. While Kennedy is clutching at his throat, two of his guards have begun looking toward the rear while the others are looking directly at the President. The only agent to react with speed was Clint Hill, who was not even supposed to be on the Dallas trip. Assigned to protect Jackie Kennedy, Hill had been brought along at the last minute due to a specific request by the First Lady.

But the one aspect of the Secret Service protection which raises the disturbing possibility of complicity concerns the actions of Presidential limousine driver William Greer. At age 54, Greer was one of the oldest members of the White House detail. He had driven both Presidents Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower. On the evening of November 22, 1963, Greer drove Kennedy's body from Air Force One to Bethesda Naval Hospital for autopsy. Greer testified to the Warren Commission that as the limousine cruised down the incline of Elm Street through Dealey Plaza, he heard a noise which he thought was a motorcycle backfire. Shortly, he heard a second similar noise and glanced over his right shoulder long enough to see Governor Connally begin to slump to his left. Greer said he never caught sight of Kennedy.

Greer testified that he turned back forward and began to accelerate the limousine at the same time that Agent Roy Kellerman, riding to Greer's right, yelled, "Get out of here fast!" Then he claimed to have heard a third shot fired.

He said the Presidential limousine was moving at between 12 and 15 miles per hour the entire time. However, based on films made during the assassination and eyewitness testimony, it is now known that immediately after the first shot, the brake lights on the limousine came on and the big Lincoln slowed to almost a standstill, causing the Secret Service follow-up car to move up and almost touch the rear bumper. Contrary to his testimony, films show Greer looking over his right shoulder in Kennedy's direction for several seconds - in fact, until after the fatal head shot is delivered. Only then does Greer face forward and the limousine begin to accelerate. This discrepancy between Greer's testimony and reality has caused the more suspicious-minded researchers to suspect that some individuals within the Secret Service may have played a role in placing an under-protected President under the guns in Dealey Plaza. Greer's testimony, like that of all government officials presented to the Warren Commission, was taken at face value and there was no real attempt at cross examination. Likewise, testimony which indicated why the reaction of the Secret Service agents that day was so sluggish was not examined closely by the Warren Commission.

Crossfire: A Few Drinks at the Cellar

Within days of the assassination, it was common knowledge in the Fort Worth-Dallas area that Kennedy's Secret Service agents were drinking well into the morning hours of November 22 at a notorious Fort Worth club, the Cellar. The story eventually spread nationwide when columnist Drew Pearson wrote about the incident, adding editorially:

"Obviously men who have been drinking until nearly 3 a.m. are in no condition to be trigger-alert or in the best physical shape to protect anyone."

The stories set off an investigation within the Secret Service. Secret Service Chief James J. Rowley, a former FBI man who had been with the Service since 1938, obtained statements from the 10 agents involved, plus some Fort Worth news reporters and Pat Kirkwood, the club's owner and an acquaintance of Jack Ruby (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN).

Several Secret Service agents denied having any alcoholic drinks and the remainder stated they only had one or two drinks, including beers. Everyone, including Kirkwood, stressed that The Cellar had no license to sell alcoholic drinks. Rowley told the Warren Commission:

"This is a place that does not serve alcoholic beverages."

Why the concern about alcohol?

The Warren Commission cited Section 10 of the Secret Service Manual:

"10. Liquor, use of -a. Employees are strictly enjoined to refrain from the use of intoxicating liquor during the hours they are officially employed at their post of duty, or when they may reasonable expect that they may be called upon to perform an official duty. DURING ENTIRE PERIODS OF TRAVEL STATUS, THE SPECIAL AGENT IS OFFICIALLY EMPLOYED AND SHOULD NOT USE LIQUOR, UNTIL THE COMPLETION OF ALL OF HIS OFFICIAL DUTIES FOR THE DAY...HOWEVER, ALL MEMBERS OF THE WHITE HOUSE DETAIL AND SPECIAL AGENTS COOPERATING WITH THEM ON PRESIDENTIAL AND SIMILAR PROTECTIVE ASSIGNMENTS ARE CONSIDERED TO BE SUBJECT TO CALL FOR OFFICIAL DUTY AT ANY TIME WHILE IN TRAVEL STATUS. THEREFORE, THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUOR OF ANY KIND, INCLUDING BEER AND WINE, BY MEMBERS OF THE WHITE HOUSE DETAIL...WHILE THEY ARE IN TRAVEL STATUS, IS PROHIBITED (Emphasis added)."

Paragraph "c" of this regulation states:

"Violation or slight disregard of the above paragraphs...will be cause for removal from the Service."

Several of the agents involved, including four who were riding in the Secret Service follow-up car behind Kennedy, admitted drinking, but only two beers at the most. Of those who went to the Cellar, most said they had one or two drinks called a "salty dick" described as grapefruit juice and soda. Again, everyone concerned stressed that the Cellar did not sell alcohol, although alcohol brought in by a patron was allowed.

At least three agents guarding Kennedy's hotel suite took their "coffee break" at the Cellar, leaving two Fort Worth firemen behind to guard the President.

Since all the agents turned out at 7 a.m. that morning "sober, alert and ready for the performance of their duties," Rowley told the Warren Commission he did not punish them for the violation of regulations.

According to the Warren Commission:

"Chief Rowley testified that under ordinary circumstances he would have taken disciplinary action against those agents who had been drinking in clear violation of the regulation. However, he felt that any disciplinary action might have given rise to an inference that the violation of the regulation had contributed to the tragic events of November 22. Since he was convinced that this was not the case, he believed that it would be unfair to the agents and their families to take explicit disciplinary measures."

Obviously, Rowley and others in the government were very much concerned that the public might recall that President Lincoln was killed when his guard left his post to have a drink next door and might attach some significance to the fact that Kennedy's agents were keeping late hours in a "beatnik" club owned by an associate of Jack Ruby. The entire affair was toned down and quietly forgotten - except by Cellar owner Kirkwood. During the intervening years, Kirkwood has admitted that, while the Cellar had no license to sell liquor, nothing prevented him from giving it away. And give it away he did. In a 1984

article in the "Fort Worth Star-Telegram" recalling the wild days of The Cellar, Kirkwood said:

"We had strange rules. We'd give drinks to doctors, lawyers, politicians, stag girls, policemen, anybody we thought we might need if something broke out..."

Kirkwood's mother recalled that sometimes her son would "give away \$500 worth of whiskey in a month."

In the newspaper article, Kirkwood mentioned the Secret Service incident:

"After midnight the night before (the assassination), some reporters called me from the Press Club (of Fort Worth), which didn't have a license to sell drinks after midnight. (They) said they had about 17 members of the Secret Service and asked if they could bring them to my place. I said sure. About 3:30 (a.m.), these Secret Service men were sitting around giggling about how the firemen were guarding the President over at the Hotel Texas. That night got the Cellar mentioned in The Warren Report."

Jimmy Hill, who managed the Cellar for 11 years, was even more to the point in that same article:

"After the agents were there, we got a call from the White House asking us not to say anything about them drinking because their image had suffered enough as it was. We didn't say anything, but those guys were bombed. They were drinking pure Everclear (alcohol)."

It might be noted that no one saw the agents in a drunken revelry - although at least one unmarried female reporter tagged along with them for company. In fact, according to most present, the agents sat by themselves talking and drinking. However, the fatigue of the multi-stop Texas trip coupled with the alcohol and lack of sleep obviously left the agents in less-than-optimum condition to perform their duties.

During the wild ride to Parkland Hospital, Presidential Aide Kenneth O'Donnell thought about the interval between the final shots. Years later, he wrote:

"...if there was an interval of at least five seconds between the second and third shots, as it seemed, that was long enough for a man to run 50 yards. If the Secret Service men in the front had reacted quicker to the first two shots at the President's car, if the driver had stepped on the gas before instead of after the fatal third shot was fired, would President Kennedy be alive today?"

Former Senator Ralph Yarborough echoed O'Donnell's concern when he wrote the Warren Commission:

"...All of the Secret Service men seemed to me to respond very slowly, with no more than a puzzled look. Knowing something of the training that combat infantrymen and Marines receive, I am amazed at the lack of instantaneous response by the Secret Service when the rifle fire began."

The reaction impairment issue aside, conspiracy-minded researchers, noting that throughout history a great man's bodyguards usually are the key to a successful coup d'etat, have suggested that Kennedy's guards may have been aware of the coming events in Dealey Plaza and were too full of stress for a quiet night's sleep.

Interestingly, none of Vice President Johnson's Secret Service guards were in the entourage which drank at the Press Club and then moved on the Cellar.

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Aside from the sluggish reaction of the Secret Service agents in Dealey Plaza, other oddities occurred in the motorcade during the assassination. One agent, John D. Ready, did start to react by jumping off the follow-up car (a 1956 Cadillac touring sedan convertible). However, he was recalled by Special Agent-in-Charge Emory Roberts.

Then there is the well-publicized story of Agent Rufus Youngblood, who reportedly threw himself on top of Vice President Johnson after the shooting began in Dealey Plaza. Youngblood was considered the hero of the hour. In his report of that day, Youngblood wrote that upon hearing the first shot:

"I quickly looked all around again and could see nothing to shoot at, so I stepped over into the back seat and sat on top of the Vice President."

Johnson, in a statement to the Warren Commission, mentioned the incident:

"I was startled by the sharp report or explosion, but I had no time to speculate as to its origin because Agent Youngblood turned in a flash, immediately after the first explosion, hitting me on the shoulder, and shouted to all of us in the back seat to get down. I was pushed down by Agent Youngblood. Almost in the same moment in which

he hit or pushed me, he vaulted over the back seat and sat on me. I was bent over under the weight of Agent Youngblood's body, toward Mrs. Johnson and Senator Yarborough."

Years later in his book, "The Vantage Point," Johnson elaborated:

"...it is apparent that there were many reactions to the first shot...I did not know what it was. Agent Youngblood spun around, shoved me on the shoulder to push me down and shouted to all of us, "Get down!" Almost in the same movement, he vaulted over the seat, pushed me to the floor, and sat on my right shoulder to keep me down and to protect me. Agent Youngblood's quick reaction was as brave an act as I have ever seen anyone perform. When a man, without a moment's thought or hesitation, places himself between you and a possible assassin's bullet, you know you have seen courage. And you never forget it."

However, former Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough, who was sitting beside Johnson that day, told this author:

"It just didn't happen....It was a small car, Johnson was a big man, tall. His knees were up against his chin as it was. There was no room for that to happen."

Yarborough recalled that both Johnson and Youngblood ducked down as the shooting began and that Youngblood never left the front seat. Yarborough said Youngblood held a small walkie-talkie over the back of the car's seat and that he and Johnson both put their ears to the device. He added:

"They had it turned down real low. I couldn't hear what they were listening to."

It would be most interesting to learn what the men listened to, since Dallas Police radio channel 1 designated for the Presidential party was blocked from radio traffic for about eight minutes beginning at 12:26 p.m., about four minutes before the shooting, by a transmitter stuck open. It may have been that Johnson and Youngblood were listening to a channel reserved for inter-vehicle radio traffic, but no transcripts of this channel have been made public.

The fact that Yarborough witnessed Johnson's reactions may explain his treatment at the hands of federal authorities during the ensuing assassination investigation. Yarborough told of his experience on ABC's "Goodnight America" in March 1975:

"...a couple of fellows (from the Warren Commission came) to see me sometime after that and they walked in like they were a couple of deputy sheriffs and I was a bank robber. Caught me walking out. "What have you got to say about this?" I didn't like the attitude. As a Senator I felt insulted, and they went off and wrote up something and brought it back for me to sign that I refused to sign. I threw it in the drawer and let it lie there for weeks. And they had on the last sentence on there to swear to it, "This is all I know about the assassination." They wanted me to sign this thing, then say this is all I know. Of course, I would never have signed it. Finally, after weeks went by, they began to bug me, "You're holding this up, you're holding this up," and demanding I sign the report. So, I typed one up myself and put basically what I told you about how the cars didn't take off and I said in there, "I don't want to hurt anyone's feelings, but for the protection of future presidents, they (Secret Service) should be trained to take off when there's a shot fired," and I sent that over. That's dated July 10, 1964, after the assassination. To my surprise, when the (Warren Commission) volumes were finally printed and came out, I was surprised at how many people down at the White House didn't file their affidavits til after the date, after that of mine the 10th of July, waiting to see what I was going to say before they'd filed theirs. I began to lose confidence then that's been further eroded with time. About two weeks ago in Texas, I stated I thought there should be another investigation, not reopen the same commission, but another investigation.'

Obviously, either Yarborough or Johnson and his Secret Service agents did not tell the truth of what happened in the motorcade.

Viewed in light of the Cellar incident among others, it would appear that Yarborough's credibility is more acceptable.

In reviewing the Secret Service activity in the course of Kennedy's Dallas trip, even the gullible Warren Commission concluded that, while "the detailed security measures taken at Love Field and the Trade Mart were thorough and well-executed, In other respects...the advance preparations for the President's trip were deficient."

The House Select Committee on Assassinations was even harsher, stating:

"In summary, the committee concluded that the Secret Service did in fact possess information that was not properly analyzed and put to use with respect to a protective investigation in advance of President Kennedy's trip to Dallas. Further, it was the committee's opinion that Secret Service agents in the Presidential motorcade in Dallas were not adequately prepared for an attack by a concealed sniper. Finally, the committee found that the investigation by the Secret Service of a possible assassination conspiracy was terminated prematurely when President Johnson ordered that the FBI assume primary investigative responsibility."

Lastly, there is the mystery of men encountered by several people in Dealey Plaza - including at least one policeman - who claimed to be Secret Service agents and even displayed credentials (See AFTERMATH). No Government panel has ever adequately investigated this matter to determine if these men were bogus or were they real agents? As has been demonstrated, there is ample cause for suspicion that the Secret Service was somehow involved in the assassination of John Kennedy.

While the President's guards certainly had the opportunity to achieve Kennedy's death -either through direct action or through inaction - there has been no motive established which would compel such moves. And since the Service is a small agency within the federal Government with relatively little power or influence, no one seriously believes that the Secret Service initiated or orchestrated the assassination.

However, the possibility remains that certain individuals within the Service may have been working for someone other than John Kennedy on November 22, 1963.

Crossfire: G-Men Summary

By 1963, the Federal Bureau of Investigation was tightly controlled by one man - the strange and officious bureaucrat J. Edgar Hoover. Even the Secret Service had become but a small and relatively powerless agency compared to the Bureau, although the Service was much older than the FBI. No one but Hoover has ever held so much power for so long in the history of the United States. And with the death of Kennedy, the power of the Presidency fell to Hoover's long-time friend, Lyndon B. Johnson. Between Hoover, the tyrant of the FBI, and Johnson, who as commander-in-chief controlled the military, these men had the power to manipulate any investigation into the assassination.

The many and varied contacts between the FBI and the accused assassin causes great suspicion among assassination researchers. These suspicions are heightened in light of the numerous and well-documented instances of FBI mismanagement of the post-assassination investigations. It can now be demonstrated that the Bureau suppressed evidence, destroyed evidence, fabricated evidence and intimidated witnesses. Any of these acts committed by a private citizen in the course of a criminal investigation would result in severe penalties. Both the FBI and the Secret Service were chided for inadequately protecting Kennedy by both the Warren Commission and the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

Due to the many connections between the Bureau and Lee Harvey Oswald coupled with a wealth of circumstantial and anecdotal evidence, it appears almost certain to most researchers that Oswald was working as an informant for the FBI in the months preceding the assassination - an allegation which even the Warren Commission took seriously. However, since it was the FBI that furnished most of the investigative evidence to the Commission, the question of Oswald's involvement with the Bureau could not be resolved.

Considering the Bureau's ability to substitute records, alter documents, lose important evidence and intimidate witnesses, it would be most surprising if any concrete evidence of Oswald's connection to the FBI should surface at this late date. Regardless of the nature of Oswald's relationship with the Bureau, the fact remains that both the FBI and the Secret Service failed to respond to several warnings, concerning both the assassination and the subsequent slaying of Oswald. And while evidence suggesting that elements within both the Bureau and the Secret Service may have played some role in the actual assassination can be disputed, there is no question that serious and suspicious manipulation of evidence occurred after the event. This fact, coupled with the unresolved connections between Oswald and the Bureau and the well-known hatred of the Kennedys by both Hoover and Johnson, causes most researchers today to regard certain agents within both the FBI and the Secret Service as prime suspects in the plot to kill Kennedy.

Crossfire: Rednecks and Oilmen

"(Who is) the one man who has profited most from the assassination - your friendly President, Lyndon Johnson."
Jim Garrison

By the fall of 1963, President John F. Kennedy had acquired more domestic enemies than just irate Anti-Castro Cubans, fearful mob bosses and disgruntled intelligence operatives. Both big business and supporters of States' Rights felt threatened by the new Kennedy brand of federalism - the wielding of total power from Washington. Hatred of Kennedy also was being fomented among those people opposed to the growing Civil Rights movement, particularly in the old Confederate states which included Texas.

By the early 1960s, desegregation was an idea whose time had come. The movement -initially unaided by Kennedy and other white national leaders and vehemently opposed by others -began to take on a life of its own. Although slavery have been abolished at the end of the Civil War, blacks had continued to live under the most discriminatory conditions, particularly in the South. Desegregation of the Federal Government only dated back to the term of Franklin Roosevelt, when he doubled the number of black Government employees between 1932 and 1937.

World War II hastened the process as blacks found acceptance in a military hungry for manpower. On June 25, 1941, Roosevelt outlawed racial discrimination in defense industries. In Korea, military considerations prompted the total disappearance of segregation in the U.S. Army.

Then in 1954, came the landmark decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public schools. This decision was extended to include public transportation and related facilities two years later.

In 1957, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act which was meant to end voting discrimination based on race. Literacy tests and the poll tax, longtime foundations of controlling votes in the South, were on the way out. But while such legislative activities indicated progress and encouraged black activists, the idea of true desegregation proved elusive in many areas of both the North and the South. Local authorities, both reflecting and yielding to the prejudices of the white population, dragged their feet in adopting desegregation policies and, in some instances, openly defied desegregation laws.

Into this cauldron of centuries-old passions stepped Kennedy the politician, hoping to find middle ground between the radical activists - both black and white. Kennedy friend Theodore Sorensen wrote:
"Jack Kennedy ... knew comparatively little and cared little about the problems of civil rights and civil liberties."

However, during the presidential campaign of 1960, Kennedy found it expedient to chastise the Eisenhower Administration for not doing more to end segregation, despite the fact that two civil rights bills were passed during that time, the first such major legislation since the Emancipation Proclamation.

In his 1961 inaugural address, Kennedy spurred on the expectations of millions of black Americans when he said:

"Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans ... one unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed and to which we are committed today at home and around the world."

Such rhetoric was effective for Kennedy. During the 1960 election, blacks responded to the support of Kennedy by Dr. Martin Luther King. They turned out a hefty 78 percent vote for the Massachusetts Senator.

By 1962, polls showed Kennedy ranked only behind King himself in popularity among black Americans despite the fact that immediate action by Kennedy on civil rights was limited.

Although Kennedy had promised to end segregation in federal housing, it was nearly two years after taking office, with violent racial incidents increasing across the nation, before he took action.

Kennedy dawdled until June, 1963, before sending his own civil rights bill to Congress and even this did not pass until after his death when the measure was adroitly maneuvered through Congress by President Lyndon Johnson.

Furthermore, in an attempt to appease the anti-civil rights forces, Kennedy made several appointments which greatly angered his black supporters. For example, he named William H. Cox to a federal judgeship. Cox, a close friend to conservative Mississippi Senator James Eastland, immediately attempted to block a Justice Department-sponsored voter registration drive in Mississippi.

In May 1961, one month after the ill-fated Bay of Pigs Invasion and at a time when Kennedy was preparing to journey to Europe for an historic meeting with Soviet Premier Khrushchev, King and 12 other "Freedom Riders" left Washington, D.C. for New Orleans to test the desegregation of public facilities along the way.

According to Kennedy biographer John H. Davis, the President asked the activists not to go ahead with the ride for fear it might cause him embarrassment during his European trip. To which the black leaders replied:

"But we have been embarrassed all our lives."

By the end of May, the riders had grown to fill two buses which left behind a trail of violence. In Aniston, Alabama, one bus was firebombed while in Birmingham, the other was met by a gang of whites who beat the occupants with pipes for more than 10 minutes before police arrived. After entering Montgomery, the riders were attacked by a mob of 1,000 while a local police official looked on stating:

"We have no intention of standing guard for a bunch of troublemakers coming into our city."

Both in Birmingham and Montgomery, FBI agents were on hand jotting down notes while the passengers were beaten and clubbed. Even when one of Attorney General Kennedy's top aides, John Seigenthaler, was knocked unconscious by the angry Montgomery mob, the agents were not moved to action.

Angered and moved by the bloodshed, Robert Kennedy - with the reluctant approval of the President - ordered out several hundred Federal marshals to protect the riders as interstate travelers.

On May 21, the National Guard was ordered into Montgomery after a black church meeting was besieged by an angry white mob.

By May 23, the freedom ride had resumed with the addition of marshals, but ended in Jackson, Mississippi, where all of the riders were arrested and jailed for entering a "white" restroom and failing to obey local police officers. This historic "ride" was soon followed by "Freedom Flights" and "Freedom Trains" and the civil rights movement continued to gain momentum.

By September 1961, acting on a request by President Kennedy, the Interstate Commerce Commission adopted rules banning segregation on buses and in terminals.

While the Kennedys certainly did not invent the problem and, in fact, joined the push for civil rights belatedly and reluctantly, they nevertheless were the first major American leaders to fully address the problem and appeal for wisdom and restraint from both blacks and whites.

And despite its faint beginnings, some of the most dramatic accomplishments of the Kennedy Administration were in the area of civil rights. Blacks for the first time were appointed to major government jobs as well as judgeships; civil rights laws aimed at ending voter discrimination and public segregation were vigorously enforced by the Kennedy Justice Department despite a recalcitrant J. Edgar Hoover and an executive order was issued creating a Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity headed by Vice President Johnson.

But racial problems continued. One of those persons who may have been moved to action by John Kennedy's political rhetoric was a black Air Force veteran named James Meredith. The day after Kennedy's inaugural address, Meredith applied for enrollment to the segregated University of Mississippi but was rejected.

Meredith continued to be denied admittance to the school despite federal court orders ordering his enrollment. Finally in September 1962, Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black ordered no further interference with federal attempts to ensure Meredith's enrollment.

In his fourth attempt to enroll, Meredith arrived in Oxford, Mississippi, on September 30 accompanied by 300 U.S. marshals. He was met by a crowd of about 2,500 segregationists and students who turned Meredith and his supporters away with bricks and bottles. The marshals responded with tear gas and a bloody night-long riot ensued leaving two people dead and more than 375 injured including 166 federal officers.

The violence was quelled by the arrival of 3,000 Army and National Guard troops and Meredith was enrolled on October 1 under the protection of marshals who remained with him until his graduation in August 1963.

One of those involved in that bloody incident was a former Army general named Edwin A. Walker who was to later be connected with Lee Harvey Oswald.

Crossfire: A Bullet for the General

About 9:10 p.m. on April 10, 1963, Major General Edwin A. Walker was narrowly missed by a rifle bullet which crashed through a first-floor window and slammed into a wall of his fashionable Dallas home.

Seventeen months later the Warren Commission concluded that Walker's assailant was none other than Kennedy's alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald. This conclusion has increasingly been called into question as more information about this event has become known.

By the fall of 1963, Walker was quite notorious in Dallas, a city known for the conservatism of its leadership. A native Texan born in 1909, Major General Walker was commander of the U.S. Army's 24th Division stationed in West Germany, where he used his position to indoctrinate his troops with right-wing propaganda, including the assertion that both the U.S. Government and the military had come under "communist control". .

The Korean War hero once declared:

"We must throw out the traitors, and if that's not possible, we must organize armed resistance to defeat the designs of the usurpers and contribute to the return of a constitutional government."

Ordered to stop this practice, Walker instead resigned from the Army in 1961 and returned to the United States where he began making political speaking tours.

Walker even made an unsuccessful bid for governor of Texas in 1962, losing to John Connally.

On September 30, 1962, Walker was in Oxford, Mississippi, aligned with those who were trying to prevent the university enrollment of James Meredith.

Charged with being a ringleader of the violent Oxford mob, Walker was ordered held temporarily in a mental institution by Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

By 1963, Walker was back in Dallas and had become a prominent figure in right-wing political activity there, particularly the John Birch Society.

In a 1964 interview with this author, Walker outlined his beliefs:

"The United Nations charter, which is only eight pages, should have been placed before (the American public) to study. Very few...have even seen the Fulbright Memorandum or the Walter Reuther Memorandum submitted to Attorney General Kennedy upon his request. ...very few had even seen these papers or the U.N. declaration on racial discrimination, the U.N. term for integration. This paper declares that the whole world will integrate. I do not know where such authority comes from or who it represents. I can realistically predict that no one living today will see 600 million Chinese integrated with 100 million Japanese, Turks integrated with Greeks, or Mohammedans with Israelis....A cause for America first and last and always is essential to our existence. All organizations which are implementing such a cause are in the best interest of the country and are needed. The Birch Society is doing a great job in educating people and exposing such memoranda as I have referred to previously."

Walker's connections in the months preceding the assassination are both convoluted and intriguing. A driver and aide to Walker in the fall of 1963 was the brother of Larrie Schmidt, who along with Bernard Weissman, authored the infamous "Welcome Mr. Kennedy To Dallas..." ad which ran in the "Dallas Morning News" the morning of November 22. The ad, which carried a heavy black border, asked 12 loaded questions to Kennedy ending with "Why have you scrapped the Monroe Doctrine in favor of the `Spirit of Moscow'?" Financial contributors to this anti-Kennedy ad included oilman H.L. Hunt's son, Nelson Bunker Hunt; Joseph Grinnan, volunteer coordinator for the local John Birch Society, and H.R. "Bum" Bright, former owner of the Dallas Cowboys. The ad was signed "The American Fact-Finding Committee," but Weissman admitted to the Warren Commission that the group was "formed strictly for the purpose of having a name to put in the paper."

It is interesting to note that Nelson Hunt's interests apparently ran to violent extremes. A former Hunt family security man, ex-FBI agent Paul Rothermeil, has claimed he was approached by Nelson Bunker Hunt while working for his father, oilman H.L. Hunt. Rothermeil said the younger Hunt wanted help in forming a paramilitary organization which would eliminate opponents with a "gas gun" imported from Europe. This exotic weapon reportedly leaves victims appearing as if they have suffered a heart attack. Rothermeil said Hunt planned to recruit this private army from General Walker's Dallas Birch Society group. Hunt has denied Rothermeil's allegation, claiming, "I think you'll find he's CIA."

Another Walker aide, Robert Allan Surrey, produced the "Wanted for Treason" leaflets which were distributed along the Kennedy motorcade route.

Surrey later revealed to researcher Penn Jones that one of his close bridge-playing friends was none other than James Hosty, the FBI agent who, on orders, destroyed a note to the Bureau from Lee Harvey Oswald after the assassination (See G MEN).

But perhaps the most significant connection between Walker and other assassination-connected characters was his contacts with anti-Castro Cubans and New Orleans.

Carlos Bringuier, the anti-Castro Cuban who was arrested with Lee Harvey Oswald in New Orleans (See CUBANS), was with Walker on the faculty of Christian Crusade Anti-communist Youth University. According to researcher Gary Shaw, Walker was retained by the CIA to arm and train Cuban exiles some time after the Bay of Pigs Invasion.

One member of the militant Cuban exile group Alpha 66 was Filipe Vidal Santiago, who was frequently seen with Walker. Santiago was known to drive a 1957 Chevrolet. Such a car figured prominently in several aspects of the assassination case.

About an hour after the slaying of Dallas Patrolman J.D. Tippit, police dispatchers broadcast a pick-up order for a 1957 Chevrolet last seen at the intersection where Tippit was killed. The charge was investigation of carrying a concealed weapon. The license number given by police registered to a Dallas man who told researchers he sold the car prior to September 1963, indicating the license plate reported on November 22 may have been stolen.

This - and other instances of cars with illegitimate license plates around the Tippit slaying and Oswald's rooming house - were never adequately investigated.

One of the items of evidence which led the Warren Commission to conclude that it was Oswald who shot at General Walker were three photographs made of Walker's Dallas home found in Oswald's belongings. Commission photo experts said backgrounds of the pictures indicated they were made no later than March 10, one month before the attack on Walker and two days before mail orders were sent off for Oswald's pistol and the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle.

In one of the photographs is a 1957 Chevrolet in Walker's driveway. This photo - as shown in Warren Commission Exhibit 5 - has a hole in it obliterating the car's license number.

In FBI reports, R.B. Stovall, one of the Dallas detectives who confiscated Oswald's belongings from the Paine home in Irving is quoted as saying:

"...at the time he observed this photograph, he (the detective) surmised that Oswald had evidently taken the license plate number area out of the photograph to keep anyone from identifying the owner of that automobile. He advised he is positive the photograph was mutilated as shown in Commission Exhibit 5 at the time they recovered it at the Paine residence."

According to the Bureau, Stovall's partner, Guy Rose, commented:

"...he had noted that someone had torn out a section on the automobile, which area contains the license plate for the 1957 Chevrolet....He stated...that it had been mutilated at the time they had recovered the box containing the photographs."

However, during her Warren Commission testimony, Marina Oswald made it clear that the hole was not there when she was shown the photo by the FBI.

She told Commission Attorney Wesley Liebeler:

"When the FBI first showed me this photograph, I remember that the license plate, the number of the license plate was on this car, on this photograph. It had the white and black numbers. There was no black spot that I see on it now. When Lee showed me this photograph there was the number on the license plate on this picture....This black spot is so striking I would have remembered it if it were on the photograph that Lee showed me or the FBI....There was no hole in the original when they showed it to me - I'm positive of it."

Someone is lying. If the license number was obliterated while in the hands of the FBI, as stated by Marina Oswald, this is firm evidence of official destruction of evidence.

The truth of the matter came in 1969 with the publication of Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry's "JFK Assassination File." On page 113 is a police photograph of Oswald's belongings and in the foreground is the Walker photograph with the Chevrolet's license plate number intact.

This piece of evidence was altered while in the hands of the authorities.

Apparently this criminal action disturbed as least one Warren Commission staff member.

In 1966, two years after the Warren Commission had concluded its work, Commission Attorney Wesley J. Liebeler wrote a letter to Charles Klihr, a volunteer worker for General Walker, stating:

"The (Oswald) picture was mutilated by someone in such a manner that the license plate is no longer visible. When we noticed this during the investigation, we asked the FBI to determine whose car it was. They asked (Walker aide) Surrey about it and he told them he thought it was your car. I find no indication that FBI agents talked with you about the matter, however....I would appreciate it very much if you would let me know whether or not the FBI did interview you about this and if you were able to identify the car as your own.

There is no record as to Klihr's responses to Liebeler's letter."

All of these strange connections take on more sinister tones when viewed with the possibility that General Walker may have even been in contact with Oswald, his assassin Jack Ruby, or both.

A tenuous tie may be a St. Paul, Minnesota, man named John Martin, who was an acquaintance of General Walker and filmed him in his Dallas home in the late summer of 1963. Incredibly, Martin journeyed on to New Orleans where, on September 9, he photographed Lee Harvey Oswald handing out Fair Play for Cuba material on the same roll of film.

Walker's connections in New Orleans were many and substantial, ranging from anti-Castro Cubans in touch with David Ferrie and Guy Banister (See AGENTS) to Louisiana political leaders. According to Louisiana State Police files, Walker was involved in several hurried and secret meetings in New Orleans during the two days prior to the assassination, including a conference with Judge Leander Perez, one of the state's most powerful men.

In fact, Walker was on a Braniff flight from New Orleans at the time of Kennedy's assassination. He reportedly became upset when word of the assassination was broadcast over the plane's loudspeaker and roamed up and down the aisle telling fellow passengers to remember that he was on that flight at the time of Kennedy's death.

According to "Farewell America," a book authored by French intelligence agents, Walker later joined oilman H.L. Hunt in a secret hideaway in Mexico where "they remained for a month, protected by personal guards, under the impassive eyes of the FBI."

Also in this book, the authors state that Oswald was introduced to both General Walker and Clay Shaw, the director of the International Trade Mart tried by District Attorney Jim Garrison (See THE GARRISON INVESTIGATION), in late summer of 1963 by David Ferrie.

Author Anthony Summers has reported that Walker gave a talk in Dallas which may have been attended by Lee Harvey Oswald. He quotes another member of the audience who claimed Oswald sat at the back of the room during a meeting of the Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil (DRE), an anti-Castro Cuban group. Oswald reportedly said nothing during the fund-raising meeting.

Then there are disconcerting reports that Walker knew Oswald's killer, Dallas nightclub owner Jack Ruby. Researcher Penn Jones has stated that Ruby made no secret of his admiration for the resigned general and that he once stated that Walker was "100 percent right" in his belief that Cuba should be taken back from Castro. More significant are the statements of former Walker employee William McEwan Duff. According to Warren Commission Document 1316-B, Duff claimed that Ruby visited Walker's home on a monthly basis between December 1962, and March 1963, shortly before Walker was fired upon.

Many researchers feel it is also significant that General Walker's name and telephone number were found in Oswald's address book. They believe this may indicate a possible connection between the two. However, Walker still maintains he never met Oswald and the Warren Commission concluded:

"Although Oswald's notebook contained Walker's name and telephone number there is no evidence that they knew each other. It is probable that this information was inserted at the time Oswald was planning his attack on Walker."

Yet another odd connection between Walker and the assassination involved car salesman Warren Reynolds. Reynolds chased the murderer of Patrolman Tippit but initially was unable to identify Oswald as the killer. Two months later, Reynolds was shot from ambush and after recovering, was befriended by General Walker. After consulting with Walker, Reynolds was able to identify Oswald to the Warren Commission in July 1964. (See AFTERMATH).

As can be seen, the sniper attack on Walker must be viewed in context of the strange and convoluted connections of both the general and Oswald.

The Warren Commission concluded, without even bothering to talk to Walker, that his assailant had

been Oswald. The evidence used to reach this conclusion was the testimony of Marina Oswald including a strange and incriminating note left her, photographs reportedly taken by Oswald of the Walker home and identification of a bullet found at the crime scene.

Marina Oswald's testimony has been called into question in a number of matters (See THE WARREN COMMISSION) and her stories of murder attempts by Oswald on Walker and Richard Nixon are fraught with inconsistencies and omissions. It is also curious that her first statement that Oswald tried to kill Walker came on December 3, 1963, about a week after a West German newspaper reported there might be a connection between the Walker shooting and the assassination. The Warren Commission reported that the German news story was "fabricated by the editor," but then advanced the same allegation.

The note in question turned up only after the Kennedy assassination, when Secret Service agents showed the note to Mrs. Ruth Paine and ask her to identify it. The undated note reportedly fell out of a book found among Oswald's belongings.

Government handwriting experts declared that Oswald wrote the message and Marina conveniently told investigators she thought she saw it shortly after the Walker shooting.

Federal investigators concluded that Oswald had written the note, which was in Russian, and that it had been left in a Russian volume entitled "Book of Useful Advice" and was only discovered nearly two weeks after the assassination when it fell out of the book's pages.

However, Mrs. Ruth Paine told the Warren Commission about the Dallas Police search of her home mentioning:

"Before I left they were leafing through books to see if anything fell out but that is all I saw."

Mrs. Paine's testimony fuels the suspicion that the note may have been planted by authorities.

In the note, Oswald detailed instructions to his wife on what to do in his absence. He told her where the mailbox key could be found, that the current bills had been paid and even said she could "throw out or give my clothing, etc. away."

Two notable passages state:

"Send the information as to what has happened to me to the Embassy (undoubtedly the Russian Embassy which Oswald had been contacting periodically) and include newspaper clippings - should there be anything about me in the newspapers. I believe that the Embassy will come quickly to your assistance on learning everything."

"If I am alive and taken prisoner, the city jail is located at the end of the bridge through which we always passed on going to the city (right in the beginning of the city after crossing the bridge)."

These two sections raise troublesome questions for the official version of the Walker shooting.

Since Marina reportedly knew nothing of her husband's attack on Walker in advance, how could she be expected to watch for stories on Oswald in the newspapers since any such account would only report that an unknown sniper fired on the general? Also, why would a supposed American defector to Russia who returned home expect assistance for his family from the Soviet Embassy if he were charged with the attempted murder of a prominent right-wing Dallasite?

Warren Commission critic Sylvia Meagher wrote:

"I suggest that Oswald wrote the undated letter in relation to a project other than the attack on General Walker - one that also involved risk of arrest or death - and that Marina was informed about her husband's plans in advance."

As noted by the Warren Commission, Oswald letter "appeared to be the work of a man expecting to be killed, or imprisoned, or to disappear." Yet at the time of the Walker incident, he had no money, no passport and no reasonable expectation of escape.

The Walker home photographs already discussed also pose a time problem. If they were made prior to March 10, 1963, as believed by the Warren Commission, then it must be believed that Oswald was actively reconnoitering a sniper position at the Walker home even before ordering his weapons.

Finally, the bullet found in Walker's home also presents problems. Contemporary news stories of the April 10 incident quote Dallas police as saying the recovered bullet was "identified as a 30.06," not a 6.5 millimeter Mannlicher Carcano.

In 1975, researcher George Michael Evica received FBI spectrographic analyses of a bullet (CE 399) and bullet fragments reportedly recovered in the assassination investigation. According to Evica, these scientific reports, termed "inconclusive" by director Hoover when reporting to the Warren

Commission, revealed:

"...the bullet recovered in the assassination attempt on General Walker does not match either CE 399 or two fragments recovered from President Kennedy's limousine; the Warren Commission's linking of Lee Harvey Oswald to the General Walker assassination attempt is seriously weakened."

Further confusion over the bullet has been raised by Walker himself who today claims the bullet exhibited by the House Select Committee on Assassinations is not the same bullet recovered from his home in 1963. He said the original slug was so mangled as to be hardly recognizable as a bullet.

After studying the government's evidence carefully, author Sylvia Meagher concluded:

"Despite the (Warren) Commission's reliance on the testimony of Marina Oswald, compelling evidence virtually excludes the use of the Carcano rifle in the attempt on the life of General Walker."

And even if Oswald was responsible for the Walker shooting, there is evidence that he did not act alone.

Walter Kirk Coleman, who in 1963 was a 14-year-old neighbor to Walker, told police he heard the shot and, peeking over a fence, saw some men speeding down the alley in a light green or light blue Ford, either a 1959 or 1960 model.

Coleman also said he saw another car, a 1958 Chevrolet black with white down the side in a church parking lot adjacent to Walker's house. The car door was open and a man was bending over the back seat as though he was placing something on the floor of the car.

At the time of the Warren Commission, Coleman was not called to testify and, in fact, told Walker he had been ordered not to discuss the incident by authorities.

Just prior to the Walker shooting, two of the general's aides saw suspicious activity around the general's home. Walker aide Robert Surrey said on April 6, he saw two men prowling around the house, peeking in windows. Surrey said the pair were driving a 1963 dark purple or brown Ford with no license plates.

Max Claunch told researcher Gary Shaw that a few nights before the shooting incident he noticed a "Cuban or dark-complected man in a 1957 Chevrolet" cruise around Walker's home several times.

The problems with the official version of the Walker shooting as well as the many unfollowed leads in this area are troubling to assassination researchers.

One of the reasons that no significant investigation has occurred here is that the names of many prominent Dallasites would be dragged in. Hence, it seems to have been expedite to simply say Oswald fired the shot with the same rifle he used on Kennedy.

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On January 14, 1963, George Wallace was sworn in as governor of Alabama, pledging:

"Segregation now, segregation tomorrow and segregation forever."

By late spring, a voter registration drive in Greenwood, Mississippi, had grown into full-blown civil rights demonstrations through much of the South. Thousands of arrests were made and police brutality became an issue. The volatile situation, inflamed by shooting and bombing incidents, reach a climax in August when Dr. Martin Luther King led some 250,000 people in a march on Washington. Here he proclaimed:

"There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights."

The Freedom March took place less than three months after President Kennedy had finally submitted his own civil rights bill in Congress. Resistance to Kennedy's plans was widespread although a June 1963, Gallop poll indicated 59 percent of the population approved of the President and his programs.

On June 12, 1963, Georgia Senator Richard B. Russell promised other Southern senators:

"To me, the President's legislative proposals are clearly destructive of the American system and the constitutional rights of American citizens. I shall oppose them with every means and resource at my command...."

Within six months, Russell was sitting as a member of the Warren Commission charged with finding the truth of Kennedy's death.

One Government employee who watched the famous Washington monuments become surrounded by demonstrators was FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. The strange and obsessed Hoover (See G MEN) was particularly anxious over King and his civil rights movement. The aging director not only saw his

essentially Southern way of life threatened but was convinced that King's organization was being directed by communists.

William Sullivan, at the time Hoover's man in charge of intelligence operations for the Bureau, wrote:

"Hoover told me that he felt that King was, or could become, a serious threat to the security of the country. He pointed out that King was an instrument of the communist party, and he wanted it proved that King had a relationship with the Soviet bloc. Hoover also made it clear that he wanted evidence developed that would prove that King was embezzling or misusing large sums of money contributed to him and his organization."

According to Sullivan, FBI agents jumped to please the director. He wrote:

"We gave him what he wanted - under the threat of being out on the street if we didn't agree."

Hoover's vendetta continued against King until the black leader was himself cut down by an assassin's bullet in 1968. Behind this vendetta was Hoover's secret counterintelligence program called COINTELPRO, one of whose purposes was "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, or otherwise neutralize" King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Also secretly targeted for careful scrutiny under this program was President Kennedy and Hoover's own boss, Attorney General Kennedy.

According to Sullivan:

"Hoover was desperately trying to catch Bobby red-handed at anything...and was always gathering damaging material on Jack Kennedy, which the President, with his active social life, seemed more than willing to provide."

One of Hoover's chief fears was being fired by the Kennedy's, a fear with some substance. The Kennedys both hated and feared the powerful Hoover and made little effort to conceal the fact that he was to be replaced after Kennedy won the 1964 election. Robert Kennedy even told interviewer John Bartlow Martin:

"(Hoover) is rather a psycho...I think it (the FBI) is a very dangerous organization....He's senile and frightening."

Both Kennedy brothers eventually supported King and the civil rights program as they came to realize that it's adoption as official policy was inevitable.

As Kennedy family chronicler John H. Davis pointed out:

"But the most potentially dangerous enemy to emerge from Kennedy's civil rights policy was the FBI and its director."

The prejudiced passions of the segregationists also appeared to have produced a man with a prophetic vision of Kennedy's death.

Crossfire: The Miami Prophet

On November 9, 1963, a Miami police informant met with Joseph A. Milteer, a wealthy Miami right-winger, who promptly began to outline the assassination of President Kennedy.

Milteer was a leader of the arch-conservative National States Rights Party as well as a member of other anti-civil rights groups such as the Congress of Freedom and the White Citizens' Council of Atlanta.

The police agent had infiltrated the States Rights Party and befriended Milteer. He secretly recorded his conversation with the extremist, which went like this:

"INFORMANT - ...I think Kennedy is coming here on the 18th, or something like that to make some kind of speech...

MILTEER - You can bet your bottom dollar he is going to have a lot to say about the Cubans, there are so many of them here.

INFORMANT - Yeah, well he will have a thousand body guards, don't worry about that.

MILTEER - The more bodyguards he has, the easier it is to get him.

INFORMANT - ...Well how in the hell do you figure would be the best way to get him?

MILTEER - From an office building with a high-powered rifle...he knows he's a marked man.

INFORMANT - You think he knows he's a marked man?

MILTEER - Sure he does.

INFORMANT - They are really going to try to kill him?

MILTEER - Oh yeah, it's in the works....

(Some conversation omitted)

INFORMANT - Boy, if that Kennedy gets shot, we have got to know where we are at. Because you know that will be a real shake, if they do that.

MILTEER - They wouldn't leave any stone unturned there no way. They will pick up somebody within hours afterwards, if anything like that would happen, just to throw the public off."

Captain Charles Sapp, head of Miami's Police Intelligence Bureau, was concerned enough with Milteer's remarks to alert both the FBI and the Secret Service. Sapp even recalled in later years that a planned motorcade for Kennedy was scrapped and the President instead was flown to his Miami speech by helicopter. Reportedly, none of the Secret Service agents involved in Kennedy's Dallas trip were informed of Milteer's forecast.

About 10:30 a.m. on November 22, Milteer telephoned the Miami police informant to say he was in Dallas and that Kennedy was due there later in the day. Milteer commented that Kennedy probably would never be seen in Miami again. While the House Select Committee on Assassinations was unable to confirm Milteer's presence in Dallas during the assassination, it also failed to prove he was elsewhere.

Researcher Jack White claims to have located the photograph of a man standing with the crowd on Houston Street watching the Kennedy motorcade approach the Texas School Book Depository. White said the man bears a striking resemblance to Milteer.

Back in Miami after the assassination, Milteer again met with the police agent, saying:

"Everything ran true to form. I guess you thought I was kidding you when I said he would be killed from a window with a high-powered rifle....I don't do any guessing."

Milteer said not to worry about the capture of Lee Harvey Oswald, "because he doesn't know anything."

He added:

"The right wing is in the clear...the patriots have outsmarted the communist group in order that the communists would carry out the plan without the right wing becoming involved."

The FBI questioned Milteer on November 27 and he denied making any such remarks. Although information on Milteer was belatedly turned over to the Warren Commission, there is no mention of him in its Report or 26 volumes. The Milteer story only became public after an account of the incident appeared in a Miami newspaper. Before Milteer could be questioned further about his surprising foreknowledge of the assassination, he died after receiving burns when a heater exploded in a vacation cabin (See CONVENIENT DEATHS). The Milteer matter raises a number of questions - not the least of

which is why his specific warning was not passed along to FBI and Secret Service personnel in Dallas?

Crossfire: Big Business

But the racial unrest which rocked the United States in the 1960s was not President Kennedy's only domestic problem. He was being verbally attacked not only by poor minorities with rising expectations, but also by wealthy businessmen who felt threatened by Kennedy's announced social reforms.

Big business was already leery of Kennedy who as a Senator had opposed the Taft-Hartley law aimed at curbing the power of labor unions and who as President had failed to consult the business world before making certain appointments. The fears of big business increased in the spring of 1962 when Kennedy used the power of the Presidency to force U.S. steel manufacturers to roll back recent price increases.

Kennedy already had served notice on the giant steel companies in September 1961, when he sent a letter to industry leaders warning them against any price increases. In his letter, Kennedy rationalized:

"The steel industry, in short, can look forward to good profits without an increase in prices. Since 1947, iron and steel common stocks prices have risen 397 percent; this is a much better performance than common stock prices in general."

On April 6, 1962, at the request of the federal government, the Steelworkers Union agreed to limit its wage demands to an 10-cents-an-hour increase beginning that summer. Then on April 11, U.S. Steel and five other major steel companies announced a 3.5 percent hike in the cost of steel.

Incensed, Kennedy told the news media:

"The American people will find it hard, as I do, to accept a situation in which a tiny handful of steel executives, whose pursuit of private power and profit exceeds their sense of public responsibility, can show such utter contempt for the interest of 185 million Americans."

Administration officials suggested an FBI investigation and on April 13, the Defense Department awarded a \$5 million contract to a smaller steel firm which had not raised prices. The next day, the six major firms announced their price increase had been rescinded.

The denunciation of the steel executives by Kennedy sent shock waves through the business community. A "U.S. News and World Report" editor wrote:

"What happened is frightening not only to steel people but to industry generally....President Kennedy had the public interest at heart in acting as he did, but the results may not in the long run be what he intended them to be."

Other results of the Kennedy Administration were infuriating corporate executives. Mergers were becoming widespread in the business world and Attorney General Kennedy and his trust-busters were taking a dim view of them.

During 1963, the Justice Department's Antitrust Division won 45 of 46 cases; asked a federal court to force General Motors Corporation to dispose of its locomotive business while charging the firm with monopolizing the manufacture and sale of intercity buses; and ordered General Dynamics to drop a division dealing with industrial gases.

Business and political leaders began to regret that the winner of the 1960 Presidential election had not been Richard M. Nixon.

Crossfire: Nixon and the JFK Assassination

Most Americans remember Richard Milhous Nixon as the only U.S. President to resign his office under the threat of certain impeachment.

Few know or recall Nixon's connection with the Kennedy assassination, including the fact that Nixon was in Dallas the day Kennedy died but couldn't recall that fact three months later when interviewed by the FBI.

Born January 9, 1913, in Yorba Linda, California, Nixon was a self-made man who reached the pinnacles of power after struggling up from a background of meager financial circumstances.

Nixon wanted to attend Harvard like young Kennedy, but was forced to settle for California's Whittier College, where he honed his skills as a debater. He went on to graduate from Duke University Law School in Durham, North Carolina, then unsuccessfully tried to join the FBI (See G MEN).

Back in California, Nixon joined a law firm. "The People's Almanac" tells of his first court case, a foretaste of Nixon's career:

"In Nixon's very first case as a trial lawyer in 1937, 10 days after he had been admitted to the California Bar, he represented a Los Angeles woman to execute a judgment in recovering a bad debt. During the case, Nixon was accused by the judge of unethical behavior, threatened with disbarment, and was also sued by his client for mishandling her case."

Shortly after Pearl Harbor, Nixon was in Washington having accepted a job with the tire-rationing department of the Office of Price Administration.

It is interesting to note that Nixon's life-long friend, Florida entrepreneur Charles "Bebe" Rebozo, began his profitable career selling re-capped tires. Although, Nixon has claimed he did not meet Rebozo until 1948 while vacationing in Florida after the Hiss case, some researchers say the pair were in contact during the war.

Later in the war, Nixon enlisted in the Navy and served in the South Pacific, where on one island he built a small shack used for high-stakes gambling and drinking.

In 1946, Nixon successfully ran for Congress after labeling his opponent, incumbent Congressman Jerry Voorhis, a "friend of the communists." With his anti-communist credentials, Nixon was immediately named to the House Un-American Activities Committee where his name became nationally known in light of the Alger Hiss case.

Whittaker Chambers, a former communist, accused Hiss, a State Department official, of being involved with communist agents. Nixon, through persistent manipulation of the news media and the evidence - and aided with information supplied by grateful CIA agents (Nixon was one of the Congressmen who helped establish the Agency) - managed to discredit Hiss. In fact, enough evidence was finally gathered to send Hiss to prison, although the facts of the case are still the subject of debate.

By 1950, the ambitious Nixon was ready to run for a Senate seat. His opponent was a liberal former Hollywood actress named Helen Douglas. Nixon painted Douglas a friend of communism and dubbed her the "pink lady." He accused her of voting with a "notorious communist-line congressman" from New York, failing to mention that Nixon himself had voted with this same congressman 112 times. Such campaign tactics earned Nixon the epithet "Tricky Dick." But they also proved effective. Nixon beat Douglas by nearly 700,000 votes.

The man most responsible for Nixon's smear tactics was his close friend and campaign manager Murray Chotiner, a lawyer who represented ranking mobsters and who had connections leading back to reputed New Orleans Mafia chief Carlos Marcello and Teamsters leader Jimmy Hoffa (See MOBSTERS).

In 1952, after only six years in politics, Nixon became vice president under Dwight Eisenhower, thanks to the support of his political mentor, former New York Governor Thomas Dewey, and his undermining of the favorite-son candidacy of fellow Californian, Earl Warren (See THE WARREN COMMISSION).

Nixon's political future seemed assured. Then, during the campaign, the news media learned of a secret slush fund for Nixon and calls for his resignation from the Republican ticket began.

When Eisenhower appeared ready to drop Nixon, the vice presidential candidate persuaded the Republican National Committee to purchase \$75,000 worth of television time to explain the \$18,000 fund.

Following the top-rated Milton Berle show, Nixon told a nationwide audience that he used the money to further his campaign, not for his personal use. He ended his talk by telling how someone had given

him a black and white spotted dog. Nixon said:

"And our little girl Tricia, the six year old, named it Checkers. And you know, the kids love that dog, and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it, we're gonna keep it!"

Although Eisenhower reportedly was disgusted with Nixon's blatant appeal to sentiment, the tactic gained favorable public response and Nixon remained on the ticket which went on to victory in November.

Throughout the Eisenhower years, the war hero President snubbed Nixon both politically and socially. In 1960, when Eisenhower was asked what major decisions Nixon had participated in, he caustically replied:

"If you give me a week, I might think of one."

But Nixon was busy building up his own power base with men of dubious backgrounds.

In his memoirs, mobster Mickey Cohen wrote that he gave Chotiner \$5,000 for Nixon's 1946 Congressional campaign and raised \$75,000 from Las Vegas gamblers for Nixon's 1950 Senate race.

Furthermore, Ed Partin, a former aide to Jimmy Hoffa turned government informant, detailed a meeting between Hoffa and New Orleans mob boss Carlos Marcello (See MOBSTERS) at the height of the 1960 Presidential campaign:

"I was right there, listening to the conversation. Marcello had a suitcase filled with \$500,000 cash which was going to Nixon. It was a half-million-dollar contribution. The other half (of a promised \$1 million) was coming from the mob boys in New Jersey and Florida."

Nixon's organized crime contacts apparently continued even after he resigned the Presidency in disgrace. During a 1975 golf tournament at La Costa Country Club in California, Nixon's golfing companions included Allen Dorfman, a mob-Teamster financial coordinator, and Tony Provenzano, a former Teamster official and convicted Mafia killer.

It has been revealed by investigative authors Carl Oglesby, Howard Kohn, David Scheim and others that Nixon was a frequent visitor to Cuba during the early 1950s and was in contact with confederates of organized crime financial wizard Meyer Lansky (See MOBSTERS).

Lansky also curried favor with Florida Senator George Smathers, a close friend of Nixon, and his efforts apparently paid off. In 1953, the Justice Department declined to prosecute Lansky although the IRS Intelligence Division had found him evading taxes. In 1957, immigration authorities tried to deport Lansky but again the Justice Department failed to follow through. In March 1952, Fulgencio Batista returned from exile in Florida and resumed dictatorial power in Cuba, reportedly financed by Lansky and other gambling operators.

An avowed anti-communist, Batista was fully supported by Nixon and Smathers, who lobbied so vigorously for aid to Batista he became known as the "senator from Cuba." Interestingly enough, Smathers also was quite chummy with John F. Kennedy.

When Fidel Castro gained power in Cuba (See CUBANS), Lansky undoubtedly was one of those mob chieftains which wanted immediate counteraction. This was forthcoming with CIA officers planning an invasion of Cuba, initiated by Eisenhower's White House Political Action Officer, Richard Nixon (See AGENTS).

In his book "Six Crises," Nixon wrote:

"The covert training of Cuban exiles by the CIA was due in substantial part, at least, to my efforts. This had been adopted as a policy as a result of my direct support."

Before the invasion could be launched, a serious snag occurred for Nixon and his backers -he lost the election of 1960 to John F. Kennedy. While heavily favored going into the race, Nixon's lackluster campaigning reached the pits during the television debates between the candidates in the fall of 1960. The young and dynamic Kennedy was able to swing the popular vote, edging out Nixon by the slenderest of margins - 49.9 percent to 49.6 percent of the total votes. Rather than bide his time waiting for the next Presidential election, Nixon ran against Pat Brown for the governorship of California in 1962. He was handily defeated, especially after news broke of a secret \$200,000 loan from billionaire Howard Hughes to Nixon's brother.

A distraught Nixon, complete with nervous giggles and compulsive gestures, told a news conference:

"Now that all the members of the press are so delighted that I have lost...all I can say is this: For 16 years, ever since the Hiss case, you've had a lot of fun - a lot of fun -

that you've had an opportunity to attack me....Just think about how much you're going to be missing - you won't have Nixon to kick around any more because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference."

Within two years, Nixon was back on the political stage, campaigning for Republican candidates. GOP stalwarts repaid this activity by again nominating Richard Nixon for President in August 1968. By then, of course, both John and Robert Kennedy were dead.

During the Nixon years, his friends in organized crime were not forgotten. The Nixon Administration intervened in at least 20 trials of crime figures, ostensibly to protect "intelligence sources and methods."

In 1973, Nixon's Attorney General, Richard Kleindienst, denied an FBI request to continue an electronic surveillance operation which was beginning to penetrate connections between the Mafia and the Teamsters.

Nixon also did not forget his friend Jimmy Hoffa, whom he pardoned in 1971 despite recommendations against such action. Before leaving office, Nixon pardon an inordinate number of mobsters, including Angelo "Gyp" DeCarlo, imprisoned for extortion and implicated in the murder of Louis D. Saperstein.

But of all Nixon's possible crime connections, the most intriguing involves Jack Ruby, the killer of Lee Harvey Oswald. In 1975, a political science associate professor at College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, was poring over a stack of recently-released FBI documents. Trowbridge Ford was astonished to discover a memorandum written by a Bureau staff assistant to a government panel looking into organized crime activity in 1947. The memo stated:

"It is my sworn statement that one Jack Rubenstein of Chicago, noted as a potential witness for hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is performing information functions for the staff of Congressman Richard Nixon, Republican of California. It is requested Rubenstein not be called for open testimony in the aforementioned hearings."

Later in 1947, Chicago's Rubenstein moved to Dallas and shortened his name to Jack Ruby.

The idea that Jack Ruby had worked for Nixon should have set off the national news media. Instead, FBI officials told Ford that the document he discovered was a fake and the story was quickly dropped. Of course, in accepting the Bureau's explanation of the memo, one must wonder why a "fake" document was contained in FBI files and how many other such fakes are yet residing with the Bureau?

By the early 1980s, Ford told this author he had studied literally thousands of genuine FBI documents and had slowly come to the conclusion that the Nixon-Ruby memo was probably legitimate. Legitimate or not, the matter raises even more suspicion when viewed with Nixon's presence in Dallas the day Kennedy died.

On November 20, 1963, Nixon arrived in Dallas, where a Carbonated Bottlers convention was being held. A newsman from the "Dallas Time Herald" interviewed Nixon and wrote:

"The former Vice President arrived in Dallas Wednesday night to attend a board meeting of Pepsi-Cola Company, which is represented by his New York law partnership. He plans to leave Dallas Friday morning a few hours before the arrival of President Kennedy. Mr. Nixon said that although he planned to talk by telephone to several Dallas Republican leaders, he had no plans for a formal meeting with them."

Interestingly, researcher Richard Sprague examined Pepsi-Cola corporate records and found no board meeting was held in Dallas in 1963. The connections and politics of Pepsi-Cola deserve serious attention from assassination researchers. The soft drink company's advertising was handled by J. Walter Thompson, the giant public relations firm which also worked to sell the Pentagon's brand of "peace." Nixon was longtime friends with Pepsi-Cola President Don Kendall and, as President, it was Nixon who opened the lucrative Soviet soft drink market to Pepsi. A Justice Department investigation into this transaction revealed that a "high government official had all the red tape done away with so Pepsico could obtain the Soviet franchise without any competition." Pepsi went on to help those who had helped the company. In 1973, President Kendall formed the Save the Presidency Committee, which sought to protect Nixon from the wrath of Watergate investigations. It is especially interesting to note that Cartha De Loach, the FBI official who was chief liaison between director Hoover and President Lyndon Johnson (See G MEN), later joined Pepsi-Cola.

With Nixon in Dallas was Pepsi-Cola heiress and actress Joan Crawford. Both Nixon and Crawford made comments in the Dallas newspapers to the effect that they didn't need Secret Service protection like the President, intimating that the nation was upset with Kennedy's policies. It has been suggested

that this taunting may have been responsible for Kennedy's critical decision not to order the plex-glass top placed on his limousine on November 22.

Nixon also caused a stir in Dallas when he suggested that Lyndon Johnson would be dropped from the 1964 Democratic national ticket. Quoted in the November 22, 1963, "Dallas Morning News," Nixon said:

"...we must remember that President Kennedy and his advisers are practical politicians....Lyndon was chosen in 1960 because he could help the ticket in the South. Now he is becoming a political liability in the South, just as he is in the North."

On the morning of November 22, Nixon was driven to Dallas' Love Field where he boarded American Airlines Flight 82 for New York. Less than two hours after Nixon left, Air Force One landed at Love Field with the doomed Kennedy.

Three months later, the Warren Commission asked the FBI to investigate Marina Oswald's allegation that her husband had tried to kill Nixon during a visit to Dallas. The FBI report dealing with Nixon's interview stated:

"On February 28, 1964, the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, former Vice President of the U.S., was contacted by Assistant director in Charge of the New York Office, John F. Malone, and furnished the following information:

Mr. Nixon advised that the only time he was in Dallas, Texas, during 1963 was two days prior to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy."

The question of whether Nixon was merely forgetful or dissembling in his comment to the FBI might have been cleared up by yet another Bureau report entitled "Letter of FBI of June 29, 1964, concerning Richard Nixon". However, this document was reported missing from the National Archives in 1976.

Nixon's recollection improved during a 1967 interview with journalist Jules Witcover. Speaking about the assassination, Nixon said:

"I was in a taxicab when I got the news. I had been in Dallas attending a meeting. I flew back to New York the next morning. It must have happened just as my plane was landing. My cab stopped for a light in Queens and a guy ran over and said, "Have you got a radio? The President's been wounded." I thought, "Oh, my God, it must have been one of the nuts." A half hour later I got to my apartment and the doorman told me he was dead. I called J. Edgar Hoover and asked him, "What happened? Was it one of the nuts?" Hoover said, "No, it was a communist."

The supposed attack on Nixon by Oswald undoubtedly is one of the more ludicrous incidents of the Warren Commission investigation - and it is a prime example of the unreliability of Marina Oswald's testimony.

In early February, 1964, when Marina Oswald first testified to the Commission, she failed to mention the incident when asked if her husband had expressed any hostility toward any official of the United States. In June, her memory jogged by an FBI report from Oswald's brother, Robert, she said that just a few days before Oswald left for New Orleans on April 24, 1963, he put on a good suit after reading a morning newspaper. She told the Commission:

"I saw that he took a pistol. I asked him where he was going and why he was getting dressed. He answered, "Nixon is coming. I want to go and have a look."...I called him into the bathroom and I closed the door and I wanted to prevent him and then I started to cry. And I told him that he shouldn't do this, and that he had promised me."

She told the Commission she locked him in the bathroom to prevent him trying to shoot Nixon. However, as confirmed by an FBI investigation, the bathroom - like most others - locked from the inside. Accordingly, in a subsequent interview with the Commission, Marina amended her story by saying she held the bathroom door for hours to prevent Oswald from leaving.

The Commission, upon learning that Nixon was not even in Dallas at any time near this incident, decided that Marina may have been mistaken and that the target of Oswald's pistol may have been Vice President Johnson, who had visited Dallas on April 23.

This amusing anecdote, which the Commission found to have "no probative value," is nevertheless fascinating for the introduction of Nixon's name into the assassination investigation.

While there is no evidence beyond his connections to mobsters and teamsters that Nixon may have known of what was to happen to President Kennedy, his words as recorded on White House tapes have intrigued assassination researchers for years.

In an Oval Office meeting on June 23, 1972 - just five days after the Nixon-connected burglars were caught in the Watergate office complex - Nixon spoke with his chief of staff, H.R. Halderman, saying:

"Of course, this Hunt (Watergate burglar and CIA liaison man with the anti-Castro Cubans E. Howard Hunt), that will uncover a lot of things. You open that scab, there's a hell of a lot of things, and we feel that it would be very detrimental to have this thing go any further....the President believes that it is going to open the whole Bay of Pigs thing up again."

Later that same day, Nixon spoke with Halderman again, saying:

"...very bad to have this fellow Hunt, ah, he knows too damned much, if he was involved - you happen to know that? (Hunt was not with the Watergate burglars, but was in radio contact with them from across the street.) If it gets out that this is all involved, the Cuba thing would be a fiasco. It would make the CIA look bad, it's going to make Hunt look bad, and it's likely to blow the whole Bay of Pigs thing, which we think would be very unfortunate - both for the CIA, and for the country, at this time, and for American foreign policy. Just tell him to lay off..."

After telling Nixon that the FBI was aware of CIA operatives involvement in the Watergate affair, Halderman tells his chief:

"...the problem is it tracks back to the Bay of Pigs and it tracks back to some other, the leads run out to people who had no involvement in this, except by contracts and connection, but it gets into areas that are liable to be realized."

What could Nixon and Halderman have been talking about? The "whole Bay of Pigs thing" had been over for more than 10 years. Nixon was out of office when the actual invasion began and the assault's disastrous consequences were a matter of historical record. Could they have been circuitously referring to the interlocking connections between CIA agents, anti-Castro Cubans and mobsters which likely resulted in the Kennedy assassination? Did they themselves have some sort of insider knowledge of this event?

Researchers are left guessing. However, it is significant to recall that when Hunt later demanded \$2 million to keep quiet about what he knew, Nixon agreed and the money was raised.

It may also be significant to consider the number of people connected with the Warren Commission that were hired or considered for employment by Nixon's circle during Watergate.

John Dean's lawyer was Commission Administrative Aide Charles N. Shaffer; John Ehrlichman hired Commission Senior Counsel Joseph Ball as his lawyer; Nixon initially wanted Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin as Watergate Prosecutor then wanted Commission Member John McCloy but later accepted Commission Special Counsel Leon Jaworski (who represented Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr); Nixon named Rankin to "edit" White House tapes; Nixon accepted Commission Senior Counsel Albert E. Jenner as chief minority counsel for the House Judiciary Committee considering Nixon's impeachment and Nixon asked Commission Counsel Arlen Specter to help with his defense.

Specter, now Senator from Pennsylvania, was the chief architect of the controversial "single-bullet theory" for the Warren Commission. He was a protégé of Nixon's attorney general, John Mitchell, and had served as co-chairman of the Pennsylvania division of the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP) in 1972.

Commission attorney David Belin - still its most ardent supporter - headed Lawyers for Nixon.

By 1973, Nixon was missing one of his close powerful friends who might have helped him out of the Watergate mess. In a February 28 meeting with counsel John Dean, Nixon said:

"(Expletive deleted) Hoover was my crony. He was closer to me than Johnson, actually, although Johnson used him more."

Dean replied:

"While it might have been a lot of blue chips to the late director (Hoover died under strange circumstances May 2, 1972.), I think we would have been a lot better off during this whole Watergate thing if he had been alive. Because he knew how to handle that Bureau - knew how to keep them in bounds."

Nixon concurred:

"Well, Hoover performed. he would have fought. That was the point. He would have defied a few people. He would have scared them to death. He has a file on everybody."

In the final days of Watergate, organized crime investigator Dan E. Moldea revealed that military authorities, including Nixon's Chief of Staff, General Alexander Haig, began to connect their chief with several mobsters, including Florida's Santos Trafficante, believed responsible for setting up heroin routes from Vietnam and making payoffs to Nixon associates.

Moldea quoted a Justice Department official as saying:

"The whole goddamn thing is too frightening to think about. We're talking about the President of the United States...a man who pardoned organized crime figures after millions were spent by the government putting them away, a guy who's had these connections since he was a congressman in the 1940s. I guess the real shame is that we'll never know the whole story, it'll never come out."

In a final nose thumbing to the American people, Nixon appointed former Warren Commission member Gerald R. Ford (See THE WARREN COMMISSION) as vice president after the resignation of Spiro Agnew.

One of Ford's first public actions was to pardon Nixon of any crimes.

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While members of the corporate community were angered and upset with President Kennedy and his policies toward business, it appears there were those of took great advantage of his death.

The question has been raised - if there was a plot to assassinate Kennedy, surely someone would have been aware of it?

There are many indications that this was the case in the fall of 1963.

We already have learned of many incidents of people with foreknowledge of Kennedy's death - including racist J.A. Milteer, Rose Cherami (See JACK RUBY) and Richard Case Nagell (See SOLDIERS).

It also appears that some corporate leaders may have been aware of Kennedy's pending fate.

Crossfire: A Killing on Wall Street

In the 30 minutes following Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, the Dow Jones average fell more than 21.16 points. An estimated 6 million shares of stock changed hands, wiping out about \$15 billion in paper values on the New York Stock Exchange alone. It was the greatest Stock Market panic since 1929. The panic and confusion was such that the Securities and Exchange Commission closed the Stock Exchange shortly after 2 p.m., more than 80 minutes before normal closing time. It was the first emergency shutdown of the Stock Market since August 1933.

A few sharp investors - or perhaps individuals with a knowledge of what was to come - had taken "short" positions in scattered areas of the market. That is, some stocks unaccountably were sold before the market dropped, indicating some people may have had advanced word that something momentous was about to happen.

Then when the Stock Market reopened on November 26, 1963, - just four days after the assassination - the New York Stock Exchange made a record \$21 billion advance, more than regaining the losses incurred the day Kennedy died. It was the biggest single-day rise in the history of the Stock Market. More huge profits were made. No one has publicly identified the men who made their own private killing in the Stock Market, but it has been estimated that the profits made just on November 22 alone totaled more than \$500 million.

It has been suggested by at least one author that the immense amount of money which changed hands on November 22, 1963, was the motivation behind Kennedy's death. And while most researchers reject this idea, many do believe that certain individuals - using insider information on the pending assassination - could not resist the temptation to profit from their knowledge.

Crossfire: Bankers

Another overlooked aspect of Kennedy's attempt to reform American society involves money.

Kennedy apparently reasoned that by returning to the Constitution, which states that only Congress shall coin and regulate money, the soaring national debt could be reduced by not paying interest to the bankers of the Federal Reserve System, who print paper money then lend it to the Government at interest.

He moved in this area on June 4, 1963, by signing Executive Order 11,110 which called for the issuance of \$4,292,893,815 in United States Notes through the U.S. Treasury rather than the traditional Federal Reserve System. That same day, Kennedy signed a bill changing the backing of \$1 and \$2 bills from silver to gold, adding strength to the weakened U.S. currency.

Kennedy's comptroller of the currency, James J. Saxon, had been at odds with the powerful Federal Reserve Board for some time, encouraging broader investment and lending powers for banks that were not part of the Federal Reserve system. Saxon also had decided that non-Reserve banks could underwrite state and local general obligation bonds, again weakening the dominate Federal Reserve banks.

A number of "Kennedy bills" were indeed issued - the author has a \$5 bill in his possession with the heading "United States Note" - but were quickly withdrawn after Kennedy's death.

According to information from the Library of the Comptroller of the Currency, Executive Order 11,110 remains in effect today although successive administrations beginning with that of President Lyndon Johnson apparently have simply ignored it and instead returned to the practice of paying interest on Federal Reserve notes.

Today we continue to use Federal Reserve Notes and the deficit is at an all time high.

Considering that the battle over U.S. monetary control by a monolithic central bank is an issue which dates back to the founding of the Republic, some assassination researchers believe Kennedy's little-noted efforts to reform the money supply and curtail the Federal Reserve System may have cost him much more than just the enmity of the all-powerful international bankers.

President Kennedy inched farther out on a limb with big business on January 17, 1963, when he presented both his administration's budget and proposals for tax reform which included a tax cut.

Kennedy's tax proposals included relieving the tax burden of low-income and elderly persons, revising tax treatment of capital gains for a better flow of capital funds, broadening the base of individual and corporate income taxes to remove special privileges and loopholes and even to do away with the oil depletion allowance.

This action brought the beleaguered President into direct confrontation with one of the most powerful and single-minded groups in America - wealthy oilmen.

Crossfire: Kennedy and Oilmen

To get some idea of the power and wealth of the petroleum industry, consider that the yearly budget of the oil industry far exceeds that of the United States Government.

The history of oil is replete with stories of unbounded greed, business chicanery and even violence.

It all began when Colonel Edwin Drake drilled the first U.S. oil well in Titusville, Pennsylvania, in August 1859.

Within 10 years, most of this nation's oil production had come under the control of one of the greatest monopolist of all time - John D. Rockefeller. By 1891, Standard Oil Company -Rockefeller's trust - was in direct control of 70 percent of the world petroleum market, although his monopoly was already cracking due to oil production by the Russian-Swedish Nobel interests.

With encouragement from President Theodore "Teddy" Roosevelt, the U.S. Government began attempts to break Rockefeller's choke hold on oil. However, it was not until 1911 in an historic Supreme Court decision that Standard Oil was dissolved. Even then, the Rockefeller family continued to own controlling stock in the 27 separate companies left after the Standard Oil breakup.

The entire 20th century has witnessed effort after effort to shatter the powerful oil monopoly. Today, with "integrated" oil companies controlling production, refining and distribution all over the world, the hope for government control appears dim.

The demand for oil skyrocketed in the early 1900s along with the demand for more automobiles. In 1911, the year Standard Oil broke up, there were 619,000 cars in the United States. By 1914, that number rose to 2 million and, by 1924, there were 18 million vehicles on the roads.

Lack of oil was a major factor in bringing a German defeat in World War I.

During 1923, the first major oil scandal occurred when it was discovered that President Warren G. Harding's Secretary of the Interior, Albert B. Fall, had accepted money from oilmen in exchange for secretly leasing drilling rights on government land in Wyoming known as the Teapot Dome.

In the late 1920s, the "red line" and the "as is" agreements between the major oil companies created an international oil cartel, which became known as the Seven Sisters - Exxon, mobil, SoCal, Texaco, Gulf, Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum.

By 1933, there were calls for making the vital oil industry a public utility with governmental controls. One of the men supporting this move was President Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes. However, FDR was finally turned against the plan by Texas Congressman Sam Rayburn, Lyndon Johnson's mentor who faithfully represented Texas oil interests in Washington.

After the major oil companies shut off supplies to Japan in 1941, the Japanese Navy attacked Pearl Harbor and the United States entered World War II.

Despite scandals showing that executives of Exxon and Texaco were secretly aiding the Axis war effort, our dependence on oil produced even closer cooperation between the oil companies and the Government.

After the war, the Marshall Plan began turning recovering European nations away from coal to oil. Refining capacity in Europe tripled in just a few years.

In 1950, a secret agreement was reached between the State Department and major oil companies which allowed all royalties paid to Arab nations to be applied as tax credits. Following this action, taxes from Exxon, Texaco, SoCal and mobil, which were \$50 million that year, dropped to \$6 million in 1951.

Dwight Eisenhower was elected with strong support from the oil industry and, early in 1953, in one of his first actions, he stopped a grand jury investigation into the "international Petroleum Cartel" citing reasons of "national security."

That same year, a CIA-backed coup reinstated the Shah of Iran and new oil arrangements with that nation began. Ironically, the Iranian coup was masterminded by Kermit Roosevelt, Teddy's grandson, who went on to become a vice president of Gulf Oil.

The Suez Crisis in 1956 signaled the end of British and French colonialism in the Middle East and the major oil companies moved to consolidate their power.

Sensing the opportunity to gain advantage around the world, a group of business leaders headed by Nelson Rockefeller sent a report to President Eisenhower which urged armed intervention to stop nationalist movements in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. However, by 1960 there was an oil surplus coupled with declining demand which prompted Exxon to suddenly cut the posted price of oil by 14 cents per barrel. This caused angry oil-rich nations to retaliate by forming the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), a first step in self-determination.

When John F. Kennedy became President in 1961, the oil industry felt secure behind the CIA, which

it considered its private security force. Long-time CIA director Allen Dulles, after all, had been a Rockefeller attorney.

When Fidel Castro took power in Cuba, the oil companies put pressure on both transport firms and other nations alike not to trade with the bearded leader. When Castro began dealing with the Soviet Union, the CIA began working with the Mafia to eliminate him (See MOBSTERS and AGENTS), with the acquiescence of big business and the oil companies.

In 1962, after Kennedy fired Dulles as head of the CIA, the new director was John McCone, a million-dollar stockholder in SoCal.

But President Kennedy then began to assault the power of the oil giants directly, first with a law known as "The Kennedy Act" and later by attacking the oil depletion allowance. The Kennedy Act, passed on October 16, 1962, removed the distinction between repatriated profits and profits re-invested abroad. Both were now subject to U.S. taxation. The measure also was aimed at preventing taxable income from being hidden away in foreign subsidiaries and other tax havens. While this law included industry as a whole, it particularly affected the oil companies, which were greatly diversified with large overseas operations. By the end of 1962, oilmen estimated their earnings on foreign invested capital would fall to 15 percent, compared with 30 percent in 1955. One of the most sacred of provisions in the eyes of oilmen was the oil depletion allowance, which permitted oil producers to treat up to 27.5 percent of their income as tax exempt. In theory this was to compensate for the depletion of fixed oil reserves but, in effect, it gave the oil industry a lower tax rate.

Under this allowance, an oilman with a good deal of venture capital could become rich with virtually no risk. For example, a speculator could drill 10 wells. If nine were dry holes and only the tenth struck oil, he would still make money because of tax breaks and the depletion allowance.

It was estimated at the time that oilmen might lose nearly \$300 million a year if the depletion allowance was diminished.

Attempts to eliminate or reduce the depletion allowance were rebuffed year after year by Congressmen, many of whom were the happy recipients of oil industry contributions.

Speaking of his tax reform act of 1963, President Kennedy pointed the finger at the oil companies, saying:

"...no one industry should be permitted to obtain an undue tax advantage over all others."

Including in Kennedy's tax package were provisions for closing a number of corporate tax loopholes, including the depletion allowance.

Needless to say, oilmen both in Texas and elsewhere felt threatened by Kennedy and his policies. Kennedy's use of his personal power against the steel manufacturers had shown them that the young President meant to enforce his will in these matters.

John W. Curington, who for 12 years was special assistant to Dallas oil billionaire H.L. Hunt, reported in 1977:

"Hunt was often heard by top aides and followers to say that America would be much better off without Kennedy."

Curington, whose statements were assessed truthful by Psychological Stress Evaluator (PSE) analysis, also said the oilman sent him to check on Oswald's police security while in custody and was "elated" to find it was lax. Curington also is convinced that he saw Marina Oswald coming from Hunt's private offices several weeks after the assassination.

Hunt's former assistant said he believes that the wealthy oilman unwittingly influenced right-wing followers to participate in a conspiracy to kill Kennedy. He added that in later years, Hunt admitted that he knew an assassination conspiracy existed.

Angry talk in the corporate boardrooms may have grown into deadly plots on golf courses and at private parties. But oilmen, despite their unparalleled wealth and power, could not have moved against Kennedy on their own. They needed allies within Government and within the intelligence community. Such allies were there - among the anti-Castro Cubans, in the CIA, organized crime and within the federal Government - and all were most receptive to the idea of a change of leadership.

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One man with connections into both government, intelligence and the oil industry was George DeMohrenschildt, identified by the Warren Commission as the last-known close friend to Lee Harvey Oswald.

Crossfire: Oswald's Friends

Perhaps the most intriguing person in the entire cast of characters connected with the Kennedy assassination was oil geologist George S. DeMohrenschildt - a man who was friends with both Jackie Kennedy's family and the alleged assassin of her husband, Lee Harvey Oswald.

Despite this fascinating connection, little was said about DeMohrenschildt at the time of the assassination. Both he and his wife, Jeanne, were in Haiti during the events in Dallas.

A close study of DeMohrenschildt's life shows a string of intelligence connections, raising the possibility that DeMohrenschildt may have played a role - perhaps unwittingly - in furthering plans for the assassination. This was a possibility which came to haunt DeMohrenschildt in the days just prior to his suspicious death in 1977.

DeMohrenschildt - his family, originally named Mohrenskuld, was of Swedish extraction - was born April 17, 1911, in Mozyr, a small Baltic town in Czarist Russia near the Polish border. His father, Sergis Alexander Von Mohrenschildt, was an elected representative of the landowning nobility to the Czarist government.

During the Russian Revolution, the family was forced to flee the Baltic area - which was taken over by the communists - finally settling in Minsk, the Russian city where years later Oswald was to take up residence (See RUSSIANS). Here he resigned his government position and became a director of the Nobel oil interests in the Baku oil fields. Eventually, the family was forced to move again, this time to Wilno, Poland, to escape a communist order sentencing the elder Von Mohrenschildt to lifetime servitude in Siberia for his support of the Czarist monarchy.

In Poland, young George completed high school and attended a military academy in Grudziadz. Uninterested in a military career, he traveled to Belgium where he enrolled and graduated from the Institute of Higher Commercial Studies in Antwerp. He then received a doctorate degree in international Commerce from the University of Liege. His doctoral paper was on the economic influence of the United States on Latin America. It was the beginning of a life-long interest in that area. Meanwhile, his older brother, Dimitri, had come to the United States, earning degrees from Columbia and Yale, where he was roommates with singer Rudy Vallee. In the spring of 1938, at the urging of Dimitri, DeMohrenschildt came to the United States. An educated, sophisticated young man, DeMohrenschildt was introduced to many wealthy and influential Americans in the Northeast. He later told the Warren Commission:

"(I met) lots of people, but especially Mrs. (Janet) Bouvier...Mrs. Bouvier is Jacqueline Kennedy's mother, also (I met) her father and her whole family. She (Mrs. Bouvier) was in the process of getting a divorce from her husband (Jackie's father, John V. "Jack" Bouvier). I met him, also. We were very close friends. We saw each other every day. I met Jackie then, when she was a little girl. (And) Her sister, who was still in the cradle practically."

In the summer of 1938, DeMohrenschildt had taken an interest in Jack Bouvier's sister, Michelle, and was a frequent guest at Lasata, the Bouvier summer home in East Hampton.

After failing to succeed selling insurance and perfume, DeMohrenschildt recalled his father's oil business. Traveling by bus to Texas, he got a job with Humble Oil Company in Houston, thanks to family connections. Despite being friends with the chairman of the board of Humble, young DeMohrenschildt was confined to working as a "roughneck" in Louisiana oil fields. He quit after being injured and contracting amoebic dysentery.

Returning to New York, DeMohrenschildt was called for service in both the United States and Poland. Poland was overrun by the Nazis before he could report, however, and he eventually was declared "4F" in the U.S. Reportedly he tried to join the fledgling Office of Strategic Services (forerunner of the CIA) but was "security disapproved" due to his suspected links with both German and Polish intelligence.

Although for years, he claimed to have worked for French intelligence during the early years of World War II - he said he was never an official agent but had helped a good friend, Pierre Freyss, the head of French counterintelligence - in later years he confessed to his wife that he had briefly worked for the Germans.

DeMohrenschildt also became closely connected with many exiled Russians who joined with the General Vlassov movement, anti-communist Russians who fought with the Nazis in hope of recovering their homeland. Springing up in cities where there were large Russian exile communities, these people referred to themselves as "solidarists," indicating the solidarity of their purpose. One of these groups

existed in Dallas during the early 1960s, although DeMohrenschildt disclaimed being a member. The Vlassov organization was eventually absorbed by the Nazi spy system under General Reinhard Gehlen, which at the end of the war became a part of U.S. intelligence. Many members of this apparatus ended up working for the CIA.

When Poland was partitioned in 1939, the Von Mohrenschildt home fell into the Russian zone, so the family fled to Germany, where George's father reportedly was killed in an allied bombing raid late in the war. One of DeMohrenschildt's Nazi spy contacts was a distant cousin, Baron Konstantin Maydell. DeMohrenschildt aided Maydell in making a "documentary": film about German activities in Poland. Both Maydell and DeMohrenschildt were accused of being German agents. Maydell was arrested as a "dangerous alien" in September 1942, and imprisoned in North Dakota. In DeMohrenschildt's case, he and a female companion were arrested by the FBI in 1941 while passing through Aransas Pass near Corpus Christi, Texas. The couple had been making photographs and sketches of Padre Island, which the Bureau thought might include military installations. However, while the agents found no incriminating photographs, they did find letters of introduction to Nelson Rockefeller, and the pair were released.

DeMohrenschildt recalled receiving letters from his father in Germany. He told the Warren Commission:

"...I remember we exchanged letters with him during the war through some friends in Argentina and Japan, before Japan got into the war. My father wrote me a letter in which he said, "George, the Nazis are no good and Germany is going to lose the war, but I prefer to be in Germany than in Soviet Russia."

He told his wife he quickly stopped his work for the Germans.

In 1942, DeMohrenschildt married Dorothy Pierson, the young daughter of a well-to-do Florida family. The next year a daughter, Alexandra, was born, shortly before the DeMohrenschildts divorced.

DeMohrenschildt returned to Texas in 1944 and obtained a master's degree in petroleum geology from the University of Texas by the end of World War II. He then worked as a field engineer for Pantepec Oil in Venezuela before joining a petroleum consulting group in Colorado.

While vacationing in New York, he met, and later married, Phyllis Washington, the daughter of a ranking State Department official. DeMohrenschildt returned to Colorado with his new bride, but they too divorced quickly.

A thorough investigation of the Washington family may have revealed some of DeMohrenschildt's government connections, however there is evidence that such investigation was blocked at the time of the Warren Commission.

In January 1964, Phyllis was placed in a psychiatric hospital and later, in a strongly worded letter, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover urged Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin not to talk to her. A March 5, 1964, FBI report on the woman remains classified.

While in Colorado, DeMohrenschildt became an American citizen on July 11, 1949, and changed "Von Mohrenschildt" to the French "DeMohrenschildt."

Tiring of the statistical end of his Colorado work, DeMohrenschildt resigned and soon was in partnership with his nephew by marriage, Eddie Hooker, promoting oil deals. While visiting Hooker in New York in 1951, DeMohrenschildt met a pretty medical school graduate named Winifred "Didi" Sharples. A prominent Philadelphia family, the Sharples also were involved in the oil business. Married the next year, George and Didi had a son, Sergei, born in 1953 and a daughter, Nadya, born in 1954. Both children suffered from cystic fibrosis and Sergei died in 1960. Interestingly, DeMohrenschildt claims he and Didi founded the National Foundation for Cystic Fibrosis in Dallas and that Jackie Kennedy was honorary chairman. By the end of 1956, both his partnership with Hooker and his marriage to Didi had ended and DeMohrenschildt found himself more and more involved in foreign work.

His oil-related travels took him to France, Nigeria, Ghana and Togoland.

In 1957, he journeyed to Yugoslavia for the International Cooperation Administration, a branch of the U.S. government's Agency for International Development, despite an unflattering background check by the CIA. By this time, DeMohrenschildt apparently had some sort of relationship with the Agency according to documents which became public in the late 1970s.

Researcher Michael Levy obtained one CIA memo from former Agency Deputy director Richard Helms which states that DeMohrenschildt's trip to Yugoslavia provided "foreign intelligence which was promptly disseminated to other federal agencies in 10 separate reports." Another CIA memo indicated

that DeMohrenschildt also furnished lengthy reports on his later travels through Mexico and Central America.

Shortly before leaving for Yugoslavia, DeMohrenschildt met another Russian exile who lived in the same Dallas hotel with him. Jeanne Fromenke LeGon had already established a career as a dancer and clothing designer. Her family too had strong political and defense-related connections. Her Russian father had built the first railroads in China and was connected with Nationalist politics there while her brother, Sergio, had worked on the super-secret Manhattan atomic bomb project. Her former husband, Robert LeGon, was connected to security work for Douglas Aircraft and their daughter, Christiana, was married to a vice president of Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

She and the outgoing DeMohrenschildt hit it off right away and she joined him in Yugoslavia. In a curious incident there, the couple were boating when they were shot at by communist guards who became anxious when they came too close to Marshal Tito's summer home. Again, DeMohrenschildt claimed to have been simply sketching the shoreline.

Returning to the United States, George and Jeanne were soon married and shortly set off on an incredible odyssey through Central America. In an effort to take his mind off the death of his son, DeMohrenschildt took his new wife, a donkey and two dogs on a walking trip which began in the fall of 1960 at the Mexican border and ended in Panama. His films of the trip depict an adventurous trip - trekking through vast uninhabited deserts, bathing in cold mountain streams and playing native in quaint villages.

Many researchers believe the fact that the DeMohrenschildts arrived in Guatemala City in April 1961, just as the Bay of Pigs invaders were assembling there is evidence of further intelligence work by DeMohrenschildt. However, a careful study of his films and writings tends to show that the arrival of the couple was only coincidence.

Back in Dallas in late 1961, the DeMohrenschildts were at the center of prominent Dallasites. DeMohrenschildt's memberships included the Dallas Petroleum Club, the American Association of Petroleum Geologists, American Association of Mining Engineers and the Dallas Society of Petroleum Geologists. His business and social contacts read like a who's who of the Texas oil community. DeMohrenschildt knew Dallas oil millionaires H.L. Hunt and Clint Murchinson, John Mecom of Houston, Robert Kerr of Kerr-McGee and Jean De Menil, head of the worldwide Schlumberger Corporation. (According to former New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, arms and explosives supplied by the CIA to the anti-Castro Cuban exiles were hidden away in a Schlumberger facility near that city in the summer of 1963.)

But most intriguing, was DeMohrenschildt's friendship with J. Walter Moore, a member of the CIA's Domestic Contact Service. Moore, whom DeMohrenschildt described to the Warren Commission as "a government man -either FBI or Central Intelligence," debriefed the geologist upon his return from Yugoslavia and thereafter met with the DeMohrenschildts socially on many occasions. After DeMohrenschildt first met Lee Harvey Oswald, he checked on the ex-Marine with Moore, who he said described Oswald as simply a "harmless lunatic." It is interesting to find that this CIA man knew enough about Oswald to call him a "lunatic" at a time the CIA has claimed they had no knowledge or interest in the ex-Marine.

In another incident, DeMohrenschildt wrote to friends less than two months after the assassination expressing shock and disbelief over Kennedy's death. He wrote:

"...before we began to help Marina and the child, we asked the FBI man in

Dallas...about Lee and he told us that he was "completely harmless."

These letters are part of DeMohrenschildt's FBI file, indicating they Bureau was monitoring him during this time. His statements that he had checked on Oswald with the Bureau apparently caused great consternation. Dallas FBI chief L. Gordon Shanklin even ordered Agent James Woods to go to Haiti and obtained a lengthy statement from DeMohrenschildt denying that he had ever spoken about Oswald to the Bureau.

DeMohrenschildt himself may have been the object of a secret investigation in the months preceding Kennedy's death. Once DeMohrenschildt noticed small pencil marks on some of his papers and, convinced his home had been secretly entered, questioned Moore about it. Moore denied that Government people had broken into DeMohrenschildt's home.

Another close friend of DeMohrenschildt was Fort Worth attorney Max Clark, who at that time was connected with security at General Dynamics.

In later years, neither George nor Jeanne DeMohrenschildt could recall exactly who first mentioned

the Oswalds to them. But in the summer of 1962, DeMohrenschildt and a Colonel Lawrence Orlov went to nearby Fort Worth on business and DeMohrenschildt decided to visit the Oswalds. He had heard through the Russian community in Dallas that the Oswalds had recently arrived in this country from Minsk and he was eager for news about the city of his youth.

DeMohrenschildt was appalled at the poorly-furnished "shack" in which the Oswalds lived, but was impressed by Oswald's command of Russian. He told the Warren Commission:

"...he spoke fluent Russian, but with a foreign accent, and made mistakes, grammatical mistakes but had remarkable fluency in Russian....Remarkable - for a fellow of his background and education...He preferred to speak Russian than English any time. He always would switch from English to Russian."

He said both his first impression of Oswald and his last were the same:

"I could never get mad at this fellow....Sometimes he was obnoxious. I don't know. I had a liking for him. I always had a liking for him. There was something charming about him, there was some - I don't know. I just liked the guy - that is all....with me he was very humble. If somebody expressed an interest in him, he blossomed, absolutely blossomed. If you asked him some questions about him, he was just out of this world. That was more or less the reason that I think he liked me very much."

The DeMohrenschildts soon embraced the Oswalds and visited them with an idea of helping the struggling couple.

It is interesting to note how the Dallas Russian community split in their reactions to the Oswalds. Most of them - being staunch anti-communists - wanted nothing to do with a man who had tried to defect to Russia. But some of the Emigré members - especially those with intelligence connections such as DeMohrenschildt - seemed quite at ease with the young would-be defector. Perhaps they too had been assured that Oswald was just a "harmless lunatic."

In October 1962, DeMohrenschildt managed to move Oswald to Dallas, where he dropped out of sight for nearly a month. His wife, Marina, was left with DeMohrenschildt's daughter and son-in-law, the Gary Taylors.

Something was going on because Oswald did not even inform his mother of the move and he told friends he had been fired from his job at Leslie Welding in Fort Worth when actually he quit.

Furthermore, during this time DeMohrenschildt was making regular trips to Houston, according to his friends Igor Voshinin and Paul Raigorodsky. Raigorodsky, a wealthy oilman and a director of the Tolstoy Foundation - an anti-communist organization of Russian exiles which was funded by the U.S. government - told the Warren Commission he asked DeMohrenschildt about his frequent Houston trips. Raigorodsky stated:

"He told me he was going to see Herman and George Brown. They are brothers."

The Brown brothers, of course, were owners of Brown and Root Construction and close friends and financial contributors to Lyndon Johnson.

Today, however, Jeanne DeMohrenschildt contends that her husband was conducting oil business in Houston with John Mecom and John De Menil. She said the only reason they didn't relocate to Houston during this time was because of her successful clothing business in Dallas.

At the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis, Oswald went to work for Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall, a Dallas printing and photographic firm which had contracts with the U.S. Army Map Service. Although clearances were required to work in some areas of the plant, testimony before the Warren Commission showed security was sloppy and apparently Oswald had access to sensitive material. It was here, it was believed, that Oswald manufactured false identification papers both for himself and in the name A.J. Hidell, using company photographic equipment.

He once asked fellow employee Dennis Ofstein if he knew what the term "microdot" meant. When Ofstein replied no, Oswald proceeded to explain that it was a special photographic process whereby a great mass of documents could be reduced to the size of a dot. He said this technique was used frequently in espionage work. All this left Ofstein wondering why Oswald would discuss such a subject. It should be noted that the word "microdot" was found written in Oswald's address book next to the entry for Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall.

Oswald and DeMohrenschildt also may have discussed spy work. He told the Warren Commission that Oswald once told him:

"...he had some contacts with the Japanese communists in Japan, and they - that got him interested to go and see what goes on in the Soviet Union" (See LEE HARVEY

OSWALD).

Through the Christmas holidays of 1962-63 DeMohrenschildt continued to try and get the Dallas Russian community involved with the Oswalds, but with only marginal success.

He apparently tried to separate the Oswalds and, on at least two occasions, tried to find living quarters for Marina and her children. But Marina decided to reunite with Oswald, much to the disgust of her friends in the Russian community who had tried to help her despite their dislike for her husband.

On February 22, 1963, the DeMohrenschildts brought the Oswalds to the home of Everett Glover where Marina was introduced to Ruth Paine.

Mrs. Paine was separated from her husband Michael, an employee of Bell Helicopter, and expressed an interest in seeing Marina again for the purpose of learning the Russian language. Marina agreed and several visits between the women followed.

According to the Warren Commission, Oswald ordered the fateful Mannlicher Carcano rifle from a mail order firm under the name "A. Hidell" on March 12, 1963, and it arrived in Dallas on March 25. Just 16 days later, Oswald reportedly fired a shot at General Walker.

The Walker incident occurred on a Wednesday night. Oswald arrived back home that evening and, according to Marina's Warren Commission testimony, told her he fired at Walker and had then buried his rifle. (Recall that the rifle discovered in the Texas School Book Depository was clean and well oiled and that no gun-cleaning material was found among Oswald's possessions.)

Yet the following weekend, the rifle was observed in his home by Jeanne DeMohrenschildt during a visit. She and her husband brought a pink bunny toy to Oswald's young daughter and Marina was showing her around their new apartment when she saw a rifle in a closet.

As Mrs. DeMohrenschildt recalls the incident today, she asked Marina:

"What on earth is that?"

Marina replied:

"A rifle. Lee bought it. I don't know why when we need money for food and things."

Asked what Oswald did with the weapon, Mrs. DeMohrenschildt said Marina answered:

"He goes to the public park with little June (Oswald's daughter) and shoots leaves with it."

Mrs. DeMohrenschildt recently explained:

"Today that sounds very strange, but at the time, I was thinking of the times I had fired guns at small targets in amusement parks and I really didn't think too much of her answer. When I told George about the rifle I had seen in the closet, he immediately boomed out, "Did you take that pot shot at General Walker, Lee?" George then laughed loudly. Looking back on this incident today, Lee and Marina did not appear to be shocked or upset. They merely stood there in silence while George laughed."

However, DeMohrenschildt told the Warren Commission:

"He sort of shriveled, you see, when I asked this question....Became tense, you see, and didn't answer anything....the remark about Walker ended the conversation. There was silence after that and we changed the subject and left very soon afterwards....It was frankly a stupid joke on my part."

Marina told the Warren Commission that on another occasion, DeMohrenschildt asked Oswald, "Lee, how is it possible that you missed?" However both DeMohrenschildts denied such a question was ever asked.

This visit was to be the last meeting between the DeMohrenschildts and the Oswalds. On April 23, Marina moved in with the attentive Mrs. Paine and the next day, Oswald left Dallas by bus for New Orleans.

About a week later, the DeMohrenschildts left for a new business venture in Haiti.

It is now obvious the this venture involved more than simply oil surveying and hemp growing as detailed by DeMohrenschildt to the Warren Commission.

During May 1963, as the DeMohrenschildts were preparing to leave for Haiti, they stopped in Washington where, according to CIA records, DeMohrenschildt met with a CIA representative and the assistant director of Army Intelligence. With him was his Haitian business associate, Clemard Charles. What specifically was discussed at this meeting is not known, but at this same time, another CIA document shows that an Agency officer "requested an expedite check on George DeMohrenschildt." Researchers have noted that Charles later was involved in the sale of arms and military equipment involving a gunrunner named Edward Browder.

According to the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Browder leased a B-25 bomber under the name of a fictitious company and flew it to Haiti a year after the Kennedy assassination and later cashed a \$24,000 check signed by Charles. Browder, a former Lockheed test pilot who is serving a 25-year prison sentence for "security violations," told the Committee he had been working for the CIA.

Browder, according to information gathered by author David E. Scheim, also was an associate of Jack Ruby in the 1950s when both men were arranging the sale of arms to Fidel Castro.

The DeMohrenschildts were in Haiti when they learned of Kennedy's death. Reportedly, DeMohrenschildt told friends there the FBI was behind the assassination. Whether or not he actually made such a comment, he did start to experience difficulties after Haitian President Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier reportedly received a letter from the FBI telling of DeMohrenschildt's friendship with Oswald and labeling him as a "Polish communist and a member of an international band."

The DeMohrenschildts were called to Washington to testify to the Warren Commission in April 1964. Oddly enough, when DeMohrenschildt tried to raise the issue of the damaging FBI letter with Warren Commission Attorney Albert Jenner, Jenner quickly told him:

"I would say you have been misinformed on that."

DeMohrenschildt replied:

"Well, he did receive some kind of letter."

Jenner:

"But, nothing that would contain any such statements....It may have been a crank letter, but nothing official."

DeMohrenschildt, catching the drift of Jenner's remarks depreciating the whole subject, suddenly agreed:

"Yes, I am sure it is nothing official. I am sure it could not have been anything official."

Researchers are left with the question of how could a Warren Commission attorney, supposedly searching for the truth of the Kennedy assassination, have been so confident that the FBI letter was a "crank" and why did he obviously close off the subject rather than attempt to find out more about it?

Today, Jeanne DeMohrenschildt claims that the Warren Commission did not appear eager to hear from her and her husband and that they had to ask to testify. She told this author:

"Much of our problems with governmental authorities came from our refusal to slander Lee's name. The Warren Commission, along with the mass media, depicted Oswald as a complete loner, a total failure, both as a man and a father. This is not the impression George and I had of this man. Lee was a sincere person. Although from a modest educational background, he was quick and bright....Lee obviously loved his daughter June. We could not possibly consider him as dangerous."

During their stay in Washington, the DeMohrenschildts visited in the home of Jackie Kennedy's mother, now Mrs. Hugh D. Auchincloss, who, according an unpublished book by DeMohrenschildt, said:

"Incidentally, my daughter Jacqueline never wants to see you again because you were close to her husband's assassin."

Returning to Haiti, the DeMohrenschildt's problems there increased to the point that in 1967 they were forced to sneak away from the island aboard a German freighter, which brought them to Port Arthur, Texas. Here, according to Jeanne in a 1978 interview with this author, the DeMohrenschildts were met by an associate of former Oklahoma Senator and oilman Bob Kerr. The returning couple were extended the hospitality of Kerr's home.

By the 1970s, the DeMohrenschildts were living quietly in Dallas, although once they were questioned by two men who claimed to be from "Life" magazine. A check showed the men were phonies.

DeMohrenschildt seemed content to teach French at Bishop College, a predominately black school in south Dallas. Then in the spring of 1976, George, who suffered from chronic bronchitis, had a particularly bad attack.

Distrustful of hospitals, he was persuaded by someone - Jeanne cannot today recall who - to see a newly-arrived doctor in Dallas named Dr. Charles Mendoza. After several trips to Mendoza in the late spring and summer, DeMohrenschildt's bronchial condition improved, but he began to experience the symptoms of a severe nervous breakdown. He became paranoid, claiming that "the Jewish Mafia and the FBI" were after him.

Alarmed, Jeanne accompanied her husband to Dr. Mendoza and discovered he was giving

DeMohrenschildt injections and costly drug prescriptions.

She told this author:

"When I confronted (the doctor) with this information, as well as asking him exactly what kind of medication and treatments he was giving George, he became very angry and upset. By then, I had become suspicious and started accompanying George on each of his visits to the doctor. But, this physician would not allow me to be with George during his "treatments." He said George was gravely ill and had to be alone during treatments."

Jeanne said her husband's mental continued to deteriorate during this time. She now claims:

"I have become convinced that this doctor, in some way, lies behind the nervous breakdown George suffered in his final months."

The doctor is indeed mysterious. A check with the Dallas County Medical Society showed that Dr. Mendoza first registered in April 1976, less than two months before he began treating DeMohrenschildt and at the same time the House Select Committee on Assassinations was beginning to be funded. Mendoza left Dallas in December, just a few months after DeMohrenschildt refused to continue treatments, at the insistence of his wife.

Mendoza left the society a forwarding address which proved to be non-existent. He also left behind a confused and unbalanced George DeMohrenschildt.

During the fall of 1976 while in this unbalanced mental state, DeMohrenschildt completed his unpublished manuscript entitled, "I am a Patsy! I am a Patsy!" after Oswald's famous remark to newsmen in the Dallas Police station. The night he finished the manuscript, DeMohrenschildt attempted suicide by taking an overdose of tranquilizers. Paramedics were called, but declined to take him to a hospital. They found DeMohrenschildt also had taken his dogs' digitalis, which counteracted the tranquilizers.

In this book, he depicts Oswald as a cursing, uncouth man with assassination on his mind, a totally opposite picture from his descriptions of Oswald through the years.

Shortly after his attempted suicide, Jeanne committed her husband to Dallas' Parkland Hospital where he was subjected to electro-shock therapy.

To gauge his mental condition at this time, consider that he told Parkland roommate Clifford Wilson:

"I know damn well Oswald didn't kill Kennedy - because Oswald and I were together at the time."

DeMohrenschildt told Wilson that he and Oswald were in downtown Dallas watching the Kennedy motorcade pass when shots were fired. He said, at the sound of shots, Oswald ran away and DeMohrenschildt never saw him again.

This story, which was reported in the April 26, 1977, edition of the "National Enquirer" as "Exclusive New Evidence," is patent nonsense since both George and Jeanne were at a reception at Bulgarian Embassy in Haiti the day Kennedy was killed.

But the incident serves to illustrate the abysmal lack of truthful investigation by segments of the news media as well as George DeMohrenschildt's mental condition at the time.

In early 1977, DeMohrenschildt, convinced that evil forces were still after him, fled to Europe with Dutch journalist Willems Oltmans, who later created a furor by telling the House Select Committee on Assassinations that DeMohrenschildt claimed he knew of Oswald's assassination plan in advance.

However, DeMohrenschildt grew even more fearful in Europe. In a letter found after his death, he wrote:

"...As I can see it now, the whole purpose of my meeting in Holland was to ruin me financially and completely."

In mid-March DeMohrenschildt fled to a relative's Florida home leaving behind clothing and other personal belongings. It was in the fashionable Manalapan, Florida, home of his sister-in-law that DeMohrenschildt died of a shotgun blast to the head on March 29, 1977, just three hours after a representative of the House Select Committee on Assassinations tried to contact him there.

Earlier that day, he had met author Edward J. Epstein for an interview. In a 1983 "Wall Street Journal," Epstein wrote that DeMohrenschildt told him that day that the CIA had asked him "to keep tabs on Oswald."

However, the thing which may have triggered DeMohrenschildt's fear was that Epstein showed him a document which indicated DeMohrenschildt might be sent back to Parkland for further shock treatments, according to a statement by Attorney David Bludworth, who represented the state during

the investigation into DeMohrenschildt's death.

Although several aspects of DeMohrenschildt's death caused chief investigator Captain Richard Sheets of the Palm County Sheriff's Office to term the shooting "very strange," a coroner's jury quickly ruled suicide.

It is unclear if Oltmans knew of DeMohrenschildt's mental problems at the time he made his statements, but in later years, Jeanne told the newsman:

"...if George's death was engineered, it is because you focused such attention on my husband that the real conspirators decided to eliminate him just in case George actually knew something, just like so many others involved in the assassination."

One other matter involved the DeMohrenschildts with the assassination and it has proven as unfathomable as so many other aspects of the case. According to Jeanne, when the DeMohrenschildts arrived back in the United States from Haiti in early 1967, they discovered a photograph of Oswald in some Russian-English language records they had lent to Marina Oswald prior to leaving for Haiti. The records had never been returned and they were surprised to find them among their belongings, which had been left with their friend Everett Glover. Glover later placed the DeMohrenschildt's things in storage. Ruth Paine, with whom Marina lived at the time of the assassination, also had access to the DeMohrenschildt belongings.

The picture is one of the famous backyard scenes depicting Oswald with his rifle and pistol while holding a communist publication. It is one pose of at least three photos believed by most researchers to be faked (See THE EVIDENCE). On the back of the photo is one inscription in English reading "To my friend George from Lee Oswald." Beneath this is an inscription in Russian Cyrillic script which translates "Hunter of fascists Ha-ha-ha!!!"

The photo also bears the date "5/IV/63" apparently meaning April 5, 1963. The date is curious, mixing in Roman numerals as it does and written in the European style. The New Orleans-born Oswald more likely would have written "4/5/63" and, in fact, a check of dozens of other examples of dates in Oswald's mass of written material shows not one written in such a manner.

Today, Jeanne swears neither she nor her husband ever saw the photograph until discovering it upon their return in 1967.

Handwriting experts for the House Select Committee on Assassinations could not identify either Oswald, Marina or the DeMohrenschildts as authors of the inscription.

And Marina gave mixed accounts of the photo, which surfaced just at a time when many assassination researchers were first beginning to question the authenticity of the backyard photographs. The sudden appearance of yet another photo of Oswald and his weapons in the hands of close friends went far in establishing the authenticity of the backyard pictures in the public mind.

While testifying to the Committee in 1978, Marina suddenly said:

"...I remember being surprised at him (Oswald) showing pictures like that to George (DeMohrenschildt), so apparently I saw them at the apartment...something strikes my memory that - how dare he show pictures like that to a friend?"

If her statement is true, and that's a big "if" since later in her testimony Marina suddenly could not remember much else about the episode, it would mean that George DeMohrenschildt - the man with numerous intelligence connections - was aware of Oswald's possession of weapons months before the assassination.

The DeMohrenschildts denied any knowledge of the photo with the incriminating inscription and today, Jeanne is convinced that the picture was planted among their possessions.

Looking over the fascinating life of George and Jeanne DeMohrenschildt, one is struck by the idea that this sophisticated couple may be one of the biggest "Red Herrings" of the assassination.

There is now no question that DeMohrenschildt had numerous and long-standing connections with intelligence - most notably the CIA and, perhaps, private intelligence groups connected with the oil industry and defense work.

However, there can likewise be little doubt that DeMohrenschildt played no role in the actual assassination, since both he and his wife left Dallas in May 1963, and didn't return to the United States until their appearance before the Warren Commission in April 1964.

Any plot to kill Kennedy must have been finalized in the late summer and fall of 1963, a time when the DeMohrenschildts were out of the country.

Yet it is apparent that through DeMohrenschildt certain elements within oil, business and intelligence circles could have become aware of Oswald who, with his pro-communist background, must have

appeared as a prime candidate for an assassination patsy.

After the assassination, DeMohrenschildt - with his connections to German, French, Polish and United States intelligence, wealthy right-wing Texas oilmen, and Caribbean business interests - provided a wonderful opportunity to draw investigators into a labyrinth of false leads.

The mental deterioration near the end of his life caused DeMohrenschildt to make untrue statements which further clouded the issue.

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If George DeMohrenschildt had a genuine liking for President Kennedy, as he stated on several occasions, this fondness was not shared by his conservative oil and business associates. They felt threatened by the young President, who was making decisions on finances, taxation and foreign policy outside their control.

Corporate leaders traditionally had sought out politicians who would look out for their interests in Washington. So in the days of Kennedy's Camelot, these oil and business titans may have looked to a man who they knew they could deal with, if not completely trust - Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Crossfire: All the Way with LBJ

In Dallas on the day Kennedy died there were those people iconoclastic enough to suggest that Vice President Johnson was behind the assassination. These were mostly long-time Texas residents who had heard vicious stories about Johnson for years and who figured the Texas politician had more to gain for Kennedy's death than just about anyone. Even today, many serious students of the assassination cannot discount the idea that Johnson, in some way, played a role in the Dallas tragedy.

Johnson's actions following the assassination do little to stop such speculation. And a close study of the corruption and violence which dogged Johnson's political career only adds to the suspicions.

Lyndon Baines Johnson was born August 27, 1908, near Johnson City, Texas, which had been named for his grandfather, one of the area's original settlers. His father, Sam Ealy Johnson who served in the Texas Legislature for 12 years, told neighbors:

"A U.S. Senator is born today."

Young Johnson graduated from Johnson City High School as president of his senior class of six people. After running away to California, he hitchhiked home and enrolled in Southwest Texas State Teachers College at San Marcos.

Here Johnson displayed his penchant for power and manipulation by becoming an assistant to the school president's personal secretary.

His maneuverings caused the school president to remark years later:

"Lyndon, I declare you hadn't been in my office a month before I could hardly tell who was president of the school - you or me."

Johnson was so distrusted at school that fellow students gave him the nickname "Bull Johnson." "Bull" was simply a sanitized version of bullshit.

After graduating at age 22, Johnson got teaching job in Houston, but it failed to hold the interest of this ambitious young man. So, in 1931, Johnson was drawn into Texas politics, campaigning strenuously for conservative Congressman Richard M. Kleberg. After Kleberg's victory, Johnson accompanied him to Washington as his secretary.

Here too Johnson was criticized for acting as if he were the Congressman rather than merely his assistant.

In 1934 Johnson was visiting in Austin when he met an attractive 21-year-old journalism student named Claudia Alta Taylor, the daughter of an affluent merchant and landowner in Karnack, Texas. As the story goes, a black "mammy" took one look at the infant Claudia and declared:

"Lawd, she's as pretty as a "

From that time on, she was known as "Lady Bird."

After a whirlwind courtship of two months, consisting mainly of daily telephone calls from Washington, Johnson returned to Texas and asked "Bird" to marry him, adding:

"If you say no, it just proves that you don't love me enough to dare to marry me. We either do it now, or we never will."

She agreed and the couple drove to San Antonio for a rushed-up wedding in St. Mark's Episcopal Church. Johnson had a friend pull strings to circumvent the normal channels for obtaining a marriage license and bring a selection of rings from a nearby Sears and Roebuck store. Lady Bird chose a \$2.50 wedding band. After a brief honeymoon in Mexico, the Johnsons moved to Washington, where they rented a one-bedroom apartment and Johnson resumed his political work for Kleberg.

Watching the energetic Johnson was a close friend of the Johnson family, Congressman Sam Rayburn, already a power on Capitol Hill. In August 1935, thanks to some help from Rayburn, President Franklin Roosevelt named Johnson as Texas director of the National Youth Administration, a New Deal program for employing youth. Johnson resigned as Kleberg's secretary and flew to Texas where he told newsmen his "job was to work himself out of a job." One of the first persons Johnson hired to join the NYA was Jesse Kellam, a former San Marcos schoolmate who was then deputy state supervisor of education. Kellam later succeeded Johnson as NYA director and went on to manage the Johnson radio-TV station KTBC in Austin.

Capitalizing on his authority to award loans and jobs, Johnson created a formidable political base in south Texas. He also used his new position to ingratiate himself with President Roosevelt, who Johnson referred to as "my political daddy." By now, his career designs were set firmly in politics.

Johnson's political future contained just three plateaus - Congressman, Senator and President, although Johnson studiously avoided talking about the latter.

In early 1937, with the sudden death of Austin Congressman James P. Buchanan, Johnson saw his

chance. Others also saw their chance. At the same time Johnson was looking for financial and political support to make a bid for Buchanan's seat, Austin attorney Alvin Wirtz and his client, Herman Brown, were looking for help in Washington.

It seems Brown's construction company, Brown & Root, had already begun construction of the Marshall Ford Dam in south Texas but the project had not officially been authorized by Congress but rather was started by a grant from the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Reclamation. Congressman Buchanan had pledged to get the necessary authorization during 1937, but his death left the entire \$10 million project in limbo.

In fact, since the dam was being built on Texas rather than United States property, the future of the project was in serious doubt as it violated federal law to build on non-government land. Yet Brown & Root already had sunk more than \$1.5 million into the dam and the firm's entire business future hinged on completing the project.

What was needed was someone in Washington who could get the laws changed and that someone was Lyndon Johnson.

By this time, distrust and suspicions were growing within the Democratic Party against the powerful Roosevelt. After introducing legislation which would increase the membership of the Supreme Court many conservative Democrats turned against him, claiming he was trying to "pack" the court with New Deal liberals. One of these opponents was Roosevelt's own vice president, the rangy Texan John Nance Garner, who tried to dissuade young Johnson from siding with the President. Johnson either didn't get the word or chose to ignore it.

Backed by Wirtz, Brown and their well-heeled business associates, the indefatigable Johnson raced through nearly 8,000 square miles of Texas hill country pledging total support of Roosevelt and his New Deal, a theme which set well with impoverished farmers and laborers.

The election, climaxed by a raging blizzard and a sudden operation to repair a ruptured appendix on Johnson, was a victory, with Johnson outpolling five opponents by 3,000 votes.

Back in Washington, the 29-year-old Johnson managed to get authorization for the Marshall Ford Dam as well as a fabulous government contract for Brown & Root to build a huge Navy base at Corpus Christi, thanks largely to his connections with Roosevelt and Rayburn.

His staunch support of Roosevelt had won Johnson special attention from the powerful President. The young Texan became friends with Roosevelt's "inner circle" - Thomas G. "Tommy the Cork" Corcoran, author of New Deal legislation; James Roosevelt, the President's son; and Grace Tully, the President's secretary.

Herman Brown and his friends were so pleased with Johnson's performance that in 1940 the young Congressman was offered a share in very lucrative oil properties with no money down. Johnson was told he could pay for his share out of yearly profits. It was tantamount to a gift. Brown was shocked when Johnson, who had been complaining of lack of money, turned the offer down, saying the offer "would kill me politically."

Since both a House and Senate seat would come from votes in Texas, where being in the oil business had never been a hindrance, Brown realized what Johnson's true political goal was - the Presidency.

Johnson biographer Robert A. Caro wrote:

"And only when...Johnson firmly refused (the) offer did Brown realize how much Johnson wanted it."

As a Congressman, Johnson continued to perform for his oil and business mentors back in Texas. In 1941, Brown & Root obtained a lucrative Navy contract to build four submarines, although, as George Brown was to later recall:

"We didn't know the stern from the aft - I mean the bow - of the boat."

But bigger favors required a bigger office, so in that same year Johnson made his bid for the Senate after a sudden stroke took senior Texas Senator Morris Sheppard.

Johnson immediately entered the race but his competition was formidable. Governor W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel, Texas Attorney General Gerald Mann and Martin Dies, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and others also wanted Sheppard's seat.

As in 1937, Johnson hitched his star to Roosevelt's, rushing about Texas calling for support for the President and the New Deal. Meanwhile, Brown & Root, Dallas and Houston oilmen and Democrat sources in Washington all contributed to Johnson's race.

Early in the campaign O'Daniel had told Johnson he wouldn't run, however, after sensing a rising

anti-Roosevelt tide among rural Texans, he changed his mind. Backed by the country singing group, the Light Crust Doughboys, O'Daniel crisscrossed the state slowly pulling votes from the FDR-favored Johnson.

Right through Election Day, it appeared Johnson would soon be senator.

However, powerful business interests in Texas wanted O'Daniel out of the Governor's mansion and last-minute returns from rural counties - many of them of questionable authenticity - resulted in Johnson's defeat by a meager 1,311 votes out of a total of nearly 350,000.

Following his defeat in 1941, Johnson began moving conspicuously to the political right, gaining more favor with conservative Texas oil and business interests, while his relationship with President Roosevelt cooled.

During his ill-fated senate race, Johnson had promised Texans:

"If the day ever comes when my vote must be cast to send your boy to the trenches, that day Lyndon Johnson will leave his Senate seat and go with him."

Just two days after Pearl Harbor, Johnson - who had been commissioned a lieutenant commander in the Navy Reserve some months previously - was called to active duty, becoming the first Congressman to leave for military service.

In June 1942, John was a passenger in a B-26 flying over the Pacific on his way to "assess American morale" when the bomber narrowly escaped Japanese fighters. The Navy awarded Johnson the Silver Star for "his marked coolness in spite of the hazard involved."

After serving less than a year, Johnson arrived back in Washington after Roosevelt called on all congressmen serving in the armed forces to return home.

His wartime service had won Johnson at least one solid ally. After a period of cool relations due to Johnson's blatant ambitiousness, Johnson again was accepted by powerful House Speaker Sam Rayburn. Rayburn taught Johnson his political philosophy, which he often repeated:

"To get along, you have to go along."

J. Evetts Haley, a critical biographer of Johnson, wrote:

"Lyndon became Rayburn's protégé; their relationship a fusion of experience and political sagacity with youthful ardor and enthusiasm, with no appreciable enhancement of the ideals and ethics of either."

Also, in 1942, Johnson was to use his friend Roosevelt one more time.

An IRS investigation had turned up evidence that huge amounts of money had been illegally contributed to Johnson's 1941 senatorial campaign by Brown & Root. It was estimated that the construction firm underestimated more than \$1 million in taxes.

Yet even as the investigation began to be productive, Johnson and Brown & Root Attorney Wirtz met with FDR. Soon orders came down from Washington ordering a halt to the probe.

IRS investigators were incensed, but it was not to be the last time that investigations involving Johnson were suddenly scotched from Washington.

Remembering the effects of ballot box stuffing during the loss in 1941 and his ability to get things done in Washington, Johnson again entered a race for the Senate in 1948.

It was a close race between Johnson, still identified with Roosevelt and the New Deal, and conservative Texas Governor Coke Stevenson, who managed defeat Johnson in the Democratic Primary. However Stevenson didn't have a clear majority, so a run-off election was called for August 28.

Due to slow communications and manual voting procedures, the election outcome was in doubt for several days.

Finally on September 2, Johnson went on radio with a "victory speech" which shocked the confident Stevenson forces. Veteran Texas newsman Clyde Wantland wrote:

"Their fears were validated the following day...when a source friendly to Stevenson reported from Jim Wells County that Precinct 13 had been recanvassed and a "correction" made favoring Johnson with 202 more votes. Johnson's radio broadcast on Thursday thus became a reality on Saturday. Precinct 13 had been corrected from Johnson 765-60 to Johnson 967-61. This gave him a lead of 87 votes, with returns now complete and semi-official."

This 87-vote edge earned Johnson the sobriquet of "Landslide Lyndon" and began one of the longest legal feuds in Texas history. Some aspects of the 1948 election were still in court at the time of the Kennedy assassination.

At the center of the controversy was the powerful South Texas political boss, George Parr,

commonly called the "Duke of Duval County." Parr, who wielded considerable power through the area which included Jim Wells County, was no stranger to questionable practices. Years earlier when a suspicious taxpayer had obtained an order from the Texas Supreme Court to audit Duval - and hence Parr's - financial records, the county courthouse suddenly burned to the ground destroying all the records. Parr's power rested with his ability to control votes. On election days, armed "pistoleros" hired for the day as "deputy sheriffs" would escort Hispanic voters to the polls and hand them a poll tax receipt and a completed ballot.

Reportedly, the 87-vote "correction" in the 1948 election came after frantic phone calls between Johnson and Parr. When a State Democratic Executive Committee subcommittee accepted the "corrected" return from Box 13, Stevenson supporters rushed to see Parr.

Already present in Parr's office was Johnson's campaign manager, John B. Connally, a long-time political protégé of the Congressman. Parr, feigning surprised, assured them he knew nothing of voting irregularities and the Stevenson group moved on the Jim Wells County, where they discovered that voting records were locked in the vault of the Parr-owned Texas State Bank.

The next day, with rumors of a shoot-out in the air, Stevenson and his entourage arrived at the bank along with famed Texas Ranger Captain Frank Hamer, who escorted the group through a phalanx of armed Parr employees. Inside, Stevenson was able to look at the "corrected" voting list and found 202 new names had been added alphabetically written by the same hand in blue ink, whereas the rest of the list was in different hands and in black ink.

Although they were not allowed to remove the list, Stevenson's people memorized enough names to investigate later. Many were Mexican citizens who had died long before the election and others, such as Enriqueta Acero, were back in Mexico on election day.

Furthermore, Stevenson found that while county officials claimed 1,025 votes had been cast, only 600 ballots had been officially issued for Precinct 13.

But while Stevenson and his group were uncovering evidence of illegal activities in Jim Wells County, Johnson had obtained an injunction from Austin Judge Roy Archer preventing the county's election committee from reconvening.

In court papers, Johnson charged that Stevenson, Hamer and others were conspiring to steal his Senate seat. In his petition, Johnson claimed he came to the Austin judge - 200 miles away from Jim Wells County - because "the resident judge...cannot be reached in sufficient time." A quick check showed that Judge L. Broeter of Jim Wells County was available.

Haley noted:

"Time was of the essence. Had the action in Judge Archer's chambers been delayed more than one hour, it is highly likely that the Jim Wells Democratic Committee would have met, thrown out Box 13, and restored the electoral decision in Stevenson's favor."

The fight over the election continued three days later when the Texas Democratic Executive Committee met in Fort Worth to certify the November ballot.

Arguments were heard for hours and a tie vote over whether or not to accept their subcommittee's report which favored Johnson was broken by the late arrival of Amarillo Committeeman C.C. Gibson. Johnson was on the Democratic ballot, which was tantamount to election.

But Stevenson continued his fight, saying:

"This race is not a matter of life or death for me. If I lost by one vote in an honest count the heavens wouldn't fall in. But some half million good solid Texans voted for me as their Senator and they have been defrauded and robbed. We can do no less than appeal to the Federal Courts."

Accordingly, Stevenson approached Federal Judge T. Whitfield Davidson and argued that, through fraud and corruption, he and his supporters had been denied their civil rights - namely their votes. After hearing out Stevenson, Judge Davidson ordered a full hearing for September 21, when he heard arguments from both sides. According to one news account of the proceedings, Davidson interrupted Johnson attorney's oratory by stating:

"There has not been one word of evidence submitted to disprove this plaintiff's claim that he has been robbed of a seat in the United States Senate."

Davidson then ordered an investigator to travel to Jim Wells County and report back with evidence of the truth. The judge also suggested that Johnson and Stevenson simply face each other on the November ballot and let the voters choose, a suggestion which Stevenson accepted.

But Johnson was not to be outdone by an honest election. The issue now was in the hands of federal authorities, where his growing power could be brought into play. Bypassing the Court of Civil Appeals, Johnson went directly to Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black - a former member of the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama who had been appointed by Johnson's "political daddy" Roosevelt.

On September 29, 1948, Black issued a sweeping order ending both Judge Davidson's injunction and his investigation. This questionable order into another court's proceedings prompted Davidson to tell newsmen:

"The United States Supreme Court has altered my opinion, but it hasn't changed my mind."

Haley wrote:

"The Black order, hurriedly issued in chambers, evidently without clerical or stenographic help, since it was dated in his own hand...peremptorily denied justice to Governor Stevenson and nearly half a million Texans who had voted for him. It brazenly abridged the Constitution and the Bill of Rights...But perhaps most terrible of all, it sanctified corruption as public policy. There is nothing in American history like it."

Lyndon Johnson went on to the U.S. Senate and his meteoric rise to power.

But in a series of strange deaths and missing records - which researchers cannot help but compare with similar events following the Kennedy assassination - the shock waves of his 1948 "landslide" victory continued. The all-important voting list of Jim Wells County turned up missing, after the county election chairman - a Parr employee - took it home for safekeeping. It was later discovered that the Precinct 13 ballot boxes were empty, the contents apparently destroyed by an overly-efficient Mexican janitor.

The matter came up again in 1977, when a guilt-ridden Luis Salas, the Jim Wells election judge, admitted to Texas newsmen that he certified fictitious ballots for Johnson on orders from Parr, who committed suicide in 1975. Salas said:

"Johnson did not win that election; it was stolen for him."

But even more troubling than this example of political fraud and corruption are the deaths connected with this and other attempts to investigate criminal charges against Johnson. When newsman Bill Mason began looking into South Texas political corruption as a result of the 1948 election furor, he was fatally shot by one of the Jim Wells County deputy sheriffs, Sam Smithwick. Smithwick was convicted and imprisoned. Angered at his friends for not getting him off, Smithwick wrote a letter to Stevenson saying he was ready to tell the truth of the 1948 election. But before Stevenson could visit Smithwick, the murderer was found hanged in his prison cell.

Another man who had sided with Stevenson was Attorney Jacob "Jake" Floyd. Floyd, who also was fighting the Parr machine, was warned on September 9, 1952, that he was targeted for assassination by Parr gunmen. Floyd left home by taxi. But a short time later, his son Buddy Floyd tried to leave in the family car and was fatally shot from ambush, apparently mistaken for his father. One of the men later convicted of shooting young Floyd, San Antonio bar owner Mario "El Turko" Sapit, was carrying a deputy sheriff's card signed by George Parr when arrested.

Violence was not uncommon in the rough and tumble politics of Texas in the 1940s and 1950s.

During the election of 1948, a young Jim Wright was running for re-election to the Texas Legislature. It was thought that Wright, considered a liberal by many in his hometown of Weatherford, would face a tough fight with a perennial office seeker and conservative named Eugene Miller.

On July 7, 1948, - just days before the election - Miller was shot down in front of his home outside Weatherford. No one was ever convicted of the crime and Wright went on to Austin. Wright's career advanced to Washington, where he assumed Sam Rayburn's old office of Speaker of the House.

Although the 1941 IRS investigation of Johnson contributions had been stopped by Roosevelt, Austin District IRS Collector Frank L. Scofield - himself appointed by FDR in 1933 - had continued to keep an eye on Johnson's finances. This may have led to charges being brought against Scofield in 1953 for allegedly obtaining political contributions from his employees in violation of the Hatch Act. After resigning his office, Scofield was acquitted of all charges by a federal jury in 1954. But the damage had been done. While Scofield was out of office, his successor placed all of the IRS files relating to Johnson and Brown & Root in a quonset hut in South Austin. Within days it mysteriously caught fire, destroying all the evidence.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, both Johnson and his protégé Connally had offices in Fort Worth. Johnson operated out of the Hotel Texas, the site of Kennedy's breakfast speech the morning of

November 22, 1963.

It was here in Fort Worth that both Johnson and Connally came into contact with gamblers, who in turn, were later connected to Jack Ruby as well as anti-Kennedy Texas oilmen.

W.C. Kirkwood was known as a "gentleman gambler" because he never allowed anyone in his high-stakes poker games who was on a salary. He did not want to be the cause of someone's children going hungry. Kirkwood conducted his big-time gambling at a luxurious sprawling Spanish-style complex known as The Four Deuces - the street address was 2222 on Fort Worth's Jacksboro Highway, notorious for its taverns and prostitution. It was here, under the protective eye of off-duty policemen, that men like H.L. Hunt, Clint Murchinson and others joined Sam Rayburn and his protégé Johnson for hours of Kirkwood-provided hospitality.

Murchinson, the close friend of J. Edgar Hoover, had developed a friendship with Johnson beginning in the 1940s. It is interesting to researchers that a principal banker for Murchinson as well as a longtime friend was none other than John J. McCloy, former chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank and one of the Warren Commissioners chosen by President Lyndon Johnson.

According to Murchinson biographer Ernestine Van Buren:

"...Clint wrote Johnson frequently, passing along ideas as a coach or mentor, knowing that Lyndon could implement them with his influence, if he wished. Clint's letters covered almost every subject in politics, with free expression of personal views, outlines on proposed legislation, philosophical aspects of the responsibility of paying taxes versus tax exemption, analysis of various political personalities, the broad international picture, the McCarthy censure, inflation, communism, and, of course, oil, oil, oil."

Murchinson was well aware of Johnson's presidential ambitions. He once wrote Johnson:

"...if you can work (California's powerful Senator William) Knowland, Nixon and Hoover together, you can control the United States, and this is not too much of a job for you..."

Retired Fort Worth Policeman Paul Bewley recalled for this author that while providing security for Johnson's Hotel Texas office suite, the one man who had unquestioned access to Johnson was W.C. Kirkwood.

The point which has fascinated assassination researchers is that Kirkwood's son, Pat Kirkwood, hosted Kennedy's Secret Service guards the night before his trip to Dallas (See G MEN) -and the fact that both the Kirkwoods and Dallas nightclub owner Jack Ruby shared a common close friend in gambler Lewis J. McWillie.

Ruby and McWillie - who at one time operated his own gambling establishment in Dallas, the Top of the Hill Club - had tried to open a casino in Cuba in 1959 and had participated in gun running schemes. A March 26, 1964, FBI report stated:

"...McWillie was a member of the "so-called gambling syndicate" operating in the Dallas area (which included the Kirkwoods in Fort Worth)...As of May 1960, McWillie was pit boss at the Riviera Casino, Havana, Cuba. Report reflects that it would appear McWillie consolidated his syndicate connections through his association in Havana, Cuba, with Santos Trafficante, well-known syndicate member, for Tampa, Florida; Meyer and Jake Lansky; Dino Cellini and others who were members of or associates of "the syndicate" (See MOBSTERS)."

Yet, despite this fascinating link between Jack Ruby's friend McWillie through the Kirkwoods to oilmen and Lyndon Johnson, neither the Warren Commission nor the House Select Committee on Assassinations apparently felt the need to fully investigate these associations.

Even in 1978, when Pat Kirkwood told Committee investigators that Oswald had worked briefly for his Cellar club in San Antonio, they made no comment and quickly moved on to another area of questioning.

Secure from the IRS investigation, Johnson began to expand his power base in Washington and by 1951, he was elected Democratic Whip in the Senate.

Two years later, at only 44 years of age, Johnson became the Senate's Majority Leader.

As Majority Leader, Johnson automatically became chairman of both the Democratic Steering Committee and the Democratic Policy Committee. The Steering Committee designated which Senators would serve on which committees while the Policy Committee made decisions on the desirability, importance and priority of Senate legislation. The power and importance of Johnson's position cannot

be overstated.

Johnson soon was being described as the "second most powerful man in government."

Despite a near-fatal heart attack in 1955, a recovered Johnson soon was exhibiting his seemingly boundless energy on Capitol Hill once again. In countless deals, Johnson displayed his ability to get things done for his friends.

His incessant ambition prompted biographer Caro to comment:

"The more one thus follows his life, the more apparent it becomes that alongside the thread of achievement running through it runs another thread, as dark as the other is bright, and as fraught with consequences for history: a hunger for power in its most naked form, for power not to improve the lives of others, but to manipulate and dominate them, to bend them to his will. For the more one learns...about Lyndon Johnson, the more it becomes apparent not only that this hunger was a constant throughout his life but that it was a hunger so fierce and consuming that no consideration of morality or ethics, no cost to himself - or to anyone else - could stand before it."

One example of Johnson unbridled acquisition of power is that after becoming Senate Majority Leader, he defied the traditional practice of dropping committee chairmanships. Instead, Johnson maintained his chairmanship of the Democratic Policy, Steering, Conference, Appropriations subcommittee, Armed Services Preparedness and Aeronautical and Space committees.

Johnson used his powerful position to best advantage, according to author Caro, who told the "Atlantic Monthly":

"For years, men came into Lyndon Johnson's office and handed him envelopes stuffed with cash. They didn't stop coming even when the office in which he sat was the office of the vice president of the United States. Fifty thousand dollars in hundred-dollar bills in sealed envelopes was what one lobbyist for one oil company testified he brought to Johnson's office during his term as vice president."

There is evidence that Johnson also profited from cash contributions from the mob.

Jack Halfen - a former associate of Bonnie and Clyde, Frank Costello, Vito Genovese and Carlos Marcello - was the mob's gambling coordinator in Houston. On trial for income tax evasion in 1954, Halfen revealed how Houston gambling netted almost \$15 million a year with 40 percent going to Marcello, 35 percent to Halfen and 25 percent to Texas police officials and politicians.

In talks with federal officials while serving a prison term, Halfen told how Johnson had been the recipient of more than \$500,000 in contributions over a 10- year period while in the Senate. He said Johnson, in turn, had help the crime syndicate by killing anti-rackets legislation, watering down bills that could not be defeated and slowing Congressional probes into organized crime.

Halfen substantiated his close ties to Johnson with photographs of himself and Johnson on a private hunting trip and a letter from Johnson to the Texas Board of Pardons written on behalf of Halfen.

According to published reports Johnson also received large-scale payoffs from Teamster President Jimmy Hoffa. A former senatorial aide, Jack Sullivan, testified that he witnessed the transfer of a suitcase full of money from a Teamster lobbyist through a Maryland senator to Johnson's chief aide Cliff Carter.

Also recall that one of Johnson's "trusted friends," Bobby Baker, had long and documented mob connections. Baker once wrote:

"A New Orleans businessman rumored to be well connected with the Mafia had once sought me out to inquire whether President Lyndon Johnson might be willing to pardon Hoffa in exchange for one million dollars."

The Johnson Administration's anti-crime record is dismal. Racket busting came to a virtual halt. During the first four years following the assassination, Justice Department organized crime section field time had dropped by 48 percent, time before grand juries by 72 percent and the number of District Court briefs filed by that section by 83 percent.

Yet another example of Johnson's willingness to circumvent the law for his career's sake came in 1960, when he decided to run for President despite continually denying this decision. At the urging of Johnson, Democratic legislators in Texas rushed through a law which superseded an old statute forbidding a candidate from seeking two offices at the same time.

Thus Texas voters witnessed the bizarre spectacle of Johnson running for vice president on Kennedy's liberal national ticket while also running for Texas Senator on the state's conservative

Democratic ticket. This hypocrisy raised eyebrows all across the state. One can easily imagine Johnson's anger and hurt when the Democratic Party in 1960 handed its Presidential nomination not to this long-time standard bearer, but instead to John F. Kennedy, a relative newcomer.

Johnson lamented to friends:

"Jack was out kissing babies while I was passing bills."

Knowing how Kennedy's top supporters detested him, Johnson must have seen Kennedy's nomination as a major road block in his drive for the Presidency. He was therefore pleasantly surprised when Kennedy offered him the vice president's position on the ballot. This offer, coming as it did after a often-bitter campaign between the two men, has been the subject of much debate. It now seems clear that Kennedy never really believed that Johnson would swap his Senate power for the empty honor of being vice president. He made the offer as a conciliatory move, fully expecting Johnson to turn it down.

But Johnson saw it as an opportunity to get one step closer to the presidency and promptly accepted. Reminded by friends that the office of vice presidency carried little importance, Johnson said:

"Power is where power goes."

The Kennedy forces were shocked. How could Kennedy pick Johnson, who stood for almost everything they hated.

It has been speculated that Kennedy went ahead and accepted Johnson for several reasons - as vice president Johnson could not retain his powerful position in the Senate where he might have stalled Kennedy's programs, it was an attempt to resurrect the old Democratic coalition of big city political machines and southern traditionalists which had kept the party in power throughout the Great Depression and it seemed necessary to have Johnson's help in swinging the 1960 election in southern and western states.

The latter reasoning proved prophetic. It was only through the tireless efforts of Johnson that six crucial southern states - including Texas - were kept in the Democratic column.

In Texas this was accomplished very simply. According to Haley, both Johnson and Rayburn warned the state's oilmen that if they voted for Nixon and the Democrats won, the oilmen could kiss the oil depletion allowance good-bye. So oil money helped swing the state for Kennedy-Johnson, despite a national Democratic platform which called for repealing the allowance - mute testimony to their belief in Johnson's power and hypocrisy.

During the 1960 campaign an incident occurred which illustrates how both friend and foe was vulnerable to what had become known as "The Johnson Treatment".

As reported by J. Evetts Haley, Johnson was lent a Convair jet for his campaign by Houston oilman John Mecom, the same oilman who was a business associate of George DeMohrenschildt. To disguise the fact that a wealthy oilman was providing Johnson with a plane estimated to cost \$500,000, a lease agreement with an option to buy was signed by Johnson.

After the campaign, Mecom demanded the plane's return, but Johnson pointed to the contract and forced Mecom to honor the plane's sale for a paltry \$200,000 as agreed in the contract.

As vice president, Johnson was a changed man. Gone were his power and his enthusiasm. There was almost constant friction between this old-style political powerbroker and the new breed of Kennedy men. Johnson's brother, Sam Houston Johnson, wrote about the treatment of his brother as vice president:

"...they made his stay in the vice presidency the most miserable three years of his life.

He wasn't the number two man in the administration; he was the lowest man on the totem pole...I know him well enough to know he felt humiliated time and time again, that he was openly snubbed by second-echelon White House staffers who snickered at him behind his back and called him "Uncle Cornpone.""

By the fall of 1963, rumors were rife that Johnson would be dumped from the 1964 Democratic national ticket. In fact, the day of Kennedy's assassination, the "Dallas Morning News" carried the headline:

"Nixon Predicts JFK May Drop Johnson."

Consequently, Johnson made several trips abroad, most probably to escape the daily humiliations in the White House. And even as Johnson was being sworn in as vice president, investigations already were underway probing his business connections with Texas wheeler-dealer Billie Sol Estes.

It was an investigation also plagued with corpses. One murder which occurred during the probe has been attributed to the late President by Estes, the former LBJ confidant and convicted swindler.

In 1961, just months before Estes was exposed for conducting one of the greatest frauds in history, a federal Department of Agriculture official named Henry Marshall began looking into Estes' habit of acquiring federal cotton allotment payments for land which was under water or actually government-owned.

In a report little known outside Washington, Marshall may have linked Estes' shady business dealings to his good friend Vice President Johnson. What evidence Marshall had uncovered will probably never be known however. On June 3, 1961, Marshall was found dead on a remote section of his farm near Franklin, Texas. He had been shot five times in the abdomen. Nearby lay a bolt-action .22-caliber rifle. Five days later, without the benefit of an autopsy, the local Justice of the Peace ruled Marshall's death a suicide. This prompted Texas Ranger (later U.S. Marshal) Clint Peoples to declare:

"If he can kill himself with this gun, I can ride a jackass to the moon."

In March, 1962, Estes was arrested on charges of conspiracy and the interstate transportation of fraudulent chattel mortgages in connection with his sale of non-existent fertilizer tanks. Estes repeatedly told friends he was ready to come clean and confess to his misdeeds as well as name those government officials who had profited from his financial empire. However, after revealing that death threats had been made against both him and his family, Estes only claimed protection under the Fifth Amendment when called to testify before the McClellan Committee investigating the case.

According to his daughter, who wrote about her father's experiences, the swindler was helped into prison by an attorney named John Cofer, who had represented Estes at LBJ's insistence. Pam Estes wrote:

"The subsequent mishandling of the (Estes) defense by John Cofer, I now believe, was more the result of Cofer's efforts to protect Lyndon Johnson rather than incompetence."

Cofer had represented Johnson during the "Box 13" vote fraud case.

Soon rumors were circulating that Henry Marshall's death had coincided with his investigation of Estes and his powerful contacts. A belated autopsy of Marshall revealed not only gunshot wounds but that he had suffered carbon monoxide poisoning and a blow to the head.

Despite this late information and the suspicious circumstances, a Texas grand jury reported it was unable to decide with certainty if his death was suicide or homicide.

More than 22 years later, Estes, who had recently been freed from prison, appeared before another Texas grand jury and claimed that Marshall had been killed on orders of Johnson. Estes, speaking after being granted immunity from prosecution, said Johnson feared Marshall could link the vice president to Estes' illegal activities. He said he and Johnson aide, Clifton Carter, along with another man met with the vice president in Johnson's Washington home in early 1961. After Johnson was told that Marshall had refused attempts to have him transferred to Washington and away from his cotton allotments investigation, Estes quoted Johnson as saying:

"Get rid of him."

Johnson friends immediately attacked Estes' charges as "scurrilous." However, on August 13, 1985, a Texas District Judge changed the official verdict of Marshall's death from suicide to homicide based on Estes' testimony.

Also in 1962, just two days after FBI agents questioned him about Estes' business and political dealings, an accountant for Estes, George Krutilek, was found dead in his car near the town of Clint, Texas. Although a hose ran from his car's exhaust to the window, El Paso County pathologist Dr. Frederick Bornstein reported he did not die from carbon monoxide poisoning.

Another Estes business associate, Harold Eugene Orr, died under similar circumstances in early 1964. Orr, who had been arrested with Estes and given a 10-year prison sentence, was found dead in his garage before he could begin serving his sentence. He reportedly was overcome by carbon monoxide while trying to change an exhaust pipe on his car.

And yet another man connected with the Estes case succumbed to carbon monoxide. Howard Pratt, the office manager of the firm which sold Estes fertilizer, was found dead in his car during the Estes investigation.

Clearly one can see that by the time of the Kennedy assassination, dead witnesses, missing evidence and interference with official investigations were nothing new to Lyndon Johnson.

It may also be highly significant that during the years of Johnson's rise to power in Washington, one of his closest friends - in fact, a neighbor who frequently was his dinner guest - was none other than FBI

director J. Edgar Hoover, who also was no stranger to the manipulation of politically-sensitive investigations (See G MEN).

After becoming President, Johnson was encouraged to retire the crusty Hoover. But Johnson - possibly aware of the damaging evidence Hoover could provide against him - declined, saying:

"I'd rather have him inside the tent pissing out, than outside pissing in."

Although it was against established security practice for the President and the vice president to be together in public, Johnson was riding only two cars behind Kennedy in the fateful Dallas motorcade (See THE MOTORCADE).

At Parkland Hospital, Johnson was informed of Kennedy's death and then urged to make a public statement by Kennedy's Assistant Press Secretary Malcolm Kilduff. As reported by author Jack Bell, Johnson told Kilduff:

"No, Mac...I think I had better get out of here and get back to the plane before you announce it (Kennedy's death). We don't know whether there is a worldwide conspiracy, whether they are after me as well as they were after President Kennedy, or whether they are after Speaker McCormack or Senator Hayden. We just don't know."

It has intrigued researchers that Johnson, who should have been in shock at the death of his President, should correctly name the two men who were in line of succession in the event of his death - House Speaker John W. McCormack and Senator Carl Hayden.

Some suspicious types view this as circumstantial evidence that Johnson had been carefully studying the chain of succession with foreknowledge of Kennedy's death.

Fuel has recently been added to this fire by the revelations of Madeline Brown, Johnson's mistress from 1949 to 1969.

An advertising executive in Dallas, Brown met frequently with Johnson over the years. Veteran Texas newsmen remembered her well, but did not report on the affair - just as the national media tacitly agreed not to reveal Kennedy's sexual intrigues in those more discreet days.

Brown has told Texas researchers that she was scheduled to meet with Johnson in Austin the night of November 22, 1963. That morning she received a telephone call from Jesse Kellam, the general manager of Johnson's Austin TV station and a close confidant of the Vice President, confirming her reservations at an Austin hotel that evening.

Brown said Kellam cautioned her about dealing with Johnson, saying he was in the worst mood Kellam had ever experienced and that Johnson had ended their conversation that morning by saying:

"After today, those goddamned Kennedys will never embarrass me again. That's no threat, that's a promise!"

She said it was only later that day that both she and Kellam realized the significance of Johnson's remark.

Whether Brown's account is accurate or not, it is certain that Johnson's hatred of the Kennedys was fierce and tangible.

It stands to reason that if there was a conspiracy involving Johnson that resulted in Kennedy's death, every effort would have been made to erase any evidence of it. Researchers and investigators would not be left with hard evidence, but instead only vague and circumstantial bits of information.

However, it has been pointed out that while evidence can be altered, destroyed and suppressed, circumstances cannot lie. It is therefore significant to look at some of the circumstances surrounding Johnson and his reactions to the assassination.

Although Johnson mentioned his fears of a "worldwide conspiracy" loudly in the hours immediately after Kennedy's death, there appears to have been no action to counter such a threat, indicating that the new chief knew there was no substance to the idea of a global plot. While the Texas border was closed for a couple of hours, there was no widespread closing of United States borders and major airplane and ship terminals were not shut down. Furthermore, while some units were placed on stepped-up status, there was no full-scale military alert put into effect, despite the commander in chief's stated fear of a "worldwide conspiracy."

And at a time when Johnson expressed such concern over a worldwide plot, he never thought to locate Ira Gearhart, the man known as the "Bagman" who carried the metal suitcase which allowed the President to call for a nuclear strike and who had become separated from the Presidential party in the confusion at Parkland Hospital.

It has seemed strange to researchers that, while Kennedy's men wanted to leave Dallas as quickly

as possible, it was Johnson who demanded that the entourage remain at Love Field until he could be sworn in as President by Federal Judge Sarah T. Hughes.

Hubert Humphrey, who later became Johnson's vice president, once correctly stated:

"A vice president becomes President when there is no President. Later, when he takes the oath, he puts on the cloak of office. But that act is purely symbolic."

After arriving back in Washington, Jackie Kennedy explained to Robert Kennedy that the delay in returning was due to Johnson, who told her the Attorney General had told him to take the oath of office in Dallas. Robert Kennedy was surprised and replied that he had made no such suggestion.

Johnson compounded this lie months later in his deposition to the Warren Commission, when he again stated that it was Attorney General Kennedy who had urged him to take the oath immediately.

In another example of Johnson's dishonesty that day, the new President was waiting on board Presidential jet Air Force One when Kennedy's body reached Love Field. In his Warren Commission affidavit, Johnson said Kennedy's aide Kenneth O'Donnell specifically told him to take the Presidential plane because it had better communication equipment. However, O'Donnell denied this, telling author William Manchester:

"The President and I had no conversation regarding Air Force One. If we had known that he was going on Air Force One, we would have taken Air Force Two. One plane was just like the other."

O'Donnell later wrote that a Warren Commission attorney asked him to "change his testimony so that it would agree with the President's" - an offer O'Donnell declined.

Another incident which may have reflected a Freudian slip on Johnson's part occurred long before the assassination in the spring of 1963. On April 23, 1963, the same day Johnson was in Dallas informing the "Dallas Times Herald" that Kennedy would visit the city in the fall and make a luncheon speech, the vice president spoke to business and civic leaders in the Baker Hotel.

Comparing the President with an airline pilot, Johnson said:

"Once you pick him, and you're flying across the water in bad weather, don't go up and open the door and try to knock him in the head. He's the only pilot you have and if the plane goes down, you go with it. At least wait until next November before you shoot him down."

Did Johnson, a politician with 26 years experience at that time, really forget that the election was not until November the following year?

While others were shocked into immobility by Kennedy's death, Johnson exhibited a strange - and perhaps suspicious - ability to press forward with his work.

Johnson aide George Reedy commented that while "everything was chaotic, only the President knew what he was doing." While Kennedy's body still lay in state in the White House East Room, Johnson outlined to a flabbergasted John Kenneth Galbraith his 1964 election strategy, saying:

"I want to come down very hard on civil rights, not because Kennedy was for it, but because I am for it."

Author Jack Bell noted:

"...almost from the moment he took the Presidential oath, Johnson had been unfolding a master plan designed to win the Presidency in his own right and...to carve for himself a favorable place in history."

Three strange episodes also serve to illustrate what appears to have been signs of a guilty conscience on Johnson's part. On the night after the assassination, Johnson would not allow his aide Horace Busby to leave his bedroom until he went to sleep. Once when Busby tried to tip-toe out, Johnson called, "Buz, I'm not asleep yet." It was more than an hour later that the aide was able to slip away from his anxious boss.

In March 1965, long before his Vietnam bombing policies became the object of widespread anti-war demonstrations, Johnson was quoted as saying:

"I wake up at 5 a.m. some mornings and hear the planes coming in at National Airport and I think they are bombing me."

Another odd incident was recounted in Sam Houston Johnson's book "My Brother Lyndon." He said shortly after becoming President, Johnson called him and, in the course of the conversation, said:

"...I have been waiting for a chance to talk with you and to let you know how much I appreciate all you've done for me, Sam Houston. I wouldn't be here if it hadn't been for you."

Sam Johnson replied jokingly:

"Lyndon, I had nothing to do with Oswald."

Sam Johnson said his brother, well known for his crude and tasteless jokes, exploded:

"Goddammit, Sam!" he shouted, "What the hell kind of remark is that?" He went on like that, getting angrier and angrier, for about 20 minutes. And I kept expecting him to slam the phone down like a sledgehammer, but he went on talking at full fury. Finally, in a tired somewhat despairing voice, he said, "I'll call you some other time."

Johnson's brother, who wrote in his book how Lyndon had learned to control his temper even as a small boy, was understandably shocked at this outburst. Had he unknowingly pricked a guilty conscience with his admittedly tasteless, but innocuous, joke?

During the course of the assassination investigation, a number of incidents occurred involving Johnson which have been viewed with suspicion by researchers.

Within 72 hours of Kennedy's death - at Johnson's order - the Presidential limousine SX-100 which carried Kennedy through Dallas, was shipped to Detroit where the body was replaced and the interior completely refurbished. In any other case, this would have been destruction of evidence, since bullet marks on the windshield and blood traces could have provided essential clues as to the number and direction of shots.

Beginning the day of the assassination, telephone calls from Johnson's aides were made to Dallas Police officials urging a curtailment of the assassination investigation. Late on November 23, Dallas Police Captain Will Fritz was ordered to close down the case. According to a close friend of the captain, Fritz once confided he wanted to pursue his belief that Oswald had not acted alone, when he received a person-to-person call. He told his friend:

"But when the President of the United States called me and ordered the investigation stopped, what could I do?"

After the assassination, Governor Connally's clothing - also vital evidence - was taken from the office of Congressman Henry Gonzalez by Secret Service agents sent by Johnson aide Cliff Carter. Connally's clothing was cleaned and pressed by the time it was handed over to the Warren Commission and, hence, useless for study as evidence.

One of Johnson's actions which caused researchers of the assassination no end of problems was Executive Order 11652, which locked an immense amount of assassination evidence and documents in the National Archives away from the American public until the year 2039. It was this act, more than any other, which has caused so much speculation about a possible role by Johnson in the assassination.

It is now becoming publicly known that Johnson's mental state deteriorated significantly in the years following his predecessor's assassination. Former aide and speech writer Richard Goodwin, who helped fashion LBJ's "Great Society," has written that Johnson became obsessed with the idea that America was being taken over by his enemies - communists and "those Kennedys." Goodwin said he and Aide Bill Moyers even consulted psychiatrists about his boss's behavior. Goodwin wrote:

"In all cases, the diagnosis was the same: we were describing a textbook case of paranoid disintegration, the eruption of long-suppressed irrationalities."

Moyers has declined to comment on this and other LBJ men scoff, saying that Goodwin simply didn't understand the man. But others confirm that LBJ's mental equilibrium became questionable after the assassination. Goodwin wrote that Johnson's episodic madness helped launch the United States into "a needless tragedy of such consequences (the Vietnam War) that, even now, the prospects for a restorative return remain in doubt."

Former New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, who launched an ill-fated investigation into the assassination, bluntly stated in 1968:

"Who appointed (Attorney General) Ramsey Clark, who has done his best to torpedo (my) investigation of the case? Who controls the CIA? Who controls the FBI? Who controls the Archives where this evidence is locked up for so long that it is unlikely that there is anyone in this room who will be alive when it is released? This is really your property and the property of the people of this country. Who has the arrogance and the brass to prevent the people from seeing the evidence? Who indeed? The one man who has profited most from the assassination - your friendly President, Lyndon Johnson."

But did Johnson really have enough power to initiate the assassination and force literally dozens of government officials and agents to lie and cover up that fact? - probably not. Furthermore, if Johnson

played some role in an assassination plot, he would have taken great pains to distance himself from such a conspiracy. Evidence of such a role would certainly not be readily available. Therefore, today it is only possible to point out that Johnson - above everyone else - benefited most from Kennedy's death. With the assassination, Johnson achieved his lifelong goal of gaining the Presidency, his business and oil backers were rid of Kennedy's interference and his supporters who wanted an Asian war - notably Brown & Root and ranking officers at the Pentagon - were free to pursue a widening conflict.

A final point is that Johnson - always conscious of his role in history - must have feared appearing like a dunce by continuing to support the Warren Commission "lone assassin" myth.

It is significant that on more than one occasion, Johnson confided that he suspected more than one man was involved in Kennedy's death.

On New Year's Eve 1963, Madeline Brown met with Johnson for the first time since the assassination. She voiced her concern that people in Dallas were speculating that Johnson had something to do with Kennedy's death. Brown told this author that Johnson became quite upset:

"He went crazy and hit his fist. He shouted, "That's a lie! It's those fucking renegades in intelligence and American oilmen. They just couldn't wait."

If this account is true - and other statements by Brown have proven correct - it is intriguing that Johnson would exhibit this early knowledge that "oilmen and intelligence agents" were involved in the assassination at a time when he had just exchanged the public belief that the assassination was the result of a communist conspiracy for one involving a lone-nut assassin.

In an interview with Walter Cronkite in the early 1970s, he again expressed the belief that the assassination involved more than one person, then asked network executives to delete his remarks from the broadcast - which they did.

Johnson was quoted in "Atlantic Monthly" in 1973:

"I never believed that Oswald acted alone although I can accept that he pulled the trigger."

Johnson even voiced the suspicion that the CIA had a hand in the assassination, according to an FBI document released in 1977.

The document quotes Johnson's Postmaster General and close friend Marvin Watson as relaying to the Bureau:

"...that he (President Johnson) was now convinced there was a plot in connection with the assassination. Watson stated the President felt the CIA had something to do with this plot."

Yet this too was kept hidden from the public for years.

Was Johnson well aware of such a plot and only mentioned it in later years so that future historians would not classify him as dense and unaware?

While this ambitiously driven man from Texas most probably did not initiate a death plot against Kennedy, everything known about the man - from the deaths and cover-ups of Texas scandals to his continued prosecution on the unpopular Vietnam War - indicates that Johnson may have had the willingness to join in a conspiracy which would place him in the White House.

As commander in chief of the armed forces and close confidant to the powerful J. Edgar Hoover, Johnson certainly had the ability to erase or mask all evidence which might lead to the truth of the assassination.

Crossfire: Rednecks and Oilmen Summary

Although his efforts were belated and timid, President Kennedy nevertheless did more to further the cause of civil rights in the United States than any of his predecessors. This human rights activity earned him the undying hatred of racist conservatives.

One of the leaders of right-wing extremists in 1963 was Dallas-based Major General Edwin A. Walker, who was the victim of a gunman's attack in the spring of that year.

The Warren Commission confidently concluded:

"Oswald had attempted to kill Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker (Resigned, U.S. Army) on April 10, 1963, thereby demonstrating his disposition to take human life."

However, many facts of the Walker shooting - witnesses who saw several men in suspicious cars, early reports of a different type of ammunition and a photograph of Walker's home which was mutilated while in the hands of federal authorities - raise serious questions about Oswald's guilt.

It appears that some people, such as Miami States Rights Party member Joseph Milteer, had foreknowledge of Kennedy's assassination. Milteer was taped by a police undercover agent accurately predicting Kennedy's death more than two weeks before the assassination.

Meanwhile, Kennedy managed to anger the U.S. business community by the use of his office to compel steel manufacturers to roll back price increases and the introduction of tax-reform legislation which would have closed corporate tax loopholes and abolished or reduced the lucrative oil depletion allowance.

Former Vice President Richard Nixon - who lost to Kennedy in 1960 and went on to become this nation's only President to resign under threat of impeachment - had many strange and troubling connections with the assassination. Nixon flew out of Dallas the day Kennedy was killed, yet was strangely ambiguous when questioned by the FBI later in 1963. There is also the strange incident of an FBI document which indicates that Jack Ruby worked for Nixon in 1947. The Bureau claimed this document was a fake, raising questions about the extent of other "fake" documents in Bureau files.

It also should be noted that many persons connected to the Warren Commission were sought by Nixon to participate in the Watergate investigation.

Obviously politics played a large role in both the Kennedy assassination and Watergate investigations. Finances too may have played a role. In the summer of 1963, Kennedy order the Treasury Department to print more than \$4 billion in "United States Notes," thus bypassing the powerful Federal Reserve system with undoubted angered international bankers.

It has been estimated that more than \$500 million in profits were made by selling selected stocks "short" just before the Kennedy assassination, although apparently no one has attempted to determine just who made these profits and why they chose to sell short. Suspicious researchers tend to believe this market activity indicates foreknowledge of the assassination.

It may be pertinent that a member of the Texas oil community - geologist George DeMohrenschildt - was the last-known close friend to Lee Harvey Oswald. DeMohrenschildt, with his background in Russia, oil and intelligence work, adds greatly to the suspicion that Oswald was being manipulated by someone with intelligence connections in the spring and summer of 1963. However, since the DeMohrenschildts left the United States for Haiti in May 1963, it is obvious that they played no active role in an assassination conspiracy. Instead, it may be that the DeMohrenschildts were simply used to maneuver Oswald and then, over the years following Kennedy's death, offered as red herrings to draw researchers away from the real plotters.

It is significant that one of the strongest allies of the Texas oilmen who loathed Kennedy was Vice President Lyndon Johnson. Johnson's ties with Herman Brown of Brown & Root Construction and with Texas oil interests are legend.

It is also significant that Johnson's career was laced with incidents of aborted investigations of illegal activity, lies and misrepresentations and even corpses. Convicted swindler and one-time Johnson confidant Billie Sol Estes publicly stated that Johnson ordered the death of federal agriculture official Henry Marshall who was investigating illegal business deals involving Johnson and Estes.

Several people close to the assassination - notably Jack Ruby and former New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison - have accused Johnson of some role in an assassination conspiracy. Even his former girlfriend, Madeline Brown, is convinced that he ordered the assassination.

And there can be no question that Johnson, above all others, clearly benefited the most from Kennedy's death. Likewise, Johnson's close friend and neighbor, J. Edgar Hoover, also benefited. Both Johnson and Hoover reportedly were about to lose their life-long careers since it was rumored that the

Kennedys were going to drop Johnson from the 1964 Democratic ticket and force Hoover's retirement.

Both Johnson and Hoover certainly had the power to subvert a meaningful investigation into Kennedy's death - and a wealth of evidence suggests just such subversion. Together, both Johnson and Hoover certainly had the means, the motive and the opportunity.

Did they contract with the mob to kill Kennedy? Or did the mob approach them? Or did they simply turn a blind eye to a plot already activated? The truth of their involvement may not be proven for years. However, a conspiracy involving Lyndon Johnson and his buddy Hoover as an alternative to the Warren Commission's discredited lone-assassin theory goes farther in tying together the disparate bits of assassination evidence than any theory offered to date and cannot be easily dismissed.

As President and Commander-in-Chief, history will surely hold Lyndon Johnson responsible - if not for involvement in the assassination itself, at least for failing to uncover the conspiracy during his leadership.

Crossfire: Soldiers

"...We must guard against ...the military-industrial complex."
President Dwight D. Eisenhower

For more than 200 years the military forces of the United States have accumulated a distinguished history. From the Revolution-era citizen who could become a fighting man ready to protect his community in a minute to the professional Marines who grimly stood between the warring factions in Beirut, Lebanon, the American soldier has proved his worth time and again. Even during the bitter dissension produced by U.S. policy in Southeast Asia, few people seriously questioned the ability or bravery of the individual G.I.

The beginnings of modern warfare - both military tactics and technological advances - are generally credited to the American Civil War.

American military use of technology and logistics during World War II contributed greatly to the defeat of Nazism and the Japanese militarists. However, throughout world history, it has proven extremely difficult to return to peacetime, civilian-control of government once power has been invested in the military. From the takeover of the Roman Empire by the Praetorian Guard up until today, military leaders in power have believed they know what is best for their nation and have attempted to maintain their control. This historical situation was further complicated in the United States during the last world war by a combining of military and industrial power.

Beginning in World War II, America gave birth to something quite unique in its history - a gigantic military-industrial complex.

On January 17, 1961, three days before John F. Kennedy took office as President, President Dwight Eisenhower gave his farewell address to Congress. In this talk he coined the phrase "military-industrial complex" and warned against potential abuses by such an entity. He said:

"Our military establishment today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime...Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence - economical, political, even spiritual - is felt in every city, every State House, every office of the Federal government...

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes..."

Eisenhower's warning was especially timely. The role of the military-industrial complex in American life has continued to grow under the presidencies of his predecessors. It has been reported that in 1960, the Pentagon had assets totaling \$60 billion and owned more than 32 million acres of land in the United States and 2.2 million acres overseas. At that time few nations of the world had budgets as large as the Pentagon and one-third had a smaller population than the U.S. military.

Today these staggering figures have only grown.

A commander's newsletter issued by the Secretary of the Air Force in June 1986, states:

"Defense acquisition is the largest business enterprise in the world. Annual purchases by the Department of Defense (DOD) total almost \$170 billion - more than the combined purchases of General Motors, EXXON, and IBM. DOD's research and development (R&D) expenditures are more than 15 times those of France, Germany or the United Kingdom, and 80 times those of Japan. Defense acquisition involves almost 15 million separate contract actions per year - or an average of 56,000 contract actions every working day. DOD makes only a small percentage of its equipment. It depends primarily on the nation's industrial companies to develop its weapons and to

manufacture everything from belt buckles to aircraft carriers."

It is ironical to note that, prior to World War II, there was no real interest in armaments on the part of American industrialists. In fact, prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, most American businessmen tried to steer a neutral course in world affairs. They were content to limit their struggles to the market place. But with the advent of war, a curious change took place. A manufacturer whose products had to compete in both price and quality in the open market place discovered that, by finagling a government contract, he could sell the same product for a much higher price and with no competition. Quickly, the profit advantages of armaments - and its attendant industries - were recognized and embraced by many American companies.

Columbia University Professor Seymour Melman, writing in "The Permanent War Economy," stated:

"The main focus of American economic effort from 1939 on was, of course, war work of every kind. The government's orders for goods and services soared from \$11 billion in 1939 to \$117 billion by 1945. At the same time, however, there was a marked increase in civilian personal consumption, which rose 25 percent, from \$137 billion in 1939 to \$171 billion by 1945....Everyone saw the economy producing more guns AND butter. Economically speaking, Americans had never had it so good."

At the end of World War II it was widely feared that the United States economy would lapse back into the Great Depression of the 1930s with the coming of peace. But this was averted by the "Cold War," which kept the armaments industry booming even though no real war was declared.

Melman wrote:

"The concept of a "permanent war economy" formulated in 1944 was soon made a reality. One the Soviets exploded an atomic bomb in 1949 and the Korean War was fought (1950-53), a regular annual portion of the American national product...was spent on the military. Military industry was enlarged and mobilized to win an arms race that has no foreseeable end..."

Throughout the late 1940s and 1950s, the U.S. military was the public hero of the nation. In books and movies, whenever there was a problem, the call went out for a military solution. The constant and hysterical pro-military propoganda, so necessary during World War II, was continued until in the public mind it seemed the Pentagon could do no wrong. In 1957 "Fortune" magazine stated:

"We must obtain a reduction in the amount spent on highways, aid to the Negro community, and other non-military extravagances."

This blind faith in military power continues right up to today, fueled by multi-million-dollar public relations budgets in both the Pentagon and industry. Even names and attitudes were changed. The War Department became the Department of Defense and the "enemy" became "potential adversaries." Bombers of the Strategic Air Command carrying megatons of nuclear death also carried the motto, "Peace is Our Profession."

In every city where defense industries are located, there are many different leagues, associations and councils whose sole purpose is to present the public with the argument for ever-higher military spending.

The rise of the Military-Industrial Complex can be charted by annual military budget expenditures.

In 1950 the military budget was \$13 billion; by 1961, this had risen to \$47 billion; and by the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, \$100 billion.

By 1986 - despite the lack of a real war or any unquestioned estimates of Soviet military spending increases - annual expenses by the Department of Defense had risen to nearly \$170 billion.

Few Americans even realize how much power is wielded by the military, which - since the disaster of the Vietnam War - has tended to take a low public profile. For example, consider the Fort Worth Division of General Dynamics. Even most people in Fort Worth, Texas, consider the giant complex on the city's west side as private industry, despite the fact that only a runway separates GD from Carswell Air Force Base.

But actually the General Dynamics complex is Air Force Plant No. 4, wholly owned by the U. S. Air Force. General Dynamics merely operates the plant under a management contract - quite a cozy deal since GD gets a healthy share of the profits while the Air Force, and hence the taxpayers, assumes the capitalization and overhead costs. (Recall it was General Dynamics that was chastised in the early 1980s for gouging the Pentagon - read taxpayers - by selling the U.S. Air Force Contract Part Number 3426B84G01 - a 12-cent wrench - for \$9,609.00.)

A large part of the argument for maintaining an ongoing war economy has come from men and

women who lived through the shock of Pearl Harbor. Vowing never to allow the United States to be caught by an enemy unaware again - although there is now substantial evidence available showing that the Japanese attack was not wholly unexpected in certain Washington circles - these people argue that assembly and production lines must be kept operating so that America can convert to war production quickly, if needed. This argument - plus the fact that millions of American jobs are dependent on defense contracts - has been instrumental in maintaining the war economy.

Critics, on the other hand, claim the permanent war economy has actually been a drain on America's economic life - with its costly production of non-usable goods and its penchant for coastlines and inefficiency which many claim is responsible for the inflation of the 1970s.

All of this, of course, is based on the attitude that the United States is locked in a permanent "Cold War" with the Soviet Union and its communist allies (See [RUSSIA](#)).

No matter how it is viewed, it is an undeniable fact of modern life that the United States economy is based primarily on war and armaments.

It is a situation long overdue for public review. As scientist/author Carl Sagan wrote:

"By the time (President Reagan) leaves office in January 1989...the United States will have spent...roughly \$10 trillion on the global confrontation with the Soviet Union. Of this sum, paid out since 1945, more than a third has been spent by the Reagan Administration, which has added more to the national debt than all previous Administrations, back to George Washington, combined....A business that spent its capital so recklessly, and with so little effect, would have been bankrupt long ago. What else could the U.S. have done with that money (not all of it, because prudent defense is, of course, necessary - but say, half of it)? For \$5 trillion, we could have made major progress toward eliminating hunger, homelessness, infectious disease, illiteracy, ignorance and poverty - not just in the United States but worldwide. We could have helped make the planet agriculturally self-sufficient and removed many of the causes of violence and war. And this could have been done with enormous benefit to the American economy. For a few percent of that money, we could muster a long-term international program of manned exploration of Mars. Prodigies of human inventiveness in art, architecture, medicine, science and technology could be supported for decades with a tiny fraction of that money."

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Even young Senator John Kennedy parroted the Pentagon line during the campaign of 1960, promising increases in military spending. However, his election to the Presidency must have been viewed with some trepidation within the Pentagon, since his most publicized action as a Naval officer was the loss of his ship (PT-109) to a Japanese destroyer.

Once in the Oval Office - and with access to other sources of information - Kennedy made a turnaround in his attitudes toward the military. Earlier Kennedy had echoed Pentagon figures showing that the Soviet Union possessed between 500 and 1,000 intercontinental ballistic missiles. According to later reports, the number was more like 50. Kennedy complained that he had been ill-informed as to the actual number of missiles and suggested that this exaggeration was part of Pentagon strategy.

This complaint has been repeated over and over through the years, most recently by former CIA director William Colby in comments about the book "The Myth of Soviet Military Supremacy," which he called, "...the greatest intelligence gap of all: the exaggeration of Soviet power in comparison with America's, which fuels the wasteful and dangerous nuclear-arms race."

Kennedy also became concerned with the \$3 billion federal deficit of his time - a paltry sum compared to today's near \$200 billion - and feared it would present a threat to the U.S. dollar. Accordingly, Kennedy named a Ford Motor Company executive, Robert McNamara, as his secretary of defense and changes began to take place.

On March 28, 1961, Kennedy told Congress:

"In January, while ordering certain immediately-needed changes, I instructed the Secretary of Defense to reappraise our entire defense strategy, capacity, commitments and needs in light of present and future dangers...."

Kennedy began to make sweeping changes in the way defense and intelligence operated.

Presidents Truman and Eisenhower had depended greatly on the National Security Council (NSC), one of the creations of the National Security Act of 1947. In 1963 the NSC consisted of the President, the Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and the director of the Office of

Emergency Planning.

Theoretically, the CIA was to be controlled by the NSC. But Kennedy had another way of getting things done. Accustomed to the quick-acting, hard-hitting world of political campaigning, Kennedy neglected the NSC method. Instead, he would call upon his friends and family to get things done. While this may have been effective at the time, it left both the Pentagon and the CIA largely to their own devices - a circumstance Kennedy came to regret.

During this same time period, the foreign policy of the United States was being greatly influenced by a new vision of the role of the military in the world. This vision was codified in a May 15, 1959, document written by Army General Richard Stilwell as a member of a special Presidential committee. Innocuously entitled "Training Under the Mutual Training Program," this document offered nothing less than a plan to protect the non-communist world by having nations ruled by a military elite with training and ideology supplied by Americans.

Colonel L. Fletcher Prouty, who was Focal Point Officer between the Defense Department and the CIA during this time, described this program:

"These paramilitary ideas and methods know no ideology and no creed or code. They are the craft of those who would seek power and of those who would fight wars by technical means, and who would utilize the military organization of the state to gain that power by influencing the minds of the "elite," by engaging in social, political, economic and, almost incidentally, military activity....this course of action begins with a high-sounding resolve to improve the lot of the poor "underdeveloped" nations, using the vehicle of the Military Assistance Program to take over the army of that country....it is only reasonable to see, in this action, the ominous fact that it is the American soldier who is the teacher of this doctrine; and it is the same American soldier who becomes his own student. Since this action was begun in 1959 tens of thousands - yes, hundreds of thousands - of American military men, a whole new generation, have grown up believing that this is not only the right thing for "those foreigners" but for Americans as well."

This assistance program - intended to blend the military, police, business and political facets of a nation's life into one cohesive unit - was to culminate in Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, in Guatemala, in South Vietnam and, during the 1980s, in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Initially Kennedy was fascinated by this concept, since by nature he was a strong believer in negotiation and limited response rather than simply taking military options. Words such as counterinsurgency, pacification and special forces began to creep into our political language.

Following the disastrous Bay of Pigs Invasion (See CUBANS), a special board of inquiry was convened to learn what went wrong. It was here that both John and Robert Kennedy began to learn what the new military doctrines of counterinsurgency, flexible response, civic action and nation building really meant. They learned how the obsession with secrecy had completely changed the way the military and intelligence operated. Everything was on a "need-to-know" basis, with fewer and fewer responsible leaders included on the "need-to-know" lists.

After the Bay of Pigs inquiry Kennedy became convinced that the CIA and the Pentagon had misled him terribly, and from that point on, he was highly skeptical of information from those sources.

Moreover, the inquiry showed the Kennedy brothers how powerful the military-industrial complex with its intelligence security force had become.

Kennedy learned from this coalition. He too learned how to concoct a "cover story" - which may account for his public support of the CIA at a time when his private comments and actions showed otherwise (See AGENTS).

The blending of the military and the political was seen clearest in Vietnam, where it was the U.S. Ambassador who was in charge, not the senior military commanders. It was a direct turnaround to the well-established tradition that once political diplomacy fails, national objectives are resolved by military means. In other words, war should be the last resort of politicians. But once war is inevitable, then it should be fought by professional soldiers with clearly-defined goals and objectives.

According to Prouty, the new doctrine swept "out beyond the DOD and the CIA to form a massive paramilitary international power under para-civilian leadership and a monstrous cloak of security...(that) changed the entire world..."

This new doctrine was well accepted by businesses which had stagnated during the late 1950s. Prouty wrote:

"Businesses that had been all but knocked out of the defense-contract arena by the end of the Eisenhower regime - some by the sudden and abrupt swing to ballistic missiles and space during the late fifties - saw new light at the end of the tunnel in the resurgence of the foot-soldier army and the ground warfare this new doctrine presaged. They could expect to go back to making World War II type munitions again and dumping them on the shores of Asia."

But what did all this mean in terms of U.S. military policy?

Prouty again:

"As late as the end of 1963, every U.S. Army combat soldier in Vietnam...was under the operational control and direction of the CIA."

After the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs fiasco Kennedy began to see that this nation's paramilitary and undercover operations were getting out of hand. He made an attempt to reverse this trend by issuing two National Security Action Memoranda (NSAM) in June of 1961. NSAM 55, signed personally by Kennedy, basically stated that he would hold the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff personally responsible for all activity of a military nature during peacetime, the same as during wartime. In other words, Kennedy wanted all cloak and dagger operations as well as military expeditions under the control, or at least under the scrutiny, of the chairman - and hence under his control.

NSAM 57 attempted to divide paramilitary activity between the military and the CIA. Basically, this document tried to stipulate that the CIA would be allowed only small covert operations, while any large operations must be studied and approved by the military.

It seemed a reasonable division of responsibility. However, there were men in both the CIA and the Pentagon who did not appreciate this attempt to curb their power and prerogatives.

Not only did Kennedy attempt to curtail the power of both the military and intelligence, but he even attempted to change the attitude that the United States could alter events in other nations by military means.

On November 16, 1961, Kennedy told a Seattle audience:

"We must face the fact that the United States is neither omnipotent nor omniscient - that we cannot impose our will upon the other 94 percent of mankind - that we cannot right every wrong or reverse every adversity - and that therefore there cannot be an American solution to every world problem."

With his words and actions, Kennedy became the first U.S. President since World War II to address the myth of America's infallibility. This did not set well with the military-industrial complex, which had so much to gain -including profits - by controlling the raw resources of other nations.

In the midst of Kennedy's reappraisal of U.S. military and intelligence operations came the Cuban Missile Crisis (See AGENTS). In October 1962, it was learned from satellites and U-2 flights that the Soviets were preparing offensive missile bases in Cuba, only 90 miles from U.S. borders. The military and the CIA were adamant. They prescribed nothing less than immediate bombing of the missile sites and another invasion of the island.

Kennedy chose a different approach. He personally struck a deal with Soviet Premier Khrushchev which called for the removal of the missiles in return for Kennedy's pledge not to support a new invasion of Cuba. The Soviets backed down and Kennedy's popularity rose significantly, except in offices at the Pentagon and at Langley, Virginia.

The Kennedy Administration continued its efforts to reduce military spending. On March 30, 1963, McNamara announced a reorganization program which would have closed 52 military installations in 25 states, plus 21 overseas bases, over a three-year period. This prompted an immediate response from the business community including even small cities. Merchants in Del Rio, Texas, each donated \$50 to send a delegation to Washington to join in the protest.

Then on August 5, 1963, following lengthy negotiations, the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union signed a limited nuclear test ban treaty forbidding the atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons.

On July 26, just prior to the signing of the Treaty of Moscow, Kennedy proclaimed:

"This treaty is not the millennium. It will not resolve all conflicts or cause the communists to forego their ambitions, or eliminate the danger of war. It will not reduce our need for arms or allies or programs of assistance to others. But it is an important first step - a step toward reason - a step away from war."

As part of this "first step" toward what later would be termed "détente," Kennedy and Khrushchev

agreed to the installation of a "hot line" telephone system between Washington and Moscow. It was a serious deviation from the hard "Cold War" policies of the past and military leaders -both retired and active - were not hesitant to voice their disapproval.

Major General Thomas A. Lane, after a distinguished military career which included degrees from M.I.T. and the U.S. Military Academy and service on General Douglas MacArthur's staff during World War II, retired in 1962 and wrote a column for the St. Louis "Globe-Democrat." One article compared Kennedy's "illusionary quest for peace" to appeasement politicians in pre-war Europe. In a book entitled, "The Leadership of President Kennedy," Lane even questioned Kennedy's attempt to restore civilian control over the Pentagon by writing:

"The general thrust of the Kennedy military leadership was to assert a political domination of the military leadership which is hostile to the traditions and practices of American government. If the military leader is then willing to submit the professional integrity, morale and effectiveness of his service or services to the adverse judgments of inexperienced politicians, he is not fit to hold office."

In a speech to the National Press Club on September 4, 1963, Navy Admiral George W. Anderson charged that assertion of civilian leadership would "downgrade" the military and develop an "over centralized structure which could jeopardize our national security."

Lane and Anderson were not alone in their criticism of the commander-in-chief and it appears countermeasures may have begun in non-Kennedy circles.

A month after the test ban treaty was signed, the CIA stepped up its guerrilla assaults against Cuba and assassination attempts against Castro were renewed (See AGENTS). (While the CIA admitted plotting assassination with Castro official Rolando Cubela at that time, it argued that Cubela initiated the scheme. Cubela, when interviewed by author Anthony Summers in 1978, claimed that it was the CIA that brought up the idea of assassination.)

But for all his activities to reduce the risk of war and curtail the military and intelligence establishments, Kennedy's most momentous - and perhaps fatal - decisions came when he began to re-evaluate United States policy in Southeast Asia.

Crossfire: Kennedy and Vietnam

From the time Lyndon B. Johnson took over the Presidency the afternoon that Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, the idea was encouraged that he would simply carry on Kennedy Administration policies. In many areas this was true. It has been acknowledged that Johnson was able to push Kennedy's civil rights legislation through Congress where his predecessor may have failed. But one area of Kennedy policy was not continued - that area involving South Vietnam.

Early in his Presidency, Kennedy simply went along with the policy of Eisenhower, which was to continue sending military "advisors" and war material to South Vietnam. In fact, during 1961 and 1962, Kennedy actually increased the U. S. military presence in that war-torn nation. (This may have been due to his desire to avoid at all costs another foreign-policy disaster such as the Bay of Pigs.)

But by summer 1963, it is apparent that Kennedy had begun to re-evaluate United States involvement in Vietnam.

Vietnam's sad history has been marked by one foreign domination after another. After more than 12 centuries of domination by China, Vietnam held both a similar culture and an abiding hatred for its giant neighbor. During the 1800s, Vietnam was claimed for the French colonial empire, but lost it to Japanese control during World War II. It was the secret agreements of the Yalta Conference (See RUSSIANS) which angered France's Charles DeGaulle by ceding control of Southeast Asia to the United States. DeGaulle, to counter this agreement, immediately dispatched troops back to French Indochina at the end of World War II.

Meanwhile, in August 1945, a Vietnamese nationalist named Ho Chi Minh had seized Hanoi and proclaimed the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). After a year of negotiations and limited guerrilla activity, Ho and the French went to war. Initially disinterested, the United States became more concerned after China fell to the communists and the Soviet Union recognized Ho's DRV.

In May 1950, one month before the Korean War began, the Truman Administration agreed to send both economic and military assistance to the French and, by summer, the first elements of the U. S. Military Assistance and Advisory Group (MAAG) arrived in Saigon.

In 1951, John Kennedy, then a representative from Boston's 11th District, visited Vietnam and later wrote:

"We have allied ourselves to the desperate effort of a French regime to hang onto the remnants of an empire...There is no broad, general support of the native Vietnam government (by) the people of that area."

Three years later Kennedy was a senator and voiced even stronger opposition to the fact that the U.S. was underwriting nearly 80 percent of the French-communist struggle. He told fellow senators:

"I am frankly of the belief that no amount of American military assistance in Indochina can conquer an enemy which is everywhere and at the same time nowhere, an "enemy of the people" which has the sympathy and covert support of the people."

Despite these expressed doubts, Kennedy did support continuing American military intervention, "...realizing full well that it may eventually require some commitment of our manpower." But on May 7, 1954, the French stronghold at Dien Bien Phu fell to Ho's forces, just as a Geneva conference on Indochina was beginning. That summer, the French and the Viet Minh signed a cease-fire agreement and the fighting stopped briefly.

Weary of war and with strained financial ability, France was unable to hold this part of their old empire. The Geneva conference called for separating Vietnam into two parts - the north to be ruled by Ho and the communists, the south to be ruled by the fledgling democratic government of Ngo Dinh Diem.

Soon the massive military and financial assistance which the United States had been sending the French was shifted to Diem, who quickly - and to the surprise of both friends and foes - consolidated his authority in South Vietnam.

Senator Kennedy told fellow members of the American Friends of Vietnam:

"This is our offspring - we cannot abandon it, we cannot ignore its needs. And if it falls victim to any of the perils that threaten its existence...then the United States, with some justification, will be held responsible; and our prestige in Asia will sink to a new low."

Diem refused to conduct an election to re-unite the two Vietnams, one of the provisions of the Geneva conference, and he began to attack communists in the south. Ho Chi Minh ordered his

followers in the south to begin attacks on the new government.

By the time Kennedy became President in 1960, large-scale guerrilla warfare was being conducted against the Diem regime. But because of Castro and Cuba as well as Soviet incursions in Berlin and the Congo, Vietnam was a non-issue during the 1960 campaign. Kennedy barely noticed that three days after his election, South Vietnam President Diem was the object of an unsuccessful military coup d'etat.

In December, 1960, the communists announced the formation of a Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the internal guerrilla war got underway in earnest.

During 1961 Kennedy, though distracted by the Bay of Pigs Invasion, continued to support further U.S. military assistance to Asia, particularly after communist forces seized the city of Phuoc Vinh, only 60 miles from Saigon. On December 11, two helicopter companies arrived in South Vietnam. It was the beginning of an expanded role for U.S. advisors. By January 1962, total U.S. military personnel in Vietnam numbered 2,646. And on January 13, a memorandum from the Joint Chiefs of Staff entitled, "The Strategic Importance of the SEA Mainland" stated that if the Viet Cong (Vietnamese communists) were not soon brought under control, the chiefs saw no alternative but the introduction of U.S. combat units.

Kennedy continued to hesitate sending combat units to Vietnam. At a news conference on May 9, 1962, he said:

"...introducing American forces...also is a hazardous course, and we want to attempt to see if we can work out a peaceful solution."

According to Assistant Secretary of State Roger Hilsman, one of Kennedy's key foreign policy planners, Kennedy confided:

"The Bay of Pigs had taught me a number of things. One is not to trust Generals or the CIA, and the second is that if the American people do not want to use American troops to remove a communist regime 90 miles away from our coast, how can I ask them to use troops to remove a communist regime 9,000 miles away?"

By mid-1963 after receiving conflicting advice and intelligence regarding Vietnam from his advisors, Kennedy began to reassess his commitment there. He was especially concerned about the treatment of Buddhists under the Diem government. Thousands of Buddhists were demonstrating for freedom, and on June 11, the first Buddhist suicide by fire occurred.

Reflecting Kennedy's concern, the State Department notified Saigon:

"If Diem does not take prompt and effective steps to re-establish Buddhist confidence in him, we will have to re-examine our entire relationship with his regime."

Diem became even more unmanageable as the year drew on, staffing his government with relatives and refusing to listen to the pleas of the Buddhists. Talk began about replacing Diem with leaders more agreeable to American policy. Disgusted, Kennedy even went so far as to approve a plan to withdraw 1,000 U.S. military advisors from Vietnam by the end of the year.

The American Government, including Kennedy, left no doubt of its displeasure with Diem, thus paving the way for yet another Vietnamese coup. This occurred on November 1, 1963, just 21 days before Kennedy arrived in Dallas.

Accompanied by CIA Agent Lucien Conien, South Vietnam generals seized key installations and attacked the presidential palace. After hours of fighting Diem and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, surrendered. While being taken to the generals' headquarters, both were murdered.

Kennedy, who had approved the coup, then rejected it, then okayed it again, was genuinely shocked at the murders.

Hilsman, quoted in "The Ten Thousand Day War," said:

"We instituted a lot of planning in the State Department about how to withdraw (from Vietnam) but we never dared send one of those pieces of paper to the Pentagon. We thought that somebody on (McNamara's) staff might well undercut and destroy. So this whole documentary evidence of the other option - the option of withdrawal - is still not on the public record."

Even many of Kennedy's own people were unaware of his plans to withdraw troops from Vietnam.

Washington was forced to recognize the new military government in Saigon, but for the next 20 months, there were no less than 10 changes of government as one general overthrew another.

It was time for a decision in Vietnam - to support a major American military expedition as desired by the Pentagon or to simply withdraw and take the criticism of the anti-communists.

The assassination of the Diem brothers may have strengthened Kennedy's decision to disengage from Vietnam, but no one will ever be certain. He was dead before the month was out. There is evidence that Kennedy would have curtailed, if not prevented, the Vietnam War. But since in death he cannot tell what he would have done and since his enemies are alive to tell their version, we may never know for certain.

Kennedy's friend and advisor Kenneth O'Donnell tells of a meeting between the President and General Douglas MacArthur:

"The general implored the President to avoid a U.S. military buildup in Vietnam, or any other part of the Asian mainland..."

Kennedy, forever the astute politician, also apparently was very much aware of the approaching 1964 elections.

Senator Mike Mansfield told newsmen that once, following a White House leadership meeting, Kennedy had confided to him that he agreed "on a need for a complete withdrawal from Vietnam," but he couldn't do it until after being re-elected.

Kennedy explained to O'Donnell:

"In 1965 I'll be damned everywhere as a communist appeaser. But I don't care. If I tried to pull out completely now, we would have another Joe McCarthy Red Scare on our hands."

The President also may have given a hint as to his plans in a broadcast on September 2, 1963. Speaking of Vietnam, he said:

"In the final analysis, it is their war. They have to win or lose it."

The people within the Pentagon and the CIA - who had so much to gain by widening the Vietnam War - continued to put out their conflicting and often erroneous information.

Shortly before the Diem coup, McNamara and Gen. Maxwell Taylor had returned from Saigon and told Kennedy that things were looking better in Vietnam and that the United States would be able to withdraw all military personnel by the end of 1965.

Less than one month after Kennedy's assassination, McNamara and Taylor reported to President Johnson that conditions in Vietnam were grave and that a major effort - including American combat troops and a massive clandestine program - was needed to prevent a communist victory.

But by some accounts, the swing away from withdrawal began only two days after Kennedy was slain in Dallas.

According to historian and former Canadian diplomat Peter Dale Scott, a secret National Security Action Memorandum - No. 273 - was hurriedly issued by President Lyndon Johnson during a 45-minute meeting on November 24, 1963. This memorandum essentially changed the U.S. Government's position on Vietnam.

Having pieced this document together and compared it with other documents released as the "Pentagon Papers," Scott said the memorandum departed from past government policy in at least five areas:

- For the first time, the United States objective was described as assisting the South Vietnamese "to win" rather than simply to "help" them.
- Disguised as reaffirmation of a withdrawal policy, the document quietly canceled a November 20 plan to withdraw troops.
- It authorized the planning of more covert activities for 1964 and studies for initiating a wider war against North Vietnam.
- It ordered senior government officials not to criticize U.S. Vietnam policy.
- The State Department was directed to develop a "case" which would demonstrate Hanoi's control over the Vietcong.

On hearing the optimistic assessment from McNamara and Taylor on November 20, 1963, Kennedy had also approved an Accelerated Withdrawal Program, designed to carry out the promise to end American military presence by the end of 1965.

President Johnson's pledge to carry on Kennedy's programs in light of the effects of NSAM 273 prompted Scott to conclude:

"...that NSAM 273's public reaffirmation of (a)...withdrawal "objective," coupled with 273's secret annulment of an October 5 withdrawal plan, was deliberately deceitful."

Scott added:

"...the same document which covertly changed Kennedy's withdrawal plans ordered

all senior officials not to contest or criticize this change."

O'Donnell, writing in "Johnny We Hardly Knew Ye," was more to the point:

"The President's orders to reduce the American military personnel in Vietnam by one thousand before the end of 1963 was still in effect on the day he went to Texas. A few days after his death, during the morning, the order was quietly rescinded."

In analyzing the discrepancies and meanings of internal government documents during those critical days in the fall of 1963, Scott concluded:

"NSAM 273, it seems clear, was an important document in the history of the 1964 escalation's, as well as the reversal of President Kennedy's late and ill-fated program of "Vietnamization" by 1965. The systematic censorship and distortion of NSAM 273...by the Pentagon study and later by the "New York Times," raises serious questions...It also suggests that the Kennedy assassination was itself an important, perhaps crucial, event in the history of the Indochina war..."

What would have Kennedy done in Vietnam had he lived?

William J. Rust, author of "Kennedy in Vietnam," wrote:

"My guess is that he would not have crossed the covert action-advisory threshold, would not have bombed North Vietnam, and would not have committed U.S. ground troops to South Vietnam."

Writing in "The Secret Team - The CIA and Its Allies in Control of the United States and the World," Prouty stated:

"President Kennedy made a valiant attempt to effect control over (the Military-Industrial Complex) with his directives, NSAM 55 and 57, as a start. If he had more actively utilized the NSC (National Security Council) system...he might have had a chance to grasp control of some segments of this intragovernmental cybernetic machine....he was beginning to develop (a)...technique of his own, which by 1965 might have accomplished this task had he lived to perfect it."

Prouty has described the men in the military and intelligence community who were so opposed to Kennedy's ideals as "The Secret Team (ST)" which rules the United States government from the inside.

He outlines the ST thusly:

"(The Secret Team) is not just one finite team of individuals. It is a matrix that changes with the gestation of each new operation. It is a sinister device of opportunity and contrivance. What does exist is the mechanism....It is a great intragovernmental infrastructure that is fed by inputs from all sources. It can be driven by the faceless, lobbying pressure of a helicopter manufacturer, or of a giant Cam Ranh Bay general contractor. It can be accelerated by the many small pushes of hundreds of thousands of career military personnel - uniformed and civilian - who see higher rank and higher retirement pay as a goal worth seeking....It is big business, big government, big money, big pressure and headless - all operating in self-centered, utterly self-serving security and secrecy."

According to Colonel Prouty, the men controlling the military-industrial complex or "The Secret Team," realized Kennedy "...had to be removed from office before winning the inevitable mandate from the U. S. public, which was certain to be his in 1964."

Obviously, at this late date, no one wants to claim responsibility for a 10-year undeclared war which killed 58,000 Americans, caused domestic riots and demonstrations, engendered lasting hatreds between classes and age groups and, according to many, nearly wrecked the American economy.

Was Kennedy's embryonic move to disengage in Vietnam a catalyst for his assassination? Was it the straw which broke the back of the military-industrial camel?

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As terrible as it is to contemplate the involvement of the U.S. military in the Kennedy assassination, there are many connections between the two. In fact, a military presence permeates the events of Dallas. A military intelligence officer was trapped in the Texas School Book Depository when sealed by Dallas police; an Army Intelligence officer accompanied Secret Service agents in the motorcade's pilot car; and FBI Agent Hosty, who destroyed a note from Lee Harvey Oswald after the assassination, was with a military intelligence agent in Dallas the morning of November 22, 1963. Then too, consider the strange case of Richard Case Nagell.

Crossfire: The Man Who was to Kill Oswald

On the afternoon of September 20, 1963, a man described by local papers as a 33-year-old "battle-scarred Korean War hero" walked into the State National Bank of El Paso, Texas, drew a Colt .45 from his sports coat and fired two shots into a plaster wall close to the ceiling.

When a policeman arrived, the man was sitting calmly in a car in a nearby alleyway motioning for a pedestrian to pass in front of him. "I guess you got me now, " he told the cop. "I surrender." Since the bank was regulated by the federal government, FBI agents were summoned. In the man's pants pocket they found a newsletter from the Los Angeles Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the group Lee Harvey Oswald reportedly joined while in New Orleans.

Under questioning the man stated:

"I would rather be arrested than commit murder and treason."

His name was Richard Case Nagell, and he told one of the strangest and most sinister stories to come out of the Kennedy assassination. His story, as pieced together from interviews and court documents and published in a national magazine article in 1981 by writer Richard Russell, delves into the complex and murky world of military intelligence, CIA and FBI.

Raised in an orphanage and foster homes, Nagell entered the Army in 1948 at age 18. During the Korean War, he was the youngest American to receive a battlefield commission to captain. Nagell won three Purple Hearts and a Bronze Star serving in Korea. He was honorably discharged in 1959 with the rank of captain.

Military papers disclosed that Nagell graduated from Army Military Intelligence School, a special leaders course, and served in the Counterintelligence Corps (CIC). According to his records, he was given a top-secret security clearance in 1950. One of his commendation certificates described Nagell as a "perennial calm and levelheaded officer of superior intelligence..."

According to courtroom testimony, in 1958 Nagell was "loaned" by military intelligence to "another intelligence agency" for assignments in the Orient as part of a spy group called Field Operations Intelligence. As a senior intelligence advisor in South Korea, Nagell admitted participating in political assassinations, kidnapping, blackmail and counterfeiting operations.

In 1957, after telling superiors he was "fed up" with committing crimes in the name of national security, Nagell was assigned to counterintelligence duties in Japan. It was here he said he first met a young Marine stationed at Atsugi - Lee Harvey Oswald (See OSWALD).

Nagell told Russell:

"We had a casual, but purposeful acquaintance in Japan. My relationship with Oswald there, and later in the United States, was strictly with an objective."

About this time Nagell married a Japanese woman and, at her urging, resigned his commission, returned to the United States and went to work for the State of California.

In 1962, amid marital problems, he left his wife and two children and journeyed to Mexico City. In Mexico, Nagell said he contacted a CIA man he had known in the Orient and signed a contract with the Agency becoming a "double agent." He was to work for the Soviet KGB, while actually serving the CIA. The Soviets informed him of a plot to kill Kennedy involving the violent anti-Castro Cuban group known as Alpha 66 (See CUBANS) and ordered Nagell to return to the United States and learn more. The KGB even provided Nagell with a photograph of one of the plotters - Lee Harvey Oswald.

Nagell told Russell:

"When he (Oswald) was in the Soviet Union, they suspected him as a spy and considered him emotionally unstable (This matches the story of Soviet defector Yuri Nosenko), prone to commit some act that could bring embarrassment to them."

Nagell would not give details about what he discovered concerning Oswald in the fall of 1962, but he did say:

"He was just being used - by a lot of people, for their own reasons."

Nagell said he became aware of at least two Kennedy assassination plots during this time, both involving Cubans whose "war names" were "Angel" and "Leopoldo" (The same names given to Sylvia Odio - See CUBANS).

According to Nagell, the CIA-backed Alpha 66 Cubans convinced Oswald they were members of Castro's intelligence service and solicited his help in assassinating Kennedy for the reason of revenge against CIA assassination plots against Castro. (If Oswald was actually an undercover agent himself, he would, of course, have gone along with these schemes to learn all he could about the plotting.)

Nagell said he actually got close enough to the plot to tape a New Orleans meeting in late August

1963. Then Nagell was ordered by the KGB to disrupt the Kennedy plot. Nagell said:

"(I was to) try to persuade Oswald that the deal was phony and if this didn't work, and if it looked like things were going to progress beyond the talking stage, to get rid of him."

Considering Oswald's background in Russia, the Soviets "were the last people that wanted Kennedy dead," according to Nagell.

Nagell said he met with Oswald in early September in New Orleans' Jackson Square and told him "Angel" and "Leopoldo" were not Castro agents, but "counter-revolutionaries known to be connected with a violence-prone faction of a CIA-financed group." Later, Nagell told Russell:

"He was informed that he was being 'used' by fascist elements in an attempt to disrupt the Cuban revolution, and probably to incite the U.S. Government to severe retaliatory measures against Cuba, etc. He denied that there had been any serious discussion to kill Kennedy. He seemed genuinely upset and visibly shaken....He stated he was a friend of the Cuban revolution."

With Oswald still maintaining his "cover," Nagell claimed to have then sent a registered letter to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, warning of the assassination plot and naming both Oswald and the Cubans.

After sending this letter, Nagell said he again met with Oswald and told him a Soviet agent code-named "Oaxaca" wanted to meet Oswald in Mexico City.

According to Nagell:

"He (Oswald) was instructed not to go near the Cuban or U.S.S.R. embassies. Oswald agreed to do so when he was advised that he would be provided with more than sufficient funds to make the trip to and from Mexico City by plane. He was told where and how he was to pick up the money order on 9/24/63, his expected date of departure from New Orleans."

On September 17, the day Oswald picked up his Mexican tourist card in New Orleans, Nagell was already on his way to Mexico City, carrying a .45-caliber Colt pistol to use on Oswald. But Nagell began to have second thoughts about his role as a double agent. On September 20 he drove to El Paso and entered the State National Bank. According to Russell:

"He had decided he could not go through with the KGB's assignment. Doubtful about which master he was really serving, unable to kill a man and then face life abroad without his children, he chose instead to get himself placed in federal custody."

After all, he had alerted the FBI - but the Bureau, predictably, denied ever having received his letter. The matter was out of his hands.

While in jail awaiting trial for bank robbery, Nagell was visited often by both FBI and Secret Service agents, according to jailer Juan Medina. Two FBI agents visited Nagell on November 19, only three days before the assassination.

Early in 1964, Nagell was brought before U.S. District Judge Homer Thornberry in El Paso. The "El Paso Times" reported:

"Instead of asking for a plea, Fred Morton, assistant U.S. District Attorney made a motion to put Nagell in a federal institution in Springfield, Mo., for psychiatric observation. The motion was granted over Nagell's vigorous objections."

The newspaper also reported that FBI and Secret Service agents had questioned Nagell about Oswald and "subversive activities."

On March 20, 1964, Nagell tried to communicate with the Warren Commission. He wrote:

"Has the Commission been advised that I informed the Federal Bureau of Investigation in September 1963 that an attempt might be made to assassinate President Kennedy?"

Despite this letter and the attention paid to Nagell by the FBI and Secret Service, there is no mention of him in the Warren Report or its 26 volumes.

Nagell then again wrote to Hoover:

"My responsibility concerning the then prospective action of Lee H. Oswald (alias Albert Hidell, terminated with the dispatch of the registered letter from Richard Nagell to the FBI in September 1963.

Since the information disclosed in that letter was judged to be mendacious by the FBI, as is quite evident, then with whom the responsibility lies for what subsequently happened in Dallas is rather obvious..."

In March 1964, Nagell was declared competent to stand trial and, while he had no previous criminal record and the holdup was obviously faked, he was convicted of two counts of entering a bank with intent to rob and given the maximum sentence of 10 years in Leavenworth. In 1966 his conviction was overturned and a new trial ordered. Again he was found guilty and again drew a 10-year prison term. However, this was reversed in 1968 by the U.S. Court of Appeals "in view of strong evidence that defendant was insane at time of offense." Nagell finally was set free.

But he was not truly free. He claimed he was followed and hounded and that attempts were made on his life.

On May 24, 1968, Nagell was granted an American passport, which was unusual for a convicted felon. Six days later, he left the country.

Later that year, the Associated Press reported that Army Captain Richard Nagell, 38, was released to American authorities after having been held by the East Germans for four months.

Nagell later told Russell he had been nabbed by the East Germans and accused of "criminal intelligence activities." He said he later was taken to Russia, where, for the first time, he wrote down his full story concerning the Kennedy assassination.

In November 1968, Nagell returned to the United States, where he met with New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison. Garrison wanted him to testify at the Clay Shaw trial, but Nagell declined.

According to Nagell, he then traveled again to Europe and Mexico, where he said several attempts were made on his life.

In the late 1970s, Nagell met several times with Russell. He said he believed that Oswald was the assassin. Nagell told him:

"There's no doubt in my mind that he pulled a trigger."

Referring to "my own weird little secret," Nagell told Russell:

"Sometimes, though, I get to thinking and I can't go to sleep. Thinking of what I could have done, the mistakes that could have been handled differently. I was young. So idealistic! How could I have been like that?"

Crossfire: The TFX Scandal

In the fall of 1963 the U.S. Military was prominently in the news. A saga of influence-peddling and defense appropriation graft was being published in the nation's newspapers under the name "the TFX scandal."

The "TFX" - or Tactical Fighter Experimental - was the prototype designation for a combination fighter-bomber aircraft which went on to become the F-111, one of the most controversial aircraft of all time. The Air Force wanted a long-range, strategic bomber while the Navy wanted a short-range, effective fighter plane.

U.S. defense manufacturers, particularly General Dynamics in Texas, tried to give them both in the TFX, which with swept-in wings became a supersonic bomber and, with wings extended, became a tactical fighter.

Apparently by trying to be both types of aircraft, the TFX or F-111 was never truly either.

Criticism and controversy continued to dog the trail of the F-111, although some pilots who saw combat over Hanoi still swear by the hybrid plane. The controversy over the TFX in the fall of 1963 centered around the selection of General Dynamics as the prime contractor. It appeared that neither the Air Force nor the Navy wanted GD, but the contract went there anyway.

With Texan Lyndon Johnson as Vice President, there arose charges of political influence involved in the contract selection. These charges grew when it was learned that Navy Secretary Fred Korth (the attorney who had handled Edwin Ekdahl's divorce from Marguerite Oswald - See LEE HARVEY OSWALD) was a board member of Continental National Bank in Fort Worth, Texas, which held substantial GD stock.

On October 14, 1963, Korth, who had taken over as Navy Secretary for John Connally (who had returned to Texas to become Governor), was fired by President Kennedy. Although it was announced the firing was due to misuse of mailing privileges, it was well known that Kennedy wanted to distance his administration from the growing TFX scandal.

The investigations in the TFX contract was even beginning to threaten his Vice President. Kennedy mentioned the TFX in his breakfast speech in Fort Worth the day he was killed.

The whole issue of the TFX dropped out of sight following Kennedy's death.

Another big news item involving the military in the fall of 1963 was "Operation Big Lift," a large-scale exercise to airlift U.S. combat units to Europe in the event of an emergency.

One month before Kennedy arrived in Dallas, the 2nd Armored Division - including military units in Texas - was airlifted to West Germany in what was hailed as the largest peacetime airlift in history. The exercise was highly successful, the transfer of men and equipment being completed nine hours ahead of schedule.

On November 22, 1963, the last one third of this force was in the air over the United States returning home.

Some suspicious assassination students believe the fact that massive amounts of troops and equipment were airborne and able to reach virtually any American city the day Kennedy was killed was not entirely coincidental.

Crossfire: Military Intelligence

Several other factors have raised suspicions concerning the military's role in the assassination.

Texas military intelligence units which normally were used to augment Presidential security preparations were inexplicably told to stay home on November 22, 1963.

Colonel Fletcher Prouty has reported that the 112th Military Intelligence Group at 4th Army Headquarters at Fort Sam Houston was told to "stand down" that day rather than report for duty in Dallas, over the protests of the unit commander, Col. Maximillian Reich. While apparently some elements of the MI unit did arrive in Dallas, their activities there remain obscure. One member may have been with FBI Agent James Hosty the morning Kennedy was killed. In Warren Commission testimony, Hosty said that 45 minutes before the assassination he was in the company of an Army intelligence officer, but he added the meeting had no connection with Kennedy's visit.

Recall that it was agent Hosty's name, address, phone number and license number which were found in Lee Harvey Oswald's personal notebook (This was originally deleted from the material turned over to the Warren Commission) and it was Hosty who destroyed a message from Oswald days after the assassination apparently on orders from superiors (See G MEN).

Another Army Intelligence officer to become involved in the assassination was Special Agent James Powell. Carrying a 35-mm Minolta camera, Powell had taken several photos in Dealey Plaza at the time of the assassination. He entered the Texas School Book Depository and his presence became public knowledge when he was forced to show his identification after Dallas police sealed the building. Powell told researcher Penn Jones he "worked with the Sheriff's deputies at the rear of the Texas School Book Depository for about six or eight minutes" and that he had ordered a newsman to hang up a telephone on the building's first floor so that he (Powell) could use it.

No meaningful investigation has been made by the government to determine what intelligence agent Powell was doing in Dealey Plaza at the time of the assassination.

And the military connection becomes even more curious in light of two strange incidents which occurred in Dallas that day.

Dallas Police Lt. Jack Revill told the Warren Commission that an Army intelligence officer rode with him from Dealey Plaza to the Dallas Police Station. It was Revill, as head of the police criminal intelligence division, who submitted a list of Texas School Book Depository employees. Leading Revill's list was the name "Lee Harvey Oswald," with the address given as 605 Elsbeth in Dallas.

Oswald had lived at 602 Elsbeth in late 1962 and early 1963, but had since moved and the Elsbeth address had never been given to his employers at the Depository. Where then did Revill get the Elsbeth address?

It was later revealed that the 112th MI Group, which maintained an office in Dallas, had possessed a file on a man named "Harvey Lee Oswald," identifying him as a pro-communist who had been in Russia and had been involved in pro-Castro activities in New Orleans. This military file erroneously gave Oswald's address as 605 Elsbeth, the same mistake found on Revill's list.

Apparently military intelligence was swift in providing Dallas police with information on Oswald, the man who came to be labeled as the lone assassin of Kennedy. It is a fact that several Dallas police officers also served in various military reserve units and were therefore in close contact with military intelligence.

Information on Oswald apparently came from the 112th MIG's operations officer, Lt. Col. Robert E. Jones, who was stationed at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio. Testifying to the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Jones said the afternoon of the assassination he received a call from his agents in Dallas advising that a man named A.J. Hidell had been arrested. (This is most interesting because, while Oswald did carry some cards identifying him as Hidell, no mention was made of this in the media that day indicating a close relationship between the M.I. agents and Dallas Police.)

Jones said he began a search of his intelligence indexes and located a file on A.J. Hidell which cross-referenced into one for Lee Harvey Oswald. He said he then contacted the FBI in both San Antonio and Dallas with his information. The files on Hidell and Oswald gave detailed information about his trip to Russia as well as pro-Castro activities in New Orleans. Jones said he had become aware of Oswald in the summer of 1963 when information had been passed along by the New Orleans Police Department regarding his arrest there. He said the 112th MIG took an interest in Oswald as a possible counterintelligence threat.

The House committee, remarking on how quickly the military found files on Oswald, stated:

"This information suggested the existence of a military intelligence file on Oswald and

raised the possibility that he had intelligence associations of some kind."

The Warren Commission specifically asked to see any military files regarding Oswald but were never shown the files mentioned by Jones or any others.

In 1978, when the House Select Committee on Assassinations learned of these files and requested them from the military, they were told the files had been "destroyed routinely" in 1973.

The committee concluded:

"The committee found this "routine" destruction of the Oswald file extremely troublesome, especially when viewed in light of the Department of Defense's failure to make the file available to the Warren Commission. Despite the credibility of Jones' testimony, without access to this file, the question of Oswald's possible affiliation with military intelligence could not be fully resolved."

Even more troublesome is the military's file on A.J. Hidell. Jones stated that Hidell was an alias used by Oswald, which accounted for the fact that the two files were cross-indexed. However, nowhere in the vast documentation of Oswald's life did he ever actually use A.J. Hidell as an alias - the exceptions being when he mail-ordered the rifle allegedly used to kill Kennedy and the pistol allegedly used to kill Officer Tippit using the name Hidell and the use of the name Hidell on Fair Play for Cuba literature. This raises two possibilities. Either military intelligence had some independent knowledge of Oswald's purchase of the weapons which took place long before he arrived in New Orleans (Were they monitoring his Dallas post office box?) or someone, perhaps even Oswald himself, informed the military of his purchases. In either event it appears that the U. S. military knew more about Oswald and his weapons than has yet been made public.

But does that mean the military ordered the assassination?

After all, no assassination conspiracy could expect to escape punishment without either neutralizing or becoming allies with the military. And the military played a dominant role in the assassination investigation after Kennedy's body left Dallas. It was military personnel who flew Air Force One. It was military orderlies that handled the body at Bethesda Naval Hospital and, more importantly, it was inexperienced Navy Doctors who performed a flawed autopsy thus creating so many problems with the medical evidence (See TWO HOSPITALS).

Mercenary soldier Gerry Patrick Hemmings has claimed on Canadian television that he was actually offered money to kill Kennedy while meeting with military officers. He said he declined and left the meeting. True or not, the U.S. military certainly had the means, motives and opportunity as well as officers who looked on Kennedy as a traitor.

It is truly ironic that of all our modern Presidents, it was John F. Kennedy who received the only full military funeral in recent history.

Was this the military's way of making atonement?

Crossfire: Soldiers Summary

While the U.S. Military has attempted to keep a low profile in modern American life, there can be no question that the military-industrial complex is the preeminent force in the nation.

The manufacture and sale of armaments continues to be the largest money-making endeavor in the United States. And the immense intelligence community which has arisen to protect this industry follows military orders.

Obviously military and intelligence officers did not take kindly to Kennedy's attempts to restrain this powerful conglomeration. Kennedy angered these men by refusing to use U.S. military power to salvage the Bay of Pigs invasion. Then he added fuel to the fire by rejecting recommendations by the joint chiefs to bomb the missiles emplacements in Cuba and to refrain from signing a nuclear test ban treaty with the Russians.

Vietnam may have been the straw that broke the generals' philosophic back. Viewed from the broadest perspective, it now seems accurate to state that the opening shots of the full-scale war in Vietnam were in Dallas, Texas. Much evidence exists that Kennedy would have disengaged this nation from Southeast Asia had he lived - again in direct conflict with the wishes of the military-industrial complex.

Some generals - including Dallas Mayor Earle Cabell's brother, General Charles P. Cabell - even went so far as to brand Kennedy a "traitor". Cabell, after being fired by Kennedy as deputy director of the CIA, resumed responsibilities in the Pentagon.

The known connections between the military and the assassination - the military agents in Dealey Plaza and the Dallas Police Station, the agent who was with FBI man Hosty and the strange saga of Richard Case Nagell - are many and troubling.

Then there are the military men connected with the assassination's aftermath - Kennedy's personal physician was a Navy admiral, inexperienced Navy doctors conducted a greatly flawed autopsy on Kennedy and it was military men who transported the President's body from Dallas to Washington.

All this - along with the mysterious disappearance of military files on Lee Harvey Oswald who had many opportunities to work with military intelligence - makes many assassination researchers believe that at least some members of the U.S. military may have played a role in an assassination conspiracy.

Crossfire: Aftermath - Dallas

"If you didn't see Lee Harvey Oswald up in the School Book Depository with a rifle, you didn't witness it."

FBI agent to witness Richard Carr

The gunfire had barely died away in Dealey Plaza when an aftermath of odd and often unexplained events began in Dallas - and continued for more than two decades.

Dallas police blocking the nearby intersections - with no orders to the contrary (recall the eight-minute disruption of the Dallas Police radio motorcade channel during the time of the shooting) - released traffic which began pouring through Dealey Plaza. Spectators from blocks away, having heard the shots and sirens, ran to the scene. Some bystanders were still in shock. Others were shouting, "They shot the President!" while others sobbed out the news. Pandemonium was the order of the day.

There was no shortage of lawmen as nearly 20 Sheriffs' deputies, following Sheriff Decker's orders, ran to the railroad yards behind the Grassy Knoll. Dozens of Dallas police officers also were flooding the area. But all were receiving conflicting information - witnesses on the west end of Dealey Plaza pinpointed the picket fence on the Grassy Knoll as the source of the shots, while many people on the east end said shots came from the Texas School Book Depository.

It is significant to recall that James Tague, who was slightly wounded when a bullet or bullet fragment struck the Main Street curb near the Triple Underpass (See THE TRIPLE UNDERPASS), last spoke with Deputy Sheriff E.R. "Buddy" Walthers before having to move his car once traffic got moving. Tague said this occurred about 12:40 p.m. Yet Walthers was among the first officers to seal the Depository, indicating that the building was open for at least 10 minutes after the shooting. Actually the time may have been much longer. Dallas Police Capt. Will Fritz, who headed the Dallas investigation, told the Warren Commission he began making detailed notes after hearing of the assassination at the Trade Mart. Fritz said he arrived at the Texas School Book Depository at exactly 12:58 p.m. Asked if the Depository exits were guarded at that time, Fritz replied:

"I am not sure, but I don't - there had been some question about that, but the reason I don't think that - this may differ with someone else, but I am going to tell you what I know....After I arrived, one of the officers asked me if I would like to have the building sealed and I told him I would."

Recall that Ed Hoffman was able to drive from Stemmons Freeway to the railroad yards behind the Depository, circle the area and leave unchallenged (See THE GRASSY KNOLL). The point here is that there was absolutely no effective containment of the crime scene or of the Depository for at least 10 minutes - and perhaps as long as 28 minutes - after the shooting. This was easily enough time for a whole squad of assassins to slip away.

Officially, it has been said that within an hour of the assassination, there was a roll call at the Texas School Book Depository. Employee Lee Harvey Oswald was the only person missing and authorities immediately began a search for him. Like so much other information in this case, this story is simply untrue. To begin with, most Depository employees were outside viewing the motorcade at the time of the shooting and were prevented from returning to work by police. During the first roll call, dozens of Depository employee were missing. By the time, it was determined that Oswald was gone - about 2:30 p.m. - he was already in police custody. This was confirmed in 1981 by "Dallas Morning News" reporter Kent Biffle, who recalled that day in a lengthy article based on his notes of that day. Biffle wrote:

"...only two of us (reporters) had arrived at the ambush building (the Depository) by this point....Getting in was no problem. I just hid my press badge...and went in with the first wave of cops....Hours dragged by. The building superintendent showed up with some papers in his hand. I listened as he told detectives about Lee Oswald failing to show up at a roll call. My impression is that there was an earlier roll call that had been inconclusive because several employees were missing. This time, however, all were accounted for except Oswald. I jotted down the Oswald information....Neither the police in the building nor the superintendent knew that Oswald already was under arrest."

In the confusion following the assassination, there was ample opportunity for conspirators to escape and for vital evidence to be eliminated. One such incident occurred minutes after the shooting on the south side of Elm Street. Dallas Policeman J.W. Foster, from his vantage point on top of the Triple Underpass (See THE TRIPLE UNDERPASS), saw a bullet strike the grass on the south side of Elm

near a manhole cover. He reported this to a superior officer and was told to guard the area. Photographs taken that day show both Foster and Deputy Sheriff Walthers standing over the manhole cover. Newsmen and spectators were kept at a distance and told that evidence - a bullet - was embedded in the grass inches from the manhole cover.

News cameraman Harry Cabluck photographed the scene and recalled seeing more than one gouge in the ground. He too was told that a bullet had struck there. However, Cabluck said he took the photographs hours after the assassination and never actually saw a slug.

One photograph of the slug even appeared in the November 23, 1963 edition of the "Fort Worth Star-Telegram," with the caption:

"ASSASSIN'S BULLET - One of the rifle bullets fired by the murderer of President Kennedy lies in the grass across Elm Street from the building in which the killer was hiding and from where he launched his assault."

Inches from the bullet, which is circled in the newspaper photo, is the edge of the cement manhole.

On November 24, the "Dallas Times Herald" reported:

"Dallas Police Lt. J.C. Day of the crime lab estimated the distance from the sixth floor window the slayer used, to the spot where one of the bullets was recovered, at 100 yards."

Richard Dudman wrote in the December 21, 1963, issue of the "New Republic":

"On the day the President was shot I happened to learn of a possible fifth (bullet). A group of police officers were examining the area at the side of the street where the President was hit, and a police inspector told me they had just found another bullet in the grass."

Other witnesses to the bullet marks on the south side of Elm Street were Wayne and Edna Hartman, who were in Dallas for jury duty. After hearing shots in Dealey Plaza, the couple "ran like the devil" down to the grassy middle area of the plaza.

Mrs. Hartman told this author:

"There were not many people in this area at the time, but a policeman was there. He pointed to some bushes near the railroad tracks on the north side of the street and said that's where the shots came from....Then I noticed these two parallel marks on the ground that looked like mounds made by a mole. I asked "What are these, mole hills?" and the policeman said, "Oh no, mamam, that's were the bullets struck the ground.""

On Sunday, the Hartmans again visited Dealey Plaza but found that the crush of people bringing memorials had obliterated the marks.

In the summer of 1964, the Hartmans contacted the FBI after learning that the Bureau was still seeking assassination information. Mrs. Hartman said FBI agents didn't seem too interested in what they had to say. One agent told them the marks had been made by bone fragments from Kennedy's head, an explanation which sounded "strange" to the Hartmans. Both Hartmans told the FBI that the bullet marks did not line up with the Texas School Book Depository but rather with the picket fence on the Grassy Knoll. Mrs. Hartman recently recalled:

"I don't see how what we saw down there could have come from those windows up there because they were not the right angle. So we have always felt that it came from across the street...that was the angle...across the street from where we stood...the Grassy Knoll, we've always felt it came from there....And at that time people were telling us the bullets came from over there. There was somebody over there shooting also. And they pointed across the street, which was south of the Depository."

Yet in an FBI report dated July 10, 1964, agents stated:

"(The Hartmans) said this gouged out hole was in line with the general area of the Texas School Book Depository Building. (They) said some bystander had mentioned that he believed the shots had come from the Texas School Book Depository Building."

If one or more bullet slugs were in the grass, what happened to them? What role did an extra slug play in the assassination? Was this proof that at least four shots were fired? The answers to these questions may never be known because, officially, this bullet never existed. Within minutes of the shooting, a sandy-haired man in a suit - this man was identified in Dallas Police Chief Curry's book as an FBI agent - in full view of both Walthers and Foster, walked up, reached down, cupped some object

in his hand and stuck it into his left pants pocket. The bullet was gone.

Later in 1964, when reports of this bullet reached the Warren Commission, the FBI was instructed to investigate the matter. Agents reported that they had examined the manhole cover and there was no sign of a bullet striking it. There was no mention of the fact that the bullet in question landed inches away from the manhole cover. Apparently satisfied, the Warren Commission dropped the matter.

Later on the day of the assassination, the "Stemmons Freeway" sign, which according to some bystanders was struck by a bullet, disappeared. It is missing in photographs made in Dealey Plaza the next day. No explanation of this disappearance has ever been brought forth.

Other bullets were later found in Dealey Plaza. In May 1976, Hal Luster was using a metal detector to look for coins on the Grassy Knoll. Instead, he found a steel-jacketed, round-nosed .45-caliber bullet buried in about four inches of dirt behind a four-foot-high retaining wall at the west end of the pergola atop the knoll.

In 1974, Richard Lester, also using a metal detector, discovered a bullet fragment on the far south side of Dealey Plaza just east of the Triple Underpass. Two years later, Lester turned the fragment over to the FBI. It was later studied by firearm experts of the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Both studies showed the fragment was from 6.5-millimeter ammunition but, based on ballistics, it had not been fired through the Oswald rifle. Rather than view this as evidence that perhaps multiple rifles were used in the assassination, both the FBI and the Committee left the impression that this discovery had no connection with Kennedy's death.

Also, in the 1970s, a Dallas man found a 6.5 millimeter rifle slug buried in the earth just west of the Triple Underpass. This slug also was reported to the FBI, with apparently no action taken.

Yet another story of a bullet found may shed much light on how some bullet fragments were traced to the Oswald rifle. Dean Morgan of Lewisville (a suburb of Dallas) has told Texas researchers that in 1975 his father was working on air-conditioning equipment on the roof of the Dallas County Records Building located just catercornered from the Texas School Book Depository. The Record's building's west side faces onto Dealey plaza and there is a waist-high parapet along the edge of its roof. According to Morgan, his father discovered a 30.06-caliber shell casing lying under a lip of roofing tar at the base of the roof's parapet on the side facing Dealey Plaza while searching for water leaks. The shell casing is dated 1953 and marks indicate it was manufactured at the Twin Cities Arsenal. One side has been pitted by exposure to the weather, indicating it lay on the roof for a long time. The casing, which remains in Morgan's possession, has an odd crimp around its neck. Rifle experts have explained to Morgan that this is evidence that a sabot may have been used to fire different ammunition from a 30.06 rifle. A sabot is a plastic sleeve which allows a larger caliber weapon to fire a smaller caliber slug. The results of using a lighter-weight slug include increased velocity producing more accuracy and greater striking power. In addition, the smaller slug exhibits the ballistics of the weapon it was originally fired from, rather than the 30.06, as the sabot engages the 30.06's rifling. In other words, assassination conspirators could have fired 6.5-mm bullets from the Oswald rifle into water, recovered them, then reloaded them into the more accurate and powerful 30.06 with the use of a sabot - which is held in place by crimping the cartridge. By this method, bullet fragments found in the presidential limousine would have the ballistics of Oswald's rifle rather than the 30.06 from which they were actually fired.

Warren Commission Exhibit 399 - the nearly intact slug found at Parkland Hospital the afternoon of the assassination - displays all the characteristics of a slug fired into nothing more solid than water. It is just such a slug which can be reloaded and refired using a sabot, which disintegrates on firing.

But bullets were not the only evidence found later in Dealey Plaza. The day after the assassination, a college student named Billy Harper was taking pictures in the plaza when he found a piece of skull (See TWO HOSPITALS). It too was never acknowledged by the Warren Commission.

And while evidence was disappearing from Elm Street, men were seen fleeing the rear of the Texas School Book Depository. Richard Carr, a steelworker who saw a heavy-set man on the sixth-floor of the Depository minutes before the shooting (See THE CROWD), saw two men run from either inside or from behind the Texas School Book Depository minutes after the assassination. He claimed the men got in a Nash Rambler station wagon stopped facing north on the west side of Houston street by the east side of the Depository. He said the wagon left in such a hurry one of its doors was still open. He last saw the station wagon speeding north on Houston. After reaching ground level from his seventh-story vantage point on the courthouse under construction, Carr said he saw the same man he had seen earlier in the Depository window. Carr said the man was "in an extreme hurry and kept looking over his

shoulder" as he walked hurriedly eastward on Commerce Street.

Carr's story was corroborated by that of James R. Worrell Jr., who told the Warren Commission that seconds after the shooting, he saw a man wearing a sport coat come out of the rear of the Depository and walk briskly south on Houston (the direction of Carr's location). Worrell can't be questioned further about what he saw, as he was killed in a motorcycle accident on November 9, 1966 at age 23. Carr, however, told researchers about his treatment at the hands of the authorities. In a taped interview, Carr said:

"The FBI came to my house - there were two of them - and they said they heard I witnessed the assassination and I said I did. They told me, "If you didn't see Lee Harvey Oswald up in the School Book Depository with a rifle, you didn't witness it." I said, "Well, the man I saw on television that they tell me is Lee Harvey Oswald was not in the window of the School Book Depository. That's not the man." And (one of the agents) said I better keep my mouth shut. He did not ask me what I saw, he told me what I saw."

Not long after this encounter with the FBI, Carr's home was raided by more than a dozen Dallas policemen and detectives armed with a search warrant. Claiming they were looking for "stolen articles," they ransacked Carr's home while holding him and his wife at gun point. Carr and his wife were taken to jail but later released. The day after the police raid, Carr received an anonymous phone call advising him to "get out of Texas." Carr finally moved to Montana to avoid harassment, but there he found dynamite in his car on one occasion and was shot at on another.

After testifying in the New Orleans Clay Shaw trial, Carr was attacked by two men in Atlanta. Although stabbed in the back and left arm, Carr managed to fatally shoot one of his assailants. Later after turning himself in, Carr was no-billed by an Atlanta grand jury.

Other witnesses also were later intimidated. Acquilla Clemons, who saw two men at the scene of the Tippit slaying, said a man with a gun came to her home and told her to keep quiet. Hoffman, who saw two men with a rifle behind the picket fence on the Grassy Knoll at the time of the assassination, was warned by an FBI agent not to tell what he saw "or you might get killed."

A relative of Depository Superintendent Roy Truly recently told researchers that Truly was fearful until his death due to intimidation by federal authorities. Truly's wife, Mildred, still refuses to discuss the assassination - even with family members.

Sandy Speaker, the supervisor of Warren Commission star witness Howard Brennan, would not discuss the assassination until recently after getting a phone call for his friend and co-worker A.J. Millican.

Speaker said he got a call from Millican early in 1964. Millican was almost in tears and told him never to talk about the assassination. Millican said he has just received an anonymous call threatening not only his life, but the lives of his wife and her sister. He said the caller told him to warn Speaker to keep his mouth shut. Today Speaker told this author:

"That call really shook me up because Millican was a former boxing champ of the Pacific fleet. He was a scrapper, a fighter. But he was obviously scared to death. And I still don't understand how they got my name because I was never interviewed by the FBI, the Secret Service, the police or anyone. They must be pretty powerful to have found out about me."

Whispered rumors, anonymous phone calls and freakish "accidents" combined to create a tangible aura of fear in Dallas in the weeks following the assassination. Some of that fear still lingers in Dallas.

Crossfire: Mysterious Secret Service Men

One of the most puzzling aspects of the post-assassination confusion involves encounters between Dealey Plaza witnesses and "Secret Service" agents. The most noted incident of this type was recounted by Dallas Policeman Joe M. Smith. Smith had run into the parking lot atop the Grassy Knoll after a woman had told him, "They're shooting the President from the bushes!" While searching through the parked cars, he encountered a man who displayed Secret Service identification (See GRASSY KNOLL). Smith told author Anthony Summers:

"The man, this character, produces credentials from his hip pocket which showed him to be Secret Service. I have seen those credentials before, and they satisfied me...So, I immediately accepted that and let him go and continued our search around the cars."

Malcolm Summers was one of the bystanders who followed police up the Grassy Knoll immediately after the shooting. He told Jack Anderson:

"I ran across Elm Street to run up there toward that knoll. And we were stopped by a man in a suit and he had an overcoat over his arm. I saw a gun under that overcoat. And his comment was, "Don't you'all come up here any further, you could get shot...or killed...""

It has subsequently been asserted by the Secret Service that none of their agents on duty that day were anywhere near Dealey Plaza either before or just after the assassination. In retrospect, Smith doubted the legitimacy of the man he encountered. In 1963 Secret Service agents, like their FBI counterparts, wore crewcuts, dark suits and narrow ties. Smith described the man thusly:

"He looked like an auto mechanic. He had on a sports shirt and sports pants. But he had dirty fingernails, it looked like, and hands that looked like auto mechanics hands. And, afterwards, it didn't ring true for the Secret Service....At the time we were so pressed for time and we were searching. And he had produced correct identification and we just overlooked the thing. I should have checked that man closer, but at the time, I didn't snap on it..."

In addition to Smith and Summers, GI Gordon Arnold (See THE GRASSY KNOLL) also encountered a man who claimed to be with the Secret Service just moments prior to the assassination. Arnold said he was walking behind the wooden picket fence on top of the Grassy Knoll when he was approached by a man who told him he was with the Secret Service and that Arnold could not stay behind the fence. Moments later, Arnold said shots came from behind the fence.

Sam Holland, who was standing with two Dallas policemen and other railroad workers on the Triple Underpass, told the Warren Commission that "a plainclothes detective or FBI agent or something like that" was helping the police guard the railroad bridge. Holland told a Commission attorney:

"...there were two city policemen and one man in plainclothes. I didn't talk to him. I talked to the city policemen."

Holland said after hearing shots and seeing a white puff of smoke come from behind the wooden picket fence, he and others ran to the Grassy Knoll.

He later said that while they found no one behind the picket fence:

"...somebody had been standing there for a long period. I guess if you could count them, about a hundred foot tracks (were) in that little spot, and also mud up on the bumper of (a) station wagon."

In later years, family friends reported that Holland too was threatened and narrowly escaped injury when the windshield of his truck was shot out while driving on Stemmons Freeway.

Constable Seymour Weitzman, who had rushed behind the wooden picket fence (See THE GRASSY KNOLL), met men he believed were Secret Service. Warren Commission lawyer Joseph Ball asked Weitzman if there were others with him behind the fence. Weitzman replied:

"Yes sir; other officers, Secret Service as well, and somebody started, there was something red in the street and I went back over the wall and somebody brought me a piece of what he thought to be a firecracker and it turned out to be, I believe, I wouldn't quote this, but I turned it over to one of the Secret Service men and I told them it should go to the lab because it looked to me like human bone. I later found out it was supposedly a portion of the President's skull."

It is not certain if this particular piece of bone was ever investigated by the proper authorities. There is no mention of it in official reports, although Commission Document 1269 is entitled "Location of Photos of a Bone Specimen." This document, however, is still classified.

Dallas Police Sgt. D. V. Harkness also encountered Secret Service men where none officially were supposed to be. Harkness told the Warren Commission that he ran to the rear of the Texas School Book Depository moments after the shooting and "there were some Secret Service agents there." Harkness told a commission lawyer:

I didn't get them identified. They told me they are Secret Service.

In later years Harkness told the "Dallas Morning News" that the men were dressed in suits and "were all armed." He told the newspaper:

(I) assumed they were with the Presidential party.

Dallas Secret Service Agent-in-Charge Forrest V. Sorrels was the only Secret Service agent to return to the scene of the assassination within an hour or so. Sorrels said he walked through a rear door of the Texas School Book Depository without showing any identification. His arrival was too late to have been one of the men encountered by Harkness.

In 1978, Sorrels, then retired, was asked by a Dallas newsman to comment on the stories of bogus Secret Service agents in Dealey Plaza. Sorrels said:

(I'm) not answering any questions about this thing. I gave all my testimony in Washington and I don't put out anything else. As far as I'm concerned, that's a closed incident.

Another odd incident involving Secret Service agents who may have been bogus occurred within an hour of the assassination in the small town of Ferris, located just south of Dallas. Two high school students - Billy V. James and Ronnie Witherspoon - witnessed a speeding car being stopped by local police on Interstate 45. The students stopped to watch because they thought "we may have been witnessing the arrest of the assassins." However, according to the students, the men in the stopped car told police they were Secret Service agents "in a hurry to get to New Orleans to investigate something in connection with the assassination." James said the men were believed and allowed to go on without being ticketed. No Secret Service agent reported leaving Dallas for New Orleans that day and the identity of the men in the car remains a mystery.

Incredibly, even the accused-assassin apparently had an encounter with one of these bogus agents.

Secret Service Inspector Thomas J. Kelley was one of several officials who interrogated Lee Harvey Oswald on the Sunday morning he was shot by Ruby. In his report of that interview, Kelley wrote:

"...he (Oswald) asked me whether I was an FBI agent and I said that I was not that I was a member of the Secret Service. He said when he was standing in front of the Textbook Building (Texas School Book Depository) and about to leave it, a young, crew-cut man rushed up to him and said he was from the Secret Service, showed a book of identification, and asked him where the phone was. Oswald said he pointed toward the pay phone in the building and that he saw the man actually go to the phone before he left."

In later years, the theory was advanced that Oswald had merely mistaken a news reporter for an agent. Kelley's report dispels this notion as he makes clear that the man produced a "book of identification."

In fact, when the Sixth Floor museum of the assassination opened in 1989, a taped tour of the exhibit was narrated by newsman Pierce Alman, who claimed to have been the reporter encountered by Oswald. However, Alman apparently had no direct knowledge of this incident since he says he was merely told he had met Oswald by Government agents months after the assassination.

Considering the number of people claiming to have encountered agents in Dealey Plaza, it would appear that Oswald most likely was correct on his identification of a Secret Service agent.

It seems incredible that the suspected killer of the President not only took the time to help someone he believed to be a Secret Service agent, but then stood around to watch him get to the telephone.

But perhaps the strangest - and most ominous - incident involving the Secret Service happened to witness Jean Hill. Jean Hill was standing beside her friend Mary Moorman on the south side of Elm Street at the moment Kennedy was killed. Moorman fell on the ground at the sound of the shooting, but Hill remained standing and watchful (See THE CROWD). After seeing both a man fire from behind the wooden picket fence and a suspicious man rapidly walking west in front of the Depository building, Hill ran across Elm Street and began to run up the Grassy Knoll. Hill told this author:

"I don't know what I would have done if I had caught them, but I knew something terrible had happened and somebody had to something."

As she ran up the Grassy Knoll, her attention was drawn to a "trail of blood in the grass just to the

right of the steps." Thinking that "our guys had shot back and we got one of them," she followed the red droplets until she discovered they belonged to a Sno-cone - flavored ice packed in a cup. Someone had dropped a red-colored one that day on the Grassy Knoll. After the distraction of the Sno-cone, Hill continued her run up the Grassy Knoll, but valuable seconds had been wasted. She looked in vain for either suspicious men behind the fence or the man she saw by the Depository. She recalled:

"All I saw in that parking area were railroad workers and police."

Walking to the west of the Texas School Book Depository, Hill said she encountered two men who identified themselves as Secret Service agents. She told interviewers in Texas:

"I was looking around but I couldn't see anything, when these two guys came up behind me. One of them said, "You're coming with us." and I replied, "Oh, no I'm not. I don't know you." "I said you're coming with us," one of them said and then put this horrible grip on my shoulder. I can still feel the pain when I think about it. I tried to tell them, "I have to go back and find my friend Mary." But then the other guy put a grip on my other shoulder and they began hustling me past the front of the Depository. "Keep smiling and keep walking," one of them kept telling me. They marched me across the plaza and into a building. We entered from the south side and I think it was the Sheriff's office. They took me to a little office upstairs and they wouldn't let me out of this room. It was all such a shock. There was a lot of tension and it was like a lot of it was focused in this one area. The two men that grabbed me never showed me any identification but, after we got to this little room, some men came in who were Secret Service. They began to ask me a lot of questions. One man told me they had been watching Mary and I out of the window. He asked me, "Did you see a bullet hit at your feet?" I told him I didn't realize that one had struck near my feet. "Then, why did you jump back up on the curb?" he asked me and I told him how I had started to run at the President's car but thought better of it. Then I heard some booming sounds and it startled me and I jumped back on the curb by Mary. I guess they were up there the whole time and watched the whole thing. Then they sent those two guys to come and get me. I mean, I wasn't too hard to find that day - wearing that red raincoat."

Hill said she was kept in the room for some time before rejoining Mary Moorman in a downstairs office. There were other assassination witnesses in the office, such as Charles Brehm and others who signed Sheriff's depositions that day.

She said a Dallas newspaperman, whom the women at first believed to be a federal agent, took all of the Moorman snapshots. Later that day the photos were returned but three of the six Moorman snapshots were taken by federal authorities, who returned them only after several weeks. Two of the returned photographs had the backgrounds mutilated.

Dallas Police Chief Curry summed up the import of a man with Secret Service identification when he told author Anthony Summers:

"...certainly the suspicion would point to the man as being involved, some way or other, in the shooting, since he was in the area immediately adjacent to where the shots were - and the fact that he had a badge that purported him to be Secret Service would make it seem all the more suspicious."

The House Select Committee on Assassinations briefly looked into the matter of men with Secret Service identification but came up with no real answers. After establishing that "Except for Dallas Agent-in-Charge Sorrels, who helped police search the Texas School Book Depository, no (Secret Service) agent was in the vicinity of the stockade fence or inside the book depository on the day of the assassination," the committee wrote off most of the sightings as people mistaking plainclothes police for agents. However, the committee could not dismiss Smith's story so lightly. FBI Agent James Hosty (whose name was in Oswald's notebook and who destroyed the Oswald note - See G-MEN) told the committee that Smith may have encountered a Treasury Agent named Frank Ellsworth. When deposed by the Committee, Ellsworth denied the allegation. Despite its inability to determine who was carrying Secret Service identification on the Grassy Knoll on November 22, 1963, the Committee nevertheless concluded:

"(We) found no evidence of Secret Service complicity in the assassination."

However, if Jean Hill's account is true, either men posing as federal agents were using offices in the Dallas County Sheriff's building minutes after the assassination or genuine federal agents were monitoring the tragedy from an upper-story window.

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Only one portion of Jean Hill's account of the assassination seems unbelievable - that of identifying the man she saw in front of the Depository as Jack Ruby. Interestingly, her story appears to have some corroboration. First, recall the story of Julia Ann Mercer, who identified a man sitting in a truck just west of the Triple Underpass about an hour prior to the assassination as Jack Ruby (See THE CROWD). Also recall that both Mercer and Marguerite Oswald (Lee's mother) said authorities showed them photographs of Jack Ruby prior to Ruby slaying Oswald. Then there is the Warren Commission testimony of Depository employee Victoria Adams, who said she and a co-worker saw a man at the intersection of Elm and Houston minutes after the assassination "questioning people as if he were a police officer." She told the Commission that the man "looked very similar" to the photos of Jack Ruby broadcast after the Oswald slaying. Her companion, Avery Davis, was never asked for her opinion.

Mal Couch, a television cameraman for WFAA-TV in Dallas, also supported the idea that Ruby was in Dealey Plaza when he told the Warren Commission that another newsman, Wes Wise (who later became Mayor of Dallas), had seen Ruby walking around the side of the Texas School Book Depository moments after the shooting. However, Couch was forced to admit his story was just "hearsay" by Commission lawyers who then declined to call Wes Wise to clarify the issue.

Jean Hill said she recognized the man who shot Oswald as being the same man she saw "walking briskly" in front of the Texas School Book Depository seconds after the assassination. The man she saw was almost running in a westward direction toward the Triple Underpass. However, after gaining the top of the Grassy Knoll, she lost sight of the man. This story may play a part in the account of one Dallas policeman who chased a man leaving the area of the Triple Underpass.

Crossfire: The Black Car Chase

On November 22, 1963, Dallas Policeman Tom G. Tilson Jr. had taken a day off. A friend and fellow policeman, J.D. Tippit, was covering Tilson's regular beat that day. Three days later Tilson was a pallbearer at Tippit's funeral. Tilson, now retired, has told Dallas newsmen of chasing a black car from the scene of the assassination that day and claims the man in the car bore a striking resemblance to Jack Ruby. Tilson and a daughter, Judy, were going downtown to pick up another daughter who had been watching the presidential motorcade. As Tilson was turning east on Commerce from Industrial just west of the Triple Underpass, he said he learned from a police radio monitor he had in his car that Kennedy had been shot. Tilson stated:

"...I saw all these people running to the scene of the shooting. By that time I had come across under Stemmons. Everybody was jumping out of their cars and pulling up on the median strip. My daughter Judy noticed the (presidential) limousine come under the Underpass. They took a right turn onto Stemmons toward Parkland Hospital. Well, the limousine just sped past (t)his car parked on the grass on the north side of Elm street near the west side of the Underpass. Here's one guy coming from the railroad tracks. He came down that grassy slope on the west side of the Triple Underpass, on the Elm Street side. He had (this) car parked there, a black car. And, he threw something in the back seat and went around the front hurriedly and got in the car and took off. I was on Commerce Street right there across from (the car), fixing to go under the Triple Underpass going into town. I saw all this and I said, "That doesn't make sense, everybody running to the scene and one person running from it. That's suspicious as hell." So, I speeded up and went through the Triple Underpass up to Houston...made a left...(came) back on Main...and caught up with him because he got caught on a light. He made a left turn and I made a left turn, going south on Industrial. I told my daughter to get a pencil and some paper and write down what I tell you. By this time, we had gotten to the toll road (formerly the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike, now Interstate 30) going toward Fort Worth. I got the license number and description of the car and I saw what the man looked like. He was stocky, about 5-foot-9, weighing 185 to 195 pounds and wearing a dark suit. He looked a hell of a lot more than just a pattern of Jack Ruby. If that wasn't Jack Ruby, it was someone who was his twin brother. Or pretty close. You know how Jack wore an old dark suit all the time? He always wore that old suit. He had that same old suit on. Anyway, I got the license number and all and exited off the turnpike and came back and picked up my other daughter down there at Commerce and Houston. Then I went to a phone and called in the information on the license number and what I had seen..."

Tilson's story is corroborated by his daughter, now Mrs. Judy Ladner, although photos taken west of the Triple Underpass at the time do not show the black car.

Also, Dallas Police radio logs for that day do not indicate any alert for such a car as described by Tilson. Tilson maintains that he gave the license number and man's description to the police homicide bureau, "but they never contacted me or did anything about it." Believing he had done his duty, Tilson threw away the scrap of paper with the license number on it. It was only much later that he discovered that his information had been ignored. Tilson recalled in 1978:

"Homicide was that way. If you didn't have one of their big white hats on, they didn't even want you in the office. Here they were solving this case...here they had arrested a suspect (Oswald) in one day and cleared up the murder of a President in one day...They didn't want to have to look for anybody else and they didn't even want to know about it really. They wanted to clear up the case."

Tilson was never contacted by either the Warren Commission or the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

Crossfire: Was Jack Ruby at the Scene of the Assassination?

Willis, who knew Jack Ruby by sight at the time of the assassination, still claims to have seen and photographed Ruby minutes after the shooting, standing near the front of the Texas School Book Depository. In publishing Willis's series of assassination photos, the Warren Commission cropped the face of the Ruby figure out of the picture.

Then there's the story told by a Texas hoodlum who spent time in prison. In an interview with researcher Gary Shaw, this man said he was in the office of R.D. Matthews about noon on November 22, 1963. He said Jack Ruby rushed into Matthews' bail bond office and said something like, "Let's go on over to Dealey Plaza and watch the fireworks." According to this convict, Ruby and Matthews rushed off.

Was Jack Ruby at the scene of the assassination? The Warren Commission established that Ruby was in the offices of the "Dallas Morning News" at the time of the shooting. The Commission stated that Ruby arrived at the newspaper between 11 and 11:30 a.m. (Some 30 minutes after the incident at the Triple Underpass involving Julia Ann Mercer). The Commission also determined that Ruby was with newspaper advertising employee Don Campbell until Campbell left for lunch about 12:25 p.m. 12:45 p.m. Ruby was reportedly seen by another advertising employee, John Newnam, in the same spot Campbell had left him. However, Newnam and other newspaper employees said once word came that Kennedy had been shot (probably no sooner than 12:45 p.m. and from employees who had been in Dealey Plaza returning to work), "confusion reigned" in the newspaper offices.

Employee Wanda Walker even today recalls vividly how Ruby sat quietly in the near-empty newspaper office that noontime. Walker told researchers in 1986:

"The other secretary had gone to lunch and the ad salesmen were all gone and it was just me and Ruby up there. He was waiting for his regular ad man. He did an odd thing. I knew who he was, but we had never talked. But he got up and came over and sat by the desk where I was. It was like he didn't want to be alone. He said some things but I can't tell you what they were. Then some people started coming back in and they said the President had been shot. Jack Ruby got white as a sheet. I mean he was really shaken up."

Despite Walker's certainty that Ruby remained at the newspaper office during the time of the assassination, it is possible that Ruby could have slipped away for a few minutes. No one was keeping exact times and the "Dallas Morning News" offices are only one-block from Dealey Plaza. It is conceivable that Ruby could have left the newspaper offices, been in Dealey Plaza and returned unnoticed within the space of 10 or 15 minutes.

In 1964 newsman Seth Kantor reported meeting and talking with Ruby at Parkland Hospital about 1:30 p.m. on November 22, 1963. This was supported by radio newsman Roy Stamps, also an acquaintance of Ruby's, who told this author he saw Ruby enter Parkland about 1:30 p.m. carrying some equipment for a television crew.

According to the Warren Commission, Ruby "firmly denied going to Parkland..." and "Video tapes of the scene at Parkland do not show Ruby there..." and so the Commission concluded "Kantor probably did not see Ruby at Parkland Hospital..."

The House Select Committee on Assassinations, in reviewing the evidence that Ruby was at Parkland Hospital an hour or so after the assassination, concluded:

"While the Warren Commission concluded Kantor was mistaken (about seeing Ruby at Parkland), the Committee determined he probably was not."

So, if Ruby lied and the Warren Commission was wrong about Ruby's presence at Parkland, it is certainly possible that Ruby may have made his way - no matter how briefly - to the scene of the assassination.

Back in Dealey Plaza, while Sam Holland and other railroad workers were finding evidence of men waiting behind the picket fence and Jean Hill was being taken by Secret Service agents to the Sheriff's office, Sheriff's Deputy Roger Craig thought he saw a suspect flee in a station wagon.

Crossfire: The Strange Saga of Roger Craig

In 1963 Roger Dean Craig was an ambitious young deputy sheriff who was going places. Having run away from his Wisconsin home at age 12, Craig had received a high school diploma on his own and had served honorably in the U.S. Army. By 1959 he had married and taken a job as a Sheriff's deputy in Dallas. Craig already had received four promotions within the Dallas County Sheriff's Department and in 1960 had been named Officer of the Year by the Dallas Traffic Commission. But then came November 22, 1963.

Craig's account of his experiences that day caused considerable problems for the official version of the assassination's aftermath. He later recounted that about 10:30 a.m. that morning, Sheriff Bill Decker called plainclothes men, detectives and warrant men into his office and told them that President Kennedy was coming to Dallas and that the motorcade would come down Main Street. According to Craig, Decker then advised his employees to stand out in front of the building but to take no part whatsoever in the security of the motorcade. Craig later said the crowd of deputies was hostile. "The men about me felt they were being forced to acknowledge Kennedy's presence," he said, adding the deputies voiced "bitter verbal attacks on President Kennedy." Craig said:

"They spoke very strongly against his policies concerning the Bay of Pigs incident and the Cuban Missile Crisis and they seemed to resent very much the fact that Kennedy was a Catholic."

Craig said just after the motorcade turned on Elm Street, he heard a shot and began running toward Dealey Plaza. He ran down the grassy incline between Main and Elm Street and saw a Dallas police officer run up the Grassy Knoll and go behind the picket fence near the railroad yards. Craig followed, noting "complete confusion and hysteria" behind the fence. He began to question people when he noticed a woman in her early 30s attempting to drive out of the parking lot. Craig recalled:

"I stopped her, identified myself and placed her under arrest....This parking lot was leased by Dallas Deputy Sheriff B.D. Gossett. He, in turn, rented parking space by the month to the deputies who worked in the court house, except for official vehicles. I rented one of these spaces...I paid Gossett \$3 a month and was given a key to the lot. An interesting point is that...the only people having access to it were deputies with keys...How did this woman gain access and, what is more important, who was she and why did she have to leave? I turned her over to Deputy Sheriff C.L. "Lummie" Lewis and...(he) told me that he would take her to Sheriff Decker and take care of her car....I had no way of knowing that an officer with whom I had worked for four years was capable of losing a 30-year-old woman and a 3,000-pound automobile. To this day, Officer Lewis does not know who she was, where she came from or what happened to her. Strange!"

Meanwhile, Craig questioned people who were standing at the top of the Grassy Knoll, including Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Rowland (See THE CROWD). Craig said by approximately 12:40 p.m. he had turned the Rowlands over to "Lummie" Lewis and met E.R. "Buddy" Walthers back on the south side of Elm Street where "several officers and bystanders were looking at the curb on Elm Street where a nick caused by a bullet was reported to have hit." He said his attention was attracted by a shrill whistle. In his report of November 23, 1963, Craig wrote:

"...I turned around and saw a white male running down the hill from the direction of the Texas School Book Depository Building and I saw what I think was a light-colored Rambler station wagon with luggage rack on top pull over to the curb and this subject who had come running down the hill get into this car. The man driving this station wagon was a dark-complected white male. I tried to get across Elm Street to stop the car and talk with subjects, but the traffic was so heavy I could not make it. I reported this incident at once to a Secret Service officer, whose name I do not know, then I left this area and went at once to the (Depository) building and assisted in the search of the building. Later that afternoon, I heard that the city had a suspect in custody and I called and reported the information about the suspect running down the hill and getting into a car to Captain (Will) Fritz and was required to come at once to City Hall. I went to City Hall and identified the subject they had in custody as being the same person I saw running down this hill and get into the station wagon and leave the scene."

Craig later described the driver of the station wagon as a "very dark complected" man with short,

dark hair wearing a white windbreaker-type short jacket. (Recall the witnesses who told of a dark man or Negro on the sixth floor of the Depository just before Kennedy's arrival.) Craig said since the two men were the only ones he saw trying to flee the scene, he believed the incident "important enough to bring to the attention of the authorities at a command post which had been set up in front of the Texas School Book Depository."

Here Craig may have had a brush with one of the bogus Secret Service men. Craig later said he approached the front of the Depository and asked for someone involved in the investigation. He said a man in a gray suit told him, "I'm with the Secret Service" and listened to Craig's report on assassination witnesses. Craig later recalled:

"He showed little interest in the persons leaving (the scene). However, he seemed extremely interested in the description of the Rambler (station wagon). This was the only part of my statement which he wrote down in his little pad he was holding."

On April 1, 1964, Craig described his confrontation with Lee Harvey Oswald at Dallas Police headquarters to the Warren Commission:

"I drove up to Fritz' office about, oh, after five - about 5:30 or something like that -and - uh - talked to Captain Fritz and told him what I had saw. And he took me in his office - I believe it was his office - it was a little office, and had the suspect sitting in a chair behind a desk - beside the desk....And Captain Fritz asked me was this the man I saw -and I said, "Yes" it was....Captain Fritz then asked him about the - uh - he said, "What about this station wagon?" And the suspect (Oswald) interrupted him and said, "That station wagon belongs to Mrs. Paine...Don't try to tie her into this. She had nothing to do with it."...Captain Fritz then told him..."All we're trying to do is find out what happened and this man saw you leave from the scene." And the suspect again interrupted Captain Fritz and said, "I told you people I did." ...Then he continued and he said, "Everybody will know who I am now.""

In later years Craig said Oswald made the last statement in a dejected and dispirited tone, almost as if "his cover had been blown." This was all explosive testimony since Oswald officially acted alone and made his way home that day by bus and by taxi. Therefore the Warren Commission stated it "could not accept important elements of Craig's testimony." It even went further suggesting that the meeting between Craig and Oswald never occurred. According to the Warren Commission Report:

"Captain Fritz stated that a deputy sheriff whom he could not identify did ask to see him that afternoon and told him a similar story to Craig's. Fritz did not bring him into his office to identify Oswald but turned him over to Lieutenant Baker for questioning. If Craig saw Oswald that afternoon, he saw him through the glass windows of the office."

The truth of whether or not Craig was in Fritz' office came in 1969 with the publication of a book by Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry. On page 72 is a photograph captioned, "The Homicide Bureau Office under guard while Oswald was being interrogated." In the photograph, well inside the homicide office, stands Deputy Sheriff Roger Craig.

Craig also pointed out to Warren Commission attorneys that he had learned that Mrs. Ruth Paine, with whom Oswald's wife Marina was living, indeed owned a light green Nash Rambler station wagon.

His insistence on sticking with his story despite repeated attempts by authorities to have both Craig and Arnold Rowland change their testimony, began to cause problems for Craig within the Sheriff's Department. Initially, Sheriff Decker backed Craig, calling him "completely honest." But later, Craig's credibility began to slip within the department and on July 4, 1967, he was fired by Decker. Some say the cause was laxity and improprieties in his work, while others say it was due to his unyielding position on the assassination.

In recent years there seems to be growing corroboration for Craig's story. First, a photograph taken in Dealey Plaza minutes after the assassination, shows Craig in the exact locations as he described. There are even two photos of a Nash Rambler station wagon moving west on Elm. In later years, researchers discovered Warren Commission Document 5, independent corroboration of Craig's story which was not published in the Commission's 26 volumes. In this document, an FBI report dated the day after the assassination, Marvin C. Robinson reported he had just past Houston Street driving west on Elm Street in heavy traffic when saw a light-colored Nash station wagon stop in front of the Texas School Book Depository and a white man walk down the grassy incline and get into the vehicle, which drove west. This is further evidence of the deceptive lengths to which the Warren Commission went

trying to suppress any evidence which failed to fit its preconceived scenario (See THE WARREN COMMISSION). In later years, Roger Craig - though vindicated in the controversy over his assassination testimony - continued to live with hard luck. His wife left him - some say due to pressure over his involvement in the assassination - and his back was injured in a car accident. He claimed to have been the object of murder attempts.

On May 15, 1975, Roger Craig, then only 39 years old, was killed by a rifle bullet. The verdict was suicide.

Crossfire: The Three Tramps

Within an hour of the assassination, Dallas Police Sergeant D.V. Harkness had an encounter with three strange fellows, whom many researchers believe may have been involved in the shooting.

Union Pacific Railroad dispatcher Lee Bowers (See THE GRASSY KNOLL) saw three men sneak into an empty railroad car in the train yards just behind the Texas School Book Depository a short time after the assassination. Bowers ordered the train stopped by radio and then summoned Dallas police. Several officers, including Harkness, roused the trio from the rail car at gun point and marched them to the Dallas County Sheriff's office. Their route took them past the Depository and across the eastern portion of Dealey Plaza. At least three news photographers took pictures of the three men as they were marched through the plaza under guard. These photographs are the only proof that this incident even occurred.

For once in the Sheriff's custody, the men officially disappeared. Although reportedly transferred later to the Dallas Police Station, they were never booked and any names, information or fingerprints that were taken have never been made public.

The House Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights discovered in 1975 that Dallas Police arrest records for November 22, 1963, compiled for the Warren Commission, were missing.

These three men remain among those persons which the FBI failed to identify and who were on the scene near the time of the assassination.

But were these "tramps" actually near the assassination site at the time of the shooting? In 1981 Kent Biffle, a reporter for "The Dallas Morning News" wrote an article telling of his experiences that day. Biffle wrote:

"Everyone was pointing toward a fence that connected with the Underpass....I ran that way. Some teenagers followed. One of them darted ahead and hit the fence before I did....Puffing, I followed him. The other side of the fence revealed no gunman. There was just a maze of railroad tracks and three dazed winos. "What happened?" I asked one. "What happened?" he asked me. People were still climbing over the fence. I ran east toward the Texas School Book Depository."

Were these three "dazed winos" the same three men later apprehended?

For more than 20 years the identities of the three men has been the object of speculation among assassination researchers. Although labeled "tramps," photos show the men had recent haircuts, shined shoes and old, but unsoiled, clothing. In the photographs they hardly appear to be genuine tramps or winos.

In 1976 the three "tramps" drew national attention when comedian/social activist Dick Gregory and others claimed that two of the men were none other than Watergate conspirators E. Howard Hunt and Frank Sturgis. This allegation was quickly, though not conclusively, dismissed. (In the summer of 1985, E. Howard Hunt lost a libel court case based on a national article which claimed that CIA documents indicated Hunt was in Dallas the day of the assassination.)

After the 1980 arrest of convicted assassin Charles V. Harrelson, researchers took a fresh look at the "tramps," particularly the younger of the trio. Many researchers now believe the tallest "tramp" may indeed be sitting in a Texas jail today.

Crossfire: Role of Hitman Harrelson

Of all the people who have confessed to participating in the JFK assassination, convicted Texas hitman Charles V. Harrelson appears to have the most independent evidence to back up his claim. Aside from being twice convicted of murder for hire, Harrelson has a long history of involvement with Dallas underworld characters linked directly to Jack Ruby. This incredible connection first came to the attention of JFK researchers when Harrelson was arrested near Van Horn, Texas, Sept. 1, 1980. He had been identified as a suspect in the death of Federal Judge John Wood of San Antonio Wood, who was shot from ambush by a high-powered rifle. High on cocaine (well-known for loosening the inhibitions) and pointing a pistol to his head, Harrelson held lawmen at bay for six hours. During this time, according to the arresting officers, he not only confessed to the Judge Wood killing, but also claimed he participated in the Kennedy assassination. This statement, repeated in some Texas newspapers, sent assassination researchers searching their files for confirmation.

Researcher Gary Mack already had noticed the resemblance of Harrelson to the youngest tramp. This search led to a review of the strange story of three "tramps" arrested near Dealey Plaza.

Harrelson was 47 years old in 1985, making him 25 at the time of the assassination. This corresponds with the age of the youngest "tramp," who was thought to have been between 25 and 30 years old.

In June 1981, Harrelson was interviewed by Chuck Cook, then a reporter for the Dallas Morning News. In a telephone interview with this author, Cook recalled:

"Because of his statements during his arrest, I felt obligated to ask him about that. I asked about the Kennedy assassination and he got this sly grin on his face. Harrelson is very intelligent and has a way of not answering when it suits him."

Cook said at a later interview he again brought the subject up and that Harrelson became very serious. Cook quoted Harrelson as saying:

"Listen, if and when I get out of here and feel free to talk, I will have something that will be the biggest story you ever had."

Cook said when he asked what that story would be, Harrelson would only reply:

"November 22, 1963. You remember that!"

Intrigued with the possibilities, Cook said he later showed photographs of the three "tramps" to Harrelson's wife, Jo Ann Harrelson, who "was amazed at the similarities." Cook added:

"Then I gave the photos to one of Harrelson's attorneys and he was supposed to show them to Harrelson. But that's the last I heard of it. He didn't want to talk about it because he felt his jail cell was bugged, and rightly so."

It was later revealed that Harrelson's jail conversations were indeed being monitored.

In an interview with Dallas TV newsman Quin Mathews, Harrelson offered further comments on the Kennedy assassination.

"You said you'd killed President Kennedy?" commented Matthews.

Harrelson replied:

"At the same time I said I killed the judge, I said I had killed Kennedy, which might give you an idea as to the state of my mind at the time...It was an effort to elongate my life...Well, do you believe Lee Harvey Oswald killed President Kennedy alone, without any aid from a rogue agency of the U.S. Government or at least a portion of that agency? I believe you are very naive if you do."

Fort Worth graphics expert Jack White, who testified before the House Select Committee on Assassinations, is convinced that Harrelson is the youngest of the three "tramps."

White told this author:

"I have done various photographic comparison tests and everything matches...the hair, the nose, the ear, the profile. It's Harrelson."

But over and above the comparisons of Harrelson's photograph with that of the younger "tramp," further evidence indicates Harrelson very well may have played a role in the assassination. When arrested, Harrelson was carrying the business card of R.D. Matthews. In subsequent interviews, Harrelson admitted to being close friends of Matthews. In fact, Harrelson said he looked up to Matthews as a father. Russell Douglas Matthews, a former Dallas underworld character, is mentioned in the Warren Report as a "passing acquaintance" of Jack Ruby and obliquely connects him with a Ruby-backed jeep sale to Cuba in 1959. The House Select Committee on Assassinations indicated his relationship with Ruby was more than "passing" and described Matthews as a man "actively engaged

in criminal activity since the 1940s." The Committee also documented Matthews' connections to Dallas gamblers Lewis McWillie (close friend to the Kirkwoods of Fort Worth - See G-MEN) and Benny Binion - all closely acquainted with Ruby. The Committee further developed evidence that Matthews was in contact with associates of Florida crime chieftain Santos Trafficante (See MOBSTERS). Matthews was linked by the Committee to Texas underworld characters such as Hollis de Lois Green, Jettie Bass, Nick Cascio and James Todd, all acquaintances of Harrelson's. In a strange sidelight, Matthews was best man at the wedding of a Dallas underworld character named George McGann to Beverly Oliver. Oliver, a friend to both Ruby and several of his employees, was in Dealey Plaza filming the Kennedy motorcade at the time of the assassination and became known as the "Babushka Lady" to researchers. (See THE CROWD)

The former chief counsel of the House Committee, G. Robert Blakey, in his book "The Plot to Kill the President," reiterated the Committee's findings that Kennedy was assassinated as the result of a conspiracy and that more than one gunman was involved. Then Blakey went even further, stating that evidence compiled by the committee indicated that organized crime played a major part in that conspiracy.

If organized crime in Dallas was involved - and Ruby's role would seem to justify that conclusion - then the entire spectrum of the Dallas underworld become suspect. And we come back to young Charles Harrelson.

But there is evidence that Harrelson's contacts went far beyond Dallas police characters. Indicted along with Harrelson in the plot to kill Judge Wood was the brother of reputed New Orleans Crime Boss Carlos Marcello (See MOBSTERS), another of the organized crime figures named by the House Select Committee on Assassinations as possibly involved in the Kennedy assassination conspiracy. And then came the revelation of Harrelson's involvement with criminals connected to intelligence agencies and even the military. In April 1982, Harrelson was identified by Florida law enforcement officials as being a member of a shadowy group of hired gunmen, mercenaries and drug smugglers known as "The Company." "The Company," which according to lawmen took its name from the CIA, involved more than 300 persons, many ex-police or military men. During one criminal trial involving members of the group, federal prosecutors claimed "The Company" owned more than \$30 million in assets such as planes, ships and real estate. Federal drug agents said the group imported billions of dollars worth of narcotics from Central and South America as well as conducting gunrunning and mercenary operations. Florida lawmen investigating this group claimed Harrelson was a member and that Jimmy Chagra, the man who allegedly hired Harrelson to kill the judge, also once hired "The Company" for protection.

Oddly enough, the very day that Harrelson was formally charged with the Judge Wood assassination - April 16, 1982 - a Dallas news reporter and a JFK assassination researcher were scheduled to meet with Harrelson to discuss his role in the Kennedy murder. Although Harrelson had been jailed for more than a year and a half, when the formal charges were filed, all visits to him were canceled.

JFK researcher and author J. Gary Shaw claimed:

"I feel this was done at that particular time to prevent Harrelson from revealing what he knows."

During Harrelson's trial, Joe Chagra, brother of Jimmy, testified that Harrelson got the Wood contract after telling his brother that he had participated in the JFK assassination. (Researchers find it most revealing that a man reputed to be a high-ranking mobster by Government agents should hire Harrelson on this claim rather than boot him out of his office - since everyone had been told the assassination was caused by only a lone nut.)

According to researcher Jack White, a national periodical became convinced that Harrelson was one of the three "tramps" after an anthropological scientist stated comparisons between the "hit man" and photos of the young "tramp" were virtually identical. However, the story was dropped after Harrelson denied any involvement and reportedly passed a lie detector test administered by a man with Government connections.

Harrelson, now serving a life sentence after being convicted of the Wood assassination, has not been interviewed recently about his role in Dallas, so researchers are left only with his cryptic reminder:

"November 22, 1963. You remember that!"

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The "three tramps" were not the only persons arrested on the day of the assassination. More than a dozen people were taken into custody and it will forever remain puzzling that few records were kept on

any of them. It seems that once Oswald was captured, the authorities totally lost interest in anyone else -strong evidence for showing how quickly and how effectively the "lone assassin" theory was accepted.

A Catholic priest told this author of observing a young man in a three-piece suit wearing gloves being arrested and escorted from the Texas School Book Depository to the Dallas Sheriff's office. He said he overheard the arresting officers say, "Well, we got one of them." There is no record of such an arrest.

Assassination witness Phil Willis told researchers that shortly after the shooting, police escorted a man in a black leather jacket and black gloves from the Dal-Tex Building - which lies directly east of the Depository and the building several researchers believe shots may have come from. Again, there is no record of such an arrest. This man may have been Larry Florer who was arrested in the Dal-Tex Building. In a statement to authorities, Florer said he tried use the telephone in the Dal-Tex Building but found they were all busy. He was taken into custody as he tried to leave the building.

Another man arrested in the Dal-Tex Building was a Mafia-connected police character with a record of more than 30 arrests.

Crossfire: The Mafia Man in Dealey Plaza

Moments after the assassination, an elevator operator in the Dal-Tex Building - located directly across Houston Street from the Texas School Book Depository - noticed a man he did not recognize. The operator summoned Deputy Sheriff C.L. "Lummie" Lewis, who arrested the man. He identified himself as Jim Braden. Taken to the Sheriff's office for questioning, Braden said he was visiting Dallas on oil business and was staying at the Cabana Motel (a motor inn built with Teamster money) on Stemmons Expressway. He said he had entered the Dal-Tex Building to use the telephone when he was taken into custody. With no information to the contrary, authorities released Braden three hours later. It was an unfortunate decision.

What is now known is that Braden had recently legally changed his name from Eugene Hale Brading. If the authorities had obtained that name on November 22, 1963, there perhaps would have been more interest in the man. Braden/Brading was a man with a police record stretching back to 1934 for such crimes as burglary, embezzlement, mail fraud and conspiracy, including several arrests in Dallas. His story, which had been pieced together over the years by a variety of researchers and newsmen, indicates this man may have been more deeply involved in the assassination than first suspected. On parole for mail fraud and interstate transportation of stolen property, Braden had informed his parole officer that he would be in Dallas from November 21 to 25, 1963.

He said on November 21, 1963, he visited the offices of Texas oilman H.L. Hunt to meet with Hunt's son, Lamar Hunt. Interestingly, Jack Ruby also was at the Hunt offices about that same time, ostensibly to help a young woman get a job. (Both Braden and Ruby denied these visits although it has been verified by more than one office worker.) And Brading, along with ex-convict Morgan Brown, was staying at the Cabana Motel, the same motel visited by Ruby the night of November 21. Furthermore, in a book entitled "Legacy of Doubt," CBS newsmen Peter Noyes documented Braden's connections to a number of underworld figures, including Meyer Lansky (See MOBSTERS). Apparently Braden was known as a Mafia courier. Most sinister of all, Braden may have been in contact with the New Orleans Mafia-CIA man, David Ferrie, Lee Harvey Oswald's former Civil Air Patrol leader (See OSWALD). Noyes found that in the weeks immediately preceding the assassination, Braden was in and out of Room 1701 of the Pere Marquette Building in New Orleans, just down the hall from Room 1707 where Ferrie was working for an attorney of Mafia boss Carlos Marcello (See MOBSTERS).

Another fascinating connection between Braden and the assassination concerns two New York businessmen, Lawrence and Edward Meyers. Lawrence Meyers was a personal friend of Jack Ruby. On November 20-21, 1963, Meyers also was staying at the Cabana Motel in Dallas. While in Dallas, Meyers told the FBI he was with Jean West, a "rather dumb, but accommodating broad." Edward Meyers was in Dallas to attend the Pepsi-Cola bottlers convention - the same convention attended by Richard Nixon. Both brothers were visited by Jack Ruby briefly at the Cabana Motel on the night of November 21 - the same night Braden was at the same motel. While no direct connections between this group and Ferrie in New Orleans can be made at this time, it is fascinating to note that when New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison began looking at long-distance telephone calls for David Ferrie he discovered something - the same day Oswald left New Orleans for his reported trip to Mexico City, Ferrie called a number in Chicago which belonged to Jean Aase West, Meyer's friend.

In Warren Commission Exhibit 2350 - a listing of telephone calls made by Lawrence Meyers in November 1963 - it was found that same day he too called the Chicago number of Jean West, the woman who accompanied him to Dallas. So while not conclusively documented, there are at least possible connections between Jack Ruby and David Ferrie via Meyers/West and Braden.

Meyers also told the Warren Commission that his friend Ruby had called him the night before shooting Oswald. The next day, upon hearing the news that Ruby shot Oswald, Meyers decided not to contact Dallas Police because "in light of the apparent hectic activities then ensuing at the police station, it would be better if he did not do so."

All of this occurred in the context of Braden's visit to Dallas. The House Select Committee on Assassinations tried to sort out the truth of Braden's visit as well as his contacts, to little avail. First, Braden said he made the trip to Dallas from California and met with a Dallas parole officer at the moment of the assassination. However, the parole officer could not recall such a meeting - If Braden had not notified his parole office that he was leaving California, he would have been in violation of parole and subject to arrest. He told the Committee he walked as far as the Dal-Tex Building in an effort to find a telephone so he could call his mother and tell her about the assassination. He denied he ever was in Dealey Plaza. However, due to statements made while in custody and the fact that Braden has

definitely been identified in Dealey Plaza photographs, it is now widely accepted that Braden was among the spectators gathered in Dealey Plaza minutes after the shooting. This fact alone - that a known felon with many ties to both Mafia figures, New Orleans and Jack Ruby would be hanging around Dealey Plaza just after Kennedy's death - creates deep suspicion about the immediate Dallas investigation and, even more particularly, the subsequent federal investigation.

This suspicion is heightened in light of the fact that in 1976, the National Archives revealed that at least two documents relating to the Braden arrest were missing.

Crossfire: Odd Arrests

One of the oddest arrests that day was only reported in a Dallas newspaper. The November 22, 1963, edition of the "Dallas Times Herald" reported that a policeman arrested a man wearing horn-rimmed glasses, a plaid coat and a rain coat after Depository employees pointed to him from a third-floor window. The news account said the man was taken under protest to the Sheriff's Department, while members of the crowd shouted, "I hope you die!" and "I hope you burn!" Three weeks later, the same newspaper reported that "an early suspect in the assassination of President Kennedy was still in jail - but no longer a suspect in the killing." This account said the man was arrested minutes after the assassination after police swarmed into the railroads yards where "a man was reported seen in that area carrying a rifle." The story said the still-unidentified man was being held on "city charges."

Who was this man and what, if anything, did he know about the assassination? No further mention was made of this fellow since, apparently, no interest was taken in him by federal authorities.

A man was even arrested in nearby Fort Worth after a "Mrs. Cunningham" called the Grand Prairie Police and told them that a car with license number DT-4857 had been involved in the assassination and was en route to Ranger, Texas. This car was stopped in Fort Worth and the driver - who looked a great deal like Oswald - was arrested. He was later released after Oswald's arrest. There is no indication that the FBI or Warren Commission ever attempted to locate or further identify "Mrs. Cunningham."

Another odd arrest - that of Jack Lawrence - deserves serious study. Lawrence was arrested late on the afternoon of November 22, 1963 after his actions caused suspicions among his co-workers at Downtown Lincoln-Mercury, located two blocks west of Dealey Plaza. He had obtained a job as a car salesman at the dealership just one month before the assassination with job references from New Orleans which later were discovered to be phony. Lawrence never sold a car and on the day before the assassination, he had borrowed one of the firm's car, after telling his boss he had a "heavy date." On Friday, November 22, Lawrence failed to show up for work. However, about 30 minutes after the assassination, he came hustling through the company's show room, pale and sweating with mud on his clothes. He rushed into the men's room and threw up. He told co-workers he had been ill that morning, tried to drive the car back to the dealership but had to park it due to the heavy traffic. Later, employees found the car parked behind the wooden picket fence on top of the Grassy Knoll overlooking Dealey Plaza. His activities were so suspicious that employees called police, who picked up Lawrence that evening.

Lawrence, who reportedly was an expert marksman in the Air Force, left Dallas after being released the next day. His present whereabouts are unknown.

Of course, the most prominent arrest of that day was when Dallas Police nabbed Lee Harvey Oswald less than an hour and a half after the assassination.

But such rapid police action was precipitated by yet another tragic incident - the slaying of Dallas Policeman J.D. Tippit.

Crossfire: The Shooting of J. D. Tippit

Of all the aspects of the Kennedy assassination, the shooting of Dallas Policeman Jefferson Davis Tippit has received less attention than most others.

Allegedly, Tippit was shot down while attempting to arrest Lee Harvey Oswald 45 minutes after the assassination in Oak Cliff, south of downtown Dallas. And it was the slaying of this policeman which led to the arrest of Lee Harvey Oswald and, in many ways, became a cornerstone of the case for Oswald's guilt - Warren Commission Attorney David Belin called the shooting the "Rosetta Stone" to the JFK assassination. "After all," stated the conventional wisdom of 1963-64, "Oswald killed that policeman. Why would he do that if he hadn't killed the President?" Yet today there is a growing body of evidence to suggest that Oswald did not kill Tippit -which, if true, destroys the argument above.

Little is known about Tippit or his life and personal contacts. This absence of information prompted researcher Sylvia Meagher to write:

"Tippit, the policeman and the man, is a one-dimensional and insubstantial figure - unknown and unknowable. The (Warren) Commission was not interested in Tippit's life, and apparently interested in his death only to the extent that it could be ascribed to Oswald, despite massive defects in the evidence against him."

With no real knowledge of Tippit's background or associations and with a number of problems with several aspects of the evidence, the Warren Commission nevertheless concluded that Oswald was his killer based on four primary pieces of evidence.

1. Two witnesses who saw the shooting and seven who saw a man fleeing "positively identified Lee Harvey Oswald as the man they saw fire the shots or flee from the scene."

The chief witness for the Warren Commission was Helen Markham, whose credibility, even at the time of the Commission, was strained to the breaking point. Markham claimed to have talked for some time with the dying Tippit, yet medical authorities said he was killed instantly. She said she saw Tippit's killer talk with the policeman through his patrol car's right hand window, although pictures taken at the scene show that window was shut. She was in hysterics at the time and even left her shoes on top of Tippit's car. Later, in her testimony before the Warren Commission, Markham stated six times she did not recognize anyone in the police lineup that evening, before Commission Attorney Joseph Ball prompted, "Was there a Number two man in there?" Markham responded:

"Number two is the one I picked...When I saw this man I wasn't sure, but I had cold chills just run all over me..."

Furthermore, other witnesses at the scene - William Scoggins, Ted Calloway and Emory Austin - even today claim they never saw Mrs. Markham in the minutes immediately following the shooting.

Cabdriver Scoggins also identified Oswald that day, although Scoggins admitted he did not actually witness the shooting and his view of the fleeing killer was obscured because he ducked down behind his cab as the man came by. Scoggins and cabdriver William Whaley, who allegedly drove Oswald home that day, both viewed a Dallas police lineup composed of five "young teenagers" and Oswald. Whaley told the Warren Commission:

"...you could have picked (Oswald) out without identifying him by just listening to him because he was bawling out the policemen, telling them it wasn't right to put him in line with these teenagers....He showed no respect for the policemen, he told them what he thought about them...they were trying to railroad him and he wanted his lawyer...Anybody who wasn't sure could have picked out the right one just for that..."

If his protestations weren't enough to guide the witnesses in their identification of Oswald, the suspect had conspicuous bruises and a black eye. Furthermore, Oswald stated he was asked and gave his correct name and place of employment. By Friday evening, everyone in Dallas who attended the police lineups had heard that shots were fired from the Texas School Book Depository.

On Saturday, Scoggins again identified Oswald, although in his Warren Commission testimony he admitted seeing Oswald's photograph in a morning paper prior to viewing the police lineup.

His identification of Oswald fell further into disrepute when he told the Commission that after the lineup, an FBI or Secret Service agent showed him several pictures of men, which Scoggins narrowed down to two.

Scoggins recalled:

"...I told them one of these two pictures is him (Oswald)...and then he told me the other one was Oswald."

These were the two star government witnesses. Other witnesses, including Domingo Benavides -

the person closest to the killing - were never asked to view a lineup nor were they able to identify Oswald as the killer.

Several other witnesses, including Acquilla Clemons, who claimed two men were involved in the Tippit shooting but said she was threatened into silence by a man with a gun, were never questioned by federal investigators. The Warren Commission even denied her existence, claiming:

"The only woman among the witnesses to the slaying of Tippit known to the Commission is Helen Markham."

Markham reportedly initially said that Tippit's killer was short and stocky with bushy hair. This is the same description given by Clemons who in a filmed interview said the killer was "kind of a short guy...kind of heavy." Markham later denied giving this description.

Frank Wright lived near the scene of the Tippit shooting. He heard shots and ran outside. In an interview with private researchers less than a year later, Wright said he saw Tippit roll over once and lie still. He added:

"I saw a man standing in front of the car. He was looking toward the man on the ground....He had on a long coat. It ended just above his hands. I didn't see any gun. He ran around on the passenger side of the police car. He ran as fast as he could go, and he got into his car. His car was a little gray old coupe. It was about a 1950-51, maybe a Plymouth. It was a gray car, parked on the same side of the street as the police car, but beyond it from me. It was heading away from me. He got in that car and he drove away as fast as you could see...After that a whole lot of police came up. I tried to tell two or three people what I saw. They didn't pay any attention. I've seen what came out on television and in the newspaper, but I know that's not what happened."

Another witness was Warren Reynolds who chased Tippit's killer. He too failed to identify Oswald as Tippit's killer until after he was shot in the head two months later. After recovering, Reynolds identified Oswald to the Warren Commission. (A suspect was arrested in the Reynolds shooting, but released when a former Jack Ruby stripper named Betty Mooney MacDonald provided an alibi. One week after her word released the suspect, MacDonald was arrested by Dallas Police and a few hours later, was found hanged in her jail cell. Neither the FBI nor the Warren Commission investigated this strange incident.)

2. The cartridge cases found near the Tippit slaying "were fired from the revolver in the possession of Oswald at the time of his arrest, to the exclusion of all other weapons," claimed the Warren Commission.

There are many problems with this evidence. First, Dallas Police Sergeant Gerald Hill, at the time of the Tippit shooting, radioed the police dispatcher, saying:

"The shells at the scene indicate that the suspect is armed with an automatic .38 rather than a pistol."

Oswald reportedly was captured with a .38 Special revolver. There is a significant difference between an automatic, which ejects spent shells onto the ground, and a revolver which requires deliberate emptying of the weapon. These weapons also require different types of ammunition. It was the belief of other officers at the scene based on the distance from Tippit's body where the shells were found and what some perceived to be ejector scratches on the shells that an automatic weapon was used. If this were so, than Oswald's revolver cannot be blamed for Tippit's death. Then there's the problem of identification of the empty shells. Policeman J.M. Poe received two cartridge cases from witness Benavides at the scene. In an FBI report, Poe firmly stated that he marked the case with his initials, "J.M.P." before turning them over to Dallas Crime Lab personnel. However, on June 12, 1964, the FBI showed Poe the four .38 Special cases used as evidence of Oswald's guilt by the Warren Commission. The Bureau reported:

"...He (Poe) recalled marking these cases before giving them to (lab personnel), but he stated after a thorough examination of the four cartridges shown to him...he cannot locate his marks; therefore, he cannot positively identify any of these cartridges as being the same ones he received from Benavides."

Testifying to the Warren Commission, Poe vacillated, saying he couldn't swear to marking the cases. However, asked to identify the cartridges, Poe also stated:

"I want to say these two are mine, but I couldn't swear to it."

Poe's failure to find his initials on the cases, coupled with the fact that the cases were not turned

over to the FBI until six days after other inventoried evidence, leaves many researchers with the suspicion that shell cases from Oswald's revolver were substituted for the ones marked by Poe.

To further confuse the issue, the Warren Commission discovered that the shell cases allegedly recovered at the scene of the shooting do not match up with the slugs which were recovered from Tippit's body. The four cases are made up of two of Winchester-Western manufacture and two of Remington-Peters, while of the bullets removed from Tippit, only one is Remington-Peters and three are from Winchester-Western.

Weakly, the Warren Commission attempted to explain this anomaly by surmising that perhaps a fifth shot had been fired but not recovered (most of the witnesses recalled no more than four shots) or that perhaps Oswald already had an expended Remington-Peters case in his pistol prior to shooting Tippit. The Commission even suggested that perhaps "...to save money...he might have loaded one make of bullet into another make of cartridge case."

This, of course, would require Oswald to own or have access to reloading equipment. It should be pointed out that when arrested, Oswald reportedly was carrying five live Winchester-Western bullets in his pocket in addition to the fully-loaded revolver, which apparently was never tested to determine if it had been fired recently. With this exception, authorities found no other ammunition or gun cleaning materials in any of Oswald's possessions.

3. The Warren Commission determined that the revolver in Oswald's possession at the time of his arrest was purchased by and belonged to him. While this segment of the evidence against Oswald may be true (Some researchers are not convinced that the weapons order signed by A.J. Hidell can conclusively be traced to Oswald), it does not prove that the gun was used to kill Tippit. For instance, even the resources of the FBI failed to prove that the slugs recovered from Tippit's body had been fired from Oswald's pistol.

FBI officials claimed that since the Oswald revolver had been rechambered to accept .38 Special ammunition, the barrel was oversize for the bullet causing inconsistent ballistic markings. Thus, "...consecutive bullets fired in the revolver by the FBI could not even be identified with each other under the microscope," stated the Commission in an appendix to its Report. This statement is most odd, for several firearms experts have told this author that similar .38 Specials do fit the rifling grooves and can be checked ballistically.

If the slugs from Tippit's body cannot be matched to Oswald's revolver, perhaps it is because they did not come from that gun. Adding fuel to this speculation is the statement of Eddie Kinsley, the ambulance attendant who drove the mortally-wounded Tippit to a hospital. In recent years, Kinsley told newsman Earl Golz of an extraneous bullet.

According to Kinsley, as he unloaded Tippit from his ambulance:

"I kicked one of the bullets out of my ambulance that went into his button...onto the parking lot of Methodist Hospital. It didn't go in the body...It fell off the ambulance still in this button."

Since Tippit reportedly was struck by all four bullets fired at him and these slugs were placed in evidence with the Warren Commission, what is the explanation for Kinsley's fifth slug? Kinsley told Golz he had never been questioned by the Warren Commission.

Recent work by Texas researchers indicate that the cases now residing in the National Archives, exhibited by the Warren Commission as the shells used in the Tippit slaying may not have been fired by Oswald's pistol. Oswald's pistol was originally a Military and Police Smith & Wesson 1905 Model .38-caliber revolver, the largest-selling quality revolver ever produced. Originally shipped to England during World War II, more than 88,000 were shipped back to the United States in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The pistol in question, serial number V510210, ended up in California, where it apparently was converted to a .38 Special Model. This involved cutting off the barrel from its original five inches to two-and-a-quarter inches. The Warren Commission said the pistol also was rechambered to accept .38 Special ammunition, although Commission testimony fails to establish this change. The .38 Special bullet is slightly smaller in diameter but has more length than .38 Standard ammunition.

Texas researcher and veteran hunter Larry Howard discovered after buying an exact duplicate of Oswald .38 revolver that .38 Special cartridges, when fired in a rechambered weapon, bulge noticeably in the center. Howard told this author:

"I have checked this with several expert gunsmiths. Since the rechambering cannot change the diameter of the cylinder, but only makes it longer to accept .38 Special ammo, the bullet bulges in the middle when fired. I've done it time after time. My wife

can notice the bulge. The case looks like it's pregnant.

Studying the shells depicted in the Warren Commission volumes and also in a close-up clear photograph in the November 1983, commemorative issue of "Life" magazine, it appears to everyone that the shell cases in the National Archives (supposedly the casings found at the scene of Tippit's death) do not show any bulging at all. This indicates to me and other experts that those cases could not have been fired from the .38 Special that was supposed to belong to Oswald."

Until further testing can be done on the cartridge cases in question, this is hardly solid proof of Oswald's innocence in the Tippit shooting. But it is further proof of the wide gaps still open in the case against Oswald.

4. According to the Warren Commission, Oswald's jacket was found along the path of flight taken by Tippit's killer. The Warren Commission wrote:

"...Oswald was seen leaving his roominghouse at about 1 p.m. wearing a zipper jacket...the man who killed Tippit was wearing a light-colored jacket, that he was seen running along Jefferson Boulevard, that a jacket was found under a car in a lot adjoining Jefferson Boulevard...when he was arrested at approximately 1:50 p.m., he was in shirt sleeves. These facts warrant the finding that Lee Harvey Oswald disposed of his jacket as he fled from the scene of the Tippit killing."

But did the facts warrant such a conclusion? Not really, since almost every aspect of the jacket story has since come under question. Oswald, it is known, had only two jackets - one blue and one a lightweight gray zipper jacket. At least two witnesses at the scene of Tippit's slaying reported his killer wore a white jacket. One of these, Helen Markham, was shown Oswald's gray jacket by a Warren Commission attorney who asked, "Did you ever see this before?" Despite having been shown the jacket by the FBI prior to her testimony, Markham replied:

"No, I did not....that jacket is a darker jacket than that, I know it was."

Witness Domingo Benavides was shown a jacket by Commission Attorney David Belin, who said, "I am handing you a jacket which had been marked as 'Commission's Exhibit 163,' and ask you to state whether this bears any similarity to the jacket you saw this man with the gun wearing?" The accommodating Benavides responded:

"I would say this looks just like it..."

The problem here is that Commission's Exhibit 163 is Oswald's dark blue jacket. The gray jacket is Commission's Exhibit 162. Here is yet another example of a witness obligingly providing the answers they felt were wanted.

Another example is cabdriver William Whaley, who reportedly drove Oswald home from downtown Dallas. Whaley identified the gray jacket as the one Oswald was wearing in his cab. Yet the Warren Commission, based on testimony from Oswald's landlady, stated that Oswald put on the jacket AFTER arriving at his lodgings.

Testifying to the Warren Commission, Roberts said:

"He (Oswald) went to his room and he was in his shirt sleeves...and he got a jacket and put it on - it was kind of a zipper jacket. (She then was shown Commission's Exhibit 162, Oswald's gray jacket, and asked if she had seen it before)...Well, maybe I have, but I don't remember it. It seems like the one he put on was darker than that..."

Barbara Davis, another witness at the Tippit slaying, also could not identify Oswald's gray jacket to the Warren Commission. In fact, she stated the killer wore "a dark coat...it looked like it was maybe a wool fabric...more of a sporting jacket."

Cabdriver William Scoggins also failed to identify Oswald's jacket, saying, "I thought it was a little darker."

Despite these problems of identification, the Commission went right on asserting that the jacket belonged to Oswald.

More Commission deception occurred in its reporting of the discovery of the jacket. The Warren Report stated:

"Police Capt. W.R. Westbrook...walked through the parking lot behind the service station and found a light-colored jacket lying under the rear of one of the cars."

However, in his testimony, Westbrook was asked if he found some clothing. He replied:

"Actually, I didn't find it - it was pointed out to me by... some officer..."

According to the Dallas Police Radio log, a "white jacket" was found by "279 (Unknown)" a full 15

minutes before Westbrook arrived on the scene. The Commission made no effort to determine who really found the jacket, if a jacket was actually found or if it was a white jacket which only later was transformed into Oswald's gray jacket. Recently, the owner of the Texaco station where the jacket reportedly was found told Texas researchers that no one - neither the FBI, Dallas police nor the Warren Commission - ever questioned him or his employees about this important piece of evidence. In addition, the jacket identified by federal authorities as belonging to Oswald carried inside a laundry mark "30 030" and a dry-cleaning tag "B ." A full-scale search by the FBI in both Dallas and New Orleans failed to identify any laundry or dry cleaners using those marks. Oswald's wife, Marina, testified she could not recall her husband ever sending his jackets to a cleaning establishment, but that she did recall washing them herself. Further investigation by the FBI turned up no laundry or dry-cleaning tags on any of Oswald's other clothing. Oswald wore size "small" shirts, the jacket is a "medium" size, which adds to the suspicion that it was not his jacket.

With all this, in addition to a broken chain of evidence, the jacket cannot be considered evidence of Oswald's guilt in the killing of Officer Tippit.

Then there is a matter of time and a strange incident at Oswald's lodging. Earlene Roberts, Oswald's landlady, told the Warren Commission she was watching television coverage of the assassination about 1 p.m. when Oswald - who had been registered at the rooming house as O.H. Lee - hurried in and went to his room. She said next a Dallas police car pulled up in front of her house and honked. She explained:

"I had worked for some policemen and sometimes they come by...I just glanced out saw the number (on the car)...It wasn't the police car I knew...and I ignored it...."

She said the police car was directly in front of her home when the driver sounded the horn, like "tit-tit." She said the car then "...just eased on...and they just went around the corner that way." According to Roberts, there were two uniformed policemen in the car, most unusual since daytime patrols in that area of the city were limited to one officer - such as Tippit. She could not recall the number of the car precisely, but said she recalled that the first two numbers of a possible three-digit combination were a "1" and a "0." Tippit was driving car No. 10 that day and Tippit failed to respond to a dispatcher call at the approximate time of the police car incident.

Immediately following the police car episode, Roberts said Oswald came out of his room and left hurriedly, zipping up a jacket. She said he left her house three or four minutes after 1 p.m.

Roberts said she looked out of the window and last saw Oswald standing at a nearby bus stop.

According to the Warren Commission, a man keyed a microphone at 1:16 p.m., saying, "Hello police operator...We've had a shooting here...it's a police officer, somebody shot him." This, of course, referred to Tippit, who lay dead about a mile from Oswald's residence.

The Commission tried to establish that the Tippit shooting occurred moments after 1:15 p.m., hardly enough time to allow Oswald to run from his rooming house to the scene of the Tippit slaying at 10th and Patton. The Commission could not locate even one witness who saw Oswald walking or running between his rooming house and the scene of the Tippit slaying.

This time frame becomes stretched to the breaking point when one considers the Tippit witnesses' testimony.

Even Helen Markham, who was so confused about other matters, was certain of the time because she was on her way to catch her usual 1:12 p.m. bus for work. Asked by a Warren Commission attorney about the time she saw the Tippit shooting, Markham responded:

"I wouldn't be afraid to bet it wasn't six or seven minutes after one."

In this instance, Mrs. Markham's recollection must be correct since another Tippit shooting witness, Jack Tatum, told researchers that Mrs. Markham did not want to remain at the scene because she feared missing her bus for work.

T.F. Bowley, the man who made the call to the police dispatcher, was never called to testify to the Warren Commission. The reason may be that Bowley heard shots, saw Tippit's body lying next to his squad car and looked at his watch. It was 1:10 p.m.

Other witnesses hid at the sound of the shots, afraid the gunman would turn on them. Only after the killer fled, did they venture out. One of the first persons to reach Tippit was Benavides who told the Warren Commission he was in a truck across the street from the shooting.

After hearing only three shots, Benavides said:

"...I sat there for just a few minutes...I thought maybe he (the killer) had lived in there (the house where he last saw the gunman) and I didn't want to get out and rush right

up. He might start shooting again....That is when I got out of the truck and walked over to the policeman...The policeman, I believe, was dead when he hit the ground..."

After checking on Tippit, Benavides said he tried to call on the patrol car's radio but got no answer. Another bystander, Bowley, then got in the car and was successful in raising the police dispatcher and reported the shooting. Obviously, several minutes went by between the time of the shooting and 1:16 p.m. when the police radio log recorded the citizen's alert.

This places the actual shooting closer to Bowley's time of 1:10 p.m. - a time frame which rules out the possibility that Oswald could have traveled on foot from his rooming house to the scene of the shooting.

The conversations of police regarding time sequences, orders, discovery of evidence, etc. were recorded on Dallas Police Radio recording equipment. These recordings should have provided accurate times and movement orders - in fact, they were relied on greatly by the Warren Commission and subsequent investigations.

Today there is evidence that the Dallas Police Radio recordings may have been edited. Soon after the assassination, the tapes may have been taken by federal authorities, who certainly have access to the most sophisticated audio equipment. Any police broadcasts not consistent with the lone assassin theory could have been simply edited out and an edited copy returned to Dallas Police for conveyance to the Warren Commission. Is there any evidence that this occurred? Yes. Dr. James Barger, chief acoustic scientist for the House Select Committee on Assassinations, studied the "original" police tapes and discovered a break in the 60-cycle hum background tone. He found two separate tones on the tape, which could only result from copying. Although ignored publicly, the Ramsey Panel, studying the recordings for the National Academy of Science, did suggest in an appendix of its report that "The original Dictabelt could be studied more extensively for possible evidence...of being a copy..."

Researcher Gary Mack reported that in recent years, former Dallas Police Sgt. J.C. Bowles, the radio room supervisor who prepared transcripts for the Warren Commission, stated that a few days after the assassination, federal agents "borrowed" the original police Dictabelt and at the time he was under the impression that they took them to a recording studio in Oklahoma. Like so much of the Warren Commission's evidence, now the Dallas Police radio recordings are open to question.

Another strong argument for Oswald's innocence in the Tippit slaying comes from W.H. "Butch" Burroughs, who on November 22 was manning the concession stand in the Texas Theater. Burroughs told this author that he distinctly recalls selling popcorn to Oswald about 1:15 p.m. -the exact time of the Tippit shooting.

He said he watched the man take his popcorn and sit next to a pregnant woman in the lower floor of the theater. Burroughs said about 20 minutes later police rushed into the theater and dragged the man out. He later recognized media photos of Lee Harvey Oswald as the same man who purchased popcorn.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations supported the Warren Commission's conclusion that Oswald killed Tippit, however, it obliquely indicated that all is not known about the killing.

Committee investigators studied information developed by researcher Larry Harris that Tippit may have been killed as the result of personal problems. They also talked with yet another witness who had not been interviewed by the Warren Commission. Jack Ray Tatum told Committee investigators that Tippit's killer, after shooting the officer from the sidewalk, walked around the patrol car and shot Tippit once in the head at point blank range. Correctly, the Committee wrote:

"This action, which is often encountered in gangland murders and is commonly described as a coup de grace, is more indicative of an execution than an act of defense intended to allow escape or prevent apprehension."

There is a problem with Tatum's story however. Most of the witnesses stated that four shots were fired in succession - with no interval between the shots.

Several serious students of the Tippit incident now believe that his death may have had no connection with the Kennedy assassination. And of the researchers who still believe such a connection exists, few cling to the belief that Oswald was killer. Regardless of who actually killed Officer Tippit, that event was the catalyst which set off a flurry of police activity in Oak Cliff resulting in the arrest of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Prior to his arrest, there were at least two incidents of police obviously seeking a suspect. Sometime after 1 p.m., a number of policemen stormed the Oak Cliff branch of the Dallas Public Library. Unable to locate who they were looking for, they quickly left. Oswald was a frequent visitor to that library. Then

shortly before being called to the Texas Theater, the scene of Oswald's arrest, police surrounded a church near the scene of the Tippit slaying in the belief that Tippit's killer had hidden there. However, before they could conduct a search of the building, they were called to the theater.

Crossfire: Oswald Arrest

The arrest of Lee Harvey Oswald outwardly appears straightforward enough in the official reports, but there are some strange aspects when the arrest is viewed from an objective standpoint.

By 1:45 p.m. on November 22, 1963, the President of the United States had been murdered just 80 minutes earlier and only about 30 minutes before, Policeman Tippit was shot down on an Oak Cliff street. Dallas Police were swarming about like angry bees. A report came in to Police dispatchers. It seems a man had slipped into the Texas Theater without paying. Immediately, carloads of officers, including one federal agent and an assistant district attorney, converged on the theater. The report came as the result of a shoestore manager named Johnny Brewer. Brewer was listening to the radio when he learned of the Tippit murder. Hearing police sirens, he looked out the window of his store and saw a man duck into his doorway as a police car went by. Believing this to be suspicious activity, Brewer watched the man continue up the street to the Texas Theater, where he lost sight of him. Moments later, when Brewer asked the theater's ticket seller if she had sold a ticket to anyone, she replied she had not. Entering the theater, Brewer learned that the concession stand operator, W.H. "Butch" Burroughs, had heard the front doors open, but had seen no one enter the theater lobby. Between the theater's front doors and a second set of doors were stairs leading to the balcony. Burroughs was convinced that whoever entered had gone up to the balcony since no one had passed his concession stand. Brewer asked the ticket seller to call police while he and another theater employee unsuccessfully looked for the suspicious man.

The authorities arrived quickly. Several policemen went to the theater's rear exit and waited with drawn guns. Inside, police, including Sergeant Gerald Hill who had commanded the search of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository, turned up the house lights and moved to the front of the theater. Officer M.N. McDonald had come in the rear door and was standing at the side of the movie screen. In an article written the day after the assassination for the Associated Press, McDonald recalled:

"I noticed about 10 to 15 people sitting in the theater and they were spread out good. A man sitting near the front, and I still don't know who it was, tipped me the man I wanted was sitting in the third row from the rear on the ground floor and not in the balcony (as reported to the police dispatcher). I went up the aisle and talked to two people sitting about in the middle. I was crouching low and holding my gun in case any trouble came. I wanted to be ready for it. I walked up the aisle and turned in Oswald's row. We were no more than a foot from each other when he suddenly stood up and raised both hands. "It's all over now," he told me. Then he hit me a pretty good one in the face with his fist. I saw him going for his gun and I grabbed him around the waist. We struggled and fell around the seats for a few seconds and I got my hand on the butt of his pistol. But he had his hand on the trigger. I was pulling the gun toward me and I heard the hammer click. The primer (which detonates the bullet) was dented and it didn't fire...I'm sure glad that shell didn't fire."

McDonald's account of Oswald's gun misfiring was confirmed to the Warren Commission by theater patron John Gibson.

Brewer, in his testimony to the Warren Commission, never mentions speaking to McDonald. In fact, he said he was standing by a rear exit when he was grabbed by a couple of policemen and asked what he was doing there. Brewer told them he was suspicious of a man in the theater. Brewer continued:

"And I and two or three other officers walked out on the stage and I pointed him out, and there were officers coming in from the front of the show...and officers going from the back...I saw this policeman approach Oswald and Oswald stood up and I heard some hollering, I don't know exactly what he said, and this man hit Patrolman McDonald...I didn't know his name (McDonald), but I had seen him quite a few times around Oak Cliff."

Was the sitting man who tipped off McDonald to Oswald's location Johnny Brewer? Apparently not, since Brewer stated he was standing and then on stage with several policemen. Brewer also never mentioned talking to McDonald, whom he said he recognized from around Oak Cliff.

Who then was the man who tipped off McDonald to Oswald's location?

Brewer also told the Commission that as Oswald struggled with police, he heard one of the officers cry:

"Kill the President, will you."

If members of the police department somehow knew that Oswald was an assassination suspect at this time, it is strong evidence that something was going on behind the scenes. The Warren Commission, while not contradicting Brewer's account, nevertheless felt compelled to add:

"It is unlikely that any of the police officers referred to Oswald as a suspect in the assassination."

Another theater patron who witnessed Oswald's arrest made a surprising statement to a Dallas newspaper in 1979 - he believed Jack Ruby was sitting in the movie watching Oswald's predicament.

George J. Applin, one of only two theater patrons questioned by the Warren Commission, told the Warren Commission he was watching the movie when the lights came on and a policeman with a rifle or shotgun began moving down his aisle. Applin said he was sitting in the downstairs middle aisle about six rows from the back when the commotion began. He moved down the aisle to ask what was going on, when a policeman (apparently McDonald) passed him moving toward the rear. Applin then witnessed Oswald's arrest.

At the close of his Warren Commission testimony, Applin said:

"But, there is one thing puzzling me...And I don't even know if it has any bearing on the case, but there was one guy sitting in the back row right where I was standing at, and I said to him, I said, "Buddy, you'd better move. There is a gun." and he says - just sat there. He was back like this. Just like this. Just watching....I don't think he could have seen the show. Just sitting there like this, just looking at me."

Applin told Commission Attorney Joseph Ball twice he didn't know the man, but in 1979, he told a news reporter he recognized the man as Jack Ruby two days later following the Oswald slaying.

Applin told "The Dallas Morning News":

"At the time the Warren Commission had me down there at the Post Office in Dallas to get my statement, I was afraid to give it. I gave everything up to the point of what I gave the police there in town....I'm a pretty nervous guy anyway because I'll tell you what: After I saw that magazine where all those people they said were connected with some of this had come up dead, it just kind of made me keep a low profile....(Jack) Ruby was sitting down, just watching them. And, when Oswald pulled the gun and snapped it at his (McDonald's) head and missed and the darn thing wouldn't fire, that's when I tapped him on the shoulder and told him he had better move because those guns were waving around. He just turned around and looked at me. Then he turned around and started watching them."

Ruby's identity only became known to Applin after his picture was broadcast following Oswald's death.

Yet more questions have been raised by recent statements of concession stand operator Burroughs. In a 1987 interview with this author, Burroughs, who is now an assistant manager at the Texas Theater, reiterated his story of someone slipping in the theater about 1:35 p.m. that day. However, Burroughs claims that it could not have been Oswald because Oswald entered the theater shortly after 1 p.m. Burroughs said Oswald entered only minutes after the feature started, which was exactly at 1 p.m. He said several minutes later, about 1:15 p.m., the man later arrested by police and identified as Oswald came to his concession stand and bought some popcorn. Burroughs said he watched the man enter the ground floor of the theater and sit down next to a pregnant woman. About 20 minutes after this, the incident of the outside doors opening and the arrival of Johnny Brewer occurred. Several minutes after the man - identified by Burroughs as Oswald - took his seat, the pregnant woman got up and went upstairs where the ladies restroom was located, said Burroughs. He said he heard the restroom door close just shortly before Dallas police began rushing into the theater.

Burroughs said:

"I don't know what happened to that woman. I don't know how she got out of the theater. I never saw her again."

The story of Oswald being in the Texas Theater at the time of the Tippit shooting is further supported by Jack Davis, who today hosts "Gospel Music Spotlight" on a Dallas Christian radio station. Davis told this author that on the day of the assassination, he went to the Texas Theater to see the war movies. The 18-year-old Davis found a seat in the right rear section of the theater and recalled seeing the opening credits of the first film, which was only minutes past the 1 p.m. starting time for the feature movie. He said he was somewhat startled by a man who squeezed past him and sat down in the seat next to him. He found it odd that this man would choose the seat adjacent to him in a 900-seat theater

with less than 20 patrons in it. Davis said the man didn't say a word but quickly got up and moved across the aisle and took a seat next to another person. Then shortly, the man got up and walked into the theater's lobby. A few minutes later, Davis, whose attention had returned to the movie, vaguely remembered seeing the same man enter the center section of the theater from the far side. About 20 minutes or so after this incident, according to Davis, the house lights came on and when he walked to the lobby to ask why, he saw policemen running in the front door. He recalled:

I was looking for the manager, but I never got to say anything because the policeman all came rushing past me. I did not see what went on in the theater, but I heard some scuffling going on. A few minutes later the police brought out this same man who had sat down next to me. He was shouting, "I protest this police brutality!" Later, of course, I learned that this was Lee Harvey Oswald.

The police manhandled Oswald through the theater's lobby and out to the street where a crowd had gathered. The crowd outside the theater was agitated to hear at least one policeman yell at Oswald, "Kill the President, will you?" Soon crowd members were shouting, "Kill the S.O.B.!"

If Oswald was already in the theater at the time of the Tippit slaying as claimed by Burroughs and Davis, then who slipped in about 1:35 p.m.? Since it can be established that someone was impersonating Oswald in Dallas prior to the assassination (See WAS OSWALD REALLY OSWALD), it can be suggested that someone besides Oswald lured police to the Texas Theater. But, if this were the case, what happened to the man who slipped in without buying a ticket?

Initial police reports stated the suspect was in the theater's balcony, this information perhaps coming from Burroughs belief that the man who sneaked in went upstairs.

The Dallas Police homicide report on Tippit of that day stated:

"Suspect was later arrested in the balcony of the Texas Theater at 231 W. Jefferson."

Was someone else arrested in the Texas Theater? Not according to the official record, however there is now evidence that perhaps another man was taken from the rear of the theater.

Bernard J. Haire owned Bernies Hobby House located two doors east of the Texas Theater on W. Jefferson. On November 22, 1963, Haire, who was unaware of the assassination, saw the street in front of his business fill up with police cars. He went outside and saw a crowd gathered at the Texas Theater but could not see what was happening. Haire was captured in at least one photograph taken at the time Oswald was brought from the theater by police. Walking through his store, Haire went into the alley, which he said was also filled with police cars. Walking toward the theater, Haire was opposite the rear door when police brought a young, white man out. He said the man was dressed in a pullover shirt and slacks and appeared to be flushed as if having been in a struggle. Although Haire was unable to see if the man was handcuffed, he was certainly under the impression that the man was under arrest. Haire watched police put the man in a police car and drive off. For nearly 25 years Haire believed he had witnessed the arrest of Lee Harvey Oswald. He was shocked to discover that Oswald had been handcuffed and brought out the front door of the theater. Today he commented:

"I don't know who I saw arrested."

Neither does anyone else, but it is eloquent testimony that apparently someone other than Oswald led police to the Texas Theater.

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The arrested Oswald was taken from the Texas Theater shortly before 2 p.m. and driven downtown to police headquarters. He was quickly taken to the third floor office of Captain Will Fritz, the crusty chief of the Homicide Bureau, and placed in a seat in the hallway.

Dallas Detective Gus Rose was already busy interviewing assassination witnesses. He soon took charge of Oswald. Rose recalled:

"I took the man to an interrogation office. I removed his handcuffs. I asked him to identify himself. He refused. In his pockets I found two pieces of identification. One card was for Lee Harvey Oswald, the other was for Alek Hidell. "Which are you?" He said, "You're the cop. You figure it out." He told me a lot of lies. Captain Fritz called me out at sometime near 2:20 p.m. He said that the employees of the Texas School Book Depository were accounted for - except one. He told me to get some men together and get out to this address in Irving. I asked what the man's name was. He said, "Lee Harvey Oswald." I was stunned. "Captain," I said, "I think this is Oswald, right in there.""

With a suspect in custody, the entire complexion of the assassination investigation changed. Despite what was heralded as overwhelming proof of Oswald's guilt in both killings, it was not until late Friday,

November 22, 1963, that he was charged with the murder of Officer Tippit. And it was well after midnight before he was reportedly charged with the murder of President Kennedy. Dallas Police and federal authorities quickly lost interest in any information, evidence or detained suspects which did not fit in with the presumed activities of Lee Harvey Oswald. There was never even an indictment issued in the Tippit slaying, since the presumed killer -Oswald - was dead. Yet many items of interest continued to crop up in the aftermath of the assassination.

There were reports of a man seen with a rifle near Cobb Stadium, located on the Stemmons Freeway route from downtown to the Trade Mart. Nothing came of this report. At Red Bird Airport, a private field located just south of Dallas, it was reported that federal officials seized a plane with its engine running the afternoon of the assassination and placed it in a closed hanger under tight security. Two days prior to the assassination, the airport's manager, Wayne January, said three men talked to him about renting an airplane on November 22 to fly to Mexico. He said one of the men remained sitting in a car and closely resembled Lee Harvey Oswald. None of these stories regarding possible escape plans were properly investigated.

But if unfollowed leads remained in Dallas, there was no official doubts in Washington as to Oswald's guilt. Less than two hours after the assassination - at a time when Dallas Police were not even certain of the identity of the man they had in custody (Recall Detective Rose's story of an uncooperative Oswald with two separate sets of identification) - FBI director Hoover called Robert Kennedy. In a Bureau document released to the public in 1977, Hoover wrote:

"I called the attorney general at his home and told him I thought we had the man who killed the President down in Dallas..."

Hoover went on to describe Oswald as an ex-Marine who had defected to Russia, a pro-communist and a "mean-minded individual...in the category of a nut."

This incident raises the troubling question of how Hoover could have had all this information on Oswald at a time when the Dallas authorities were not even certain of their prisoner's identity.

On November 24, less than two hours after Oswald was killed in Dallas, Hoover telephoned the Johnson White House, saying:

"The thing I am most concerned about...is having something issued so we can convince the public that Oswald is the real assassin."

In 1976 a Senate Select Committee report stated:

"Almost immediately after the assassination, director Hoover, the Justice Department and the White House "exerted pressure" on senior Bureau officials to complete their investigation and issue a factual report supporting the conclusion that Oswald was the lone assassin."

Over the assassination weekend, information on - and evidence against - Oswald continued to pile up. The news media was on around-the-clock alert. No bit of information was too insignificant to broadcast or publish.

The "Dallas Morning News" of November 23, 1963, carried a story stating:

"(District Attorney Henry) Wade said preliminary reports indicated more than one person was involved in the shooting which brought death to the President and left Governor John Connally wounded..."This is the most dastardly act I've ever heard about," Wade said. "Everyone who participated in this crime - anyone who helped plan it or furnished a weapon, knowing the purposes for which it was intended - is guilty of murder under Texas law. They should all go to the electric chair.""

But Wade's initial claim of evidence of a conspiracy quickly faded as official statements began to center more and more on Oswald. Years later, Wade recalled why:

"Cliff Carter, President Johnson's aide, called me three times from the White House that Friday night. He said that President Johnson felt any word of a conspiracy - some plot by foreign nations - to kill President Kennedy would shake our nation to its foundation. President Johnson was worried about some conspiracy on the part of the Russians. Oswald had all sorts of connections and affections toward Castro's Cuba. It might be possible to prove a conspiracy with Cuba. But it would be very hard to prove a conspiracy with Russia. Washington's word to me was that it would hurt foreign relations if I alleged a conspiracy - whether I could prove it or not. I would just charge Oswald with plain murder and go for the death penalty. So, I went down to the police department at City Hall to see Captain Fritz - to make sure the Dallas Police didn't

involve any foreign country in the assassination."

With an ever-growing pile of evidence of conspiracy in the assassination, the federal government began to assert itself.

Dallas Police Chief Curry told the Warren Commission:

"The FBI actually had no jurisdiction over it (the murder of Kennedy), the Secret Service actually had no jurisdiction over it. But, in an effort to cooperate with these agencies we went all out to do whatever they wanted us to do...We kept getting calls from the FBI. They wanted this evidence up in Washington...there was some discussion, (Capt.) Fritz told me, he says, "Well, I need the evidence here, I need to get some people to try to identify the gun, to try to identify this pistol and these things, and if it's in Washington, how can I do it?" But, we finally...about midnight of Friday night, we agreed to let the FBI have all the evidence..."

However, Curry said, to the best of his knowledge, no one from the Dallas Police accompanied this evidence to FBI headquarters in Washington. This, of course, caused a serious break in the "chain of evidence."

Curry added:

"We got several calls insisting we send this (evidence to Washington), and nobody would tell me exactly who it was that was insisting, "just say I got a call from Washington, and they wanted this evidence up there," insinuated it was someone in high authority that was requesting this, and we finally agreed..."

Disjointed and incomplete as Curry's statements are, there now is no doubt that Washington authorities were putting extreme pressure on Dallas Police as early as Friday night.

In a 34-page report on police activities that weekend sent to Curry by his assistance chief and two deputy police chiefs, it states:

"At approximately 12:01 a.m. (other reports state an earlier time), Saturday, November 23, 1963, pertinent physical evidence in the case involving Oswald and the slaying of President Kennedy was turned over to Mr. Vince Drain of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to be delivered in person to the FBI Laboratory in Washington, D.C. for processing."

Persistent rumors among Dallas Policemen have it that some of this pressure came in the form of a personal call to Capt. Fritz from none other than President Lyndon Johnson. However, Fritz would never confirm this.

Public awareness of the federal takeover of the Dallas evidence did not come until November 27, 1963, when "The Dallas Morning News" reported:

"The White House approved the decision that the FBI take charge of all evidence which officers assembled in their investigation of the murder of President Kennedy..."

The assassination was now a federal Government matter.

The next major shock came about 11:20 a.m. Sunday, November 24, 1963, when the prime suspect was fatally shot while in the basement of Dallas Police headquarters (See JACK RUBY).

Five days later, Lyndon Johnson moved to block any further investigation of the curious events in Dallas by appointing a "blue ribbon" commission to probe the entire affair (See THE WARREN COMMISSION). It was the beginning of total federal control over the evidence and witnesses in the assassination case.

As with any good investigation dealing with criminal violence, much of the work in the first hours after the assassination centered around the medical evidence - evidence which should have clearly shown how many bullets struck Kennedy and from which direction they came. Therefore, on the day of the assassination, attention was centered on two hospitals - Parkland Memorial Hospital in Dallas and Bethesda Naval Hospital near Washington, D.C.

Crossfire: Dallas Aftermath Summary

Following the assassination there was total confusion and panic in Dealey Plaza. The Texas School Book Depository was not sealed by police for at least 10 minutes, perhaps as much as 20 minutes - enough time for an entire squad of assassins to have escaped. Security was non-existent on the Grassy Knoll. Policemen, Sheriff's deputies, spectators and assassination witnesses mingled in a confused mass behind the wooden picket fence. Despite this chaos, some unidentified man managed to give Dallas police a general description of the assassin - "...a slender white male about 30, 5-feet-10-inches, (weight) 165, carrying what looked to be a 30-30 or some type of Winchester" - which was broadcast over the police radio at 12:43 p.m.

Even as evidence was being gathered by police, other evidence may have been disappearing -such as the bullet taken by an FBI man from the grass on the south side of Elm Street and the "Stemmons Freeway" sign.

Despite later reports by federal authorities that Oswald left the scene by bus and taxi, several people - Deputy Sheriff Roger Craig, Richard Carr and Marvin Robinson - saw someone matching Oswald's description get into a Nash Rambler station wagon near the Depository minutes after the assassination.

Some people in and around Dealey Plaza even believed they saw Jack Ruby near the scene of the assassination, although the Warren Commission concluded he was two blocks away at the "Dallas Morning News" at the time. These included Julia Mercer, Phil Willis, Jean Hill and Dallas Policeman Tom Tilson.

Many strange people were in the vicinity of the assassination. Some - such as the "three tramps" and Mafia character Jim Braden - were even taken into police custody.

However, with the capture of Lee Harvey Oswald, official interest in those arrests ended. Arrest records for that day are missing from the National Archives.

Dallas Police activity intensified following the shooting of Patrolman J.D. Tippit. Although never charged with Tippit's slaying, Oswald has always been considered guilty of this crime. But an objective look at the evidence of Oswald's guilt in Tippit's death shows many deficiencies. The best witnesses to the Tippit shooting were not called to testify before the Warren Commission and many of the witnesses were unable to positively identify Oswald as the killer. The manner in which Dallas Police lineups were conducted was unfair and weighted toward identifying Oswald as the guilty party. There is still considerable question over the ammunition used as evidence in the Tippit shooting. Recent studies of the spent cartridges found at the scene increases the evidence of Oswald's innocence. With the absence of Policeman J.M. Poe's initials from the cartridges and without the customary bulge of .38 Special ammunition fired from a modified pistol such as carried by Oswald, it seems unlikely that the shell cases in the National Archives came from Oswald's revolver. Many of the witnesses could not identify Oswald's gray jacket as the one seen on Tippit's killer. Furthermore, since Oswald was seen near his rooming house six or seven minutes after 1 p.m. and, by the best accounts, Tippit was killed around 1:10 p.m., it would have been impossible for Oswald to have reached the crime scene on foot in that span of time. Furthermore, the concession stand operator at the Texas Theater and theater patron Jack Davis contend that Oswald was in the theater at the time Tippit was killed. Even the Dallas Police recordings of dispatcher orders, responses and times has been called into question, since the original police Dictabelt shows evidence of copying and the police sergeant in charge of the Dispatch Room recalled that federal agents took the original Dictabelt a few days after the assassination.

Even the arrest of Oswald is full of questions. For example, why would an assassin sneak into a theater without paying thereby drawing attention to himself when he had enough money on him to buy a ticket? Did Oswald, in fact, enter without paying since Johnny Brewer last saw him in front of the theater but did not actually see him enter? Could someone other than Oswald have led authorities to the Texas Theater? Why didn't police rush Oswald once he was pointed out to them, rather than slowly work their way to him? Was Oswald being given an opportunity to flee? Was Oswald supposed to have been killed resisting arrest? Was Jack Ruby sitting in the Texas Theater crowd as claimed by George Applin? If so, was Ruby the man who "tipped" Sgt. McDonald to Oswald's location? Why did police reports state that the suspect was arrested in the theater's balcony and who was the man taken from the rear of the theater seen by nearby businessman Bernard Haire? These questions have not been addressed by the federal assassination investigations, leaving suspicious researchers to devise their own theories as to the role of Oswald, Tippit and Ruby in the events of that day.

The key to the JFK assassination may be in the aftermath of the crime - the unfollowed leads, the presence of Secret Service agents (real or bogus) in Dealey Plaza where none should have been, the

intimidation of witnesses, the destruction and suppression of vital evidence. Furthermore, in light of the long-standing involvement of the FBI in Oswald's life (See G MEN), it is highly significant that director J. Edgar Hoover telephoned Attorney General Robert Kennedy less than two hours after the assassination to give him a run-down on Oswald - this at a time when Dallas Police were not even certain of the identity of the man they had in custody.

Crossfire: Two Hospitals

"(Kennedy's autopsy was) the kind of examination that would not be tolerated in a routine murder case...in most major cities of America."

Pathologist Dr. Cyril H. Wecht

As the echo of shots died away in Dealey Plaza, Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry, riding in the lead car of Kennedy's motorcade, radioed his police dispatcher:

"Looks like the President has been hit. Have Parkland stand by."

The motorcade sped up, reaching speeds of nearly 80 miles per hour during the four mile race along Stemmons Freeway to the hospital.

Parkland Memorial Hospital remains the major public hospital in Dallas County today. Almost every victim of violence - from wrecks to gunshot wounds - is brought to Parkland. Its emergency room is constantly staffed with doctors and interns well experienced in trauma situations. President Kennedy could not have asked for more experienced and competent medical attention. Yet following his autopsy that evening at the National Naval Medical Center at Bethesda, Maryland, numerous and continuing discrepancies in the medical evidence arose. These discrepancies have provided a source of controversy which continues even today.

If one assumes there was some sort of conspiracy involved in the assassination, the questions over the medical evidence provide a good starting point for determining the scope of such a conspiracy. But before examining the tangled morass of medical evidence, there is a small question of the Presidential limousine's arrival at Parkland. Secret Service Driver William Greer testified to the Warren Commission that he did not know the way to Parkland and so followed Sheriff Decker and Police Chief Curry in the lead car. Greer's story is buttressed by the testimony of two other Secret Service officials, Forrest Sorrels and Winston Lawson (See G MEN). However, in his testimony, Chief Curry is strangely vague, saying only that the limousine went to the hospital under "siren escort."

What's the problem? During the time of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, a film taken by Dallasite Jack Daniel was seen widely for the first time. Taken just as the motorcade exited from the west end of the Triple Underpass and entered Stemmons Freeway, this film clearly shows that both the Presidential limousine and the Secret Service backup car had passed Curry's lead car and were leading the race to the hospital.

How could Washington-based Agent Greer know how to find Parkland and, more importantly, why did he state in his Commission testimony, "I never passed it (Curry's car)...I was led to the hospital by the police car who was preceding me?"

Either these highly-trained agents panicked and forgot what actually happened or they lied about it. Since the Daniel film can't lie, the question remains, how did Greer know how to reach Parkland?

Upon arrival at Parkland at 12:43 p.m., Governor Connally regained consciousness long enough to attempt to rise, but fell back into the car in great pain. Connally was lifted onto a stretcher and wheeled into the hospital.

Secret Service Agent Clint Hill removed his suit coat and placed it over the President's gory head wound to prevent photographs. However, several persons saw Kennedy's body, including Fort Worth newsman Roy Stamps. Stamps told researchers:

"I rushed up and saw Kennedy lying in the car on his side. His foot was hanging over the side of the car. The back of his head was gone."

As other vehicles in the Presidential motorcade began arriving at the Parkland emergency entrance and Connally was placed in Trauma Room 2, Secret Service Agents Greer, Kellerman and Lawson pulled the fatally-wounded President away from Mrs. Kennedy, placed him on a stretcher and pushed it into Trauma Room 1. There Kennedy was attended to by no less than 12 of Parkland's doctors - including four surgeons, the chief neurologist, an oral surgeon and a heart specialist.

Dr. Charles J. Carrico, a resident surgeon, was the first doctor to examine Kennedy. He noted the President was ashen in color, his breathing lacked coordination, there were no voluntary movements and his eyes were open with pupils dilated showing no reaction to light. However, a few chest sounds thought to be heart beats were heard and immediately, resuscitation efforts were begun. Carrico inserted a cuffed endotracheal tube in a small puncture wound just below Kennedy's Adam's apple. The tube was connected to a respirator. Other doctors began arriving and treating the President; fluids and stimulants were injected and oxygen administered. Cardiac massage was begun - to no avail. President Kennedy was pronounced dead at 1 p.m. (C.S.T.) by Dr. Kemp Clark, Parkland's director of

neurological surgery.

While one set of Parkland doctors worked on Kennedy, another worked feverishly to save Connally. A large sucking chest wound caused the greatest concern for Connally. A bullet had shattered the governor's fifth rib on his right side, sending bits of bone and metal tearing through his chest, collapsing one lung. Also his right wrist had been broken, the bullet entering from the top and exiting from the bottom of his wrist. Doctors also discovered a wound in Connally's left thigh. This wound was cleaned and sutured shut, although, according to the Warren Report, "a small metal fragment remained in the Governor's leg."

Vice President Lyndon Johnson also had entered Parkland, but was kept secluded in a room near the area where efforts were being made to revive his predecessor. About 1:20 p.m., Presidential aide Kenneth O'Donnell informed Johnson that Kennedy was dead. According to the Warren Report, O'Donnell advised Johnson to return to Washington as soon as possible. However, Mrs. Kennedy refused to leave without her husband's body and Johnson refused to leave without Mrs. Kennedy. It was finally decided to leave immediately and to return on Air Force One because the Presidential plane had better communication equipment.

The decision created one of the assassination's most enduring problems - with the President's autopsy performed at Bethesda, two sets of doctors viewed the body at different times and their descriptions of wounds differed so widely that controversy remains to this day. The death of the President was legally a Texas homicide and by law, the body could not be removed until after an autopsy or a coroner's ruling, which also would have involved further medical investigation. Totally against prevailing law and despite the protestations of Texas officials, a coffin was ordered from a Dallas funeral home and Kennedy's body was whisked away from Parkland Hospital. (This illegal action did prevent a situation like the one which arose after the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy in Los Angeles. There, the younger Kennedy was autopsied by Los Angeles County Coroner Dr. Thomas T. Noguchi, who testified in court that the shots which killed Robert Kennedy traveled from back to front and that the fatal shot was fired from no more than three inches from behind RFK's right ear. This testimony, of course, is totally at variance from the official story that RFK was killed by Sirhan Sirhan, who was standing five or six feet IN FRONT of the Senator.)

After Kennedy's body left Parkland and while Dallas doctors worked feverishly on Connally in a second floor operating room, another incident occurred in the hospital which was to have long-reaching effects on the official theory of the assassination - A hospital worker discovered an intact bullet in a hallway. During the feverish activity in the Emergency Room, the hospital's senior engineer, Darrel C. Tomlinson, was asked to manually operate an elevator which connected the ground floor emergency room to the second floor operating theaters. Despite efforts by Warren Commission Attorney Arlen Specter to confuse the issue during testimony, Tomlinson was remarkably clear on what happened that day. Tomlinson stated that one hospital stretcher containing two rolled-up bloody sheets, some surgical instruments and some sterile packs was sitting against a wall near the elevator. No effort apparently was made by the Commission to determine where this stretcher came from. Some researchers believe it may have held Kennedy's body while in the emergency room. But this is doubtful since Kennedy's body remained on his stretcher until the Dallas casket arrived about 1:40 p.m. At this time, his body was placed in the casket and the stretcher was stripped of sheets and rolled across the hall to Trauma Room 2, according to Nurse Diana Bowron. Since Tomlinson claimed to have discovered a bullet at this same time and two nurses reported placing Kennedy's empty stretcher in Trauma Room 2, it is virtually impossible to believe that the hallway stretcher carried the President.

Today it seems more likely that this stretcher was used in the treatment of two-year-old Ronald Fuller, who entered the Parkland emergency room at 12:54 p.m. with a bad cut on the chin. The child's mother, Mrs. Ross Fuller, years later told the "Dallas Morning News" what happened:

"I was watching the President's parade on television when they announced he had been shot. I knocked over the bottle of soda pop I was drinking and it broke into pieces. My little boy Ronnie fell on it and started bleeding badly. My husband and I ran to the car and headed for Parkland with the baby. When we reached Harry Hines Boulevard, traffic was at a standstill. I told my husband I couldn't just sit in the car like that (and that) I was going to take the baby in on foot. Then I jumped out of the car. (While running)...a man came up and asked if he could help. He saw the blood and he thought we'd been shot the same way the President had."

Mrs. Fuller finally reached the Parkland emergency room and handed her son to medical personnel.

Then she fainted. She recalled:

"When I came to, they told me Ronnie was all right. They were sewing him up. Then they told me the President was dead. It happened in the cubicle right next to us. The doctor said I was living a part of history."

The Fuller child was briefly placed on a stretcher and his cut was treated with sutures and gauze packs, which could have been left behind on the cart. Considering both the condition - bloody sheets, instruments, sterile packs - and the location of Fuller's stretcher - the child originally was placed on a stretcher in the same hallway leading to Trauma Rooms 1 and 2 - it is most likely this stretcher on which the bullet was found.

Tomlinson said a second stretcher was on the elevator - perhaps the one which carried Connally to the second floor operating room - and that he pulled it out and placed it near the first stretcher. Specter designated the stretcher pulled off the elevator as stretcher A and the stretcher already in the hall near the elevator as stretcher B. After making a few trips in the elevator, Tomlinson said someone - a doctor or an intern - moved one of the stretchers away from the wall so he could enter a men's restroom. Tomlinson told Specter as he pushed the stretcher back up against the wall to clear the hallway:

"I bumped the wall and a spent cartridge or bullet rolled out that apparently had been lodged under the edge of the mat."

"And that was from which stretcher?" asked Specter.

"I believe that it was B," replied Tomlinson.

Later in his testimony, Specter tried to shake Tomlinson's recollections.

Specter asked:

"And at the time we started our discussion, it was your recollection at that point that the bullet came off of stretcher A, was it not?"

"B," quickly responded Tomlinson.

Finally, after Specter continued to confuse the matter by telling Tomlinson that he had identified stretcher A during a Secret Service interview, the hospital worker said:

"...I really don't remember. I'm not accustomed to being questioned by the Secret Service and the FBI and by you and they are writing down everything, I mean....I'm going to tell you all I can, and I'm not going to tell you something I can't lay down and sleep at night with either."

From Tomlinson's testimony, it appears more than likely that the stretcher holding the bullet did not belong to Connally. However, the Warren Commission stated definitively:

"A nearly whole bullet was found on Governor Connally's stretcher at Parkland Hospital after the assassination."

It was this bullet - Commission Exhibit 399 - which became the foundation of the single bullet theory of the assassination. It has also become known as the "Magic Bullet."

Tomlinson turned the bullet over to Parkland's chief of security, O.P. Wright, who gave it to Secret Service Agent Richard Johnson.

Interestingly, Wright was the father-in-law of Dallas Police Sgt. Patrick T. Dean, the officer blamed by the Warren Commission for allowing Jack Ruby into the police department basement just prior to the slaying of Oswald. Dean's mother-in-law, Mrs. O.P. Wright, was director of nursing at Parkland and on duty when Kennedy was being treated.

Neither Wright nor Agent Johnson were interviewed by the Warren Commission - perhaps because, in later interviews with researchers, neither man could positively identify CE 399 as the bullet found that day. In fact, during a 1966 interview with author Josiah Thompson, Wright - a professional security officer - picked a pointed-tipped bullet shape as more nearly like the bullet discovered at Parkland. He rejected round-nosed bullet shapes similar to CE 399. Tomlinson, likewise, selected a pointed shape as resembling the bullet he found. The whole bullet matter becomes even more clouded when the possibility of substitution and planting comes into consideration.

The hallway in which both stretchers A and B were left unattended was a public corridor. Although the Warren Commission apparently never considered that CE 399 may have been planted on one of the stretchers or later substituted for the found bullet, these possibilities find favor in the minds of most assassination researchers. This possibility that the bullet was planted is especially strong since the evidence indicates that the stretcher containing the bullet belonged to neither Kennedy nor Connally.

Adding to this suspicion is the presence of Jack Ruby at Parkland Hospital while Kennedy's body was still there.

Crossfire: Jack Ruby at Parkland

Veteran newsman Seth Kantor told the Warren Commission that he encountered Jack Ruby at Parkland Hospital about the time Kennedy's death was publicly announced at 1:30 p.m. Kantor said he and Ruby even shared a brief conversation. Kantor recognized Ruby, having worked in Dallas for some time. He said he spoke to Ruby about 1:30 p.m. and recalled that Ruby asked him if he should close his club out of respect for the slain President. When asked about his presence at Parkland, Ruby denied ever being there and the Commission chose to believe him. The Commission concluded that Kantor must have been mistaken. Ignored by the Commission were FBI interviews with a Dallas woman whose experiences on the day of the assassination fully supported Kantor's account of his Parkland meeting with Ruby.

Mrs. Wilma Tice was home when she heard the news of the Dealey Plaza shooting. Curious, she drove to Parkland Hospital arriving about 1:30 p.m. and joined the throng of bystanders awaiting word on the President's condition. Some months later, she told the FBI she stood beside a heavily-built man in a dark suit who was hitting his hat against his leg. She was only three or four feet from the man when another man approached him and said, "How are you going there, Jack?" She said the two men had a brief conversation during which the man named Jack offered to donate a kidney to John Connally.

Two days later Mrs. Tice was astounded to see the man called Jack on television identified as Jack Ruby, the slayer of Oswald. However, she assumed that the authorities knew about his presence at Parkland and did not notify anyone until late in the spring of 1964.

Mrs. Tice had telephoned Ruby's sister, Mrs. Eva Grant, to express her condolences over Ruby's death sentence when she mentioned her encounter at Parkland and learned that Ruby had denied being there. It was at this point that Mrs. Tice contacted the FBI and told her story. On April 21, 1964, she received a call from a man claiming to be a newspaper reporter. He asked about her Parkland encounter and then advised her not to talk about the incident. On July 19, Mrs. Tice received a letter asking her to testify for the Warren Commission. The next day she received an anonymous call from a man who warned her:

"It would pay you to keep your mouth shut."

On July 22, Mrs. Tice called police because someone tried to break into her home while her husband was away. This incident was followed by other phone calls, but she had a 14-year-old niece answer the phone and the caller would hang up.

The account of Ruby at Parkland has been further supported in recent years by a former radio newsman. Roy Stamps said he had met Ruby on about 45 occasions prior to November 22, 1963. Stamps told Texas researchers that he was in the hall of Parkland holding open a telephone line to his radio station when he noticed Ruby enter the hospital. He said Ruby was carrying some television equipment and trailing behind a TV crew.

In 1979, The House Select Committee on Assassinations, reversed the Warren Commission's decision that Kantor was mistaken about his Parkland meeting with Ruby, stating:

"While the Warren Commission concluded that Kantor was mistaken, the Committee determined he probably was not."

With the presence of Ruby in Parkland, the possibility that CE 399 - the "Magic Bullet" -was planted appears even more likely. Of course, virtually anyone could have planted the bullet, since the stretcher in question lay unattended in the public hallway for some time. But even if the bullet were not planted - and there is some evidence to suggest that the bullet may have worked its way out of Kennedy's back wound - there is also the possibility that CE 399 was substituted for the bullet found on the stretcher. Recall that neither of the men who initially handled the bullet could identify it later. Of course, if bullets were switched, it could only have been done while in the hands of federal authorities - a most ominous suspicion.

Crossfire: Bethesda Naval Hospital - The Autopsy

After Kennedy's body was returned to Air Force One at Dallas' Love Field, Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn in as 36th President of the United States by Federal Judge Sarah T. Hughes.

On the plane flight back to Washington, it seems the original destination for Kennedy's body was to have been Walter Reed Army Hospital - long the major military medical facility for Washington. Examining U.S. Army Signal Corps transcripts of radio messages from Air Force One that day, researchers have found several references indicating that military officers were going to send the body to the Army hospital. Agent Roy Kellerman radioed Secret Service headquarters saying:

"Arriving Andrews (AFB) 6:05. The body will go to Walter Reed. Have an ambulance from Walter Reed to take the body there."

Later, Gen. Chester Clifton, senior military aide, radioed:

"This is Gen. Clifton. We do not want a helicopter to go to Bethesda Medical Center. We do want an ambulance and a ground return from Andrews to Walter Reed, and we want the regular post-mortem that has to be done by law under guard performed at Walter Reed. Is that clear?"

Even the official history of the 1001st Air Base Wing, which included Air Force One, reported:

"...the body of the slain President was removed to Walter Reed General Hospital..."

So why the sudden change to Bethesda?

Kennedy's personal physician, Dr. George G. Burkley, wrote in his report of that day:

"During the course of the flight (back to Washington), determination of the immediate action on arrival in Washington was made to assure complete compliance with Mrs. Kennedy's wishes. I spoke to her while kneeling on the floor so I would be at the level of her face rather than leaning forward, and expressed complete desire of all of us and especially of myself to comply with her wishes, stating that it was necessary that the President be taken to a hospital prior to going to the White House. She questioned why and I stated it must be determined, if possible, the type of bullet used and compare this with future material found. I stated frankly that I had no preference, that it could be any hospital, but that I did feel that, if possible, it should be a military hospital for security measures. The question was answered by her stating that she wanted the President taken to Bethesda Naval Hospital."

Oddly, having just received Mrs. Kennedy's wishes, Dr. Burkley then adds:

"Arrangements were made on the ground for departure to Walter Reed Army Hospital or Bethesda Naval Hospital, as the case may be."

Why such confusion over military hospitals? Was Mrs. Kennedy's natural desire to take her husband, a former Naval officer, to the naval hospital an unexpected hitch in a plan for an autopsy at Walter Reed? It certainly appears that Bethesda was not prepared for this most important autopsy. The three military physicians who performed Kennedy's autopsy were clinical pathologists with little experience in gunshot wounds. Neither Navy Commander James J. Humes nor Navy Commander J. Thornton Boswell had practical, first-hand experience with bullet wounds. Army Lt. Col. Pierre Finck did have some such experience, but he later said he was hampered in his autopsy procedures by officials in the room. The military autopsy doctors apparently were surrounded by both military and civilian superiors who directed much of the autopsy - some of this direction going against normal autopsy procedures.

During the Clay Shaw trial in New Orleans (See THE GARRISON INVESTIGATION), Dr. Finck was asked under oath if Dr. Humes had been in charge of the President's autopsy. He replied:

"Well, I heard Dr. Humes stating that - he said, "Who's in charge here?" And I heard an Army general, I don't remember his name, stating, "I am." You must understand that in those circumstances, there were law enforcement officers, military people with various ranks, and you have to coordinate the operation according to directions."

An unnamed Army general in charge? Directions to the doctors? Finck continued to describe the scene:

"The autopsy room was quite crowded. It is a small autopsy room, and when you are called in circumstances like that to look at the wound of the President of the United States who is dead, you don't look around too much to ask people for their names and take notes on who they are and how many there are. I did not do so. The room was crowded with military and civilian personnel and federal agents, Secret Service

agents, FBI agents, for part of the autopsy, but I cannot give you a precise breakdown as regards the attendance of the people in that autopsy room at Bethesda Naval Hospital."

New Orleans Executive Assistant District Attorney Alvin Oser then pressed Finck on why, as an autopsy pathologist, he had not tracked the bullet wound through Kennedy's body to determine its exact path. After dodging the question for a time, Dr. Finck finally was ordered by the court to answer Oser's question. Dr. Finck stated:

"As I recall I was told not to, but I don't remember by whom."

"Could it have been one of the admirals or one of the generals in the room?" asked Oser.

"I don't recall," said Dr. Finck.

Finck, the only member of the autopsy team who was a member of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences, asked to examine Kennedy's clothing - a normal and acknowledged autopsy procedure. His request was denied.

Further, the autopsy doctors were ordered not to talk about what they had seen in the autopsy room. Finck again:

"...when you are a lieutenant colonel in the Army you just follow orders, and at the end of the autopsy, we were specifically told - as I recall it, it was by Admiral (Edward C.) Kenney, the surgeon general of the Navy -...not to discuss the case."

In 1977 Dr. Humes appeared before a medical panel gathered by the House Select Committee on Assassinations. Because of long-standing questions concerning the possibility that Kennedy suffered from Addison's disease (which can be detected by studying the adrenal glands), Humes was asked about the glands by Committee Medical Panel member Dr. Charles Petty "...because normally we examine adrenals in the general course (of an) autopsy, as we undertake it." Humes replied:

"...Since I don't think it bore directly on the death of the President, I'd prefer not to discuss it with you, doctor....I'd only comment for you that I have strong personal reasons and certain other obligations that suggest to me that it might not be preferable."

Certain other obligations? To whom?

But for all the puzzles and the directions of superiors, Humes had come to some definite conclusions by the end of the autopsy. - One bullet entered the rear of Kennedy's head and exited from the top of his skull. - Another bullet entered the President's back and apparently worked its way out during cardiac massage at Parkland.

The autopsy, which began at 8:15 p.m. the evening of the assassination, was concerned with only two of Kennedy's wounds. Humes studied the head wound and found about 40 pieces of bullet metal, indicating a bullet had fragmented while passing through the skull area. He concluded that a high-velocity rifle bullet had entered the rear of the skull, fragmented and then exited through the top of the skull. Death was attributed to the head wound. Not so easily explained was a wound in the President's back. The Dallas doctors never saw this wound because they said they never examined Kennedy's back. However, the autopsy doctors studied this wound carefully and wrote clear records of it. On the autopsy face sheet diagram marked by Dr. Humes, it depicts a wound in Kennedy's back between the shoulder blades. In Kennedy's death certificate, it states:

"...a second wound occurred in the posterior back at about the level of the third thoracic vertebra."

The third thoracic vertebra is located almost midway between the shoulder blades.

Two FBI agents, Francis X. O'Neill Jr. and James W. Sibert, were ordered to attend the autopsy and make a report. Their report, which was kept classified by the Warren Commission for several years, stated:

"During the latter stages of this autopsy, Dr. Humes located an opening which appeared to be a bullet hole which was below the shoulders and two inches to the right of the middle line of the spinal column."

This description on the wound's location was supported by the testimony of Secret Service agents and bullet holes in Kennedy's clothing. Yet it presented a real problem to the Warren Commission. If the President's wound was between the shoulder blades, this was lower than the position of the neck wound making for an upward trajectory - totally inconsistent with the idea of shots from 60 feet above and behind the President.

The solution to this dilemma was simple - the Commission reported:

"A bullet had entered the base of the back of (Kennedy's) neck slightly to the right of the spine. It traveled downward and exited from the front of the neck, causing a nick in the left lower portion of the knot in the President's necktie."

The Commission simply reported the back wound as located 5-1/2 inches higher than determined by the evidence.

Later, when questioned about the location of the wound as marked on the autopsy face sheet, Dr. Boswell stated the drawing was a "diagram error." And Humes was quoted as saying the back wound was higher than the throat wound, although he had marked it well below the neck wound.

The issue of the autopsy diagram was resolved in 1975 when researcher Harold Weisberg obtained the original autopsy face sheet by means of a Freedom of Information suit. Researchers discovered that the original sheet - depicting a wound in the low back - had been marked "verified" by Kennedy's personal physician, Dr. George Burkley. This verification of the autopsy sheet had been eliminated in copies of the document presented by the Warren Commission to the public. Curiously, Dr. Burkley was never called to testify to the Commission, although he was the only medical authority who rode in the motorcade, viewed Kennedy's body at Parkland Hospital and was present at the autopsy.

In 1982, Burkley reportedly told author Henry Hurt that he believed Kennedy's death was the result of a conspiracy. However, Burkley declined to elaborate further.

The Sibert-O'Neill FBI report further stated:

"This opening (the back wound) was probed by Dr. Humes with the finger, at which time it was determined that the trajectory of the missile entering at this point had entered at a downward position of 45 to 60 degrees. Further probing determined that the distance traveled by this missile was a short distance inasmuch as the end of the opening could be felt with the finger. Inasmuch as no complete bullet of any size could be located in the brain area and likewise no bullet could be located in the back or any other area of the body as determined by total body X-rays and inspection revealing there was no point of exit, the individuals performing the autopsy were at a loss to explain why they could find no bullets."

Commander J. Thornton Boswell, Humes' assistant, told author Josiah Thompson that all three doctors probed the back wound with their fingers but could not penetrate past an inch or so. According to Boswell, a thin metal probe also was used but no bullet track could be located.

After failing to find any bullet, Agents Sibert and O'Neill called the FBI Laboratory and were informed of the bullet which had been found on a stretcher at Parkland Hospital. This information was relayed to Humes and the autopsy doctors. This led the doctors to a conclusion expressed in the FBI report of Sibert and O'Neill:

"...since external cardiac massage had been performed at Parkland Hospital, it was entirely possible that through such movement the bullet had worked its way back out of the point of entry and fallen on the stretcher."

At the end of the autopsy, the military doctors concluded, as recorded in the Sibert-O'Neill report:

"... that the one bullet had entered the President's back and had worked its way out of the body during external cardiac massage and that a second high-velocity bullet had entered the rear of the skull and had fragmented prior to exit through the top of the skull."

But if the back wound caused problems, it was nothing compared to the problems which arose after Humes learned that the autopsy doctors had completely missed one of the President's wounds. On the day after the autopsy - with the President's body already prepared for burial and lying in state at the White House - Humes contacted the medical officials in Dallas. He was shocked to learn that they had observed a bullet wound in Kennedy's throat. The autopsy doctors had noticed an opening in the throat but had assumed it had been made at Parkland to facilitate a tracheal tube. Here is one of the most suspicious of the differences recorded in Kennedy's wounds. Dr. Perry at Parkland described the throat wound as a small hole about 3 to 5 millimeters - or about 1/5 of an inch - in diameter which had the appearance of an entrance wound. Perry said he made a surgical incision laterally across this hole to facilitate a tracheotomy, but did not obliterate the bullet wound. But by the time the autopsy doctors examined Kennedy's throat, this wound had elongated to almost three inches - such a gash that they didn't realize it obliterated a wound from the assassination.

Furthermore, all of the Dallas doctors said Kennedy had a large blasted hole in the right rear portion of his head - not at all like the gaping wound in the right top portion of his skull as reported by the

autopsy doctors.

These differences in the descriptions of the throat and head wounds suggests only three explanations:

1. The Dallas medical personnel lied about what they saw.
2. The autopsy doctors lied about what they saw.
3. No one lied - thus indicating the wounds were altered between the time they were seen in Dallas and the autopsy.

The latter explanation is buttressed by the Sibert-O'Neill FBI report of the Bethesda autopsy which states:

"The President's body was removed from the casket...and placed on the autopsy table, at which time the complete body was wrapped in a sheet and the head area contained an additional wrapping which was saturated with blood...it was also apparent that a tracheotomy had been performed, as well as surgery of the head area, namely, in the top of the skull."

Surgery in the top of the skull? No such surgery was ever mentioned by the Parkland medical staff. This oddity became one of the focal points of an investigation by researcher and author David Lifton, who reached some startling and well-publicized conclusions.

Crossfire: David Lifton Investigation

David Lifton, a former NASA computer engineer who researched the assassination for more than 15 years, was the first person to interview both medical personnel in Dallas and at Bethesda Naval Medical Center. What he discovered shocked him.

In his best-selling book, "Best Evidence," Lifton reported that not only were there discrepancies in the descriptions of Kennedy's wounds, but there were discrepancies in how the body was transported. It has been well documented how Kennedy's body was wrapped in a sheet in Dallas and placed in an expensive bronze ceremonial casket for shipment to Washington. Yet Lifton found Bethesda technicians who said they removed Kennedy's body from a black zippered body bag which was inside a cheap, gray military-style shipping casket, similar to those used to transport bodies back from Vietnam.

Paul K. O'Connor, who was studying to be a medical technician, was working in Bethesda's laboratory when Kennedy's body arrived. He said the body arrived in a "shipping casket...kind of slate-type gray and a kind of light pinkish color on the edges."

Asked by Lifton the condition of the body when the casket was opened, O'Connor replied:

"He was in a body bag."

O'Connor's recollection was confirmed by others, including Captain John Stover, Bethesda's commanding officer.

Just as startling was an interview with Bethesda X-ray technician Jerrold F. Custer. Custer said he had already made X-ray photographs of Kennedy's body, had gone to an upper floor to process them and was returning to the morgue area of the hospital when he encountered a bloodstained Jacqueline Kennedy, surrounded by newsmen and Secret Service agents, entering Bethesda. Outside in an ambulance, was the bronze Dallas casket supposedly containing the President's body.

Based on this and much more information gleaned from official reports and witnesses, Lifton concluded that the assassination was the result of a plot "involving the Executive Branch of the Government."

His hypothesis is this:

"Since Lifton disbelieved that the doctors at both Parkland and Bethesda lied about their observations, the alternative belief was that Kennedy's body was altered. Lifton discovered a brief period during the swearing-in ceremonies for Lyndon Johnson aboard Air Force One when everyone gathered forward, leaving Kennedy's body unattended. It was during this time, that his body was taken from the bronze Dallas casket, placed in a military body bag and stowed elsewhere in the plane (Autopsy photos showed several scratches on Kennedy's back which could be explained by the hasty handling of his body). At Andrews Air Force Base, Kennedy's body was taken off the right side of Air Force One and placed in a helicopter, which immediately took off while the news media and officials concentrated on Mrs. Kennedy and the Dallas casket, which were unloaded from the left side of the plane. Either at Walter Reed or Bethesda, someone altered the President's wounds to conform to the shots-from-behind thesis and then the body was wrapped in a sheet and placed on the Bethesda autopsy table ready for Dr. Humes and the others."

Lifton's theory - incredible as it may seem - is supported by all of the available evidence. Further, attempts to discredit either Lifton or his sources have proven fruitless. There is no question that long-standing and serious questions have arisen over the medical evidence. Lifton's theory that Kennedy's body was altered while in the hands of federal officials goes a long way in explaining the puzzles and inconsistencies of the medical evidence.

Crossfire: The Autopsy Report

Upon learning of the throat wound the day after the autopsy, Humes was forced to revise his autopsy report. The autopsy doctors determined that the back wound was 4 to 7-millimeters in diameter and the Dallas doctors said the throat wound was 3 to 5-millimeters in diameter. Since the back wound was larger, this would normally suggest that the neck wound was one of entrance and the back wound one of exit - assuming both holes represented the path of a single bullet. However, Humes saw it another way. Testifying to the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Humes said upon learning of the throat wound:

"...lights went on, and we said, ah, we have some place for our missile to have gone."

After revising his autopsy report, Humes walked to his fireplace and burned autopsy material - alternatively described as original notes, a first draft or other written notes. This highly-questionable practice preceded his final autopsy report which stated definitively:

"One missile entered the back of the President and exited in the front of the neck."

Considering that the wound in Kennedy's throat was too small to have been caused by a rifle slug and that FBI experts could not find any traces of metal on Kennedy's shirt or tie and that the Dallas doctors noted bruises on Kennedy's neck, it has been theorized that the neck wound may have been caused by bone fragments blasted downward at the time of the fatal head shot.

Author Josiah Thompson wrote:

"If we suppose that a bullet (or more likely a bone) fragment was driven downward on a slight left-to-right trajectory through the mid brain, we have a hypothesis that accords with all the known facts surrounding the throat wound."

But Humes was not bothered by such theories. He now had a revised idea of how Kennedy died:

- One bullet entered Kennedy's back and exited from his throat.
- Another bullet struck the back of his head and exited from the top of the skull.

Even Kennedy's personal physician, Dr. Burkley, had problems accepting these findings which may explain his belief in a conspiracy as revealed to author Henry Hurt.

Adding to this confusion is the possibility of yet another bullet being recovered from Kennedy's body during the autopsy. In the "New York Times" of November 27, 1963, Dallas Dr. Kemp Clark stated one bullet struck him at the necktie knot "ranged downward in his chest and did not exit." This statement was supported by Dr. Robert Shaw, who told "New York Herald-Tribune" reporter Martin Steadman on November 27 that a bullet entered the front of Kennedy's throat "coursed downward into his lung (and) was removed in the Bethesda Naval Hospital where the autopsy was performed." The idea of a bullet being removed during autopsy gains additional strength in light of two government documents now available.

One is a letter of receipt signed by FBI Agents Sibert and O'Neill, who monitored the autopsy. The two-line letter, dated November 22, 1963, states:

"We hereby acknowledge receipt of a missile removed by Commander James J. Humes, MC, USN on this date."

The other is another letter of receipt, but this time from the Protective Research Section of the Treasury Department, dated November 26, 1963. Among the items it listed as received from Kennedy's personal physician, Dr. Burkley, is "One receipt from FBI for a missile removed during examination of the body."

FBI agents normally would know the difference between bullet fragments and an intact slug. It is curious that both documents refer to a "missile" rather than fragments or pieces of bullet. All of this suggests yet another bullet was discovered, but kept secret since another bullet would have destroyed the lone-assassin theory, which already was being strained to the limit.

Further evidence that more than two bullets struck President Kennedy came in 1968 when then Attorney General Ramsey Clark gathered a panel of physicians headed by Dr. Russell Fisher, a Maryland medical examiner, to study the JFK autopsy photographs and x-rays. In addition to noting that the rear head wound had changed both size and shape from its description by the autopsy doctors, the Clark Panel found at the base of Kennedy's skull "...a large metallic (bullet) fragment which...is round and measures 6.5 mm in diameter." This could be construed as strong evidence against Lee Harvey Oswald, since he reportedly used a 6.5-mm rifle. However, recall that the official version states that one bullet - the "Magic Bullet" - traversed the President's neck, penetrated Connally and was found intact at Parkland Hospital.

Since officially no large fragments had been noted by the autopsy doctors and no such fragments could have come from the whole bullet found at Parkland, it seems probable that either more than two shots struck Kennedy in the head area or that the autopsy materials viewed by the Clark Panel were somehow faked. Furthermore, yet another bullet base, about 6.5 mm in diameter, was said to be found in the front seat of the Presidential limousine. All this goes far to prove that more than two bullets struck Kennedy.

A Navy officer who might have been able to clarify some of the questions about the President's autopsy is unavailable. He died under strange circumstances.

Crossfire: the Death of William Pitzer

Lt. Commander William Bruce Pitzer reportedly filmed the Kennedy autopsy "in detail" yet no official mention has ever been made of what happened to this evidence.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations drew up a list of the people present at the autopsy and Pitzer's name was absent. Furthermore Commander Boswell, one of the autopsy doctors, told researchers that Pitzer was not present. However, Dennis David, a Bethesda medical corpsman who as Chief of the Day for the Medical School attended the autopsy and was a friend of Pitzer's, has claimed that Pitzer not only was there but filmed the procedure.

Whatever Pitzer's role was on November 22, 1963, may never be known. On October 29, 1966, Pitzer was found fatally shot in his Bethesda Naval Hospital office. Naval authorities told Pitzer's family his death was a suicide. An autopsy was quickly conducted at Bethesda but the Government has steadfastly refused to release either an autopsy report on Pitzer or reports on any investigation into his death, if there was such, to either his family or Maryland authorities. Both David and Pitzer's family told researcher Harrison Livingstone that they disbelieved the official account of Pitzer's death.

David stated:

"...(He) was shot with a .45-caliber pistol...I have always believed he was murdered."

Pitzer's wife said he was very fearful following his experience at the JFK autopsy, but generally was to happy with life to commit suicide. She also said wrote notes for even the smallest matters and she can't believe that he would commit suicide without leaving some message.

She also voiced a concern over the condition of Pitzer's body. Reportedly, the right-handed Pitzer shot himself, yet his left hand was so mangled that his wedding ring could be recovered and returned to her.

So there the matter rests, just another strange death. Some researchers believe Pitzer was killed because of what he could prove regarding the mishandling of the Kennedy autopsy and as a warning to others at the Naval facility.

Crossfire: Wound Descriptions

Over the years as attempts have been made to clarify and substantiate the medical evidence, the wounds seem to take on a life of their own.

The head wound, as seen by the Dallas doctors, consisted of a large blasted out area in the right rear of the skull. Both medical and non-medical persons in Dallas were consistent in their description of this wound.

Secret Service Agent Clint Hill told the Warren Commission:

"The right rear portion of his head was missing."

Dr. Charles J. Carrico noted a large hole:

"...in the posterior skull, the occipital region. There was an absence of the calvarium or skull in this area..."

Dr. Malcolm Perry:

"I noted a large avulsive wound of the right parietal occipital area, (The occipital is the large bone on the back of a human skull) in which both scalp and portions of skull were absent..."

Dr. William Kemp Clark:

"I then examined the wound in the back of the President's head. This was a large, gaping wound in the right posterior part, with cerebral and cerebellar tissue being damaged and exposed. (The cerebellum controls muscle coordination and is located at the low rear portion of the head behind the occipital bone.)"

Dr. Robert McClelland:

"...I noted that the right posterior portion of the skull had been extremely blasted."

Yet the autopsy doctors saw a head wound which stretched from the upper side of the rear to the right front of Kennedy's head. The autopsy doctors said a small entrance wound was located in the back of the skull at about the hairline, while the House Select Committee on Assassinations' medical panel placed the entrance wound four inches higher, near the top of the head.

Neither the Warren Commission nor the House Committee spoke of a hole blasted out of the right rear portion of the President's head. The House Committee even produced a drawing reportedly made from an autopsy photograph which depicts the rear of Kennedy's head. It is entirely intact except for what appears to be a small hole - the entrance wound - near the top.

Humes had problems with this drawing, stating he had never seen the small hole before. He suggested it might be dried blood. But he was certain that he had seen no entrance wound in that location.

Robert Groden, a researcher and photographic consultant to the House Select Committee on Assassinations, had a simple explanation for the mystery surrounding the autopsy photographs - after careful study, he decided several, if not all, were forgeries.

After discovering evidence of retouching, Groden wrote:

"The vital autopsy photos of the back of the President's head were altered immediately after the autopsy in order to cover up the fact that the President received two bullets in the head, one from the rear and one from the front, and this second shot blew out the back of his head, as Jackie Kennedy testified to the Warren Commission."

Contemporary autopsy drawings and reports placed the location of the back wound in the middle of the back, between the shoulder blades - this description is corroborated by the bullet holes in Kennedy's clothing - yet the Warren Commission placed the back wound on the right shoulder near the base of the neck.

X-rays and other autopsy materials such as photographs, tissue samples and blood smears - including Kennedy's brain which was removed and preserved - could have provided definitive proof of the location of the wounds.

However, much of this material is missing from the National Archives.

(The House Select Committee on Assassinations hinted that the brain may have been taken by Robert Kennedy to prevent future public display, however, this has not been proven and Kennedy is not alive to comment.)

It also should be noted that the Warren Commission - the group officially charged with finding the truth of Kennedy's assassination - apparently never was allowed to view for themselves the President's

autopsy photographs and X-rays.

Commission Attorney Arlen Specter, in an October 10, 1966, interview in "U.S. News & World Report" stated:

"The complete set of pictures taken at the autopsy was not made available to me or to the Commission. I was shown one picture of the back of a body which was represented to be the back of the President, although it was not authenticated. It showed a hole in the position identified in the autopsy report. To the best of my knowledge, the Commission did not see any photographs or X-rays....The photographs and X-rays would, in the thinking of the Commission, not have been crucial, because they would have served only to corroborate what the autopsy surgeons had testified to under oath as opposed to adding any new facts for the Commission."

But they are critical - if not in truthfully understanding Kennedy's wounds, then in understanding the manipulations surrounding the medical evidence.

As Groden later wrote:

"The key to understanding who killed Kennedy lies with the autopsy photographs. These photographs may tell us more about the assassination than all of the official investigations. Perhaps the single most important question in the investigation was never asked: Why were the autopsy photographs and X-rays never officially shown to the numerous doctors and nurses in Dallas who treated President Kennedy? Had this question been pursued, the true nature of the conspiracy would then have been exposed, because the crucial pictures allegedly of the back of the President's head are forged! That forgery is one of the keys to the conspiracy. Who would have had that kind of access to the evidence in order to alter it? Who had the capability to alter it?"

Crossfire: Two Hospitals Summary

The medical evidence in the JFK assassination, which should be the basis for truthful determination of how many bullets struck Kennedy and from which direction, is hopelessly flawed. Some of it is still missing and other material has come under serious question as to its authenticity. Kennedy was given the autopsy of a Skid Row bum, with military and civilian authorities directing the three inexperienced and intimidated military doctors. His certificate of death is marked "Not Certified," making it simply a death notice.

The late Dr. Milton Helpert, who as chief medical examiner for New York City supervised 60,000 autopsies, once described Kennedy's autopsy thusly:

"It's like sending a seven-year-old boy who has taken three lessons on the violin over to the New York Philharmonic and expecting him to perform a Tchaikovsky symphony. He knows how to hold the violin and bow, but he has a long way to go before he can make music."

Dr. Cyril H. Wecht, an experienced coroner and former president of the American Academy of Forensic Medicine, was more blunt:

"(Kennedy's autopsy was) extremely superficial and sloppy, inept, incomplete, incompetent in many respects, not only on the part of the pathologists who did this horribly inadequate medical-legal autopsy but on the part of many other people. This is the kind of examination that would not be tolerated in a routine murder case by a good crew of homicide detectives in most major cities of America."

For whatever reasons - some innocent bumbling and some not so innocent - the medical evidence in the JFK assassination will forever be considered tainted, incomplete and inconclusive. And the question remains - who had the power to misdirect and confuse the official medical examination of the assassinated President?

Crossfire: Jack Ruby

"I know there is a terrible conspiracy going on in the world right now.
...The world has the right to hear the truth."

Jack Ruby

On the day before Kennedy's assassination business appeared normal in the Dallas District Attorney's office. There was a continuing parade of defendants, lawyers and police officers as the office staff went about preparing cases. One officer, Dallas Police Lt. W.F. Dyson, later told the Warren Commission that it was here that he and other officers encountered a short, stocky nightclub owner who was going out of his way to make their acquaintance. Dyson overheard this man - Jack Ruby - tell the officers:

"You probably don't know me, but you will."

The following Sunday the entire world knew Jack Ruby - the man who killed Lee Harvey Oswald.

Next to Oswald himself, Ruby became the man most closely associated with the assassination. The November 24, 1963, murder of Oswald in the basement of the Dallas Police Station for many people was the starting point for continued suspicions about the whole assassination. Many people could accept the idea of a "lone-nut assassin," but balked at the idea of two such characters. Ruby's shooting of Oswald, thus silencing the one man whom authorities blamed for Kennedy's death, began a rumble of discontent and suspicion which persists today. Therefore any serious probe of Kennedy's death must also include an in-depth look at the life and death of Jack Ruby, one of history's most unlikely candidates for fame.

In the months following the assassination, the American public was told - first by news media accounts and then by the Warren Commission - that Ruby was a small-time Dallas nightclub operator with no significant ties to organized crime or to Dallas authorities. It was said that his killing of Oswald was simply the spontaneous act of a man hoping to right the wrong of the President's death. Today there is evidence that Ruby, a fixture on the Dallas scene in 1963, was more closely connected with organized crime figures than earlier believed and that he, in fact, stalked Oswald throughout the assassination weekend.

It also is now known that Ruby tried to tell what he knew about the plot to kill Kennedy but was shrugged off by both Government investigators and the news media.

To a radio news reporter, Ruby said:

"I know there is a terrible conspiracy going on in the world right now...I'm speaking the truth....The world has the right to hear the truth..."

Shortly after Ruby was granted a new trial, he was filmed by a Texas television station stating:

"...everything pertaining to what's happened has never come to the surface. The world will never know the true facts of what occurred -my motive, in other words. I am the only person in the background to know the truth pertaining to everything relating to my circumstances."

Asked by the interviewer if this truth would ever come out, Ruby replied:

"No. Because unfortunately these people, who have so much gain and have such an ulterior motive to put me in the position I'm in, will never let the true facts come aboveboard to the world."

"Are these people in high positions?" responded the interviewer.

Ruby answered, "Yes."

In letters smuggled out of the Dallas County Jail, Ruby even named Lyndon Johnson as the person behind the assassination.

Ruby's mob connections stretched back over the years to his childhood in Chicago and were much more extensive than admitted by the Warren Commission. In 1964, one of Ruby's childhood friends told the FBI that as youths, he and Ruby had delivered sealed envelopes for Chicago gangster Al Capone (See MOBSTERS). Ruby's family history indicates an environment almost guaranteed to produce a troubled, if not criminally-bent, youngster. His father, Joseph Rubenstein, came from a family of carpenters in Poland but never was able to make a successful career with that skill. Instead he joined the Czarist Russian Army in 1893 and moved away from his small village near Warsaw. While in the Army, Rubenstein married Fannie Turek Rutkowski, the daughter of a doctor's assistant. The wedding was arranged by a Jewish "shadchen," a marriage broker in the Eastern European tradition. After serving in China, Korea and Siberia, Rubenstein reportedly "walked away" from military life and made

his way to the United States in 1903 via England and Canada. Within a year or so, he was joined by his wife and three children.

Jack Ruby was born Jacob Rubenstein in 1911, the fifth of eight siblings. His exact birthdate appears to be in controversy. Various documents show different birthdates, although Ruby himself used March 25, 1911, most frequently. Despite several moves, the family always remained in what was described by one brother as a "ghetto," complete with noisy streets filled with pushcarts and peddlers. The elder Rubenstein was a violent man known for drunkenness, brawling and associating with women of the street. He beat both his wife and his children and was frequently arrested on assault charges. A coarse man, he objected to his children obtaining any sort of higher education. Fannie Rubenstein, while desiring a better life for her children, nevertheless was herself a burden to the family. Illiterate and unpredictable due to mental problems, she would berate her husband for his lack of money and nag the children to improve themselves. The Rubenstein household constantly shook with violent and noisy fights. When Ruby was 10 years old, his parents separated and he, along with his three brothers and four sisters, was placed in various foster homes by the Jewish Home Finding Society. During this time, young Rubenstein was learning more on the streets of Chicago than in the schoolroom. Like young Oswald, Ruby was caught by truant officers after skipping school. Unlike Oswald, who found diversion in the local library and zoo, Ruby gravitated toward street gangs and amusement parks.

A 1922 psychiatric evaluation by the Illinois State Public Welfare Department's Institute for Juvenile Research to which Ruby had been referred by the Jewish Social Service Bureau characterized young Ruby as a boy with an "adequate" IQ but with "attention unstained," "quick and careless" reactions and an "egocentric" personality. This description of young Rubenstein of Chicago could have applied equally 40 years later to Jack Ruby in Dallas.

On the streets, young Ruby was nicknamed "Sparky." According to his sister, Eva Grant, the name came from Ruby's swaggering walk which reminded some people of the wobbling gait of Sunday comic strip character Barney Google's horse, "Sparkplug." Others believed "Sparky" was a tag reflecting Ruby's volatile temperament.

Ruby quickly found that holding a job was not for him. Years later, he recalled:

"I tried to be an errand boy for a mail-order house but I couldn't be regimented. I couldn't get up in the morning."

So young street-wise Sparky got along selling novelties from a pushcart, after obtaining a vendor's license thanks to his brother Hyman's political pull in Chicago's 24th Ward. The license was soon revoked after nearby businessmen complained. Undaunted, Sparky scalped sporting event tickets, peddled carnations in dance halls and chocolates in burlesque shows and even offered "hot" music sheets in violation of copyright laws. One close friend described Ruby's promotion schemes as "shady" but "legitimate."

Also on the street, Ruby gained a reputation with his fists, although the accounts of his aggressiveness differed with those who knew him. Barney Rasofsky, who gained fame in the 1930s as World Welterweight Boxing Champion Barney Ross, in 1964 told the FBI that he and Ruby along with other young toughs were paid \$1 per trip to deliver sealed envelopes for gangster Al Capone. If this information was passed along to the Warren Commission, it was never reported.

Rasofsky also said Ruby was never a troublemaker, although he always was ready to defend himself against any attack. Others too recalled Ruby as one to avoid a fight if possible. These recollections clash markedly with others who recalled Ruby as a street brawler, eager to take up any challenge, even to the extent of aiding someone else in trouble.

Ruby also was militantly proud of his Jewish ancestry. Although not particularly devout, he had nevertheless received some instruction in Orthodox Judaism. In addition to fights with other street gangs because of racial and ethnic differences, Ruby reportedly joined with Jewish toughs in fights with the Pro-Nazi German-American Bund during the late 1930s.

In 1933, Ruby, along with several Chicago friends, went to Los Angeles and then San Francisco seeking employment. In 1936, he was still in San Francisco living for a brief time with his sister, Eva, and her husband. Interestingly enough, Mafia boss Johnny Roselli - who later was a key player in the CIA-Mafia plots against Castro - told the Kefauver Crime Committee in 1951 that he too moved to Los Angeles in 1933 to oversee gambling operations at Santa Anita.

Despite some evidence to the contrary, Ruby later told authorities he returned to Chicago in 1937 - the same year his mother was committed to Elgin State Hospital with mental disorders. For more than 20 years, Fannie Rubenstein had frequented doctors and clinics reporting that a fishbone was lodged

in her throat despite continuing reassurances that nothing organic could be detected. After a short parole, she was readmitted to the mental hospital in early 1938. She was released as "improved" in August and subsequently was reconciled with both her family and Joseph Rubenstein since alien registration forms submitted in 1940 indicated they both were living at a daughter's home. Mrs. Rubenstein died of complications from a heart ailment in 1944. Her husband remained with his children in Chicago, dying in 1958 at age 87. At the time of his mother's death, Sparky had become Private Jack Rubenstein of the United States Air Force. But not before being involved in yet another episode filled with links back to the mob.

Having returned to Chicago about 1937, Ruby began working for the Scrap Iron and Junk Handlers Union according to Social Security Administration records. Chicago attorney Leon R. Cooke, a close friend to Ruby, had founded the union and was financial secretary. When gangsters connected to the Chicago underworld began taking control of the union and its funds, Ruby went along. Union President John Martin, who earlier had been indicted along with a major Chicago mobster for withholding tax information, named young Rubenstein union secretary. However, according to a statement Ruby made to police at the time, he was little more than a bagman for union thugs. On December 8, 1939, Martin fatally shot Cooke in the union's offices after an argument over missing funds. Martin fled and Ruby was arrested. The incident was splashed all over the Chicago newspapers at the time. Although Cooke was shot in the back, Martin claimed self defense and never served time for the murder. While Ruby claimed such close friendship for the slain Cooke that he eventually took the name Leon as his own middle name, he nevertheless stayed on with the corrupt union after Cooke's brutal murder. Following the bad publicity over Cooke's murder, the union was reorganized as the Waste Material Handlers Union, Local 20467, American Federation of Labor. Martin was replaced and the reorganized union was dominated by its secretary-treasurer, Paul J. Dorfman, a man with long-standing connections to Chicago racketeers.

In his book "The Enemy Within," Robert Kennedy mentioned Dorfman while telling how Teamster President Jimmy Hoffa expanded his influence nationwide:

"For him (Hoffa), the key to the entire Midwest was Chicago. He needed a powerful ally there - and he found his man in Paul Dorfman. Dorfman, our (the McClellan Committee - See MOBSTERS) testimony showed, was a big operator - a major figure in the Chicago underworld who also knew his way around in certain labor and political circles....Dorfman took over as head of the Chicago Waste Handlers Union in 1939 after its founder and secretary-treasurer was murdered....Hoffa made a trade with Dorfman. In return for an introduction to the Chicago underworld, the Committee found, Hoffa turned over to him and his family the gigantic Central Conference of Teamsters Welfare Fund insurance."

Several months after Dorfman took over, Ruby suddenly left the union. In 1964, Ruby told the Warren Commission:

"I was with the union back in Chicago and I left the union when I found out a notorious organization had moved in there....I have never been a criminal...I am not a gangster...I had a very rough start in life, but anything I have done, I at least tried to do it in good taste."

Young Rubenstein went back to hustling - this time manufacturing and selling gambling punchboards. His punchboard "company" had no fixed address, but operated out of inexpensive hotels.

It was during this time claimed Chicago attorney Luis Kutner, who both represented mob figures and worked for the Kefauver Committee, that Ruby became connected with Sam Giancana and his crowd (See MOBSTERS).

By mid-1943, he found a more permanent home - the U.S. Air Force. At the beginning of World War II, Rubenstein had been granted a draft deferment for reasons not entirely clear. One version is that he feigned a hearing disability by wearing a hearing aid, while another is that he was granted an "economic hardship" deferment because he was the only Rubenstein child remaining at home. Whatever the reason, it was insufficient in 1943 when he was reclassified 1-A and, despite an appeal to his local board, inducted into the Air Force on May 21. Ruby received "excellent" character and efficiency ratings while in the Air Force which may have been due more to his evasion of official scrutiny than meritorious service. On one occasion, Ruby beat a sergeant with his fists after being called a "Jew bastard."

While in the military, Ruby could always be found in dice or card games around the barracks and

apparently even continued his sales schemes. One person told the Warren Commission that Ruby received chocolates and punchboards from Chicago which he peddled around the base for extra money. Upon his discharge from the Air Force in February 1946, Ruby returned to Chicago where he entered an unsuccessful sales business with his three brothers, Hyman, Sam and Earl. As in their childhood, the three Rubenstein brothers constantly argued with each other - this time over how to run the business. One of the few things they agreed on was the need to obtain a more "American" name. After Hyman left the business, Sam, Earl and Jack all shortened their name from Rubenstein to Ruby. Their stormy partnership lasted only one year and by 1947, Jack Ruby had left Chicago for Texas. It was shortly after Jack arrived in Dallas that his name change was made official by a decree from the 68th Judicial District Court of Dallas on December 30, 1947.

Although the official story of Ruby's move is that he went to help his sister operate a nightclub, several different sources - some within the mob - have claimed that Ruby was part of a plan to bring Dallas rackets under the control of the Chicago underworld.

Shortly after the JFK assassination, Dallas businessman Giles Miller added support for this idea by telling the FBI that in 1959 Ruby had told him he wanted to go back to California in 1947 but "was directed" to go to Dallas.

But even more evidence of Ruby's move as part of a mob offensive into Texas came from former Dallas County Sheriff Steve Guthrie. During the late 1930s and early 1940s, Dallas gambling operations were virtually wide open under the control of homegrown bosses like Benny "Cowboy" Binion and Herbert Noble. However, by the late 1940s a bloody feud between these two top gamblers had resulted in Noble's bombing death and Binion's departure for the quieter environs of Las Vegas. It was then that the Chicago mob made its bid for a takeover in Dallas. In late 1946, an emissary from the Chicago Syndicate named Paul Roland Jones made contact with Dallas lawmen in an effort to open the city for the mob. Jones held meetings with Sheriff Guthrie and an obscure Dallas Police lieutenant named George Butler, but later was indicted for attempted bribery when Guthrie and Butler blew the whistle.

In their "Third Interim Report," the Kefauver Senate Committee stated:

"Some indication of how modern crime syndicates operate and how they open new territory is apparent from...the extraordinary testimony of Lt. George Butler of the Police Department of Dallas, Texas. Lieutenant Butler was approached by a member of the Chicago mob by the name of Paul Jones....Jones stated that he was an advance agent of the Chicago crime syndicate and was prepared to offer the District Attorney and the Sheriff \$1,000 a week each or 12-and-a-half percent cut on the profit if the syndicate were permitted to operate in Dallas under "complete protection." Jones also stated that syndicate operations were conducted by local people who "front" for the Chicago mob."

At this time the two top Chicago mob leaders were Sam Giancana (the coordinator of Mafia-CIA assassination plots - See MOBSTERS and AGENTS) and Tony Accardo.

Was Ruby one of the "fronts" mentioned by his friend Jones? Sheriff Guthrie told the Warren Commission that Ruby was himself involved in the bribery plan of Jones and that both Jones and his Chicago associates "frequently mentioned that Ruby would operate a 'fabulous' restaurant as a front for gambling activities." The Commission went on to state, however, that since Ruby was not mentioned in Jones' bribery scheme, the Commission "found it difficult to accept (Guthrie's) report." The Commission also ignored a story by Chicago newsman Mort Newman who reported that Butler told him that "Jack Ruby came to Dallas from...Chicago in the late 1940s and was involved in an attempt to bribe Sheriff Steve Guthrie."

The Warren Commission also ignored testimony which showed that Jones met Ruby through two mutual friends, Paul "Needle Nose" Labriola and Jim Weinberg - both well-known associates of Giancana. In fact, to arrive at their conclusion that Ruby was not mob connected, they had to ignore an FBI interview with Jones in which he stated that when he first met Ruby, both Weinberg and Labriola told him Ruby was "all right" as far as the Syndicate was concerned. Weinberg and Labriola were later found garroted and stuffed in a car trunk in a double gangland slaying.

When interviewed for the Warren Commission in 1964, Jones said he believed Butler was serious about accepting mob payoffs, changing his position only after learning that the Texas Rangers were aware of the deal. It was Butler - then assigned to the Juvenile Division - who was in charge of the fatal transfer of Lee Harvey Oswald on November 24, 1963. Butler apparently was also close to right-wing

causes in Dallas. According to Penn Jones, former editor of the "Midlothian Mirror" and an early assassination researcher, Butler approached him in 1961 about publishing right-wing literature. Jones told this author:

"He (Butler) offered me the job of printing a regional newspaper under the auspices of the Ku Klux Klan. He told me that half of the Dallas Police were members of the KKK."

Butler also was known to have provided personal police security for right-wing Dallas oil billionaire H.L. Hunt. Butler's veracity comes into further question when one considers Commission Exhibit 2249, which includes the statements of two Dallas policemen who claim that shortly after Ruby killed Oswald, Butler approached them with the "important" information that young Oswald was actually the illegitimate son of Jack Ruby! Whether or not Ruby participated in the 1947 bribe attempt, it is certain that his relationship with Jones continued. On October 24, 1947, Jones was arrested and charged with smuggling opium into the United States from Mexico. In Chicago, both Ruby and his brother Hymie were questioned by Bureau of Narcotics agents investigating the case. And over the next two years, while Jones appealed his narcotics conviction, he frequented Dallas' Singapore Club which by then was operated by Jack Ruby.

The Warren Commission and subsequent assassination investigations have attempted to portray Jack Ruby as a rambunctious, self-ingratiating nightclub owner simply striving for success in a rather shabby business - almost a Damon Runyan racetrack character.

It may also be significant that Ruby was much better connected socially in Dallas than has been publicly stated by federal investigations. As a man-about-town, Ruby was well known not only to police and law enforcement officials, but also to the city and county officials and businessmen who frequented his clubs and attended area gambling parties. One significant contact may be found in an account by Madeline Brown, former mistress to Lyndon Johnson. She claimed to have first met Jack Ruby through Johnson attorney Jerome Ragsdale of Dallas.

She told this author:

"One day in the early 1950s, I was coming out of Nieman-Marcus in downtown Dallas when I encountered Jerome Ragsdale and another man talking on the sidewalk. They seemed to be good friends and Jerome introduced me to the man, who was Jack Ruby. Ruby told me he owned a club downtown and invited me to visit. He also gave me a card. Of course, later I saw Ruby frequently. A bunch of us would see him around town. Lots of people in town knew him, especially people in the downtown area like H.L. Hunt, Henry Wade, Earle Cabell, they all knew him. But after the assassination weekend, everyone was scared to say they knew him."

Furthermore the record shows Ruby a much more important criminal than previously believed.

Crossfire: Jack Ruby Ganster

From the pre-war union murder of Leon Cooke to the 1963 killing of Lee Harvey Oswald in Dallas Jack Ruby's life was one of close association with gangsters and close calls with the law.

Consider these Ruby associates:

BARNEY BAKER - Described by Robert Kennedy as one of Jimmy Hoffa's "roving organizer and ambassador of violence," Baker had moved from criminal activities involving mobsters Jake Lansky and Bugsy Siegel to Teamster organizer for the Central States Conference under Hoffa. According to the Warren Commission, Baker received at least two calls from Ruby in a three-week period preceding the assassination and Baker called Ruby on November 7, 1963. Three of Baker's phone numbers were found in Ruby's notebooks.

JOSEPH CAMPISI - An associate of Dallas Mafia member Joseph Civello, Campisi operated several businesses in Dallas, including a restaurant notorious as a gangster hangout, and has been linked closely to the New Orleans Marcello family. Both Ruby's sister, Eva Grant, and his business partner, George Senator, described Campisi as one of Ruby's closest friends. And, though trying to distance himself from Ruby, Campisi himself told the FBI in December 1963, that he had been in contact with Ruby the night before the assassination and had visited Ruby in jail on November 30, 1963.

FRANK CARACCI - Described by "Life" magazine as a "Marcello mobster," Caracci was arrested by Houston police in 1969 with three members of the Marcello group who later attended the Dallas wedding of Joseph Campisi's son. One of these men was Frank "Tickie" Saia, a prominent Louisiana gambling and political figure who was close friends to Senator Russell Long. In the months preceding the Kennedy assassination, Ruby met with Caracci at least once and was in telephone contact on several occasions.

FRANK CHAVEZ - Another Teamster thug with arrests for obstruction of justice and attempted murder, Chavez told associates he had met with Ruby and other Teamster officials in the fall of 1961, including Richard Kavner who was described by author Dan Moldea as "another key member of the Hoffa circle." A Justice Department memorandum also linked Ruby and Chavez to mobster Tony Provenzano.

JOSEPH CIVELLO - The Dallas Mafia chief who was one of those arrested at the 1957 Apalachin, New York, mob meeting (See MOBSTERS), Civello admitted to the FBI after the assassination that he had known Ruby "for about 10 years." Like Campisi, Civello tried to downplay his close connections with Ruby and someone within the Warren Commission helped this effort by deleting an entire page covering Civello in Commission Exhibit 1536 and by blanking out several paragraphs within the document.

MICKEY COHEN - A news reporter claimed that Ruby was acquainted with famed mobster Cohen through his girlfriend Candy Barr, a close friend of Ruby's who was jailed on a narcotics charge in the early 1960s.

AL GRUBER - A former roommate of Ruby's from Chicago, Gruber told the FBI he had no mob connections. Yet in 1970, a two-page FBI report which had been suppressed for years, showed Gruber had been arrested six times using two aliases in three states. Gruber too was associated with top Teamster officials as well as thugs working for Mickey Cohen. Gruber reportedly had not seen his old friend Ruby for 10 years when he showed up in Dallas in mid-November, 1963, for an extended visit. Ruby called Gruber in Los Angeles three hours after the assassination.

RUSSELL D. MATTHEWS - An underworld character with a lengthy arrest record, Matthews has been linked to Campisi and Florida mob Chief Santos Trafficante. He also was described as a father figure by convicted hitman Charles V. Harrelson (See AFTERMATH). Several people told the Warren Commission that Ruby and Matthews were friends and on October 3, 1963, a call was placed from Ruby's Carousel Club to Matthew's former wife in Louisiana.

MURRAY "DUSTY" MILLER - A former secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters International who was associated with several underworld figures, Miller received a person-to-person call from Ruby on November 8, 1963, according to the Warren

Commission.

LENNY PATRICK - According to his sister, Ruby also placed calls to Patrick in late 1963. Identified in a 1965 U.S. Senate report as a high-ranking associate of the Chicago Mafia, Patrick reportedly was close to Chicago mob Chieftain Sam Giancana.

NOFIO J. PECORA - Described by various crime investigations as an ex-convict with several arrests, Pecora has been identified as one of Carlos Marcello's most trusted aides. As late as October 30, 1963, a call was logged between the Dallas phone of Ruby and a New Orleans phone listed to Pecora.

JOHNNY ROSELLI - A former associate of Al Capone, Roselli was one of the Mafia chiefs involved in the CIA-Mafia assassination plots against Castro. His mutilated body was found in an oil drum in Florida's Biscayne Bay in 1976 just as Roselli was scheduled to testify before the House Select Committee on Assassinations. According to Columnist Jack Anderson, Roselli knew Ruby and described him as "one of our boys." According to reports from federal sources in Florida, Roselli and Ruby twice met secretly in Miami motel rooms during the two months preceding the assassination. These meetings were monitored by the FBI, which was keeping Roselli under surveillance. However, no mention of these meetings were made to the Warren Commission.

IRWIN S. WIENER - A close associate of both Hoffa and other Teamster officials, Wiener has been connected to mob bosses Trafficante and Giancana. On October 26, 1963, Wiener received a 12-minute, person-to-person call from Ruby's Carousel Club. He later gave contradictory accounts of the content of this call.

LEWIS McWILLIE - A notorious Dallas gambler, McWillie worked for several gambling houses there during the 1940s, including Benny Benion's Top of the Hill Club and W.C. Kirkwood's Four Deuces Club in nearby Fort Worth. McWillie then joined such famed gangsters as Santos Trafficante, Meyer and Jake Lansky, Dino Cellini and others in gambling operations in Havana, Cuba, before being thrown out by Castro (See CUBANS). One of Ruby's closest friends, McWillie was sent guns by Ruby while still in Cuba and, in fact, was sent a .38 Smith and Wesson by Ruby as late as May 10, 1963. Ruby told the Warren Commission, "I called him frequently... I idolized McWillie." The Kirkwoods, who conducted high-stakes poker games involving wealthy Texans such as H.L. Hunt, Clint Murchinson and Amon Carter Sr., also played host to Texas politicians Sam Rayburn, Lyndon Johnson and John Connally. Kirkwood's son, Pat, served alcoholic drinks to President's Kennedy's Secret Service guards well into the morning hours of November 22, 1963 (See G MEN). Kirkwood told the House Select Committee on Assassination that "Chilly" McWillie was a close family friend. Warren Commission staffers saw several conspiratorial leads in McWillie and recommended that he be called to testify about Ruby's Cuban and mob connections. It was a recommendation which the Commission ignored.

Despite these revealing associations, the Warren Commission Report stated:

"...the Commission believes that the evidence does not establish a significant link between Ruby and organized crime. "

But Jack Ruby's connection to crime was not limited to simply his friends and associates. The record shows his involvement in a number of criminal activities including gambling, narcotics, prostitution and gunrunning. In an interview with FBI agents on December 6, 1963, a small-time bookie named William Abadie told how he had worked briefly for Ruby writing gambling "tickets" as well as serving as a "slot machine and juke box mechanic." According to this FBI report, only partially reported by the Warren Commission in Document 86 (The FBI first page containing the information about Ruby's gambling activities was inexplicably missing from the Commission document.), Abadie stated:

"...it was obvious (to me) that to operate gambling in the manner that he (Ruby) did, that he must have racketeering connections with other individuals in the City of Dallas, as well as Fort Worth, Texas...(This) applied also to police connections with the two cities."

In fact, Abadie told agents that he had observed policemen coming and going while acting as a bookie in a Ruby establishment.

Another gambler, Jack Hardee who was also interviewed by the FBI in December 1963, said when he tried to set up a numbers game in Dallas in 1962, he was told it would be necessary to obtain the approval of Jack Ruby since any "fix" with local authorities had to come through Ruby.

Harry Hall, yet another gambler who had participated in a scheme to bilk wealthy Texans including Dallas oil billionaire H.L. Hunt in the early 1950s, went on to become a credible informant for the Treasury Department and the FBI. He told the Secret Service that he once made a trip with Ruby through Oklahoma and Louisiana. Hall said Ruby had "good connections in gambling circles" there. Hall, like Ruby, was from the same general Chicago neighborhood and had close connections with Teamster racketeers. He also was connected with mobster Johnny Rosselli (See MOBSTERS), Eugene Hale Brading (See AFTERMATH - DALLAS) and the La Costa Country Club (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN). According to Hall, he once won a large amount of money from H.L. Hunt after being introduced to the oilman by his friend Ruby.

According to Ester Ann Mash, a former employee who dated Ruby during the spring of 1963, Ruby was no stranger at the homes of some prominent Dallasites. She told this author:

"Several times he took me to big nice homes where there were important people in town, including District Attorney Henry Wade. I think he only took me so he didn't have to go alone. Once we got there, I never saw Jack. He would be off gambling."

There is simply no question of Ruby's connections to gambling and to gamblers, both local and national.

In 1959 a Dallas gambler named Harry Siedband was arrested in Oklahoma City. On Siedband was a list of the top professional gamblers in the Dallas-Fort Worth area - Jack Ruby's name was on the list.

Not so clear is Ruby's connection to drugs. As mentioned earlier, both Ruby and his brother Hyman were questioned extensively by police following the arrest of one of Paul Jones' lieutenants on charges of smuggling hard narcotics. In a later case, a drug offender named James Breen traveled to Dallas where he made contact with "a large narcotics setup operating between Mexico, Texas and the East," according to Breen's female companion Eileen Curry. Curry told the FBI that Breen's contact with this drug ring was Jack Ruby. After Ruby killed Oswald, Curry again was contacted by the FBI. She repeated her earlier contentions that Ruby and Breen had been mixed up in a narcotics smuggling ring.

There is even the very strange arrest of Ruby in northern New Mexico near the Colorado border in the late 1950s. A local lawmen caught Ruby in a remote area driving an overdue rent car. Nothing much came of the arrest but Dallas sources saw this episode as evidence of a possible drug-smuggling trip by Ruby.

There is also an abundance of evidence that Ruby was involved in other criminal activities, such as prostitution, pornography and bribery. And the fact that Ruby was a pivotal contact man for criminal activity in Dallas seems affirmed by his lack of prosecution by Dallas authorities. Ruby's Dallas rap sheet showed he was arrested nine times in 16 years - his charges ranged from operating his club after legal hours to using a gun to slug an off-duty Dallas policeman in a fight outside the Carousel Club - yet the toughest conviction shown in his criminal record was a \$35 fine for ignoring a traffic summons.

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Jack Ruby's criminal activity reached a peak in 1959 when he became even more closely connected to the mob and the Feds through their common interest in Cuba.

Crossfire: Jack Ruby - Gun Runner and Agent

The year 1959 was a busy time for Jack Ruby. He made at least two trips to Cuba, which had just been taken over by Fidel Castro (See CUBANS); he began making contact with gunrunners who had been arming Castro but were beginning to turn against the bearded leader and he began serving as an informant for the FBI.

Just prior to Castro's takeover, American mobsters had help supply the revolutionary with arms for his fight with Batista. While the dictator Batista was friends with the mob, the gangsters were playing both sides of the fence, believing that if they helped Castro, they would be allowed to remain in Cuba should he succeed in his revolution. The smuggling of arms to Castro was overseen by Norman "Roughhouse" Rothman, a burly associate of Miami mob boss Santos Trafficante who managed Trafficante's Sans Souci Casino in Havana. Reportedly, Rothman at the same time was splitting Havana slot machine revenues with Batista's brother-in-law.

After the assassination, the sister of a Cuban gun runner gave information indicating that Ruby was part of the Rothman operation. Mrs. Mary Thompson said she and her daughter traveled to the Florida Keys during June 1958, where her brother introduced them to a man named "Jack." The women were told that Jack owned a nightclub in Dallas and was a member of "the syndicate" who was running some guns to Cuba. The women's story which was reported to the FBI after the assassination was later corroborated by Bureau informant Blaney Mack Johnson who stated that in the early 1950s, Ruby had an interest in a notorious night club and gambling house in Hallandale, Florida, along with Meyer and Jake Lansky and other prominent mobsters. Johnson said Ruby was active in arranging illegal flights of weapons to Castro forces and named Edward Browder as one of the pilots operating for Ruby. Browder, a flamboyant Miami arms dealer, was a central figure in Rothman's gun-running operation, according to federal court documents. Another soldier of fortune operating with Browder during this time was Frank Sturgis, who would much later be caught burglarizing the Watergate building along with men connected to the Nixon White House. Although the FBI file on Browder reportedly contains more than 1,000 pages, the Bureau only gave three small, innocuous reports to the Warren Commission.

And while there are reports that documents confirming Ruby's gunrunning activities surfaced in both the State Department and Army Intelligence files during the 1963-64 assassination investigations, these documents are said to be missing today.

Jack Ruby, like many other Americans who helped Castro seize power, lived to regret his actions. After Castro closed the mob's casinos and imprisoned gangsters, including Santos Trafficante, he quickly became persona non grata. While awaiting a new trial shortly before his death, Ruby told his lawyers and a doctor that he feared people would find out about his Cuban activities and think him unpatriotic. He is quoted as saying:

"They're going to find out about my trips to Cuba...and the guns and everything."

In another incident recorded in a letter smuggled out of the Dallas County Jail, Ruby wrote:

"They have found a means and ways to frame me, by deception, etc. and they have succeeded in same. My lawyers...were in on it. Now this is how they did it. They had a guard with me constantly...and he started to work on me with the Bible routine, and on his person unbeknownst to me he had one of these wireless speakers, which is very small and he kept it in his trousers pocket...I was very low and crying, and the guard knew I was at my lowest...I came to where he was sitting and I fell to the floor and broke down and said that I had sent guns to Cuba..."

In an effort to repair this slip of the tongue, Ruby hastened to add that he had never really sent guns to Cuba but only had relayed a message from his friend Lewis McWillie to a Dallas gun store owner that McWillie wanted four pistols for personal protection.

However, this same lament was echoed to one of Ruby's employees not long after his murder conviction in 1964. According to Wally Weston, the Carousel Club's emcee who visited his former employer in the Dallas County Jail, Ruby said:

"...Wally, you know what's going to happen now? They're going to find out about my trips to Cuba and my trips to New Orleans and the guns and everything."

In mid-1959, the Rothman gunrunning operation was rocked when its chief was arrested in connection with an \$8.5-million Canadian bank burglary. Federal authorities linked the bank job with a large theft of arms from an Ohio national guard armory through a \$6,000 airplane rental agreement by Rothman. Authorities agreed it appeared to all be part of a massive gunrunning

operation to Cuba.

And it was during this time that Ruby's travels to Cuba increased significantly, thanks to Ruby's mob idol, Lewis J. McWillie. McWillie - potentially a key central character in this swirl of gun runners, drug smugglers, mob hitmen, CIA-Mafia assassination plots and Texas gamblers - has received scant attention from the two major government assassination investigations. Yet, according to Elaine Mynier, who dated McWillie during his days in Dallas, the gambler and Ruby were close friends. In a December 5, 1963, FBI interview, she said McWillie was:

"...a big-time gambler, who has always been in the big money and operated top gambling establishments in the United States and Cuba. He always had a torpedo (a bodyguard) living with him for protection."

Mynier went on to say that Jack Ruby was:

"...a small-time character who would do anything for McWillie, who was in the habit of being surrounded by people he could use."

In his Warren Commission testimony, Ruby made no secret of his closeness to McWillie. He said:

"I called him frequently...I idolized McWillie. He is a pretty nice boy and I happened to be idolizing him....I always thought a lot of him...I have a great fondness for him...."

Despite Ruby's accolades, Commission members declined to follow through on a staff recommendation to call McWillie to testify about his relationship with Ruby and Mafia figures. The Warren Report mentions McWillie only briefly regarding Ruby's 1959 visit to Cuba and concluded:

"The Commission has found no evidence that McWillie has engaged in any activities since leaving Cuba that are related to pro- or anti-Castro political movements or that he was involved in Ruby's abortive jeep transaction."

As can be seen, there was no mention of McWillie's alleged mob ties or to McWillie's FBI record, No. 4404064, which gives a list of aliases and characterizes him as a gangland killer.

While the Warren Commission took Ruby and McWillie's word that the 1959 trips to Cuba were "purely social," the House Select Committee on Assassinations did not. After listing a number of visits to Cuba based on visas, airline tickets and even a post card, Chief Counsel Blakey wrote:

"...we established beyond reasonable doubt that Ruby lied repeatedly and willfully to the FBI and the Warren Commission about the number of trips he made to Cuba and their duration....It was clear, for example, that the trips were not social jaunts; their purpose, we were persuaded, was to courier something, probably money, into or out of Cuba...the evidence indicated strongly that an association (with Trafficante) existed and that Ruby's trip was related to Trafficante's detention and release. We came to believe that Ruby's trips to Cuba were, in fact, organized-crime activities."

Lewis J. McWillie was born May 4, 1908, in Kansas City, Missouri. From 1940 until 1958, he lived in Dallas where he managed several gambling operations, including Benny Binion's legendary Top of the Hill Terrace and the Four Deuces in nearby Fort Worth owned by gentleman gambler W.C. Kirkwood. Recall it was his son, Pat Kirkwood, who hosted Kennedy's Secret Service agents the night before the assassination. (See G MEN). In the summer of 1958, McWillie relocated to Havana, Cuba, where he worked for Norman Rothman as a pitboss in Trafficante's Sans Souci casino. It was during this time that Ruby was encountered in the Florida Keys involved in gunrunning schemes run by Rothman.

By September 1958, McWillie was manager of the Tropicana Hotel's luxurious casino, then styled as "the largest nightclub in the world." It was here that McWillie became a close associate of some of the mob's most powerful leaders. According to a March 26, 1964, FBI memo prepared for the Warren Commission:

"...it would appear McWillie solidified his Syndicate connections through his association in Havana with Santos Trafficante, well-known Syndicate member, for Tampa, Florida; Meyer and Jake Lansky; Dino Cellini and others who were members of or associates of "the Syndicate."

Yet over the years, McWillie maintained that he only knew these men "casually," but did admit an acquaintanceship with Dallas crime figures, R.D. Matthews and Joseph Civello.

It is interesting to note that both McWillie - Ruby's "idol" - and Matthews - hitman Charles Harrelson's idol (See AFTERMATH) - were connected to Dallas gambling operations during the 1950s; both went to work gambling in Havana, Cuba, in 1958-59; and in later years, both were

employed at Benny Binion's Horseshoe Club in Las Vegas.

When Castro closed the Tropicana, McWillie became pit boss at the Capri Hotel's casino, another Trafficante property. The Capri was then run by Charlie "The Blade" Tourine, whose mistress later confirmed that she was assisting Frank Sturgis in an attempt to poison Castro (See AGENTS).

McWillie finally left Cuba in January 1961. According to Ruby and others, he was one of the last American mobsters to leave the island.

It is interesting to note that during the first half of 1961 McWillie was in Miami, the site of the CIA-Mafia assassination meetings involving Trafficante, Giancana and Roselli (See AGENTS and MOBSTERS).

Since that time, McWillie has worked at a number of Nevada gambling casinos including the Cal-Neva Lodge, the Riverside Club, Thunderbird Club, Carousel Club (La Vegas), the Horseshoe Club (run by former Dallas gambler Benny Binion) and the Holiday Inn Casino.

In early 1959, McWillie's boss Trafficante was arrested and jailed in the Trescornia Camp outside Havana. Within days of this incident, Jack Ruby contacted convicted Texas gunrunner Robert Ray McKeown. In the 1950s, McKeown owned a manufacturing plant in Santiago, Cuba, but was forced to leave the island in 1957 after failing to pay kickbacks to Batista. In 1958, he received a 2-year suspended sentence and five years on probation when convicted by U.S. authorities of conspiring to smuggle arms to Castro. His gunrunning activities brought McKeown into close contact with two notable Cubans - Fidel Castro. McKeown was photographed with the bearded leader during a visit to Houston in April 1959. He was also close to Carlos Prio Socarras, former President of Cuba who quickly turned against Castro and became a leader of the anti-Castro Cubans in the United States. It was due to this closeness to Cuban leaders that McKeown was contacted by telephone by a man who identified himself as "Jack Rubenstein of Dallas." The caller said he had obtained McKeown's phone number through a member of Houston County Sheriff's Office and had thought his name was "Davis." "Davis" was the same name that Ruby mentioned to his attorneys when asked if he knew of anyone that could damage their legal plea of momentary insanity for Ruby. Indeed, a gunrunner named Tommy E. Davis not only was active in Texas at that time but during Ruby's trial showed up in Dallas and told Ruby's attorneys that he and Ruby had met several times to discuss the possibility of running arms to Cuba. However, Davis denied that anything came of this planning. Tommy Davis was linked to both U.S. Intelligence and crime circles (See AGENTS).

McKeown told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that Rubenstein - after Oswald was killed McKeown realized it was actually Jack Ruby - told him he represented Las Vegas interests that were seeking the release of three prisoners in Cuba. The caller offered \$5,000 each for help in obtaining release of the prisoners. McKeown told the caller he would accept the offer if money were forthcoming. The man on the phone said he was thinking about it.

About three weeks later, McKeown said he was visited by a man at his business near Houston. The visitor was Ruby and this time Ruby said he had access to a large number of jeeps in Shreveport, Louisiana, which he was going to sell in Cuba. He offered McKeown \$25,000 for a letter of introduction to Castro. Again, McKeown asked for money up front. He later claimed that Ruby "never returned nor did he ever see him again."

Of equal interest is McKeown's claim in later years that just weeks before the assassination, he was contacted by yet another man who wanted to buy weapons, particularly high-powered rifles with scopes. McKeown said this man identified himself as "Lee Oswald." In this story, which has been corroborated by a McKeown friend, Sam Neill, "Lee Oswald" and a man named Hernandez showed up at McKeown's home in late September or early October 1963, saying they were involved in planning a revolution in El Salvadore.

Oswald, described as a "smart aleck" dressed only in shirtsleeves, then offered McKeown \$10,000 for four .300 Savage automatic rifles each with a telescopic sight. McKeown said he refused to sell arms to "Oswald." Both McKeown and his friend Neill independently recognized Oswald on November, 22, 1963, as the man who had visited a few weeks earlier. However, both men decided to keep quiet about the Oswald visit, saying later they were "scared" to tell the FBI in 1964 what they knew. Indeed, a January, 28, 1964, FBI document pertaining to McKeown's interview states:

To his knowledge, he has never seen or met Lee Harvey Oswald.

Although the House Committee pointed to inconsistencies in McKeown's various accounts of his

contact with both Ruby and Oswald, on the whole - especially with the Neill corroboration - his story seems plausible to many researchers. But there may be much more to it in light of the statements of a former poker partner of Ruby named James E. Beard. Beard told the "Dallas Morning News" in 1978 that he was an automobile dealer in Houston and knew that Ruby had been involved in arms deals near McKeown's home in Kemah, located southeast of Houston on Galveston Bay. Interviewed by the FBI in 1976, Beard said he "personally saw many boxes of new guns, including automatic rifles and handguns" stored in a two-story house near the channel at Kemah. He said these arms were loaded onto what appeared to be a 50-foot military surplus boat nearby. The FBI reported:

"He (Beard) stated each time that the boat left with guns and ammunition, Jack Ruby was on board..."

Beard said Ruby would show up in Kemah usually on weekends and play poker to kill time until the boat was loaded. He told the FBI that he saw this operation take place at least twice while he was there. Beard said after the assassination, he contacted the FBI. In a newspaper article, he said he waited until 1966 and "nothing had come out (regarding Ruby's gunrunning), so I called them (FBI) just to find out why...I was curious. However, they didn't see fit to even mention it to me again, so I never heard of anything they ever opened up on it."

He said suddenly in 1976, an FBI agent showed up to talk to him. In his report, the agent wrote: "...there had been so much speculation as to possible foreign connections and he (Beard) thought it better not to mention his knowledge of Jack Ruby in Kemah."

This FBI report made no mention of Beard's attempt to tell the Bureau what he knew in 1966.

Yet another incident occurred in 1961 which indicates that Ruby's gunrunning activities may not have ceased in 1959. Nancy Perrin Rich worked for Ruby and became involved in Cuban gunrunning activities while married to Robert Perrin in Dallas. In interviews with both the FBI and Warren Commission, she related how her mob-related husband met in 1961 with a group of anti-Castro Cubans. The meeting, which took place in a Dallas apartment, was presided over by a U.S. Army lieutenant colonel. During this meeting, her husband was offered \$10,000 to bring a boatload of Cuban refugees to Miami. The couple demanded a cash retainer.

A few nights later, the Perrins met again with the Cubans, who apparently were expecting money. This time the Cubans mentioned taking stolen arms to Cuba and promised that more money was on the way. Rich told the Warren Commission:

"I had the shock of my life....A knock comes on the door and who walks in but my little friend Jack Ruby....and everybody looks like...here comes the Savior."

Rich claimed to have detected a bulge in Ruby's jacket which disappeared quickly. That plus the fact that the Cubans' plans became more definite with Ruby's arrival led her to conclude that Ruby was the "bag man" bringing funds to the Cubans. She said she and her husband finally bowed out of the deal because they "smelled an element that I did not want to have any part of." Less than a year after the meeting with the Cubans, Ruby and the military officer, Perrin was found dead of arsenic poisoning. His death was ruled a suicide.

While McKeown claimed to have had no further contact with Jack Ruby and the Warren Commission proclaimed Ruby's jeep deal "abortive," something worked right, for shortly after a Ruby visit to Cuba in the summer of 1959, three Castro prisoners - Loran Hall (See CUBANS), Henry Saavedra and Santos Trafficante were released from prison and ordered out of Cuba. It may have all been due to Jack Ruby.

According to Elaine Mynier, a mutual friend to both Ruby and McWillie, she was asked by Ruby to deliver a message to McWillie in Cuba not long after Castro took over. She told the FBI:

"(It was)...a short-written message in code consisting of letters and numbers and including the word "arriving."

On November 26, 1963, long before any in-depth investigation was done on Ruby's background, a British journalist, John Wilson, informed the American Embassy in London that he was in held in the Trescornia Camp outside Havana with Trafficante in the summer of 1959. Wilson said there he "met an American gangster called Santos" and that "Santos was visited several times by an American gangster type named Ruby." Wilson claimed the man named Ruby would come to the prison with people bringing food to Trafficante.

Although Wilson is now dead, there is considerable corroboration to his story. In 1978, author Anthony Summers talked with the prison superintendent, who confirmed that the "English

journalist" indeed was held in the same area as Trafficante. He also confirmed that Trafficante received special meals from one of the Havana hotels.

According to Ruby's travel documents, he stayed at the Capri Hotel where Trafficante held a major interest. This story is also corroborated by Gerry Hemming, a CIA agent who in 1959 was serving with Castro's forces. Hemming has said he saw Ruby in a meeting with Castro leader Captain William Morgan during this time and the talk centered around efforts to release Trafficante from prison.

There also is an intriguing mention of this matter in a confidential House Assassinations Committee briefing memorandum which stated:

"Lewis J. McWillie, a close friend with Ruby and a man with many contacts among organized crime figures, indicates that in 1959 Jack Ruby traveled to Cuba and visited Santos Trafficante in jail."

Although during testimony before the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Trafficante plainly stated, "I never remember meeting Jack Ruby," the committee concluded there was considerable evidence that such a meeting did take place. Sources within the Dallas underworld claim Ruby was the middle man who, acting on orders of McWillie, bought Trafficante's freedom from Cuba with the sale of black-market jeeps to Castro. While this has not yet been officially confirmed, it is certainly significant that there appears to have been much closer contact between Jack Ruby, Oswald's slayer, and Santos Trafficante, the mob boss who predicted that Kennedy would be "hit" (See MOBSTERS). The fact that Ruby idolized the stylish, gray-haired McWillie and would do "anything" for his mentor is especially intriguing in light of the close association between McWillie and Trafficante. At least two Dallas underworld sources have claimed that McWillie was "made," or sponsored, into the Mafia by none other than Trafficante, the man involved in the CIA-Mafia assassination plots and closely allied with the anti-Castro Cubans.

And during those active days in 1959, Ruby made another astonishing contact - the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The Warren Commission was quietly notified in early 1964 that Jack Ruby had been contacted by the Bureau in 1959 as an informant but asked that the Commission keep this explosive fact a secret. The contents of this February 27, 1964, memo from director Hoover to Warren Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin was not made public until 1975. The memo, belatedly discovered through "a search of all files in the Dallas (FBI) office wherein references to Jack Ruby appeared," stated:

"For your information, Ruby was contacted by an Agent of the Dallas Office on March 11, 1959, in view of his position as a night club operator who might have knowledge of the criminal element in Dallas. He was advised of the Bureau's jurisdiction in criminal matters, and he expressed a willingness to furnish information along these lines. He was subsequently contacted on eight occasions between March 11, 1959, and October 2, 1959, but he furnished no information whatever and further contacts with him were discontinued. Ruby was never paid any money, and he was never at any time an informant of this Bureau."

The Commission not only failed to see the significance of the nine meetings between the FBI and Ruby during the very time he was trying to free mob boss Trafficante, but also did not bother to question the FBI agent who had met with Ruby. But many law enforcement officers, both state and federal, have privately stated that both the frequency and duration of these Ruby contacts suggests there was more to the relationship than Hoover was admitting. In addition, researchers' suspicions were aroused after learning that Ruby's contacts - reportedly innocuous - with the FBI had been kept hidden for more than a decade after the assassination.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations did interview FBI Agent Charles W. Flynn, the agent who met with Ruby. According to Flynn, Ruby initiated the contacts on March 11, 1959, rather than the Bureau as stated in the Hoover memo. Flynn said Ruby told him he wanted to give information on a confidential basis and so Flynn opened a "Potential Criminal Informant," or PCI file on Ruby. Flynn said he closed the file on November 6, 1959, because Ruby had not been particularly helpful. The House Committee staff also found this connection between Ruby and the FBI at the time Ruby was making trips to Cuba intriguing. The Committee's chief counsel later wrote:

"Ruby could, of course, have contacted the FBI with no ulterior motive, and it could have been wholly unrelated to his Cuban activities...We (the Committee staff) believed, however, that Ruby's behavior was consistent with the pattern of seasoned

offenders, who often cultivate a relationship with a law enforcement agency during a period when they are engaging in a criminal activity in the hope that, if they are caught, they can use the relationship to secure immunity from prosecution."

The House Committee also expressed interest in a post office box which Ruby used 12 times coinciding with the times he met with FBI Agent Flynn. Researchers have been equally intrigued by Ruby's purchase of miniature electronic bugging equipment during this same period, suggesting that Ruby's involvement with the Bureau was not as innocent as reported.

On April 27, 1959, shortly after his first contact with Agent Flynn and the day before their next scheduled meeting, Ruby rented safety deposit box 448 at Merchants State Bank in Dallas, where he maintained a small business checking account. Sometime before he rented the bank box, Ruby bought more than \$500 worth of tape-recording equipment. The saleswoman, contacted by Secret Service agents shortly after the assassination weekend, recalled that Ruby bought "a wristwatch which held a microphone for the equipment, and also an instrument to bug a telephone...(and a) tie clip and attaché case." An FBI agent also interviewed the saleswoman, but filed a meager two-paragraph report, omitting the descriptions of the electronic bugging equipment.

From the time Ruby acquired the safety deposit box through the fall of 1959, researchers have discerned a pattern - both before and after making a trip to Cuba, Ruby would enter this deposit box and then contact the FBI.

Flynn denied to the House Committee that he and Ruby discussed the Cuban visits, but in later years Flynn reportedly admitted to news reporters that Ruby may have mentioned one trip to Cuba.

And apparently Ruby was making no secret of his Cuban sojourns at the time. He sent a post card from Havana to a girlfriend in Dallas and he was overheard telling one of his employees not to say where he was going "unless it were to the police or some other official agency."

It also should be noted that three days after Ruby shot Oswald, authorities in New Orleans received a tip that Jack Ruby had bought some paintings while in that city in the summer of 1959. While this information seemed hardly germane to the assassination, its source points to the involvement of U.S. Intelligence. For this bit of art news came from William George Gaudet, the CIA operative who accompanied Oswald to Mexico (See AGENTS). So apparently the CIA was tracking Ruby's movements in 1959 and after the assassination, Ruby was fearful that his activities in New Orleans - which obviously involved Cuba - would be found out.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations determined that Ruby may have made as many as six trips to Cuba, but most significantly, this issue was clouded and passed off by both the FBI and the Warren Commission.

When Warren Commission Attorneys Leon Hubert and Burt Griffin - both assigned to the Ruby aspect of the investigation - requested further probing of Ruby's Cuban connections, they were rebuffed by both the CIA and other Commission staff members.

In later years, Warren Commission staffer Howard P. Willens - the liaison man with the Department of Justice - explained the Commission's reluctance to probe deeper by telling newsman Seth Kantor:

"...these Cuban pursuits represented some kind of bottomless pit and our overall investigation had to be wrapped up (See THE WARREN COMMISSION)."

Considered together, the activities of Jack Ruby involving Cuba, Trafficante, McWillie and the FBI represent a whole new dimension of the assassination - one which has yet to be fully explored. But these connections, especially in light of the current theory of mob involvement in the assassination, certainly elevates Ruby far above the simple, emotional night club owner pictured by the Warren Commission.

The House Committee's Chief Counsel Robert Blakey, commenting on Ruby's connections with both mobsters and Cuba, wrote:

"Our conclusion about Ruby in Cuba did not necessarily mean organized crime had a hand in the events in Dallas in 1963, but it did shift the balance in the careful process of weighing the evidence."

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As the day of Kennedy's assassination approached, Jack Ruby continued to be in contact with a variety of mob figures both by telephone and in person. One of the most intriguing incidents involved Johnny Roselli, the gangster involved with Santos Trafficante and Sam Giancana in the CIA-Mafia assassination plots. It has now become known that beginning in the summer of 1963 and

continuing into November, the FBI had Roselli under surveillance. Researchers were surprised in later years that the Bureau had monitored two separate meetings between Roselli and Jack Ruby which occurred within two months of Kennedy's death. Roselli, who later began to speak openly to columnist Jack Anderson, admitted to knowing Ruby, calling him "one of our boys."

What these meetings were about and why they were not reported to the Warren Commission is not known but to most researchers it provides yet another clear example of suppression of evidence on the part of the FBI.

One of the most intriguing stories to come out of the assassination case involved a woman who claimed to have worked for Ruby and who is on record as accurately predicting Kennedy's death.

Crossfire: The Woman Who Foresaw the Assassination

On November 20, 1963, two days before the assassination, Louisiana State Police Lieutenant Francis Fruge journeyed to Eunice, La., to pick up a woman who had received minor abrasions when she was thrown from a car. The woman appeared to be under the influence of some drug. She later was driven to the State Hospital in Jackson, La. On the way she told Fruge that she had been traveling with two men "who were Italians or resembled Italians" from Florida to Dallas. When Fruge asked her what she planned to do in Dallas, the woman replied:

"...number one, pick up some money, pick up (my) baby and...kill Kennedy."

Thus began the strange saga of Melba Christine Marcades, better known as Rose Cheramie. While at State Hospital, Cheramie told doctors there that Kennedy was to be killed in Dallas. She appeared quite lucid and hospital records studied by the House Select Committee on Assassinations reflect the woman was diagnosed as "...without psychosis. However, because of her previous record of drug addiction she may have a mild integrative and pleasure defect."

Dr. Victor Weiss told Committee investigators that Cheramie said she had worked for Jack Ruby and that her knowledge of the assassination came from "word in the underworld."

The day of the assassination, Lt. Fruge immediately remembered the woman and her apparent foreknowledge. He returned to State Hospital and took Cheramie into custody. During questioning she said the two men were on their way from Florida to Dallas to kill Kennedy. She said she was to receive \$8,000 for her part in this activity and was then to accompany the two men to Houston to complete a drug deal and pick up her young son. She even gave Fruge the name of both a seaman and a ship which were involved in the drug deal and Fruge was able to verify this information through U.S. Customs. Fruge also was able to verify the woman's story by talking to a Louisiana lounge owner.

The owner related how two men and a woman had stopped at his lounge about November 20 and that the owner knew the men to be two pimps who regularly transported prostitutes from Florida. He said the woman became intoxicated and was taken outside after one of her companions "slapped her around." The lounge owner, after viewing some mug shots, chose Cuban exile leader Sergio Arcacha Smith as one of the men with Cheramie. Fruge recalled the other man only as a Cuban named Osanto.

Smith (See CUBANS) was a close friend of David Ferrie, the New Orleans pilot connected to both the FBI and CIA as well as Mafia Chief Carlos Marcello.

Fruge said he soon contacted Dallas Police Capt. Will Fritz, the man in charge of the assassination investigation, believing that he had uncovered valuable information. However, after Fritz told him he "wasn't interested," Fruge dropped his investigation.

Interestingly, the House Committee found that, while the FBI had no record of Cheramie's prognostication of the assassination, it did have reports that a Melba Marcades (Cheramie) had tipped Bureau agents that she was traveling to Dallas to deliver heroin to a man in Oak Cliff, then proceed to Galveston to pick up a shipment of drugs. The Bureau had looked into the matter but decided that the woman's information was "erroneous in all respects."

On September 4, 1965, One month after yet another attempt to contact the FBI with similar information, Marcades/Cheramie was found dead by a highway near Big Sandy, Texas - a small town in East Texas about midway between Dallas and Louisiana. A man told authorities that Cheramie was lying in the roadway, apparently after being thrown from a car, and that he drove over her head while trying to avoid her. Police could find no relationship between the woman and the driver and the case was closed. However, Fruge later told researchers that when he attempted to contact the driver, he found the man's Tyler, Texas, address to be non-existent (See CONVENIENT DEATHS).

While the entire Rose Cheramie episode was extensively covered in a staff report to the House Select Committee on Assassinations and essentially verified, oddly there was no mention of her in the Committee's report.

Yet another strange aspect of the Cheramie story was her statements that Ruby and Lee Harvey Oswald were well known to each other.

Once in the presence of Fruge, Charamie saw a news article about the failure to link Ruby and Oswald. According to Fruge, she laughed and said that while working for Ruby - she claimed to know him as "Pinky" - she had seen him with Oswald. She even stated that Ruby and Oswald had a homosexual relationship and "had been shacking up for years."

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Whether or not Rose Cheramie's story was completely truthful, it is highly significant in that yet another person was on record as having foreknowledge of the assassination. And her story also resurrects the question of whether there was contact between Oswald and his slayer.

Crossfire: Did Ruby and Oswald Know Each Other?

Both federal investigations of the assassination announced publicly that they were unable to establish any link between Jack Ruby and Lee Harvey Oswald.

The Warren Commission flatly stated:

"There is no evidence that Oswald and Ruby knew each other or had any relationship through a third party or parties."

Yet according to its own internal memos, Commission staffers were not all that certain. Arguing that further investigation was needed, Commission lawyers Burt Griffin and Leon Hubert wrote:

"In short, we believe that the possibility exists, based on evidence already available, that Ruby was involved in illegal dealings with Cuban elements who might have had contact with Oswald."

The House Select Committee on Assassinations in its report seem to question the Warren Commission's conclusion by pointing out:

"The Commission also found no evidence that Ruby and Oswald had ever been acquainted, although the Commission acknowledged that they both lived in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas, (both) had post office boxes at the Terminal Annex, and had possible but tenuous third party links. These included Oswald's landlady, Earlene Roberts, whose sister, Bertha Cheek, had visited Ruby at his nightclub on November 18, and a fellow boarder at Oswald's roominghouse, John Carter, who was friendly with a close friend and employee of Ruby, Wanda Killam."

In fact, while leaving the impression that no link existed between Ruby and Oswald, the House Committee left the possibility open by stating:

"...the Committee's investigation of Oswald and Ruby showed a variety of relationships that may have matured into an assassination conspiracy. Neither Oswald nor Ruby turned out to be "loners," as they had been painted in the 1964 investigation."

And the body of evidence connecting Ruby and Oswald continues to grow.

As far back as 1964, General Edwin A. Walker - himself a central figure in the assassination case (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN) - told this author:

"...the Warren Commission Report was ridiculous and a sham as well as an insult to the public's intelligence. Rubenstein knew Oswald; Oswald knew Rubenstein. The report would have to start all over on this fact."

Recall that Julia Ann Mercer identified both Ruby and Oswald as the men she saw near the Triple Underpass with a rifle shortly before the assassination (See THE CROWD) and that Oswald's mother, Marguerite, claimed to have been shown a photograph of Jack Ruby by an FBI agent the night before Oswald was shot (See LEE HARVEY OSWALD).

Stories have circulated around Dallas since 1963 about Ruby and Oswald being seen together. On November 26, 1963, the "Dallas Morning News" quoted Assistant District Attorney Bill Alexander as saying:

"(Investigators) have received at least a hundred tips (linking Oswald to Jack Ruby) and are checking out each one. As far as I know, none has panned out."

As early as Monday, November 25, 1963, newsmen were receiving information of a Ruby-Oswald link. Typical of the reports flooding Dallas authorities was one from a woman in Waco, a small city located about 40 miles south of Dallas, who claimed to have rented a room to Oswald and even danced with him at a Latin-American festival there. Her report was discounted when it was learned that her meeting occurred at a time Oswald was known to have been in New Orleans. No one at that time considered the possibility of Oswald impersonators. But other reports were not so easy to dismiss. Especially the number which grew out of experiences at Ruby's Carousel Club.

Madeline Brown, the mistress of Lyndon Johnson (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN), worked for one of Dallas' leading advertising firms in 1963. She handled some of the agency's biggest accounts. After work, she and co-workers would unwind at various watering holes including the Carousel Club. Brown recalled that in the spring of 1963 as she and her friends sat in the Carousel Club the conversation turned to speculation over who might have taken a shot at General Edwin A. Walker. The group was surprised to hear Jack Ruby blurt out that the man who shot at Walker was Lee Oswald. Brown took note of the name because she had never heard it before and because Ruby seemed so sure of the name of Walker's assailant. She was shocked the following November

to see the names Ruby and Oswald tied to the assassination. She told this author:

"I asked around and found out that many people knew that Oswald and Ruby knew each other. In fact, I just assumed that everyone knew this. I was surprised when, well into the 1980s, I learned that officially they were not supposed to be connected."

Another fascinating story was offered by former Dallas cab driver Raymond Cummings. During the Garrison investigation, Cummings saw a news story with a photograph of David Ferrie and Ferrie's claim that he had never been in Dallas. Cummings contacted Garrison's office to tell how he had driven David Ferrie and Lee Harvey Oswald to Ruby's Carousel Club in the early part of 1963.

Even more convincing are the accounts of Ruby and Oswald together offered by employees of the Carousel Club. William D. Crowe, Jr., a magician and entertainer using the stage name Bill DeMar who was performing in Ruby's Carousel Club at the time of the assassination, called a news media friend right after Oswald's arrest. He said Oswald had participated in his act just about a week prior to the assassination. On November 25, Crowe told the Associated Press he was "positive" Oswald had patronized Ruby's club. He said:

"I have a memory act in which I have 20 customers call out various objects in rapid order. Then I tell them at random what they called out. I am positive Oswald was one of the men that called out an object about nine days ago."

Crowe later told the "Dallas Morning News" that after the Associated Press story appeared, he was contacted by FBI agents who told him to check out of his Dallas hotel and go into hiding.

The Warren Commission Report went to great lengths to downplay Crowe's story including quoting Crowe as saying:

"...I never stated definitely, positively (that he saw Oswald), and they said I did, and all in all, what they had in the paper was hardly even close to what I told them."

Crowe was not asked why he told the same story of seeing Oswald to "Dallas Morning News" reporter Kent Biffle several days later.

The Warren Commission likewise brushed off the testimony of Dallas electronics salesman Robert K. Patterson who said that Jack Ruby along with a man who looked like Oswald bought some equipment from him on November 1, 1963. Commissioners said Ruby's companion most likely was a Carousel Club employee named Larry Crafard who "bears a strong resemblance to Oswald." The Commission noted that at least four other persons had told them of seeing Oswald in the Carousel Club but these stories also were dismissed.

The Commission made no mention of Rose Chermie or Beverly Oliver (See THE CROWD), the Dealey Plaza assassination witness who has told researchers she was introduced to "Lee Oswald of the CIA" by Ruby a few weeks before the assassination.

Oliver, now a Christian evangelist using another name, told British television:

"I purposely waited this long (to publicly tell her story) because I felt threatened...I didn't want to become another statistic. About two weeks prior to the assassination, between shows (She was a singer at the nearby Colony Club and would frequently visit Ruby's Carousel Club), I trotted over. There was this girl who danced there by the name of Jada. And she was sitting at a table with Jack Ruby and another man. I went and sat down with them to have a drink. As I sat down, Ruby introduced me to this man. He said, "Beverly, this is my friend Lee." And after Jack Ruby went into the police station and killed Lee Harvey Oswald, it was then I realized it was the man I had met in the club two weeks before the assassination...Jack Ruby and Lee Harvey Oswald were linked together but I don't know how...But I know in my heart that Lee Harvey Oswald, or the man shot in the police station, was the man in I met in the club two weeks before the assassination."

She also told researcher Gary Shaw of meeting David Ferrie (See AGENTS and MOBSTERS) in the Carousel Club. She said Ferrie was there so often that she initially took him to be assistant manager of the club. This story is buttressed by other Carousel employees who recalled seeing Ruby and Oswald together. Karen Bennett Carlin, who danced in Ruby's club using the name "Little Lynn," was the woman to whom Ruby mailed a \$25 money order minutes before shooting Oswald. Interviewed by the FBI on November, 24, 1963, Carlin "seemed on the verge of hysteria." FBI Agent Roger C. Warner reported:

"Mrs. Carlin was highly agitated and was reluctant to make any statement to me. She stated to me that she was under the impression that Lee Oswald, Jack Ruby and

other individuals unknown to her, were involved in a plot to assassinate President Kennedy and that she would be killed if she gave any information to the authorities."

Another Ruby dancer, Janet Adams Conforto known as "Jada," told Dallas newsmen shortly after the assassination that she had seen Oswald in the Carousel Club. Likewise, Bill Willis, a musician at the club reportedly recalled Oswald sitting "right in the corner of the (Club's) stage and runway."

Ruby stripper Kathy Kay told the "Dallas Times Herald" in 1975 that she recalled seeing Oswald in the club and even danced with him on one occasion. This account is supported by Bobbie Louise Meserole, who danced at the Carousel Club under the name Shari Angel.

Meserole, now an ordained minister in Dallas who remembers Jack Ruby fondly, told this author she recalled conversations with Kathy Kay and others in which they laughingly told how Ruby had ordered Kay to dance a bump and grind to embarrass Oswald.

But the most ominous story of this kind came from Shari Angel's husband, Walter "Wally" Weston, who was the Carousel Club's Master of Ceremonies until five days before the assassination. In a 1976 interview with the "New York News," Weston said he had seen Oswald with Ruby in the Carousel Club at least twice prior to the assassination. Weston recalled:

"I was working in the club one night approximately three weeks before the assassination. I was on stage, doing my bit, and this guy was standing near the back wall. The club was pretty crowded. The guy walked up in the middle of the club, right in front of the stage and for no reason he said, "I think you're a communist." I said, "Sir, I'm an American. Why don't you sit down." He said, "Well, I still think you're a communist," so I jumped off the stage and hit him. Jack was right behind him when I hit him. He landed in Jack's arms and Jack grabbed him and said, "You (son of a bitch), I told you never to come in here." And he wrestled him to the door and threw him down the stairs."

After the assassination, Weston said he recognized Oswald as the man in the club but did not say anything when questioned briefly by the FBI and a Dallas detective because he was afraid after discussing the matter with other Carousel employees. He said:

"(Carousel drummer) Billy Willis saw me hit him (Oswald). When I discussed it with him (and dancer Kathy Kay), he said, "Wally, the best thing to do is to stay out of it. Just keep your mouth shut. Don't say anything. That's what I'm going to do. I don't want any part of this.""

Weston visited Ruby in jail several times. He recalled:

"The one time I mentioned it to him, I said, "Jack, wasn't that the guy I hit in the club?" He just looked at me and didn't say yes or no."

Another reason Weston decided to talk in 1976 was that he claimed to have "bumped into" a gangster in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, who had been at a meeting with Ruby in the Carousel Club five days before the assassination. In a published interview, Weston said:

"(This guy) said to me, "I know you, you were Jack Ruby's MC." I asked him when he had been at the Carousel Club and he told me he was at the table the night the gun went on the floor."

The shaken Weston vividly recalled that night.

He said:

"There was a meeting held at Jack Ruby's club the night I left there, which was five days before the assassination of President Kennedy. There were approximately six to eight guys from Chicago who came into the club - friends of Jack Ruby. I first really noticed them at about 1:30 in the morning, right before closing. Four of them were sitting at a front table, the rest hung around the bar. I was on stage telling jokes and while I was up there, the ones at the table were talking to each other. So I walked to the front of the stage where they were sitting and said, "Hey, you guys, cool it." One of them looked at the others and said, "Who is this son of a bitch" and he pulled a gun out of his waistband. ...it looked like a cannon pointed in my direction. At this precise time, two uniformed policemen came in the front door. They just happened to walk in - which was not unusual at Jack's Club. I said to the four guys at the table, "The police are here." The gun went to the floor immediately and was kicked over to the side. Jack Ruby, in the meantime, was explaining to the policemen that everything was all right and that there was no problem. After the show, Jack introduced me to the men...He

didn't introduce them to me by name, he just said, "These are friends of mine from Chicago."

Weston might not have thought too much about this incident except that he returned to the club after closing to retrieve his jacket. One of the men from Chicago opened the door but refused to allow him inside. When asked the man to go get Jack Ruby the man also refused, saying "You can't come in now." Understanding that something very secret was going on in the club, Weston left. After the assassination, Weston kept quiet, later explaining, "In the nightclub business, you take your money and you keep your mouth shut." But in 1976, after encountering one of the Chicago toughs who had been at the meeting, Weston decided he should tell his story.

Incredible as Weston's story seems, there is at least two people who have corroborated it. A convicted murderer and mobster named Myron Thomas Billet, also known as Paul Buccilli, told a national periodical in 1976 that he attended just such a meeting in Ruby's club.

Billet stated:

"I was at the Whitemarsh Valley Country Club back in the late part of 1963 when I was contacted by the mob for a meeting in Dallas at Jack Ruby's Carousel Club. As I remember it, there was myself, Jack Ruby, Lee Oswald, Sam Giancana, John Roselli and an FBI man. The meeting was to set up a "hit" on John F. Kennedy. I can't say what the arrangement was because Sam and I left. Sam told me he wanted nothing to do with it. Hell, he helped put Kennedy in office. But three weeks later, JFK was hit and we all knew it wasn't done by one man. Sam told me then that he figured this would get us all killed before it was over."

Then there is the experience of Ester Ann Mash which was made public only recently. Mash, who still lives in the Dallas area, told this author she served drinks at a meeting in the Carousel Club which included "gangsters" from Chicago, Jack Ruby and Lee Harvey Oswald. She had been a waitress at a restaurant near Love Field when a Dallas detective introduced her to Ruby early in 1963. Shortly after their introduction, Ruby enticed her into working at the Carousel Club, but only as a waitress and champagne hostess. She explained:

"He wanted me to strip, but I just couldn't bring myself to do that."

In addition to her club duties, Mash became a lover to Ruby, who she said took her to gambling parties around Dallas. In the late spring of 1963, she said Ruby asked her to serve drinks at a gathering in a meeting area of the Carousel Club. Mash said the meeting was composed of Ruby, five "gangster types" and a young man who only sipped beer. She described the meeting:

"I had to follow Jack's orders to the letter for that meeting. He demanded absolute privacy and no interruptions. I was the only person allowed to enter the room and that was just to serve the drinks and then get out. Five men dressed in suits, looking very businesslike, came in about 10:30 that night. They were all dark, swarthy men who looked like gangsters out of some movie. There was another man, dressed real casual - he didn't look like he fit in with the rest of the group at all. There were seven all together (including Ruby). They talked until about one o'clock in the morning. Then the men in suits left. Jack went to his apartment behind the club. And the other guy stayed until closing watching the strippers. He couldn't take his eyes off them. That man was Lee Harvey Oswald. I really remember him because he was so unusual from the rest. He kept ordering beer. Everyone else drank mixed drinks but this wimpy-looking little guy. I might not remember a name, but I always remember a face. It was a serious meeting and although I did not overhear what they were talking about at the time. I am convinced that they were discussing killing Kennedy. I knew it had something to do with the Mafia because everybody in town in those days knew Ruby had something to do with the mob. Also, Jack asked me to take care of these guys, so later I played up to them a little and discovered they were Mafia guys from Chicago."

About two months after this meeting, Mash had a falling-out with Ruby. She explained:

"He accused me of bringing the vice squad to the club but I didn't. But he wouldn't listen to me. He cussed me out. It upset me, so I left. Also, it was real strange, but I had a very bad feeling, a premonition, that I had better get away from Dallas. So I moved to Euless and got a job in a restaurant, then later moved to Phoenix. I was not even in Dallas the day of the assassination. I did not pay much attention to the news after the assassination. But then on Sunday morning, my children were watching TV

when they were showing them moving Oswald. Ruby shot him and I screamed, "Oh, my God!" I couldn't believe my eyes. I thought, "That's the weird little man who was at that secret meeting with Jack and those Mafia types. I saw that grin on Oswald's face on TV the day Jack shot him. He was smiling because Jack was his friend. I didn't want to be involved, so I kept quiet. But now I have a blood clot on the right side of my brain as a result of a car accident. I've already lived longer than I am supposed to.

That's the reason I'm telling you this now. Somebody needs to know this before I die."

But an even more damning story concerning Ruby and Oswald comes from a credible, if eccentric, attorney named Carroll Jarnagin. Jarnagin explained to this author that he visited Ruby's Carousel Club on October 4, 1963, to discuss a legal case with one of Ruby's strippers. While seated in a booth at the club, Jarnagin overheard Jack Ruby - whom he knew well - talking with another man. Jarnagin heard the man tell Ruby, "Don't use my real name. I'm going by the name of O.H. Lee." This, of course, was the name used by Lee Harvey Oswald to rent a room on North Beckley in Oak Cliff.

Jarnagin described this meeting:

"These men were talking about plans to kill the Governor of Texas. Ruby explained, "He (Governor Connally) won't work with us on paroles. With a few of the right boys out we could really open up this state, with a little cooperation from the Governor."

Then Ruby offered Lee a drug franchise. Ruby also said that the boys really wanted to kill Robert Kennedy. Lee offered to go to Washington to do the job. They then discussed using public lockers and pay telephones as part of hiding their plot. Ruby assured Lee that he could shoot Connally from a window in the Carousel Club and then escape out a back door. Lee was asking for money. He wanted half of the money in advance, but Ruby told him he would get one lump sum after the job was done."

One thing that sets Jarnagin's story apart from the others is that he contacted authorities with his information prior to the assassination. The day after hearing Ruby's conversation, Jarnagin telephoned the Texas Department of Public Safety. Nothing came of this.

Jarnagin stated:

"(After Ruby shot Oswald) I definitely realized that the picture in the November 23, 1963, "Dallas Times Herald" of Lee Harvey Oswald was a picture of the man using the name O.H. Lee, whose conversation with Jack Ruby I had overheard back on October 4, 1963."

After the assassination, Jarnagin again contacted the authorities, this time the Dallas Police and the FBI. He was interviewed but his startling account of a Ruby-Oswald plot was buried deep in the volumes of the Warren Commission and never mentioned in its report. In fact, the Warren Commission quickly dismissed rumors circulating throughout Dallas in 1963-64 that Ruby and Oswald knew each other by stating:

"All assertions that Oswald was seen in the company of Ruby or anyone else at the Carousel Club have been investigated. None of them merits any credence."

Jarnagin said when he tried to tell the FBI what he knew, agents accused him of having hallucinations. The attorney said:

"It was clearly abuse of a witness."

The disparate meeting times given in these reports - Mash said late spring 1963; Weston indicated about mid-October while Jarnagin pinpointed October 4, 1963 - and the people involved indicate the possibility that more than one meeting between Ruby and Oswald occurred.

And neither the FBI nor the Warren Commission ever talked to Rose Cheramie, Beverly Oliver, Ester Mash, Wally Weston, Shari Angel or Madeline Brown. But there is tantalizing evidence that authorities knew more than they were telling about a relationship between Oswald and Ruby.

In 1976, four Dallas deputy constables told the "Dallas Morning News" that they had examined a box full of handwritten notes and other papers in the Dallas County Courthouse shortly after the assassination which linked Ruby and Oswald together. Deputy Billy Preston said he and Constable Robie Love (now deceased) handed the box of documents over to Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade in late 1963 or early 1964. Wade told the paper he didn't recall receiving the papers. Preston, along with deputy constables Mike Callahan and Ben Cash, said the box of papers came from the apartment of a Dallas woman. Preston explained:

"She was really scared because she had all that stuff. She wanted me to pick it up for

her. And I just wished I had made some more copies now."

Preston could not recall the woman's name other than "Mary," but then and now he believes she had come connection with Oswald because most of the box's contents appeared to have been written by him. Cash, however, recalled that the box came from the woman's roommate who had kept it for a Latin American boyfriend. Cash told reporter Earl Golz:

"The impression I got (was that) the papers were from the Latin American because he mentioned Ruby and he mentioned Oswald in the writings. He didn't mention the third party but he kept referring to a third party. And the third party would have to be him."

Among the papers in the box, according to the deputies, were newspaper clippings from Mexico, a photocopy of a press card with the words "Daily Worker" issued to Ruby, a receipt from a motel near New Orleans dated several weeks before the assassination with both the names' Ruby and Oswald on it and references to calls to Mexico City, papers pinpointing a landing strip somewhere in Mexico and references to meetings with "agents" in the border towns of McAllen and Laredo. There was also a church brochure with markings indicating something about going to Cuba.

Preston said one handwritten note referred to a plan to assassinate President Kennedy during the dedication of a lake or dam in Wisconsin. (Law officials in Wisconsin had speculated in December 1963, about the existence of just such a plan after discovering what appeared to be Lee Harvey Oswald's signature on the registry of a restaurant in Hubertus, Wisconsin, dated September 16, 1963. Kennedy indeed had made a speech on September 24, 1963, in Ashland, Wisconsin, as part of a nationwide conservation tour. The FBI rejected the signature as Oswald's and this subject received little attention outside Wisconsin.)

Deputy Cash explained why the men had not made this story public earlier:

"Because at that time it was a pretty hot issue, you remember. So we kept quiet and went along with the game. We figured it would be handled on a higher level (than us). And when it didn't come out, we thought at that time possibly they (the Warren Commission) thought that kind of information tying it into the Cubans or Russians couldn't be released at that time because it might put us in World War III."

Wade finally admitted that the incident with the box of documents "might well have happened," but added, "but I know that whatever they had didn't amount to nothing." Whether it did or not may never be known because as far as any official investigation, the box simply never existed. With the disappearance of any documentation of a Ruby-Oswald link, researchers are left with only a multiplicity of anecdotes and stories. But the number and consistency of these stories - coupled with the demonstrable efforts on the part of both Dallas and federal authorities to suppress and ignore such evidence - leads most researchers to conclude that the stories which still circulate in Dallas of a Ruby-Oswald relationship may have some basis in fact.

Even former Dallas Police Chief Curry seems to indicate such a relationship existed in his 1969 book by noting:

"Witnesses to the shooting (of Oswald) wondered if there wasn't a gleam of recognition in Oswald's eye when Ruby stepped out from the newsmen...."

Whether it can ever be conclusively proven that Ruby and Oswald were in contact, there is no doubt that Ruby was in touch with associates of mob and Teamster leaders - and that telephone calls with them markedly increased in the days leading up to the assassination.

In March 1963, Ruby made less than 10 long-distance calls and from May to September this number averaged between 25 and 35. But Ruby's toll calls climbed to more than 70 in October and almost 100 in November. This surge in phone traffic also intrigued Warren Commission investigators Hubert and Griffin, who asked the FBI to make a thorough examination of all calls by Ruby, his family and associates. They also requested the Bureau to have phone companies in Texas, Nevada, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Detroit, Boston, New York, Washington, Miami and New Orleans freeze all records until they could be studied by the Commission staff. Apparently this was never done. Griffin later told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that while the Bureau did compile some telephone information, it was not the comprehensive check he had asked for and that "no request to freeze records was made to telephone companies." When the House Committee got around to requesting these same records, most had been routinely destroyed.

Nevertheless, enough information on Ruby's calls has become available to paint a portrait of a man frantically touching bases across the nation as November 22, 1963, approached. Some of Ruby's calls could be dismissed as obviously personal or business communications, although some - such as

frequent calls to Harold Tannenbaum, who ran several New Orleans nightclubs that were owned at least in part by mob boss Carlos Marcello - may have served double purposes. For instance, Ruby made at least seven traceable calls to his "mentor" gambler Lewis McWillie beginning in June 1963. He also was in touch with Irwin S. Weiner, a bondsman and insurance agent connected with Santos Trafficante, Sam Giancana and several other Crime Syndicate figures. He also placed a 17-minute call in early November to Robert "Barney" Baker, identified as "Hoffa's ambassador of violence" by Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Near the end of October, Ruby placed a call to Nofio Pecora, one of Marcello's closest associates. The House Committee developed information that Pecora owned the Tropical Court Tourist Park, a New Orleans trailer court in which Tannenbaum lived. When questioned by House investigators all of these telephone contacts said the Ruby calls were innocuous and pertained only to some union problems Ruby was having with the American Guild of Variety Artists (AGVA).

The Committee concluded:

"We were no more satisfied with (this) explanation than we were with McWillie's, Weiner's, or Baker's."

But union disagreements were not the only problem facing Ruby in the fall of 1963.

According to the Warren Commission:

"In 1960, the Government filed tax liens for more than \$20,000 (against Ruby). In November 1962, the Government rejected Ruby's offer to pay \$8,000 to compromise the assessed taxes of more than \$20,000 because he had not filed returns for other federal taxes and had not paid these taxes as they became due. These other taxes...amounted to an additional \$20,000."

The House Committee determined that Ruby tax liability may have been closer to \$60,000 than the \$40,000 mentioned by the Warren Commission. Testimony from Ruby's friends and acquaintances confirmed that he was complaining of his tax debts to anyone who would listen.

On June 6, 1963, Ruby's attorney, Graham R.E. Koch, informed the Internal Revenue Service that his client would settle his debts "as soon as arrangements can be made to borrow money..." However, an FBI check of more than 50 banking institutions revealed no attempt by Ruby to borrow money legitimately. Did Ruby turn to the mob for help? His flurry of phone calls would seem to indicate this as well as a secret trip to Las Vegas two weekends prior to the assassination.

Recall that Marguerite Oswald claimed she was fired from her job after her employers made a trip to Las Vegas (See LEE HARVEY OSWALD). The Warren Commission rejected the idea that Ruby visited America's gambling capital but the House Committee found "credible evidence" that Ruby was there.

Both a cashier and the credit manager of the Stardust Hotel recalled that a man named Ruby, who claimed to own a club in Dallas, attempted to cash a check one weekend in mid-November. The FBI confirmed this trip through "confidential information."

Ruby's lawyer later told newsman Seth Kantor that it was right after this alleged trip that Ruby told him "he had a connection who would supply him with money to settle his long-standing government tax problems."

Taking the long view, House Committee Chief Counsel Robert Blakey noted:

"Ruby's business was in deep financial difficulty, complicated by the dispute with AGVA over "amateur" strippers and serious tax problems."

After pointing out Ruby's union and tax problems as well as his capacity for violence, his underworld missions to Cuba and his familiarity with the Dallas Police, Blakey concluded: "Whatever else may be inferred from Ruby's conduct in the summer and fall of 1963, it at least established that he was an available means to effect Oswald's elimination."

Crossfire: The Oswald Shooting

The Warren Commission - and hence the news media - reported in 1963-64 that the shooting of Lee Harvey Oswald by Jack Ruby was the spontaneous act of a grief-stricken man who was concerned with the possibility of Mrs. Kennedy having to return to Dallas to testify against Oswald. Today that story, still repeated in the news media, has been shown to be a lie and a legal ploy. Less than three hours after shooting Oswald, Ruby was visited by Dallas attorney Tom Howard. Months later during his trial, Ruby scribbled a note to attorney Joe H. Tonahill saying:

"Joe, you should know this. Tom Howard told me to say that I shot Oswald so that Caroline and Mrs. Kennedy wouldn't have to come to Dallas to testify. OK?"

Ruby also admitted this ploy to attorney Melvin Belli, as recorded in his book, "Dallas Justice." Belli wrote that Ruby told him:

"We know I did it for Jackie and the kids....Maybe I ought to forget this silly story that I'm telling, and get on the stand and tell the truth."

These confessions coupled with the movements of Ruby during the assassination weekend all portray a man who consciously stalked Oswald - propelled by motives which were not his own -before finally shooting him in the basement of the Dallas Police Station.

According to information developed by both the Warren Commission and the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Ruby awoke about 9:30 a.m. on the day of the assassination and drove to the offices of the "Dallas Morning News" where he tried to visit entertainment columnist Tony Zoppi. Failing to find Zoppi, Ruby said he went to the paper's advertising office and began to compose ad copy for his club.

Ruby claimed to have remained at the paper from nearly 11 a.m. until well after the assassination and several "News" employees, such as John Newman and Wanda Walker, confirmed this. However, all the accounts of Ruby at the newspaper contain gaps when he was out of sight. One reporter told the FBI that Ruby was "missed for a period of about 20 to 25 minutes" before reappearing shortly after the assassination. Considering the "Dallas Morning News" is only two blocks from Dealey Plaza, there is every reason to believe that Ruby could have been there - as claimed by Julia Ann Mercer, Jean Hill, Phil Willis and Policeman Tom Tilson - and still hurried back to the paper before 1 p.m.

In fact, many researchers and others have claimed that Ruby's presence at the "News" was a stratagem calculated to give him an iron-clad alibi for the time of the assassination. His visit certainly achieved this purpose, if it was so planned. According to Ruby, he drove back to the Carousel Club after learning of the assassination at the newspaper. However, club employee Andrew Armstrong later stated that Ruby did not come to the club until nearly 2 p.m. and several witnesses - newsmen Seth Kantor and Roy Stamps and Wilma Tice - placed Ruby at Parkland Hospital (See TWO HOSPITALS). Ruby made several phone calls from the Carousel Club that afternoon and was visibly upset, according to the accounts of employees. He claimed he left the club late in the afternoon, but was reported seen in the crowded Dallas Police headquarters between 4 and 4:30 p.m. Various persons, including a reporter and policemen placed Ruby at the police station at different places and time between 4 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. By 9 p.m., according to phone records, Ruby was back at his apartment and at 10 p.m., he visited a Dallas synagogue. Shortly after 11 p.m. Ruby was back at Dallas police headquarters armed with about a dozen sandwiches he had bought to give to officers.

One officer has even told Texas researchers he saw Ruby enter Capt. Fritz's office while Oswald was undergoing interrogation. Ruby was still there shortly after midnight when Oswald was taken to a basement assembly room for a news conference. Mingling with newsmen, Ruby ended up in the rear of the room where he elbowed his way onto a table past news photographer Tony Record. Record later said he thought Ruby was a fellow newsman but could not understand his insistence on standing on the table when he didn't carry a camera. It was during this news conference that a singular incident occurred which many researchers have pointed to as evidence of Ruby's intimate knowledge of Oswald and his activities. Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade, in briefing newsmen about Oswald's background, stated he belonged to the Free Cuba Committee. Whereupon Ruby corrected Wade by shouting out:

"Henry, that's the Fair Play for Cuba Committee."

While Ruby later claimed to have heard of Oswald's Fair Play for Cuba Committee affiliation over a local radio station that afternoon, it nevertheless struck researchers as most odd that this nightclub owner with no known politics would note the difference between the anti-Castro Free Cuba Committee and the pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Of course, this knowledge would not seem at all odd

if the accounts of a Ruby-Oswald relationship are true.

The midnight news conference was tumultuous and if Ruby's plan was to silence Oswald there, it is obvious there was never a clear shot. Ruby contented himself by helping to set up an interview between Wade and radio station KLIF. Ruby later explained his actions by saying:

"I think it is a childish thing, but I met Henry Wade some time back and I knew he would recognize me."

The remainder of the night Ruby was a nervous bundle of activity. He reportedly brought sandwiches and drinks to news personnel at KLIF radio and sometime after 2 a.m. drove around downtown encountering one of his strippers, Kay Coleman known as Kathy Kay, with Dallas Policeman Harry Olsen. During this supposedly chance meeting, Ruby was exhorted to move against Oswald, if his account can be believed. He told the Warren Commission:

"...they talked and they carried on, and they thought I was the greatest guy in the world, and he stated they should cut this guy (Oswald) into ribbons, and so on. And she said, "Well, if he was in England, they would drag him through the streets and would have hung him." ...They kept me from leaving. They were constantly talking and were in a pretty dramatic mood. They were crying and carrying on."

Ruby claimed he then went to the "Dallas Times Herald" where he delivered a twist board -one of his many sales gimmicks - to a composing room worker. Returning to his apartment, he said picked up his roommate, George Senator, then returned to his club. At the club he claimed to have gathered up a Polaroid camera, some film and employee Larry Crafard and drove out on a Dallas expressway to photograph an "Impeach Earl Warren" sign before returning to bed.

Saturday, Ruby was back at the police station and he telephoned a local radio station asking for any news about when Oswald would be transferred to the county jail. He was seen about town by several people and even claimed to have visited Dealey Plaza where he "...saw the wreaths on the Plaza and started to cry again."

After brief stops at the Carousel Club and the Dallas Police Station, Ruby reportedly was at his apartment during the early part of the evening. Then he drove to his club, made some phone calls, then visited the Pago Club. After stopping again briefly at the closed Carousel Club, Ruby claimed to have gone back to his apartment and gone to bed. All in all, even considering that much of what is known of Ruby's movements during that weekend is confusing and contradictory, it is evident that the man was in a nervous, anxious condition and touching bases all over town - especially the Dallas Police Station where Oswald was being held.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations noted:

"These sightings, along with the one on Friday night, could indicate that Ruby was pursuing Oswald's movements throughout the weekend.

And it was in the early morning hours of November 24, 1963, that Ruby may have tried to avert his rapidly-approaching confrontation with Oswald."

Even the Warren Commission noted this strange incident by reporting:

"...between 2:30 and 3 a.m., the local office of the FBI and the sheriff's office received telephone calls from an unidentified man who warned that a committee had decided "to kill the man that killed the President." ...The police department and ultimately Chief Curry were informed of both threats."

What the public was not told was that the man who took one of the calls recognized the voice of Jack Ruby! Dallas Police Lieutenant Billy R. Grammer was a young officer working in the communications room early on November 24, 1963. A man called and asked to know who was on duty that morning. After hearing Grammer's name, the caller asked to speak with him. Refusing to give his name - the caller said cryptically "I can't tell you that, but you know me," - the man detailed to Grammer the plans to transfer Oswald, even to the use of a decoy vehicle, and added:

"You're going to have to make some other plans or we're going to kill Oswald right there in the basement."

Grammer and his superior took the warning seriously to the extent of writing up a report for Chief Curry.

Later in the morning, Grammer was awakened by his wife who told him that Jack Ruby had just shot Oswald in the basement of the police station. A stunned Grammer told his wife that he suddenly realized that the familiar voice on the phone was Ruby. In 1988, Grammer told British television that he remains convinced that the caller was Ruby -especially in light of a chance meeting and conversation

with he had with Ruby in a restaurant near police headquarters only a week before the call. Of course, if the caller was Ruby and if he did have inside knowledge of the Oswald transfer as detailed by the caller, than it is clear that the shooting of Oswald involved others besides Ruby. Despite these clear warnings and a few minor changes in the transfer plans as a result, the execution of Oswald went off according to plan.

Ruby told the FBI and the Warren Commission that he remained at his apartment until after 10 a.m. on that Sunday morning when he left to mail a money order to Lynn Carlin, but several witnesses and a call from a cleaning lady seems to belie that notion. Ruby's roommate Senator also tried to say that Ruby was home in the early morning but his story proved inconsistent and even the Warren Commission expressed suspicions about it. As early as 8 a.m. Warren Richey, a cameraman for WBAP-TV in nearby Fort Worth, reported seeing a man that he was "positive, pretty sure in my own mind" was Jack Ruby in front of the Dallas Police Station. Richey's observation was corroborated by two other WBAP newsmen, Ira Walker and John Smith. Smith also saw the man about 8 a.m. and, with Walker, about 10 a.m. when the same man approached them and asked, "Has he (Oswald) been brought down yet?"

The three newsmen were amazed a short time later when Ruby's mug shot was broadcast over the air. Walker told the Warren Commission:

"Well, about four of us pointed at him at the same time in the (mobile broadcast) truck, I mean, we all recognized him at the same time."

Characteristically, the Warren Commission downplayed their testimony and suggested they were all mistaken, choosing rather to believe Ruby.

The Commission also failed to seriously consider the statements of Ray Rushing, a Plano, Texas, preacher who had tried to visit Oswald at the police station that morning. Shortly after Oswald's death, Rushing told Dallas Police Lieutenant Jack Revill that he had held a brief conversation with Ruby about 9:30 a.m. during a ride in a police station elevator. Revill, in his report, evaluated Rushing as "truthful," but noted that District Attorney Wade "didn't need (Rushing's) testimony, because he had placed Ruby there the morning of the shooting."

Was Ruby at his apartment as he claimed rather than skulking about the police station? A call from a cleaning woman has been used to show that he was indeed home. However, consider the call made by 60-year-old Mrs. Elnora Pitts. Pitts, who had the on-going job of cleaning Ruby's apartment every Sunday, called sometime just after 8 a.m. November 24. She told the Warren Commission she called each Sunday to verify if she should work that day. She said a man answered and she identified herself but the man didn't seem to recognize her name or the fact that she was to clean the apartment. Finally the man said, "Yes, you can come, but you call me." "That's what I'm doing now..." replied the exasperated Mrs. Pitts. By now the woman was frightened by this man who didn't seem to know her. She also said the man "sounded terrible strange to me...he never did sound like hisself."

But regardless of where Jack Ruby was earlier on Sunday morning, he was definitely in the Western Union office located just down the street from the police station at 11:17 a.m. That is the time stamped on Ruby's receipt for \$25 which he was sending to Karen Carlin in Fort Worth. Carlin, who also had worked for Pat Kirkwood's Cellar in Fort Worth (See G MEN), told Dallas police she had talked to Ruby earlier that morning:

"I needed \$25 to pay my rent and he said he had to go downtown anyway, so he would send it to Western Union in Fort Worth. Jack seemed upset. I picked the money up at Western Union 10 minutes after we heard he had shot Oswald. I was afraid they would keep my money or something, since Jack had sent it, but they gave it me without question. When I talked to him that morning, he sounded like his voice was going to crack any minute and he did sound like he had been crying and was very upset. I had to keep saying, "Jack, Jack, are you there?" and he would just say, "Yes."

The time Ruby sent the \$25 money order was only four minutes from the time he shot Oswald. For years, supporters of the official version of the assassination have argued that if Ruby intended to shoot Oswald he could not have known that the transfer would be delayed almost an hour and he would not have sent the money order. Therefore, they say, Ruby's shooting of Oswald must have been a spontaneous act. Most serious researchers now understand that the shooting of Oswald was not predicated on Ruby knowing the exact time of his transfer, but rather conversely that Oswald was transferred only after Ruby was in a position to shoot him.

This idea of a conspiracy to silence Oswald is based on several known facts. One of the most

tantalizing of these is the story told by respected reporter Seth Kantor, author of "Who Was Jack Ruby?" According to Kantor, George Senator, Ruby's roommate, was at the Eatwell Cafe near the police station the morning Ruby shot Oswald. Reportedly, Senator went to a pay phone and called Dallas Attorney Jim Martin and asked Martin to represent his friend Ruby for murdering the accused assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald. Minutes later news came over the radio that Oswald had been shot. Yet, Ruby's roommate was arranging legal representation BEFORE the event.

Other facts pointing to a conspiracy to kill Oswald include the fact that Ruby was in and out of the police station the entire weekend, apparently stalking Oswald; Ruby (or someone) tried to warn the authorities of Oswald's death even relating specific police precautions; and both the mob and the federal Government had enough leverage on Ruby to force him to such an act. Only a minute or so before the Oswald shooting, Ruby's initial lawyer, Tom Howard - the one who cooked up his concern over Mrs. Kennedy as a motive - entered the police station and peered through the basement jail office window just as Oswald was being taken off the elevator. Dallas Detective H.L. McGee later that day reported:

...At this time, Oswald was brought off the jail elevator and Tom Howard turned away from the window and went back toward the Harwood Street door. He waved at me as he went by and said, "That's all I wanted to see." Shortly after that I heard a shot."

Detective Jim Leavelle, one of the men handcuffed to Oswald, told this author he never understood the reason for the nearly one hour delay in transferring Oswald, but that Capt. Will Fritz gave him the order to move just after conferring with FBI and Secret Service officials.

In 1963-64, the federal Government in the form of the Warren Commission offered a simple explanation for Oswald's death. It stated that Ruby strolled down the police department's Main Street ramp to the basement minutes after mailing the money order and, by sheer happenstance, arrived within shooting distance of Oswald.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations was not so confident of this theory. It reported:

"...Ruby probably did not come down the ramp, and that his most likely route was an alleyway located next to the Dallas Municipal Building and a stairway leading to the basement garage of police headquarters."

The Committee also turned history around by concluding:

"...Ruby's shooting of Oswald was not a spontaneous act in that it involved at least some premeditation. Similarly, the committee believed it was less likely that Ruby entered the police basement without assistance, even though the assistance may have been provided with no knowledge of Ruby's intentions....The committee was troubled by the apparently unlocked doors along the stairway route and the removal of security guards from the area of the garage nearest the stairway shortly before the shooting....There is also evidence that the Dallas Police Department withheld relevant information from the Warren Commission concerning Ruby's entry to the scene of the Oswald transfer."

Ruby himself appeared to support the idea of police aid in reaching Oswald when he told the Warren Commission:

"...who else could have timed it so perfectly by seconds. If it were timed that way, then someone in the police department is guilty of giving the information as to when Lee Harvey Oswald was coming down."

Then there are the words of mob boss Johnny Roselli. According to columnist Jack Anderson, Roselli once told him:

"When Oswald was picked up, the underworld conspirators feared he would crack and disclose information that might lead to them. This almost certainly would have brought a massive U.S. crackdown on the Mafia. So Jack Ruby was ordered to eliminate Oswald..."

But how could Ruby have known the transfer plans in such detail as to be at the right place at the right time? Researchers have several explanations. The most obvious is that someone within the Dallas Police tipped Ruby to the plans. However, it is equally possible that the tip came from federal authorities, who were being kept completely up to date on police actions.

Yet another explanation came in 1977 when John W. Curington, for 12 years a special assistant to Dallas oil billionaire H.L. Hunt, revealed an odd incident.

According to Curington:

"The day after Oswald was arrested, I was called urgently to Hunt's office. Hunt told me he wanted me to find out what security measures surrounded Oswald at the Dallas Police headquarters and city jail. I was an attorney...so that gave me a perfect official excuse for being at the police station. While the police were interrogating Oswald, I walked in and out of the station three times. I was never stopped or challenged and the briefcase which I carried was never searched -even when I ended up on the same elevator with Oswald and a policeman. Oswald had blood trickling from the corner of his mouth and a bloody Band-Aid on his forehead. I assumed he had been "worked over" by the police. I could have easily killed him right then. During my visits to the station, I took all the time I needed to see where the exits, desk clerks, elevators and guards were. Late that night, Hunt insisted I give him a full report of what I had seen inside the station, particularly the elevators which brought prisoners down from the holding cells. I told Hunt there was no security around Oswald. Hunt was delighted. He was elated. But he never told me why he wanted the report. I never questioned his orders - I just carried them out."

Studying the films of the Oswald shooting has given researchers valuable insight into what happened - particularly a film still held by WBAP-TV in Fort Worth.

WBAP-TV continues to be the NBC affiliate in the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex and on November 24, 1963, had a remote truck and cameras at the Dallas Police Station. One camera was set up across the Main Street Ramp driveway and was running more than 30 minutes prior to Oswald's arrival in the basement (The transfer, originally set for about 10:30 a.m., was delayed by further questioning of Oswald in Fritz's office. Oswald finally arrived in the basement about 11:20 a.m. He was shot moments later.) The camera continued filming long after the shooting.

This documentary of the incident is intriguing seen in its entirety:

"About a quarter of an hour prior to Oswald's arrival, a car moves out of the basement garage area and up the Main Street ramp. Its horn is sounded loudly as a warning to people on the sidewalk above. Newsmen and police, both uniform and plain clothes, mill about in expectation.

Then over a minute or so before Oswald arrives, another horn blows but the sound is more muted, indicating that the car may be farther back in the garage area.

Moments later, the jail elevator doors open and Oswald is brought out. "Here he comes," shout the newsmen, crowding up towards the jail office door. Police push them back forming a corridor through the crowd."

One reporter jams a microphone near Oswald's face and shouts:

"Do you have anything to say in your defense?"

Just at that moment, Jack Ruby moves in from behind the camera and shoves his .38-caliber snub-nosed revolver into Oswald's stomach. The bang is quite audible and Oswald cries out in pain. Police immediately swarm over Ruby, knocking him to the floor. One of them calls out:

"Jack, you son of a bitch!"

Both Oswald and Ruby are hustled back into the jail office while stunned newsmen are reporting:

"Oswald has been shot! Oswald has been shot!"

Soon these reporters are interviewing the officers who, moments before, had been standing unnoticed beside them. Their questions tumble out:

"What happened? Did you know that man? Where did he come from?"

Their responses are intriguing. More than a couple indicated that they indeed recognized Jack Ruby but they declined to give his name or say more.

More than one officer says he thought Oswald's assailant came from the vacinate of a green car parked in the police garage."

Taken in total, this film of the shooting indicates that Ruby came through the parked cars in the basement and may have paused near a green car, perhaps the very car which sounded its horn moments before Oswald was brought down. Some researchers believe this horn honk may have been a signal to move Oswald because Ruby was in position.

The film also indicates that many of the officers in the police basement recognized Ruby right away. Detective Leavelle told this author he both recognized Ruby and saw the gun in his hand as he stepped from the crowd of reporters, but that he was powerless to do anything in the split second it took to shoot Oswald.

Leavelle recalled the shooting:

"Captain Fritz had been talking to some men with the FBI and Secret Service when he turned and said, "All clear, take him down." ...We went down the elevator to the basement. An unmarked car was supposed to be right there for us but it wasn't. It was a few feet from where it was supposed to be. There was a pack of newsmen right close to us. We were heading for the car, L.C. (Graves) and I, with Oswald between us. Out of the corner of my eye I saw Ruby step out from the crowd. He was crouched and he had a pistol. He took a couple of steps and pulled that trigger. Ruby was aiming dead center at Oswald. I had a grip on the top of Oswald's trousers. When I saw Ruby, I tried to jerk Oswald aside to get him out of the way. I succeeded in turning him. The bullet hit him in the side rather than straight into the stomach."

Oswald was pushed to the floor by Leavelle while Graves grabbed Ruby. Graves told researcher Edward Oxford:

"By the time Ruby got that shot off, why I had him down. His hand was still flexing. I was saying to him, "Turn it loose! Turn it loose!" I pried his finger off the trigger. He was still trying to work it. Empty the gun into Oswald, I expect, if he could. Officers were jumping on Ruby to get him to the floor. Oswald said, "Owww!" and fell back. That was the last thing he ever said."

Police Chief Curry, who had to face so much criticism after the death of his prisoner, wasn't at the scene of the transfer. He later wrote:

"As I was walking down the corridor (toward the jail office) I was called to take a phone call from Dallas Mayor Cabell in my office. He was interested in the progress of the investigation. Since other officers were in charge of moving Oswald and everything was in order, I stayed in my office to give the report to Mayor Cabell."

Researchers over the years have been struck by an odd fact. Part of the plan for security in the transfer involved focusing attention on an armored car which newsmen were told would carry Oswald to the county jail. The armored car was a decoy. Oswald was to have been transported in a unmarked police car. This car was only feet from where he was shot. Yet rather than load Oswald into the police car standing by and rush him to a hospital, the mortally-wounded prisoner was taken back into the jail office where police gave him artificial respiration while waiting for an ambulance to arrive. Ruby's one shot had been remarkably efficient. It traversed Oswald's lower abdomen, rupturing two main arteries carrying blood to the heart, torn through the spleen, pancreas, liver and the right kidney. Obviously, pumping on his chest was the worst possible reaction to the internal bleeding caused by the abdominal wound. Chief Curry, having finally arrived in the basement, noted that when the ambulance arrived:

Oswald was already white as a sheet and looked dead as he was loaded on a stretcher.

Oswald was taken to Parkland Hospital where he was pronounced dead at 1:07 p.m.

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Meanwhile, Jack Ruby had been hustled out of the police basement and taken, ironically enough, to the jail cell which had been vacated by Oswald earlier that morning.

Ruby asked his captors:

"What happened?"

From that point on Ruby displayed an odd inability to recall the Oswald shooting with any clarity.

Furthermore, one of the Auto Theft detectives in charge of placing Ruby in jail was struck by the oddness of his behavior immediately after the shooting.

Don Ray Archer told British television in 1988:

"His behavior to begin with was very hyper. He was sweating profusely. I could see his heart beating. We had stripped him down for security purposes. He asked me for one of my cigarettes. I gave him a cigarette. Finally after about two hours had elapsed...the head of the Secret Service came up and I conferred with him and he told me that Oswald...had died. This should have shocked (Ruby) because it would mean the death penalty. I returned and said, "Jack, it looks like it's going to be the electric chair for you." Instead of being shocked, he became calm, he quit sweating, his heart slowed. I asked him if he wanted a cigarette and he advised me he didn't smoke. I was just astonished at this complete difference of behavior from what I had expected. I would say his life had depended on him getting Oswald."

On November 27, 1963, a Dallas grand jury indicted Jack Ruby for the murder of Oswald. There was never any doubt that he did it. After all, only a handful of Americans failed to see what undoubtedly has been the most widely viewed homicide in history. The networks ran replays of the shooting over and over. Because of this publicity, a change of venue hearing was conducted on February 10, 1964, but changing the location of Ruby's trial was denied. Jury selection began on February 17 and ended on March 3. Ruby's trial began the next day. Ten days later on March 14, 1964, the jury - eight men and four women, all white, all Protestants and all but two native Texans - returned a verdict of guilty and assessed death as his punishment. This decision was appealed.

Many people considered Ruby a hero for eliminating Kennedy's presumed assassin. Cards and letters - even money - came from all over. Ruby's attorney, Tom Howard, echoed their sentiment when he stated:

"I think Ruby deserves a Congressional medal."

But despite the favorable pre-trial publicity, Ruby never had much of a chance in the Dallas of those days. As right-wing assistant district attorney Bill Alexander explained to newsman Seth Kantor:

"Jack Ruby was about as handicapped as you can get in Dallas. First he was a Yankee. Second, he was a Jew. Third, he was in the nightclub business."

To appeal to the mindset of Dallas at that time, Ruby's brother Earl insisted that his brother's friend, attorney Joe Tonahill, take part in his defense. Tonahill had the East Texas drawl and the rural mannerisms more acceptable to a Dallas jury.

But the heavyweight of Ruby's defense was flamboyant San Francisco super-attorney Melvin Belli, who quickly set himself at odds with the down-home provincialism of Dallas.

In his book, "Dallas Justice," Belli tells of overhearing talk while getting his hair cut during the trial. He wrote:

"The barber had just started to adjust the towel around my neck when I heard someone say, "...and they got those Jew psychiatrists out from Maryland." "Yeah," said someone else, "those slick Jew psychiatrists with their slick Jew lawyers." Hitler had been out of power 19 years but that was simply Nazi stuff. I swept away the towel and...stood straight up and gave the Nazi salute. "Achtung!" I yelled. "Achtung! Heil Hitler!" And I goose-stepped out of the place while the barber stood there open mouthed, holding the towel in his outstretched hands."

Belli's avenue of defense was to have Ruby declared a victim of "temporary insanity" due to "psychomotor epilepsy." To this end, Belli put a string of psychiatrists on the stand to testify. It also meant that he would not allow Ruby to take the stand on his own behalf. This failure to allow Ruby to testify, coupled with the tight security in the Dallas County Jail, effectively kept Ruby isolated from the news media and the public. Ruby even cautioned his few visitors to the jail that his conversations were being recorded and monitored.

One of the only reporters to get a private interview with Ruby during his trial was nationally-syndicated columnist Dorothy Kilgallen, who prevailed on lawyer Tonahill to arrange the meeting with presiding Judge Joe B. Brown. She claimed to have a message for Ruby from a mutual friend who "may have been some kind of singer." Judge Brown, impressed with the famous Broadway newspaperwoman, agreed and, according to Kilgallen biographer Lee Israel, the pair met in a small office behind the judge's bench without the presence of the four sheriffs' deputies which were always at Ruby's side. Israel wrote:

"They were together privately for about eight minutes in what may have been the only safe house Ruby had occupied since his arrest."

Although Kilgallen mentioned this unique private meeting with Ruby to close friends, she did not publicly write about it. The fact that she did not publicly disclose what she learned in this meeting prompted author Israel to write:

"That she withheld suggests strongly that she was either saving the information for her book, "Murder One," a chapter of which she had decided to devote to the Ruby trial; that he furnished her with a lead which she was actively pursuing; that he exacted a promise of confidentiality from her; or that she was acting merely as a courier. Each possibility puts her in the thick of things."

Israel also records that toward the end of her life, Kilgallen may have obtained inside assassination information from yet another source. He wrote:

"Dorothy began to draw drinking companions to her. Joan Crawford...was among

them. She toiled around with Crawford...They boozed abundantly together in the back of Crawford's touring car, which was well stocked with hundred-proof vodka."

Recall that, upon the death of her husband, Crawford became a principal owner of Pepsi-Cola, the firm which counted Richard Nixon as an attorney. Both Nixon and Crawford had been in Dallas the week of the assassination and may have been privy to more information than the public was receiving.

Whatever information Kilgallen learned and from whatever source, many researchers believe it brought about her strange death.

She told attorney Mark Lane:

"They've killed the President, (and) the government is not prepared to tell us the truth... and that she planned to break the case."

To other friends she said:

"This has to be a conspiracy! (The Warren Commission is) laughable...I'm going to break the real story and have the biggest scoop of the century."

And in her last column item regarding the assassination, published on September 3, 1965, Kilgallen wrote:

"This story isn't going to die as long as there's a real reporter alive -and there are a lot of them."

But on November 8, 1965, there was one less reporter. That day Dorothy Kilgallen was found dead in her home. (See CONVENIENT DEATHS) It was initially reported that she died of a heart attack, but quickly this was changed to an overdose of alcohol and pills. Her death certificate, dated November 15, 1965, stated the cause of death was:

"... acute ethanol and barbiturate intoxication - circumstances undetermined."

Biographer Israel wrote:

"After three years of investigating the events surrounding Dorothy's death, it is clear to me that she did not die accidentally and that a network of varied activities, impelled by disparate purposes, conspired effectively to obfuscate the truth."

No trace of her notes or writings about what she may have learned from Ruby or Crawford was ever found.

And Kilgallen was not the only person close to the Ruby aspect of the assassination to die under strange circumstances. Shortly after dark the day Ruby shot Oswald, two reporters, Bill Hunter of the "Long Beach (California) Press Telegram" and Jim Koethe of the "Dallas Times Herald," joined Ruby attorney Tom Howard and Ruby's roommate, George Senator, in Ruby's Oak Cliff apartment. The group toured through Ruby's apartment, discussing the assassination and its aftermath. The first of this group to die was newsman Bill Hunter, who was fatally shot while reading a book in the Long Beach police station on the night of April 23, 1964. A policeman claimed his gun accidentally discharged striking Hunter in the heart. Another policeman present testified he didn't see the shooting because his back was turned. Next was reporter Koethe, who was killed by a karate chop to his neck as he stepped from the shower in his Dallas apartment on September 21, 1964. No suspect was ever charged with this murder, but two of Hunter's notebooks which he was using to write a book on the assassination turned up missing. A few months after Koethe's death, in March 1965, friends of lawyer Tom Howard noticed he was acting strangely. On March 27, Howard was taken to a Dallas hospital where he died. His death was attributed to heart attack, although no autopsy was performed.

During Ruby's trial, Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade, made a strong case for premeditation but carefully skirted the issue of conspiracy. According to the "Fort Worth Star-Telegram" of March 18, 1964, Wade's "big decision" was not to call witnesses "who insisted they had seen Ruby and Oswald together at various times."

A parade of police witnesses recalled various remarks reportedly made by Ruby at the time of the shooting, such as:

"You rotten son of a bitch, you shot the President....I intended to get off three shots....I did it because you (the police) couldn't do it....I did it to show the world that Jews have guts....I first thought of killing him at the Friday night press conference."

It was such statements as these, as well as Judge Brown's refusal of a change of venue, which prompted the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals to reverse Ruby's conviction on October 5, 1966. The appeals court ordered a new trial but Ruby died before this could take place.

Although Ruby was not allowed to testify at his trial, he was interviewed by the Warren Commission on June 7, 1964. Representing the Warren Commission were Chief Justice Earl Warren and Rep.

Gerald R. Ford along with General Counsel J. Lee Rankin, and staff attorneys Arlen Specter and Joseph Ball. Also present were attorneys Leon Jaworski and Robert G. Storey, who were acting as liaison between the Commission and Texas authorities; Secret Service Agent Elmer W. Moore; Dallas assistant district attorney Jim Bowie; Sheriff Bill Decker; Ruby attorney Joe Tonahill and several Dallas police officers. Oddly enough, due to an internal squabble over the handling of Dallas witnesses, the two Commission staffers who were in charge of the Ruby investigation - Leon Hubert and Burt Griffin - were not allowed to sit in on this important interview. It was during this interview that Ruby vacillated between sticking to his prearranged story and trying to hint at the truth. After about an hour of a rambling account of his activities prior to shooting Oswald and some rather innocuous questions - for example, Rankin asked, "Did you have this gun a long while that you did the shooting with?" - Warren appeared ready to wrap up the interview. Sensing this, Ruby said:

"You can get more out of me. Let's not break up too soon."

Ford then began questioning Ruby about his trips to Cuba in 1959, but just as the answers appeared to be leading into fruitful territory, Warren cut Ford off and changed the subject.

Tonahill later told newsman Seth Kantor:

"Ford never did finish his interrogation on Cuba. Warren blocked Ford out on it. That was very impressive, I thought. Ford gave him a hard look, too. I was sitting right there and saw it happen."

Ruby became desperate, saying:

"Gentlemen, my life is in danger here....Do I sound sober enough to you as I say this?...Then follow this up. I may not live tomorrow to give any further testimony....the only thing I want to get out to the public, and I can't say it here, is with authenticity, with sincerity of the truth of everything and why my act was committed, but it can't be said here....Chairman Warren, if you felt that your life was in danger at the moment, how would you feel? Wouldn't you be reluctant to go on speaking, even though you request me to do so?"

Having previously voiced the suspicion that his words and actions were being monitored in Dallas, Ruby then began to ask to be taken out of his present circumstances, saying:

"Gentlemen, if you want to hear any further testimony, you will have to get me to Washington soon, because it has something to do with you, Chief Warren....I want to tell the truth and I can't tell it here. Does that make sense to you?"

Ruby begged to be taken to Washington, away from Dallas, at least eight times. He complained that his "life was in danger...(My) whole family is in jeopardy." He was shrugged off by Warren, who replied:

"There are a good many things involved in that, Mr. Ruby."

Asked to explain, Warren said:

"Well, the public attention that it would attract, and the people who would be around. We have no place for you to be safe when we take you out, and we are not law enforcement officers, and it isn't our responsibility to go into anything of that kind. And certainly it couldn't be done on a moments notice this way."

Ruby grew more blunt:

"...If you don't take me back to Washington tonight to give me a chance to prove to the President that I am not guilty, then you will see the most tragic thing that will ever happen. And if you don't have the power to take me back, I won't be around to be able to prove my innocence or guilt....All I know is maybe something can be saved. Because right now, I want to tell you this. I am used as a scapegoat....Now maybe something can be saved. It may not be too late, whatever happens, if our President, Lyndon Johnson, knew the truth from me. But if I am eliminated, there won't be any way of knowing."

At another part of his interview, Ruby may have uttered an ironic truth. Asked if he knew Officer Tippit, he replied that "there was three Tippits on the force" but he knew only one and didn't think he was the murdered policeman. Incredibly, no one followed up on this to find out which Tippit Ruby did know and how did he know it wasn't the murdered officer. To this author's knowledge, there were no other Tippits on the police force at that time. Then Rankin asked him about a rumor that Ruby had been seen in the Carousel Club shortly before the assassination with a Mr. Weissman - the man who had paid for an anti-Kennedy newspaper ad - Officer Tippit and a rich Dallas oilman. Ruby said the story was untrue, then looking around the room, he proclaimed:

"I am as innocent regarding any conspiracy as any of you gentlemen in the room..."

In later years, the potential irony of this statement has not been lost on assassination researchers. As early as December 1963, Ruby had asked to be given a lie detector test - perhaps reasoning that such a test would bring out the truth by revealing his account of events to be false. During his meeting with Warren he again begged to be given a polygraph test and the Commission dutifully agreed. A polygraph test was administered to Ruby on July 18, 1964, and his answers were predictable: No, he had not known Oswald; No, he did not assist Oswald in the assassination; No, he did not shoot Oswald to silence him; Yes, he entered the police basement by the Main Street ramp; Yes, he told the Warren Commission the entire truth; No, he never did any business with Castro; No, he never met Oswald or Officer Tippit at his club. This test has been used over the years - as late as November 1988, by Warren Commission apologist David Belin - to support the contention that Ruby was not part of any conspiracy and only shot Oswald out of personal motives.

Few people bothered reading the last page of the Warren Report, where in Appendix XVII, J. Edgar Hoover commented:

"It should be pointed out that the polygraph, often referred to as "lie detector" is not in fact such a device....During the proceedings at Dallas, Texas, on July 18, 1964, Dr. William R. Beavers, a psychiatrist, testified that he would generally describe Jack Ruby as a "psychotic depressive." In view of the serious question raised as to Ruby's mental condition, no significance should be placed on the polygraph examination and it should be considered non conclusive as the charts cannot be relied upon."

Apparently unwilling or unable to see that Ruby was desperately trying to tell them something outside the surveillance of Dallas authorities, the Warren Commission entourage prepared to leave Ruby's interview. Failing to fully question Jack Ruby was one of the Commission's greatest mistakes - if it was a mistake.

A resigned Ruby told them:

"Well, you won't ever see me again. I tell you that...A whole new form of government is going to take over the country, and I know I won't live to see you another time."

He didn't.

Crossfire: Mysterious Death of Jack Ruby

In the days following his trial and interview by the Warren Commission, Jack Ruby's moods went from confident highs to suicidal lows. A prisoner with few opportunities to communicate with the outside, Ruby nevertheless was given the freedom of Sheriff Bill Decker's jail. He reportedly was able to roam freely, occasionally use the telephone and even slept in a corridor. But at all times he was under close guard, especially after several inept suicide attempts. On one occasion he tried to hang himself but there was not enough time to rip his clothing and fashion a knot before a guard got to him. Another time, Ruby became so despondent he tried to split his skull by running headlong into a wall. This attempt merely left him with a large knot on his head. His most pathetic attempt resulted from a guard going off for a drink of water. Quickly, Ruby unscrewed an over head light bulb, then threw water from his own glass onto his feet as a conduit. However, he couldn't reach the light socket with his finger while standing in the water. His guard, Deputy Sheriff Jess Stevenson found him ineffectually jumping up and down trying to complete the circuit. The attempt was "something nearly comical," Stevenson told newsman Seth Kantor.

As time dragged on and his isolation began to take its toll, Ruby became more despondent. His mood worsened after he came to believe that Stevenson, who had chatted at length with the prisoner after preaching the Bible to him, actually was passing information gleaned through the conversations back to Dallas authorities.

Long after the Warren Commission had issued its report in the fall of 1964 while waiting for the outcome of his conviction appeal, Ruby wrote a 16-page letter to a fellow prisoner who was leaving the jail. Ruby asked the prisoner to memorize names and facts in the letter, then destroy it. The prisoner, identified only as "John," decided to sell the letter however and it ended up in the hands of long-time researcher Penn Jones. Jones purchased the letter from New York autograph dealer Charles Hamilton, who had the document appraised as authentic.

The letter is disjointed, rambling and full of references to Nazis, the death of Jews and, most intriguing, derogatory references to Lyndon Johnson. Many researchers feel Ruby's letter, though written in a state of questionable mental equilibrium, laid bare some of his secret knowledge and fears. He wrote:

"First, you must realize that the people here want everyone to think I am crazy, so if what I know is actually (sic), and then no one will believe me, because of my supposed insanity. Now, I know that my time is running out...they plan on doing away with (me)...As soon as you get out you must read Texan looks at Lyndon ("A Texan Looks at Lyndon: A Study in Illegitimate Power" by J. Evetts Haley; Palo Duro Press, 1964) and it might open your eyes to a lot of things. This man (Johnson) is a Nazi in the worst order. For over a year now they have been doing away with my people....don't believe the Warren report, that was only put out to make me look innocent in that it would throw the Americans and all the European country's (sic) off guard....There are so many things that have been played with success that it would take all night to write them out....There wouldn't be any purpose of my writing you all of this unless your were convinced of how much I loved my country....I am going to die a horrible death anyway, so what would I have to gain by writing all this. So you must believe me....Johnson is going to try to have an all-out war with Russia and when that happens, Johnson and his cohorts will be on the side-lines where they won't get hurt, while the Americans may get wiped out. The only way this can be avoided is that if Russia would be informed as to (who) the real enemies are, and in that way they won't be tricked into starting a war with the U.S....One more thing, isn't it strange that Oswald who hasn't worked a lick most of his life, should be fortunate enough to get a job at the Book Bldg. two weeks. before the president himself didn't know as to when he was to visit Dallas, now where would a jerk like Oswald get the information that the president was coming to Dallas. Only one person could have had that information, and that man was Johnson who knew weeks in advance as to what was going to happen because he is the one who was going to arrange the trip for president, this had been planned long before president himself knew about (it), so you figure that one out. The only one who gained by the shooting of the president was Johnson, and he was in a car in the rear and safe when the shooting took place. What would the Russians, Castro or anyone else have to gain by eliminating the president. If Johnson was so

heartbroken over Kennedy, why didn't he do something for Robert Kennedy? All he did was snub him."

In yet a second letter smuggled out of the Dallas County Jail, Ruby was more blunt in his accusations. Researcher Gary Shaw quotes Ruby as writing:

"...they found some very clever means and ways to trick me and which will be used later as evidence to show the American people that I was part of the conspiracy in the assassination of (the) president, and I was used to silence Oswald....They alone planned the killing, by they I mean Johnson and others....read the book Texas Looks At Lyndon (another reference to Haley's book) and you may learn quite a bit about Johnson and how he has fooled everyone....In all the history of the U.S. never has a president been elected that has the background of Johnson. Believe me, compared to him I am a Saint."

Not long before his death, Ruby was interviewed by psychiatrist Werner Teuter. Perhaps realizing his end was near, Ruby told Teuter the assassination was "an act of overthrowing the government" and that he knew "who had President Kennedy killed." He added:

"I am doomed. I do not want to die. But I am not insane. I was framed to kill Oswald."

These comments will always intrigue researchers. Was Ruby merely speculating or were his messages born of secret knowledge. Did he know that Johnson and the people behind him wanted war - only mistaking Russia for Asia? And were his warnings of Nazis taking over rooted somewhere in a knowledge of the mentality of the people he knew were behind the assassination? Or was his missives only the delusions of a man unhinged by his captivity and the belief that forces were out to destroy him? An answer may be found in a study of Ruby's mysterious death.

The Texas Court of Criminal Appeals overturned Ruby's conviction on October 5, 1966 and ordered a new trial. On December 7, 1966, his new trial was ordered moved from Dallas to Wichita Falls, a small Texas city near the Oklahoma border. There was every likelihood that within another month or two, Ruby would walk free after his time in jail was counted against a probable short prison term for murder without malice. He certainly would have been allowed to post bond. Yet his death ended any possibility of Ruby gaining access to the news media or the public.

On December 9, 1966, two days after his new trial site had been announced, Ruby was moved from the Dallas County Jail to Parkland Hospital after complaining of persistent coughing and nausea. Doctors initially diagnosed his problem as "pneumonia." The next day, however, the diagnosis was changed to cancer and within just a few more days, it was announced that Ruby's lung cancer was too far advanced to be treated by surgery or radiation.

On the evening of January 2, 1967, doctors suspected that blood clots were forming and they administered oxygen and Ruby seemed to recover. But about 9 a.m. the next day, he suffered a spasm and, despite emergency procedures, he was pronounced dead at 10:30 a.m. January 3, 1967.

One of his attorneys told newsmen:

"His death was a merciful release."

The question remains, a merciful release for whom?

Shortly before his death, Ruby's brother Earl smuggled a tape recorder into Parkland and later produced a short record which was sold to Capitol Records. The proceeds from this record, in which Ruby simply reiterated the official account of his actions - including his Cuban travels which the House Select Committee on Assassinations proved false - was used to pay for his burial expenses. This record also once again put the public off guard by repeating the same story reported in 1963-64.

An autopsy by Dallas County Medical Examiner Dr. Earl Rose showed the heaviest concentration of cancer cells in Ruby's right lung. However, Dr. Rose determined the immediate cause of death was pulmonary embolism - a massive blood clot had formed in a leg, passed through the heart and lodged in Ruby's lung. There were traces of white cancerous tumors coursing throughout Ruby's body.

Ruby's doctors had said they believed his cancer had originated in the pancreas, but surprisingly, Dr. Rose found Ruby's pancreas perfectly normal.

With the announcement of his inoperable cancer, there was immediate and widespread suspicion that Ruby was maneuvered into killing Oswald knowing he had only a short time to live. Dr. Rose was asked by the House Committee if there was any chance that Ruby could have known about his cancer in November 1963. He said no. Yet questions remain - especially among those close to Ruby in his last months.

Deputy Sheriff Al Maddox told researchers in 1982:

"We had a phony doctor come in (the Dallas County Jail) from Chicago, just as phony and as queer as a three-dollar bill. And he worked his way in through - I don't know, whoever supplied the county at that time with doctors....you could tell he was Ruby's doctor. He spent half his time up there talking with Ruby. And one day I went in and Ruby told me, he said, "Well, they injected me for a cold." He said it was cancer cells. That's what he told me, Ruby did. I said you don't believe that shit. He said, "I damn sure do!" I never said anything to Decker or anybody....(Then) one day when I started to leave, Ruby shook hands with me and I could feel a piece of paper in his palm....(in this note)he said it was a conspiracy and he said...if you will keep your eyes open and your mouth shut, you're gonna learn a lot. And that was the last letter I ever got from him."

Maddox was not the only lawman to suspect that Ruby's death was not entirely natural. Policeman Tom Tilson (See [AFTERMATH](#)) has told researchers:

"It was the opinion of a number of other Dallas police officers that Ruby had received injections of cancer while he was incarcerated in the Dallas County Jail following the shooting of [Lee Harvey Oswald](#)."

At least one former Dallas lawman offered a more mundane explanation for Ruby's sudden and rampant cancer. He told this author:

"Hell, it wasn't any big deal. They just took Ruby in for X-rays and had him wait in the X-ray room. While he sat there for 15 or 20 minutes or more, they just left the X-ray machine on him."

Questions also have been raised by the jail doctor who treated Ruby prior to the doctor described by Maddox. This physician, who agreed to talk to Texas researchers on the condition that his name not be revealed, said he still has X-rays of Ruby's chest taken in the late summer of 1966 and there is no sign of cancer. He said if Ruby's cancer proved fatal in less than three months, it is the first such occurrence in medical history.

Bruce McCarty operated an electron microscope at Southwest Medical School near Parkland. He told this author that he was called back to work during the holidays in 1966 to make a study of Ruby's cancer cells. McCarty explained that there are two types of cancer cells - cilia, which indicates an origin in the respiratory system and microvilli, indicating an origin in the digestive system. These cells are difficult to differentiate with a regular microscope, hence the need for his electron microscope. Both McCarty and another worker confirmed that Ruby's cells were microvilli, indicating his cancer originated in the digestive system. Both were shocked when it was announced that Ruby died from lung cancer. And when they tried to clear up this oddity, they were told to keep quiet and mind their own business by hospital authorities. Could Ruby have been injected with live cancer cells which could account for the presence of the microvilli? Traditional medical science claims this is impossible, yet there is continuing dissent in the medical community.

Adding fuel to the controversy over Ruby's death is the relationships between people linked to the assassination case and cancer research. It is known that cancer research was one of the interests of [David Ferrie](#), the man connected to both intelligence and the Marcello [Mafia](#) organization (See [AGENTS](#) and [MOBSTERS](#)). His New Orleans apartment was filled with cages for mice used in his experiments. [Perry Russo](#), one of the witnesses who claimed to have overheard Ferrie and Lee Harvey Oswald plotting to kill Kennedy, also has said that Ferrie talked at length with him about chemical compounds and cancer strains which could kill a person without trace. Ferrie also has been connected with Dr. Mary Sherman, a highly regarded bone pathologist who research into cancerous bone and joint tumors won her worldwide acclaim. In the early 1960s, she worked in New Orleans - reportedly in contact with Ferrie. Early on July 21, 1964, Dr. Sherman was killed by multiple stab wounds and her body set on fire. No one was ever convicted of her murder.

Robert L. Russell told investigators for "Freedom" magazine that in the mid-1960s he worked undercover for [Attorney General Robert Kennedy](#) to gather information on his brother's assassination. While Russell's claims have not been thoroughly substantiated - he has a long record of arrests, prison sentences and criminal associations - there is evidence that his story could be truthful. Russo and others have placed a man fitting Russell's description together with Ferrie and his boss, [Guy Banister](#), during the period involved. Russell claims to have attended a 1964 meeting in New Orleans where the decision was made to "take care" of Jack Ruby just as soon as it could be determined what documents Ruby might have reflecting an assassination conspiracy. Banister attended this meeting, according to

Russell. He also said e witnessed a woman matching the description of Dr. Sherman giving Ferrie samples of cancer strains for testing during 1964. Ferrie himself died under mysterious circumstances one month after Ruby died.

While none of this information establishes beyond doubt that Jack Ruby was somehow eliminated through cancer, it certainly shows there is cause enough for researchers to be highly suspicious of his sudden and convenient death.

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With the death of the two men who might have shed light on the lines of communication within a plot to kill the President - Oswald and Ruby - researchers were left only with a vast amount of evidence, much of which seems insubstantial when studied at close hand.

Crossfire: Jack Ruby Summary

The background of Jack Ruby is laced with mob associates and contacts which lasted right up to the eve of the Kennedy assassination. Beginning as a runner for Al Capone in Chicago, Ruby maintained connections with mobsters associated with top Mafia bosses - such as Carlos Marcello, Sam Giancana and Santos Trafficante. He also was in touch with associates of Teamster President Jimmy Hoffa. All of these men are said to have issued death threats against President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Add to this the abundance of information linking Ruby to gunrunning activities involving CIA agents, mercenaries and anti-Castro Cuban exiles and his strange position as an FBI informant in 1959. Obviously Jack Ruby was much more than simply an overwrought nightclub owner who shot Lee Harvey Oswald to save Mrs. Kennedy the trauma of returning to Dallas to testify at Oswald's trial. In fact, his note to lawyer Joe Tonahill proves this widely-reported motive to be only a cynical legal ploy.

Since Ruby lied repeatedly both about his motive and his connection to Cuban gunrunning, it is reasonable to conclude that his statements regarding no prior contact with Oswald cannot be accepted without severe question.

The abundance of evidence available today leads most researchers to the belief that an on-going relationship between Ruby and Oswald did in fact exist prior to the assassination. The fascinating story of Rose Cheramie - a woman with documented foreknowledge of the assassination - takes on greater meaning in light of her claim to have worked for Ruby. Evidence also has grown - and been accepted by House Select Committee on Assassinations Chief Counsel G. Robert Blakey - that Ruby stalked Oswald throughout the assassination weekend. This lends extra credence to the widely-held belief that Ruby's shooting of Oswald was not a spontaneous act - but rather a deliberate move to silence the accused assassin. This act may well have been ordered by someone who had significant power over Ruby.

It is also instructive to note the number of persons who had access to Ruby or his environs that died suddenly - such as newswoman Dorothy Kilgallen, Bill Hunter, Jim Koethe and attorney Tom Howard.

Ruby himself tried to warn Chief Justice Warren and others that a conspiracy was taking place and that:

"A whole new form of government is going to take over the country."

He begged to be taken to Washington eight times claiming "...my life is in danger here."

Later, in messages smuggled out of the Dallas County Jail, Ruby confessed, "...I was used to silence Oswald." He bluntly stated that "Lyndon Johnson and others..." were behind the assassination.

Then in the winter of 1967 - just as a new trial had been ordered and it seemed that Ruby might become accessible to the news media - he developed a case of sudden cancer and died in less than a month.

It seemed that Ruby's fear of death in Dallas - as expressed to the Warren Commission -was justified.

Crossfire: The Evidence

"We were told not to study those bullet marks by the FBI."
Reenactment surveyor Chester Breneman

There was never a lack of evidence in the assassination of President Kennedy. In addition to the several hundred witnesses in Dealey Plaza, there was an abundance of film and still pictures plus a great deal of physical evidence. In the hours following the assassination, this pile of evidence grew to include a rifle, empty shell cases, a "sniper's nest" and even a convincing - if belated - palm print on the suspected murder weapon. The rapid accumulation of evidence prompted Dallas County District Attorney Henry Wade to proclaim to the media he had an open-and-shut case against Lee Harvey Oswald the day after the shooting. After Oswald's death on Sunday, Wade was even more adamant. The "Dallas Times Herald" of November 25, 1963, stated:

"The Red propaganda mills had been grinding out angry report after report declaring Oswald was being made a scapegoat for a crime he did not commit. "Oswald was the man who fired the gun that took the life of our President. History will record it as such," the district attorney said in answer to the Kremlin's propagandists."

However, a long and thoughtful look at most of the evidence reveals just as many questions and as much confusion as with the medical evidence. The Warren Commission questioned 126 of the 266 known witnesses either by testimony or affidavit. Regarding the source of the shots, 38 gave no opinion - most were not asked - 32 indicated the Texas School Book Depository and 51 placed the shots in the vicinity of the Grassy Knoll. Several believed shots were fired from two different locations. Even veteran law enforcement officers, who should have been expected to provide expert opinions as to the source of the shots, were divided in their beliefs. Of the 20 Sheriffs' Deputies watching the motorcade from in front of the Sheriff's Office, 16 placed the origin of the shots near the Triple Underpass, three gave no opinion and one implied the Depository. Of the Dallas policemen interviewed, four placed shots from the Grassy Knoll, four said shots came from the Depository and four gave no opinion.

It is evident that different witnesses held different beliefs as to the source of the shots. Supporters of the official version of the assassination point to this as proof that eyewitness testimony cannot be counted on for accuracy. Skeptics of the official story say this difference of opinion indicates shots from different locations. Today there is evidence that some witnesses were advised - even pressured - to make their version of the assassination conform to the official story.

In 1975 CIA liaison man told congressional investigators that two of Kennedy's aides, Kenneth O'Donnell and David Powers, initially said shots came from other than the Depository, but later changed their story after being warned by J. Edgar Hoover or one of his top aides that such testimony would only arouse public passions and could lead to an international incident. Both O'Donnell and Powers denied this story when it appeared in a Chicago newspaper column, but in light of other known attempts to change witness testimony - Senator Ralph Yarborough, Jean Hill, Phil Willis, etc. - this story cannot be summarily dismissed.

While it is evident that eyewitness testimony cannot be relied on for unequivocal information, the statements of otherwise ordinary citizens regarding second gunmen, muzzle flashes and smoke on the Grassy Knoll must be considered in any impartial desire to learn the truth.

The best evidence would have been the medical reports. With a competent autopsy, it should have been well established how many bullets struck Kennedy and from which direction. However, as discussed in the Two Hospitals chapter, the medical evidence in this case continues to be a source of controversy - filled with inconsistencies, errors, missing items and photographs of questionable origin. About all one can say of the medical evidence is that Kennedy was shot at least twice. So it remains for other pieces of evidence - ballistic and physical evidence - to prove the official version of the assassination. Unfortunately, this area too is filled with doubts, questions, deceit and ambiguity.

Some of the first physical evidence to be found was in the Texas School Book Depository. Many of the press accounts at the time mentioned fingerprints traced to Lee Harvey Oswald being found on boxes on the Depository's sixth floor, the shield of boxes around a "sniper's nest" in the southeast corner of that floor and the remains of a chicken lunch discovered nearby. The presence of Oswald's fingerprints on the sixth floor means nothing, since he was a Depository employee and by many accounts had worked on the sixth floor that day. The stacking of book boxes both around the sixth-floor window and on the window sill cannot be used as proof of Oswald's guilt since there is no proof he placed them and since it is now known that the entire "sniper's nest" scene was staged for the official

photographs. At least three Warren Commission photographs of the scene - Commission Exhibits 509, 724 and 733 - show three different versions of the boxes stacked near the sixth-floor window. R.L. Studebaker, Dallas Police photographer, told the Warren Commission that some of his photos were taken as late as the Monday following the assassination.

Jack Beers, a photographer for the "Dallas Morning News," took pictures of the "sniper's nest" less than three hours after the assassination. His photos show yet a different configuration of boxes than the Commission photos. Dallas Police Lt. J.C. Day of the Crime Scene Search unit admitted to the Warren Commission that the boxes had been moved around. In Commission testimony, the following exchange took place between Day and Commission Attorney David Belin:

BELIN - ...Were those boxes in the window the way you saw them, or had they been replaced in the window to reconstruct it?

DAY - They had simply been moved in the processing for prints.

They weren't put back in any particular order.

BELIN - So (the "sniper's nest" photograph) does not represent, so far as the boxes are concerned, the crime scene when you first came to the sixth floor, is that correct?

DAY - That is correct.

When Belin showed Day photos of boxes in the sixth-floor window taken by bystanders in the street moments after the assassination, Day expressed confusion over the obvious differences in the configuration. He said:

"What I am getting at, this box doesn't jibe with my picture of the inside...I just don't know. I can't explain that box there depicted from the outside as related to the pictures I took inside."

Later in his testimony, Day suggested that the boxes were moved by someone before he arrived. So the evidence of the "sniper's nest" is virtually useless since even the Dallas Police crime scene official stated the boxes had been moved about. Unfortunately, it was the same story with the three cartridge hulls reportedly found on the sixth floor. Day said he took two photographs of the three hulls lying near the sixth-floor window. Two hulls can be seen lying near to each other on the floor beneath the window sill while a third is some distance away. It has been assumed that this was the position of the hulls. However, today there is evidence that they too were moved.

In a 1985 interview with researcher Gary Mack, Tom Alyea gave the following account:

"In 1963 Alyea was a news cameraman for WFAA-TV in Dallas. He managed to get inside the Texas School Book Depository before it was sealed by police. As he entered the building, Alyea heard someone shout, "Don't let anyone in or out!" Alyea reached the sixth floor and filmed Dallas Police searching for evidence. He said the federal authorities there were "bent on getting me out of the place" and did not want him taking any film but his friendly local police contacts allowed him to stay. Alyea said he noticed shells lying on the floor but couldn't film them because of book boxes in the way. Noting Alyea's predicament, Captain Will Fritz scooped up the shells and held them in his hand for Alyea's camera - then threw the hulls down on the floor. All of this occurred before the crime scene search unit arrived. Alyea said film of the shells lying in their original positions on the floor was apparently thrown out with other unused news film on orders of his WFAA news director."

If Alyea's account is true (and there's no reason to believe it's not), then the shells as photographed by the Dallas Police were not in their original positions - but rather where they landed when thrown down by Fritz.

Two lawmen on the sixth floor at the time - Deputy Sheriffs Roger Craig and Luke Mooney - have told researchers they saw the three hulls lying side by side only inches apart under the window, all pointing in the same direction. Of course this position would be impossible if the shells had been normally ejected from a rifle. So the evidence of the empty shell cases is now suspect.

Just as a matter of speculation, it seems incredible that the assassin in the Depository would go to the trouble of trying to hide the rifle behind boxes on the opposite side of the sixth floor from the southeast window and then leave incriminating shells lying on the floor - unless, of course, the hulls were deliberately left behind to incriminate Oswald.

There is yet another problem with the empty rifle hulls. Although the Warren Commission published a copy of the Dallas Police evidence sheet showing three shell cases were taken from the Depository,

in later years a copy of that same evidence sheet was found in the Texas Department of Public Safety files which showed only two cases were found. This is supported by the FBI receipt for assassination evidence from the Dallas Police which indicates only two shell cases arrived in Washington just after the assassination. Reportedly, Fritz held onto one of the cases for several days before forwarding it to the FBI. This breach of the chain of evidence causes suspicions to be raised about the legitimacy of the third shell. This suspicion is compounded by the fact that while the FBI Crime Lab determined that two of the hulls show marks compatible with being loaded in Oswald's rifle, the third showed no such evidence. In fact, the third hull - designated Commission Exhibit 543 - had a dent on its lip which would have prevented the fitting of a slug. In its present condition, it could not have fired a bullet on that day.

The FBI determined that CE 543 had been loaded and extracted from a weapon "at least three times" but could not specify the weapon as belonging to Oswald. (Some researchers speculate this shell may have been the one used to fire the slug from the Oswald rifle which later turned up at Parkland Hospital and has been designated as CE399 - the "Magic Bullet.") However, FBI experts said CE 543 did show marks from the magazine follower of Oswald's rifle. What went unexplained was how these marks were made, since the magazine follower marks only the last cartridge in the clip. This position was occupied by a live round found that day, not by CE 543. Again, too many questions arise to accept the shell cases as solid evidence.

The rifle reportedly belonging to Oswald also is surrounded by controversy and inconsistencies. The rifle found behind boxes on the sixth floor of the Depository was initially described as a 7.65 millimeter German Mauser. It was described thusly by Deputy Sheriff E.L. Boone, discoverer of the rifle, in his report of that day. Boone's report is supported by that of Deputy Constable Seymour Weitzman. Both lawmen reportedly had more than an average knowledge of weapons.

As late as the day after the assassination, Weitzman wrote in a report:

"I was working with Deputy Boone of the Sheriff's Department and helping in the search. We were in the northwest corner of the sixth floor when Deputy Boone and myself spotted the rifle about the same time. This rifle was a 7.65 Mauser bolt action equipped with a 4/18 scope, a thick leather brownish-black sling on it. The rifle was between some boxes near the stairway. The time the rifle was found was 1:22 p.m."

This account was confirmed by Deputy Craig, who told Texas researchers he actually saw the word "Mauser" stamped on the weapon's receiver. When asked about the make of rifle shortly after midnight the day of the assassination, Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade replied:

"It's a Mauser, I believe."

However, by late Friday afternoon the rifle was being identified as a 6.5 millimeter Italian Mannlicher-Carcano. While a German Mauser and the Carcano do look somewhat similar, anyone vaguely familiar with these weapons - Weitzman, Boone and Craig should certainly qualify - can distinguish between them. Why the discrepancies? The Warren Commission indicated that Weitzman was simply mistaken in his identification of the rifle and that the others, including Wade, probably repeated this mistaken identification. However, Wade never gave any indication as to the source of his idea the rifle was a Mauser. And Boone told the Commission he thought it was Captain Fritz who termed it a Mauser. Asked to identify the Mannlicher-Carcano by Commission Attorney Joseph Ball, Boone stated:

"It looks like the same rifle. I have no way of being positive."

Weitzman, who managed a sporting goods store and was considered an expert on rifles, had identified the gun as a Mauser. He testified to the Warren Commission only by affidavit and was not asked to identify the Carcano as the gun he held in the Depository.

Author Sylvia Meagher wrote:

"The failure to obtain such corroboration from Weitzman leaves open the possibility that a substitution of rifles took place, or that a second rifle may have been found at the Book Depository, but kept secret."

And consider that Lieutenant Day and another Dallas policeman mentioned writing contemporary descriptions of the rifle, yet neither of these documents were included in the mass of Warren Commission materials.

Even the CIA had doubts as to the true identity of the assassination rifle. Five days after the assassination, in an internal report transmitted from Italy to Langley headquarters, CIA officials noted that two different kinds of Italian-made carbines were being identified as the single murder weapon.

The CIA document stated:

"The weapon which appears to have been employed in this criminal attack is a Model

91 rifle, 7.35 caliber, 1938 modification...The description of a "Mannlicher-Carcano" rifle in the Italian and foreign press is in error."

The possibility of a rifle substitution was even admitted by Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry in 1976. In an interview with "The Detroit News," Curry agreed "it's more than possible" the rifle originally found in the Depository could have been exchanged for the gun now in the National Archives. Curry said anyone wanting to substitute one suspected murder weapon for another "could have gotten away with it at the time" because no special precautions were taken to isolate the weapon as historic evidence.

But even accepting that the Mannlicher-Carcano was the assassination rifle, it is hard to envision a worse weapon. In testimony to the Warren Commission - conveniently left out of its Report - FBI reports quoted firearms experts as calling the rifle "a cheap old weapon," "a very cheap rifle (which) could have been purchased for \$3 each in lots of 25," and a "real cheap, common, real flimsy-looking (gun)...very easily knocked out of adjustment." The FBI also noted that the Carcano was part of a gun shipment that was the subject of "a legal proceeding by the Carlo Riva Machine Shop to collect payment for the shipment of rifles which Adam Consolidated Industries, Inc. claims were defective." A defective gun managed to strike two men with three shots at a range of nearly 200 feet within 6 seconds?

There are many other questions concerning the rifle and its purchase. The Warren Commission published a "duplicate" of the ad from which Oswald reportedly ordered the rifle from Klein's Sporting Goods Co. of Chicago on March 13, 1963. According to Klein's records, a rifle bearing serial number C2766 was shipped to one A. Hidell, Post Office Box 2915, Dallas, Texas, on March 20, 1963. Why publish a duplicate ad? Why not publish the original ad? The order form reportedly came from the February 1963, issue of "American Rifleman" magazine - yet the ad from that issue advertises a "36" overall" rifle. Perhaps that is why the Commission chose to present a "duplicate" ad which depicts a 40-inch-long rifle - the same length of the weapon identified as Oswald's. Perhaps the discrepancy between rifle lengths had a logical explanation. But the manner in which the Commission tried to conceal this problem only furthers the suspicions of researchers that there was manipulation of the evidence.

This problem is heightened by the fact that no record exists to show that either Oswald or a Hidell actually took possession of the rifle. Despite postal regulations that Form 1039, which lists those persons with access to a post office box, be kept a minimum of two years after a box is closed - the Commission was told Oswald's form was thrown away. Likewise, there are no official records to show that Oswald signed for the .38-caliber pistol which reportedly was shipped to him by Railway Express. In fact, according to Warren Commission documents, Oswald told Capt. Will Fritz "he had bought (the pistol) several months before in Fort Worth, Texas."

The rifle experts employed by the Warren Commission made negative comments regarding the capabilities of the Carcano rifle. But the strongest evidence that the Mannlicher-Carcano was not the assassination weapon came from Ronald Simmons, chief of the Infantry Weapons Evaluation Branch of the Ballistics Research Laboratory of the Department of the Army, who headed the team evaluating the rifle. During testimony to the Warren Commission, Simmons was asked if his team had experienced any difficulties sighting in the rifle. He replied:

"Well, they could not sight the weapon in using the telescope, and no attempt was made to sight it in using the iron sight. We did adjust the telescopic sight by the addition of two shims, one which tended to adjust the azimuth and one which adjusted an elevation."

Moments later, the Warren Commission attorney stated:

"For the record, Mr. Chairman, these shims were given to me by the FBI who told me that they removed them from the weapon after they had been placed there by Mr. Simmons' laboratory."

What an astounding admission - the Oswald rifle needed metal shims placed under the telescopic sight before the Army laboratory could test the accuracy of it. And this evidence was known to both the FBI and the Warren Commission, but never adequately relayed to the public. The experts also indicated that the telescopic sight was adjusted for a left-handed shooter, yet both Oswald's wife and brother told the Commission Oswald was right handed.

Robert Oswald:

"I would say without qualification...He (Lee) was instinctively a right-handed person."

Added to the inferior quality and the inaccuracy of the rifle is Oswald's well-documented inability to achieve marksmanship standards while in the Marines (See LEE HARVEY OSWALD).

In its Report, the Warren Commission stated flatly:

"...the number C2766 is the serial number. This rifle is the only one of its type bearing that serial number."

Yet an FBI report dated April 30, 1964, and signed by J. Edgar Hoover, stated:

"...the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle was manufactured in Italy from 1891 until 1941; however, in the 1930's Mussolini ordered all arms factories to manufacture the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle. Since many concerns were manufacturing the same weapon, the same serial number appears on weapons manufactured by more than one concern. Some bear a letter prefix and some do not."

Plainly, there could be more Mannlicher-Carcanos around with the serial number C2766 - a fact which further weakens the case against Oswald. Without going into minute details, it should be noted that the sling on Oswald's rifle was not a standard rifle sling but instead seemed to come from a musical instrument or a camera carrying strap. No attempt was made to determine where this sling came from, although Commission experts, after explaining that the purpose of such a strap is to steady the aim, stated:

"The sling on the rifle was too short to use in the normal way..."

Despite two massive federal investigations, no one bit of evidence has been brought forward as to where or when Oswald might have purchased ammunition or the ammunition clip for the rifle. Bear in mind that no gun cleaning oil or other materials, including ammunition, were found in Oswald's belongings.

Another important piece of evidence involved a paraffin test made on Oswald the day of the assassination. The results of this test presented evidence that Oswald may not have fired a rifle that day yet these results were downplayed and even suppressed by the federal authorities. Layers of paraffin are applied to a suspect's skin. The sticky warm wax opens the skin's pores and then picks up any foreign material which may be present on the skin. When the wax cools, it forms a hard cast which is treated with chemicals that turn blue if nitrates are present. The idea is that someone who has recently fired a weapon will have traces of nitrates on them. While the presence of nitrates is not conclusive evidence that a gun was fired - tobacco, urine, cosmetics, matches, soil and certain drugs can cause a positive reaction - the absence of nitrates is compelling evidence that the person had not fired a weapon.

Oswald's hands both reacted positively to the paraffin test, indicating the presence of nitrates. But a cast of his right cheek showed no reaction. Any competent defense attorney would have pointed to this test as evidence that his client had not fired a rifle. However in its report, the Warren Commission termed this routine police test "completely unreliable," adding that an FBI agent fired three rounds through the Oswald rifle in rapid succession and tested negative on both his hands and face afterward. The odd part of this issue is that in printing the Dallas Police documents, the Commission apparently deleted reference to the paraffin test at the bottom of the police evidence sheet. Why obscure this test result - which appeared to present evidence of Oswald's innocence - if the test can be demonstrated to be faulty or unreliable?

In all criminal cases, police always hope for that most important piece of evidence linking the crime to the suspect - a fingerprint.

Crossfire: An Incriminating Palm Print

The sole piece of hard evidence linking Oswald to the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle was a palm print reportedly found on the underside of the gun's barrel when the rifle was disassembled. It seems strong evidence until inspected closely. To begin with, the palm print would never have been admitted as evidence in any courtroom trial because it totally lacked a chain of evidence - the unquestioned and documented path from discovery to presentation in court.

Consider the chronology of events leading to the presentation of the palm print as evidence. According to Dallas Police Lieutenant John Carl Day, he discovered the palm print shortly before turning the rifle over to the FBI about midnight on November 22, 1963. Yet he mentioned it to no one and there is no record of his discovery. Day even admitted to the Warren Commission "it was his customary practice to photograph fingerprints in most instances prior to lifting them." Yet this was not done. About midnight, the rifle was given to FBI Agent Vincent Drain, who flew with the gun to Washington in an Air Force plane. Early on November 23, 1963, the rifle was turned over to the FBI Laboratory and examined for fingerprints. A report made that day and signed by J. Edgar Hoover stated:

"No latent prints of value were developed on Oswald's revolver, the cartridges cases, the unfired cartridge, the clip in the rifle or the inner parts of the rifle."

The FBI had no indication of any useful print. Before the Warren Commission, FBI expert Sebastian Latona stated:

"We had no personal knowledge of any palm print having been developed on the rifle....evidently the lifting had been so complete that there was nothing left to show any marking on the gun itself as to the existence of such - even an attempt on the part of anyone to process the rifle."

On the morning of November 24, Oswald was killed in the basement of the Dallas Police Station and that afternoon the rifle was flown back to Dallas by an FBI agent.

The next day after autopsy, Oswald's body was lying in Miller Funeral Home in Fort Worth when, according to a local newspaper:

"An FBI team, with a camera and a crime lab kit, spent a long time in the morgue."

Miller Funeral Home director Paul Groody told this author that the FBI fingerprinted Oswald's corpse. Groody said:

"I had a heck of time getting the black fingerprint ink off of his (Oswald's) hands."

In 1978, FBI Agent Richard Harrison confirmed to researcher Gary Mack that he had personally driven another Bureau agent and the "Oswald" rifle to Miller Funeral Home. Harrison said at the time he understood that the other agent intended to place Oswald's palm print on the rifle "for comparison purposes."

Oswald had been fingerprinted three times while alive and in Dallas Police custody. There has been no explanation for this post-mortem fingerprinting.

On Monday, while talking to reporters, District Attorney Wade casually mentioned:

"Let's see...his fingerprints were found on the gun. Have I said that?"

It was the first mention of any prints being found.

By Monday evening, the news was all over the media. The "Dallas Times Herald" proclaimed:

"Oswald's Prints Revealed on Rifle Killing Kennedy"

Asked about the strongest evidence of Oswald's guilt, Wade responded:

"If I had to single out any one thing, it would be the fingerprints found on the rifle and the book cartons which he (Oswald) used to prop the weapon on."

On November 26, the rifle was again sent to Washington. But the incriminating palm print did not arrive at the FBI lab until November 29, three days after all other Dallas Police evidence had been turned over to the Bureau on orders from President Johnson. This time FBI officials were able to confirm that the palm print matched that of Lee Harvey Oswald. Today, Day still maintains he found the print and failed to mention it, photograph it or send it to the FBI quickly because he believed that "sufficient traces of the print had been left on the rifle barrel." Day told author Henry Hurt that he specifically pointed out the print to Agent Drain when he gave him the rifle.

However, Drain denied this. According to Hurt, Drain told him:

"I just don't believe there ever was a print....All I can figure is that it was some sort of cushion, because they were getting a lot of heat by Sunday night. You could take the print off Oswald's (arrest) card and put it on the rifle. Something like that happened."

Considering the movements of the rifle, some researchers believe Oswald's dead hand was placed directly on the rifle barrel. Others believe Oswald's palm print was taken either from jail records or the book Depository and superimposed over marks from the rifle barrel.

No serious researcher in the 1980s believes that Oswald's palm print was legitimately lifted from the rifle barrel on November 22, 1963. Even the Warren Commission found this piece of evidence hard to swallow. An internal FBI memorandum made public in 1978 disclosed that on August 28, 1964:

"(Warren Commission General Counsel J. Lee) Rankin advised because of the circumstances that now exist there was a serious question in the minds of the Commission as to whether or not the palm impression that has been obtained from the Dallas Police Department is a legitimate latent palm impression removed from the rifle barrel or whether it was obtained from some other source and that for this reason this matter needs to be resolved."

Commission fingerprint experts admitted:

"...it was not possible to estimate the time which elapsed between the placing of the print on the rifle and the date of the lift."

The FBI then attempted to have Lieutenant Day certify a statement concerning his lifting of the palm print, but Day declined to sign it. The Commission apparently made no effort to resolve the matter. It instead presented the belated palm print as strong evidence of Oswald's guilt.

Like so much of the "hard" evidence in this case, the closer one looks, the softer it becomes.

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After considering the rifle, the empty shells and the palm print, one must again consider the "hero of the Warren Commission" - CE (Commission Exhibit) 399 or the Magic Bullet. The discovery of CE 399 has been dealt with elsewhere (See TWO HOSPITALS). Now consider the highly-technical studies of this bullet and other bullet fragments involved in the assassination. The Commission attempted to duplicate the feat of CE 399 - passing through seven layers of skin and muscle, striking bones in two male adults and emerging in near-perfect condition - but with no success. Similar ammunition fired into goat carcasses, human bodies and gelatin blocks all showed more deformity than CE 399.

In an attempt to explain away the unscathed condition of this bullet, members of the forensic pathology panel of the House Select Committee on Assassinations argued that other bullets had done similar damage and remained in a pristine condition. However, one member of the panel, Dr. Cyril Wecht, challenged the group to produce even one single bullet that had broken two human bones and remained unchanged. Dr. Wecht concluded:

"It is clear to me that their reluctance was based upon their knowledge that such studies would further destroy the single-bullet theory."

Since neither the Warren Commission nor the House Select Committee on Assassinations were able to convincingly prove the feat ascribed to CE 399, the emission spectrography tests assume more importance. These spectrographic tests are a scientific means of determining if the various bits of bullet metal taken from both Kennedy and Connally came from the same bullet. These tests could have provided what is missing from all assassination investigations - clear, irrefutable proof that metal found in the victims could be traced to CE 399. The tests failed to do this and the handling of this evidence raised a great deal of suspicion toward federal authorities. Under such testing it is a simple matter to determine if two bits of metal do not have the same percentage of basic elements, such as lead, copper, etc. It is much more difficult to prove that such bits are from the same source. Concerning the tests, the Warren Commission chose not to ask one single question of the spectrographic expert who conducted the tests. They were content to simply report that several bullet fragments were "similar in metallic composition," which proved nothing.

In the years following the assassination, researcher Harold Weisberg sought unsuccessfully to obtain the spectrographic test results from the U.S. Government. Government attorneys argued that revealing the results was not in the "national interest," although they would not explain how.

Then in 1973, a batch of Warren Commission documents were released to the public which contained letters from FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. In these, Hoover reported that composition of the fragments was "similar" and "that no significant differences were found." The fact that differences - no matter how "significant" - were found means they are not from the same source. The real significance in this matter is that the results of these spectrographic tests have been kept from the public all those years. Obviously, if the tests proved conclusively that the fragments and CE 399 all came from the same ammunition, the case against Oswald would have been strengthened considerably. In fact, the

opposite occurred. By concealing the tests results, the Commission raised further suspicion about Government handling of the case.

Unreported in the Commission's report or volumes was an account of even further scientific testing - this time using Neutron Activation Analysis, a sophisticated method of determining differences in composition by bombarding the test object with radiation.

In referring to this test in a letter made public in 1973, Hoover wrote:

"While minor variations in composition were found by this method, these were not considered to be sufficient to permit positively differentiating among the larger bullet fragments and thus positively determining from which of the larger bullet fragments any given small fragment may have come."

This wording is suspiciously deceptive, since any difference in composition is evidence that the fragments are not from the same ammunition.

Faced with scientific evidence that Kennedy and Connally were not struck by the same bullet, the House Select Committee on Assassinations decided to conduct their own tests. Researcher's hopes for a final, clear determination on this matter dimmed with the Committee's selection of Dr. Vincent P. Guinn to conduct the tests. Guinn admitted he had been an informal consultant to the FBI even prior to the Kennedy assassination. And predictably, Guinn concluded that it was "highly probable" that fragments taken from Connally's wrist came from CE 399. This seemed to be the strong clear evidence researchers had been looking for, even though it appeared to support the single-bullet theory. Guinn's conclusions were warmly embraced by the House Committee. But it was later learned that the wrist fragments originally tested in 1964 were missing. And Guinn admitted publicly that the fragments he tested were not the originals from the National Archives.

Author Henry Hurt quoted Guinn as admitting how fragments from CE 399 could have been substituted for the missing fragments:

"Possibly they would take a bullet, take out a few little pieces and put it in a container, and say, "This is what came out of Connally's wrist." And naturally if you compare it with (CE) 399, it will look alike...I have no control over these things."

Guinn also reported that he had examples of the ammunition from the four production runs in 1954 made at Western Cartridge Company, manufacturers of the Mannlicher-Carcano bullets. "...reportedly those are the only lots they ever produced, and we have boxes from each of those lots, " Guinn told the Committee. If this was the only ammunition ever produced, the results of Guinn's tests gain credibility. However, a Warren Commission document dealing with an interview of a Western Cartridge representative reveals this comment:

"The Western Cartridge Company...manufactured a quantity of 6.5...Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition for the Italian Government during World War II. At the end of the war the Italian Carcano rifle, and no telling how much of this type of ammunition, was sold to United States gun brokers and dealers and subsequently was distributed by direct sales to wholesalers, retailers and individual purchasers."

If the ammunition supposedly used in the Oswald rifle came from this World War II batch, then Dr. Guinn tested the wrong bullets. This is another example of how seemingly-indisputable evidence in the assassination diminishes upon closer examination.

Another major piece of evidence against Oswald was a brown paper bag reportedly discovered in the Texas School Book Depository on the afternoon of the assassination - although it is not depicted in any of the crime scene photographs. The Warren Commission claimed the bag was used by Oswald to transport the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle from a home in Irving, Texas, to the Depository on the morning of November 22, 1963. If this bag indeed belonged to Oswald and if it could be traced to the Depository, it becomes strong evidence of Oswald's guilt. But again, upon closer inspection, this piece of evidence becomes highly questionable.

First, while the Oswald rifle was found to be well oiled, there is absolutely no trace of gun oil on the paper bag.

Secondly, federal authorities claimed to have found cloth fibers on the bag which matched those of a blanket used to wrap the rifle at the Irving home. However, A Dallas Police photograph of assassination evidence shows the bag touching the blanket, thus producing the incriminating fiber evidence. To add credence to this idea, the FBI found no traces of paper bag particles on the rifle.

When the Dallas evidence was shipped to the FBI Laboratory early on November 23, there is no mention of the paper bag. Instead, Dallas FBI Agent -in-Charge L. Gordon Shanklin mentioned the

blanket which he suggested was used to carry the rifle into the Depository.

Both Wesley Frazier and his sister, Linnie Mae Randle, testified that Oswald took a paper bag to work with him on the morning of the assassination. However, both said they did not believe the bag they saw was like the one showed them by the Warren Commission. Frazier said Oswald told him the bag contained curtain rods for his room in Dallas. Frazier also said Oswald carried the package into the Depository tucked under his arm, with one end cupped in his hand and the other under his armpit. Jack Dougherty, a Depository employee who saw Oswald arrive for work, said he had seen no bag.

Since the disassembled rifle measured 35 inches long, it would have been impossible for someone of Oswald's height to carry it in this position. Yet the paper bag was a necessary piece of evidence, for if Oswald did not carry the rifle into the Depository on November 22, then it must have gotten there in some other manner. This possibility opened too many areas of investigation. But if Oswald fashioned the bag from wrapping paper at the Depository - as the Warren Commission concluded - how did he get it to the Irving home where he spent the night before the assassination?

Frazier, who drove Oswald to Irving, repeatedly said Oswald had no package with him at that time. The Commission decided Oswald must have hidden the paper bag in his jacket, although there was no reason to do so plus the discomfort and rustling noise sure to have been made by a 42-inch-by-18-inch folded paper bag.

This whole issue is further clouded by the discovery of a duplicate FBI report which claims two opposite facts concerning the paper bag. In a November 29, 1963 report by FBI Agent Vincent Drain released with other FBI documents in 1968, Drain wrote:

"This paper was examined by the FBI Laboratory and found to have the same observable characteristics as the brown paper bag shaped like a gun case which was found near the scene of the shooting on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building."

In 1980, researcher Gary Shaw discovered what appeared to be this same FBI report in the National Archives. It bore the same dates and the same identification number - Dallas 89-43.

However, in this version of Drain's report, it stated:

"This paper was examined by the FBI Laboratory and found not to be identical with the paper gun case found at the scene of the shooting."

When pressed for an explanation of the two opposite versions of the same report, William Baker, the FBI's assistant director of the Office of Congressional and Public Affairs, told researcher Edgar F. Tatro the version which states Depository paper and the paper bag are not the same was "inaccurate." Baker said the inaccuracy in Drain's original report was caught at FBI headquarters and the Dallas office was instructed to "make corrections at that time." He added that the "inaccurate" report was mistakenly passed along to the Warren Commission.

Baker concluded:

"We hope the above explanation resolves the problem."

Far from resolving the problem of identical FBI reports which state opposite facts, this incident raises the question of how many other assassination documents stated one thing and were subsequently "revised?" And if there do exist "revised" documents in federal files, how would anyone know unless the originals accidentally slip out as in this case? Considering all of the above and considering that not one of the lawmen who searched the Depository mentioned finding the bag in their testimony, the evidence of the paper bag must be viewed skeptically.

Two other points should be made here concerning primary pieces of evidence - the Presidential limousine and the rifle. Even while parked at the emergency room door of Parkland Hospital, federal agents and even Dallas police apparently mopped up blood, picked up bullet fragments and otherwise tampered with this important piece of evidence, contrary to basic crime scene protection procedures. Within 48 hours, the limousine was shipped to the Ford Motor Company in Detroit and completely dismantled, thus destroying any important bloodstains, bullet holes or more bullet fragments which could have shed light on the assassination.

While the Mannlicher-Carcano was checked for fingerprints, apparently it was never given the simple test by Dallas Police or the federal authorities to determine if it had been recently fired. This normal testing could have proved conclusively whether or not the rifle had been used in the assassination. The failure to conduct such a test is viewed by researchers as strong evidence of fabrication in the case against Oswald.

Other vital evidence was destroyed. After receiving Governor Connally's bloodstained clothing at

Parkland Hospital, Congressman Henry Gonzales kept this potential evidence in a closet in his Washington office. Several months later, while Gonzales was home in Texas, Clifton Carter, an aide to Lyndon Johnson, notified a Gonzales secretary that the Secret Service was coming to pick up Connally's clothing. Some time later, this clothing was presented as evidence to the Warren Commission. But by this time, it had been cleaned and pressed, thereby eliminating metal traces at the bullet holes which could have been studied to determine the type of ammunition and the direction of shots. (It was Gonzales who formally called for a reopening of the assassination investigation in 1975 which led to the forming of the House Select Committee on Assassinations.)

But the one piece of evidence which did more than all other to convict Oswald as the assassin in the minds of the American public was the famous backyard photographs depicting Oswald with a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle and communist publications.

Crossfire: Questionable Back Yard Photos

Dallas Police claim to have discovered two prints and one negative of pictures showing Lee Harvey Oswald standing in his backyard wearing a holstered pistol and holding a rifle and some communist literature. According to police reports, these photos were found among Oswald's possessions in the garage of the Paine home in Irving, Texas, on Saturday, November 23, 1963, although a search the day before failed to turn up such photos. One of these photos became the cover of the February 21, 1964 issue of "Life" magazine. This now-famous issue was seen by millions around the world.

The Warren Commission heard from Oswald's accommodating wife, Marina, that she had taken the snapshots with a hand-held Imperial Reflex camera at the insistence of her husband. The Commission, based on Marina's testimony and the order form for Oswald's rifle, pinpointed the date as March 31, 1963. She said she took one shot then handed the camera back to Oswald, who advanced the film and had her take another picture. The Commission asserted that the rifle in the picture is the same rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository. Yet when shown the photographs by Dallas Police, Captain Will Fritz said Oswald made the following comments:

"He said the picture was not his, that the face was his face, but that this picture had been made by someone superimposing his face, the other part of the picture was not him at all and that he had never seen the picture before....He told me that he understood photography real well, and that in time, he would be able to show that it was not his picture, and that it had been made by someone else."

Of course, Oswald never got the time to explain the backyard photos. But various researchers have spent years studying this incriminating evidence and today, almost all are convinced Oswald was truthful about the pictures being fabricated. To begin with, it appears there were actually four backyard pictures. One was described by Marguerite Oswald as depicting her son holding a rifle above his head with both hands. She was shown this photo by Marina at the Paine's Irving home the night of the assassination. On Marguerite's insistence, the incriminating photo was burned and flushed down a toilet. In 1976 the Senate Intelligence Committee discovered yet a fourth backyard photo in the hands of the window of a Dallas policeman. The former Mrs. Roscoe White said her husband once told her the picture would be very valuable some day. In this heretofore unknown version of the backyard photo, Oswald is depicted holding the rifle in his left hand and the socialist material in his right. This is the same pose used by Dallas Police in reenacting the photo for the Warren Commission - strong evidence that authorities were aware of the suppressed picture long before it became known to the public.

Photo experts told the House Select Committee on Assassinations that the most famous backyard picture - the one used on the cover of "Life" magazine - was obviously made from the original negative while in the hands of Dallas authorities. Yet this negative was never accounted for by the Dallas Police. The Committee noted:

"There is no official record explaining why the Dallas Police Department failed to give the Warren Commission the other original negative."

To further cloud this issue, two Dallas commercial photographic processors have told this author they saw copies of the backyard photo the night of the assassination - more than 12 hours before they were reported found in the Paine garage. Robert Hester, who was called from home on November 22, 1963, to help process assassination-related photographs for the FBI and Dallas Police at National Photo said he saw an FBI agent with a color transparency of one of these pictures and that one of the backyard photos he processed showed no figure in the picture. Hester's claim was corroborated by his wife, Patricia, who also helped process film on the day of the assassination.

There is also considerable question regarding the camera reportedly used to make these photographs. Oswald's brother Robert claimed to have obtained the camera from the Paine home on December 8, 1963. He did not mention it to authorities because he didn't realize anyone would be interested. Robert was only told the camera belonged to his brother by Ruth Paine and the FBI did not receive the camera until February 24, 1964. About that time, Marina was shown two cameras but failed to identify either as belonging to her husband. When the Government got the camera, it was inoperable. FBI photographic expert Lyndal L. Shaneyfelt told the Warren Commission:

"In order to be able to make a photograph with the camera, I had to make slight repairs to the shutter lever, which had been bent. I straightened it and cleaned the lens in order to remove the dirt which had accumulated."

Finally, in June 1964, Marina identified the camera as the one she used to take the photographs. Marina, who originally claimed to have only taken one picture, revised this statement in her testimony

to the Commission in February 1964. She said:

"I had even forgotten that I had taken two photographs. I thought there was only one. I thought there were two identical pictures, but they turned out to be two different poses."

She, of course, never mentioned the other two photographs. But then this incident was not the only time Marina's testimony reflected inconsistencies and rehearsal (See THE WARREN COMMISSION).

An objective viewing of the three available backyard photographs reveal internal problems a plenty. Although all three pictures were reportedly taken with a hand-held camera, the background of all three is identical when brought to the same size. That is, though cropped differently in the three photos, the elements of the background - shadows, leaves, branches, stairs, etc. - are exactly identical. This sameness of background could be produced with a stationary camera on a heavy tri-pod but is certainly impossible with a hand-held camera. The fact that the pictures indicate being taken on a bright sunny day is itself suspicious as records of the Dallas office of the U.S. Weather Bureau show that March 31, 1963, was a cloudy day with traces of rain. The V-shaped shadow under Oswald's nose remains the same in all three pictures, although his head is tilted in different directions. And the photos all show a discernible line marking a break in the print's emulsion across Oswald's face just above a flat, broad chin. In Dallas Police photos, it is clear that Oswald had a sharply-pointed, cleft chin. And when all three photos are brought to the same size and placed on top of each other as transparencies, nothing matches except the face of Lee Harvey Oswald - strong evidence that he was telling the truth when he said his face had been superimposed on another body.

Oswald's assessment that the photos are superimposed fakes has been confirmed by two foreign authorities. In 1977 Major John Pickard, commander of the photographic department at the Canadian Defense Department, made these statements after studying the backyard pictures:

"The pictures have the earmarks of being faked. The shadows fall in conflicting directions. The shadow of Oswald's nose falls in one direction and that of his body in another. The photos were shot from a slightly different angle, a different distance, with the gun in a different hand. So, if one photo is laid on top of another, nothing could match exactly. Yet, impossibly, while one body is bigger, in the other the heads match perfectly, bearing out Oswald's charge that his head was pasted on an incriminating photograph."

Author and British Broadcasting Corporation investigative reporter Anthony Summers had the photos studied by retired Detective Superintendent Malcolm Thompson, a past president of the Institute of Incorporated Photographers in England. Thompson said he detected retouching in the photos around the area of Oswald's head and on the butt of the rifle. He also noted inconsistencies in the location of shadows and the different chin on Oswald. Thompson stated:

"One can only conclude that Oswald's head has been stuck on to a chin which is not Oswald's chin....My opinion is that those photographs are faked....I consider the pictures to be the result of a montage."

However, neither Pickard nor Thompson studied the original photos. The Photographic Evidence Panel of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, which did study the originals, concluded in 1978 that it could find no evidence of fakery in the backyard photos. This conclusion rested primarily on studies which showed markings on the edges of the negative of one of the original photographs were identical to markings on other photographs made by the Imperial Reflect camera. This ballistics-type evidence convinced the panel that the photos must be genuine.

However, Texas graphics expert Jack White pointed out that if a knowledgeable person wanted to fake the backyard pictures, it would have been a simple matter to produce a high-quality montage photograph using one backyard scene, a figure with rifle and papers and a head shot of Oswald, which then could be photocopied using the Imperial Reflex camera. This procedure would produce a backyard photo which could be proven to have come from the camera traced to Oswald.

Another method to achieve the same results, according to White, would be to make an exposure through the Imperial Reflex camera which would include the markings on the edge but nothing else. Then, when the composite photo is combined with this, the markings become part of the negative.

Asked to study the sameness of the different photos' backgrounds, the House Committee's experts said they measured the distances between certain objects in the pictures - such as wooden fence posts - and determined differences in distance, indicating that the photos were indeed separate shots. White, on the other hand, claimed that the differences were simply the result of "keystoning" or tilting the easel

on which the photograph was exposed in an enlarger. He said he too had been concerned with what appeared to be differences in the photos but discovered that by simply tilting the photographic print in an enlarger's easel, the backgrounds of the supposedly separate pictures overlapped and matched perfectly.

Furthermore, in recent years White has discovered other problems with the backyard photos. In one picture, the tips of Oswald's fingers appear to be missing as well as one end of the rifle's telescopic scope. White claims this is due to sloppy airbrushing on the part of whoever faked the picture.

In one photo, the figure can be seen to be wearing a large ring on his right hand, yet the ring is missing in the other photos.

Sameness of backgrounds and Oswald's face, conflicting shadows and distances, loss of portions of the photos - again, a vital piece of evidence remains in "controversy" despite the inconsistencies which can be viewed by any layman and the studied opinions of foreign experts.

Yet the federal Government continues to vouch for the authenticity of the incriminating photos. The reason for this steadfast support may have been voiced by House Committee Chief Counsel Robert Blakey, who told the Committee:

"If (the backyard photographs) are invalid, how they were produced poses far-reaching questions in the area of conspiracy for they evince a degree of technical sophistication that would almost necessarily raise the possibility that more than private parties conspired not only to kill the President, but to make Oswald a patsy."

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In light of the many questions which surround the physical evidence attempting to link Lee Harvey Oswald to the assassination, the Warren Commission tried to strengthen the case against the ex-Marine through the use of reenactments.

However, the results of these reenactments has been questioned by at least two of the participants.

Crossfire: Reenactment Problems

Chester Breneman, a surveyor who participated in two separate reenactments of the Kennedy assassination, said the studies proved that more than one man was involved in the shooting. Breneman, who went on to become County Surveyor of Eastland County, Texas, told this author in 1978 that distance and time figures published by the Warren Commission were "at odds" with figures obtained in the reenactment staged for the FBI and Secret Service in 1964 (See THE WARREN COMMISSION). Breneman's story was confirmed by Dallas County Surveyor Bob West, who also participated in both reenactments. Both men were in West's office on the Monday following the assassination when a man entered. Breneman recalled:

(He) said he was a special investigator for "Life" magazine. He asked if we would make an investigation down there (in Dealey Plaza) and see if any other bullets were fired and from which direction they came. They were aware at that time that something was haywire.... So, we went down there and roped the area off. I stood on the parapet where (Abraham) Zapruder stood and took those pictures. They had still pictures of all the frames of Zapruder's film. (Reportedly "Life" did not take possession of the Zapruder film until that same day.)

Breneman and West took measurements of the plaza and distances from the Texas School Book Depository and matched everything against the Zapruder stills. Later that day, Breneman accompanied "Life's" investigators to the 13th floor of Dallas' Adolphus Hotel where they were headquartered. He said at that time everybody involved agreed that no one man could have done all the shooting the day of the assassination. Breneman said the magazine investigators also had obtained a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle and attempted to work the bolt in the time frame attributed to Oswald. Breneman, a former Marine medal winner for marksmanship, said he too worked the rifle's bolt for hours. He said:

"We came to the conclusion that it couldn't be done in the time limit they were trying to get me down to."

He also said a strange incident occurred during his time with the magazine people:

"This (one) man told me, "My life isn't worth a plug nickel on this investigation." Then he pulled his shirt back and showed me this bullet-proof vest. I thought that was a little odd."

Breneman again was visiting his friend West on May 31, 1964, when the FBI and Secret Service reenacted the assassination for the Warren Commission.

Both surveyors participated in the tests. Breneman recalled:

"We again measured distances and elevations by matching the frames of the Zapruder film. We examined a bullet mark on the curb on the south side of (Elm) street. This part of the curb was replaced shortly after the assassination. Also, right after the assassination, they were mentioning a (highway) sign which had a stress mark from a bullet on it. It's my understanding that this particular sign was quickly taken down and no one has been able to locate it (See THE CROWD)."

During the May reenactment, Breneman said the FBI used a big Cadillac as a substitute for Kennedy's Lincoln Continental. "It was in no way like Kennedy's limousine," said Breneman.

West said:

"That was one thing that was always funny to me. They brought this big old Cadillac down to use in the tests, but it was 13 inches higher than Kennedy's car."

Breneman added:

"They were all crunched up in there, shoulder to shoulder. In that condition it could have been possible for one man to shoot two of them."

West said his study showed that one of the alleged shots from the Depository followed a path straight through a leafy tree. West said:

"If he shot through a hole in that tree, it was absolutely fantastic."

Breneman concluded:

"I wish to state that both investigations led us to believe beyond any doubt that there were two assassins. "Life" magazine's special investigators believed this to be true.

The Secret Service would not say. But at the time, that seemed to be the reason we were there and we felt the Secret Service felt that way too."

After the Warren Commission published the figures from the government reenactment, Breneman

and West were shocked to find that the figures did not match those made by them at the time. Both Breneman and West retained copies of the Dealey Plaza reenactment figures.

Breneman said:

"They (the figures) were at odds with our figures. After checking a few figures, I said, "That's enough for me," and I stopped reading....For instance, on our map, we marked the spot corresponding to Zapruder film frame 171. The Warren Commission changed this to 166 before they used it in the report. The Warren Report shows a 210 where we show a 208....It would seem to me that...these figures were changed just enough that the Warren Commission could come up with the idea that another shot came from the same direction as the first. But all I have been concerned with is, did another shot come from another direction? I know damned well it did."

Neither Breneman nor West - the actual surveyors used for the Commission's reenactment studies - were asked to testify. Further, the Commission declined to publish the map drawn by Breneman and West claiming it was inaccurate. This map indicates a bullet hit on the south curb of Elm Street.

Breneman said:

"We were told not to study those bullet marks by the FBI."

Again, any meaningful search for the truth of the assassination was ended by altered figures and orders not to note extraneous bullet marks - all from federal authorities.

Crossfire: Evidence Summary

The physical evidence compiled against Lee Harvey Oswald appears formidable at first glance - a rifle traced to him, three spent cartridges on the sixth floor of the building where he worked, his palm print on the rifle and even photographs of Oswald holding the murder weapon. However, the closer one inspects this evidence, the more questionable it becomes. Unfortunately, only a few researchers have questioned the validity of this evidence.

One example of tunnel vision on the part of federal authorities can be found in studying the testimony of assassination witnesses. While many people indicated the Texas School Book Depository as the source of shots, the majority of witnesses in Dealey Plaza believed shots came from the Grassy Knoll. Yet the federal authorities simply asserted they were wrong, possibly confused by echoes.

A much more plausible - and correct - interpretation of this evidence is that shots came from at least two separate locations.

Other witnesses - such as Jean Hill, Senator Ralph Yarborough, Phil Willis and James Tague - claim their testimony was altered by federal authority. This calls into question all of the witness testimony.

Photographs of the crime scene and the empty shells found on the Depository's sixth floor can be demonstrated to be inaccurate, making them virtually useless as evidence.

One of the three shell casings was bent and would not have been able to fire a slug in the condition in which it was found.

There are many questions concerning the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle reportedly used in the assassination, beginning with its make and model. Even CIA documents questioned the accuracy of its identification. Military experts stated it required the placement of three metal shims to make the rifle accurate with the sight and that the rifle had been adapted for a left-handed person. Oswald, according to his mother and his brother, was right-handed.

Oswald's palm print reportedly found by a Dallas policeman on the underside of the dismantled rifle barrel has no chain of evidence and would not have been permitted in a court of law. Further, it can be shown that the incriminating palm print most likely was made at Miller Funeral Home by placing the dead Oswald's hand on the rifle.

Even sophisticated spectrographic analysis failed to prove conclusively that pieces of bullet recovered from both Kennedy and Connally came from the same bullet as claimed by the Warren Commission. Furthermore, declassified Warren Commission documents show that millions of rounds of Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition was produced during World War II making a definite comparison with known examples of such ammunition impossible.

Findings of the spectrographic analysis were misrepresented and perhaps even deceptive.

Further suspicion concerning the evidence was aroused with the discovery of two seemingly identical FBI reports concerning the brown paper bag authorities claimed was used to smuggle the rifle into the Depository. While one FBI document stated the paper bag matched paper in the Depository, the other stated the paper was different. This raises the question of the authenticity of FBI documents still being used as evidence in the assassination.

Other items - such as the Presidential limousine and Connally's clothing - were destroyed as evidence by order of federal authorities.

The most incriminating evidence against Oswald was the photographs reportedly made in the backyard of his home in March 1963. Yet a careful study of the four available snapshots - one was hidden from the public for more than 15 years - gives ample evidence of fakery. This conclusion is supported by photographic experts both in England and Canada. Oswald himself claimed the photos were composites - his face pasted on someone else's body. Yet the FBI and a photographic panel of the House Select Committee on Assassinations claim the photos are genuine. If the backyard photos of Oswald are not genuine, this means some sort of deception has taken place at the level of the federal investigations.

It can be demonstrated that such deception took place with reenactments of the assassination. Two Texas surveyors who were employed to conduct a reenactment of the assassination in Dealey Plaza for the FBI and Secret Service in 1964 have said their distance and elevation numbers were altered when published by the Warren Commission, making all of the detailed computations of time and distance offered by the Commission invalid. They also said the FBI and Secret Service ordered them not to record extraneous bullet marks in the street and on the Elm Street curb - further evidence of the deceit practiced by federal authorities.

All in all, there is not one single piece of physical evidence used against Oswald which cannot be called into question. In addition, this evidence must be considered in light of the very real possibility that much of it was planted for the purpose of incriminating Oswald in the assassination.

Once all this is understood, the case against Oswald as the lone assassin rapidly crumbles.

Crossfire: The Warren Commission

"I think the Warren Commission has, in fact, collapsed like a house of cards."
Senator Richard Schweiker

The federal Government - led by President Lyndon Johnson - began to assert itself immediately following Kennedy's death. The day after the assassination, despite tremendous confusion in Dallas and elsewhere, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover forwarded to Johnson a preliminary report detailing the evidence supporting the idea of Lee Harvey Oswald's sole guilt. Following the death of the accused assassin on November 24, there were growing calls for an investigation larger than that of the Dallas Police, who were being held responsible for Oswald's death in many circles.

That same day, Hoover talked with Johnson Aide Walter Jenkins, stating:

"The thing I am concerned about, and so is (Deputy Attorney General Nicholas D.) Katzenbach, is having something issued so we can convince the public that Oswald is the real assassin. Mr. Katzenbach thinks that the President might appoint a Presidential Commission of three outstanding citizens to make a determination."

On November 25, President Johnson ordered his friend Hoover to prepare a detailed report on the circumstances surrounding Kennedy's death. The news media were already reporting leaks from the Bureau including:

"...rumors that will be spiked by the (FBI) report...is one that there was a conspiracy involved, and another one that shots fired at Kennedy came from different guns."

That same day, Katzenbach wrote a memo to Johnson Aide Bill Moyers and outlined his thoughts on an assassination investigation:

"It is important that all of the facts surrounding President Kennedy's assassination be made public in a way which will satisfy people in the United States and abroad. That all the facts have been told and that a statement to this effect be made now.

1. The public must be satisfied that Oswald was assassin; that he did not have confederates who are still at large; that the evidence was such that he would have been convicted at trial.
2. Speculation about Oswald's motivation ought to be cut off, and we should have some basis for rebutting thought that this was a communist conspiracy or (as the Iron Curtain press is saying) a right-wing conspiracy to blame it on the communists. Unfortunately the facts on Oswald seem about too pat - too obvious (Marxist, Cuba, Russian wife, etc.). The Dallas Police have put out statements on the communist conspiracy theory, and it was they who were in charge when he was shot and thus silenced.

3. The matter has been handled thus far with neither dignity nor conviction; facts are mixed with rumor and speculation. We can scarcely let the world see us totally in the image of the Dallas Police when our President is murdered.

I think this objective may be satisfied and made public as soon as possible with the completion of a thorough FBI report on Oswald and the assassination. This may run into the difficulty of pointing to inconsistency between this report and statements by Dallas Police officials; but the reputation of the Bureau is such that it may do the whole job.

The only other step would be the appointment of a Presidential Commission of unimpeachable personnel to review and examine the evidence and announce its conclusions. This has both advantages and disadvantages. I think it can await publication of the FBI report and public reaction to it here and abroad."

Also on November 25, Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr announced he planned to conduct a court of inquiry concerning the deaths of both Kennedy and Oswald. Carr named two prominent Texas attorneys - Leon Jaworski (who went on to become the special Watergate prosecutor) and Dean Storey - as special counsel for the probe.

The next day, Senator Everett Dirksen announced that a Senate investigation of the assassination would be conducted by a special committee headed by Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of the powerful Judiciary Committee. One Republican senator told newsmen:

"Too many people are disturbed about the strange circumstances of the whole tragic affair."

Not to be outdone by the Senate, an attempt to create yet another investigative committee was announced in the House of Representatives the next day.

The grief-stricken Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, was never consulted about any of these attempts. But the next-ranking officials of the Justice Department - Deputy Attorney General Katzenbach and Solicitor General Archibald Cox (also of Watergate fame) - met with Johnson's close friend, Attorney Abe Fortas, who had blocked the 1948 election investigation of Johnson by obtaining a court order from Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN).

These men, aided by Yale law professor Eugene Rostow, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and columnist Joseph Alsop, convinced President Johnson that his plan for a Texas investigation could be misinterpreted by the public as an attempt to cover up the crimes in Johnson's home state. It was decided that a national commission headed by men of unimpeachable integrity was needed. These attempts at independent investigations ended one week after the assassination when President Johnson announced the creation of a "blue ribbon" Presidential commission to probe the events in Dallas. In telling of the formation of what came to be known as the Warren Commission, "The Dallas Morning News" commented:

"Creation of the Presidential commission appeared certain to head off several congressional inquiries into the slaying of President Kennedy in Dallas a week ago."

The newspaper was absolutely correct. With the creation of the Warren Commission, Johnson not only blocked any congressional investigations but, by the next week, Texas Attorney General Carr had announced postponement of his state board of inquiry.

Despite massive media coverage of Oswald's arrest, his slaying and the amount of evidence offered to the public by both Dallas and federal authorities, a Gallop poll taken the first week of December 1963, showed a majority of respondents - 52 percent - continued to believe that Oswald had not acted alone.

Rumors were widespread in Texas that Johnson, in some way, had a hand in the assassination.

A man of distinction and credibility was needed to stop such rumors. That man was Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Crossfire: Reluctant Chairman

Earl Warren had no middle name. He once said, "My Parents were too poor to afford the luxury of a middle name." Born to Scandinavian immigrants on March 19, 1891, Warren grew up in Los Angeles and nearby Bakersfield. By delivering newspapers, working for the railroad where his father was employed and other odd jobs, Warren managed to save enough money to enroll in the University of California at Berkeley. In June 1912, Warren received a Bachelor of Letters degree and entered law school. He also began working in a nearby law firm acquiring practical experience. Warren graduated from the University of California Law School near the bottom of his class on May 14, 1914.

In 1969, contemplating the Earl Warren Legal Center on campus, Warren quipped:

"You don't have to be a great success in law school to have a building named after you."

His law practice was interrupted by World War I. After enlisting as an infantry private, Warren was accepted for officer training and became a lieutenant. However the Armistice was signed before Lt. Warren could leave the United States. After the war, Warren became an assistant attorney for the city of Oakland and later a member of the district attorney's staff. By the late 1920s, he had married Nina Palmquist Meyers and become one of the nation's youngest district attorneys. The young DA began acquiring a reputation for the relentless, but honest, prosecution of crime. He once told a public defender:

"I want to be fair with you...If you are ever certain that we have indicted an innocent person, come see me and I'll show you my evidence. I don't want to pull anything on you in court. If you're still convinced of your client's innocence after seeing our evidence, I'll drop the prosecution. We're both interested in fair play, aren't we?"

Building a reputation for honesty, hard work and court convictions, Warren easily won reelection in 1930. As his family grew, so did his political reputation. In 1932, he was a full delegate to the Republican National Convention in Chicago. He enthusiastically supported the reelection of President Herbert Hoover despite an overwhelming vote against Hoover in Warren's own county. Even though a staunch Republican, Warren prospered during the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the "New Deal."

One tragic event marred the growth of Warren's career. On May 14, 1938, his father was brutally murdered with a foot-long piece of pipe at his home in Bakersfield. Although some people believed the murder was in some way connected with the crime-busting activities of his son the district attorney, no charges were ever brought in the case and Warren apparently accepted the idea that his father was killed by a prowler looking for money.

Warren biographer Jack Harrison Pollack theorized that the memory of his bludgeoned father may have been a subconscious reason why 26 years later Warren refused to release the autopsy photographs of John F. Kennedy to the public. Although distracted by his father's murder, Warren nevertheless campaigned for and won the office of California Attorney General. Almost immediately, Republican Warren was in a heated contest with the California Democratic Governor Culbert Olson. Adding to their political differences was Olson's support of unions and his outspoken isolationism on the eve of World War II. This conflict reached a breaking point when, after Pearl Harbor, Olson proclaimed a state of emergency in California. Warren, as attorney general, challenged his authority to do so and shortly after, declared himself a candidate for governor. Perhaps distracted by the ensuing campaign, Warren became part of the machinery which resulted in the detention of thousands of Japanese Americans caught in the war hysteria in California.

In a surprising upset - Roosevelt and the Democrats were still in firm control nationally - Warren was elected Governor of California in late 1942 by more than 342,000 votes. As Governor, Warren strengthened the state's war preparedness and still managed to reduce taxes for the first time in the state's history. As long-time friends and fellow Masons, Warren and Democrat Harry S. Truman remained cordial after Truman became President following the death of Roosevelt on April 12, 1945.

Truman frequently remarked:

Earl Warren's a Democrat and don't know it.

In 1946, despite eroding support from both the extreme right and left, Warren handily won reelection as Governor and began to look toward Washington. During the 1948 Republican National Convention, Warren reluctantly agreed to run as Vice President with Thomas Dewey, the former Governor of New York (See MOBSTERS). He may have actually been relieved when the team was defeated by Truman in the greatest upset victory in American politics. Turned down nationally, Warren announced he would seek a third term as California Governor. But conservative forces were lining up

against him and his progressive policies.

Right-wing Republicans began supporting Representative Richard Nixon and even set up an \$18,000 slush fund which Nixon later had to defend in his famous "Checkers" television talk (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN).

Nonetheless, thanks to Warren's reputation and the looming conflict in Korea, California voters returned him to office by more than a million votes.

Still wishing a national office, Warren announced he would seek the GOP presidential nomination in 1952. He was chagrined to quickly find himself pitted against the war hero, Dwight "Ike" Eisenhower. Nixon, who had signed a pledge to support Warren, nevertheless began to campaign for Eisenhower, hoping for the Vice President nomination which he indeed later received. Eisenhower got the nomination and then the Presidency. Nixon, who had only been in public office for six years, was the nation's number two man. Warren had been a strong contender and Nixon was fearful of his clout in the next election. According to Warren biographer Pollack:

"Nixon...badgered Eisenhower to find a suitable appointment for Governor Warren which would effectively separate him from his electoral constituency. The ideal solution presented itself in September 1953, when a vacancy arose on the Supreme Court after Chief Justice Fred Vinson suddenly died. Warren, who already had decided not to seek a fourth term as governor, was offered the prized seat and, to Nixon's delight, accepted."

New on the job and with the naive Eisenhower years as a backdrop, Warren's initial decisions as chief justice tended to support the status quo. But as he grew more comfortable in his position, his decisions began to reflect the progressive policies he advocated as California Governor.

It was under Warren's leadership that the Supreme Court - after years of foot dragging - finally ruled on the touchy desegregation issues raised by "Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas."

Using private discussions as well as judicial conferences where no positions were taken by the justices, Warren was able to guide the court to its unanimous decision in favor of Brown, which virtually eliminated the old "Jim Crow" separate-but-equal segregation laws and paved the way for racial equality in the United States. It was a landmark decision and one which caused arch-conservatives to begin a campaign of bitter attacks against the chief justice. "Impeach Earl Warren" signs were commonplace throughout the South as well as Texas.

Later court opinions dealing with the rights of accused persons and the persecution of suspected communists added further fuel to the fires of Warren's opponents.

In the squeaky-close election of 1960, the Republican Warren found himself voting for young John F. Kennedy, apparently because he could not bring himself to vote for the ever-ambitious Nixon.

Displaying considerable foresight, Warren told a California friend:

"Nixon is a bad man."

Warren and Kennedy voiced mutual respect for each other and the new President supported the Warren Court's progressive activism, even in such controversial cases as the June 1962, decision which outlawed compulsory prayer in public schools.

In a congratulatory letter to Warren in September 1963, Kennedy wrote:

"You have presided over the work of the Supreme Court during ten years of extraordinary difficulty and accomplishment. There have been few decades in our history when the Court calendar has been crowded with so many issues of historic significance. As Chief Justice, you have borne your duties and responsibilities with unusual integrity, fairness, good humor, and courage. At all times your sense of judicial obligation has been unimpaired by criticism or personal attack. During my time as President, I have found our association to be particularly satisfying and I am personally delighted that during this week you will receive not only the acclaim of Californians, but also the respect and affection of all Americans whose common destiny you have so faithfully help to shape throughout your public career."

Two months later, Warren was being asked to head a federal panel to decide who killed Kennedy.

On November 29, the same day President Johnson announced his plans for a special commission, Warren was visited by Deputy Attorney General Nicholas D. Katzenbach and Solicitor General Archibald Cox (who gained fame during Watergate by being fired as special prosecutor by Nixon). As they began to speak of the Commission, Warren interrupted:

"If you are asking my permission to have an Associate Justice of this Court serve, I

have no intention of giving my approval."

Warren was told he was being asked to serve as chairman of the presidential commission. He declined, saying:

"Please tell the President that I am sorry but I cannot properly undertake this assignment."

Warren then explained that he did not feel it proper for one member of a branch of Government to be employed by another branch. Two hours later, he received a telephone call from President Johnson. The new President wasn't going to take no for an answer. He summoned Warren to his office. Dutifully, the Chief Justice reported to his President and was given the famous "Johnson treatment" - a combination of back patting and arm twisting.

According to Warren biographer Pollack:

"The President spoke gravely of the desperate need to restore public confidence. He hinted darkly at the possibility of dangerous international repercussions, including a possible nuclear war killing 60 million Americans in the first strike. He invoked Warren's sense of duty and patriotism...By the end of the interview, he had succeeded in making Warren feel that to refuse the President would be a betrayal of a public trust. As a man-to-man persuader, Lyndon Johnson had no equal. His trump card was: "Mr. Chief Justice, you were a soldier in World War I. There's nothing you then did that compares with what you can do now for your country. As your Commander-in-Chief, I am ordering you back into service.""

There may have been matters of more personal concern that Johnson transmitted to Warren. In an internal Warren Commission memorandum written on February 17, 1964, Melvin Eisenberg mentioned what Warren told fellow commissioners regarding how he had been "pressured" by Johnson. Eisenberg wrote:

"The President stated that rumors of the most exaggerated kind were circulating in this country and overseas...Some rumors went so far as attributing the assassination to a faction within the government wishing the presidency assumed by President Johnson. Others, if not quenched, could conceivably lead the country into a war which could cost 40 million lives. No one could refuse to do something which might help prevent such a possibility....He placed emphasis on the quenching of rumors and precluding further speculation."

Warren left the emotional meeting with tears in his eyes, perhaps thinking of what had become of the country he loved. He had reluctantly agreed to chair the Commission. Later that same afternoon, Johnson signed Executive Order 11130 creating the seven-man Presidential Commission.

It is obvious that Warren's sense of patriotism outweighed his sense of morality and legality in his acceptance of the Commission chairmanship. Other Commission members also saw their work as having a dual purpose - one, to find the facts of the Kennedy assassination, the other, to calm public fears and suspicions both at home and abroad.

Allen Dulles told author Edward Jay Epstein since an atmosphere of rumors and suspicion interferes with the functioning of the government, especially abroad, one of the main tasks of the Commission was to dispel rumors.

Other Commission members also reported it their duty to protect the image of the United States as reflected in these public statements:

JOHN MCCLOY: (It was of paramount importance to) show the world that America is not a banana republic, where a government can be changed by conspiracy.

JOHN COOPER: (An importance purpose was) to lift the cloud of doubts that had been cast over American institutions.

When evidence presented to the Commission supported this duality of purpose there was no problem. But since so much evidence contradicted the official assassination theory and called into questions certain government institutions, it must be asked which purpose became paramount to the Commissioners?

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Johnson's old friend, lawyer Abe Fortas, and Katzenbach had prepared a list of seven prominent persons to serve on the new Presidential commission. This list was promptly approved by President Johnson without change.

Headed by Chief Justice Warren, the Commission members were:

Representative Hale Boggs (D-La.) - The most vocal critic among Commission members, Boggs became frustrated with the panel's total reliance on the FBI for information. Speaking of the "single bullet theory," Boggs once commented, "I had strong doubts about it." On April 1, 1971, House Majority Leader Boggs delivered a blistering attack on J. Edgar Hoover, charging that under his directorship the FBI had adopted "the tactics of the Soviet Union and Hitler's Gestapo." Boggs, who undoubtedly would have become Speaker of the House and a powerful ally in any reopening of the JFK assassination investigation, vanished on October 16, 1972, while on a military junket flight in Alaska. Despite a massive search, no trace of the airplane or of Boggs has ever been found.

Senator John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) - A former member of the Kentucky General Assembly and county judge, Cooper served with the U.S. 3rd Army in Europe during World War II and helped reorganize the judicial system in Bavaria. He also was a former Ambassador to India and Nepal in the mid-1950s. Like Boggs, Cooper later voiced dissatisfaction with the Commission's "single bullet theory," stating he was "unconvinced."

Allen W. Dulles - Dulles had been fired as director of the Central Intelligence Agency by Kennedy following the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion. Today it seems more than ironic that Dulles would have been selected to sit in judgment on Kennedy's death. Dulles also was tightly connected to the military, not only because of his years with the CIA, but because of his service in World War II, which included arranging the surrender of German troops in Italy. It is now acknowledged that Dulles withheld CIA information from the Warren Commission, particularly concerning assassination plots between the Agency and organized crime.

Representative Gerald Ford (R-Mich.) - Former President Ford is now recognized as the FBI's "spy" on the Warren Commission. This is confirmed by a memo from Cartha DeLoach, a close aide to director Hoover, in which he noted:

I had a long talk this morning (December 12, 1963) with Congressman Gerald R. "Jerry" Ford...He asked that I come up and see him...Ford indicated he would keep me thoroughly advised as to the activities of the Commission. He stated this would have to be on a confidential basis, however, he thought it should be done. He also asked if he could call me from time to time and straighten out questions in his mind concerning our investigation. I told him by all means he should do this. He reiterated that our relationship would, of course, remain confidential.

According to former New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison:

...Ford (also) enjoyed the reputation of being the CIA's best friend in the House of Representatives.

Ford's name as a member of the Warren Commission was recommended to President Johnson by Richard Nixon (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN). A World War II Navy veteran, Ford became the Commission's most industrious member, hearing 70 out of the 94 witnesses who actually met with Commissioners. He also profited from his time on the Commission. Ford had his first campaign manager and former Nixon for President Campaign Field director John R. Stiles hired as his special assistant. Ford and Stiles went on to publish "Portrait of the Assassin," a book which presented selective evidence of Oswald's guilt. When their publisher found the book dull reading, Ford and Stiles spiced it up with rewritten transcripts of the January 27, 1964, Commission meeting where Oswald's possible connection to the FBI was discussed. The minutes of this meeting were classified "Top Secret" and remained closed to the public. During confirmation hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1973, Ford was asked specifically about his use of classified Warren Commission material in his book. Ford replied:

...we did not use in that book any material other than the material that was in the 26 volumes of testimony and other exhibits that were subsequently made public and sold to the public generally.

When it was discovered that the January 27, 1974, meeting transcripts were still classified, Ford belatedly said:

I cannot help but apologize if the circumstances are such that there was this violation, but there certainly was no attempt to do it.

Despite being caught in perjury, Ford was dutifully confirmed by his old friends in Congress and sworn in as this nation's first unelected President. Six months later, Ford ordered the Commission material in question declassified.

John J. McCloy - As coordinator for the Kennedy Administration's disarmament activities since 1961, McCloy had a distinguished background. He had been Assistant Secretary of War throughout World War II, Military Governor and High Commissioner for Germany from 1949 to 1952 and President of the World Bank from 1947 to 1949. He also help build the U.S. intelligence establishment after the war. Despite his continued defense of the Warren Commission, McCloy himself voiced a prophetic skepticism of its work on December 5, 1963, stating:

The Commission is going to be criticized...no matter what we do, but I think we would be more criticized if we simply posed before the world as something that is evaluating Government agencies' reports, who themselves may be culpable.

In Commission arguments over the "single bullet theory," it was McCloy who finally proposed that the evidence supporting this theory be called "persuasive," a term all members finally agreed upon.

Senator Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) - As chairman of the powerful Senate Armed Services Committee, Russell carried much clout on Capitol Hill, usually employed to further the aims of the Pentagon. His work on behalf of defense projects brought sizable government contracts to Georgia. A former Governor there from 1931 to 1933, Russell was elected to the Senate in 1933. Russell also sat on the watchdog Subcommittee on CIA Oversight. Russell, widely regarded as one of the most intelligent Senators, became the first Warren Commission member to publicly question its conclusions. In a 1970 "Washington Post" article, Russell said he had come to believe that a criminal conspiracy had resulted in Kennedy's death. The Senator even worked with assassination researcher Harold Weisberg in an effort to obtain Commission transcripts. In a court affidavit, Weisberg stated:

Privately Senator Russell told me that he was convinced that there were two areas in which Warren Commission members had been deceived by Federal agencies responsible for investigating the assassination of President Kennedy. These two areas were: (1) Oswald's background; and (2) the ballistics evidence.

As can be seen, all of the Commission members had long-standing ties to both the military and intelligence establishments of the United States. They also were men accustomed to the delicacy of dealing with highly-sensitive political issues. Additionally, they knew that they were serving at the pleasure of the new President. Each had received a copy of White House Executive Order 11130 which, after naming the seven members of President's Commission, stated:

"The purposes of the Commission are to examine the evidence developed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and any additional evidence that may hereafter come to light or be uncovered by federal or state authorities; to make further investigation as the Commission finds desirable; to evaluate all the facts and circumstances surrounding such assassination, including the subsequent violent death of the man charged with the assassination, and to report to me its findings and conclusions.

The Commission is empowered to prescribe its own procedures and to employ such assistants as it deems necessary.

Necessary expenses of the Commission may be paid from the "Emergency Fund for the President".

In an effort to obtain fairness for her son, Marguerite Oswald wrote to Warren Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin and even President Johnson, stating:

"I (am)...imploring both in the name of justice and our American way of life to let my son Lee Harvey Oswald be represented by council (sic) so that all witnesses including my son's widow will be cross examined."

Her request was denied. In fact, every basic legal right guaranteed to even the lowliest street criminal - the right to legal representation, to face accusers, to cross examine witnesses and evidence - was denied Lee Harvey Oswald. The Commission simply met behind closed doors, heard secret

testimony and emerged to announced their conclusions.

Armed with a mandate to "...uncover all the facts concerning the assassination of President Kennedy and to determine if it was in any way directed or encouraged by unknown persons at home or abroad," the Commission set to work. Much of the documentation concerning the internal workings of the Warren Commission were kept classified until the mid-1970s, thus preventing any meaningful public scrutiny until a decade after the Commission's report was issued. Transcripts of Commission meetings - when available - are filled with gaps. Just as sensitive or provocative issues were raised, Commissioners would elect to go "off the record." There is simply no way of knowing today what was discussed or for how long.

The Warren Commission's first official meeting took place on December 5, 1963. The primary purpose of this meeting was to get their investigation organized. During this process, Warren suggested that the Commission need not hire its own investigators nor obtain subpoena powers from Congress. He was, however, overridden in this matter by other Commission members.

McCloy stated:

"...I have a feeling that we have another obligation than the mere evaluation of the reports of agencies, many of which as you suggested, or some of them at least, may be interested, may be involved. There is a potential culpability here on the part of the Secret Service and even the FBI, and these reports...may have some self-serving aspects in them. And I think that if we didn't have the right to subpoena documents, the right to subpoena witnesses if we needed them, that this Commission's general standing might be somewhat impaired."

Not wishing to appear as simply a conduit for information from federal agencies, Commission members appealed to Congress for the right to issue subpoenas. This was granted on December 13, 1963, by the passage of Senate Joint Resolution 137. This law also authorized the Commission to compel testimony by providing immunity from prosecution - an authority which the Commission never once used.

During this meeting, Senator Russell noted the on-going leaks of assassination information by the FBI while Commission members were still awaiting the Bureau's first full report. He asked pointedly:

"...how much of their findings does the FBI propose to release to the press before we present the findings of this Commission?"

It was the beginning of a quiet - yet intense - feud between the Commission and Hoover's Bureau. There followed a discussion of the hiring of a general counsel, with Dulles remarking:

"I don't think it should be anybody from Texas."

Finally the members tried to decide on a time to reconvene. Ford asked Warren to clarify his plans for Commission meetings later in December because "we have a holiday season coming up, at least I have, with some family plans."

A meeting was scheduled for the next day, but McCloy begged off, saying:

"I have this luncheon with the President, whatever it is. They made it clear to me it was a command performance."

The Commission's second meeting was on December 6. Both then as the day before there was considerable discussion about the proposed Texas court of inquiry. Texas Attorney General Carr had traveled to Washington but was put off from meeting with Warren for three days as the chief justice was wanting a formal promise that there would be no Texas hearings until after his Commission had completed its investigation. Warren read from a letter he had sent Carr stating:

"...it is the view of this Commission...that a public inquiry in Texas at this time might be more harmful than helpful in our search for the truth."

He then told his fellow Commissioners:

"I think that we have to show a spirit of cooperation with these people and still...not reveal everything we have got or anything about our innermost secrets...I've cooperated with the federal Government in a thousand things when I was in state government and we didn't tell everything..."

It was during this meeting that the name of J. Lee Rankin was advanced as a possible general counsel for the Commission. Warren originally wanted Warren Olney III, head of the FBI Criminal Division from 1953 to 1957, as chief counsel. However, Olney, an outspoken critic of director J. Edgar Hoover and most knowledgeable of the internal workings of the Bureau, was rejected after the powerful Hoover voiced fierce opposition to his appointment. There was also further complaints regarding the

continuing leaks to the news media from the FBI.

The Commission then recessed until December 16, when they reviewed the first formal report on the assassination issued by the FBI on December 9.

Warren set the tone by commenting:

"Well, gentlemen, to be very frank about it, I have read that FBI report two or three times and I have not seen anything in there yet that has not been in the press."

Boggs commented:

"...reading that FBI report leaves a million questions."

Dulles said the CIA couldn't finalize a report until the Agency received more documents from the FBI. He did say:

"They've been working for a long while, I know. It started when I was there."

This was the first admission that the CIA had been keeping an eye on Oswald since his trip to Russia in 1959.

On December 8, 1963, J. Lee Rankin, a 56-year-old Nebraska attorney and former U.S. Solicitor General under President Eisenhower, had accepted the appointment as General Counsel for the Commission. This was his first meeting with the Commissioners. This corporate lawyer would take charge of the Commission's investigation, serve as the primary liaison between the Commission and both the FBI and CIA and act as coordinator between Commission members and the staff. One Commission attorney said years later:

"It was, very simply, a Rankin operation."

And Rankin appeared more concerned with wrapping up the Commission's investigation swiftly than fully probing each assassination issue.

When Commission Assistant Counsel Wesley Liebeler submitted a 26-page memorandum to Rankin carefully outlining the serious deficiencies of the evidence against Oswald as the lone assassin, Rankin reportedly replied:

"No more memorandums. The Report has to be published."

On another occasion when Liebeler tried to address the problems arising from the Sylvia Odio affair (See CUBANS), an angry Rankin said:

"At this stage, we are supposed to be closing doors, not opening them."

Initially, even Rankin voiced the suspicion that the Commission might have to do more than simply evaluate FBI reports. During this December 16 meeting, he stated:

"The Chief Justice and I finally came to the conclusion...that we might have to...ask for some investigative help...because we might not get all we needed by just going back to the FBI and other agencies because the (FBI) report has so many loopholes in it. Anybody can look at it and see that it just doesn't seem like they're looking for things that this Commission has to look for in order to get the answers that it wants and is entitled to...(This) might be a tender spot. I am sure the FBI is certainly tender about the knowledge they had (concerning Oswald's presence in Dallas) and the fact that the Secret Service did not have that knowledge in order to do anything about it."

After discussing whether or not to forward the FBI assassination report to the CIA, Senator Russell summed up the problem of dealing with the various Government agencies by saying:

"I have never been able to understand why it is that every agency acts like it's the sole agency in the Government. There is very little interchange of information between the departments in the United States Government."

The Commission members then debated how soon to interview Mrs. Kennedy. All seemed loathed to interview the widow, yet most agreed that she would constitute a most important witness. McCloy stated:

"She's got it very definitely in mind now...She may not be the chief witness as to who did the job. She's the chief witness as to how those bullets hit her husband. She saw both of them."

On January 21, 1964, the Commission met for the fourth time. Warren optimistically predicted an early end to the investigation, although there continued to be concern of whether to hurry up the Commission's work prior to the election-year conventions or slow it down pending the outcome of the Texas trial of Jack Ruby which was about to begin. And again the issue of FBI reliability was raised, this time in connection with the conflicting information Commissioners were getting concerning the President's wounds. McCloy said:

"Let's find out about these wounds, it is just as confusing now as could be. It left my mind muddy as to what really did happen....why did the FBI report come out with something which isn't consistent with the autopsy...?"

Rankin urged avoiding embarrassment in questioning the FBI, saying:

"...it would make our relations difficult and make it hard for us to get the other material if we needed it later."

Senator Russell even suggested double checking the FBI studies, but no action was taken.

A lengthy discussion ensued regarding the Commission's responsibility to question Mrs. Kennedy and the new President, Lyndon Johnson. However, almost a dozen pages of this discussion were marked "classified" and kept from the public.

The Commission then discussed the possibility of moving Oswald's body, including another autopsy and even cremation. Although the transcripts make no mention that they suspected impersonation at this time, it is significant to note the Commission's interest in Oswald's body. McCloy said:

"I don't think we ought to have on the record that we are moving in this thing (an Oswald exhumation). We are not saying anything about it."

In response to news articles that Marina Oswald was being held against her will, Warren suggested allowing someone with the American Civil Liberties Union meet with her. Rankin added:

"We do have a little problem because the Secret Service came to us and said, "Shall we quit our surveillance over her?"...I said we can't do that because she would slip right across the border and be gone..."

The Commission again grappled with the problem of interagency rivalries. They now understood that an overhauling of U.S. intelligence agencies was long overdue. Their problem was how to attack this issue with sensitive agency officials.

Crossfire: Oswald and the FBI

On January 22, 1964, the Warren Commission was hurriedly called into secret session because of the explosive news that Texas authorities were in possession of information that Oswald had been an undercover informant for the FBI (See G MEN). Reports of this meeting were not made public until 1975.

Rankin told members:

"Yes, it was being rumored that he (Oswald) was an undercover agent. Now it is something that would be very difficult to prove out. There are events in connection with this that are curious, in that they might make it possible to check some of it out in time. I assume that the FBI records would never show it...or if their records do show anything, I would think their records would show some kind of number that could be assigned to a dozen different people according to how they wanted to describe them....(Oswald) did use postal boxes practically every place he went, and that would be an ideal way to get money to anyone that you wanted as an undercover agent..."

Rankin wondered aloud if Oswald had been operating for the FBI during his trip to Russia, but Warren pointed out "...they haven't any people in Russia...."

Rankin was still wondering:

"One of the strange things that happened...is the fact that this man who is a defector, and who was under observation at least by the FBI,...could (obtain) a passport that permitted him to go to Russia."

Rankin then connected his musings to the Commission's problems with the Bureau:

"...the FBI is very explicit that Oswald is the assassin or was the assassin, and they are very explicit that there was no conspiracy, and (yet) they are also saying in the same place that they are continuing their investigation. Now in my experience of almost nine years, in the first place it is hard to get them to say when you think you have got a case tight enough to convict somebody....In my experience with the FBI, they don't do that. They claim that they don't evaluate...Secondly, they have not run out of all kinds of leads in Mexico or in Russia and so forth which they could probably....But they are concluding that there can't be a conspiracy without those (leads) being run out. Now that is not (normal) from my experience with the FBI....it raises questions."

The specter of Oswald being identified as an FBI agent caused great difficulty for the Commission. There appeared no way to fully resolve the matter and as Representative Boggs pointed out:

"(The) implications of this are fantastic, don't you think so?...I don't even like to see this being taken down."

Dulles agreed:

"Yes, I think this record ought to be destroyed."

Five days after this secret meeting, the Commission met formally. The minutes of this meeting, January 27, 1964, show that Commissioners were still agonizing over the question of Oswald's possible involvement with the FBI.

More than two hours of its three-and-a-half hour afternoon session was spent trying to decided how to broach the subject with director J. Edgar Hoover. The problem was compounded by rumors which added the CIA to Oswald's suspected intelligence connections.

The stories of Oswald's spy connections were traced back from Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr to Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade and more specifically Assistant District Attorney William Alexander. Alexander claimed he got the story from "Houston Post" reporter Alonzo Hudkins, who said he got it from Dallas Deputy Sheriff Allen Sweatt. Sweatt revealed his source for the story was none other than Alexander - who was on the scene of the Tippit slaying and reportedly also present at Oswald's capture at the Texas Theater.

Despite this convoluted circle, apparently no attempt was made to determine just where Alexander got his information that Oswald was FBI informant S-179 being paid \$200 a month.

In 1976, newsman Hugh Aynesworth, a close friend to Assistant DA Alexander, further confused the issue by telling "Esquire" magazine that he had made up the Oswald-FBI informant story and had taken the number "S 172" from a Telex message lying on his desk and given it to reporter Hudkins as a joke. Aynesworth did not say why he had never mentioned his version of this issue previously. And there is considerable question over the validity of this seemingly innocent explanation. FBI documents

declassified in 1976 show that in the summer of 1964, the Bureau received information that Aynesworth, Bill Alexander and another Dallas reporter, Carl Freund, made a deal to sell copies of Oswald's diary and other documents for a reported \$15,000. As part of this deal, Aynesworth was to become the Dallas correspondent for "Newsweek" Magazine - a position which Aynesworth subsequently did achieve.

Rankin dismissed the possibility of approaching Attorney General Robert Kennedy with the problem, saying:

"As the head of the (Justice) department, the FBI, of course, is under the attorney general, but I think we must frankly recognize amongst ourselves that there is a daily relationship there...and we wouldn't want to make that more difficult..."

He then raised the possibility of going straight to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. But since Hoover was already on record denying that Oswald had any connection with the Bureau, Commission members were hesitant to anger the dour Hoover by initiating their own inquiries.

Senator Russell said:

"There is no man in the employ of the federal government who stands higher in the opinion of the American people than J. Edgar Hoover."

Furthermore, Commission member Allen Dulles, former head of the CIA, while admitting that government agencies and even local police departments employed "terribly bad characters" as undercover agents, bluntly implied there was no way to prove such allegations during the following exchange:

REP. BOGGS: Let's say (someone)...was recruited by someone in the CIA. The man who recruited him would know, wouldn't he?

DULLES: Yes, but he wouldn't tell.

CHAIRMAN WARREN: Wouldn't tell it under oath?

DULLES: I wouldn't think he would tell it under oath, no...He ought not tell it under oath. Maybe not tell it to his own government but wouldn't tell it any other way.

MCCLOY: Wouldn't he tell it to his own chief?

DULLES: He might or might not. If he was a bad one then he wouldn't.

Dulles added that he would not reveal CIA business to anyone except the President and that questioning Hoover would not necessarily get to the truth. Dulles explained:

"...if he (Hoover) says no, I didn't have anything to do with it. You can't prove what the facts are. There are no external evidences. I would believe Mr. Hoover. Some people might not. I don't think there is any external evidence other than the person's word that he did or did not employ a particular man as a secret agent. No matter what."

Member McCloy voiced the Commission's exasperation of its total dependence on the FBI:

"...the time is almost overdue for us to have a better perspective of the FBI investigation than we now have....We are so dependent upon them for our facts..."

Commission members also were becoming suspicious that the Bureau was not being totally open with them regarding certain aspects of the assassination. For example, Rankin recalled that Marina Oswald told about her husband meeting with two FBI agents for nearly two hours shortly after their return from Russia, but said:

"...we don't have any report that would cover anything like a two-hour conversation."

Senator Russell summed up the Commission's dilemma:

"It seems to me we have two alternatives. One is we can just accept the FBI's report and go on and write the report based on their findings and supported by the raw materials they gave us, or else we can go and try to run down some of these collateral rumors that have just not been dealt with directly in this raw material that we have."

The Commission opted to allow Rankin to approach Hoover in the manner he thought best. But after all was said and done, the Warren Commission elected to accept the FBI's information and conclusions without independent verification.

Two days after this meeting, Texas Attorney General Carr wrote the Commission and suggested that the directors of both the FBI and CIA be asked to provide the names of their agents who were in the Dallas area between August and December 1963.

This letter with its most relevant suggestion was ignored by the Commission and was not to become public until 1975.

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During the same meeting that Commissioners agonized over the question of Oswald's possible connection with the FBI, Rankin outlined at length the six major areas of the Commission's investigation.

Area I was "The Basic Facts of the Assassination," dealing with the number and source of the shots. In charge of this area were Commission assistant counsel Francis W.H. Adams, who had served as a special assistant to the U.S. Attorney as well as police commissioner and chief assistant U.S. Attorney in New York City, and Arlen Specter, a Yale Law School graduate and an assistant district attorney in Philadelphia. In March 1964, Adams announced he could not fulfill his responsibility in the investigation. Specter went on to single-handedly manage this critical area.

Area II was to establish the "Identity of the Assassin". In charge were David Belin, an Iowa attorney with a distinguished academic record, and Joseph A. Ball, an Iowa-born attorney who was teaching criminal law and procedures at the University of Southern California. Belatedly, an investigation of the murder of Policeman J.D. Tippit was added to this area.

Area III was a study of "Oswald's Background," an aspect of the probe which clearly indicates the Commission's predisposition toward Oswald's guilt.

Area IV was to determine "Possible Conspiratorial Relationships." It was headed by William T. Coleman Jr., a Pennsylvania attorney who had served as law clerk to U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Herbert F. Goodrich and Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter as well as a consultant with the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and W. David Slawson, a Denver, Colorado, attorney educated at Amherst College, Princeton and Yale.

Area V was the study of "Oswald's Death." In charge were Burt Griffin and Leon Hubert, both former assistant U.S. Attorneys.

Area VI was added at a later date and dealt with "Presidential Protection," a study of the security precautions of the Secret Service and the FBI. Samuel Stern, a former law clerk to Chief Justice Warren, was assigned to this area but Chief Counsel Rankin supervised this "politically sensitive area."

Rankin during this meeting also outlined the questions already arising over the medical evidence. He said:

"...We think that the wound in the neck has to be related to one of these others, but the problem is difficult to determine because we have a statement from the hospital that the bullet that was more whole than the other was found on the stretcher which they brought the President in to the hospital on and then we have testimony later that goes back over the same ground...(saying) that this bullet was found under the blanket on the stretcher Governor Connally was on."

It was the beginning of years of controversy over the basic medical and ballistic evidence. As with the later House Select Committee on Assassinations, many experts with lengthy credentials were called upon by the Warren Commission to substantiate various assassination issues, such as Oswald's fingerprints and ballistics. And, as with the House Committee, while these experts supported the government's conclusions regarding these issues, none of them could later state with any certainty that the materials they were given by the Commission were the original materials. The possibility that someone within the government would substitute or fabricate evidence never seemed to have crossed the minds of the experts or Commissioners.

There was also controversy over Oswald's connections. Rankin told Commissioners:

"We have no evidence that is clear that Oswald was connected with anybody but we also have very great problems..."

In regard to Oswald's life in Russia, Rankin commented:

"That entire period is just full of possibilities for training, for working with the Soviets, and its agents..."

Rankin also briefly discussed Jack Ruby and his associations with crime figures:

"He had all kinds of connections with the minor underworld, I think you would call it, in Dallas and in Chicago, but I don't - it isn't apparent that any of the important people in the underworld would have given him any consideration at all....Now it would seem that he might have - he might be the kind of person they might try to use. He was a habitu  apparently of the police department and was able to go to any part of it at any time, and they knew him..."

On February 24, 1964, Warren, Senator Cooper, Representative Ford, Dulles and Rankin met for about ten minutes.

Rankin reported no significant progress in the problem area of Oswald's possible connection with the FBI. He said affidavits from Hoover, FBI agents and even Dallas officials "show negative." However, he also reported one instance of the Bureau's lack of candor with the Commission, saying:

"As you recall, we informed you before that the address in the telephone book of Lee Oswald had in it the name of (FBI Agent James) Hosty and his telephone number and his automobile license, and that it wasn't in the transcript of that information which was furnished to us by the FBI. And we have written to the FBI to ask them, an official inquiry, how that could happen, and to furnish us all of the information concerning that occurrence. And we have not received a reply yet."

On March 16, 1964, three and a half months after its inception, the Warren Commission met again. This three-minute session was to approve a resolution governing the questioning of witnesses by Commission staff members. Only Warren, Senator Cooper, Representative Ford, McCloy and Rankin attended.

Jack Ruby's trial had ended on March 14 and at this point the real Warren Commission investigation began. On March 18, Commission staff attorneys flew to Dallas and set up a field station in the offices of U.S. Attorney Barefoot Sanders. Also in March the "more important" witnesses were called to testify over a period of 14 days. By April, the number of days spent hearing testimony had dropped to seven.

On April 30, 1964, the Commission met again. Commissioners Ford, Boggs and Russell were absent. Senator Cooper left the two-hour meeting after only 30 minutes.

Despite the passage of nearly five months, Commissioners were still concerned about the contradictions in the investigative material. The question of Oswald's involvement with the FBI and CIA remained unresolved.

Senator Cooper even expressed his concern over contradictions between the testimony of witnesses to Commission attorneys and news media reports of interviews with the same witnesses.

Crossfire: Conflicts in Testimony

The questions raised by Senator Cooper over conflicts between testimony received by the Warren Commission and news media accounts of the same testimony remain valid today. Only a few assassination researchers have seen fit to study the problems between what some Commission witnesses actually said and what was reported. Yet if basic conflicts can be shown to be present in the testimony than all of the Warren Commission testimony - used as primary evidence in all studies of the Kennedy assassination - must be reevaluated. In fact, close scrutiny of this issue brings out deeply troubling instances of suppression of evidence and intimidation of witnesses in this case.

The first problem with Warren Commission testimony is omissions. Despite what was hailed at the time as being one of the most thorough investigations of all time, a review of the Warren Commission's performance reveals glaring deficiencies. In their report, Commissioners devoted more than a page for a detailed discussion of Lee Harvey Oswald's pubic hair. In their volumes, several pages are used to reproduce Marguerite Oswald's tax and house payment receipts, some dating back into the 1930s, and the dental records of Jack Ruby's mother.

Many other pages were filled with meaningless and irrelevant testimony, such as Mrs. Anne Boudreaux, who knew a woman who once baby-sat the infant Oswald (Mrs. Boudreaux never met either Oswald or his mother); Mrs. Viola Peterman, a former neighbor of Marguerite Oswald who had not see her for 27 years and Professor Revilo Pendleton Oliver, who took up 35 pages of testimony to discuss an article he had written which had no bearing on factual matters.

Yet many of the more pertinent witnesses were never asked to tell what they knew. These included:

JAMES CHANEY, the motorcycle policeman closest to Kennedy during the assassination who told newsmen he saw the President "struck in the face" by the final shot.

BILL and GAYLE NEWMAN, two of the bystanders closest to Kennedy at the time of the fatal head shot, who have consistently said that shots came from directly behind them on the Grassy Knoll.

CHARLES BREHM, a former U.S. Army Ranger combat veteran and one of the closest bystanders to Kennedy when he was shot.

J.C. PRICE, who from his bird's-eye perch on top of the Terminal Annex building witnessed the entire assassination and then told of seeing a man with a rifle running behind the wooden picket fence on top of the Grassy Knoll.

MILTON JONES, who told the FBI that he was on a Dallas bus which was boarded and searched by Dallas police after Oswald had gotten off, although at that time no one knew that Oswald was a suspect.

MARY DOWLING, a waitress at Dallas' Dobbs House restaurant who told the FBI that Policeman Tippit had been in the restaurant on November 20, when Oswald was there making a fuss over his food.

JAMES SIMMONS, a Union Railroad employee who supported Sam Holland in his contention that shots came from behind the picket fence on the Grassy Knoll.

RICHARD DODD, another railroad employee who told of hearing shots and seeing smoke come from behind the picket fence.

ALONZO HUDKINS, the Houston newspaperman who reported that Dallas officials told him that Oswald was an informant for the FBI.

RAY RUSHING, an evangelist who claimed to have ridden in an elevator at Dallas Police headquarters with Jack Ruby about two hours before Ruby murdered Oswald and at a time when Ruby reportedly was at his home.

LT. GEORGE BUTLER, the Dallas Police official in charge of Oswald's transfer November 24 and who was reported to have been in an extremely agitated condition by newspaperman Thayer Waldo.

ADMIRAL GEORGE BURKLEY, Kennedy's personal physician who rode in the motorcade, was with Kennedy at Parkland Hospital, rode with Air Force One on the trip back to Washington, was present at the Bethesda autopsy and received all of the official medical evidence, much of which is now in controversy.

JOHN T. STRINGER and LT. WILLIAM PITZER, who photographed and X-rayed Kennedy's body at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

JAMES SIBERT and FRANCIS O'NEILL, two FBI agents who attended Kennedy's

autopsy and made a report which contradicts some of the official conclusions.

RICHARD RANDOLPH CARR, a steelworker who reported seeing two men run from behind the Texas School Book Depository and drive off in a Rambler station wagon.

MARVIN ROBINSON, a motorist in Dealey Plaza who corroborated Deputy Sheriff Roger Craig's claim that Oswald entered a west-bound Rambler station wagon in front of the Depository minutes after the assassination.

SENATOR RALPH YARBOROUGH, who rode beside Lyndon Johnson in the motorcade and smelled gunpowder as they passed the Grassy Knoll.

The omission of these people's testimony appears to go far beyond inefficient oversight. It seems rather to support the charges by Warren Commission critics that the panel deliberately avoided any information which conflicted with their preconceived determination that Oswald was the lone assassin.

Most of the conclusions reached by the Warren Commission - notably the single-bullet theory - were contradicted by medical evidence, the witnesses and Governor John Connally. Therefore, the Commission chose to simply ignore this evidence and Connally.

Other witnesses who were questioned - either directly or by deposition - by the Commission have told researchers and newsmen that their testimony was altered. Others simply shrugged off their superficial questioning. Railroad supervisor Lee Bowers later said:

"I was there to tell them only what they asked and when they wanted to cut off the conversation, I figured that was the end of it."

Butch Burroughs, Jean Hill, Phil Willis, Orville Nix, James Tague and others have stated that their testimony as presented by the Commission did not accurately reflect what they said.

While every Commission witness was given the opportunity to review their testimony for accuracy, as far as can be determined, not one took advantage of the offer. As one person put it:

"I trust you..."

One Warren Commission witness voiced her complaints to the FBI. Mrs. Nancy Powell, better known as Ruby stripper Tammi True, talked to agents in August of 1964. In their report, the agents stated:

"Mrs. Powell complained that she did not feel that her testimony had been recorded accurately in the deposition. It was explained to Mrs. Powell that persons, while conversing, give meaning to their words through voice inflections, and that reading the words without inflections sometimes gives different meaning to the words which was not meant....At that time she stated to me that the deposition as written was not acceptable to her, particularly in the area where she was questioned relative to Jack Ruby and to any part that Ruby may have played in the assassination....Mrs. Powell stated it would be impossible for her to make corrections in the deposition as written because to make her testimony "sound right I would have to change the questions of (Commission Attorney Burt) Griffin."

Witness Sam Holland was one of the few to attempt to correct his Warren Commission testimony. Holland told author Josiah Thompson he and his attorney attempted to correct the transcript:

"We red marked...red penciled that statement from beginning to end because there were a lot of errors in it."

Holland later told Thompson that apparently his corrections must have been lost somewhere along the line because "the statement that I made, as well as I remember, isn't in context with the Warren Commission."

He told Mark Lane:

"The Warren Commission, I think, had to report in their book what they wanted the world to believe....It had to read like they wanted it to read. They had to prove that Oswald did it alone."

Ronald Fischer, one of the bystanders who saw a man in the sixth-floor window in the minutes preceding the assassination, later said he almost got into a fight with a Commission attorney who was trying to get him to change his story.

In an interview with the "Dallas Morning News" in 1978, Fischer said Assistant Counsel David Belin tried to intimidate him:

"He (Belin) and I had a fight almost in the interview room over the color of the man's hair. He wanted me to tell him that the man was dark-headed and I wouldn't do it. (Oswald's hair) doesn't appear to me in the photographs as light as the man that I saw

and that's what Belin was upset about. I see it now, but I didn't see it at the time."

Roger Craig, the Dallas deputy sheriff who claimed to see Oswald escape in a station wagon, years later wrote about his experience with Warren Commission. He wrote:

"Combine the (harassment at his work) with the run-in I had with Dave Belin, junior counsel for the Warren Commission, who questioned me in April 1964, and who changed my testimony 14 times when he sent it to Washington, and you will have some ideas of the pressure brought to bear."

Julia Ann Mercer, the woman who claimed to have seen Jack Ruby behind the wheel of a truck in Dealey Plaza about an hour and a half before the assassination, subsequently told investigators for New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison that several key portions of her statement were altered by the FBI and that even her signature was forged on a Dallas County Sheriff's report which supported the altered FBI documents.

Phil Willis, who took a series of photographs of the assassination, was surprised when he was asked only to give a deposition rather than testify. He told this author:

"This guy came to Dallas and took my deposition. He took down only what he wanted to hear. I tried to tell him about the shots and the echoes but he wasn't interested. He just seemed to want to get it over with. The Warren Commission never subpoenaed any photographer. They weren't interested in talking to me or Zapruder. It seems strange to me. It's not much of a way to conduct an investigation."

Willis' daughter, Mrs. Linda Pipes, also was a witness to the assassination. She said:

"I very much agree (with her father) that shots came from somewhere else other than the Depository. And where we were standing (across Elm from the Depository), we had a good view.... (Representatives of the Warren Commission) talked to me later, but they didn't seem to be investigating very thoroughly."

The elder Willis summed up his experience in a 1988 British TV interview:

"All they wanted to know was that three shots came from the Book Depository. That's all that got into the Warren Commission (Report)....I'm certain that at least one shot came from the right front. I'll stand by that to my grave!"

Chester Breneman and Robert West, the Two Dallas surveyors who produced the height and distance figures for the Commission's reenactment of the assassination in May 1964, were shocked to find their figures "at odds" with the figures published by the Warren Commission (See THE EVIDENCE).

Breneman told this author:

"Looking at (the surveyors' map of Dealey Plaza) you will notice small numbers with tiny circles by them. Each number represents a frame of the Zapruder film that we inked on in sequence. Our map shows 171. The Warren Report changed this to 166 before they used it in the report. The Warren Report shows a 210 where we show a 208. The Warren Report says that Kennedy and Connally were shot somewhere between Frame 206 and 225 (approx.). (Our) investigation shows Kennedy getting a rear entry wound at a place marked "K" on the map between frames 186 and 207."

The consequence of these altered numbers was to make the controversial single-bullet theory more plausible by simply moving back the time when both Kennedy and Connally's were wounded.

The experience of former Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough also sheds light on the manner in which the Commission allowed key witnesses to be handled.

The fact that Yarborough was riding beside Lyndon Johnson in the motorcade may explain his treatment in the summer of 1964. He described it this way:

"After I wrote them, you see, a couple of fellows came to see me. They walked in like they were a couple of deputy sheriffs and I was a bank robber. I didn't like their attitude. As a senator I felt insulted. They went off and wrote up something and brought it back for me to sign. But I refused. I threw it in a drawer and let it lay there for weeks. And they had on there the last sentence which stated "This is all I know about the assassination." They wanted me to sign this thing, then say this is all I know. Of course, I would never have signed it. Finally, after some weeks, they began to bug me. "You're holding this up, you're holding this up" they said, demanding that I sign the report. So I typed one up myself and put basically what I told you about how the cars all stopped. I put in there, "I don't want to hurt anyone's feelings but for the protection

of future Presidents, they should be trained to take off when a shot is fired." I sent that over. That's dated July 10, 1964, after the assassination. To my surprise, when the volumes were finally printed and came out, I was surprised at how many people down at the White House didn't file their affidavits until after the date, after mine the 10th of July, waiting to see what I was going to say before they filed theirs. I began to lose confidence then in their investigation and that's further eroded with time."

Yarborough also was shocked to find that all vital assassination information was sent to President Johnson before it ever went to the Warren Commission or even Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

Perhaps one of the most shocking statements regarding treatment at the hands of the Warren Commission came from witness Jean Hill. Fearful to speak out for years, Hill came forward in the spring of 1986 and told her story to a group of assassination researchers at the University of Texas at Arlington. After witnessing a rifleman firing from the Grassy Knoll and immediately being grabbed by two men who claimed to be Secret Service agents (See THE CROWD and AFTERMATH), she was advised by friends in the Dallas Police Department to keep quiet about what she knew. Even after receiving a subpoena to appear before the Warren Commission, the same friends urged that she not go to Washington. She recalled:

"They seem to feel that there might be some danger if I was to leave Dallas. They told me I wouldn't come back."

After refusing to go to Washington, Commission Attorney Arlen Specter sent FBI agents to take Hill to make a deposition in Dallas. She recalled that experience for this author:

"The FBI took me to Parkland Hospital. I had no idea what I was doing there. They escorted me through a labyrinth of corridors and up to one of the top floors of Parkland. I didn't know where we were. They took me into this little room where I met Arlen Specter. He talked to me for a few minutes, trying to act real friendly, then this woman, a stenographer, came in and sat behind me. He had told me that this interview would be confidential, then I looked around and this woman was taking notes. I reminded him that the discussion was to be private and he told the woman to put down here notebook which she did. But when I looked around again she was writing. I got mad and told Specter, "You lied to me. I want this over." He asked me why I wouldn't come to Washington, and I said, "Because I want to stay alive." He asked why I would think that I was in danger and I replied, "Well, if they can kill the President, they can certainly get me!" He replied that they already had the man that did it and I told him, "No, you don't!" He kept trying to get me to change my story, particularly regarding the number of shots. He said I had been told how many shots there were and I figured he was talking about what the Secret Service told me right after the assassination (See AFTERMATH). His inflection and attitude was that I knew what I was supposed to be saying, why wouldn't I just say it. I asked him, "Look, do you want the truth or just what you want me to say?" He said he wanted the truth, so I said, "The truth is that I heard between four and six shots." I told him, "I'm not going to lie for you." So he starts talking off the record. He told me about my life, my family and even mentioned that my marriage was in trouble. I said, "What's the point of interviewing me if you already know everything about me?" He got angrier and angrier and finally told me, "Look, we can make you look as crazy as Marguerite Oswald and everybody knows how crazy she is. We could have you put in a mental institution if you don't cooperate with us." I knew he was trying to intimidate me. I kept asking to see that woman's notes, to see what she was putting down. I knew something was not right about this, because no one who is just taking a deposition gets that involved and angry, they just take your answers. He finally gave me his word that the interview would not be published unless I approved what was written. But they never gave me the chance to read it or approve it. When I finally read my testimony as published by the Warren Commission, I knew it was a fabrication from the first line. After that ordeal at Parkland Hospital, they wrote that my deposition was taken at the U.S. Attorney's office in the Post Office Building."

Considering the information presented in this section, it appears the sins of the Warren Commission went far beyond a few omissions and distortions. Little wonder that the vast majority of Americans today place no credence in the Commission's findings of a lone assassin and no conspiracy. Once

again the charge of cover-up can be laid at the feet of the federal Government.

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During the April 30 Commission meeting Rankin openly admitted that the June 1 date for closing the investigation was unreasonable.

A brief discussion was held regarding Jack Ruby, who had been found guilty and had been sentenced to death. However, his attorneys were appealing the conviction on the grounds of his mental incompetence. When one member asked if Ruby would go to prison, Commissioner McCloy responded:

"He goes to a mental institution. It is perfectly clear we cannot examine him at this stage."

Warren however said the Commission probably had to interview Ruby, insane or not, but agreed "...not to do it at this stage."

Rankin again referred to the problems arising from the contradictory medical evidence and suggested that some Commission members and a doctor should study the autopsy photographs "...so that they could report to the Commission that there is nothing inconsistent with the other findings..."

Warren added:

"...But without putting those pictures in our record. We don't want those in our record...It would make it a morbid thing for all time to come..."

The inaccessibility of Kennedy's autopsy X-rays and photographs has been a cornerstone of criticism of the Warren Commission.

Before adjourning, Commissioners agreed on the necessity of including a biography of Lee Harvey Oswald in their final report. At this time - five months before their final report - it is significant to read Rankin's explanation for the inclusion of Oswald's background:

"Some of it will be necessary to tell the story and to show why it is reasonable to assume that he did what the Commission concludes that he did do."

Oswald's guilt was already decided - despite the questions, contradictions and gaps in the evidence at hand.

Crossfire: Single-Bullet Theory

The greatest problem for the Warren Commission was its attempt to reconcile the ballistic and medical evidence by supporting the idea that both President Kennedy and Governor Connally were struck by the same bullet. The idea on its face is unpalatable. To believe the single-bullet theory, one must believe that a single, high-powered rifle slug penetrated two men causing seven wounds, shattering a rib and a wrist bone, then emerged almost totally unscathed to become the pristine Commission Exhibit 399. Yet, to disbelieve the single-bullet theory means rejecting the Warren Commission's entire version of the assassination.

The evidence supporting the single-bullet theory is both meager and highly subjective. Despite the testimony of many witnesses, the Warren Commission concluded that only three shots were fired during the assassination solely on the basis that three spent shells were found on the sixth-floor of the Texas School Book Depository (See THE EVIDENCE). Having concluded that only three shots were fired - the absolute maximum allowable for only one assassin - Commissioners set about to determine the timing and effects of each shot. In late 1963 and early 1964 there was no problem. Since the FBI early on had established an assassination time sequence by studying the Zapruder film (See THE GRASSY KNOLL) and Zapruder's 8mm camera, the Commission had a certain time frame to work within.

The original FBI and Secret Service reports made it clear that Kennedy was struck in the back by the first shot, Governor Connally hit by the second and the President's head wound caused by the third. While this stretched the allowable time for such shooting to the limit - and despite the contradiction of Connally who testified he was hit after the first shot - this believable scenario was accepted by the Commission for a time.

Then came the problem of James Tague, the man who was struck by a piece of cement while standing near the Triple Underpass (See THE TRIPLE UNDERPASS). Initially both the FBI and the Warren Commission tried to ignore Tague. But after an assistant U.S. Attorney in Dallas sent Commissioners both an account of the Tague wounding and a Dallas news photograph of the bullet mark on the curb, the Commission was forced to action.

In the spring of 1964 - at a time the FBI was denying any curb shot in Dallas - Commission Attorney Arlen Specter (today a U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania) began conceiving the idea that both Kennedy and Connally were struck by the same bullet. It was also at this time that information from Dallas concerning the curb shot was reaching the ears of the Commission (See THE TRIPLE UNDERPASS). Information regarding a bullet strike on the curb invalidated the carefully-constructed scenario of one lone assassin firing only three shots. Hence, the only plausible explanation was that both Kennedy and Connally had been struck by the same bullet.

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The presumption of Oswald's guilt was the first topic of the next Commission meeting on June 4, 1964. The Commission had met on May 19, 1964, but records of that meeting were kept from the public on the grounds that it only dealt with "personal and medical files."

Also in May, Rankin had told Commission attorneys to "wrap up" their investigations and submit their area chapters by June 1 so that the final Report could be issued by June 30. By June 1, however, only two attorneys had completed a draft and the deadline had to be moved back.

Meanwhile in Dallas, a reenactment of the assassination, using surveyors, a limousine and stand-ins for Kennedy and Connally was conducted in Dealey Plaza on May 24 (See THE EVIDENCE).

Opening the June 4 meeting, Representative Ford denounced news reports that the Commission had already concluded that Oswald alone was responsible for the assassination as "obviously false" as the Commission had not yet reached any conclusions.

Only Warren, Ford, McCloy, Dulles and Rankin attended this meeting.

In criticizing news media speculations regarding Commission conclusions, Representative Ford stated:

In my judgment, somebody somewhere is planting or leaking these stories.

Warren suggested making a statement to the media that while the taking of testimony was nearing an end, the Commission had not yet discussed any final conclusions.

On June 17, it was announced that Commission hearings were completed. On June 30, it was reported that the final Report would not be issued until after the Republican National Convention set to begin on July 13.

Minutes of a Commission executive session held on June 23, 1964, were withheld from the public by

the National Archives with the following explanation:

"...matters that are...specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive Order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and are in fact properly classified pursuant to such Executive Order."

The immense pressure to hurry up the investigation and close down the Commission may have accounted for the fact that five of the senior attorneys - Adams, Coleman, Ball, Hubert and Jenner - returned to their private practices and made virtually no contribution in writing the final Report.

On July 9, 1964, Commissioners Dulles and McCloy met with three psychiatrists who had been asked to develop a psychological profile on Oswald.

During the seven-hour meeting, the psychiatrists went over complex psychological conjectures regarding Oswald's motives but their interpretations of his thinking was severely limited due to the fact that first, they were operating under the assumption of Oswald's guilt and, secondly, the material studied was based on Commission and FBI reports which undoubtedly were one-sided. Even though the psychiatrists spent hours detailing their theories, they also cautioned against putting too much confidence in their psychological speculation since they had not had the opportunity to interview Oswald personally.

Dr. Howard P. Rome of the Mayo Foundation (connected with the Mayo Clinic) told Commissioners:

"As far as I am concerned, this is highly conjectural. It is purely speculative. I see it as being of no use to anyone beyond a staff level to help perhaps clarify your approach to the record. I should think it would be most unrealistic to use this in any way. I think you would be laughed right out by the public with this high-spun fantasy of inferences based on second- and third-hand hearsay information."

Yet in its final report the Warren Commission did use selective bits of information gleaned from the psychiatrists' report to underscore the case against Oswald as a lonely and troubled man. And the public did not laugh them off. After all, the Warren Commission represented some of the most prestigious men in the nation.

Dulles suspected the truth of the matter when, during a discussion of whether or not to present the psychological material in the final report, he opened this dialog:

DULLES: But nobody reads. Don't believe people read in this country. There will be a few professors who will read the record...

(COMMISSION COUNSEL ALBERT) JENNER: And a few newspaper reporters who will read parts of it.

DULLES: The public will read very little...

In its final report, the Warren Commission made no reference to its consultation with the psychiatric panel. Yet many portions of the report presented ideas which originated with the doctors. In its Report, after fully detailing Oswald's difficulty with human relationships, his discontent with the world, his search for personal truth and a place in history, his censure of certain aspects of American life and his professed commitment to Marxism, Commissioners wrote:

"Out of these and many other factors which may have molded the character of Lee Harvey Oswald there emerged a man capable of assassinating President Kennedy."

With its investigation winding down and most of the senior attorneys gone, the job of writing the Warren Commission Report fell to Assistant Counsel Norman Redlich and staff member Alfred Goldberg. Redlich was a law professor at New York University School of Law and Dr. (a Ph.D.) Goldberg was a historian for the U.S. Air Force Historical Division.

When Goldberg told Warren it was impossible to complete the Report by mid-July, the deadline again was moved back to August 1. Through August, Goldberg and Redlich continued to re-write the Report's chapters - some as many as 20 times - and the deadline was moved back into September.

The Commission, well aware of the ever-nearing November Presidential election, reportedly received increased pressure from Johnson Aide McGeorge Bundy to hurry up and publish their Report.

On September 4, galley proofs of the final Report draft were circulated among Commissioners and staffers for last-minute comments. Two days later, a dissatisfied Liebeler submitted a 26-page memorandum highly critical of the "Identity of the Assassin" chapter. It had to be revised again.

On September 7, Commissioners Russell, Cooper and Boggs - still unsatisfied with the inevitable conclusion of Oswald's guilt - traveled to Dallas to re-examine Marina Oswald. Under questioning, she changed significant aspects of her story, prompting even more rewriting of the Report.

The final Warren Commission session was on September 18, 1964, less than 10 days before its final

Report would be issued to President Lyndon Johnson.

According to the National Archives, no transcripts of this important final meeting exist. However, the minutes of the meeting show that great concern was being voiced to Chief Counsel Rankin that material within the report not conflict with its summary and conclusions chapter.

On September 24, 1964, the Warren Commission's Report was submitted to President Johnson by Chief Justice Warren with the introduction:

"Dear Mr. President:

Your Commission to investigate the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963, having completed its assignment in accordance with Executive Order No. 11130 of November 29, 1963, herewith submits its final report."

The Report was signed by all seven Commissioners although Senator Russell refused to sign until the wording regarding the single-bullet theory was softened to indicate the idea was only a probability. Russell's dissension and skepticism of the Report's conclusions may have been the topic of the September 18 meeting for which the transcripts are missing. Russell reportedly told researcher Harold Weisberg that several of the Commissioners voiced doubts about the Commission's conclusions at that meeting and was he was "shaken" by the discovery that the record of these doubts was missing.

The Warren Commission Report was made public on September 28, 1964, with the news media heaping virtually unanimous praise and support for the document. Upon receiving the Commission's Report from Warren, President Johnson's only comment was:

"It's heavy."

Today it is intriguing to note that Johnson had refused to answer questions from his own Commission. According to "Newsweek," August 15, 1966:

"...a list of questions (concerning the assassination) for him was in fact prepared and submitted to Johnson's confidant, Abe Fortas. Fortas returned a veto of the idea."

Instead, both Johnson and his wife submitted unworn statements.

Johnson's action prompted Commission attorney David Belin to comment in later years:

"...if we could interrogate Mrs. Kennedy, whose husband has died before her eyes, there is no reason why President Johnson should not be examined in the same manner as every other witness (since) there was some speculation from abroad, however outlandish, that he might have had some indirect connection with the Dallas tragedy."

Two months after the Warren Commission Report was released with widespread publicity praising its thoroughness and conclusions, 26 volumes of Commission testimony and exhibits were quietly made public. It was only after years of diligent study that individual researchers finally were able to document the gross inconsistencies between this 26-volumes of material and the Commission's Report. And by then, they were largely ignored except for a few low-circulation periodicals. By then there was no one in a position of receiving new or clarified information regarding the assassination since - having completed its work on September 28 - the Warren Commission disbanded. Researcher Sylvia Meagher, who in "Accessories After the Fact," produced a meticulous dissection of the Commission and its conclusions, stated:

"One of the most reprehensible actions of the Warren Commission is that it disbanded the moment it handed over its Report, leaving no individual or corporate entity to answer legitimate questions arising from demonstrable misstatements of fact in the Report."

After carefully researching both the activities and the conclusions of the Warren Commission, Meagher - who has never been successfully challenged in her assertions of the Commission's incompetence - wrote:

"Study has shown the Report to contain (1) statements of fact which are inaccurate and untrue, in the light of the official Exhibits and objective verification; (2) statements for which the citations fail to provide authentication; (3) misrepresentation of testimony; (4) omission of references to testimony inimical to findings in the Report; (5) suppression of findings favorable to Oswald; (6) incomplete investigation of suspicious circumstances which remain unexplained; (7) misleading statements resulting from inadequate attention to the contents of Exhibits; (8) failure to obtain testimony from crucial witnesses; and (9) assertions which are diametrically opposite to the logical inferences to be drawn from the relevant testimony or evidence."

After reviewing Warren Commission meeting transcripts in the mid-1970s, author Tad Szulc wrote:

"If the investigation was as inadequate and incompetent as is suggested by the Commission's own internal documents, once Top Secret and now declassified, it IS (emphasis his) legitimate to question the specific conclusions of the report. The transcripts of the Commission's executive sessions, staff memoranda...and other internal documents reveal the Commissioners to be consumed by doubts and fears; troubled by their own ignorance; suspicious of the investigatory work performed for them by the FBI and the CIA; lacking clear direction; worried about a competing inquiry in Texas; and finally suffering from a stunning lack of confidence in their own ability to produce a report that would be credible to the American people, the world, and, for that matter, credible to themselves....So many of (their) doubts apparently were not resolved that the impression emerges from the private discussions among the Commissioners that, in the end, the Report was the only possible compromise they could produce - in terms of their knowledge and their conscience."

In the years following the release of the Warren Report, condemnation of its work and conclusions has only grown more widespread.

In the 1976, the Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities, while claiming not to have found evidence of a conspiracy to kill Kennedy, nevertheless concluded:

"The Committee has...developed evidence which impeaches the process by which the intelligence agencies arrived at their own conclusions about the assassination, and by which they provided information to the Warren Commission. This evidence indicates that the investigation of the assassination was deficient and that facts which might have substantially affected the course of the investigation were not provided the Warren Commission...Why senior officials of the FBI and the CIA permitted the investigation to go forward, in light of these deficiencies, and why they permitted the Warren Commission to reach its conclusions without all relevant information is still unclear. Certainly, concern with public reputation, problems of coordination between agencies, possible bureaucratic failure and embarrassment and the extreme compartmentation of knowledge of sensitive operations may have contributed to these shortcomings. But the possibility exists that senior officials in both agencies made conscious decisions not to disclose potentially important information."

As has been demonstrated, in most cases, "potentially important information" meant any information which did not add to the evidence of Oswald's guilt.

The sins of the Warren Commission, the FBI and the CIA go far beyond simple omission for face-saving purposes.

Senator Richard Schweiker, a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee's subcommittee which looked at the agencies' performance during the Warren Commission investigation told newsmen in 1976 that both the CIA and the FBI deliberately lied to the Commission about significant assassination issues.

His charge was supported by statements from former Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr - whose own investigation was usurped by the Warren Commission - who told the "Houston Chronicle" in 1975:

"All of the records were in the hands of the two agencies (the FBI and CIA) and, if they so desired, any information or files could have been destroyed or laundered prior to the time the Commission could get them."

Schweiker added that lies from the agencies, coupled with the numerous deficiencies seen by his panel, invalidated the Warren Commission's conclusions.

He bluntly reported:

"I think the Warren Commission has, in fact, collapsed like a house of cards. And I believe the Warren Commission was set up at the time to feed pabulum to the American people for reasons not yet known, and that one of the biggest cover-ups in the history of our country occurred at that time."

Today it can be clearly seen that the sins of the Commission included investigating from a preconceived idea - Oswald's sole guilt -, failing to substantiate evidence from the FBI, the intimidation of selected witnesses, the stifling of internal dissent and the misreporting of its own information. These

methods were actively employed to subvert a truthful investigation and to present flawed and inadequate conclusions to the unsuspecting public.

The evidence available today suggests the Commission slowly became aware of the massive power behind the assassination and simply could not - or would not - come to grips with it. The Commission, like subsequent inquiries into the Kennedy assassination, released a slanted and timid version of the tragedy hoping to appease the public long enough so that Commissioners would not have to face the full ramifications of a truthful and incisive investigation. And their plan worked well. For more than two decades much of the American public has been content with the palatable - but implausible - Warren Commission version of the assassination. Only in recent years, with firm evidence of a second assassin available and a continuing history of government deceit, has growing numbers of citizens begun to reevaluate the official government assassination theory of one lone gunman.

Crossfire: Warren Commission Summary

The Warren Commission was the direct result of an attempt by President Lyndon Johnson and his close advisors to blunt independent assassination investigations both in Texas and in Congress. Johnson hand-picked Commission members - all of whom had long-standing connections with either the military, defense industries or U.S. intelligence.

Gerald Ford - who was selected at the insistence of Richard Nixon - became a "spy" on the Commission for the FBI. He heard more testimony than any other Commissioner.

Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren had rejected service on the Commission as unconstitutional, but was pressured into the job by Johnson, who told him if he didn't find Oswald a lone assassin, World War III might result.

Johnson paid for the Warren Commission from an "Emergency Fund for the President."

At no time did the Warren Commission seem to consider the basic legal rights of Oswald - the assumption of innocence until proven guilty, legal representation, or the right to cross examine witnesses and evidence against him.

The Commission was acutely troubled by the FBI, beginning with Bureau leaks to the press which portrayed Oswald as the lone assassin prior to any Commission investigation through questions concerning the legitimacy of evidence presented by the Bureau. They also were at a loss on how to determine the validity of allegations that Oswald worked for the Bureau as an informant.

And there was serious conflicts between the Commission's pat Report and its attendant 26 volumes of testimony and evidence. Likewise, there were serious conflicts between witness testimony as published by the Commission and statements to newsmen and researchers by those same witnesses.

There is now firm evidence that not only the FBI and CIA lied about important assassination evidence, but that the Warren Commission itself participated in making serious omissions (more than a dozen critical witnesses); alteration of evidence (the reenactment surveyors' map figures); and intimidation of witnesses (Tammi True and Jean Hill).

It was the single-bullet theory of the Commission - necessitated by the wounding of bystander James Tague - which prompted widespread skepticism of Commission findings. This theory - which flies in the face of most of the witness testimony and physical evidence - was obviously only necessary to maintain the official "lone assassin" theory.

Today - apologists Gerald Ford and David Belin notwithstanding - national polls indicate hardly anyone in American still seriously believes the basic tenants of the Warren Commission.

Crossfire: The Garrison Investigation

"Some long-cherished illusions of mine about the great free press in our country underwent a painful reappraisal during this period."

New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison

On the afternoon of November 22, 1963, two men sat drinking in the Katzenjammer Bar, located in New Orleans next door to 544 Camp Street where a puzzling parade of anti-Castro Cubans and intelligence agents - including Lee Harvey Oswald - were seen the previous summer. One of the men was Guy Banister, the former FBI man who was running a private investigation firm with intelligence connections out of an office at 544 Camp Street. The other man was one of his investigators, Jack Martin. According to a police report prepared that day, the two men returned to Banister's office where an argument erupted. Banister, his irritability inflamed by alcohol, accused Martin of stealing files whereupon Martin reminded Banister that he had not forgotten some of the people he had seen in Banister's office that summer. Banister then beat Martin over the head with a heavy .357 Magnum pistol. In the heat of the moment, Martin screamed out:

"What are you going to do - kill me, like you all did Kennedy?"

A police ambulance was called and carried the bloodied Martin to Charity Hospital. An angered Martin soon whispered to friends that Banister had often been in the company of a man named David Ferrie, whom Martin claimed drove to Texas the day of Kennedy's assassination to serve as a getaway pilot for the assassins. He hinted at even darker associations. Martin's words soon reached the ears of New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison who quickly arrested Ferrie and began an investigation into the JFK assassination which eventually turned into a world-wide cause célèbre. It was also an investigation which resulted in much new assassination information being made known as well as the first time the assassination was addressed in a courtroom - even though the defendant was finally acquitted.

Garrison claimed that the entire weight of the federal Government was moved to block and ridicule his investigation and indeed there were many strange aspects to this entire episode, including a full-blown attack by the national media before Garrison even had a chance to present his case.

A giant of a man, standing six foot six, Earling Carothers Garrison had shortened his name to simply "Jim," but was widely known to both friends and foes as the "Jolly Green Giant." Born on November 20, 1921 in Knoxville, Iowa, Garrison grew up in New Orleans and enlisted in the U.S. Army a year before Pearl Harbor. In 1942, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the field artillery. He then volunteered for flight training as an artillery observer. Garrison saw combat action over the front lines in France and Germany flying an unarmored spotter plane.

Looking back, Garrison wrote:

"During my five years in the Army in World War II and another 18 years as a field artillery officer in the National Guard, I never encountered deception of any kind. To me, the Army was synonymous with the United States Government. I should add that I was still in the National Guard, and still equating the Army with the United States government, when President Kennedy was assassinated and I arrested David Ferrie."

After the war, Garrison followed a family tradition of law by enrolling in the Tulane University Law School. He eventually earned Bachelor of Laws and Master of Civil Laws degrees.

Garrison then joined the FBI, serving briefly in Seattle and Tacoma, Washington. He wrote:

"I was very impressed with the competence and efficiency of the Bureau. However, I was extremely bored as I rang doorbells to inquire about the loyalty and associations of applicants for employment in a defense plant. So I decided to return to the law profession."

He served as an assistant district attorney in New Orleans from 1954 to 1958, resigning with a scathing attack on Mayor Victor H. Schiro. In 1961, Garrison decided to make a run for the district attorney's job, again blasting Mayor Schiro for corruption and failure to enforce the law. His attacks included incumbent District Attorney Richard Dowling, whom he called "the great emancipator - he let everyone go free." Not believing he had much of a chance, Garrison ran a meager campaign, comprised mostly of some television talks. To the surprise of many people - including himself - Garrison managed to defeat Dowling in a run-off election and took office as district attorney on March 3, 1962.

Although Garrison did begin to clean up some of the more disreputable gambling and prostitution dens of New Orleans, his critics noted that he did not share that same enthusiasm against the leaders

of organized crime - a force which Garrison has maintained did not exist during his years as New Orleans' district attorney. However, his record against crime seems solid enough.

In 1962, Garrison was angered by the refusal of eight criminal court judges to approve funds for investigating organized crime. He went so far as to publicly state that their refusal "raised interesting questions about racketeer influences." The judges sued him for defamation of character and won a \$1,000 state court judgment. Garrison, however, fought this action all the way to the Supreme Court, which reversed the decision in a landmark case on the right to criticize public officials.

Dislike for Garrison seemed to be spread around evenly. The American Civil Liberties Union once accused him of trying a rape case in the press rather than the courtroom. However, he also once interceded successfully on behalf of a woman accused of lewd dancing by arguing that it is impossible to define obscenity in literature or the arts.

Garrison also managed to anger New Orleans' White Citizens Council when he fought against censorship after New Orleans police attempted to arrest a bookdealer for selling author James Baldwin's "Another Country." And black leaders in New Orleans were on record saying Garrison was a fair and impartial district attorney.

After hearing the remarks of Jack Martin, Garrison moved quickly enough. Over the assassination weekend, New Orleans lawmen vainly sought David Ferrie. On Monday, November 25, Ferrie turned himself in. Garrison, who had met the bizarre Ferrie once before, could hardly forget the man. Ferrie suffered from alopecia, a rare disease which causes total baldness. He wrote:

"The face grinning ferociously at me was like a ghoulish Halloween mask. The eyebrows plainly were greasepaint, one noticeably higher than the other. A scruffy, reddish homemade wig hung askew on his head as he fixed me with his eyes."

Ill at ease, Ferrie admitted his Friday trip to Texas, claiming he wanted to go ice skating in Houston. However, he had no adequate answer for why he had chosen to drive through one of the worst thunderstorms in years and why, instead of skating, he had spent his time in the rink's pay phone. Ferrie also denied knowing Lee Harvey Oswald. Garrison was unsatisfied with Ferrie's story. He ordered him and two friends held in jail for questioning by the FBI.

He later told interviewer Eric Norden:

"When we alerted the FBI, they expressed interest and asked us to turn the three men over to them for questioning. We did, but Ferrie was released soon afterward and most of (the FBI) report on him was classified top secret and secreted in the National Archives..."

In "On the Trail of the Assassins," Garrison wrote:

"I was 43 years old and had been district attorney for a year a nine months when John Kennedy was killed. I was an old-fashioned patriot, a product of my family, my military experience, and my years in the legal profession. I could not imagine then that the government ever would deceive the citizens of this country. Accordingly, when the FBI released David Ferrie with surprising swiftness, implying that no evidence had been found connecting him with the assassination, I accepted it."

Over the next three years, Garrison's attention was centered on his job and family. Vaguely aware of contradictions in the assassination story, Garrison nevertheless chose to believe the official version. He wrote:

"By this time (1966) our military was deeply engaged in the war in Southeast Asia. Like most Americans, I took it for granted that our government had our troops over there to bring democracy to South Vietnam. Like most Americans, I also took for granted that our government had fully investigated President Kennedy's assassination and had found it to be indeed the result of a random act by a man acting alone. Certainly, it never crossed my mind that the murder of President Kennedy and the subsequent arrival of half a million members of the American military in Vietnam might be related."

Garrison's view began to change after a chance meeting with the powerful senator from Louisiana, Russell Long. Garrison said Long told him:

"Those fellows on the Warren Commission were dead wrong. There's no way in the world that one man could have shot up John Kennedy that way."

It was a comment which was to put Garrison and his office back on the assassination investigation trail.

First Garrison went back and studied the Warren Commission Report and volumes in detail. He was aghast:

"Considering the lofty credentials of the Commission members and the quality and size of the staff available to them, I had expected to find a thorough and professional investigation. I found nothing of the sort. The mass of information was disorganized and confused. The Commission had provided no adequate index to its exhibits....The number of promising leads that were never followed up offended my prosecutorial sensibility. And, perhaps worst of all, the conclusions in the Report seemed to be based on an appallingly selective reading of the evidence, ignoring credible testimony from literally dozens of witnesses."

Garrison, with his military background, was particularly shocked to read in the Commission volumes where a Lieutenant Colonel Allison G. Folsom Jr. reported on a grade made by Oswald in a Russian examination. Garrison knew that the mere fact that Oswald had been tested in Russian indicated intelligence training.

Fired by growing suspicions, Garrison took another look at Oswald's activities while in New Orleans in the spring and summer of 1963. He began to discover the odd and mostly unexplained relationships between Oswald and anti-Castro Cubans, Oswald and intelligence agents including the FBI and Oswald and 544 Camp Street. Quietly, he began to assemble some of his most trusted assistants whom he dubbed his "special team" and his investigation grew.

Garrison reinterviewed Jack Martin and found that Oswald had been part of that strange entourage of agents in and out of Banister's Camp Street office. He found that Banister and his associates were involved in activities far afield from normal New Orleans activity - honest or otherwise. There were tales of burglarized armories, missing weapons, raided ammunition caches and gunrunning operations.

Garrison wrote:

"The Banister apparatus...was part of a supply line that ran along the Dallas-New Orleans-Miami corridor. These supplies consisted of arms and explosives for use against Castro's Cuba."

By 1966, Banister was dead - he suffered a reported heart attack in June 1964 - and Garrison was looking for a living person to prosecute in the conspiracy which he had begun to unravel. One starting point was New Orleans attorney Dean Andrews, who told the Warren Commission that he had received a call from a "Clay Bertrand" the day after the assassination asking him to fly to Dallas and legally represent Lee Harvey Oswald. Andrews reiterated this story to Garrison and but claimed that while he had "Clay Bertrand" as a client, he had never actually met the man. As Garrison's investigators pried into the seamier areas of New Orleans night life, they began to piece together information from various sources that it was common knowledge in the homosexual underground that "Clay Bertrand" was the name used by none other than Clay Shaw, the respected director of the International Trade Mart in New Orleans.

Crossfire: Clay Shaw and Permindex

Clay Shaw, like Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby, was not simply a lone individual with no connections to persons and organizations which may have played a role in President Kennedy's death. Shaw had some of the most intriguing and unprobed connections of any person involved in the assassination case. Even when some of these connections were brought to the attention of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, the Committee was either unable or unwilling to fully investigate them.

Shaw, a tall, distinguished man with silver hair and a polished manner, was born in Kentwood, La., on March 17, 1913. During the 1930s, Shaw was in New York City working as an executive for Western Union Telegraph Company and later an advertising and public relations consultant. By 1941, Shaw was with the U.S. Army and, while his official biography states simply that he was an aide-de-camp to General Charles O. Thrasher, Shaw later admitted he was working for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) as a liaison officer to the headquarters of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. It was here that Shaw may have become entangled in the murky world of intelligence. Although there is precious little reliable information on exactly what Shaw's wartime experiences included, he did retire from the U.S. Army in 1946 as a major - later he was made a colonel - with the Bronze Star, the Legion of Merit, France's Croix de Guerre and Belgium's Order of the Crown.

After the war, Shaw returned to New Orleans where he was known as a wealthy real-estate developer. He also became director of the International House - World Trade Center, a "nonprofit association fostering the development of international trade, tourism and cultural exchange." Soon Shaw left this organization to found the International Trade Mart, which was quite profitable sponsoring permanent industrial expositions in the Caribbean. According to several separate sources - including Garrison's files and an investigation by the U.S. Labor Party - Shaw's International Trade Mart was a subsidiary of a shadowy entity known as the Centro Mondiale Commerciale (World Trade Center) which was founded in Montreal, Canada in the late 1950s, then moved to Rome in 1961. Shaw's New Orleans Trade Mart was connected with Centro Mondiale Commerciale (CMC) through yet another shadowy firm named Permindex (PERmanent INDUSTRIAL EXpositions), also in the business of international expositions.

It is fascinating to note that in the 1962 edition of "Who's Who in the South and Southwest," Shaw gave biographical information stating that he was on the board of directors of Permindex. However, in the 1963-64 edition, the reference to Permindex was dropped.

In the late 1960s, both Permindex and its parent company, Centro Mondiale Commerciale, came under intense scrutiny by the Italian news media. It was discovered that on the board of CMC was Prince Gutierrez di Spadaforo, a wealthy aristocrat who had been undersecretary of agriculture under the dictator Benito Mussolini and whose daughter-in-law was related to Nazi Minister of Finance Hjalmar Schacht; Carlo D'Amelio, an attorney for the former Italian royal family and Ferenc Nagy, former premier of Hungary and a leading anti-communist.

The Italian media reported that Nagy was President of Permindex and the board chairman and major stockholder was Major Louis Mortimer Bloomfield, a powerful Montreal lawyer who represented the Bronfman family (See MOBSTERS) as well as serving U.S. intelligence services. Reportedly Bloomfield established Permindex in 1958 as part of the creation of world-wide trade centers connected with CMC.

According to a special report by investigative reporters David Goldman and Jeffrey Steinberg in 1981, Bloomfield was recruited into the British Special Operations Executive (SOE) in 1938, during the war was given rank within the U.S. Army and eventually became part of the OSS intelligence system, including the FBI's Division Five. Reportedly Bloomfield became quite close with J. Edgar Hoover.

It is well documented how many intelligence agencies, including the CIA, have preferred to operate through commercial companies or "fronts." It is alleged that Permindex was simply another intelligence front - used primarily to covertly distribute money worldwide.

Attention began to be drawn to Permindex in 1962, when French President Charles de Gaulle publicly accused Permindex of channeling funds to the outlawed Secret Army Organization (OAS) which made several attempts on de Gaulle's life. De Gaulle identified several major and well-known international companies as investors in Permindex. In tracing the money used to finance the assassination plots against de Gaulle, French intelligence discovered that some \$200,000 in secret funds had been sent to Permindex accounts in the Banque de la Credit Internationale.

Researchers for years have been intrigued by information gathered by Jim Garrison early in his

investigation that in 1962 Guy Banister had dispatched an associate, Maurice Brooks Gatlin - the legal counsel to Banister's Anti-communist League of the Caribbean - to Paris with a suitcase full of cash for the OAS, reportedly about \$200,000.

As Garrison began to probe this area of interest, he discovered that Gatlin was killed when he fell or was thrown from the 6th floor window of a hotel in Panama.

To further complicate this maze of business, finance, European money, holdover Nazis and intelligence agents, various investigators - including some from "Life" magazine - found that some of the banking connections from this secret empire reached to Mafia chief Meyer Lansky and his Bahama gambling operations.

Investigators Goldman and Steinberg, after noting the extensive and sophisticated satellite-computer system maintained by the World Trade Center Association, wrote:

"Among the fifty-plus world trade marts hooked into the (World Trade Center Association) satellite-computer complex is the Hong Kong World Trade Center....(This) is the single largest and highest-priced chunk of real estate in Hong Kong. The international drug cartel, through this Hong Kong center, thus maintains a transnational tracking system (of international trade routes, carriers, inventories and rates) that is more sophisticated and technologically advanced than the capabilities at the disposal of any government attempting to combat its deadly traffic."

Whatever the truth behind Centro Mondiale Commerciale and its companion company, Permindex, the Italian government saw fit to expel both in 1962 for subversive activities identical to those in the much-publicized Propaganda-2 Masonic Lodge scandal of more recent years.

The news media in France, Italy and Canada had a field day tying the two discredited firms to the CIA. And there is now evidence that Shaw indeed was CIA connected. Victor Marchetti, former executive assistant to the deputy director of the CIA and author of "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," has revealed that in early 1969, he learned from CIA director Richard Helms that both Clay Shaw and David Ferrie had worked for the Agency. Marchetti said Helms repeatedly voiced concern over the prosecution of Shaw and even instructed top aides "to do all we can to help Shaw."

Further, a CIA memo dated September 28, 1967, to the Justice Department - finally made public in 1977 - reveals that Shaw had provided the Agency with a some 30 reports between the years 1949 and 1956.

It may also be pertinent that in May 1961, just after the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion, Shaw introduced CIA deputy director Gen. Charles P. Cabell (See SOLDIERS) to the Foreign Policy Association of New Orleans.

Garrison wrote:

"It would certainly have helped our case against Shaw to have been able to link him definitely with the CIA. Unfortunately, however, with our limited staff and finances, and many leads to follow, our investigation was not able to uncover any of this crucial background information when we needed it most."

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By late 1966, Garrison had two suspects in mind in the murder of President Kennedy - the strange David Ferrie and the socially-connected Clay Shaw. David William Ferrie was a character straight out of some fictional novel, but he was frighteningly real. Hairless due to alopecia, Ferrie looked like a clown with his painted eyebrows and reddish wig. Yet he was an aggressive homosexual with an appetite for young boys. Ferrie considered himself a master hypnotist, a philosopher, a psychologist, scientist and a religious "bishop" in the Orthodox Old Catholic Church of North America. In addition to arms, ammunition and military-related items piled in his junky New Orleans apartment, Ferrie kept a menagerie of rabbits and mice which he used in his private cancer research (See JACK RUBY). Cashiered as a pilot for Eastern Airlines following publicity over a homosexual arrest, Ferrie continued his flying activities which included work for both the CIA and reputed New Orleans mob boss Carlos Marcello. Ferrie also was closely connected to anti-Castro Cubans.

In 1961, Ferrie often was seen in the company of Sergio Archaca-Smith, New Orleans director of the virulently anti-Castro Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Front. That same year, Ferrie was introduced to a meeting of the New Orleans Civic Club as one of the pilots involved in the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion. Ferrie made a bitterly anti-Kennedy talk. Ferrie also made an anti-Kennedy talk to the New Orleans Chapter of the Military Order of World Wars in which he said Kennedy "double crossed" the invasion force by failing to authorize needed air support. Ferrie's speech was so vitriolic that several

members of the audience walked out.

As Garrison continued his investigations, he found abundant evidence that Ferrie - who had been in contact with Oswald - was connected to Clay Shaw. Raymond Broshears, a long-time friend of Ferrie's, had seen Ferrie and Shaw together on several occasions. Furthermore, Broshears told Garrison how Ferrie once became intoxicated and detailed how he had driven to Houston the day of Kennedy's death for the purpose of meeting two members of the assassination team from Dallas. The pair were to have arrived in Houston in a single-engine airplane piloted by one of them, a Cuban exile known only as "Carlos."

Ferrie was to have taken Carlos and his fellow assassin out of Houston in a four-engined plane. Ferrie told Broshears that something had gone wrong. The two men never showed up. Whether the Broshears account of Ferrie's comments are accurate, Garrison soon found others who had known of the relationship between the pilot and Shaw.

Jules Ricco Kimble, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, told Garrison of being introduced to Shaw by Ferrie, as did a Ferrie acquaintance named David Logan.

Nicholas Tadin, the head of the New Orleans musicians union, told Garrison that he and his wife had sought out Ferrie for flying lessons when they saw Ferrie and Shaw together at New Orleans Airport.

As Garrison's investigation broadened - including trips to Dallas, Houston and Miami by members of his "team" - the secrecy surrounding his probe began to crumble. On February 17, 1967, the dam broke when the "New Orleans States-Item" published a story on Garrison's activities with the headline:

"DA Here Launches Full JFK Death Plot Probe."

The story noted that the district attorney's office had spent more than \$8,000 in travel and "investigative expenses." Countering the charge that he was simply seeking publicity, Garrison later wrote:

"We had operated as secretly as possible, assuming this was the most efficient and responsible way to handle such a potentially explosive situation. However, the voucher requests were public records, so they could not legally be concealed."

The local news story brought a deluge of media attention from across the nation. Reporters began arriving in New Orleans.

The next day, Garrison was forced to come out in the open, announcing:

We have been investigating the role of the City of New Orleans in the assassination of President Kennedy, and we have made some progress - I think substantial progress -...What's more, there will be arrests.

Also arriving in the city were some odd characters who were to add to the carnival atmosphere that was beginning to take shape. One such was a self-styled Denver oilman who told Garrison he could "guarantee" him a federal judgeship if he would drop his investigation into the President's death. Garrison showed him the door. Not long after this attempt at bribery a more sinister plan came to light. A professional criminal from Philadelphia named Edward Whalen came to Garrison and said he had been approached by David Ferrie with a proposal to kill Garrison for \$25,000. When Whalen declined the offer, he said Ferrie took him to Clay Shaw's apartment where both men tried to persuade him to carry out the assassination of Garrison. This time Whalen not only was offered money but was told that if he did the job there would top medical care and a college education for his daughter who suffered from polio. Ferrie even went to far as to claim he had helped set up the JFK assassination and told Whalen that Lee Oswald was a CIA agent who had been well taken care of until he made some mistakes which necessitated his death. Whalen believed Ferrie's story to be unfounded boasts and again declined the murder contract. By the time Whalen revealed this plot to Garrison in September 1967, it was too late to verify it.

On February 22, 1967, less than a week after the newspapers broke the story of Garrison's investigation, David Ferrie - his chief suspect - was found dead in his cluttered apartment. His death was not entirely unexpected by Garrison. The day the newspaper story first ran, Ferrie had telephoned Garrison aide Lou Ivon to say:

You know what this news story does to me, don't you. I'm a dead man.

From here on, believe me, I'm a dead man.

Ferrie's nude body had been discovered lying on a living room sofa surrounded by prescription medical bottles, several completely empty. One typed suicide note was found on a nearby table while a second was discovered on an upright piano. It was three days later that the New Orleans coroner ruled Ferrie died from "natural causes," specifically a ruptured blood vessel in the brain. Unconvinced,

Garrison checked the empty medical bottles found near Ferrie's body and discovered one had contained a drug designed to greatly increase a person's metabolism. Ferrie, it was known, suffered from hypertension. A physician friend confirmed to Garrison that if someone suffering from hypertension took a whole bottle of this specific drug, it would cause death very shortly. Garrison later wrote:

I phoned immediately but was told that no blood samples or spinal fluid from Ferrie's autopsy had been retained. I was left with an empty bottle and a number of unanswered questions.

Garrison also was left without the man he later described as "one of history's most important individuals."

And Ferrie was not the only person connected to the case to die. Banister reportedly died of a heart attack in June 1964, less than a month after his business partner, Hugh Ward - an investigator who had worked closely with Ferrie - died in a Mexico plane crash which also took the life of New Orleans Mayor DeLesseps Morrison.

Yet another man closely connected to Ferrie was Eladio del Valle, a wealthy former Cuban congressman under Batista who had fled Cuba to become a well-known organizer of anti-Castro Cubans in Miami. Del Valle reportedly had paid Ferrie \$1,500 a mission to make air raids against Cuba. Three days before Ferrie's death, Garrison's investigators began trying to locate del Valle. Just 12 hours after Ferrie's death, del Valle's mutilated body was discovered in a Miami parking lot. Police reported that del Valle had been tortured, shot in the heart at point-blank range and his skull split open with an ax. His murder has never been solved.

With Ferrie and del Valle dead, Garrison began to focus his attention on Clay Shaw. Fearing that Shaw might meet the same fate as Ferrie, Garrison moved rapidly. He and his "special team" had Shaw arrested on March 1, 1967. Loud and long, Shaw protested his innocence, stating flatly:

"I never heard of any plot and I never used any alias in my life."

The question of an alias came up as Shaw was being booked into jail. A police officer filling out forms asked Shaw if he had any aliases. Shaw replied, "Clay Bertrand," thus confirming the information that Garrison had been receiving from various sources around New Orleans. The officer duly noted this alias on his form.

Between the time of his arrest and his trial, Shaw was allowed to go free after posting a \$10,000 bail bond.

As Garrison's men searched Shaw's house they found several interesting things such as two large hooks screwed into the ceiling of Shaw's bedroom along with five whips, several lengths of chain and a black hood and cape. Shaw tried to shrug off this kinky collection as simply part of a Mardi Gras costume.

Harder to shrug off was Shaw's personal address book, which contained the names of important persons in Italy, Paris and London. But most intriguing was a listing for "Lee Odum, P.O. Box 19106, Dallas, Texas." What made this so intriguing was that the address "P.O. 19106" also appears in the address book of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Garrison announced that "P.O. 19106" actually was a code for Jack Ruby's unlisted Dallas telephone number and noted that the number was in the address books of both Shaw and Oswald. Interest in this issue dissipated rapidly following a May 17, 1967, story in the "Dallas Times Herald" revealing that Lee Odum was a real person living in Dallas. Odum, then 31, told the newspaper that he had traveled to New Orleans in 1966 to promote a bullfight and had been sent to Shaw as a businessman who might be interested in his scheme. He said he gave Shaw the P.O. box number, which had been rented in the name of a barbecue company he operated at the time. This seemed to clear up the issue except that the "Times Herald" noted that P.O. Box 19106 did not come into existence until 1965 when the post office substation involved was remodeled. Therefore, it remains to be explained why that particular box number appeared in Oswald's address book in 1963.

To further titillate Garrison's interest, he found on an unused page of Shaw's address book the words "Oct" and "Nov" and, following an indecipherable scribble, the name "Dallas."

Following the arrest of Shaw, the U.S. Government "awakened like an angry lion," according to Garrison. Attorney General Ramsey Clark told newsmen that Shaw had been checked out and cleared from any responsibility in the Kennedy assassination. Since Shaw's name had never before come up in connection with the assassination, questions arose over who had investigated Shaw in the federal government and why. Quickly, a Justice Department spokesman tried to backpedal for Clark by issuing this statement:

"The attorney general has since determined that this (report of Shaw's investigation) was erroneous. Nothing arose indicating a need to investigate Mr. Shaw."

This point was further clouded when a Justice Department official tried to explain that the department had been aware that Clay Shaw and Clay Bertrand were the same man and that the FBI had investigated a Clay Bertrand.

Despite the federal government's protest that Garrison was on a "witch hunt," when his evidence was presented to a New Orleans grand jury, a true bill was returned. Clay Shaw was indicted on a charge that he:

"...did willfully and unlawfully conspire with David W. Ferrie, herein named but not charged, and Lee Harvey Oswald, herein named but not charged, and others, not herein named, to murder John F. Kennedy."

To assure the public that he was doing only his sworn duty, Garrison even took the unprecedented step of having himself - the prosecutor - file for a preliminary hearing for Shaw. This hearing took place on March 14, 1967, before three judges, who reviewed Garrison's evidence. After studying Garrison's case for three days, the three-judge panel upheld the indictment and ordered Shaw to a jury trial.

For the next year and a half, as the world waited for Garrison's case to be presented at Shaw's trial, the major news media of the United States lambasted the events in New Orleans. Garrison later wrote:

"Some long-cherished illusions of mine about the great free press in our country underwent a painful reappraisal during this period. The restraint and respect for justice one might expect from the press to insure a fair trial not only to the individual charged but to the state itself did not exist. Nor did the diversity of opinion that I always thought was fundamental to the American press. As far as I could tell, the reports and editorials in "Newsweek," "Time," the "New York Times," the "New York Post," the "Saturday Evening Post," and on and on were indistinguishable. All shared the basic view that I was a power-mad, irresponsible showman who was producing a slimy circus with the objective of getting elected to higher office, oblivious to any consequences."

Garrison also commented on further efforts to give Shaw every consideration:

"In this particular case, I've taken unusual steps to protect the rights of the defendant and assure him a fair trial. Before we introduced the testimony of our witnesses, we made them undergo independent verifying tests, including polygraph examination, truth serum and hypnosis. We thought this would be hailed as an unprecedented step in jurisprudence. Instead, the press turned around and hinted that we had drugged our witnesses or given them posthypnotic suggestions to testify falsely."

This comment might have been aimed at James Phelan, a writer for the "Saturday Evening Post" who after hearing Garrison's account of his evidence, later reported that Garrison key witness, Perry Russo, came up with his story of a Ferrie-Oswald-Shaw conspiracy only after being "drugged" and hypnotized by Garrison's people. Phelan's account has been accepted by many researchers who failed to note that Russo told the press of the conspiracy meeting well before undergoing hypnosis. In fact, when Phelan appeared as a defense witness for Shaw, Russo soundly disputed his claims although Russo's conviction that Shaw was the man at the meeting appeared to weaken.

Particularly galling to Garrison was an account by "Newsweek's" Hugh Aynesworth that Garrison had offered an unwilling witness \$3,000 and an airline job to testify in the upcoming trial. The story added that the entire bribery attempt had been tape-recorded. Aynesworth, interestingly enough, was a writer for the "Dallas Morning News" the day of the assassination and was at the scene of each important event. Known as a "right-winger," Aynesworth has always styled himself as an expert on the assassination, yet he has never been called before any of the official inquiries to share his expertise. In 1988, Aynesworth wrote extensively for a special edition of the "Washington Times" commemorating the 25th anniversary of the assassination. Aynesworth's colorful prose did little to address the real issues of the assassination. Instead, while admitting "flaws" in the Warren Commission investigation, he nevertheless supported its conclusions by writing:

"...that report has been proven to have been considerable more honest, more objective and of far greater depth than any subsequent "probe" or "inquiry"..."

When asked to present his evidence of Garrison's bribery attempt, Aynesworth failed to come forward with either a witness or the tape recording he mentioned.

During this time, the media made much out of a visit to Las Vegas by Garrison where reportedly he

was given a \$5,000 credit line at the Sands Hotel.

In 1979, a report to the House Select Committee on Assassinations even stated that Garrison met with mobster Johnny Roselli less than a month after Ferrie's death. It is intriguing to note, however, that this report was quoting from a CIA Inspection General's report, the same Agency involved in the assassination according to Garrison.

For his part, Garrison wrote to researcher John Judge:

"...I have never even seen John Roselli in my life - nor have I ever had a "secret meeting" with any racketeer anywhere."

An NBC program stated that one of Garrison's witnesses had lied under oath, but when requested to present their evidence to a New Orleans grand jury, news executives declined. In that same NBC program, Frank McGee claimed two of Garrison's star witnesses had failed their polygraph tests. Garrison publicly offered to resign if the network could substantiate this charge. Again, no proof was forthcoming.

CBS interviewed Garrison, but:

"When the CBS program was shown across the nation, my half hour had been reduced to approximately 30 seconds. This gave me just about enough time to be a discordant bleep in the network's massive four-hour tribute to the Warren Commission."

Shortly before the trial of Clay Shaw, Garrison believed he may have been the object of a set-up to implicate him with a known homosexual and a former client. He escaped arrest and was shocked to learn that one of his "special team" members - a former FBI man - may have been responsible for the bizarre episode. However, before Garrison could question the man, he had hurriedly left New Orleans taking many of the district attorney's files with him.

Garrison also publicly claimed that someone had "bugged" the telephones of his office, his home and even his staff.

The anti-Garrison media blitz coupled with the strange incidents surrounding his investigation prompted Garrison to publicly proclaim that "a tremendous amount of federal power" had been arrayed against him in an effort to block his investigation of Kennedy's death.

He voiced his concern over a fair trial when he told interviewer Eric Norden:

"...I'm beginning to worry about the cumulative effect of this propagandist blitzkrieg on potential jurors for the trial of Clay Shaw. I don't know how long they can withstand the drumbeat obligato of charges exonerating the defendant and convicting the prosecutor."

Garrison claimed this effort to stop him proved two things:

"First, that we were correct when we uncovered the involvement of the CIA in the assassination; second, that there is something very wrong today with our Government in Washington, D.C., inasmuch as it is willing to use massive economic power to conceal the truth from the people."

But Garrison was not without supporters. Many people throughout the United States wrote him supportive letters and a group of New Orleans businessmen, going under the name "Truth or Consequences," supported Garrison both morally and financially. A surprising show of support came from Boston's Richard Cardinal Cushing, father confessor to the Kennedy family, who commented:

"I think they (the investigation in New Orleans) should follow it through. ...I never believed the assassination was the work of one man."

Another odd show of support for Garrison came years later from a most unlikely source. Shortly before his disappearance, Teamster Boss Jimmy Hoffa stated:

"Jim Garrison's a smart man...goddamned smart attorney....Anybody thinks he's a kook is a kook themselves."

There is some evidence that Robert Kennedy also took Garrison's probe seriously. He indicated to his friend Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. that he believed Garrison might be onto something. But when his staff once began to tell him about Garrison's findings, he turned away, saying:

"Well, I don't think I want to know."

By January 29, 1969, the day the Clay Shaw trial finally got underway, Garrison's case was already foundering. His chief suspect, Ferrie, was dead and others had fled New Orleans and were safe in other states which refused to honor Garrison's extradition requests. Texas Governor John Connally, himself a victim of assassin bullets in Dallas, refused to extradite Cuban leader Sergio Archaca Smith,

while California Governor Ronald Reagan decline to allow extradition for Edgar Eugene Bradley. Garrison, in a mistake which was to cost him further credibility, apparently had mistaken Bradley for Mafia man Eugene Hale Brading who was arrested in Dealey Plaza shortly after the assassination (See AFTERMATH).

But Garrison's major "missing witness" was Gordon Novel, a young electronics expert who eventually became embroiled in some of this nation's most controversial cases. Novel first approached Garrison in early 1967 with information about David Ferrie and Cuban exile activities, but soon Garrison came to believe that Novel was a CIA "plant." After Garrison subpoenaed Novel, he fled to Ohio where Governor James Rhodes - despite a personal call from Louisiana Governor John McKeithen - refused to allow extradition. Likewise, the governor of Nebraska declined to honor an extradition order for Sandra Moffett, a former girlfriend of Perry Russo who was present at the gathering of Ferrie, Shaw and Oswald in September 1963.

A note left behind in his New Orleans apartment, which was later authenticated as being written by Novel, mentioned his work for Double Check Corporation, a CIA "front" located in Miami. The letter stated:

"Our connection and activity of that period (with Double Check) involves individuals presently...about to be indicted as conspirators in Mr. Garrison's investigation."

In 1974, Novel, who claimed to have worked for the CIA, met with President Nixon's Special Counsel Charles Colson and discussed developing a special "de-gaussing" machine which would erase Nixon's incriminating White House tapes from afar. Novel also cropped up as an electronics expert in the case of automobile magnate John DeLorean.

Despite the media attacks and missing witnesses, Garrison gamely moved ahead with his prosecution of Clay Shaw. His goals were twofold - 1. convince the jury that a conspiracy was behind President Kennedy's death and 2. prove that Clay Shaw was a part of that conspiracy. Garrison achieve the first goal but failed on the second.

After a string of witnesses from Dallas - including the Bill Newmans and Railroadman James L. Simmons and others not called before the Warren Commission - told of shots to Kennedy's front and medical testimony pointed out the shortcomings of the President's autopsy, the jury became convinced of Garrison's charge that a conspiracy had existed. This conviction solidified when the jury viewed the Zapruder film of the assassination - made available for the first time due to Garrison's subpoena power. After the trial, every juror agreed that Garrison had convinced them that Kennedy had died as the result of a conspiracy.

However, the evidence of Shaw's involvement proved not as convincing. Despite several credible people who testified they had seen David Ferrie and Lee Oswald with a man matching Clay Shaw's description - including several prominent residents of Clinton, Louisiana (See G MEN) - many jurors remained skeptical, thanks in large part to the media attacks preceding the trial. Insurance salesman Perry Russo repeated his 1967 statements of being present when Shaw and Ferrie talked about assassinating Kennedy. Russo said the Shaw had been introduced to him as Clem Bertrand. He said Ferrie and the man he identified as Shaw talked of triangulation of gunfire and the need to have alibis at the time of the assassination. Defense attorneys pointed out that Russo had been given a truth serum drug to help his recall and reiterated the charge that Garrison had implanted the entire Ferrie-Shaw story while Russo was under the drug's influence.

One particularly compelling witness was Vernon Bundy, who testified he had seen Clay Shaw meet with Lee Harvey Oswald at a seawall on Lake Pontchartrain in June 1963. Bundy said he knew the man speaking with Oswald was Shaw because he noticed the man had a slight limp. A puzzled Shaw was asked to walk down the center isle of the courtroom and everyone -including an amazed Garrison - noticed for the first time a nearly-imperceptible limp.

But Bundy was poor, black and an admitted drug user. His testimony counted for little in that southern city.

Another credible witness was postman James Hardiman who testified that during 1966 he had delivered letter addressed to "Clay Bertrand" to a forwarding address for Clay Shaw. Hardiman said none of the letters were returned.

Then came Charles Spiesel, a New York accountant who had suddenly shown up in New Orleans to tell Garrison that he had met David Ferrie on a visit and that they had been joined by Clay Shaw. Appearing to be a credible witness, he had been belatedly added to Garrison's witness list. Once on the stand, Garrison cringed at Spiesel's cross examination. The man told rambled on about how he had

been hypnotized on several occasions by various unidentified people and how he regularly fingerprinted his daughter upon her return from Louisiana State University to make sure she was really his daughter.

Garrison's case also was not helped by several statements he made prior to the Shaw trial, including the claims that Shaw had met with Ruby and Oswald in the Jack Tar Capital House in Baton Rouge on September 3, 1963, and handed them money and that the man who killed President Kennedy had fired a .45-caliber pistol then fled through the Dallas drainage system to another part of town. None of these claims were substantiated.

More harm came in the testimony of attorney Dean Andrews, who - while under a perjury charge by Garrison - changed his story of being called by a man named Clay Bertrand and asked to defend Oswald just after the assassination. On the stand, Andrews said the name "Clay Bertrand" was simply a "figment of (his) imagination" and that he had never known Clay Shaw. Andrew's statements strongly affected the jury, although later Garrison was to convict Andrews of perjury based on his testimony.

And when Assistant District Attorney James L. Alcock tried to discredit Andrews' testimony, it appeared he was impeaching the core of Garrison's charge that Shaw and Bertrand were one and the same.

So the crux of the case came down to whether Clay Shaw, the respected director of the International Trade Mart, and Clay (or Clem) Bertrand, the man overheard plotting against Kennedy, were the same man. Garrison's strongest piece of evidence was Shaw's jail card which showed he used the alias Clay Bertrand. Yet Criminal District Court Judge Edward Aloysius Haggerty refused to allow the jail card to be introduced as evidence saying Shaw had not been allowed to have a lawyer with him during the booking procedure.

Garrison's "dramatic finale" then became New Orleans Policeman Aloysius J. Habighorst, the man who filled out Shaw's jail form, and who was expected to testify that Shaw had told him his alias was "Clay Bertrand." However, before Habighorst could take the stand, Judge Haggerty ordered the jury removed from the courtroom. He told stunned prosecutors that he was not allowing Habighorst's testimony to be admitted because again no attorney had been present and his alias story appeared to be a violation of Shaw's rights.

Judge Haggerty then said:

"Even if he (Shaw) did (admit the alias), it is not admissible. If Officer Habighorst is telling the truth - and I seriously doubt it..."

This remark brought Assistant DA James Alcock to his feet, saying:

"Are you passing on the credibility of a state witness in front of the press and the whole world?"

To which Judge Haggerty responded:

"It's outside the presence of the jury. I do not care. The whole world can hear that I do not believe Officer Habighorst. I do not believe Officer Habighorst."

With the judge's statements, Garrison's case - already severely weakened by dead, incredible and unobtainable witnesses - collapsed. Alcock moved to have a mistrial declared, but Judge Haggerty denied this, ordering the trial to proceed without the crucial testimony of Officer Habighorst.

Clay Shaw took the stand in his own defense claiming that he never knew Ferrie, Oswald or Ruby and that he had not participated in a plot to kill Kennedy. Garrison's team was unable to provide any motivation for Shaw's involvement in such a scheme.

Just past midnight on March 1, 1969 - two years to the day that Shaw had first been arrested - the jury filed into Judge Haggerty's courtroom to announce Clay Shaw's acquittal after less than an hour of deliberation.

Two days later, on March 3, Garrison filed perjury charges against Shaw for maintaining that he never met David Ferrie. Garrison later wrote:

"We had more witnesses to prove this flagrant case of perjury than I had ever encountered as district attorney....Given my personal choice, I would much rather have let the matter rest once and for all....However, the choice was not mine. My decision had been made automatically when - contrary to the numerous statements in our files - Shaw had taken the witness stand and, in his grand and courtly manner, made a mockery of the law against lying under oath."

But again Garrison had not counted on the federal government. According to federal law at the time, "A court of the United States may not grant an injunction to stay proceedings in a State Court except as

expressly authorized by an Act of Congress, or where necessary in aid of its jurisdiction, or to protect or effectuate its judgments."

Garrison wrote:

"Fortunately for Shaw, the federal judicial system shut its eyes to that federal law. The United States District Court DID (sic) enjoin me from prosecuting Shaw for committing perjury, and the federal appellate structure firmly backed up the District Court's ruling all the way. When the assassination of a dead President has been ratified by a live national Government, details such as the law very quickly become irrelevant."

Clay Shaw, his finances depleted after the years of defending himself and despondent over the revelations of his homosexual connections, retired to his New Orleans home where he died on August 14, 1974. Even Shaw's death did not pass without question. Neighbors saw some men carrying what appeared to be a body completely covered by a sheet on a stretcher into a carriage house belonging to Shaw. They called the coroner's office which dispatched investigators. The coroner's investigators found Shaw's home empty and, after a day of searching, learned that Shaw had just been buried in his hometown of Kentwood. A death certificate signed by a Dr. Hugh Betson stated death was caused by lung cancer.

New Orleans Coroner Dr. Frank Minyard - concerned over the circumstances of Shaw's death and the rapidity of burial - initially said he would seek a court order for the exhumation of Shaw's body. However, word reached the news media which immediately editorialized against such a move, hinting that the exhumation was just another attack by Garrison, and Minyard dropped the whole matter.

Despite his courtroom loss and the tidal wave of negative publicity - the "New York Times" called the case "one of the most disgraceful chapters in the history of American jurisprudence" while the "New Orleans States-Item" demanded Garrison's resignation - the scrappy district attorney nevertheless handily won reelection later that year. But his troubles with the federal Government were not over. On June 30, 1971, Garrison was arrested at his home by agents of the Internal Revenue Service who charged him with accepting illegal payoffs from pinball machine operators. After two years of more bad publicity, he was finally brought to trial. Several pinball machine operators told of making payoffs but none of them could directly implicate Garrison. Finally, a former Garrison investigator and Army buddy, Pershing Gervais, took the stand and told how Garrison had accepted \$150,000 in payoffs. He even produced a tape recording of Garrison's voice reportedly made of the district attorney discussing the matter.

But on cross examination, Gervais admitted that he had told a television reporter that he had been forced by the Justice Department to lie and incriminate Garrison. Gervais had admitted the case against Garrison was "a total, complete political frame-up, absolutely."

Furthermore, a speech expert testified that the incriminating tape had been created by splicing together several innocuous comments made by Garrison. Garrison and two co-defendants were quickly found not guilty, but enough damage had been done. Busy defending himself in court, Garrison failed to mount an effective campaign in 1973 and was defeated for district attorney by 2,000 votes. Furthermore, the federal government came at him again, this time alleging income tax evasion in connection with the discredited pinball payoffs. Again Garrison was found not guilty, but by this time the national audience had largely turned its back on the "controversial" lawman in New Orleans.

Even today many assassination researchers - particularly those who pay closest attention to Government officials and fail to take the trouble to dig deep into the New Orleans investigations - believe Garrison was far afield of truth about Kennedy's death. Many agree with House Select Committee on Assassinations Chief Counsel Robert Blakey, who bluntly wrote:

"In short, the Garrison case was a fraud."

Blakey, who claims organized crime killed Kennedy, apparently fails to see any suspicious connection in the facts that David Ferrie was with New Orleans mob boss Carlos Marcello in court on the morning of the assassination; that Ferrie was the Civil Air Patrol leader of Lee Harvey Oswald; and that Ferrie and Clay Shaw both worked for the CIA and were connected to anti-Castro Cubans.

It should also be pointed out that critics of Blakey's work on the House Committee noted a cozy relationship between Blakey and government agencies such as the FBI and CIA.

Buried at the end of his "Principal Sources" section in his book, "The Plot to Kill the President," Blakey gives evidence of pre-censorship as well as his relationship with certain government agencies by writing:

"Pursuant to agreement with the House Select Committee on Assassinations, the

Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation reviewed this book in manuscript form to determine that classified information it contained had been properly released for publication and that no informant was identified. Neither the CIA nor the FBI warrants the factual material or endorses the views expressed."

Another Garrison detractor, author David E. Scheim - who also espouses the Mafia-did-it theory - cites the charges against Garrison made by NBC, "Newsweek," the "New York Times" and "Saturday Evening Post" apparently without considering that few of their accusations were ever proven and that these are the same media which have continually distorted facts about Kennedy's assassination. Citing Garrison's failure to loudly identify Jack Ruby as Mafia-connected, Scheim wrote:

"Although Garrison made extravagant charges against an assortment of Cuban exiles, CIA agents, Minutemen, White Russians, and Nazis, he conspicuously avoided any reference to one prime assassination suspect: the Mafia."

Indeed, Garrison's failure to acknowledge Carlos Marcello and the mob's activities in New Orleans has caused many raised eyebrows among researchers otherwise kindly disposed toward the former DA. Scheim claims Garrison's former investigator, Pershing Gervais, was a Marcello associate and when Garrison cleaned up Bourbon Street nightspots, he "selectively avoided the clubs controlled by Marcello." The author also expressed the belief that Garrison's acquittal in the 1971 payoff case was the result of more bribes.

Scheim goes beyond Blakey by stating that Garrison's activities in New Orleans had a sinister design. Scheim wrote:

"The purpose of the Garrison assassination probe (was that) Jim Garrison conducted a fraudulent probe of the Kennedy assassination, which deflected attention from Carlos Marcello and disrupted serious investigation of the case."

Stung by such suspicions, Garrison has written:

"While I lay no pretense to being the epitome of virtue, with regard to connections with organized crime, I think you can safely place me as having approximately the same such connections as Mother Theresa and Pope Paul. What has been occurring here, quite obviously, is the CIA's disinformation machinery has been hard at work for a long time."

Further, Garrison has maintained that while elements within the mob undoubtedly played a role in Kennedy's assassination, they were certainly protected -and perhaps even encouraged and funded - by higher power within the U.S. Government. And it is in this higher power where his attention has been drawn.

To the charge that he was simply grandstanding, hoping for higher office, Garrison has stated:

"A politically ambitious man would hardly be likely to challenge the massed power of the Federal Government and criticize so many honorable figures and distinguished agencies. Actually, this charge is an argument in favor of my investigation: Would such a slimy type, eager to profiteer on the assassination, jeopardize his political ambitions if he didn't have an ironclad case?"

While charge and counter charge, claim and counterclaim, continue to surround Garrison -today he serves as an elected Appeals Court Judge in New Orleans - he still speaks out for a truth he claims was denied nearly two decades ago.

Garrison still believes that President Kennedy was killed for one reason: because he was working for a reconciliation with Soviet Russia and Castro's Cuba. He wrote:

"To anyone with a grain of intelligence, it should be apparent that John Kennedy was eliminated by forces desiring the continuation of the Cold War - an artificial conflict draining the assets of and greatly changing, for the worst, the character of our nation. The clandestine arm for those Cold War forces was the Central Intelligence Agency - the destructive talents of which run the gambit (sic) from deception to murder."

He has even identified those "forces," stating:

On the operative level of the conspiracy, you find anti-Castro Cuban exiles who never forgave Kennedy for failing to send in U.S. air cover at the Bay of Pigs....They believed sincerely that Kennedy had sold them out to the communists. On a higher, control, level, you find a number of people of ultra-right persuasion - not simply conservatives, mind you, but people who could be described as neo-Nazi, including a small clique that had defected from the Minutemen because it had considered the

group "too liberal." These elements had their canteens ready and their guns loaded; they lacked only a target. (After the secret agreements of the Cuban Missile Crisis) Kennedy...began to crack down on CIA operations against Cuba. As a result, on July 31, 1963, the FBI raided the headquarters of the group of Cuban exiles and Minutemen training north of Lake Pontchartrain and confiscated all their guns and ammunition - despite the fact that the operation had the sanction of the CIA. This action may have sealed Kennedy's fate....The link between the "command" level and the Cuban exiles was an amorphous group called the Free Cuba Committee (Recall that it was this name which was tied to Lee Harvey Oswald the night of the assassination by Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade who was then corrected by none other than Jack Ruby.), which with CIA sanction had been training north of Lake Pontchartrain for an assassination attempt on Fidel Castro....Our information indicates that it was shortly after this setback (the July 31, 1963, FBI raid) that the group switched direction and decided to assassinate John Kennedy instead of Fidel Castro...."

Whether Garrison's assured assessment of such an assassination conspiracy can ever be fully documented, it nevertheless remains that his investigations in New Orleans did turn up much previously unknown evidence - another argument against his employment by the mob to deflect the truth.

Even the House Committee's Blakey - who termed his investigation a "fraud" - conceded:

"...Garrison might have been on the right track, at least up until Ferrie's untimely death...for evidence of an association between Ferrie and Oswald, presented at the Clay Shaw trial, was found by the Committee to be credible."

If Garrison was on the right track, it may never be known because it is now obvious that a concerted effort was made by elements within the Federal Government and the national news media to discredit his evidence and destroy his reputation even before he had a chance to bring his case to court.

Crossfire: The Garrison Investigation Summary

New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, the "Jolly Green Giant" did not go out trying to find a JFK assassination conspiracy - it found him. Garrison certainly did not invent Guy Banister, David Ferrie, Clay Shaw or that strange nexus of anti-Castro Cuban exiles, mob figures and intelligence agents which collected at 544 Camp Street. Even though rumors on the streets of New Orleans prompted Garrison to order the arrest of Ferrie the weekend of the Kennedy assassination, it was not until three years later that he began his investigation which would result in the trial of Trade Mart director Clay Shaw.

Contrary to reports that Garrison was simply out for publicity, the aggressive DA sought to keep his work quiet. It was only after an enterprising reporter discovered pay vouchers and travel request records that Garrison's efforts became public. Once public, however, the story of his New Orleans investigation spread like wildfire - and a troubling dimension of the news media presented itself. Rather than simply report Garrison's activities or independently study his information, many media - particularly major national news outlets - chose to investigate the district attorney and make pronouncements on everything from his methods to his mental stability.

Even President Johnson's attorney general proclaimed that Garrison had no case - long before he presented his evidence.

Obviously, both judges and grand juries in New Orleans did not feel the same way, since a grand jury indicted Clay Shaw and a three-judge panel upheld the indictment.

And in recent years, several studies of Shaw and his associations indicates a man who -through the shadowy company Permindex - was connected to the CIA, European Nazis and fascists and international criminals. This cloudy area of Garrison's investigation deserves closer scrutiny.

However, by the time Shaw's case reach court, Garrison's case was fatally weakened by the death of key witnesses - Ferrie, Banister, Banister's partner Hugh Ward and Cuban exile Eladio del Valle. Other witnesses - CIA operative Gordon Novel and anti-Castro Cuban leader Sergio Archaca Smith - were given sanctuary in other states whose governors refused Garrison's lawful extradition orders.

In January 1969, Clay Shaw got his day in court. He declared himself innocent of the charge that he conspired with Ferrie and Oswald to kill President Kennedy. The antics in the courtroom almost matched those of Mardi Gras taking place outside in the streets of New Orleans. Major news media continued to hammer at Garrison, with charges of malpractice, drugging and bribing witnesses and fabricating evidence. Yet none of these charges were ever proven and the reporters disseminating them refused to reveal their evidence. Garrison was also hampered by some of his own witnesses - a self-admitted drug addict and a man who claimed mysterious men were constantly hypnotizing him. Furthermore, Garrison's charges of a widespread conspiracy - involving President Lyndon Johnson, the FBI, the CIA and the Cuban exiles - were considered so outlandish by most people that they refused to give his claims any credence.

Although Garrison convinced the New Orleans jury that a conspiracy - which included David Ferrie, Lee Harvey Oswald and a man named "Clay Bertrand" - had existed to kill Kennedy, he failed to convince them that Clay Shaw was involved. Of course, he was not allowed to present his most potent evidence - the jail card showing Clay Shaw used the alias "Clay Bertrand" or Officer Habighorst. Shaw was found not guilty.

And Garrison's case was not helped by his lengthy statements to the media - some of which was misquoted or quoted out of context.

Garrison claimed the federal Government tried to blunt his investigation and there is much information to support this charge. However, it is also true that Garrison made many mistakes along the way - trusting the wrong people, talking too much about his case and refusing to acknowledge the role of the Mafia. It was the latter which had caused many researchers - who otherwise might have been supportive of Garrison - to keep their distance.

Where the two major national assassination investigations exhibited a blind spot when it came to evidence of the involvement of U.S. intelligence agencies, Garrison showed the same blindness toward the mob and particularly toward the man whose connections to the assassination appear most strong - reputed New Orleans Mafia Chieftain Carlos Marcello.

Despite the claim of some critics that Garrison was used to block any new investigation of the Kennedy assassination in the late 1960s, he most probably will be well remembered in the years to come as the one man who furthered knowledge of Kennedy's assassination at a time when many Americans were still accepting the lone assassin theory.

Even House Select Committee on Assassinations Chief Counsel Robert Blakey - who termed Garrison's investigation a "fraud" - acknowledged that much of his information regarding Oswald, Ferrie and the anti-Castro Cuban exiles was correct.

Despite continued efforts by the federal Government to discredit Garrison - and even convict him of crimes - he still enjoyed a good reputation in New Orleans in the late 1980s serving as an elected judge of the state's Fourth Circuit Court of Appeal.

Crossfire:House Select Committee on Assassinations

"They (the House Committee) had their chance and they blew it."
JFK autopsy Dr. James Humes

By the mid-1970s, national polls indicated that very few Americans still believed the "lone assassin" theory of the Warren Commission despite the assurances of the national media and Government spokesmen. According to one Gallop Poll, 80 percent of the American public believed President Kennedy's death resulted from a conspiracy, while 70 percent believed the same regarding the death of Dr. Martin Luther King. These nagging doubts prompted Texas Congressman Henry Gonzalez to introduce a House Resolution in February 1975, calling for a select committee to study not only the death of John F. Kennedy, but also the deaths of Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King and the shooting of Governor George Wallace.

In remarks to fellow congressmen, Gonzalez said:

"...I have introduced this resolution after much consideration. It has not been a decision I have made hastily....There are questions to be resolved. I was at Dallas the day that President Kennedy was killed and I suspended judgment on the questions that arose then and shortly thereafter until Watergate, August 1972, revealed possibilities heretofore considered not possible."

In an article published by St. Mary's School of Law two months later, Gonzalez added:

"There are a few who have offered criticism of my efforts...The attitude of these people is to "let sleeping dogs lie"...I say that this investigation is a need and has its proper place in our list of priorities. What future do we have as a nation if we let valid questions about these assassinations go unresolved and uninvestigated except by private individuals?"

Gonzalez' House Resolution 204 was joined by a similar Resolution, sponsored by lame duck Representative Thomas N. Downing of Virginia. In remarks to fellow Congressmen on March 18, 1976, Downing complained of foot dragging:

"...in the past few weeks, certain events have transpired in this House which concern me deeply and which lead me to believe either I don't understand the House half as well as I thought I did, or that the House is undergoing a deep and fundamental transformation as a result of those tragic events which we collectively label "Watergate." Until now, it has seemed to me that, although Congress might not have dealt with all problems wisely, it has not been its policy simply and doggedly to refuse to look at a serious national problem, no matter how difficult, no matter how distressing. Yet, I fear that is precisely what it is doing today. It is simply and doggedly refusing to look at the problem of who executed our former President, John F. Kennedy, and why he was executed. I do not exaggerate. I have chosen my words carefully, and I mean precisely what I say....However, we not only have failed to make any progress toward establishment of such an investigating committee, we also have not even been able to get a hearing on the merits before the Rules Committee....I have been told informally that "the Leadership" is against re-opening the Warren Commission's findings, and that is that....Why would there be reluctance on the part of the Leadership and the committee? Have they been told by the Intelligence Community, which, incidentally, possibly acted as sole investigators for the Warren Commission, what really did happen to our young President, and why? Do they know who was behind the killing? Is it too horrible for the American people to face?...Someone apparently does not want us to see the evil, hear the evil and certainly does not want us to talk about it....After all, if a President is eliminated, not by a "lone nut," but for political reasons, isn't the whole fabric of our form of Government in direct danger if we cover up the political motivations and go on as if nothing happened?"

Despite these passionate appeals for a re-investigation into the assassinations, action stalled in the House for more than a year. The Rules Committee simply refused to even consider the idea. Finally in mid-1976, the Black Caucus - at the instigation of Dr. King's wife, Coretta, - put pressure on the House leadership and the Gonzalez and Downing bills were merged into House Resolution 1540 and passed in September 1976. However, the Committee would expire at the end of the congressional term on

January 3, 1977.

Trouble began immediately. House tradition dictated that the author of a resolution creating a select committee be named chairman. Downing, who had not sought reelection in 1976, would soon retire and Gonzalez - a highly-individualistic Mexican-American - was not liked by House power brokers. Despite Downing's lame duck status, he was named chairman of the House Select Committee on Assassinations by Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill - a decision which did not please Gonzales, who began to operate as co-chairman. Early on, Downing wanted Washington Attorney Bernard Fensterwald to serve as the committee's chief counsel and director. Fensterwald, who had formed a clearinghouse of assassination material called the Committee to Investigate Assassinations, was an early critic of the Warren Commission and thoroughly familiar with most aspects of the John F. Kennedy case. Gonzalez objected and Fensterwald withdrew from consideration. But not before an article appeared in the "Washington Star" under the headline, "Is Fensterwald a CIA Plant? - Assassination Inquiry Stumbling." Later it was learned that information for this attack came from Gonzalez' office.

In October 1976, Downing and Gonzalez settled on a former Philadelphia prosecutor, Richard A. Sprague, as the committee's chief counsel. Initially, Sprague seemed like an excellent choice. He had a record of 69 convictions out of 70 homicide cases, was well regarded as a tough and independent prosecutor. He had received national attention by his prosecution of United Mine Workers President Tony Boyle for the murder of UMW reformer Joseph Yablonski.

Sprague stated he planned to break his investigations into two separate areas - one for John Kennedy and one for Dr. King. He said these assassinations would be treated as homicide investigations. This was a novel approach for the Kennedy assassination since, until that time, all investigation and deliberation had been done secretly by Government groups.

Bypassing the FBI and the CIA, Sprague hired professional investigators and criminal lawyers from New York City. He made it clear that his investigation would not hesitate to look into FBI and CIA involvement and that he would use subpoena power and lie detector tests to get to the truth. Aware of the CIA connections to the Kennedy assassination (See AGENTS), Sprague let it be known he planned to subpoena both Agency files and personnel. Sprague also contacted many of the responsible Kennedy assassination researchers, including Jim Garrison in New Orleans, and privately told them he planned to use them as Committee consultants.

He was also truthful in projecting the costs of such a massive investigation, saying he needed a staff of at least 200 and an initial budget of \$6.5 million to start work.

Sprague's openness about both his needs and his goals prompted immediate outrage among Congressmen who had never wanted the Committee in the first place. Many of these - arch-conservatives who had never before expressed too much concern for individual rights in criminal cases - lambasted Sprague for his statements about using lie detectors, voice stress analyzers and hidden tape recorders to learn the truth. Soon Sprague was almost too busy fending off media attacks to get his investigation rolling.

Also developments began to raise doubts in the minds of many assassination researchers, whose hopes had grown since creation of the Committee.

To begin with, Sprague early on stated:

"I have not, as of this date, read the Warren Commission Report or testimony. But I have never read any books by the critics, either."

This unfamiliarity with the assassination was reflected in Sprague's selection of the prosecutors and lawmen as investigators and staff for the Committee. Many were aggressive and able - but they did not understand the full ramifications of the case. Many had ties back to the FBI or CIA and none of them had the time to properly study the complex and convoluted assassination issues. Furthermore, despite Sprague's wooing of the research community - the people with detailed knowledge of the cases - with few exceptions, they were excluded from the House Committee's staff.

Then there was the question of Sprague's close friendship with his former boss Arlen Specter, the Warren Commission staffer who created the "single bullet" theory of the assassination. Sprague was quoted as saying:

"I did not talk to Arlen before I took this thing."

Sprague incensed Gonzalez immediately by renting a plush apartment in Washington's Watergate complex, then leaving for a vacation in Acapulco without informing the Committee's founder. Gonzalez, almost single-handedly, continued to work to save the Committee. Upon Sprague's return to Washington, Gonzalez was quoted in "Newsweek" as telling his chief counsel:

"If I had known in September what I know now, I would never have affirmed your appointment."

With his pronouncements and absence, Sprague was making enemies everywhere. Rep. Robert E. Bauman of Maryland charged that Sprague "virtually assumed the role of chairman of the Committee."

One of the only field investigators retained by the Committee during this time was Gaeton Fonzi, who was busy developing assassination leads among organized crime and anti-Castro Cuban circles in Miami.

In a 1980 article, Fonzi wrote:

"After talking with Sprague, I was now certain he planned to conduct a strong investigation and I was never more optimistic in my life....The Kennedy assassination would finally get the investigation it deserved and an honest democracy needed..."

As 1976 drew to close and Sprague found himself under attack by the media, including the "New York Times," the Committee's reconstitution in January suddenly began to appear precarious. Sprague was baffled at the hostility directed at him. He told Committee staffers:

"You know, I don't understand it. I've never been in a situation like this before where I am getting criticized for things I might do. It's nonsense, but I don't know why it's happening..."

His proposed budget was targeted for attack, but Sprague held his ground, saying:

"Several people around here who are familiar with the bureaucratic game told me to first present a smaller budget. They assured me that I could always go back later and plead for more. That's the way they do things in Washington, I was told. Well, I won't play that game."

The press attacks caused second thoughts in Congress. A resolution reconstituting the Assassinations Committee by a unanimous-consent voice vote on January 4, 1977, failed. It would take weeks of maneuvering before the Committee could officially be reconstituted. By this time, Downing had retired and Gonzalez had been named chairman of the Committee. Suddenly the outside media attacks on Sprague were joined by an unexpected source -Committee Chairman Gonzalez.

According to persons familiar with this situation, Gonzalez - already angered at not being named chairman until after Downey retired and at Sprague's early activities or lack of them - was further incensed that Sprague would not allow him to run his committee the way he saw fit.

And there was the continuing problem of funding. Sprague had been told he had \$150,000 a month for expenses until the Committee was reconstituted in January 1977. Later, he found out that amount actually was only \$84,000, which caused a cost overrun for which Gonzalez was taken to task by the House Rules Committee - the same committee which had stalled the assassinations committee in the first place. Gonzales claimed Sprague had spent money without his knowledge or consent.

Gonzalez ordered Sprague to take a "number of steps," including giving written assurance that he would stay within the financial constraints of the Committee's funding and firing staff members recently hired.

Sprague's refusal to bow to Gonzalez' demands, prompted the hot-tempered Texas representative to write:

"Owing to an evident inability of the Committee in times past to adequately control the use of its letterhead and franked materials, and in the absence of any present controls on such materials, you are directed to return to me immediately any and all letterhead materials bearing my name."

Fonzi wrote:

"Since all Congressional committees use the postal franking privileges of its chairman, and every expense voucher, travel order and most directives and requests are made under the chairman's signature, what Gonzalez was doing, in effect, was virtually stopping the operation of the Committee."

Next Gonzalez further subverted the Committee's work by asking the attorney general to deny Committee staffers access to FBI files and by cutting off long-distance phone calls by the Committee's staff.

Sprague reportedly remarked to co-workers:

"Gonzalez went berserk."

Finally, in a hand-delivered letter, Gonzalez charged Sprague of being "engaged in a course of conduct that is wholly intolerable for any employee of the House" and ordered him to vacate his office

that same day. However, within a few hours the other 11 members of the Committee had written their own letter, instructing Sprague to ignore Gonzalez. This in-fighting continued, with Gonzalez telling newsmen that Sprague was a "rattlesnake."

It was obvious to insiders that Gonzalez was under considerable pressure. Just how much and from what source is still unknown. However, a chief aide to Gonzalez admitted to this author that the Congressman was the object of death threats during this time. It appears that both Gonzalez and Sprague may have been the objects of secret personal smear campaigns - Sprague being told Gonzalez was trying to subvert the Committee's work while Gonzalez was being told that Sprague was a CIA plant on the Committee.

Finally the issue was taken to House Speaker O'Neill, who was faced with the unprecedented situation of a committee rebelling against its own chairman. Early in March 1977, Gonzalez resigned from the assassinations Committee claiming that Sprague had refused to cut costs and had tried to undermine his authority as chairman. Back home in San Antonio, Gonzalez told a reporter he had been forced out of the investigation by "vast and powerful forces, including the country's most sophisticated criminal element."

Gonzalez told newsmen:

"I am like a guy who's been slugged before he's got a chance to fight....It was an exercise in futility. The fix was in."

While the life of the Committee had been extended for two more months in January, it was due to expire at the end of March 1977. Throughout its brief life, the whole focus of the Committee had not been on assassinations, but on sheer survival. Toward the end of March, a new Committee chairman was named - Rep. Louis Stokes, a low-key, black Democrat from Ohio. With the more acceptable Stokes in charge, the Assassinations Committee was again revived by the passage of House Resolution 433, which passed on March 30, 1977, reconstituting the Committee until January 3, 1979.

But not without some major concessions - the resignation of Richard A. Sprague and a pared-down budget of only \$2.5 million.

With the vote to reconstitute the Committee looming, Committee member Robert Edgar was told by one colleague:

"You guys dumped Gonzalez. I don't know Sprague at all, but if you don't dump him too, you guys are dead in the water."

Just before the House vote to continue the Committee, Sprague was called to Stokes' office and apprised of the situation. Despite having been promised support by Stokes and other Committee members, Sprague could see the writing on the wall. He told them:

"Gentlemen, it's clear it's in everyone's best interest if I resign."

Sprague's resignation prompted several Committee members to state publicly that the chief counsel had been the victim of a McCarthy-like "witch hunt" and character assassination.

Although the Committee had been existence for six months, the constant bickering and lack of funds prevented any meaningful work.

Earlier in March, Fonzi - still on the job - had tried to contact George DeMohrenschildt (See REDNECKS AND OILMEN), the last-known close friend of Lee Harvey Oswald who was staying in Manalapan, Florida.

Soon after arriving home and learning of Fonzi's visit, DeMohrenschildt was found fatally shot in his room. His death, despite several questionable circumstances, was ruled a suicide.

Fonzi later wrote:

"The inability of the Assassinations Committee to effectively react to the death of a key witness revealed that it was still - six months after it was formed - totally incapable of functioning as an investigative body. It reflected six months of political reality and how successful its opponents had been in keeping it distracted and off-balance."

Representative Gonzalez stated simply:

"Strong organized forces have combined to stop the inquiry at any cost."

In June 1977, a new chief counsel had been selected - G. Robert Blakey, a respected academician with impressive credentials.

Crossfire: Blakey at the Helm

No investigation can be better than its leadership and the House Select Committee on Assassinations with its new chief counsel and director was no exception. G. Robert Blakey, a Professor of Law and director of the Notre Dame Institute on organized crime, spent four years in the organized crime and racketeering section of the Kennedy Justice Department (See MOBS); was former chief counsel to the Senate Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures; was principal consultant to President Lyndon Johnson's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice; and a consultant to the publications "Time," "Life" and "Look". Upon becoming chief counsel and director for the House Select Committee on Assassinations, Blakey firmly took control of the panel and its investigation. He oversaw every aspect of the Committee's work, selecting witnesses, deciding which leads to follow and which to ignore, picked the expert panels, hired and fired staff members and set the Committee's agenda. It quickly became obvious that the Assassinations Committee was changing directions in key areas. Where Sprague had opted for openness in the Committee's inquiry, Blakey advocated secrecy. In fact, in his first statement to the news media, Blakey announced:

"The purpose of this news conference is to announce there will be no more news conferences."

Blakey also announced that the Committee would not be looking at any new evidence in the Kennedy-King assassinations, but would concentrate on evaluating the old evidence accumulated by the federal Government. His turnaround prompted assassination researchers to take a closer look at the new chief counsel with some disturbing results. It seems Blakey had helped draft Senate Bill 1 - Nixon-supported legislation which was considered by many as Draconian in its curtailment of civil liberties. Blakey also wrote the infamous Title III of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, which for the first time authorized court-approved wire-tapping and electronic surveillance by law enforcement agencies. Having worked for both Presidents Johnson and Nixon, Blakey also had close contact with other ranking Government persons involved in the Kennedy assassination case:

Nicholas Katzenbach - The Deputy Attorney General, who in 1964 put strong pressure on the Warren Commission to quickly endorse the premise that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone.

Leon Jaworski - The Special Watergate Prosecutor who served as a special counsel to the Warren Commission charged with determining if Oswald had any ties to U.S. intelligence. (Jaworski found none, but some years later it was discovered that a foundation of which Jaworski was a trustee secretly used CIA funds.)

Lewis F. Powell - The attorney named by the American Bar Association as an observer to the Warren Commission to protect Oswald's rights, but who spent much of his time trying to have Commission critic Mark Lane disbarred.

Although considered an expert in the "War Against Crime," Blakey apparently had a strange connection with a reputed big-time gambler. When "Penthouse" magazine was sued for libel by Rancho La Costa, it was Blakey who sold his expertise and provided an affidavit condemning the magazine's charges of mob ownership while conceding ignorance of the truth of the charges. Any questions concerning this odd support of a resort built by Teamster pension fund money were referred to Blakey's own attorney, Louis Nizer. One of Nizer's clients was Moe Dalitz, the Las Vegas gambler.

Furthermore, Blakey was recommended as chief counsel by HSCA member Rep. Christopher Dodd, the former law partner of former FBI director L. Patrick Gray, who was indicted during the Watergate scandals.

While these connections don't prove compromise on Blakey's part, they do serve to cast a shadow over his credentials as an uncompromising crime buster. They also raised doubts in many minds about Blakey's motives.

But is there any evidence that the findings of the assassinations Committee were undermined? Apparently so. The main weapon used by Blakey to stop a meaningful investigation was a "nondisclosure agreement," which Blakey insisted everyone connected with the Committee sign. Signing this agreement, which was instituted within one week of Blakey's arrival, was mandatory for continued employment with the Committee. Even independent researchers who attempted to share assassination information with the panel were made to sign the agreement. The agreement bound the signer not to reveal that he or she even worked for the Committee; not to reveal anything learned while serving with the Committee; gave the Committee the power to take legal action against the signer in the event of disclosures, even long after the Committee ended; and made the signer agree that all legal

fees would be paid should the signer lose such a court suit. Many persons who have seen this agreement, including attorneys, claim it is in violation of the U.S. Constitution and therefore, illegal. However, it effectively stopped most of the Committee's personnel and hired consultants from discussing the workings of the HSCA. It also effectively muzzled many of the assassination researchers.

(Evidence of the weak legal standing of this agreement may be found in the fact that Gaeton Fonzi has written scathing articles against the Committee and its operation in apparent violation of this agreement - yet there has been no prosecution.)

Blakey invited 10 prominent critics of the Warren Commission to Washington for an exchange of assassination information. All were required to sign the "non-disclosure agreement," and all presented their information. Blakey reciprocated with nothing of value. After their departure, Blakey instructed the Committee staff to have no further contact with these researchers without his personal and specific authorization. Even aides to Committee members were barred by Blakey from viewing the Committee's progress.

In explaining his zeal for secrecy, Blakey wrote:

"...it was resolved, then and there, that the Committee would conduct its investigation in private until it was appropriate to hold public hearings, and it would do its best to remain immune from the fever of assassination demonology."

Blakey also said such secrecy was necessary to protect the reputations of people involved in the investigation - the "innocent associates."

Even more disquieting to researchers was Blakey's accommodating attitude toward the FBI and the CIA - the two agencies which have become suspects themselves over the years in the minds of many. Earlier, Sprague had put both agencies on notice that subpoenas might be issued for access to assassination material withheld from previous investigations. Probes into CIA activity in Mexico City (See AGENTS) and the connections between Ruby and Oswald and the FBI had been initiated. Under Blakey, Committee investigators had to sign a CIA secrecy oath before examining any classified files, thus giving the Agency the authority to "clear" any information, including investigator's notes.

A January 25, 1978, Committee report states:

"All staff members on the Committee have received or are in the process of receiving "Top Secret" security clearances. The FBI, as an accommodation to the Committee, conducts the background investigations for these security clearances. The CIA then reviews the background investigations done by the FBI. After consultation with the FBI and CIA, the full Committee makes the determination regarding an individual's security clearance."

In other words, both intelligence agencies had direct control over who participated in the Committee's investigation. This situation did nothing to ease the minds of researchers who already were convinced of intelligence involvement in the Kennedy assassination.

Several persons were fired from the Committee staff for failing to receive a security clearance, including one person who reportedly was told by Blakey:

"The CIA would be more comfortable if you were gone."

It also has never been explained how this clearance review was made to conform with the CIA charter prohibition against domestic activities.

In a TV interview, original counsel Sprague stated he had refused to yield to CIA and FBI demands for security clearances, as such agreements would have given these agencies authority to decide what the Committee could disclose.

Sprague argued:

"What's the point of getting material in the first place, if they are going to control who sees it and what we can do with it?"

Blakey showed no such insight. In fact, in an article by writer Jerry Policoff, Blakey is quoted as saying:

"I've worked with the CIA for 20 years. Would they lie to me?"

And there is evidence that Blakey's trust in the Agency went beyond simple naiveté. After it was discovered that the CIA held a "201" file on Lee Harvey Oswald - evidence that he worked for the Agency according to several former CIA agents (See AGENTS) - Blakey retrieved the file from CIA headquarters. According to the House Committee, it was virtually an empty folder. Agency officials explained that the file was actually just a "Personality" file that had contained a few news clippings on

Oswald after being opened on December 9, 1960. Yet researchers today have a copy of a CIA "Memorandum For The Record" dated April 27, 1979, which states:

"On 27 April 1979, Mr. G. Robert Blakey, Chief Counsel and Staff director of the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA), visited CIA Headquarters....Mr. Blakey examined only that material held (Blacked out). He apparently did not go elsewhere within the Agency, (Blacked out) to examine their holdings....Comment: Files reviewed by HSCA staff members fill nine four-drawer safes. The files include the Lee Harvey Oswald 201, which fills two four-drawer safes. Oswald's 201 file was not completely reviewed by HSCA staff members."

Despite not reviewing all of the CIA's held material - including the Oswald "201" file - the House Committee confidently concluded:

"The Secret Service, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Central Intelligence Agency were not involved in the assassination of President Kennedy."

Some investigators resigned from the Committee because of the control by intelligence agencies and because they felt the investigation had become too narrow in focus.

Where Sprague had talked of an "open-ended investigation," Blakey directed staffers to have the cases wrapped up by the end of 1978.

Dismissals which particularly incensed assassination researchers included those of Kevin Walsh, who had made a diligent study of the Kennedy case before going to work for the Committee, and Robert J. Lehner, a former Manhattan assistant district attorney who had developed a number of promising leads in the King assassination. Walsh was accused of having "poor work habits," while Lehner resigned after a confrontation with Blakey over restrictions in the King investigation. Other staff members - 24 of them investigators - were discharged on grounds that the Committee had no money. Yet in February of 1978, Blakey returned \$425,000 to Congress, saying the funds were not needed.

Whether or not the charges that Blakey sidetracked any meaningful investigation are true, the seeds of doubt were sown. This is reflected in a magazine article by Jerry Policoff and William Scott Malone, who wrote in 1978:

"So poisoned has the atmosphere become from months of bitterness that whatever conclusions the Committee comes up with will be suspect."

According to assassination researchers who followed the HSCA closely, Blakey forced out or fired some of the most able investigators, severely restricted areas of investigation, hand-picked scientific experts who mostly denied any hint of conspiracy and then locked Committee investigative material away for 50 years.

If Blakey wanted to restrict and misdirect the investigations of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, - at this point there is no definitive evidence to demonstrate that this was his wish -he could not have done a better job.

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With Blakey's arrival as chief counsel and staff director, many aspects of the HSCA changed dramatically. Under Sprague, Committee investigators had been running down promising leads in Dallas, Miami, New Orleans and Memphis. Under Blakey, these field investigations - far from the oversight of Washington power - were severely restricted. The focus of the Kennedy probe moved away from looking at intelligence and anti-Castro Cuban involvement and began scrutinizing the organized crime aspects.

As mentioned previously, there were major staff shake ups following Blakey's arrival, including some of the most knowledgeable and energetic investigators.

Somewhere along the way, the Committee dropped any investigation into the Robert F. Kennedy assassination and the shooting of Governor Wallace, despite the abundance of evidence raising serious questions about the official versions of both those events.

By October 1977, a Scripps-Howard article stated:

"The Committee's investigation of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy has been scaled down and the panel's professional staff apparently has been spending virtually all its time exploring new leads in the King case."

On March 13, 1978, the HSCA received House approval for \$2.5 million in funding to last until January 3, 1979. The final vote - 204 to 175 - was achieved despite objections from some Republican representatives who claimed the Committee had accomplished little in its year and a half of existence.

Scaled down and with a restricted agenda, the Committee nevertheless went to work. According to

Blakey, the Committee spent a total of \$5.5 million during its 30-month investigation. Blakey wrote in an introduction to the Committee's report:

"(This) may sound like a lot, but it should be contrasted with the fact that the Warren Commission spent the equivalent in 1977 dollars of over \$10 million in 10 months."

Blakey admitted that early on the HSCA experienced "some rough sailing," and that the period of "rigorous fact-finding" lasted only six months - from January to July of 1978. However, this fact finding was "intense and wide ranging," wrote Blakey.

Committee members and staffers made trips to Mexico, Canada, Portugal, England and Cuba. There were a total of 562 trips to 1,463 points for more than 4,758 days of field investigation, claimed Blakey. More than 4,924 interviews were conducted and 335 witnesses heard, some in public hearings and some in executive session. There were 524 subpoenas issued and 165 witnesses were granted immunity for their testimony. Beginning in late July 1978, the HSCA conducted a series of public hearings which lasted until September 28, 1978. As the witnesses were brought forth in the public hearings, it became dishearteningly obvious that the Committee was presenting yet another version of the Warren Commission. There was a parade of technical and scientific experts, but no one to cross examine their testimony - no one to ask the obvious follow-up or embarrassing question. And each technical witness seemed designed to further cement the idea that Lee Harvey Oswald was the lone assassin of Kennedy.

Other witnesses, such as Louie Steven Witt - who claimed to have been the "Umbrella man" in Dealey Plaza (See THE CROWD) - gave an implausible story which went unchallenged.

Dr. James Humes, the leader of the Kennedy autopsy team, was never asked why he waited 15 years to become convinced that a bullet entered near the top of Kennedy's head well above where the other two autopsy doctors still place it. Humes also could have given more details about the military authorities present at the autopsy who directed the doctors in their inadequate work, but he was never asked in public.

Humes even quipped:

"They had their chance and they blew it."

Many of the researchers watching the televised hearings felt the witnesses were orchestrated in their testimony and that all of the testimony followed carefully selected lines of interrogation.

This perception prompted a group of researchers who had formed an Assassination Information Bureau to comment:

"(There was) no one to remind the on-looking press and the nation that Blakey's case against Oswald looks as good as it does primarily because no one with equal staff, budget and time has had the opportunity to take it in hand, pull open its seams and show the world what it is really made of. Blakey and the Committee may at the moment enjoy a certain sense of victory, but their decision to shut down the other side's chances at rebuttal and rejoinder will eventually work against the credibility of their results. Another one-sided trial of an undefended Oswald is not what the people paid \$6 million to see."

The Committee also failed to mention the amount of medical evidence which is still missing. And - more ominously - some material given to the Committee also turned up missing.

Bill O'Reilly was a new reporter for WFAA-TV in Dallas. He recalled:

"...a guy who was there (in Dealey Plaza) at the time watching the motorcade. His son found (a bullet). I can't remember his name. ...But he wanted to remain anonymous...He gave me this little cylinder. He said that his son had found it on the ground that day. ...It was definitely a slug. And the guy said he definitely dug it out of there. ...It was something I came across and held. And then when the Committee started, I handed it over to Gaeton (Fonzi)...and I don't think anything ever came of it. It was a pistol slug, I'm pretty sure. But again, I'm not positive....But again I am no ballistics expert so it could have been a rifle slug."

Gaeton Fonzi, a Committee investigator, recalled getting the slug from O'Reilly. He said:

"I wound up with the slug just prior to going with the Committee. I gave the slug to the chief investigator, Cliff Fenton, with the Committee and never heard any more of it. I kept asking Cliff whether he turned it over for analysis or what he did with it. I kept getting noncommittal answers."

Asked about the slug in 1982, Fenton said:

"I don't know nothing about that. The best thing I can tell you is to talk to Rep. Stokes. I don't make any comment on the Assassinations Committee....You got to forgive me for that but that's the way I am."

Crossfire: A CIA Baby-sitter

There also was the matter of a CIA man who rifled through House Committee files. A year after it occurred, the American public was to learn that a CIA employee assigned to the House Select Committee on Assassinations rifled through some of the Committee's most sensitive files without authorization. Although the incident resulted in sharp criticism of the spy Agency - which discharged the employee involved - it was quickly passed off as only a matter of personal curiosity and of no great importance. Suspicious assassination researchers were not so convinced. The incident began one afternoon in July 1978, when a Committee attorney, with Blakey's permission, entered a room where the Committee stored physical evidence in the JFK assassination -including the controversial autopsy photographs. The lawyer left the room briefly to speak to Blakey and, upon his return, discovered a notebook containing JFK autopsy photographs out of place. Committee staffers said Blakey was particularly "paranoid" about the autopsy photographs and told them:

"The one thing that would have done us in would have been for those photos to be publicly released."

Therefore, an immediate investigation was launched. Several fingerprints were discovered around the autopsy photograph notebook which were traced to Regis T. Blahut, a CIA employee assigned as a liaison officer to the House Committee. Interestingly enough, Blahut had worked for James McCord in the CIA's Office of Security. (McCord was one of the men caught in the Watergate burglary and has been charged with engineering their subsequent capture which eventually toppled the Presidency of Richard Nixon.) Blahut was assigned under a CIA program code-named "MH/Child," which was described by Agency personnel as involving "baby-sitting" chores such as helping the Committee locate certain CIA files for their inquiry and escorting Committee staffers to CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

The Committee's investigation determined that someone opened the safe containing the photo notebook, ripped a plastic photo case out of the ring-binder notebook and even took at least one photo from its case. The intruder fled when he heard a noise. Blahut initially denied responsibility for the break-in. But confronted with the evidence of his fingerprints, Blahut admitted the incident, saying he there was an innocent explanation. However, he refused to say what it was.

Blahut also reportedly failed CIA polygraph tests in several important areas concerning the incident. In August 1978, Blahut was fired by the Agency, which nevertheless maintained that he had every right to be in the room - a point sharply disputed by Committee Chairman Stokes - and that Blahut had "acted alone and out of curiosity." One Agency spokesman described Blahut's actions as "something dumb." Sources within the Committee, however, told newsmen that circumstantial (evidence) was "overwhelming" that more than curiosity was involved.

Robert Groden, a Committee photographic expert who now claims the autopsy photos are fakes, believed that Blahut's activities with the photos may have been ordered by the CIA. He pointed out that the break-in came only one week after Groden reported to Blakey his suspicion that at least some of the JFK autopsy photographs are "clever composites." Whatever Blahut's motivation, it seems highly significant that a CIA employee would be surreptitiously rifling through the Committee's most sensitive material and that Blakey and Committee members decided it was not necessary to reveal this activity for a whole year.

Crossfire: Dallas Police Radio Recording

As the Committee closed its public hearings and moved toward presenting its final report in the late fall of 1978, it was becoming clear that its findings in regard to the JFK assassination were to parallel those of the Warren Commission - that Kennedy had been killed by two bullets fired by Lee Harvey Oswald from the floor of the Texas School Book Depository and that Oswald had acted alone.

But then something happened. Blakey - who had carefully restricted the JFK assassination investigation to simply a reevaluation of previous evidence - was hoisted on his own petard. A scientific study of a Dallas Police radio recording revealed solid evidence that more than one gunman fired on Kennedy in Dallas. Even before asking for more funding in March 1978, the House Select Committee on Assassinations already had uncovered a bombshell in the JFK investigation.

Sophisticated scientific studies of a Dallas Police radio recording indicated that more than one assassin was involved in Kennedy's death. This evidence, which prompted immediate controversy, destroyed the Warren Commission's theory of a lone gunman and forced the Assassinations Committee to completely reverse its findings at the last moment. This episode began with an incident very familiar to assassination researchers - an eight-minute "gap" in Dallas Police radio broadcasts during the assassination gunfire.

Apparently a Dallas policeman - a motorcycle officer by the sounds of a nearby motorcycle engine - opened his microphone beginning about two minutes before the shooting started and left it open for about eight minutes. Researchers had long suspected this was part of a plan to disrupt official communications and prevent rapid police response at the time of the assassination. Within minutes of the assassination, telephone communications in Washington experienced a similar disruption and contact with Kennedy's cabinet, flying together in an airplane over the Pacific, was delayed due to a missing code book.

In late 1976, researcher Gary Mack - believing that the open microphone had been in Dealey Plaza - obtained a copy of the Dallas Police radio recording. He began studying it for sounds of gunfire. He reasoned that if the microphone was indeed open in Dealey Plaza, it must have picked up the sounds of the shots. By September 1977, he had enhanced the quality of the tape and concluded there were as many as seven shots indicated in the recording.

In a newspaper interview, Mack said:

"I managed to get a tape of the police broadcasts and I worked on it...There was some distortion because it was about a 13th generation tape...but it was then that I realized that the shots were in the tape."

Mack next obtained a copy of the tape closer to the original. He explained:

"...finding the precise location of the shots, then, was easy and (after filtering out much of the motorcycle engine noise) we heard the first shot...a very loud, sharp crack immediately following some conversation between two policemen."

The existence of the police recording became known to the Assassinations Committee, which then obtained what was thought to be the original police recording from Dallas police officials. They located it in the possession of a retired police lieutenant.

This original recording - termed a Dictabelt - was turned over to the acoustics firm of Bolt, Beranek & Newman Inc. for sophisticated scientific tests. Dr. James Barger, the firm's chief scientist, converted the sounds on the tape into digitized wave forms to produce a visual picture. The study also looked into "sequence of impulses" which could determine sharp, loud noises such as gunshots and subsequent echoes. Barger determined there were at least six such impulses and asked for further tests, including an on-site test in Dealey Plaza.

By summer, 1978, Blakey was aware that the acoustical scientists supported Mack's contention that the tape showed gunfire from more than one location. In fact, during their public testimony, the acoustical scientists stated that there were as many as nine sounds on the Dallas recording which could not be ruled out as gunshots. But after the Dealey Plaza testing from two locations, they could only confirm four shots - one from the Grassy Knoll. Additionally, the tape showed that one shot came only 1.6 seconds behind another. Since the FBI had carefully determined that it required at least 2.3 seconds to fire the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle twice, this was further evidence of more than one assassin. Blakey shocked Committee members with this information, and staff members began to reconsider their conclusions. But not until after the police tape was turned over to yet another team of acoustical scientists. Blakey wrote:

"...it was deemed judicious to seek an independent review of Barger's analysis before

proceeding with the acoustical reconstruction."

The tape was then studied by Professor Mark Weiss of Queens College of the City University of New York and his associate, Ernest Aschkenasy. Weiss and Aschkenasy agreed with Barger's findings and also encouraged on-site testing. The idea was to create computerized graphic pictures of the sound patterns of rifle shots in Dealey Plaza and to match them against the patterns discovered in the police recording. These tests were conducted on Sunday, August 20, 1978, in Dealey Plaza. Beginning at dawn, three Dallas Police sharpshooters fired a total of 56 live bullets into three piles of sandbags located along the motorcade route on Elm Street. Rifles were fired from two locations - the southeast corner of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository and from behind the wooden, picket fence on the Grassy Knoll. Interestingly, a .38-caliber pistol also was fired from the Knoll, leading many researchers to speculate that the Committee must have received information leading them to believe a pistol may have been used in the assassination. However, no one at the time could explain why the pistol was test fired. Dallas Police commented they were unaware of the Committee's desire to test fire the pistol until the day before then tests.

It also should be noted that two of the three piles of sandbags were located in the middle lane of Elm Street, exactly where films show the presidential limousine. However, one pile - apparently representing one of the early shots - was located in the far left lane. Asked why it was in this location, Dallas Police sharpshooter Jerry Compton said he could not get a line of sight on the bags when it was in the center lane due to intervening tree branches. Less than a year before these tests, a film crew had worked in Dealey Plaza producing a network movie entitled, "The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald." The tree which prevented a line of sight between the sixth-floor Depository window and the location of the first shot had been pruned back to its 1963 size, based on photographs taken the day of the assassination. Compton's inability to fire at the center lane because of the obstructing tree gave strong support to researchers who have long claimed that a gunman on the Depository's sixth floor would have no line of sight to this location.

After the policemen fired their weapons, a line of microphones was moved along the motorcade route recording 432 impulse sequences or "acoustical fingerprints." Later, matching up the tape sounds with the test sounds, two of the six possible shots were ruled out as having been fired from the Depository or the Knoll - leaving the possibility that shots came from other locations.

This still left four sounds which did match.

After refining their acoustical tests, Weiss and Aschkenasy concluded:

"...with a certainty factor of 95 percent or better, there was a shot fired at the Presidential limousine from the Grassy Knoll."

Barger agreed with this assessment and added that sound from the Knoll was preceded by a N-wave, or supersonic shock wave, proving that the sound was that of a rifle bullet, which is a supersonic missile.

The Assassinations Committee studied photographs taken on November 22, 1963 as well as Dallas Police assignments and concluded that the microphone which recorded the shots was on the motorcycle of Patrolman H. B. McLain. Testifying before the Committee, McLain said his was the first motorcycle to the left of Vice President Johnson's car. He acknowledged that his motorcycle was in the correct locations to record the shots, based on the acoustical studies, and that his microphone often got stuck in the "on" position. However, a week after the Committee went out of existence, McLain suddenly reversed his position, claiming it could not have been his microphone which relayed the sounds. Stating that he had accompanied the presidential limousine to Parkland Hospital, McLain told newsmen:

"That wasn't my motorcycle. There would have been a siren on that Channel 1 all the way to the hospital. Everybody had their sirens on...you would have heard that on Channel 1."

McLain said he came to this conclusion belatedly because when he testified to the Committee, he had not listened to the police recording. However, an assassination photograph showed McLain had lagged behind and was still in Dealey Plaza after the Presidential limousine raced off. But McLain's criticism of the acoustical findings was just the beginning of a controversy over the acoustical studies and their conclusions.

Not long after the Committee issued its report citing at least four shots at Kennedy, the FBI publicly disputed the acoustical studies. The Bureau, in news stories carried nationwide, stated that the findings of the acoustical scientists and the Committee were "invalid."

This announcement prompted Blakey to term the FBI report "a sophomoric analysis...superficial, shoddy and shot full of holes." Some months later, in a statement which received scant notice by the media, the FBI admitted that it had not studied the acoustical evidence thoroughly and had not checked on the scientific methodology used. This, in effect, admitted that the findings of a shot from the Grassy Knoll could be correct. However, the controversy was not over.

At the request of the Justice Department - under which is the FBI - the National Science Foundation authorized a \$23,360 study of the acoustical evidence by a National Academy of Sciences panel headed by Harvard University physics Professor Norman S. Ramsey.

The Ramsey panel decided - on the basis of apparent sounds from police Channel 2 (the motorcade security channel) being found on Channel 1 (the regular police channel) - that this "cross talk" meant the police recordings were unreliable.

Ramsey's Committee on Ballistic Acoustics concluded:

"The acoustic analyses do not demonstrate that there was a Grassy Knoll shot...(and) do not support a conclusion that there was a second gunman."

However, in the months following the Ramsey panel's announcement, their findings were called into question by researcher Gary Mack - the originator of the recording study - who pointed out that Ramsey had based his studies on problems involving the Automatic Gain Control (AGC) on police Channel 1. The Dallas Police radios had no AGC circuitry at that time, Mack pointed out.

Two members of Ramsey's panel admitted that, if there was no AGC in the Dallas Police radios, their analysis of the tapes would have to be redone.

Well into the mid-1980s the controversy over the acoustical tests continued, with one expert challenging another expert and one technical argument being resolved only to find yet another waiting.

Keep in mind, there is now evidence to suggest that the Dallas Police recordings may have been edited or otherwise altered while in the hands of federal authorities in the days following the assassination (See AFTERMATH - DALLAS). If this was indeed the case, then the entire acoustical controversy has to go back to square one. Another point to remember is that the police recording only substantiates what witnesses have said all along - that someone was shooting at Kennedy from the Grassy Knoll.

The House Committee even stated in its final report:

"Scientifically, the existence of the second gunman was established only by the acoustical study, but its basic validity was corroborated by the various other scientific projects."

Rifle shots are still rifle shots and their sound patterns still match.

Despite the continuing controversy, the acoustical evidence prompted a complete turnabout in the official version of the JFK assassination.

Crossfire: HSCA Report

The House Select Committee on Assassinations issued a preliminary report on December 30, 1978.

Out of time and money, but faced with the acoustical tests results, it could only conclude that President John F. Kennedy "was probably assassinated as a result of a conspiracy," but that the Committee was "unable to identify the other gunman or the extent of the conspiracy."

The Committee, under Blakey, had gone right to the finish trying to find Oswald the lone assassin. Then at the eleventh hour, they were forced to conclude that at least two assassins were involved.

Assassination researchers were greatly pleased with the revelation of more than one gunman in the Kennedy murder. Others were not so impressed by the Committee's findings.

A sampling of reactions include:

Marguerite Oswald:

"...the select committee has done its work, tried hard, they are men of integrity, but they made the same mistake as the Warren Commission. My late son, Lee Harvey Oswald, was framed for the murder of President Kennedy....They are saying in effect that Lee Harvey Oswald was one of the gunmen and I will emphatically say they are wrong."

Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade:

"I have no idea if there was a conspiracy or not. I doubt the Committee knows. If they bring us a body and say he is a conspirator, we'll prosecute him..."

David Belin (Warren Commission attorney):

"Congress is just plain wrong. There was no second gunman firing from the Grassy Knoll. I've seen lots of expert testimony where people differ."

So the controversy over President Kennedy's assassination, far from being settled by the House Committee, continued anew.

Only this time, researchers and critics of the Warren Commission had gained new ammunition through information gained by the Committee and they were now supported in their conspiracy theories by a Governmental body.

Controversy about the Committee's operation continued even after it had gone out of existence. Five months after the Committee closed shop, Robert Groden, who had served as staff photographic consultant to the HSCA, told the news media the Committee had pulled its punches. Groden said:

"The direction of the entire House Assassinations Committee rested one piece of evidence from the beginning - the autopsy photographs. And, from the beginning until the introduction of the acoustical evidence, the autopsy panel assumed the autopsy evidence was genuine. I was not allowed to study the autopsy photographs until December (1978 - less than a month before the Committee disbanded) and when I did study them, I found at least two were phonies, which can be proved to any reasonable person."

Groden's charge has been backed by several of the Dallas doctors who worked to save President Kennedy's life. Interviewed by "The Baltimore Sun" in 1979, the Dallas physicians unanimously agreed that the photograph made public by the House Committee was not remotely like the wounds they saw in 1963.

Dr. Marion Jenkins, poking a point at the right rear of the head depicted in the photo, said:

"This is where the wound was."

Dr. Charles Baxter:

"It was a large, gaping wound in the occipital area, a tangential wound."

Dr. Jackie Hunt, after describing the large wound in the right rear of Kennedy's head and then being shown the House Committee's photo:

"I can do a lot of funny things in my darkroom, too."

Dr. Robert Shaw:

"If the body hadn't been stolen away from us and had Dr. (Earl) Rose performed a proper autopsy, there would be no question these 15 years."

Dr. Fouad Bashour:

"This (the Committee photo) is not the way it was....Why do they cover it up?"

In addition to the doctored autopsy photographs, Groden was openly critical of some of the Committee's experts. He said:

"The man who did the ballistic analysis arbitrarily moved the position of Kennedy's

back wound up one vertebra, making the whole angle off....The man who concluded the back wound was between the shoulder blades had viewed the same material for the Rockefeller Commission and, at that time, said the wound was on Kennedy's right shoulder."

Groden concluded:

"The biggest problem with the Committee is that they gave us a conspiracy, but the wrong one."

Veteran newsman Seth Kantor who because of his years working in both Dallas and Fort Worth prior to and during the assassination may be one of the most knowledgeable media persons on that event, told this author the entire House Committee episode was "strange and unusual."

Kantor explained:

"The Committee tried to play to Congress... by not touching certain bases because certain Congressmen didn't want it....The original chairman (Downing) was about to retire...the committee was loaded with second-echelon House members, not leadership quality and with not much clout....When Blakey came in, he wiped out the leadership of the (Committee's) staff and the new people that came in had to start from square one. The investigators sent to Dallas had no working knowledge of the case....My biggest grievance with the Committee is that they did not investigate the Dallas Police force. Blakey said he had no mandate to investigate the Dallas Police. More than half the life of the Committee was frittered away..."

Many researchers' view of the Committee's work was summed up by Groden, who wrote:

"In the end, the Committee consumed millions of dollars and accomplished little. The Select Committee never did the simple things required to get to the truth. Reluctantly, the Committee identified the existence of a "conspiracy" in the Kennedy and King assassinations. But the admission of "conspiracy" was a small breakthrough - the public had suspected it for years. The truth about who was behind the conspiracies was left undisturbed."

Having totally reversed the Government's view of the JFK assassination by stating publicly that a conspiracy "probably" resulted in Kennedy's death and that at least two gunmen fired at him, Chief Counsel Blakey, writing in an introduction to the Committee's report, said:

"Realizing that there would be an opportunity for others to fill in the details - that there might be indictments and trials as a result of future investigation - we decided to present an understated case. We chose a cautious approach."

An understated case? Consider these points as determined by the Committee:

- A conspiracy involving at least two gunmen resulted in the death of President Kennedy.
- Jack Ruby's killing of Oswald was not spontaneous and Ruby likely entered the Dallas Police station basement with assistance.
- The Dallas Police withheld relevant information about Ruby's entry to the Oswald slaying scene from the Warren Commission.
- The Secret Service was deficient in the performance of its duties in connection with the assassination.
- The FBI performed with varying degrees of competency and failed to investigate adequately the possibility of conspiracy.
- The CIA was deficient in its collection and sharing of assassination information.
- The Warren Commission failed to investigate the idea of conspiracy adequately, partly because of the failure of Government agencies to provide the Commission with relevant information.
- Investigation of conspiracy by the Secret Service was terminated prematurely by President Johnson's order that the FBI assume investigative responsibility.
- Since the military "201" file on Oswald was destroyed before the Committee could view it, it could not fully resolve if Oswald had been affiliated with Military Intelligence.

All of these startling conclusions - and this was the "understated case."

But for all the House Committee's faults - and there were a number, from letting critical witnesses off with no cross examination to allowing the CIA and FBI oversee their probe - it nevertheless completely turned the JFK assassination around.

The Committee ended by recommending that the Justice Department pick up where it left off and attempt to unravel the conspiracy which led to the deaths of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King. To date, the only action on the part of Justice has been the Ramsey panel which has called into question the acoustical evidence of multiple gunmen. An internal Justice Department memo made public only in 1988 revealed what researchers had suspected all along - despite the findings and requests by the House Committee, Justice officials had let the whole thing drop.

This inactivity on the part of the federal Government serves to illustrate the problem of Government agencies trying to investigate themselves.

Crossfire: HSCA Summary

The House Select Committee on Assassinations was born out of political pressure to learn the truth of this nation's assassinations, yet it suffered from this same political pressure throughout its existence. The Committee not only was susceptible to pressure from Congress - to which it was dependent for funding - but also to agencies such as the FBI and CIA. The largest part of the Committee's life was devoted to simply keeping the panel alive and funded.

There can be little doubt that the original chairman, Representative Henry Gonzalez, and the original chief counsel, Richard A. Sprague, were somehow set against each other in an effective attempt to disrupt Committee unity.

And while the political games were being played out in Washington, important Kennedy assassination witnesses - such as George DeMohrenschildt, Carlos Prio Soccaras, Sam Giancana and former FBI officials - were dying suddenly.

After Gonzalez was replaced by Louis Stokes and Sprague by G. Robert Blakey, the Committee's investigations finally got underway - but the depth and scope was severely limited. Blakey quickly announced that there would be no comments to the news media and that only "old" evidence would be studied to see if it withstood the test of time. He also instigated a stringent secrecy oath which effectively muzzled both assassination researchers who worked with the Committee and dissident staff members. Blakey also exhibited a friendly working relationship with the FBI and CIA - both agencies which had become highly suspect in the minds of most researchers. In fact, Blakey removed some of the Committee's most able investigators, restricted areas of study, hand-picked the scientific "experts" to study assassination material and then locked away the Committee's investigative material for 50 years.

During its public hearings, the Committee was exceptionally gentle with critical witnesses like Marina Oswald and autopsy Dr. James Humes, yet unexpectedly harsh with Warren Commission critics and private researchers. Some dubious witnesses - such as Louie Steven Witt, the "Umbrella Man" - were allowed to tell questionable stories without serious cross-examination.

Right up to the end of its existence, the Committee appeared ready to support the Warren Commission's conclusion that the Kennedy assassination was the work of one lone gunman, Lee Harvey Oswald. But due to two separate scientific studies on a Dallas Police radio recording, the Committee was belatedly forced to conclude that Kennedy was fired upon by at least two gunmen.

Out of time and funding, the Committee reversed the official government theory of the assassination by concluding that Kennedy "was probably killed as the result of a conspiracy" but added, "The Committee was unable to identify the other gunman or the extent of the conspiracy."

The House Select Committee on Assassinations, while furthering the public's knowledge of the assassination by studying previously unavailable or ignored material, nevertheless failed to fully pursue its investigations. It left behind more questions than it answered, preferring to place the burden of finding the truth on the U.S. Department of Justice, which to this date has failed to take any positive action in the matter. For many assassination researchers the entire episode only provoked the old question, "Who will watch the watchers?"

Crossfire: Was Oswald Really Oswald - The Exhumation

"...there is a possibility that an impostor is using Oswald's birth certificate..."

FBI director J. Edgar Hoover in 1960

One of the most misunderstood issues surrounding the JFK assassination involves questions about the identity of Lee Harvey Oswald. This issue can be broken into two segments - one is the evidence pointing to someone impersonating Oswald in the weeks prior to the assassination and the second concerns the identity of the man killed by Jack Ruby. This whole question of Oswald doppelgangers - or lookalikes - is admittedly bizarre. However, once the evidence suggesting such duplication is studied closely, one finds cause for serious consideration of these questions. Questions about Oswald's identity did not suddenly surface years after the assassination as many people believe. As has been noted, J. Edgar Hoover expressed concern over Oswald's identity as far back as June 3, 1960, when he wrote:

"Since there is a possibility that an impostor is using Oswald's birth certificate, any current information the Department of State may have concerning subject will be appreciated."

Despite assurances by Government agencies at the time of the assassination that they were unaware of Oswald or his background, there is now abundant evidence that people within the Government were checking frequently on the ex-Marine.

On March 31, 1961, the deputy chief of the Passport Office wrote to the Consular Section of the State Department regarding Oswald, stating:

"...this file contains information first, which indicates that mail from the mother of this boy is not being delivered to him and second, that it has been stated that there is an impostor using Oswald's identification data and that no doubt the Soviets would love to get hold of his valid passport, it is my opinion that the passport should be delivered to him only on a personal basis and after the Embassy is assured to its complete satisfaction that he is returning to the United States."

Another State Department communication, this time to the United States Embassy in Moscow, on July 11, 1961, stated:

"The Embassy's careful attention to the involved case of Mr. Oswald is appreciated. It is assumed that there is no doubt that the person who has been in communication with the Embassy is the person who was issued a passport in the name of Lee Harvey Oswald."

Only two weeks before the assassination, someone signing for the State Department, checked out Oswald's military records.

The New Orleans FBI Office apparently kept close tabs on Oswald while he was in that city and then shipped its file on him to Dallas in the fall of 1963, where Agent James Hosty made an effort to reach Oswald (See G MEN). At the same time, a Military Intelligence unit in Texas was receiving information on Oswald for its files (See SOLDIERS).

After the assassination, literally hundreds of people claimed to have seen Oswald in the days preceding the tragedy. This outpouring of sightings is normal in a case of this magnitude.

In every major crime case, police hear from many people who claim to have knowledge of the crime. Many of these are disturbed people seeking to insinuate themselves in a major news event. Others are honest citizens simply mistaken as to identities or activities. While this phenomenon is to be expected in an event on the magnitude of the assassination, there were many reputable people who encountered a Lee Harvey Oswald at a time when Oswald was reported elsewhere and whose stories cannot be easily dismissed. However, the Warren Commission found it easy enough to dismiss these people. The Commission's rationale was simple. If someone saw Oswald at a time when the Commission had determined him to be elsewhere, then the observers were mistaken in their identity.

Consider a few of these instances. One such encounter with a bogus Oswald is especially intriguing since it occurred long before Oswald reportedly arrived back in the United States from his sojourn in Russia. Oscar Deslatte, manager of a Ford dealership in New Orleans contacted the FBI immediately after the assassination. He told the Bureau that a man identifying himself as "Joseph Moore" had tried to buy 10 trucks on January 10, 1961. He said the man was accompanied by a Cuban and had said he wanted Deslatte to "give a good price because we're doing this for the good of the country." This was the time that the CIA and its Cuban allies were preparing for the April 17 Bay of Pigs Invasion of Cuba.

Deslatte said "Moore" asked that the name "Oswald" be placed on the purchase estimate sheet. The man said "Oswald" would be paying for the trucks on behalf of an anti-Castro Cuban organization.

In 1979, the FBI released a copy of Deslatte's estimate sheet and it showed the anti-Castro organization involved was "Friends of Democratic Cuba," which just happened to have been the anti-Castro group which included in its membership ex-FBI Agent Guy Banister (See AGENTS). Banister, of course, was the fervent anti-Castro agent who was connected to Oswald in the summer of 1963 at 544 Camp Street.

Was Oswald or someone using his name involved in the Bay of Pigs activity?

Another story involves a statement from a former New Orleans immigration inspector. In 1975, the Senate Intelligence Committee heard testimony from a former immigration inspector in New Orleans. While keeping the man's identity secret, the Committee reported:

...he is absolutely certain that he interviewed Lee Harvey Oswald in a New Orleans jail cell sometime shortly before April 1, 1963. Although the inspector is not now certain whether Oswald was using that particular name at that time, he is certain that Oswald was claiming to be a Cuban alien. He quickly ascertained that Oswald was not a Cuban alien, at which point he left Oswald in his jail cell.

According to the Warren Commission, Oswald did not arrive in New Orleans until the end of April, nearly a month after the inspector's meeting with the jailed "Oswald." During his time in New Orleans, Oswald was seen in many and varying situations. He was handing out pro-Castro literature on New Orleans streets, while at the same time approaching anti-Castro Cuban leaders with proposals to help train their followers. He was reported seen in Clinton, Louisiana, during a civil rights voter registration drive (See AGENTS).

Some of the people who encountered Oswald in New Orleans described him a clean and well-kept, courteous young man, while others said he was dirty and disheveled and a swearing hard-drinker. It is difficult to believe these people were talking about the same individual.

As the assassination drew closer, the strange reports of second Oswalds began to increase. On September 25, 1963, Mrs. Lee Dannelly, an official with the Selective Service System in Austin, Texas, reported that a young man came to her office for help. He said his name was Harvey Oswald and that he wished to get his military discharged with "other than honorable conditions" changed to an honorable discharge. The man said he was living in Fort Worth. Mrs. Dannelly said she could find no such person in her files and she told the man to check with Selective Service in Fort Worth. She next saw Oswald on television after the assassination and promptly reported her experience.

Oswald did have a dishonorable discharge and he had lived in Fort Worth, but on September 25, he was on his way to Mexico City, according to the Warren Commission.

After the assassination, Leonard Hutchinson came forward to say that he had been asked to cash a check for Oswald earlier in November. Hutchinson, who owned Hutch's Market in Irving, Texas, said the man asked him to cash a two-party check made out to "Harvey Oswald" for \$189. He refused to accept the check, but said he saw the man in his store several more times. He said on one occasion the man and a young woman spoke in some foreign language. Hutchinson said he recognized both Oswald and Marina when their photographs were broadcast over television after the assassination. Near Hutchinson's store was a barber shop where a man identified as Oswald came for haircuts. The barber also said he saw the same man entering Hutchinson's store. Despite all this, the Warren Commission concluded:

Oswald is not known to have received a check for this amount from any source....Examination of Hutchinson's testimony indicates a more likely explanation is that Oswald was not in his store at all.

Next is the well-documented story of Oswald's wild car ride weeks before the assassination. Albert G. Bogard, a salesman for Downtown Lincoln-Mercury - located just west of the Triple Underpass in Dealey Plaza - told the Warren Commission that before the assassination - "ninth day of November, I think it was, to be exact" - a man came into the dealership and introduced himself as "Lee Oswald." Bogard told the Commission:

"I show him a car on the showroom floor, and take him for a ride out Stemmons Expressway and back, and he was driving at 60 to 70 miles an hour and came back to the showroom. And, I made some figures and he told me he wasn't ready to buy, that he would be in a couple or three weeks, that he had some money coming in. And

when he finally started to leave I got his name and wrote it on the back of one of my business cards, and never heard from the man anymore."

Bogard said on the day of the assassination, he heard Oswald had been arrested and threw the business card with Oswald's name on it away, saying:

"He won't be a prospect anymore because he is going to jail."

His story was supported by two other dealership employees, Eugene Wilson and Frank Pizzo. However, the Warren Commission concluded:

"Several persons who knew Oswald have testified that he was unable to drive, although Mrs. Paine, who was giving Oswald driving lessons, stated that Oswald was showing some improvement by November. Moreover, Oswald's whereabouts on November 9, as testified to by Marina Oswald and Ruth Paine, would have made it impossible for him to have visited the automobile showrooms as Mr. Bogard claims."

In a 1977 "Dallas Morning News" story, Wilson said the FBI and the Warren Commission dismissed the story of Oswald's drive because they had it occurring on November 9.

Wilson told the newspaper the man was Oswald and that he did know how to drive and that the incident actually occurred on November 2, a more plausible date. He also said he recalled that when Oswald was turned down for a credit purchase, he said:

"Maybe I'm going to have to go back to Russia to buy a car."

Wilson said he could pinpoint the date because later the day of Oswald's drive, he used the same car to carry his wife and some friends home after a meeting of the Lone Star Bulldog Club. Wilson said the next day at a Dallas dog show, he won some ribbons which carried the date.

The Warren Commission indeed published a copy of an unsigned application for a Texas driver's license in the name of Lee Harvey Oswald.

If the car buyer was Oswald, he was expecting to come into money at the exact time of the assassination. If it wasn't Oswald, it was someone impersonating him.

Another incident involved the night manager of Western Union in Dallas. C.A. Hamblen told Bob Fenley, a reporter for the "Dallas Times Herald" that Oswald had collected money orders in small sums during the early part of November. Hamblen said he remembered Oswald because he "would give the girls (Western Union employees) a hard time. He was a cantankerous individual." These statements appeared in the Dallas newspaper on November 30.

Another Western Union employee, Aubrey Lee Lewis, said he recalled the man resembling Oswald as a "feminine, very slender build fellow" who sent a small money order to the Dallas Y.M.C.A. and was accompanied by a "man of Spanish descent." The man used a "little Navy ID release card" and a library card for identification. This story of Oswald receiving money just before the assassination caused a minor uproar within both the Warren Commission and Western Union. Western Unions officials were quick to remind employees that they were not to discuss customers, their money orders or amounts. In his Warren Commission testimony taken on July 23, 1964, Hamblen suddenly was unclear on many aspects of his story. He told the Commission:

"Yes; I did tell him (Reporter Fenley) that I had saw Oswald. I may have told him that. I don't recall what all was said...we never discuss any telegrams...(Hamblen was shown a copy of his signed statement of December 2, 1963 telling of the Oswald encounter) Well, now, if I gave Bob any information like that, I don't recall it now. I might have at the time I wrote the statement....I wouldn't say that it was Lee Oswald. I would say it was someone that resembled him from the picture that I had seen in the paper and on TV."

It is apparent that the Western Union employees were under pressure not to tell more about the money order incidents. In fact, in his testimony to the Warren Commission, Reporter Fenley said he sent the "Times Herald" police reporter to talk Hamblen and that he was told the same story. Fenley added:

"...I am still very curious about this...I don't mean this for the record, but I frankly heard that he (Hamblen) recanted the tale."

Western Union officials also were deeply involved in tracing money orders sent by Jack Ruby. A check by Western Union failed to turn up any money orders in the name of Lee Harvey Oswald. But if it was not the Marine Oswald using a Navy ID and library card to receive money orders, than who was it? The Warren Commission apparently was unable to find out. It is interesting to note the Western Union workers mentioned someone they believed to be Oswald sending money orders to the Dallas YMCA.

According to the Warren Commission:

"Oswald did not contact his wife immediately when he returned to Dallas (supposedly from a trip to Mexico City in late September 1963)...He spent the night at the (Dallas) YMCA, where he registered as a serviceman in order to avoid paying the membership fee."

YMCA records showed an Oswald staying there on October 3 and 4. The records also indicated that Oswald lived at the YMCA between October 15 and 19, 1962. The Dallas YMCA also had member who frequented its health club facilities quite often during this time - Jack Ruby.

A man resembling Oswald was seen by Dallas Police handing out pro-Castro literature on downtown streets in the months preceding the assassination. Was it really Oswald?

Then there are the strange incidents involving Oswald or someone resembling Oswald using a foreign-made rifle in the weeks preceding the assassination. On November 1, a "rude and impertinent" man bought rifle ammunition in Morgan's Gunshop in nearby Fort Worth. Three persons recalled this incident after the assassination and claimed the man was Oswald. The Warren Commission however determined that Oswald was elsewhere at the time. After the assassination, a British reporter checked with gun shops in Irving and discovered a furniture store where a gunsmith had earlier conducted business. The manager of the store told of a man who looked like Oswald visiting her store along with his wife and two small children. The manager recalled that the man spoke a foreign language to his wife and had asked about repairing a firing pin. Marina Oswald told the Warren Commission she had never been in the furniture store. The man resembling Oswald was directed to another nearby gun store - the Irving Sports Shop. Dial Duwayne Ryder, the service manager at the Irving Sports Shop recalled working on a rifle but it was not an Italian weapon. He even gave the FBI an undated check stub for \$6 which bore the name "Oswald." The stub indicated that work done on the rifle was "drilling and tapping and boresighting." Ryder said the work was probably done during the first two weeks of November. However, since there was a \$1.50 charge for boresighting and the drilling and tapping was \$1.50 per hole, it indicated to Ryder that three holes were drilled in the rifle for a telescopic sight. The Mannlicher-Carcano identified as Oswald's rifle had only two holes for the sight and the telescopic sight came already fixed to the rifle. Furthermore, neither Ryder nor his boss could readily identify pictures of Oswald as the man ordering the work. Thus it would appear that someone using Oswald's name ordered work on a rifle which was not the Oswald rifle.

The Warren Commission, never willing to admit the possibility that someone might have been fabricating evidence against Oswald, hinted that Ryder made up the story about working on the rifle.

Again in early November, shooters at the Sports Drome Rifle Range recalled a young man who was there sighting in a foreign-made rifle. One of these shooters, Malcolm Price, helped adjust the rifle sight for the man shooting and another, Garland Slack, argued with the man on another occasion because the man was shooting at Slack's target.

Both Dr. Homer Wood and his son, Sterling Wood, recalled the man and both were shocked to see his photograph on television in the days following the assassination. They are still convinced the man was Lee Harvey Oswald. However, the Warren Commission noted that these witnesses were not consistent in their descriptions of the rifle range gunman or of the rifle and scope. In addition, some of the gun range witnesses said Oswald was accompanied by a man in a late-model car. Since Oswald reportedly could not drive and did not know anyone with a late-model car, the Commission concluded:

"Although the testimony of these witnesses was partially corroborated by other witnesses, there was other evidence which prevented the Commission from reaching the conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald was the person these witnesses saw."

Furthermore, Price remembered helping "Oswald" sight his rifle on September 28, 1963, a time when Oswald reportedly was in Mexico City.

In October 1963, Mrs. Lovell Penn heard shooting on her property located just outside Dallas. Accosting three men shooting a rifle in a field, Mrs. Penn ordered them to leave. After they left, she found a 6.5-mm Mannlicher-Carcano rifle shell near where the men had been target shooting. After the assassination, she turned the shell casing over to the FBI and told them that one of the men looked like Oswald while another was "Latin, perhaps Cuban." However, the FBI reported that laboratory tests showed the shell had not been fired from the Oswald rifle.

The reports of Oswald accompanied by Cubans came from many different sources. Recall the incident of three anti-Castro Cubans - one by the name of Leon Oswald - visiting Sylvia Odio shortly before the assassination (See CUBANS).

It becomes apparent that someone was posing as Oswald in the days preceding the assassination, carefully laying out a pattern of an irritating young man who was in possession of and practicing with a foreign-made rifle. As the Warren Commission itself pointed out:

"In most instances, investigation has disclosed that there is no substantial basis for believing that the person reported by the various witnesses was Oswald."

Of course, if the man in question was not Oswald, it means that someone was laying a trail of evidence to the real Oswald. This gives great credence to Oswald's cry to newsmen in the Dallas Police Station:

"I'm just a patsy!"

But the question of Oswald's identity leads to even stranger areas. In recent years, there has even arisen questions concerning the man killed by Jack Ruby. Was the Oswald killed in Dallas the same Oswald born in New Orleans in 1939? Bizarre as it may sound, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the man killed by Ruby was not the original Lee Harvey Oswald.

The first major publicity over this issue came in 1977 with the publication of "The Oswald File" by British author Michael Eddowes. Eddowes, who acknowledged to this author his connections with British Intelligence dating back to World War II, advanced the following theory:

"Lee Harvey Oswald was captured by the Soviets after traveling to Russia in 1959 and a lookalike substitute was returned to the United States in his place."

Eddowes said after studying the issue of Oswald's identity, he became "100 percent convinced" that President Kennedy was killed by a Soviet KGB agent impersonating the real Oswald. The British attorney offered the following evidence for his theory:

-A mastoidectomy scar which was noted on Oswald's Marine Corps medical records was not mentioned in Oswald's autopsy report.

-Oswald's Marine records showed a vaccination scar on his arm, along with other scars. No vaccination scar was noted in Oswald's autopsy report and the location of scars differed from those in his military records.

- In Warren Commission documents, including Marine and passport application papers, at least 11 give Oswald's height as 5'11", while at least 13 documents - all produced after Oswald's return from Russia - give his height as 5'9".

- During Oswald's 20-month disappearance in Russia, U.S. Government agencies -including the FBI and the State Department - expressed suspicions regarding Oswald's identity.

- When Marina met Oswald at a Minsk dance (See RUSSIANS), she believed him to be a native Russian with a Baltic area accent. Since there is no doubt that the man she met in Russia was the man killed in Dallas, it should be understood that Marina knew only the one Oswald. But this fact does not eliminate the possibility that a substitution took place prior to their meeting.

Based on these points, Eddowes went into a Texas court on January 10, 1979, and asked that the grave of Oswald be exhumed. He had the support of the Dallas County Medical Examiner's Office which was convinced there was enough question about the identity of the body to warrant an exhumation.

There are also a number of other intriguing hints that point toward substitution. Just weeks before leaving Russia for home, Oswald wrote his mother and asked her to send him pictures of both her and himself. Some researchers wonder if he needed such photos so he would know which lady to greet at the airport.

Jeanne DeMohrenschildt claimed that Oswald's knowledge of Russia extended beyond just its language (Recall that native Russians thought he spoke the language better than themselves). She said her husband George and Oswald would have lengthy discussions over Russian literature, including such authors as Leo Tolstoi and Fedor Dostoevski - an incredible feat for a high school dropout whose Russian was self-taught. She said Oswald even subscribed to a Soviet satirical journal entitled "The Crocodile" and had a large collection of photographs he claimed to have taken in several different areas of Russia. (Officially, Oswald never ventured outside Moscow and Minsk.)

Researcher Gary Mack has reported that three language experts at Southern Methodist University in Dallas studied tape recordings made of Oswald. They were not told the identity of the man whose voice they heard. All agreed that the English words spoken seemed acquired later in life -that English was not the native tongue of the man on the tape. This startling conclusion was supported by Mrs.

DeMohrenschildt, who told this author she was more amazed by Oswald's English than his Russian. She said he spoke in deliberate and precise terms, rarely using slang or curse words. She said:

"Everybody always talks about how good his Russian was. I was always surprised at the English coming from this boy who was brought up in the South. I wondered, "Where did he learn such proper English -certainly not from his mother."

A particularly intriguing hint at impersonation came in the fall of 1963, when a letter was sent to the Russian Embassy in Washington. It was signed by Lee Harvey Oswald who was writing about his alleged travel to Mexico City.

The second sentence of the letter - the Warren Commission published both his handwritten draft and the typed letter - reads:

"I was unable to remain in Mexico indefinitely (sic) because of my Mexican (sic) visa restrictions which was (sic) for 15 days only. I could not take a chance on requesting a new visa UNLESS I USED MY REAL NAME (emphasis added), so I returned to the United States."

Since his passport and visa forms - as well as the November 9, 1963, embassy letter - were in the name of Lee Harvey Oswald, researchers are left to wonder about the meaning of having to use "my real name."

Soon after Eddowes asked to have Oswald's body exhumed, political fights sprang up between conflicting jurisdictions. Oswald had been killed in Dallas County, but his body was buried in Rose Hill Cemetery which is in nearby Tarrant County. While the Dallas Medical Examiner's Office had authorized an exhumation, Tarrant County officials balked.

On June 1, 1979, Texas District Judge James Wright denied Eddowes' exhumation request. Dallas County Assistant Medical Examiner Dr. Linda Norton told newsmen:

"I feel it would be in the public interest to conduct the exhumation. However, there are apparent legal disagreements...and political forces who do not want this body dug up."

Norton said her efforts to exhume the body were being thwarted by Tarrant County District Attorney Tim Curry, an elected official. The case dragged on.

It should be noted that Eddowes was not the first person to seek an exhumation of Oswald's body. A Warren Commission document declassified only in 1975 revealed that CIA officials were suspicious of Oswald's true identity as early as 1964. In a Warren Commission memorandum dated March 13, 1964, staff member W. David Slawson wrote about a letter from FBI director J. Edgar Hoover on February 26, 1964. In this memo, Slawson quoted Hoover as writing:

"The CIA is interested in the scar on Oswald's left wrist...The FBI is reluctant to exhume Oswald's body as requested by the CIA."

In this same memo, Slawson expressed his own questions about what may have happened to Oswald in Russia:

"This whole aspect of Oswald's life and especially our attempt to authenticate it are highly secret at this point...(Slawson mentions the reported suicide attempt by Oswald shortly after arriving in Russia -See RUSSIANS) Therefore, if the suicide incident is a fabrication, the time spent by Oswald recovering from the suicide (attempt) in a Moscow hospital could have been spent by him in Russian secret police custody, being coached, brainwashed, etc."

Funeral director Paul Groody - who buried Oswald in 1963 - told this author that Secret Service agents came to him three weeks after Oswald's burial asking questions about marks on the body. Groody said:

"They told me, "We don't know who we have in that grave."

Furthermore, Oswald's own mother asked for an exhumation in 1967, expressing questions as to the identity of the body in her son's grave. Marguerite Oswald told local news reporters that she did not believe her son had scars on his body as described by the Warren Commission. She said:

"I think now would be the time to exhume this boy's body and see if he has these scars."

Mrs. Oswald previously had told the Warren Commission how her son had seemed changed after arriving back in Fort Worth from Russia. She said she noticed he was losing his hair and that Oswald told her he was going bald "because of the cold weather in Texas." She also noted:

"And Lee was very, very thin when I saw him."

Oswald's brother, Robert, also noted changes in Oswald when he arrived back in the United States.

He told the Warren Commission:

"His appearance had changed to the extent that he had lost a considerable amount of hair; his hair had become very kinky in comparison with his naturally curly hair prior to his departure to Russia....He appeared the first couple of days upon his return...to be rather tense and anxious. I also noted that his complexion had changed somewhat to the extent that he had always been very fair complected - his complexion was rather ruddy at this time - you might say it appeared like an artificial suntan that you get out of a bottle, but very slight - in other words, a tint of brown to a tint of yellow....he appeared to have picked up something of an accent."

Robert told the Commission that both he and Lee's father had never experienced baldness.

Oswald's half-brother, John Edward Pic, was even more pointed in his comments to the Warren Commission concerning Lee's appearance after returning from Russia:

"I would have never recognized him, sir....He was much thinner than I remembered him. He didn't have as much hair....His face features were somewhat different, being his eyes were set back maybe, you know like in these Army pictures, they looked different than I remembered him. His face was rounder...when he went in the Marine Corps (Oswald had) a bull neck. This I didn't notice at all. I looked for this, I didn't notice it at all, sir."

Pic went on to tell how he became angered when Oswald introduced him to a visitor as his half-brother. He said Oswald had never previously mentioned the fact that Pic was only a half brother.

In the book "The Two Assassins" by Renatus Hartogs, Pic was quoted as saying:

"The Lee Harvey Oswald I met in November 1962, was not the same Lee Harvey Oswald I had known 10 years previously."

In August 1979, Dallas Medical Examiner Dr. Charles Petty formally called for an exhumation and asked his counterpart in Tarrant County to order such. However, this request along with Eddowes' offer to pay the premium on a \$100,000 indemnification bond to allow the exhumation to proceed was rejected by District Attorney Curry. Then in February 1980, Dr. Petty reversed himself and said he would not order an exhumation. Meanwhile the court found that Eddowes, being a British citizen, lacked any legal standing in a Texas court.

By the summer of 1980, Eddowes was joined in his efforts to have Oswald's grave exhumed by Marina Oswald, who provided the necessary "legal standing."

Oddly enough, as the foot dragging of Tarrant County officials to an Oswald exhumation began to wane, another roadblock was thrown in the way of an exhumation - this time by Oswald's brother Robert. On August 15, 1980, Robert Oswald won an injunction against the exhumation, saying it would cause his family anguish.

This was considered very odd by assassination researchers because if the exhumation showed the man in the grave was not Oswald, it would have exonerated his brother as a presidential assassin. If the exhumation proved the body was Oswald, nothing would have changed. So what harm could be done?

The case dragged on for more months. Finally, on August 20, 1981, Marina filed suit to have the grave opened. And on October 4, 1981 - nine months after Marguerite Oswald died of cancer in a Fort Worth hospital and was quietly buried alongside her son Lee - the exhumation of the Oswald grave took place. Opposition to the exhumation had suddenly vanished. Robert Oswald said he could not afford to fight the issue further in court.

The body was taken from Rose Hill Cemetery in the early morning hours and driven to Baylor Medical Center in Dallas for study.

A team of four forensic pathologists compared the teeth of the corpse brought from the Oswald grave with Oswald's Marine Corps dental records. Almost four hours after the study began, the results were in. Dr. Norton, who headed the exhumation study, stated:

"Beyond any doubt, and I mean any doubt, the individual buried under the name Lee Harvey Oswald in Rose Hill Cemetery is in fact Lee Harvey Oswald."

Within hours, local newspapers carried the headlines:

"Doctors identify body as Oswald," "Autopsy proves body is Oswald's" and "Oswald issue finally at rest."

While some discrepancies were found between the corpse's teeth and Oswald's military dental records, the doctors were satisfied that enough similarities remained to warrant their conclusion. Also, a

hole was discovered behind the left ear, which corresponded to Oswald's known mastoid operation. The issue appeared to be settled. But - as so much else in the Kennedy assassination - this was not to be.

Crossfire: New Questions on Oswald

A few weeks after the Oswald exhumation, the two funeral home directors who prepared Oswald's body for burial in 1963 got together and talked. Paul Groody and Alan Baumgartner were troubled. They were not supposed to have been at the post-exhumation examination. But at the last minute, Marina Oswald had asked them to be present and identify rings on the corpse. Entering the autopsy room in Dallas, both men confirmed that the rings were on the corpse in the same location they had placed them in 1963. However, as the forensic examination continued, both Groody and Baumgartner noticed that the skull of the corpse under examination was in one piece - completely intact.

Weeks later, after discussing the matter between themselves, the funeral home directors discussed the situation with Texas assassination researchers and gave startling information - the body which was exhumed in 1981 was not the same body they buried in 1963!

What confirmed this idea in their minds was the absence of signs of a craniotomy, a normal autopsy procedure. A craniotomy involves drawing the skin off the human skull and cutting off the top of the skull with a bone saw, usually in a V-shaped cut. This allows forensic pathologists to view the brain. There can be no question that this procedure was performed on Oswald's body since the weight of his brain was recorded in Oswald's autopsy report. Furthermore, both funeral home directors recalled the craniotomy in preparing the body for burial. Groody said:

"I put the skull back together and sewed up his scalp."

Yet both men have said they noticed no sign of the craniotomy on the skull they viewed during the 1981 exhumation study. If there was no craniotomy performed on the skull in Oswald's grave, it is proof that the body is not the same one buried there in 1963.

There are other indications that some manipulation may have taken place with the body. To begin with, Marina Oswald told newsmen that she received a telephone call around Easter, 1964, from Government officials asking her to sign papers authorizing the installation of an electronic alarm system at the Oswald grave. She said a "respectful" man in a gray suit came to her home shortly after the call and had her sign some papers. She told United Press International:

"I signed lots of papers and they were never translated or explained to me. I didn't even speak English. I just did what I was told."

Prior to the exhumation, Marina was nearly convinced that Oswald's body had been removed from the grave, most probably after the signing of the papers in 1964. As far as is known, no electronic alarm system was ever installed at the Oswald grave.

Prior to the exhumation, mortician Groody told newsmen how carefully Oswald had been embalmed. He also described how the body was placed in an air-tight coffin which was placed inside an air-tight cement vault. Groody said, upon exhumation, Oswald's body should look exactly as it had the day he was buried. However, when workers exhumed the grave on Oct. 4, 1981, they found the cement vault in pieces and the seal on the coffin broken. Water and air had gotten into the coffin and Oswald's body had deteriorated to skeletal remains. While the rupture of seals on both the vault and the coffin is not an impossible occurrence, several morticians interviewed by this author said such an event is highly unusual. It could be explained by movement of the earth, although North Central Texas is regarded as a very stable area. The broken seals also could be explained by the suggestion that someone opened the grave prior to the 1981 exhumation.

Another logical time for a pre-exhumation grave opening would have been earlier in 1981 when Marguerite Oswald was buried next to Oswald's grave. The presence of earth-moving equipment and a canopy covering both graves provided an opportunity for covertly opening Oswald's adjacent grave.

So, the question has been asked - was a substitution made on the body in Oswald's grave? The answer may be found in a four-hour video tape made of the 1981 exhumation study. The tape was commissioned by Marina Oswald and Eddowes and was produced by Hampton Hall, the son of a Texas state politician. Once the craniotomy question became known to Marina, a friend and neighbor was asked to view the tape. The neighbor, along with his personal physician, viewed the video tape and reported that there was no sign nor mention of a craniotomy. This added further suspicions about the exhumation.

Finally, in 1984 - four years after the exhumation - a detailed report on the exhumation findings was published in the "Journal of Forensic Sciences." In the report, it stated:

"A previous autopsy saw cut in the usual fashion was present on the calvarium with an anterior inverted V-notch in the right frontal region. The calvarium was maintained in continuity with the remainder of the skull by virtue of decomposed mummified tissue.

The previously sawed calvarium was not separated nor was it easily dislodged."

In other words, decomposed jelly-like skin had coated the Oswald skull which made it appear to be in one piece.

Researchers were skeptical of this information and turned to Marina for confirmation of the craniotomy by viewing the video tape of the exhumation. Oddly enough, photographer Hall refused to give the tape up claiming so much time had elapsed that ownership of the tape had reverted to him. In February 1984, Marina was forced to go to court in an effort to retrieve the video tape she had commissioned. By the summer of 1986, an out-of-court settlement resulted in a promise to return the tape, but by mid-1989, it had still not been returned. The issue should have been a simple one. View the tapes and photos of the exhumation and resolve whether or not the craniotomy marks were visible on the Oswald skull. But with the tapes still not available, this issue remains in controversy, like so much else in the JFK assassination case.

And researchers remain intrigued. If the body exhumed in 1963 was indeed that of Oswald -as confirmed by the forensic pathologists and his Marine dental X-rays - but the exhumed corpse was not that of the man buried in 1963 - as claimed by the two morticians - than it is apparent that an impostor Oswald was killed in Dallas and his body exchanged for Oswald's sometime prior to the exhumation.

And who might have the power and authority to accomplish such a momentous task? The idea that the Soviets, Castro agents or mobsters could switch bodies and intimidate Texas officials is ludicrous.

All this only reinforces the knowledge that in the JFK assassination, not one piece of evidence or issue of fact can be taken for granted.

Crossfire: Was Oswald Really Oswald Summary

There is an abundance of evidence to suggest that one or more persons were impersonating Lee Harvey Oswald in the weeks and months prior to the assassination of President Kennedy. The U.S. Government has studiously avoided addressing this evidence since to admit impersonation would be to admit the very real possibility that Oswald was framed for the assassination - exactly as he claimed. House Select Committee on Assassinations Chief Counsel Robert Blakey even told newsmen that the Committee purposely failed to look at such evidence "to avoid publicizing issues the Committee concluded were of dubious importance." Blakey said questions over impersonation distracted the public from the central question: Who killed President John F. Kennedy?

Researchers, however, point out that discovering who may have been impersonating Oswald could go far in answering that question.

The idea that someone posed as Oswald to incriminate him in the assassination is supported by a wide and diverse amount of evidence - from a 1960 warning of impersonation from none other than FBI director J. Edgar Hoover to a woman who caught a man who looked like Oswald firing a 6.5-mm rifle near her home outside of Dallas. There were several instances of Oswald being reported in two separate places at the same time - an anomaly which the Warren Commission and the House Committee simply disregarded.

A second impersonation issue has it that Oswald killed by Jack Ruby in Dallas was not even the same man who was born to Marguerite Oswald in 1939. British author Michael Eddowes - who first publicized this substitute Oswald issue in 1977 - charged that a Soviet agent was substituted for Oswald while he was out of sight in Russia. Other researchers claim that much evidence supports the idea that someone was substituted for Oswald while he was in the Marines in preparation for his mission to Russia. Even Oswald's mother and brothers noted how changed he appeared after his return from the Soviet Union. In 1967, his mother publicly raised questions over the identity of the body in Oswald's grave and asked to have his body exhumed.

But when Eddowes - later joined by Oswald's widow, Marina - went to court to have an exhumation ordered, they were blocked for years - first by Texas political figures and later by Oswald's brother Robert. When Oswald's grave was finally opened in the fall of 1981, a panel of four forensic pathologists declared the body that of Oswald - based solely by comparing the corpse's teeth to one set of Marine dental records. But even today the controversy won't die. The two funeral directors who buried Oswald - both of whom were present at the exhumation - claim the man dug up in 1981 was not the same man they buried in 1963. They claim there was no sign of a craniotomy - a standard autopsy procedure known to have been performed on Oswald's body - on the corpse in 1981.

The medical official in charge of the autopsy disputed this charge and the one piece of objective evidence - a video tape of the exhumation examination which should settle the issue - has yet to be returned to Marina Oswald, who commissioned and paid for the taping.

The impersonation of Oswald would appear to be an issue which could be resolved easily by a truthful Government investigation. Instead, it is another area of the assassination full of omissions, inconsistencies and deceit. And in the final analysis, Blakey may be right in saying that the questions over Oswald's identity are distracting. The issue of Oswald impersonation may be a moot point, since the preponderance of evidence suggests that the Oswald in Dallas - whether lone nut, American agent, Soviet operative, real or substitute - did not kill President Kennedy.

Crossfire: Convenient Deaths

"...bodies left with no hope of the cause of death being determined by the most complete autopsy and chemical examinations."

CIA letter on disposal of victims

In the three-year period which followed the murder of President Kennedy and Lee Harvey Oswald, 18 material witnesses died - six by gunfire, three in motor accidents, two by suicide, one from a cut throat, one from a karate chop to the neck, three from heart attacks and two from natural causes. An actuary, engaged by the "London Sunday Times," concluded that on November 22, 1963, the odds against these witnesses being dead by February 1967, were one hundred thousand trillion to one. The above comment on the deaths of assassination witnesses was published in a tabloid companion piece to the movie "Executive Action," released in 1973. By that time, part of the mythology of the Kennedy assassination included the mysterious deaths of people who were connected with it. By the mid-1960s, people in Dallas already were whispering about the number of persons who died under strange or questionable circumstances.

Well into the 1980s, witnesses and others were hesitant to come forward with information because of the stories of strange and sudden death which seemed visit anyone with information about the assassination.

Finally, in the late 1970s, the House Select Committee on Assassinations felt compelled to look into the matter. But aside from discrediting the "London Sunday Times" actuarial study, the Committee was unable to come to any conclusion regarding the growing number of deaths. The Committee said it could not make a valid actuarial study due to the broad number and types of persons which had to be included in such a study.

In response to a letter from the Committee, "London Sunday Times" Legal Manager Anthony Whitaker stated:

"Our piece about the odds against the deaths of the Kennedy witnesses was, I regret to say, based on a careless journalistic mistake and should not have been published. This was realized by The Sunday Times editorial staff after the first edition - the one which goes to the United States... - had gone out, and later editions were amended. There was no question of our actuary having got his answer wrong: it was simply that we asked him the wrong question. He was asked what were the odds against 15 named people out of the population of the United States dying within a short period of time, to which he replied -correctly - that they were very high. However, if one asks what are the odds against 15 of those included in the Warren Commission Index dying within a given period, the answer is, of course, that they are much lower. Our mistake was to treat the reply to the former question as if it dealt with the latter - hence the fundamental error in our first edition report, for which we apologize."

This settled the matter for the House Committee, which apparently made little or no attempt to seriously study the number of deaths which followed the JFK assassination.

Jacqueline Hess, the Committee's chief of research for the JFK investigation, reported:

"Our final conclusion on the issue is that the available evidence does not establish anything about the nature of these deaths which would indicate that the deaths were in some manner, either direct or peripheral, caused by the assassination of President Kennedy or by any aspect of the subsequent investigation."

However, an objective look at both the number and the causes of death balanced against the importance of the person's connection to the case, still causes raised eyebrows among those who study such a list.

In this section, people who were connected - no matter how tenuously - with the assassination and who are now dead are listed according to date of death. This is dealing only with deaths, not with the numerous persons - such as Warren Reynolds, Roger Craig, Richard Carr or Richard Case Nagell - who claim to have been shot at or attacked.

This section has been entitled "Convenient Deaths" because these deaths certainly would have been convenient for anyone not wishing the truth of the JFK assassination to become public. Of course, it is impossible to state with any certainty which of these deaths resulted from natural causes and which did not.

Because so many of these deaths involve persons either working with or connected with the CIA

or other domestic intelligence services, the Agency has gone to some lengths to discredit the idea of mysterious deaths plaguing assassination witnesses.

A 1967 memo from CIA headquarters to station chiefs advised:

"Such vague accusations as that "more than 10 people have died mysteriously" can always be explained in some rational way: e.g., the individuals concerned have for the most part died of natural causes; the (Warren) Commission staff questioned 418 witnesses - the FBI interviewed far more people, conducting 25,000 interviews and reinterviews - and in such a large group, a certain number of deaths are to be expected."

Yet it is now well established that the CIA was developing a wide-range of lethal techniques for disposing of people dating back to the early 1950s.

Testifying before the Church Committee in 1975, CIA technicians told of a variety of TWEP technology - Termination With Extreme Prejudice - including liquid botulinum toxins and a pulmonary-embolism-causing pill which cannot be detected in a post-mortem examination.

One recently-declassified CIA document, a letter from an Agency consultant to a CIA officer, states:

"You will recall that I mentioned that the local circumstances under which a given means might be used might suggest the technique to be used in that case. I think the gross divisions in presenting this subject might be:

- (1) bodies left with no hope of the cause of death being determined by the most complete autopsy and chemical examinations
- (2) bodies left in such circumstances as to simulate accidental death
- (3) bodies left in such circumstances as to simulate suicidal death
- (4) bodies left with residue that simulate those caused by natural diseases."

The letter goes on to show that undetected murders do not have to be the result of sophisticated chemicals. It states:

"There are two techniques which I believe should be mentioned since they require no special equipment besides a strong arm and the will to do such a job. These would be either to smother the victim with a pillow or to strangle him with a wide piece of cloth such as a bath towel. In such cases, there is no specific anatomic changes to indicate the cause of death..."

While it is obvious that the CIA - and hence the mob through operatives who work for both - has the capability of killing, it is less well-known that the Agency has developed drugs to induce cancer. Recall that Jack Ruby died of sudden lung cancer just as he had been granted a new trial.

A 1952 CIA memo reported on the cancer-causing effects of beryllium:

"This is certainly the most toxic inorganic element and it produces a peculiar fibrotic tumor at the site of local application. The amount necessary to produce these tumors is a few micrograms."

Local law enforcement officers and coroners are simply not equipped, either by training or by inclination, to detect deaths induced by such sophisticated means. They look for signs of a struggle, evidence of a break-in, bruises or marks on the victim. With no evidence to the contrary, many deaths simply are ruled suicide or accident. Others are ruled due to natural causes, such as heart attack.

It is interesting to note how the deaths are grouped. Many of the earliest deaths came during the time of the Warren Commission investigation or just afterwards. Some significant deaths also took place in the late 1960s as New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison was launching his own investigation. Other suspicious deaths occurred during the mid-1970s, as the Senate Intelligence Committee was looking into assassinations by U.S. intelligence agencies. And finally, another spate of deaths came around 1977, just as the House Select Committee on Assassinations was gearing up its investigations.

These deaths are listed in chronological order. An asterisk (*) means the death is a particularly suspicious one. They also are grouped according to which investigation was being conducted at the time.

The area of convenient deaths leads one into a well of paranoia, yet the long list of deaths cannot be summarily dismissed.

Obviously, many of these deaths - particularly in recent years - can be ascribed to the passage of time. But others cannot - especially when viewed in context of the assassination inquiries taking place

at the time.

Read for yourself and consider...When does coincidence end and conspiracy begin?

LIST OF DEATHS

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>CONNECTION WITH CASE</u>	<u>CAUSE OF DEATH</u>
11/63	Karyn Kupicinet	Tv host's daughter who was overheard telling of JFK's death prior to 11/22/63	Murdered
12/63	Jack Zangretti	Expressed foreknowledge of Ruby shooting Oswald	Gunshot Victim

THE WARREN COMMISSION INVESTIGATION

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>CONNECTION WITH CASE</u>	<u>CAUSE OF DEATH</u>
2/64	Eddy Benavides	Lookalike brother to Tippit shooting witness, <u>Domingo Benavides</u>	Gunshot to head
2/64	Betty MacDonald*	Former Ruby employee who alibied Warren Reynolds shooting suspect.	Suicide by hanging in Dallas Jail
3/64	Bill Chesher	Thought to have information linking Oswald and Ruby	Heart attack
3/64	Hank Killam*	Husband of Ruby employee, knew Oswald acquaintance	Throat cut
4/64	Bill Hunter*	Reporter who was in Ruby's apartment on 11/24/63	Accidental shooting by policeman
5/64	Gary Underhill*	CIA agent who claimed Agency was involved	Gunshot in head ruled suicide
5/64	Hugh Ward*	Private investigator working with <u>Guy Banister</u> and <u>David Ferrie</u>	Plane crash in Mexico
5/64	DeLesseps Morrison*	New Orleans Mayor	Passenger in Ward's plane
8/64	Teresa Norton*	Ruby employee	Fatally shot
6/64	Guy Banister*	x-FBI agent in New Orleans connected to Ferrie, CIA, <u>Carlos Marcello</u> & Oswald	Heart attack
9/64	Jim Koethe*	Reporter who was in Ruby's apartment on 11/24/63	Blow to neck
9/64	C.D. Jackson	"Life" magazine senior Vicepresident who bought Zapruderfilm and locked it away	Unknown
10/64	Mary Pinchot	JFK "special" friend whose diary was taken by CIA chief <u>James Angleton</u> after her death	Murdered
1/65	Paul Mandal	"Life" writer who told of JFK turning to rear when shot in throat	Cancer
3/65	Tom Howard*	Ruby's first lawyer, was in Ruby's apartment on 11/24/63	Heart attack
5/65	Maurice Gatlin*	Pilot for Guy Banister	Fatal fall
8/65	Mona B. Saenz*	Texas Employment clerk who interviewed Oswald	Hit by Dallas bus
?/65	David Goldstein	Dallasite who helped FBI trace Oswald's pistol	Natural causes
9/65	Rose Cheramie*	Knew of assassination in advance, told of riding to Dallas with Cubans	Hit/run victim

11/65	<u>Dorothy Kilgallen</u> *	Columnist who had private interview with Ruby, pledged to "break" JFK case	Drug overdose
11/65	Mrs. Earl Smith*	Close friend to <u>Dorothy Kilgallen</u> , died two days after columnist, may have kept Kilgallen's notes	Cause unknown
12/65	William Whaley*	Cab driver who reportedly drove Oswald to Oak Cliff (The only Dallas taxi driver to die on duty)	Motor collision
1966	Judge <u>Joe Brown</u>	Presided over Ruby's trial	Heart attack
1966	Karen "Little Lynn" Carlin*	Ruby employee who last talked with Ruby before Oswald shooting	Gunshot victim
1/66	Earlene Roberts	Oswald's landlady	Heart attack
2/66	Albert Bogard*	Car salesman who said Oswald test drove new car	Suicide
6/66	Capt. Frank Martin	Dallas policeman who witnessed Oswald slaying, told Warren Commission "there's a lot to be said but probably be better if I don't say it"	Sudden cancer
8/66	Lee Bowers Jr.*	Witnessed men behind picket fence on <u>Grassy Knoll</u>	Motor accident
9/66	Marilyn "Delila Walle"	Ruby dancer	Shot by husband after 1 month of marriage
10/66	Lt. <u>William Pitzer</u> *	JFK autopsy photographer who described his duty as "horrifying experience"	Gunshot rule suicided
11/66	Jimmy Levens	Fort Worth nightclub owner who hired Ruby employees	Natural causes
11/66	James Worrell Jr.*	Saw man flee rear of <u>Texas School Book Depository</u>	Motor accident
1966	Clarence Oliver	Dist. Atty. Investigator who worked Ruby case	Unknown
12/66	Hank Suydam	Life magazine official in charge of JFK stories	Heart attack

THE GARRISON INQUIRY

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>CONNECTION WITH CASE</u>	<u>CAUSE OF DEATH</u>
1967	Leonard Pullin	Civilian Navy employee who helped film "Last Two Days" about assassination	One-car crash
1/67	Jack Ruby*	Oswald's slayer	Lung cancer (he told family he was injected with cancer cells)
2/67	Harold Russell*	Saw escape of Tippit killer	killed by cop in bar brawl
2/67	David Ferrie*	Acquaintance of Oswald, Garrison suspect and employee of Guy Banister	Blow to neck (ruled accidental)
2/67	Eladio Del Valle*	Anti-Castro Cuban associate of David Ferrie being sought by Garrison	Gunshot wound, ax wound to head
3/67	Dr. Mary Sherman*	Ferrie associate working on cancer research	Died in fire (possibly shot)
1/68	A. D. Bowie	Asst. Dallas District Attorney prosecuting Ruby	Cancer
4/68	Hiram Ingram	Dallas Deputy Sheriff, close friend to Roger	Sudden cancer

5/68	Dr. <u>Nicholas Chetta</u>	Craig New Orleans coroner who on death of Ferrie	Heart attack
8/68	Philip Geraci*	Friend of <u>Perry Russo</u> , told of Oswald/Shaw conversation	Electrocution
1/69	Henry Delaune*	Brother-in-law to coroner Chetta	Murdered
1/69	E.R. Walthers*	Dallas Deputy Sheriff who was involved in Depository search, claimed to have found .45-cal. slug	Shot by felon
1969	Charles Montesana	Filmed rifle other than <u>Mannlicher-Carcano</u> being taken from Depository	Heart attack
4/69	Mary Bledsoe	Neighbor to Oswald, also knew David Ferrie	Natural causes
4/69	John Crawford*	Close friend to both Ruby and <u>Wesley</u> <u>Frazier</u> , who gave ride to Oswald on 11/22/63	Crash of private plane
7/69	Rev. Clyde Johnson*	Scheduled to testify about <u>Clay</u> <u>Shaw/Oswald</u> connection	Fatally shot
1970	George McGann*	Underworld figure connected to Ruby friends, wife, Beverly, took film in <u>Dealey</u> <u>Plaza</u>	Murdered
1/70	Darrell W. Garner	Arrested for shooting Warren Reynolds, released after alibi from <u>Betty MacDonald</u>	Drug overdose
8/70	Bill Decker	Dallas Sheriff who saw bullet hit street in front of JFK	Natural causes
8/70	Abraham Zapruder	Took famous film of JFK assassination	Natural causes
12/70	Salvatore Granello*	Mobster linked to both Hoffa, Trafficante, and Castro assassination plots	Murdered
1971	James Plumeri*	Mobster tied to mob-CIA assassination plots	Murdered
3/71	Clayton Fowler	Ruby's chief defense attorney	Unknown
4/71	Gen. <u>Charles</u> <u>Cabell</u> *	CIA deputy director connected to <u>anti-</u> <u>Castro Cubans</u>	Collapsed and died after physical at Fort Myers

THE CHURCH COMMITTEE INVESTIGATION

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>CONNECTION WITH CASE</u>	<u>CAUSE OF</u> <u>DEATH</u>
1972	Hale Boggs*	House Majority Leader, member of Warren Commission who began to publicly express doubts about findings	Disappeared on Alaskan plane flight
5/72	J. Edgar Hoover*	FBI director who pushed "lone assassin" theory in JFK assassination	Heart attack (no autopsy)
9/73	Thomas E. Davis*	Gunrunner connected to both Ruby and CIA	Electrocuted trying to steal wire
2/74	J.A. Milteer*	Miami right-winger who predicted JFK's death and capture of scapegoat	Heater explosion
1974	Dave Yaras*	Close friend to both Hoffa and Jack Ruby	Murdered
7/74	Earl Warren	Chief Justice who reluctantly chaired Warren Commission	Heart failure
8/74	Clay Shaw*	Prime suspect in Garrison case, reportedly	Possible cancer

1974	Earle Cabell	a CIA contact with Ferrie and <u>E. Howard Hunt</u> Mayor of Dallas on 11/22/63, whose brother, Gen. Charles Cabell was fired from CIA by JFK	Natural causes
6/75	Sam Giancana*	Chicago <u>Mafia</u> boss slated to tell about CIA-mob death plots to Senate Committee	Murdered
7/75	Clyde Tolson	J. Edgar Hoover's assistant and roommate	Natural causes
1975	Allen Sweatt	Dallas Deputy Sheriff involved in investigation	Natural causes
12/75	Gen. Earle Wheeler	Contact between JFK and CIA	Unknown
1976	Ralph Paul	Ruby's business partner connected with crime figures	Heart attack
4/76	James Chaney	Dallas motorcycle officer riding to JFK's right rear who said JFK "struck in the face" with bullet	Heart attack
	<u>Dr. Charles Gregory</u>	Governor <u>John Connally's</u> physician	Heart attack
6/76	William Harvey*	CIA coordinator for CIA-mob assassination plans against Castro	Complications from heart surgery
7/76	John Roselli*	Mobster who testified to Senate Committee and was to appear again	Stabbed and stuffed in metal drum

1977 - A TERRIBLE YEAR FOR MANY

The year 1977 produced a bumper crop of candidates for listing under convenient deaths connected to the JFK assassination - including the deaths of six top FBI officials all of whom were scheduled to testify before the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

Topping this list was former number three man in the FBI William C. Sullivan, who had already had a preliminary meeting the investigators for the House Committee. Sullivan was shot with a high-powered rifle near his New Hampshire home by a man who claimed to have mistaken him for a deer. The man was charged with a misdemeanor - "shooting a human being by accident" - and released into the custody of his father, a state policeman. There was no further investigation of Sullivan's death.

Louis Nichols was a special assistant to J. Edgar Hoover as well as Hoover's liaison with the Warren Commission. Alan H. Belmont also was a special assistant to Hoover. James Cadigan was a document expert with access to many classified assassination documents, while J.M. English headed the FBI laboratory where Oswald rifle and pistol were tested. Donald Kaylor was the FBI fingerprint expert who examined prints found at the assassination scene. None of these six Bureau officials lived to tell what they knew to the House Committee.

Other key assassination witnesses, such as George DeMohrenschildt and former Cuban President Carlos Prio Socarras, died within weeks of each other in 1977, just as they too were being sought by the House Committee.

The ranks of both organized crime and U.S. intelligence agencies were thinned by deaths beginning in 1975, the time of the Senate Intelligence Hearings, and 1978, the closing months of the House Committee. Charles Nicoletti, a mobster connected with the CIA-Mafia assassination plots, was murdered in Chicago, while William Pawley, a former diplomat connected with both organized crime and CIA figures, reportedly committed suicide.

Adding official confirmation to rumors that "hit teams" may have been at work was a "Time" magazine report that federal agents had initiated a nationwide investigation into more than 20 gangland assassinations constituting what agents believed was an "open underworld challenge to governmental infiltration of Mafia activities."

One FBI source was quoted as saying:

"Our main concern is that we may be facing a revival of the old "Murder, Inc." days."

A "New York News" story concerning this official fear of roving assassination squads even mentions the death of Sam Giancana, who was killed one day before he was to testify about MOB-CIA connections and while under government protection.

Just as the House Committee was gearing up its investigation into the JFK assassination, the news media reported the following deaths:

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>CONNECTION WITH CASE</u>	<u>CAUSE OF DEATH</u>
1/77	William Pawley*	Former Brazilian Ambassador connected to Anti-Castro Cubans, crime figures	Gunshot ruled suicide
3/77	George DeMohrenschildt*	Close friend to both Oswald and Bouvier family (Jackie Kennedy's parents), CIA contract agent	Gunshot wound ruled suicide
3/77	Carlos Prio Soccaras*	Former Cuban President, money man for anti-Castro Cubans	Gunshot wound ruled suicide
3/77	Paul Raigorodsky	Business friend of George DeMohrenschildt and wealthy oilmen	Natural causes
5/77	Lou Staples*	Dallas radio Talk Show host who told friends he would break assassination case	Gunshot to head, ruled suicide
6/77	Louis Nichols	Former No. 3 man in FBI, worked on JFK investigation	Heart attack
8/77	Alan Belmont	FBI official who testified to Warren Commission	"Long illness"
8/77	James Cadigan	FBI document expert who testified to Warren Commission	Fall in home
8/77	Joseph C. Ayres*	Chief steward on JFK's <u>Air Force One</u>	Shooting accident
8/77	Francis G. Powers*	U-2 pilot downed over Russia in 1960	Helicopter crash (He reportedly ran out of fuel)
9/77	Kenneth O'Donnell	JFK's closest aide	Natural causes
10/77	Donald Kaylor	FBI fingerprint chemist	Heart attack
10/77	J.M. English	Former head of FBI Forensic Sciences Laboratory	Heart attack
11/77	William Sullivan*	Former No. 3 man in FBI, headed Division 5, counter- espionage and domestic intelligence	Hunting accident
1978	C.L. "Lummie" Lewis	Dallas Deputy Sheriff who arrested Mafia man Braden in Dealey Plaza	Natural causes
9/78	Garland Slack	Man who said Oswald fired at his target at rifle range	Unknown
1/79	Billy Lovelady	Depository employee said to be the man in the doorway in AP photograph	Complications from heart attack
6/80	Jesse Curry	Dallas Police Chief at time of assassination	Heart attack
6/80	Dr. John Holbrook	Psychiatrist who testified Ruby was not insane	Heart attack but pills, notes found,
1/81	Marguerite Oswald	Mother of accused assassin	Cancer
10/81	Frank Watts	Chief felony prosecutor for Dallas D.A.	Natural causes
1/82	Peter Gregory	Original translator for <u>Marina Oswald</u> and <u>Secret Service</u>	Natural causes
5/82	Dr. James Weston	Pathologist allowed to see JFK autopsy	Died while jogging,

		material for HSCA		ruled natural causes Cancer
8/82	Will H. Griffin	FBI agent who reportedly said Oswald was "definitely" an FBI informant		
10/82	W. Marvin Gheesling	FBI official who helped JFK investigation	supervise	"Long illness"
3/84	Roy Kellerman	Secret Service agent in charge of JFK limousine		Unknown

Crossfire: Conclusions

"The power source that arranged (Kennedy's) murder was on the inside."
Former Pentagon-CIA liaison officer Col. L. Fletcher Prouty

Since November 22, 1963, a massive amount of information has become available concerning the assassination on President John F. Kennedy. Some of it was made public immediately, but much of this information leaked out only after the passage of many years. Much of the early information has proven erroneous, incomplete and misleading in light of later developments.

This book has been an effort to present the best available up-to-date information in a truthful and comprehensive manner. Keep in mind that much assassination information remains beyond public scrutiny - locked away in Government files. What does the information available today tell us about Kennedy's assassination? What conclusions may be drawn from the existing record?

Based on all currently available information, most researchers have concluded:

- 1. Lee Harvey Oswald was involved in intelligence activities. He was -or at least he believed he was - working on behalf of the United States.**
- 2. It is entirely possible that Lee Harvey Oswald did not fire a gun on November 22, 1963, thus making him innocent in both the death of President Kennedy and Police Officer Tippit.**
- 2. If Lee Harvey Oswald did participate in the actual assassination - and much evidence indicates he did not - he certainly did not act alone.**
- 3. An abundance of evidence indicates that Lee Harvey Oswald was framed for the assassination of President Kennedy.**
- 4. This framing - plus a wealth of information revealing an attempt to cover up vital evidence in the case - proves the existence of a conspiracy to kill Kennedy.**
- 5. Because this cover-up went far beyond simple face saving and was conducted at the federal level, it is apparent that people within the federal Government of the United States were both involved in and aware of such a conspiracy.**
- 6. The two most powerful men in the federal government in 1963 - next to the President and his brother - were Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and his close friend and neighbor, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. Both men were facing the end of their careers because of Kennedy.**

Consider these conclusions point for point.

Lee Harvey Oswald was a bright young man whose father and brother had both served honorably in the U.S. military. At age 15, Oswald joined the New Orleans Civil Air Patrol and expressed a deep desire to be a Marine, evidence of a patriotic streak. He was in contact with David Ferrie, a strange man with documented connections to both the CIA and organized crime, who may have groomed young Oswald for future intelligence work during this time. While in the Marines, he was stationed at Atsugi base in Japan where some of Oswald's fellow Marines, such as Gerry Hemming, were recruited into the CIA. It was during his stay in Japan that Private Oswald was seen frequenting the Queen Bee, an expensive night spot normally serving only ranking officers and pilots. It was also in Japan that Oswald was treated for gonorrhea "In line of duty, not due to own misconduct." And it was here that Oswald later told George DeMohrenschildt he was in contact with "Japanese communists." Since a Marine officer was told by higher authority not to be concerned about Marine Oswald receiving

communist publications and spouting Marxist theory in the Marine barracks, it is obvious that Oswald had become involved in intelligence work by the end of his Marine career. Although disbelieved by the House Select Committee on Assassinations, it should be noted that former CIA Finance Officer James Wilcott testified that he learned that Oswald was paid by the CIA while still stationed at Atsugi.

Other evidence of Oswald's connection with intelligence includes the ease with which he obtained passports both in 1959 and particularly in 1963, after he had returned from attempting to defect to Russia; his lengthy "reports" on his activities in Russia and his Fair Play for Cuba Committee work in New Orleans which he gave to FBI Agent John Quigley; the spy term "micro dots" found in Oswald's address book; expensive miniature optical equipment found among Oswald's belongings including a small Minox camera which carried a serial number not available to the general public and the fact that in 1977, it was discovered that the CIA had a personnel, or "201", file on Oswald.

Some researchers, notably British author Michael Eddowes, claim that Oswald either became a Soviet agent while in Russia or that a Soviet agent returned to the United States impersonating Oswald. While this is possible - and there is much information to support this thesis, especially J. Edgar Hoover's 1960 memo to the State Department warning that someone may have been using Oswald's birth certificate - it is apparent that whoever was claiming to be Oswald in the summer and fall of 1963 was in contact with U.S. intelligence rather than Soviet or Cuban.

Considering discrepancies in his Marine records and his reported intelligence connections, other researchers believe that an impostor Oswald was created and sent to Russia. This impostor - using Oswald's identity - then returned to the United States where he was selected as the fall guy in the assassination.

Even if Oswald - real or impersonator - was recruited as a Soviet agent, he was playing double - acting under orders from persons he believed to be in U.S. intelligence.

Considering his contacts with American intelligence - through Guy Banister and David Ferrie in New Orleans and George DeMohrenschildt in Dallas - it is apparent that in the months just prior to the assassination, Oswald was in contact with people connected to U.S. intelligence. Once it is understood that Oswald was - or believed he was - working as an intelligence operative, the entire spectrum of assassination evidence takes on a new light.

It is apparent to many researchers that while Oswald most probably did order a rifle and a pistol through the mail and may have made some sort of trip to Mexico, he likely was following orders from persons he considered to be his superiors in intelligence. Thus, many of Oswald's activities in the weeks prior to the assassination were carefully calculated to both incriminate him and to link him with foreign governments.

While it is probable that Oswald was in some way connected with persons involved in a against Kennedy, he may have felt secure in the belief that he was reporting on the plot to the U.S. Government - most likely through the FBI. The Hosty note, destroyed after the assassination, may have been just such a warning. If it had been a threat against the FBI, as claimed by Bureau officials, why destroy it? Why not exhibit it to the world as evidence of Oswald's violent tendencies? There is also the question of the reported FBI telex warning of an assassination attempt in Dallas.

While it cannot be stated with absolute assurance that Oswald never fired a weapon on November 22, 1963, there is an abundance of evidence to support this idea. The Dallas Police paraffin test showed no nitrates on Oswald's cheek, court-admissible evidence that he had not fired a rifle, particularly the loose-bolted Italian Mannlicher-Carcano. Nitrate traces on both his hands is not conclusive evidence that he fired a pistol, since printer's ink and other material found at his workplace could account for nitrates on his hands. The intimidated Howard Brennan notwithstanding, no one who claimed to have seen the assassin on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository could positively identify Oswald as the gunman.

Oswald maintained he was in the Depository lunchroom at the time of the shooting and correctly named two co-workers who indeed ate in the lunchroom. Testimony of fellow employees indicates that Oswald was seen on a lower floor shortly before the assassination.

All this - coupled with the fact that less than 90 seconds after the shots were fired Depository Superintendent Roy Truly and Dallas Policeman Marion Baker encountered a calm and collected Oswald standing in the lunchroom with a soft drink in his hand - tends to support Oswald's alibi.

Then there is Oswald's documented mediocre marksmanship added to the extremely poor quality Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, which Army test personnel had to equip with metal shims after the assassination to make it accurate enough for testing. Also there is the consideration that due to an

evergreen tree in front of the Depository building, there was no line of sight from the sixth floor window to the point where films established that the first shots struck. The impossibility of Oswald shooting as described by the federal government is supported by the fact that not one single person ever has been able to duplicate the feat.

Additionally, there has always been an abundance of evidence indicating that more than one gunman fired on President Kennedy's limousine.

This evidence was supported in 1979 by the House Select Committee on Assassinations' scientific study of acoustical material showing that at least one shot came from the Grassy Knoll. These acoustical studies are now corroborated by the photographic enlargement of the Moorman snapshot depicting the "Badgeman" figure.

These objective pieces of evidence are fully supported by the witnesses in Dealey Plaza, the majority of which said shots also came from the Grassy Knoll.

Today it is obvious that multiple gunmen were shooting at Kennedy and that the three shots fired in Dealey Plaza were actually three volleys fired simultaneously - probably coordinated by radio. Evidence of the radio coordination can be found in photographs of a man with what appears to be a hand-held radio and the Garrison testimony of Jim Hicks, who also is pictured in Dealey Plaza with a radio-like object in his rear pocket.

The presence of Secret Service agents in Dealey Plaza at a time that all official agents were accounted for elsewhere is a particularly pertinent piece of evidence. Either these men were bogus agents carrying identification good enough to fool Dallas policemen or they were real agents carrying out some activity as yet unexplained. Recall that witness Jean Hill was taken immediately after the shooting to the Dallas County Sheriff's Office where men identifying themselves as Secret Service asked her questions indicating that they were observing her throughout the assassination.

The medical and ballistic evidence, much of which bears the earmarks of tampering and is thus still controversial, nevertheless shows that Kennedy was struck by at least three shots - one in the middle of the back which did not penetrate his body, one in the throat and one in the head (although there is some evidence that two shots may have struck his head almost simultaneously).

Most probably at least two shots struck Governor Connally - one penetrating his chest and lung while a separate bullet shattered his right wrist.

At least one shot definitely missed the limousine altogether, striking the curb near the Triple Underpass, slightly wounding bystander James Tague - although there is evidence that another bullet struck the grass on the south side of Elm Street and yet another hit in the street near the Presidential limousine.

This count means at least six shots were fired in Dealey Plaza - perhaps as many as nine -which demolishes the idea of a lone gunman. (It is significant to note that acoustical experts testified before the House Select Committee on Assassinations that they had discovered as many as 9 sound signals which they could not rule out as gunshots - but only four were confirmed since only two sites for comparison tests were used.)

It is apparent to most researchers that the assassination was the result of a well-executed military-style ambush utilizing multiple gunmen firing from hidden positions - perhaps using fragmenting or "sabot" bullets and even silencers.

To attempt to pinpoint each gunman's location and calculate the number and effect of each shot is an exercise in futility since actions were taken immediately to eliminate evidence and confuse investigators. A spent slug found on the south side of Elm Street was apparently taken by a man identified later as an FBI agent. A highway sign, thought to have been struck by a bullet, later disappeared. Films and photographs which might have pictured the assassins were confiscated by federal authorities and much of this material was never returned to the rightful owners. The presidential limousine - a vital piece of evidence - was taken from Dallas and destroyed as evidence on orders from President Johnson before investigators could inspect the car's interior and windshield.

On the other hand, it is astounding how fast a wealth of evidence incriminating Lee Harvey Oswald became public. Most researchers now consider much of this evidence highly questionable. The Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository could only be linked to Oswald by a poor-quality palm print which lacked a court-admissible chain of evidence and was most probably obtained while Oswald's body was being prepared for burial. Authorities claimed to have found three spent rifle cartridges on the Depository's sixth floor, although a copy of the original Dallas Police evidence sheet states only two were found.

A Dallas Police captain later claimed he kept one of the cartridges for a time. While this explains only two cartridges listed on the evidence sheet, it also indicates a break in the chain of evidence meaning the third cartridge would not have been admissible in a trial. The fact that Oswald's palm prints were found on boxes on the Depository's sixth floor is meaningless since he had worked there earlier that day. In fact, much of the material evidence becomes meaningless once the idea that it could have been planted to incriminate Oswald is considered.

The idea that Oswald was framed for the crime - recall his cry "I'm just a patsy!" to newsmen in the Dallas Police station - is supported by several things. Recall that the CIA was reporting internally that Oswald entered the Soviet and Cuban embassies in Mexico City in early October, but photographs of the man proved it was an impostor. This means someone was posing as Oswald to link him to the communists two months prior to the assassination -and the CIA was aware of it. Also recall the instances of Oswald being seen in two places at once, target practicing in South Dallas and test driving a car at high speed on a Dallas freeway at a time Oswald was still trying to learn to drive. In light of these incidents, it is obvious that someone was laying a trail of incriminating evidence right to Oswald.

The famous backyard photographs of Oswald with his weapons has been labeled a clever forgery by virtually everyone who has studied them, except those connected with the federal government. With the discovery of a suppressed third backyard photo in the mid-1970s, the idea of fakery became undeniable. If these photos are composite fakes - as claimed by Oswald himself - it is evidence that someone with sophisticated photographic capabilities was working to incriminate Oswald prior to the assassination. Recall that Dallas Police claimed to have found only two backyard photos in the Paine garage the day after the assassination, while two Dallas photo processors, Robert and Pat Hester, claim they saw the backyard pictures in the hands of the FBI the night of Kennedy's death.

Since obviously there would have been efforts to eliminate any evidence of foreknowledge of the assassination, it is not surprising that the proof of the framing of Oswald is meager and largely circumstantial.

What is much more obvious and demonstrable is the cover-up perpetrated after the assassination. Herein lies the real key to understanding the truth of Kennedy's death. While anyone could have engineered the assassination - Castro agents, KGB assassins, mob hitmen, anti-Castro Cuban exiles, dissident CIA or FBI agents, even the infamous "lone nut" - who had the power to subvert and misdirect any meaningful investigation after the assassination had occurred?

Consider that in the wake of the assassination there has been:

- A continuing and consistent pattern of suppression of evidence, destruction of evidence and intimidation of witnesses on the part of federal authorities, especially the FBI and the Warren Commission.
- A continued unwillingness on the part of the Justice Department - of which the FBI is a part - to pursue and prosecute assassination leads, even after being urged to do so by Congress.
- Revelations concerning the presence of Secret Service agents encountered in Dealey Plaza at the time of the shooting, when no agents were present according to official records.
- The questionable activities of the CIA in providing demonstrably false evidence to the Warren Commission while suppressing other vital evidence, such as the existence of assassination plots involving the Agency and organized crime members.
- The disconcerting pattern of communications blackouts occurring at the time of the assassination which involved the Dallas Police radio channel dedicated to Presidential security, the missing code book in the airplane carrying Kennedy's cabinet and the virtual shutdown of the Washington, D.C., telephone system at a time when most Americans were only just becoming aware that something had happened in Dallas.
- The revelation that Kennedy's autopsy was performed by inexperienced Navy doctors who were ordered by higher authorities present not to follow established autopsy procedures such as examining the President's clothing and probing his wounds. It was this flawed autopsy which has been most responsible for the continuing controversy over the medical evidence.
- An effort on the part of federal authorities to lock assassination evidence away from the public. President Johnson ordered evidence locked up until the year

2039, while the House Select Committee on Assassinations sealed up its evidence for 50 years.

These sins of cover-up and suppression of evidence can be laid squarely at the feet of officials of the federal Government. No agents of the Dallas Police, organized crime, Fidel Castro or Nikita Khrushchev could have accomplished these documented efforts to hide the truth of the assassination.

The argument has been offered that Government agencies - notably the FBI and CIA - suppressed and altered some evidence in an understandable effort to keep themselves from looking incompetent during the public outcry following the assassination. For example, the Secret Service lied about its agents drinking the night before Kennedy died and the FBI lied in denying it had any knowledge of Oswald's whereabouts just prior to the assassination.

But other examples of official misconduct are harder to explain away. For instance, the destruction of the Oswald note to the FBI is blatant destruction of evidence. An average citizen found guilty of this offense in a criminal case is subject to both jail and fine. Other documented instances of destruction of evidence involve the Presidential limousine, Governor Connally's clothing, Dr. Humes' original Kennedy autopsy notes and the Oswald note left at FBI headquarters.

Evidence altered while in the hands of federal authorities include the General Walker home photograph, the location of Kennedy's back wound, the nature of Kennedy's throat wound, the Dallas Police evidence sheet, the location of book boxes in the so-called "sniper's nest" and the testimony of several key assassination witnesses, such as Phil Willis, Jean Hill, Roger Craig, Julia Ann Mercer and the reenactment surveyors.

Instances of suppressed evidence include Kennedy's autopsy X-rays and brain, missing bullets, the actual results of Spectrographic and Neutron Activation tests, Oswald's photographic and optical equipment (including the Minox camera), Oswald's paraffin test, the third Oswald backyard photograph, the incidents involving Sylvia Odio and Yuri Nosenko and a variety of crucial assassination witnesses, including Bill and Gayle Newman, Charles Brehm, James Simmons, J.C. Price, Beverly Oliver, Ed Hoffman, Dallas Policeman James Chaney and many others.

The intimidation of witnesses runs the full gamut from simple pressure to alter portions of their testimony to strange and unnatural deaths. Witnesses Charles Givens, James Tague, Phil Willis and former Senator Ralph Yarborough were pressured to alter their statements, while others - including Ed Hoffman, A.J. Millican, Sandy Speaker, Acquilla Clemons and Richard Carr - were threatened into silence. Occasionally threats turned to violence. Witness Sam Holland reportedly had a windshield shot out while driving on a Dallas freeway. Roger Craig claimed that unknown assailants took shots at him. Warren Reynolds was shot from ambush after failing to identify Oswald as the man he chased from the scene of the Tippit slaying. The Bill Newmans told this author they narrowly escaped being run down by a truck after just arriving in New Orleans to testify in the Clay Shaw trial.

Other people with pertinent assassination information turned up dead under strange circumstances. Lee Bowers and taxi driver William Whaley were killed in odd crashes. Reporter Bill Hunter and Ruby acquaintance Betty MacDonald died in separate police station incidents.

Witness Jean Hill said harassment by federal authorities - including surveillance and telephone taps - continued well into the 1970s.

All of these examples of official misconduct go far beyond any innocent attempt to prevent tarnish to an agency's reputation. Many of these incidents were obvious attempts to misdirect an impartial investigation and to incriminate Oswald.

Even before Oswald was killed, the FBI - aided by Dallas authorities - was leaking information that he was the sole assassin. This came at a time when most members of the Dallas Police were certain Kennedy's death involved a conspiracy of some magnitude.

The Government had a strong ally in perpetrating a cover-up in the Kennedy assassination - a news media which seemed incapable of looking past official pronouncements.

Crossfire: Assassination Coverage

From the moment the Kennedy assassination occurred, coverage of the tragedy involved Government manipulation of a news media which appeared only too willing to be manipulated.

The news media - complacent with the patriotic parroting of official Government announcements dating back prior to World War II - allowed itself to be set up by official leaks and pronouncements about the assassination to the point where later official findings had to be accepted, applauded and defended.

In the days following the assassination, Dallas area newspapers were filled with factual, if contradictory, information - Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade voiced suspicion of a plot, various people told of seeing Oswald and Ruby together prior to Kennedy's death and information concerning more than three shots fired from more than one location was published. Outside Texas however, wire service reporting was limited to the official version of one lone assassin with three shots. Information on Oswald's pro-communist background was leaked by the FBI and transmitted nationwide. Immediately, media speculation was turned from whether or not Oswald acted alone to speculation on his motives.

Despite the insertion of the word "alleged" before the word "assassin," the entire thrust of news coverage centered on Oswald's guilt.

The "New York Times" proclaimed:

"Evidence Against Oswald Described as Conclusive."

While the "New York Post" simply headlined:

"Assassin Named."

Even the Dallas-Fort Worth papers were not immune to this rush to judgment.

The day after the assassination, the "Dallas Morning News" told readers:

"Pro-communist Charged with Act."

And the nearby "Fort Worth Star-Telegram" carried a front-page headline reading:

"Paraffin Tests of Oswald Show He had fired Gun"

In this story, it quotes Dallas Police Chief Curry as saying:

"...he could not at this time state whether paraffin tests on Oswald's face also were positive."

Dallas Police documents show that the test was negative on Oswald's face. This evidence of innocence was suppressed by both the Dallas Police and the federal authorities.

After Oswald's death, with no one except his mother to contradict, the media began going further in its presumption of his guilt.

A "New York Times" headline stated:

"President's Assassin Shot..."

"Life" Magazine profiled:

"Assassin: The Man Held - And Killed - For Murder."

A "Time" magazine article combining Oswald's obituary and biography was entitled:

"The Man Who Killed Kennedy."

The presumption of Oswald's guilt was cemented in the minds of the American public by the February 21, 1964, edition of "Life" which carried one of the infamous backyard photos on its cover with the caption:

"Lee Oswald with the weapons he used to kill President Kennedy and Officer Tippit."

This issue was in hands of the public nearly eight months before the Warren Commission emerged from behind closed doors and proclaimed Oswald the assassin.

Later, "Life" devoted much of its October 2, 1964, issue to coverage of the just-released Warren Report. Rather than assigning a staff member to evaluate the report, "Life" editors chose Rep. Gerald Ford, himself a Commission member, to review his own work.

In that same issue, a still frame from the Zapruder film depicting Kennedy's rearward fall at the moment of the head shot was substituted with an earlier frame which gave no indication of the direction his head moved.

Interestingly, the caption read:

"The assassin's shot struck the right rear portion of the President's skull, causing a massive wound and snapping his head to one side."

This caption which only vaguely contradicted the official version was nevertheless changed twice until it read:

"The direction from which shots came was established by this picture taken at the

instant a bullet struck the rear of the President's head and, passing through, caused the front part of his skull to exploded forward."

One "Life" editor, Ed Kearns, was later asked about the changes. He told assassination researcher Vincent Salandria:

"I am at a loss to explain the discrepancies among the three versions of "Life" which you cite. I've heard of breaking a (printing) plate to correct an error. I've never heard of doing it twice for a single issue, much less a single story. Nobody here seems to remember who worked on the early Kennedy story..."

Of course it was "Life" which paid Abraham Zapruder \$150,000 in \$25,000 installments, then proceeded to lock this vital piece of evidence away from the American public, which only got access to the film after it was subpoenaed for the Clay Shaw trial in New Orleans.

Government officials made great use of planned leaks to the media to assure the public that no conspiracy existed in the assassination.

On December 3, 1963, just 11 days after the assassination, the "Dallas Times Herald" reported: "Meanwhile, Washington sources said the extensive FBI report now being completed will depict Oswald as a lone and unaided assassin. The report also will point out that there was no connection or association of Oswald with night club operator, sources said."

It is fascinating to consider how such assurances could be made by the FBI just one week after the "crime of the century" - a time when federal investigators supposedly were just beginning to unravel Oswald's life and associations.

On June 1, 1964, four months prior to release of the Warren Report, the "New York Time" reported: "Panel to Reject Theories of Plot in Kennedy Death."

On September 27, 1964, the Warren Report was released to near-unanimous praise from the national news media.

The "New York Times" even went to the expense of publishing the entire report as a supplement to its September 28 edition. The paper then published both a hard-cover and paperback edition of the report in collaboration with Bantam Books and the Book of the Month Club.

Two months later, the "Times" again sought to lead the public's understanding of the assassination by helping publish "The Witnesses," consisting of "highlights" of Warren Commission testimony.

Assassination researcher Jerry Policoff, after studying this publication, wrote:

"The selection and editing of testimony for this volume showed a clear understanding of that evidence which supported the Warren Commission findings and that which did not. Testimony which fit into the latter category was edited out in a manner which could hardly have been accidental. References to shots from the front, for example, were consistently edited out, as was the admission by one of the autopsy surgeons that he had burned his original notes. Deleted from the testimony of three Secret Service agents present at the autopsy was...a description at significant variance with the official autopsy report....In short, a volume purporting to be an objective condensation of relevant testimony compiled by America's "newspaper of record" was little more than deliberately slanted propaganda in support of the Warren Commission Report."

Respected researcher Sylvia Meagher wrote:

""The Witnesses," therefore, was one of the most biased offerings ever to masquerade as objective information. In publishing this paperback, "The Times" engaged in uncritical partisanship, the antithesis of responsible journalism."

In 1966, a great deal of controversy had been generated by researchers critical of Warren Report. This prompted Richard Billings, then "Life's" associate editor in charge of investigative reporting to order a look into certain aspects of the assassination, particularly the "single-bullet" theory. Billings' staff concluded after analyzing the Zapruder film that the one-bullet theory was untenable and, in its November 25, 1966, issue "Life" called for a new investigation. However, in its November 25, 1966, issue, "Time" magazine - also a part of Time-Life Corporation - editorialized against the "phantasmagoria" of Warren Commission critics and concluded:

"...there seems little valid excuse for so dramatic a development as another full-scale inquiry."

Asked about these conflicting editorial postures, Hedley Donovan, editor in chief of both "Time" and

"Life," responded:

"We would like to see our magazines arrive at consistent positions on major issues, and I am sure in due course we will on this one."

This reconciliation occurred two months later when Billings said he was told by a superior:

"It is not "Life's" function to investigate the Kennedy assassination."

This admonition has been echoed in newsrooms throughout America over the years.

Billings' investigation was terminated and the November 25 article, which was to have been the first of a series, became the last.

The one television network which continually backed the Warren Commission version of the assassination was CBS, where newsman Dan Rather served as one of the anchormen on assassination reports since 1967. It was Rather who was one of the only newsmen who managed to see the Zapruder film in the days following the assassination. He told a nationwide radio audience that Kennedy's head "snapped violently forward" in direct contradiction to the rearward snap of his head as clearly seen in the film.

In a 1967 assassination documentary, CBS conducted a series of tests designed to prove that Oswald could have fired his rifle in the time established by the Warren Commission. When these tests essentially failed to support this contention, narrator Walter Cronkite nevertheless reported:

"It seems reasonable to say that an expert could fire that rifle in five seconds (although none did). It seems equally reasonable to say that Oswald, under normal circumstances, would take longer. But these were not normal circumstances. Oswald was shooting at a President."

Cronkite's mistake was the same as that of the Warren Commission and later the House Select Committee on Assassinations - a presumption of Oswald's guilt guided the investigation.

Of course, a presumption of Oswald's innocence would have led investigators into a confrontation with Government agencies, the military, big business and powerful politicians. Therefore the major news media has been content to let sleeping assassination conspiracies lie, compounding this timidity by characterizing anyone who dared look hard at the case as a "buff," "fantasist," "paranoid" or "sensationalist."

In the Dallas area, diligent reporters were warned off the assassination story by superiors despite a continuing spate of new developments and information.

Early on there was some excuse for this pathetic media track record. Newsmen in the early 1960s were used to getting their information from official sources and had no real idea that these same sources might lie to them. Questioning the word of FBI director Hoover was tantamount to blasphemy. When newsmen from all over the world descended on Dallas, they were at the mercy of local and federal authorities. They didn't know the city or its leaders and they didn't know how to talk to its residents. So the bulk of reporters waited in the police station for the next official pronouncement.

Oswald's brother Robert commented in his book, "Lee":

"It seemed to me that the police, who should be conducting a careful investigation to discover just what had happened and how deeply Lee might be involved, had instead surrendered to the mob of reporters, photographers and television cameramen. I knew that these men from the newspapers, magazines and television networks were workingmen, just like I was, and I could not blame them for carrying out their assignments. But I could and did blame the Dallas Police Department for its failure to retain any control over the situation. The most casual remark by any of the investigators or police officers was broadcast to the world immediately, without any effort being made to determine whether it was somebody's wild speculation, a theory that deserved further investigation or a fact supported by reliable evidence."

Independent investigating was virtually non-existent. The few reporters who dared investigate quickly moved on to another topic after realizing the deadly power against them. At least two early investigative reporters - Bill Hunter and Jim Koethe - were murdered within a year of the assassination.

Author Leonard Sanders was a young reporter in the Dallas area at the time. He told this author that he discontinued investigating the assassination after becoming convinced that his telephone was tapped and his movements monitored.

On several occasions during the 1970s, this author tried to bring important evidence of conspiracy in the assassination to the attention of Fort Worth news executives by scheduling slide and film presentations. Not one ranking editor or executive troubled himself to view this evidence.

In Dallas, investigative reporter Earl Golz was actually ordered not to write about the Kennedy assassination again. This order was ignored in the wake of revelations made public by the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

In this type of atmosphere, it is no wonder that the public remains confused about the facts of Kennedy's death.

As researcher Jerry Policoff wrote:

"The Kennedy assassination cover-up has survived so long only because the press, confronted with the choice of believing what it was told or examining the facts independently, chose the former."

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The major news media - like other aspects of American society - simply failed to function properly in response to the assassination of President Kennedy.

The normal police function was subordinated to pressure from the federal Government. The usual legal precautions to protect against wrongful conviction - such as a presumption of innocence until proven guilty, cross-examination of evidence and witnesses and the securing of defense counsel for the accused - were bypassed in the case of Lee Harvey Oswald.

The possibility of wrongdoing at the top of this nation's political structure panicked otherwise honest leadership in local, state and federal Government. Major business leaders, sensing the enormity of what had happened, kept their peace.

Never had the old saying "Who will watch the watchers?" carried more meaning.

As a result of this turmoil, what essentially had been a plot by a few fearful and greedy men grew into a full-scale palace revolt - aided by business, banking, industrial, media and defense communities which played no active role in the plot.

The results of this revolt were accepted by the "status quo" - the "Establishment" - after the fact. But who plotted against Camelot and how was this plot realized?

Crossfire: A Likely Scenario

Since so much information concerning the plot to kill Kennedy has been destroyed, altered or masked by false leads, it remains impossible to state with authority details of the plan. Even those involved were probably not informed of every aspect of the plot. However, there is enough information available today to begin to construct a likely scenario of what happened:

By the beginning of 1963, serious talk against President Kennedy was circulating within many groups - organized crime, the anti-Castro Cubans, the CIA, business and banking, the oil industry and even the military. There were many connections between all these groups and, once word of this pervasive anti-Kennedy feeling reached the ears of certain members of the Southwestern oil and business communities, secret meetings were held where money was raised and tacit approvals given.

From this point on, there would be no further contact between the individuals who met and initiated the plot and its actual fulfillment. Consequently, there is little likelihood that the originators of the plot will ever be identified or brought to justice. However once underway, the broad outlines of the plot that ended Camelot can be discerned by diligent study of all available assassination information.

Because of his family's great wealth, John F. Kennedy was incorruptible by bribes and payoffs. He also was the only President since Franklin Roosevelt who was a highly-educated intellectual.

Kennedy had a rich sense of history and a global outlook. He apparently had an idealistic vision of making the world more peaceful and less corrupt. In other words, he really believed he was President and he set out to shake up the status quo of Big Banking, Big Oil, Big Military-Industrial Complex with its powerful Intelligence Community, and Big organized crime, which had gained deep inroads into American life since Prohibition.

There were - and most certainly remain - numerous ties between all of these powerful factions. Organized crime is a primary client of the most powerful U.S. banks. It is now well documented how the mob and the CIA worked hand in glove on many types of operations, including assassination.

The various U.S. military intelligence services are closely interwoven, and in some cases, such as the National Security Agency (NSA), are superior to the FBI or CIA. Since defense spending continues to be the major beneficiary of the American tax dollar, an entire Intelligence industry has grown up to support and protect these incredible amounts of money.

Therefore when Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, began to wage war on organized crime as never before in this nation's history, it quickly became a matter of self defense to the mob and the banks and industries it controlled.

Officials of the FBI and CIA, likewise, were fearful of the Kennedys who had come to realize how dangerously out of control these agencies had become.

The Anti-Castro Cubans felt betrayed by Kennedy because of his last-minute orders halting U.S. military assistance to the Bay of Pigs invaders and were quite willing to support an assassination.

However, no matter how violent or powerful these organized crime-intelligence-banking-industrial cliques might be, they never would have moved against this nation's chief executive without the approval of - or at the very least the neutralization of - the U. S. military.

Already angered by Kennedy's liberal domestic policies, the Bay of Pigs fiasco and his signing of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union, top military brass undoubtedly were incensed in late 1963 when Kennedy let it be known that he planned to withdraw all U. S. military personnel from Vietnam by the end of 1965.

With that decision, the military turned against him and, even if they wouldn't openly plot against him, the military leadership would not be sorry if something were to happen to Kennedy.

The stage was set. Gen. Charles Cabell, the CIA deputy director fired by Kennedy after the Bay of Pigs, was back in the Pentagon and his brother, Earle Cabell, was Mayor of Dallas.

It was widely rumored that Vice President Lyndon Johnson - long associated with dirty politics, gamblers and defense officials - was to be dropped from the Democratic ticket in 1964. Texas oilmen, staunch friends of Johnson and the Military-Industrial Complex, were dismayed that Kennedy was talking about doing away with the lucrative oil-depletion allowance.

International bankers were shocked with Kennedy ordered the Treasury Department to print its own money, rather than distribute the traditional Federal Reserve notes which carry interest charges.

Soldiers, mobsters and conniving businessmen feared their apple cart was about to be upset by this youthful President.

So the decision was made at the highest levels of the American business-banking-politics-military-crime power structure - should anything happen to Kennedy, it would be viewed as a blessing for the

nation.

And simply voting him out of office wouldn't suffice. After all, what was to stop someone from carrying on his policies? Two more Kennedys were waiting in the wings for their turn at the presidency. A Kennedy "dynasty" was in place.

Therefore the decision was made to eliminate John F. Kennedy by means of a public execution for the same reason criminals are publicly executed - to serve as a deterrent to anyone considering following in his footsteps.

And the men at the top of this consensus didn't even have to risk getting their hands bloody.

Colonel L. Fletcher Prouty - a former Pentagon-CIA liaison officer and long-time assassination researcher - has said that most assassinations are set in motion not so much by a specific plan to kill as by efforts to remove or relax the protection around a target.

Prouty has written:

"No one has to direct an assassination - it happens. The active role is played secretly by permitting it to happen. That was why President Kennedy was killed. He was not murdered by some lone gunman or by some limited conspiracy, but by the breakdown of the protective system that should have made an assassination impossible....Once insiders knew that he would not be protected, it was easy to pick the day and the place....All the conspirators had to do was let the right "mechanics" (professional assassins - perhaps the French Corsicans?) know where Kennedy would be and when and, most importantly, that the usual precautions would not have been made and that escape would be facilitated. This is the greatest single clue to the assassination - Who had the power to call off or reduce the usual security precautions that are always in effect whenever a president travels? Castro did not kill Kennedy, not did the CIA. The power source that arranged that murder was on the inside. It had the means to reduce normal security and permit the choice of a hazardous route. It also had the continuing power to cover that crime for...years."

Once such a consensus was reached among the nation's top business-crime-military leadership, the assassination conspiracy went into action.

Operational orders most probably originated with organized crime chieftains such as Carlos Marcello and his associates Santos Trafficante and Sam Giancana - who already were involved with the CIA. But these mob bosses were smart. They realized the consequences if their role in Kennedy's death should ever become known. Therefore a world-class assassin was recruited from the international crime syndicate - perhaps Michael Victor Mertz, the shadowy Frenchman with both crime and intelligence connections who may have been in Dallas on November 22, 1963, according to a CIA document. Armed with a contract from the world crime syndicate, this premier assassin was given entree to the conspiring groups within U.S. intelligence, the anti-Castro Cubans, right-wing hate groups and the military.

Slowly, several assassination scenarios utilizing agents already involved in a variety of plots were constructed.

As the true assassination plot began to come together, word must have reached the ears of FBI director Hoover, a power unto himself with plenty of cause to hate the Kennedy brothers.

Hoover was in contact with his close friend Lyndon Johnson and with Texas Oilmen such as H. L. Hunt and Clint Murchinson of Dallas. His agents and informers were in daily contact with mob figures. This was only one cross point for mobsters, politicians, the FBI and wealthy Texans. There were many others in New York, Washington, Las Vegas and California.

Aided by ranking individuals within federal agencies and organized crime, agents from both Intelligence and the mob were recruited. Many were like Watergate burglar Frank Sturgis in that they had connections to criminal circles as well as U. S. Intelligence and Anti-Castro Cubans.

It was a military-style operation in that overall knowledge of the plot was kept on a strict need-to-know basis. Many people on the lower end of the conspiracy truthfully could say they didn't know exactly what happened.

But to keep public attention away from the real conspirators a scapegoat - or patsy - was needed. Enter Lee Harvey Oswald, a patriotic young man who followed the tradition of his father and brothers by voluntarily joining the U.S. Military. After being sent to Atsugi Air Base in Japan - the CIA's largest Asian training center - Oswald's real activities become clouded. Apparently he was recruited into U.S. Intelligence, first through the Office of Naval Intelligence and then on to the CIA. At Atsugi, in addition to

his intelligence work while serving as a radar operator monitoring the super-secret U-2 flights over the Soviet Union, Oswald began concocting his "legend" of being a communist sympathizer. After a quick and curious release from service, Oswald left for Russia - most probably on some sort of intelligence mission unrelated to the assassination.

Here is where the scenario becomes even more complicated.

There is abundant evidence that author Michael Eddowes (a former member of British Intelligence) may be correct in charging that a duplicate Oswald returned to the United States. Photo and voice analyses, differences in height and physical markings and several other discrepancies all tend to support the theory of a bogus Oswald. However, based on contradictory Marine records which seem to indicate that Oswald was in two places at once while in the service, there exists the possibility that a U.S. agent was substituted for the real Oswald prior to his trip to Russia. Many oddities in Oswald's records and habits may be better understood using this theory, especially if the patriotic Oswald agreed to the switch. If the Dallas Oswald was a Soviet agent or a U.S. agent posing as a pro-communist, he would have made the perfect patsy for the assassination. As an intelligence agent, he would have been eager to follow orders and easily could have been manipulated into incriminating himself as the assassin. Furthermore, his position as a spy would have prevented the Russians from proclaiming the truth of the assassination, since they could hardly be expected to admit their knowledge of Oswald. If the Dallas Oswald was the real Oswald he still could have been ordered about building up an incriminating trail of evidence.

The question of Oswald's true identity - intriguing as it may be - is nevertheless only a side issue. The preponderance of evidence now clearly indicates that the Dallas Oswald did not kill Kennedy. Real Oswald or impostor, this man was maneuvered about by the assassination conspirators who - knowing or suspecting him of being a Russian agent - had obtained him from U. S. Intelligence. Acting on orders, Oswald was put into contact with unsuspecting FBI and CIA agents, both pro and anti-Castro Cubans and others to confuse investigators after the crime. Oswald was a perfect fall guy. His capture or death eliminated a possible Soviet agent and implicated Russia, Cuba and leftists - drawing attention away from the true right-wing perpetrators. Naming Oswald as the assassin also implicated the FBI and CIA as organizations, thus forcing uninvolved agency officials to help cover up incriminating evidence.

One of Oswald's managers in late 1962 and early 1963 may have been George DeMohrenschildt, himself connected to Texas oilmen and various intelligence agents. While it now seems clear that DeMohrenschildt had no inkling of what was to become of his young friend, it is entirely possible that it was through DeMohrenschildt that the assassination conspirators learned of Lee Harvey Oswald. It was right at the time of DeMohrenschildt's departure to Haiti that Oswald left for New Orleans, where he became embroiled with anti-Castro Cubans, ex-FBI Agent Guy Banister, his old friend David Ferrie and others involved in assassination plotting.

On Nov. 22, 1963, there were many people in Dealey Plaza who were not just innocent bystanders. There were cars roaming the area behind the famous Grassy Knoll with out-of-state license plates and extra radio antennas, men brandishing Secret Service identification when officially there were no agents in the vicinity and an odd assortment of people pumping umbrellas in the air, waving fists, speaking into walkie-talkies and even one man firing a rifle who apparently was wearing a uniform similar to that of the Dallas police. Professional gunmen - the "mechanics" - quietly moved into position secure in the knowledge that security was minimal.

Only three police officers were stationed at the critical points in Dealey Plaza - two on the Triple Underpass and one in front of the Depository. Police were under orders not to allow anyone onto the grassy area on the south side of Elm Street - exactly where bullets were reported striking the grass. Sheriff's deputies were ordered not to interfere with motorcade security no matter what.

It was a textbook ambush and President Kennedy rode right into the middle of it in an open limousine which violated security regulations by making a 120-degree turn in front of the Texas School Book Depository and by slowing almost to a halt when shots first rang out. In fact, Kennedy's entire security force exhibited a startling lack of preparedness and response.

Three volleys of shots were fired - at least six and perhaps as many as 9 - most probably using fragmenting bullets or "sabot" slugs which could be traced to Oswald's 6.5-mm rifle.

Shots were fired from the Depository building to draw attention there while other gun teams were on the Grassy Knoll and perhaps even other locations, such as the Dallas County Records Building.

It appears there may have been two serious slip-ups for the conspirators during the assassination.

First, it appears unlikely that as many as three shots were intended. More likely the assassination

was to have been constructed so that it would appear that Kennedy was killed by one lucky shot from the Depository. The conspirators, of course, would have been prepared to fire another volley if necessary.

Secondly, it is equally likely that their scapegoat, Oswald, was to have been killed by a conspirator during return fire by Kennedy's security men. However, there was no return fire and Oswald managed to slip away from the Depository.

The first shot, described by many bystanders as sounding different from the rest, may have been a bad round. Instead of striking Kennedy in the back of the head, this old war-time ammunition may have dropped, striking him in the middle of the back and failing to penetrate more than an inch or so.

This necessitated visual signals that more shots were needed - perhaps these came from the "umbrella man" or perhaps the dark-complicated man near him.

The final volley - planned for but not anticipated by the real assassins - was ragged, resulting in many witnesses claiming that more than four shots were fired. This created a problem for subsequent investigators, who resolved it by proclaiming that three shots had been fired - the absolute maximum allowable for one gunman.

When the shooting started, confusion was rampant. No one except the conspirators knew what was happening and the Dallas Police radio channel used for the presidential motorcade security was blocked for more than eight minutes due to an open microphone.

The true assassins simply strolled away, after dumping their rifles into a nearby car trunks or passing them to confederates.

Oswald most probably was exactly where he said he was during the shooting - safely out of sight in the lunchroom of the Depository. Perhaps he had been told to wait for a telephone call at that time by an intelligence superior. Since there is evidence that Oswald may have been reporting to the Government on the activities of the assassination conspirators, he must have been shocked when he learned that Kennedy had been shot as planned. Shortly after his encounter with Officer Baker, Oswald may have begun to realize what was happening. He then left the Depository and made his way to his South Oak Cliff rooming house.

His landlady said within minutes of his arrival, he hurried from his room after a Dallas Police car stopped out front and beeped its horn twice. Whatever plans Oswald had at this point, he most probably was slated to be killed by police for "resisting arrest" - a backup plan in the event he escaped Dealey Plaza alive.

The slaying of Dallas Officer J. D. Tippit may have played some part in this scheme to have Oswald killed, perhaps to eliminate co-conspirator Tippit or simply to anger Dallas Police and cause itchy trigger fingers.

There is an abundance of evidence to suggest that Tippit was killed by someone other than Oswald. However, if Oswald was responsible it may have been that he simply got the drop on Tippit, who - since his pistol was found lying near his body - was approaching his suspect with a drawn weapon.

When cornered in the Texas Theater, Oswald was given every opportunity to flee through a rear exit. Whatever the plan, it backfired. Oswald was captured alive, creating a bad situation for the conspirators. Oswald could not be permitted to stand trial and reveal his true connections.

Jack Ruby - the mob's "bag man" in Dallas and the man who apparently handled funds for the local activities of the assassination conspirators - received his orders to kill Oswald from organized crime leaders eager to protect the secret of their contract and there were no alternatives for a mob directive.

The key to understanding the Oswald slaying is not that Ruby somehow knew when Oswald was to be transported from the police station, but rather, that the Oswald transfer was delayed until Ruby was in position - thanks to mob influence in the Dallas Police Department, one of the nation's most corrupt at that time. (The House Select Committee on Assassinations even stated that Ruby most likely entered the police basement down a back stairway with the assistance of one or more policemen.)

One shot and Oswald was dead, leaving only his mother to question the official version of the assassination.

While this assassination scenario cannot be indisputably proven at this time, it nevertheless represents the only theory to date which conforms to all of the known facts.

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Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn in as President within two hours of the assassination.

His first act as President was to order the removal of Kennedy's body from Parkland Hospital over the objections of the Dallas Medical Examiner - thus violating the laws of his own state. By that

evening, Johnson was exerting undue influence over the Dallas investigation both directly and through his aides.

Within two weeks, Johnson had coerced a reluctant Chief Justice Earl Warren into heading a special Presidential Commission charged with finding Oswald alone guilty of the deed. The creation of this Commission effectively blocked several other assassination investigations both in Texas and Washington.

The Warren Commission, composed of captains of both Intelligence and Big Business - and with Representative Gerald Ford spying on behalf of Hoover's FBI - paid precious little attention to anything which did not tend to prove the "lone-nut assassin" theory. The Commission had no staff of independent investigators. It relied for information almost entirely on the FBI and CIA. Both agencies today have been officially chastised for hiding evidence from the Commission.

Government investigators found a virtual smorgasbord of assassination evidence available in Dallas and New Orleans. By carefully selecting data which fit the official version of one lone gunman, they were able to present a believable - if untruthful - account of Kennedy's death.

Meanwhile a documented campaign of intimidation of witnesses began in Dallas. Some were simply told to keep quiet while others died under strange circumstances. While some of this suppression might be blamed on mob thugs, many people in Dallas have claimed that it was FBI agents who warned them not to talk about the assassination - an odd admonition since officially it was the work of just one lone, troubled man.

Some of the only independent investigative work occurred in Texas, where embarrassing evidence was found indicating that Oswald was an informant for the FBI.

There is now abundant evidence that Hoover's FBI destroyed critical evidence in this case, suppressed other evidence and intimidated witnesses. The FBI solely directed the verdict that Oswald acted alone.

But many others contributed to clouding the truth of the assassination.

President Kennedy's wounds were altered between Parkland Hospital and his autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital, making it appear that all wounds were to the rear of his head and body and forever confusing the medical evidence.

Again here lies the real key to the Kennedy assassination.

Who had the power and the impunity to be able to have the President's wounds altered and to misdirect the national investigation?

These accomplishments could only have come from the very pinnacles of power in the United States. Power such as that wielded by Lyndon Johnson and his friend J. Edgar Hoover, backed by the business-banking-defense communities.

There was never a real cover-up of the assassination, only official pronouncements for the major media and lots of red herrings for devout investigators.

Once the Zapruder film became available to the American public in the mid-1970s, the direction of the shots became obvious. Photographs surfaced showing other gunmen. Reticent witnesses came forward fleshing out the assassination story. Even a local district attorney tried to prosecute some of the lower-level conspirators, but was belittled in the national media, thanks to unethical statements by ranking government officials.

Despite an ever-growing amount of assassination evidence, the U.S. Government and those closely connected to it, have remained intransigent in their original position that it was the work of a lone gunman. For example, although Canadian and Scotland Yard photographic experts have both concluded that the incriminating photos of Oswald in his backyard with a rifle and communist newspapers are fakes - just as Oswald himself told Dallas Police Captain Will Fritz - the FBI still maintains the photos are genuine.

The FBI also got national headlines in 1980 by claiming that the House Assassinations Committee's acoustical evidence indicating more than one gunman fired at Kennedy was inaccurate and its conclusions wrong. Little attention was paid months later when the Bureau had to admit that its study of the acoustical tests was insufficient and that the basic findings were accurate.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations recommended that the Justice Department conduct further investigation in the John F. Kennedy case. No such activity was forthcoming.

As long as the U.S. Government refuses to seek and reveal the truth of what happened on Nov. 22, 1963, it will be up to individual Americans to cull through the mounds of Kennedy assassination material and find the elusive truth for themselves.

Who done it? - A consensus of powerful men in the leadership of U.S. Military, Banking, Government, Intelligence and organized crime circles ordered their faithful agents to manipulate Mafia-Cuban-Agent pawns to kill the chief.

President Kennedy was killed in a military-style ambush orchestrated by organized crime with the active assistance of elements within the federal Government of the United States.

Pressure from the top thwarted any truthful investigation.

As the years go by and further information becomes available, a more detailed assassination scenario can be constructed.

Even today there is still pressure from the top of the American power structure to keep the lid on this sordid affair.

When reputable Americans mention the assassination, they are often laughed at by those who refuse to be made uncomfortable by the truth.

During a gathering in November 1980, which included former British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan, famed conductor Leonard Bernstein noted that the anniversary of Kennedy's assassination again went unreported in the media and stated:

"We don't dare confront the implications. I think we're all agreed there was a conspiracy and we don't want to know. It involves such a powerful high force in what we call the high places, if we do know, everything might fall apart."

"...Rubbish," commented one listener.

Some people were told that to reveal Oswald's connections to the communists would result in nuclear war and must be avoided at all costs. Others feared their involvement might become known by any meaningful investigation of their agency.

Many officials who still seek to obscure the Kennedy case played no part in the assassination conspiracy. They simply do not want the American public to become alerted to the interconnections between the Government, Big Business, the military, intelligence and the mob. It might prove bad for business.

This is why the truth still has been kept from the American public. It's an ugly can of worms and it's all homegrown.

What then is the legacy of President John F. Kennedy? The fact is that we will never know. His presidency always will be remembered, not for what he did, but for what he might have done. But it might be worth considering what kind of America we might have today if President Kennedy had lived. Imagine the United States today if there had been no divisive Vietnam War with its attendant demonstrations, riots, deaths and loss of faith in Government. There may not have been the scandals of Watergate, other political assassinations or the Iran-Contra Pentagon-CIA attempt at a "secret Government." Détente with communist Russia and China might have come years earlier saving hundreds of millions of wasted defense dollars - dollars which could have been put to use caring for the needy and cleaning up the environment. Picture a nation where no organized crime syndicate gained control over such divergent areas of national life as drugs, gambling, labor unions, politicians and even toxic waste disposal.

Is it possible to consider that we might have a nation where peace and prosperity might have been achieved without the need for a massive military buildup, or that we might have experienced a kinder and gentler nation all along?

John F. Kennedy was no superman. Today there seems to be a movement to focus attention to the "morality" of his private life. But history will eventually record that Kennedy truly believed he had the best interests of his nation at heart. He wanted to lead America forward.

Kennedy was in the mold of Mikhail Gorbachev, complete with his own American brand of "glasnost," or openness with the public - but he was premature. America - at least the backstage rulers of America - was not ready for such innovation. So they killed him.

In the 1960s, many young people sensed what was happening. They tried to warn of the sins of "Amerika." But most people - this author included - didn't listen to them, just as many reading these words won't listen now. In hindsight, they were right. But how many of us can admit we were wrong?

Members of Kennedy's inner circle also came to understand what had really happened. But this knowledge came too late. The proof had been taken up and they realized the extent of the power arrayed against them. Some kept their peace, some soon retired from government and others left the country.

Robert Kennedy too came to understand the tremendous power behind the events in Dallas. On

June 3, 1968, just two days before his own assassination, the younger Kennedy told close friends:

"I now fully realize that only the powers of the Presidency will reveal the secrets of my brother's death."

He obviously has come to realize that the truth of John Kennedy's death could only come after he gained control over the FBI, CIA, Secret Service and the Pentagon - all of which had become powers unto themselves.

But today all this is nothing new. We Americans have learned much about the connections of crime and spy agencies to the Government and business communities in many cases such as Watergate, the John DeLorean affair, the Iran-Contra scandal, the assassination of Federal Judge John Wood and others.

The Emperor has no clothes on - or in this case, American business and political Emperors wear blood-stained clothing - but no one of any prominence wants to be the first to say so.

As we have seen, J. Edgar Hoover had experience in controlling major criminal investigations dating back to the faked death of John Dillinger. By the early 1960s, Hoover had undisputed power over the FBI and undue influence over other Government agencies.

Lyndon B. Johnson had long since perfected the art of using the federal bureaucracy to block and impede investigations into his dealings.

And this time, unlike previous experiences, there were plenty of people willing to go along with them - people who wanted Kennedy out of the way.

Camelot was killed from within, by men whose fear and ambition overpowered their faith and loyalty to the United States Constitution and the people it was designed to protect.

An apt precedence for the Kennedy assassination can be found in William Shakespeare's immortal "Julius Caesar," where Roman leaders - "all honorable men" - plotted to kill Caesar out of fear that they were losing total power in their country. Brutus defended his participation by explaining:

"Not that I loved Caesar less, but that I loved Rome more."

Or to paraphrase the American officer in Vietnam who defended the destruction of a village:

"In order to save the country, they had to destroy it."

The Kennedy assassination was a true coup d'etat - a sudden and violent shift of power to the right in this country.

And that power - though weakened by revelations of corruption and unachieved goals - remains with us today. Few people have shown a willingness to confront and accuse this power. But until the people of the United States confront the reality of Kennedy's death and face the power behind it, the wars, near-wars, the wasteful military buildup, foreign adventurism, death, squandered millions, trampled human rights, moral decline and environmental pollution will continue. The way to this confrontation lies within each individual citizen - in our minds and - perhaps more importantly - in our hearts.

One can almost hear the sad spirit of John F. Kennedy whispering from Dealey Plaza:

Et tu, Lyndon?

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Warren Report: Letter of Transmittal

September 24, 1964

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Your Commission to investigate the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963, having completed its assignment in accordance with Executive Order No. 11130 of November 29, 1963, herewith submits its final report.

Respectfully,

Earl Warren, Chairman
Richard B. Russel
John Sherman Cooper
Hale Boggs
Gerald R. Ford
Allen W. Dulles
John J. McCloy

Warren Report: Foreword

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON, by Executive Order No. 11130 dated November 29, 1963, created this Commission to investigate the assassination on November 22, 1963, of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the 35th President of the United States. The President directed the Commission to evaluate all the facts and circumstances surrounding the assassination and the subsequent killing of the alleged assassin and to report its findings and conclusions to him.

The subject of the Commission's inquiry was a chain of events which saddened and shocked the people of the United States and of the world. The assassination of President Kennedy and the simultaneous wounding of John B. Connally, Jr., Governor of Texas, had been followed within an hour by the slaying of Patrolman J. D. Tippit of the Dallas Police Department. In the United States and abroad, these events evoked universal demands for an explanation.

Immediately after the assassination, State and local officials in Dallas devoted their resources to the apprehension of the assassin. The U.S. Secret Service, which is responsible for the protection of the President, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation began an investigation at the direction of President Johnson. Within 35 minutes of the killing of Patrolman Tippit, Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested by the Dallas police as a suspect in that crime. Based on evidence provided by Federal, State, and local agencies, the State of Texas arraigned Oswald within 12 hours of his arrest, charging him with the assassination of President Kennedy and the murder of Patrolman Tippit. On November 24, 1963, less than 18 hours after his arrest, Oswald was fatally shot in the basement of the Dallas Police Department by Jack Ruby, a Dallas nightclub owner. This shooting took place in full view of a national television audience.

The events of these 2 days were witnessed with shock and disbelief by a Nation grieving the loss of its young leader. Throughout the world, reports on these events were disseminated in massive detail. Theories and speculations mounted regarding the assassination. In many instances, the intense public demand for facts was met by partial and frequently conflicting reports from Dallas and elsewhere. After Oswald's arrest and his denial of all guilt, public attention focused both on the extent of the evidence against him and the possibility of a conspiracy, domestic or foreign. His subsequent death heightened public interest and stimulated additional suspicions and rumors.

THE COMMISSION AND ITS POWERS

After Lee Harvey Oswald was shot by Jack Ruby, it was no longer possible to arrive at the complete story of the assassination through normal judicial procedures during a trial of the alleged assassin. Alternative means for instituting a complete investigation were widely discussed. Federal and State officials conferred on the possibility of initiating a court of inquiry before a State magistrate in Texas. An investigation by the grand jury of Dallas County also was considered. As speculation about the existence of a foreign or domestic conspiracy became widespread, committees in both Houses of Congress weighed the desirability of congressional hearings to discover all the facts relating to the assassination.

By his order of November 29 establishing the Commission, President Johnson sought to avoid parallel investigations and to concentrate fact-finding in a body having the broadest national mandate. As Chairman of the Commission, President Johnson selected Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, former Governor and attorney general of the State of California. From the U.S. Senate, he chose Richard B. Russell, Democratic Senator from Georgia and chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, former Governor of, and county attorney in, the State of Georgia, and John Sherman Cooper, Republican Senator from Kentucky, former county and circuit judge, State of Kentucky, and U.S. Ambassador to India. Two members of the Commission were drawn from the U.S. House of Representatives: Hale Boggs, Democratic U.S. Representative from Louisiana and majority whip, and Gerald R. Ford, Republican, U.S. Representative from Michigan and chairman of the House Republican Conference. From private life, President Johnson selected two lawyers by profession, both of whom have served in the administrations of Democratic and Republican Presidents: Allen W. Dulles, former Director of Central Intelligence, and John J. McCloy, former President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, former U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, and during World War II, the Assistant Secretary of War.

From its first meeting on December 5, 1963, the Commission viewed the Executive order as an unequivocal Presidential mandate to conduct a thorough and independent investigation. Because of the numerous rumors and theories, the Commission concluded that the public interest in insuring that the truth was ascertained could not be met by merely accepting the reports or the analyses of Federal or

State agencies. Not only were the premises and conclusions of those reports critically reassessed, but all assertions or rumors relating to a possible conspiracy, or the complicity of others than Oswald, which have come to the attention of the Commission, were investigated.

On December 13, 1963, Congress enacted Senate Joint Resolution 137 (Public Law 88-202) empowering the Commission to issue subpoenas requiring the testimony of witnesses and the production of evidence relating to any matter under its investigation. In addition, the resolution authorized the Commission to compel testimony from witnesses claiming the privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution by providing for the grant of immunity to persons testifying under such compulsion. Immunity under these provisions was not granted to any witness during the Commission's investigation.

The Commission took steps immediately to obtain the necessary staff to fulfill its assignment. J. Lee Rankin, former Solicitor General of the United States, was sworn in as general counsel for the Commission on December 16, 1963. Additional members of the legal staff were selected during the next few weeks. The Commission has been aided by 14 assistant counsel with high professional qualifications, selected by it from widely separated parts of the United States. This staff undertook the work of the Commission with a wealth of legal and investigative experience and a total dedication to the determination of the truth. The Commission has been assisted also by highly qualified personnel from several Federal agencies, assigned to the Commission at its request. This group included lawyers from the Department of Justice, agents of the Internal Revenue Service, a senior historian from the Department of Defense, an editor from the Department of State, and secretarial and administrative staff supplied by the General Services Administration and other agencies.

In addition to the assistance afforded by Federal agencies, the Commission throughout its inquiry had the cooperation of representatives of the city of Dallas and the State of Texas. The attorney general of Texas, Waggoner Carr, aided by two distinguished lawyers of that State, Robert G. Storey of Dallas, retired dean of the Southern Methodist University Law School and former president of the American Bar Association, and Leon Jaworski of Houston, former president of the Texas State Bar Association, has been fully informed at all times as to the progress of the investigation, and has advanced such suggestions as he and his special assistants considered helpful to the accomplishment of the Commission's assignment. Attorney General Carr has promptly supplied the Commission with pertinent information possessed by Texas officials. Dallas officials, particularly those from the police department, have fully complied with all requests made by the Commission.

THE INVESTIGATION

During December and early January the Commission received an increasing volume of reports from Federal and State investigative agencies. Of principal importance was the five-volume report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, submitted on December 9, 1963, which summarized the results of the investigation conducted by the Bureau immediately after the assassination. After reviewing this report, the Commission requested the Federal Bureau of Investigation to furnish the underlying investigative materials relied upon in the summary report. The first investigative reports submitted in response to this request were delivered to the Commission on December 20, 1963. On December 18, the Secret Service submitted a detailed report on security precautions taken before President Kennedy's trip to Texas and a summary of the events of November 22, as witnessed by Secret Service agents. A few days later the Department of State submitted a report relating to Oswald's defection to the Soviet Union in 1959, and his return to the United States in 1962. On January 7 and 11, 1964, the attorney general of Texas submitted an extensive set of investigative materials, largely Dallas police reports, on the assassination of President Kennedy and the killing of Oswald.

As these investigative reports were received, the staff began analyzing and summarizing them. The members of the legal staff, divided into teams, proceeded to organize the facts revealed by these investigations, determine the issues, sort out the unresolved problems, and recommend additional investigation by the Commission. Simultaneously, to insure that no relevant information would be overlooked, the Commission directed requests to the 10 major departments of the Federal Government, 14 of its independent agencies or commissions, and 4 congressional committees for all information relating to the assassination or the background and activities of Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby.

After reviewing the accumulating materials, the Commission directed numerous additional requests to Federal and State investigative agencies. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Secret Service executed the detailed requests for statements of witnesses and examinations of physical evidence with dispatch and thoroughness. All these reports were reviewed and analyzed by the Commission. Additional investigative requests, where appropriate, were handled by Internal Revenue Service,

Department of State, and the military intelligence agencies with comparable skill. Investigative analyses of particular significance and sensitivity in the foreign areas were contributed by the Central Intelligence Agency. On occasion the Commission used independent experts from State and city governments to supplement or verify information. During the investigation the Commission on several occasions visited the scene of the assassination and other places in the Dallas area pertinent to the inquiry.

The scope and detail of the investigative effort by the Federal and State agencies are suggested in part by statistics from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Secret Service. Immediately after the assassination more than 80 additional FBI personnel were transferred to the Dallas office on a temporary basis to assist in the investigation. Beginning November 22, 1963, the Federal Bureau of Investigation conducted approximately 25,000 interviews and reinterviews of persons having information of possible relevance to the investigation and by September 11, 1964, submitted over 2,300 reports totaling approximately 25,400 pages to the Commission. During the same period the Secret Service conducted approximately 1,550 interviews and submitted 800 reports totaling some 4,600 pages.

Because of the diligence, cooperation, and facilities of Federal investigative agencies, it was unnecessary for the Commission to employ investigators other than the members of the Commission's legal staff. The Commission recognized, however, that special measures were required whenever the facts or rumors called for an appraisal of the acts of the agencies themselves. The staff reviewed in detail the actions of several Federal agencies, particularly the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secret Service, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of State. Initially the Commission requested the agencies to furnish all their reports relating to the assassination and their relationships with Oswald or Ruby. On the basis of these reports, the Commission submitted specific questions to the agency involved. Members of the staff followed up the answers by reviewing the relevant files of each agency for additional information. In some instances, members of the Commission also reviewed the files in person. Finally, the responsible officials of these agencies were called to testify under oath. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; C. Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury; John A. McCone, Director of the Central intelligence Agency; J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and James J. Rowley, Chief of the Secret Service, appeared as witnesses and testified fully regarding their agencies' participation in the matters under scrutiny by the Commission.

COMMISSION HEARINGS

In addition to the information resulting from these investigations, the Commission has relied primarily on the facts disclosed by the sworn testimony of the principal witnesses to the assassination and related events. Beginning on February 3, 1964, the Commission and its staff has taken the testimony of 552 witnesses. Of this number, 94 appeared before members of the Commission; 395 were questioned by members of the Commission's legal staff; 61 supplied sworn affidavits; and 2 gave statements. Under Commission procedures, all witnesses were advised that they had the right to the presence and the advice of their lawyer during the interrogation, with the corollary rights to raise objections to any questions asked, to make any clarifying statement on the record after the interrogation, and to purchase a copy of their testimony.

Commission hearings were closed to the public unless the witness appearing before the Commission requested an open hearing. Under these procedures, testimony of one witness was taken in a public hearing on two occasions. No other witness requested a public hearing. The Commission concluded that the premature publication by it of testimony regarding the assassination or the subsequent killing of Oswald might interfere with Ruby's rights to a fair and impartial trial on the charges filed against him by the State of Texas. The Commission also recognized that testimony would be presented before it which would be inadmissible in judicial proceedings and might prejudice innocent parties if made public out of context. In addition to the witnesses who appeared before the Commission, numerous others provided sworn depositions, affidavits, and statements upon which the Commission has relied. Since this testimony, as well as that taken before the Commission, could not always be taken in logical sequence, the Commission concluded that partial publication of testimony as the investigation progressed was impractical and could be misleading.

THE COMMISSION'S FUNCTION

The Commission's most difficult assignments have been to uncover all the facts concerning the assassination of President Kennedy and to determine if it was in any way directed or encouraged by unknown persons at home or abroad. In this process, its objective has been to identify the person or persons responsible for both the assassination of President Kennedy and the killing of Oswald through

an examination of the evidence. The task has demanded unceasing appraisal of the evidence by the individual members of the Commission in their effort to discover the whole truth.

The procedures followed by the Commission in developing and assessing evidence necessarily differed from those of a court conducting a criminal trial of a defendant present before it, since under our system there is no provision for a posthumous trial. If Oswald had lived he could have had a trial by American standards of justice where he would have been able to exercise his full rights under the law. A judge and jury would have presumed him innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. He might have furnished information which could have affected the course of his trial. He could have participated in and guided his defense. There could have been an examination to determine whether he was sane under prevailing legal standards. All witnesses, including possibly the defendant, could have been subjected to searching examination under the adversary system of American trials.

The Commission has functioned neither as a court presiding over an adversary proceeding nor as a prosecutor determined to prove a case, but as a fact-finding agency committed to the ascertainment of the truth. In the course of the investigation of the facts and rumors surrounding these matters, it was necessary to explore hearsay and other sources of information not admissible in a court proceeding obtained from persons who saw or heard and others in a position to observe what occurred. In fairness to the alleged assassin and his family, the Commission on February 25, 1964, requested Walter E. Craig, president of the American Bar Association, to participate in the investigation and to advise the Commission whether in his opinion the proceedings conformed to the basic principles of American justice. Mr. Craig accepted this assignment and participated fully and without limitation. He attended Commission hearings in person or through his appointed assistants. All working papers, reports, and other data in Commission files were made available, and Mr. Craig and his associates were given the opportunity to cross-examine witnesses, to recall any witness heard prior to his appointment, and to suggest witnesses whose testimony they would like to have the Commission hear. This procedure was agreeable to counsel for Oswald's widow.

THE COMMISSION'S REPORT

In this report the Commission submits the results of its investigation. Each member of the Commission has given careful consideration to the entire report and concurs in its findings and conclusions. The report consists of an initial chapter summarizing the Commission's basic findings and conclusions, followed by a detailed analysis of the facts and the issues raised by the events of November 22, 1963, and the 2 following days. Individual chapters consider the trip to Dallas, the shots from the Texas School Book Depository, the identity of the assassin, the killing of Lee Harvey Oswald, the possibility of a conspiracy, Oswald's background and possible motive, and arrangements for the protection of the President. In these chapters, rather than rely on cross-references, the Commission on occasion has repeated certain testimony in order that the reader might have the necessary information before him while examining the conclusions of the Commission on each important issue.

With this report the Commission is submitting the complete testimony of all the witnesses who appeared before the Commission or gave sworn depositions or affidavits, the accompanying documentary exhibits, and other investigative materials which are relied upon in this report. The Commission is committing all of its reports and working papers to the National Archives, where they can be permanently preserved under the rules and regulations of the National Archives and applicable Federal law.

Warren Report: Chapter I - Summary and Conclusions

THE ASSASSINATION of John Fitzgerald Kennedy on November 22, 1963, was a cruel and shocking act of violence directed against a man, a family, a nation, and against all mankind. A young and vigorous leader whose years of public and private life stretched before him was the Victim of the fourth Presidential assassination in the history of a country dedicated to the concepts of reasoned argument and peaceful political change. This Commission was created on November 29, 1963, in recognition of the right of people everywhere to full and truthful knowledge concerning these events. This report endeavors to fulfill that right and to appraise this tragedy by the light of reason and the standard of fairness. It has been prepared with a deep awareness of the Commission's responsibility to present to the American people an objective report of the facts relating to the assassination.

Warren Report: Chapter I - Narrative of Events

At 11:40 a.m., c.s.t., on Friday, November '22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy, Mrs. Kennedy, and their party arrived at Love Field, Dallas, Tex. Behind them was the first day of a Texas trip planned 5 months before by the President, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, and John B. Connally, Jr., Governor of Texas. After leaving the White House on Thursday morning, the President had flown initially to San Antonio where Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson joined the party and the President dedicated new research facilities at the U.S. Air Force School of Aerospace Medicine. Following a testimonial dinner in Houston for U.S. Representative Albert Thomas, the President flew to Fort Worth where he spent the night and spoke at a large breakfast gathering on Friday.

Planned for later that day were a motorcade through downtown Dallas, a luncheon speech at the Trade Mart, and a flight to Austin where the President would attend a reception and speak at a Democratic fundraising dinner. From Austin he would proceed to the Texas ranch of the Vice President. Evident on this trip were the varied roles which an American President performs--Head of State, Chief Executive, party leader, and, in this instance, prospective candidate for reelection.

The Dallas motorcade, it was hoped, would evoke a demonstration of the President's personal popularity in a city which he had lost in the 1960 election. Once it had been decided that the trip to Texas would span 2 days, those responsible for planning, primarily Governor Connally and Kenneth O'Donnell, a special assistant to the President, agreed that a motorcade through Dallas would be desirable. The Secret Service was told on November 8 that 45 minutes had been allotted to a motorcade procession from Love Field to the site of a luncheon planned by Dallas business and civic leaders in honor of the President. After considering the facilities and security problems of several buildings, the Trade Mart was chosen as the luncheon site. Given this selection, and in accordance with the customary practice of affording the greatest number of people an opportunity to see the President, the motorcade route selected was a natural one. The route was approved by the local host committee and White House representatives on November 18 and publicized in the local papers starting on November 19. This advance publicity made it clear that the motorcade would leave Main Street and pass the intersection of Elm and Houston Streets as it proceeded to the Trade Mart by way of the Stemmons Freeway.

By midmorning of November 22, clearing skies in Dallas dispelled the threat of rain and the President greeted the crowds from his open limousine without the "bubble top," which was at that time a plastic shield furnishing protection only against inclement weather. To the left of the President in the rear seat was Mrs. Kennedy. In the jump seats were Governor Connally, who was in front of the President, and Mrs. Connally at the Governor's left. Agent William R. Greer of the Secret Service was driving, and Agent Roy H. Kellerman was sitting to his right.

Directly behind the Presidential limousine was an open "follow-up" car with eight Secret Service agents, two in the front seat, two in the rear, and two on each running board. These agents, in accordance with normal Secret Service procedures, were instructed to scan the crowds, the roofs, and windows of buildings, overpasses, and crossings for signs of trouble. Behind the "follow-up" car was the Vice Presidential car carrying the Vice President and Mrs. Johnson and Senator Ralph W. Yarborough. Next were a Vice Presidential "follow-up" car and several cars and buses for additional dignitaries, press representatives, and others.

The motorcade left Love Field shortly after 11:50 a.m., and proceeded through residential neighborhoods, stopping twice at the President's request to greet well-wishers among the friendly crowds. Each time the President's car halted, Secret Service agents from the "follow-up" car moved forward to assume a protective stance near the President and Mrs. Kennedy. As the motorcade reached Main Street, a principal east-west artery in downtown Dallas, the welcome became tumultuous. At the extreme west end of Main Street the motorcade turned right on Houston Street and proceeded north for one block in order to make a left turn on Elm Street, the most direct and convenient approach to the Stemmons Freeway and the Trade Mart. As the President's car approached the intersection of Houston and Elm Streets, there loomed directly ahead on the intersection's northwest corner a seven-story, orange brick warehouse and office building, the Texas School Book Depository. Riding in the Vice President's car, Agent Rufus W. Youngblood of the Secret Service noticed that the clock atop the building indicated 12:30 p.m., the scheduled arrival time at the Trade Mart.

The President's car which had been going north made a sharp turn toward the southwest onto Elm Street. At a speed of about 11 miles per hour, it started down the gradual descent toward a railroad overpass under which the motorcade would proceed before reaching the Stemmons Freeway. The front of the Texas School Book Depository was now on the President's right, and he waved to the crowd assembled there as he passed the building. Dealey Plaza--an open, landscaped area marking the

western end of downtown Dallas--stretched out to the President's left. A Secret Service agent riding in the motorcade radioed the Trade Mart that the President would arrive in 5 minutes.

Seconds later shots resounded in rapid succession. The President's hands moved to his neck. He appeared to stiffen momentarily and lurch slightly forward in his seat. A bullet had entered the base of the back of his neck slightly to the right of the spine. It traveled downward and exited from the front of the neck, causing a nick in the left lower portion of the knot in the President's necktie. Before the shooting started, Governor Connally had been facing toward the crowd on the right. He started to turn toward the left and suddenly felt a blow on his back. The Governor had been hit by a bullet which entered at the extreme right side of his back at a point below his right armpit. The bullet traveled through his chest in a downward and forward direction, exited below his right nipple, passed through his right wrist which had been in his lap, and then caused a wound to his left thigh. The force of the bullet's impact appeared to spin the Governor to his right, and Mrs. Connally pulled him down into her lap. Another bullet then struck President Kennedy in the rear portion of his head, causing a massive and fatal wound. The President fell to the left into Mrs. Kennedy's lap.

Secret Service Agent Clinton J. Hill, riding on the left running board of the "follow-up" car, heard a noise which sounded like a firecracker and saw the President suddenly lean forward and to the left. Hill jumped off the car and raced toward the President's limousine. In the front seat of the Vice Presidential car, Agent Youngblood heard an explosion and noticed unusual movements in the crowd. He vaulted into the rear seat and sat on the Vice President in order to protect him. At the same time Agent Kellerman in the front seat of the Presidential limousine turned to observe the President. Seeing that the President was struck, Kellerman instructed the driver, "Let's get out of here; we are hit." He radioed ahead to the lead car, "Get us to the hospital immediately." Agent Greer immediately accelerated the Presidential car. As it gained speed, Agent Hill managed to pull himself onto the back of the car where Mrs. Kennedy had climbed. Hill pushed her back into the rear seat and shielded the stricken President and Mrs. Kennedy as the President's car proceeded at high speed to Parkland Memorial Hospital, 4 miles away.

At Parkland, the President was immediately treated by a team of physicians who had been alerted for the President's arrival by the Dallas Police Department as the result of a radio message from the motorcade after the shooting. The doctors noted irregular breathing movements and a possible heartbeat, although they could not detect a pulse beat. They observed the extensive wound in the President's head and a small wound approximately one-fourth inch in diameter in the lower third of his neck. In an effort to facilitate breathing, the physicians performed a tracheotomy by enlarging the throat wound and inserting a tube. Totally absorbed in the immediate task of trying to preserve the President's life, the attending doctors never turned the president over for an examination of his back. At 1 p.m., after all heart activity ceased and the Last Rites were administered by a priest, President Kennedy was pronounced dead. Governor Connally underwent surgery and ultimately recovered from his serious wounds.

Upon learning of the President's death, Vice President Johnson left Parkland Hospital under close guard and proceeded to the Presidential plane at Love Field. Mrs. Kennedy, accompanying her husband's body, boarded the plane shortly thereafter. At 2:38 p.m., in the central compartment of the plane, Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn in as the 36th President of the United States by Federal District Court Judge Sarah T. Hughes. The plane left immediately for Washington, DC., arriving at Andrews AFB, Md., at 5:58 p.m., e.s.t. The President's body was taken to the National Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Md., where it was given a complete pathological examination. The autopsy disclosed the large head wound observed at Parkland and the wound in the front of the neck which had been enlarged by the Parkland doctors when they performed the tracheotomy. Both of these wounds were described in the autopsy report as being "presumably of exit." In addition the autopsy revealed a small wound of entry in the rear of the President's skull and another wound of entry near the base of the back of the neck. The autopsy report stated the cause of death as "Gunshot wound, head" and the bullets which struck the President were described as having been fired "from a point behind and somewhat above the level of the deceased."

At the scene of the shooting, there was evident confusion at the outset concerning the point of origin of the shots. Witnesses differed in their accounts of the direction from which the sound of the shots emanated. Within a few minutes, however, attention centered on the Texas School Book Depository Building as the source of the shots. The building was occupied by a private corporation, the Texas School Book Depository Co., which distributed school textbooks of several publishers and leased space to representatives of the publishers. Most of the employees in the building worked for these publishers. The balance, including a 15-man warehousing crew, were employees of the Texas School Book Depository Co. itself.

Several eyewitnesses in front of the building reported that they saw a rifle being fired from the southeast corner window on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository. One eyewitness, Howard L. Brennan, had been watching the parade from a point on Elm Street directly opposite and facing the building. He promptly told a policeman that he had seen a slender man, about 5 feet 10 inches, in his early thirties, take deliberate aim from the sixth floor corner window and fire a rifle in the direction of the President's car. Brennan thought he might be able to identify the man since he had noticed him in the window a few minutes before the motorcade made the turn onto Elm Street. At 12 :34 p.m., the Dallas police radio mentioned the Depository Building as a possible source of the shots, and at 12 :45 p.m., the police radio broadcast a description of the suspected assassin based primarily on Brennan's observations.

When the shots were fired, a Dallas motorcycle patrolman, Marrion L. Baker, was riding in the motorcade at a point several cars behind the President. He had turned right from Main Street onto Houston Street and was about 200 feet south of Elm Street when he heard a shot. Baker, having recently returned from a week of deer hunting, was certain the shot came from a high powered rifle. He looked up and saw pigeons scattering in the air from their perches on the Texas School Book Depository Building. He raced his motorcycle to the building, dismounted, scanned the area to the west and pushed his way through the spectators toward the entrance. There he encountered Roy Truly, the building superintendent, who offered Baker his help. They entered the building, and ran toward the two elevators in the rear. Finding that both elevators were on an upper floor, they dashed up the stairs. Not more than 2 minutes had elapsed since the shooting.

When they reached the second floor landing on their way up to the top of the building, Patrolman Baker thought he caught a glimpse of someone through the small glass window in the door separating the hall area near the stairs from the small vestibule leading into the lunchroom. Gun in hand, he rushed to the door and saw a man about 20 feet away walking toward the other end of the lunchroom. The man was emptyhanded. At Baker's command, the man turned and approached him. Truly, who had started up the stairs to the third floor ahead of Baker, returned to see what had delayed the patrolman. Baker asked Truly whether he knew the man in the lunchroom. Truly replied that the man worked in the building, whereupon Baker turned from the man and proceeded, with Truly, up the stairs. The man they encountered had started working in the Texas School Book Depository Building on October 16, 1963. His fellow workers described him as a very quiet "loner." His name was Lee Harvey Oswald.

Within about 1 minute after his encounter with Baker and Truly, Oswald was seen passing through the second floor offices. In his hand was a full "Coke" bottle which he had purchased from a vending machine in the lunchroom. He was walking toward the front of the building where a passenger elevator and a short flight of stairs provided access to the main entrance of the building on the first floor. Approximately 7 minutes later, at about 12:40 p.m., Oswald boarded a bus at a point on Elm Street seven short blocks east of the Depository Building. The bus was traveling west toward the very building from which Oswald had come. Its route lay through the Oak Cliff section in southwest Dallas, where it would pass seven blocks east of the rooming house in which Oswald was living, at 1026 North Beckley Avenue. On the bus was Mrs. Mary Bledsoe, one of Oswald's former landladies, who immediately recognized him. Oswald stayed on the bus approximately 3 or 4 minutes, during which time it proceeded only two blocks because of the traffic jam created by the motorcade and the assassination. Oswald then left the bus.

A few minutes later he entered a vacant taxi four blocks away and asked the driver to take him to a point on North Beckley Avenue several blocks beyond his rooming house. The trip required 5 or 6 minutes. At about 1 p.m. Oswald arrived at the rooming house. The housekeeper, Mrs. Earlene Roberts, was surprised to see Oswald at midday and remarked to him that he seemed to be in quite a hurry. He made no reply. A few minutes later Oswald emerged from his room zipping up his jacket and rushed out of the house.

Approximately 14 minutes later, and just 45 minutes after the assassination, another violent shooting occurred in Dallas. The victim was Patrolman J. D. Tippit of the Dallas police, an officer with a good record during his more than 11 years with the police force. He was shot near the intersection of 10th Street and Patton Avenue, about nine tenths of a mile from Oswald's rooming house. At the time of the assassination, Tippit was alone in his patrol car, the routine practice for most police patrol officers at this time of day. He had been ordered by radio at 12:45 p.m. to proceed to the central Oak Cliff area as part of a concentration of patrol car activity around the center of the city following the assassination. At 12:54 Tippit radioed that he had moved as directed and would be available for any emergency. By this time the police radio had broadcast several messages alerting the police to the suspect described by Brennan at the scene of the assassination--slender white male, about 30 years old, 5 feet 10 inches and weighing about 165 pounds.

At approximately 1:15 p.m., Tippit was driving slowly in an easterly direction on East 10th Street in Oak Cliff. About 100 feet past the intersection of 10th Street and Patton Avenue, Tippit pulled up alongside a man walking in the same direction. The man met the general description of the suspect wanted in connection with the assassination. He walked over to Tippit's car, rested his arms on the door on the right hand side of the car, and apparently exchanged words with Tippit through the window. Tippit opened the door on the left side and started to walk around the front of his car. As he reached the front wheel on the driver's side, the man on the sidewalk drew a revolver and fired several shots in rapid succession, hitting Tippit four times and killing him instantly. An automobile repairman, Domingo Benavides, heard the shots and stopped his pickup truck on the opposite side of the street about 25 feet in front of Tippit's car. He observed the gunman start back toward Patton Avenue, removing the empty cartridge cases from the gun as he went. Benavides rushed to Tippit's side. The patrolman, apparently dead, was lying on his revolver, which was out of its holster. Benavides promptly reported the shooting to police headquarters over the radio in Tippit's car. The message was received shortly after 1:16 p.m.

As the gunman left the scene, he walked hurriedly back toward Patton Avenue and turned left, heading south. Standing on the northwest corner of 10th Street and Patton Avenue was Helen Markham, who had been walking south on Patton Avenue and had seen both the killer and Tippit cross the intersection in front of her as she waited on the curb for traffic to pass. She witnessed the shooting and then saw the man with a gun in his hand walk back toward the corner and cut across the lawn of the corner house as he started south on Patton Avenue.

In the corner house itself, Mrs. Barbara Jeanette Davis and her sister_in_law, Mrs. Virginia Davis, heard the shots and rushed to the door in time to see the man walk rapidly across the lawn shaking a revolver as if he were emptying it of cartridge cases. Later that day each woman found a cartridge case near the home. As the gunman turned the corner he passed alongside a taxicab which was parked on Patton Avenue a few feet from 10th Street. The driver, William W. Scoggins, had seen the slaying and was now crouched behind his cab on the street side. As the gunman cut through the shrubbery on the lawn, Scoggins looked up and saw the man approximately 12 feet away. In his hand was a pistol and he muttered words which sounded to Scoggins like "poor dumb cop" or "poor damn cop."

After passing Scoggins, the gunman crossed to the West side of Patton Avenue and ran south toward Jefferson Boulevard, a main Oak Cliff thoroughfare. On the east side of Patton, between 10th Street and Jefferson Boulevard, Ted Callaway, a used car salesman, heard the shots and ran to the sidewalk. As the man with the gun rushed past, Callaway shouted "What's going on?" The man merely shrugged, ran on to Jefferson Boulevard and turned right. On the next corner was a gas station with a parking lot in the rear. The assailant ran into the lot, discarded his jacket and then continued his flight west on Jefferson.

In a shoe store a few blocks farther west on Jefferson, the manager, Johnny Calvin Brewer, heard the siren of a police car moments after the radio in his store announced the shooting of the police officer in Oak Cliff. Brewer saw a man step quickly into the entranceway of the store and stand there with his back toward the street. When the police car made a U_turn and headed back in the direction of the Tippit shooting, the man left and Brewer followed him. He saw the man enter the Texas Theater, a motion picture house about 60 feet away, without buying a ticket. Brewer pointed this out to the cashier, Mrs. Julia Postal, who called the police. The time was shortly after 1:40 p.m.

At 1:29 p.m., the police radio had noted the similarity in the descriptions of the suspects in the Tippit shooting and the assassination. At 1:45 p.m., in response to Mrs. Postal's call, the police radio sounded the alarm: "Have information a suspect just went in the Texas Theater on West Jefferson." Within minutes the theater was surrounded. The house lights were then turned up. Patrolman M.N. McDonald and several other policemen approached the man, who had been pointed out to them by Brewer.

McDonald ordered the man to his feet and heard him say, "Well, it's all over now." The man drew a gun from his waist with one hand and struck the officer with the other. McDonald struck out with his right hand and grabbed the gun with his left hand. After a brief struggle McDonald and several other police officers disarmed and handcuffed the suspect and drove him to police headquarters, arriving at approximately 2 p.m. Following the assassination, police cars had rushed to the Texas School Book Depository in response to the many radio messages reporting that the shots had been fired from the Depository Building. Inspector J. Herbert Sawyer of the Dallas Police Department arrived at the scene shortly after hearing the first of these police radio messages at 12:34 p.m. Some of the officers who had been assigned to the area of Elm and Houston Streets for the motorcade were talking to witnesses and watching the building when Sawyer arrived. Sawyer entered the building and rode a passenger

elevator to the fourth floor, which was the top floor for this elevator. He conducted a quick search, returned to the main floor and, between approximately 12:37 and 12:40 p.m., ordered that no one be permitted to leave the building.

Shortly before 1 p.m. Capt. J. Will Fritz, chief of the homicide and robbery bureau of the Dallas Police Department, arrived to take charge of the investigation. Searching the sixth floor, Deputy Sheriff Luke Mooney noticed a pile of cartons in the southeast corner. He squeezed through the boxes and realized immediately that he had discovered the point from which the shots had been fired. On the floor were three empty cartridge cases. A carton had apparently been placed on the floor at the side of the window so that a person sitting on the carton could look down Elm Street toward the overpass and scarcely be noticed from the outside. Between this carton and the half-open window were three additional cartons arranged at such an angle that a rifle resting on the top carton would be aimed directly at the motorcade as it moved away from the building. The high stack of boxes, which first attracted Mooney's attention effectively screened a person at the window from the view of anyone else on the floor.

Mooney's discovery intensified the search for additional evidence on the sixth floor, and at 1:22 p.m. approximately 10 minutes after the cartridge cases were found, Deputy Sheriff Eugene Boone turned his flashlight in the direction of two rows of boxes in the northwest corner near the staircase. Stuffed between the two rows was a bolt-action rifle with a telescopic sight. The rifle was not touched until it could be photographed. When Lt. J.O. Day of the police identification bureau decided that the wooden stock and the metal knob at the end of the bolt contained no prints, he held the rifle by the stock while Captain Fritz ejected a live shell by operating the bolt. Lieutenant Day promptly noted that stamped on the rifle itself was the serial number "C2766" as well as the markings "1940" "MADE ITALY" and "CAL.6.5." The rifle was about 40 inches long and when disassembled it could fit into a handmade paper sack which, after the assassination, was found in the southeast corner of the building within a few feet of the cartridge cases.

As Fritz and Day were completing their examination of this rifle on the sixth floor, Roy Truly, the building superintendent, approached with information which he felt should be brought to the attention of the police. Earlier, while the police were questioning the employees, Truly had observed that Lee Harvey Oswald, 1 of the 15 men who worked in the warehouse, was missing. After Truly provided Oswald's name, address, and general description, Fritz left for police headquarters. He arrived at headquarters shortly after 2 p.m. and asked two detectives to pick up the employee who was missing from the Texas School Book Depository. Standing nearby were the police officers who had just arrived with the man arrested in the Texas Theater. When Fritz mentioned the name of the missing employee, he learned that the man was already in the interrogation room. The missing School Book Depository employee and the suspect who had been apprehended in the Texas Theater were one and the same Lee Harvey Oswald.

The suspect Fritz was about to question in connection with the assassination of the President and the murder of a policeman was born in New Orleans on October 18, 1939, 2 months after the death of his father. His mother, Marguerite Claverie Oswald, had two older children. One, John Pic, was a half-brother to Lee from an earlier marriage which had ended in divorce. The other was Robert Oswald, a full brother to Lee and 5 years older. When Lee Oswald was 3, Mrs. Oswald placed him in an orphanage where his brother and half-brother were already living, primarily because she had to work.

In January 1944, when Lee was 4, he was taken out of the orphanage, and shortly thereafter his mother moved with him to Dallas, Tex., where the older boys joined them at the end of the school year. In May of 1945 Marguerite Oswald married her third husband, Edwin A. Ekdahl. While the two older boys attended a military boarding school, Lee lived at home and developed a warm attachment to Ekdahl, occasionally accompanying his mother and stepfather on business trips around the country. Lee started school in Benbrook, Tex., but in the fall of 1946, after a separation from Ekdahl, Marguerite Oswald reentered Lee in the first grade in Covington, La. In January 1947, while Lee was still in the first grade, the family moved to Fort Worth, Tex., as the result of an attempted reconciliation between Ekdahl and Lee's mother. A year and a half later, before Lee was 9, his mother was divorced from her third husband as the result of a divorce action instituted by Ekdahl. Lee's school record during the next 5 and a half years in Fort Worth was average, although generally it grew poorer each year. The comments of teachers and others who knew him at that time do not reveal any unusual personality traits or characteristics.

Another change for Lee Oswald occurred in August 1952, a few months after he completed the sixth grade. Marguerite Oswald and her 12-year-old son moved to New York City where Marguerite's oldest

son, John Pic, was stationed with the Coast Guard. The ensuing year and one_half in New York was marked by Lee's refusals to attend school and by emotional and psychological problems of a seemingly serious nature. Because he had become a chronic school truant, Lee underwent psychiatric study at Youth House, an institution in New York for juveniles who have had truancy problems or difficulties with the law, and who appear to require psychiatric observation, or other types of guidance. The social worker assigned to his case described him as "seriously detached" and "withdrawn" and noted "a rather pleasant, appealing quality about this emotionally starved, affectionless youngster." Lee expressed the feeling to the social worker that his mother did not care for him and regarded him as a burden. He experienced fantasies about being all powerful and hurting people, but during his stay at Youth House he was apparently not a behavior problem. He appeared withdrawn and evasive, a boy who preferred to spend his time alone, reading and watching television. His tests indicated that he was above average in intelligence for his age group. The chief psychiatrist of Youth House diagnosed Lee's problem as a "personality pattern disturbance with schizoid features and passive_aggressive tendencies." He concluded that the boy was "an emotionally, quite disturbed youngster" and recommended psychiatric treatment.

In May 1953, after having been at Youth House for 3 weeks, Lee Oswald returned to school where his attendance and grades temporarily improved. By the following fall, however, the probation officer reported that virtually every teacher complained about the boy's behavior. His mother insisted that he did not need psychiatric assistance. Although there was apparently some improvement in Lee's behavior during the next few months, the court recommended further treatment. In January 1954, while Lee's case was still pending, Marguerite and Lee left for New Orleans, the city of Lee's birth.

Upon his return to New Orleans, Lee maintained mediocre grades but had no obvious behavior problems. Neighbors and others who knew him outside of school remembered him as a quiet, solitary and introverted boy who read a great deal and whose vocabulary made him quite articulate. About 1 month after he started the 10th grade and 11 days before his 16th birthday in October 1955, he brought to school a note purportedly written by his mother, stating that the family was moving to California. The note was written by Lee. A few days later he dropped out of school and almost immediately tried to join the Marine Corps. Because he was only 16, he was rejected.

After leaving school Lee worked for the next 10 months at several jobs in New Orleans as an office messenger or clerk. It was during this period that he started to read communist literature. Occasionally, in conversations with others, he praised communism and expressed to his fellow employees a desire to join the Communist Party. At about this time, when he was not yet 17, he wrote to the Socialist Party of America, professing his belief in Marxism.

Another move followed in July 1956 when Lee and his mother returned to Fort Worth. He reentered high school but again dropped out after a few weeks and enlisted in the Marine Corps on October 1956, 6 days after his 17th birthday. On December 21, 1956, during boot camp in San Diego, Oswald fired a score of 212 for record with the M_1 rifle--2 points over the minimum for a rating of "sharpshooter" on a marksman/sharpshooter/expert scale. After his basic training, Oswald received training in aviation fundamentals and then in radar scanning.

Most people who knew Oswald in the Marines described him as "loner" who resented the exercise of authority by others. He spent much of his free time reading. He was court_martialed once for possessing an unregistered privately owned weapon and, on another occasion, for using provocative language to a noncommissioned officer. He was, however, generally able to comply with Marine discipline, even though his experiences in the Marine Corps did not live up to his expectations.

Oswald served 15 months overseas until November 1958, most of it in Japan. During his final year in the Marine Corps he was stationed for the most part in Santa Ana, Calif., where he showed marked interest in the Soviet Union and sometimes expressed politically radical views with dogmatic conviction. Oswald again fired the M_1 rifle for record on May 6, 1959, and this time he shot a score of 191 on a shorter course than before, only 1 point over the minimum required to be a "marksman." According to one of his fellow marines, Oswald was not particularly interested in his rifle performance, and his unit was not expected to exhibit the usual rifle proficiency. During this period he expressed strong admiration for Fidel Castro and an interest in joining the Cuban army. He tried to impress those around him as an intellectual, but his thinking appeared to some as shallow and rigid.

Oswald's Marine service terminated on September 11, 1959, when at his own request he was released from active service a few months ahead of his scheduled release. He offered as the reason for his release the ill health and economic plight of his mother. He returned to Fort Worth, remained with his mother only 3 days and left for New Orleans, telling his mother he planned to get work there in the shipping or import_export business. In New Orleans he booked passage on the freighter SS *Marion*

Lykes, which sailed from New Orleans to Le Havre, France, on September 20, 1959.

Lee Harvey Oswald had presumably planned this step in his life for quite some time. In March of 1959 he had applied to the Albert Schweitzer College in Switzerland for admission to the Spring 1960 term. His letter of application contained many blatant falsehoods concerning his qualifications and background. A few weeks before his discharge he had applied for and obtained a passport, listing the Soviet Union as one of the countries which he planned to visit. During his service in the Marines he had saved a comparatively large sum of money, possibly as much as \$1,500, which would appear to have been accomplished by considerable frugality and apparently for a specific purpose.

The purpose of the accumulated fund soon became known. On October 16, 1959, Oswald arrived in Moscow by train after crossing the border from Finland, where he had secured a visa for a 6-day stay in the Soviet Union. He immediately applied for Soviet citizenship. On the afternoon of October 21, 1959, Oswald was ordered to leave the Soviet Union by 8 p.m. that evening. That same afternoon in his hotel room Oswald, in an apparent suicide attempt, slashed his left wrist. He was hospitalized immediately. On October 31, 3 days after his release from the hospital, Oswald appeared at the American Embassy, announced that he wished to renounce his U.S. citizenship and become a Russian citizen, and handed the Embassy officer a written statement he had prepared for the occasion. When asked his reasons, Oswald replied, "I am a Marxist." Oswald never formally complied with the legal steps necessary to renounce his American citizenship. The Soviet Government did not grant his request for citizenship, but in January 1960 he was given permission to remain in the Soviet Union on a year-to-year basis. At the same time Oswald was sent to Minsk where he worked in a radio factory as an unskilled laborer. In January 1961 his permission to remain in the Soviet Union was extended for another year. A few weeks later, in February 1961, he wrote to the American Embassy in Moscow expressing a desire to return to the United States.

The following month Oswald met a 19-year-old Russian girl, Marina Nikolaevna Prusakova, a pharmacist, who had been brought up in Leningrad but was then living with an aunt and uncle in Minsk. They were married on April 30, 1961. Throughout the following year he carried on a correspondence with American and Soviet authorities seeking approval for the departure of himself and his wife to the United States. In the course of this effort, Oswald and his wife visited the U.S. Embassy in Moscow in July of 1961. Primarily on the basis of an interview and questionnaire completed there, the Embassy concluded that Oswald had not lost his citizenship, a decision subsequently ratified by the Department of State in Washington, DC. Upon their return to Minsk, Oswald and his wife filed with the Soviet authorities for permission to leave together. Their formal application was made in July 1961, and on December 25, 1961, Marina Oswald was advised it would be granted.

A daughter was born to the Oswalds in February 1962. In the months that followed they prepared for their return to the United States. On May 9, 1962 the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, at the request of the Department of State, agreed to waive a restriction under the law which would have prevented the issuance of a United States visa to Oswald's Russian wife until she had left the Soviet Union. They finally left Moscow on June 1, 1962, and were assisted in meeting their travel expenses by a loan of \$435.71 from the U.S. Department of State. Two weeks later they arrived in Fort Worth, Tex.

For a few weeks Oswald, his wife and child lived with Oswald's brother Robert. After a similar stay with Oswald's mother, they moved into their own apartment in early August. Oswald obtained a job on July 16 as a sheet metal worker. During this period in Fort Worth, Oswald was interviewed twice by agents of the FBI. The report of the first interview, which occurred on June 26, described him as arrogant and unwilling to discuss the reasons why he had gone to the Soviet Union. Oswald denied that he was involved in Soviet intelligence activities and promised to advise the FBI if Soviet representatives ever communicated with him. He was interviewed again on August 16, when he displayed a less belligerent attitude and once again agreed to inform the FBI of any attempt to enlist him in intelligence activities.

In early October 1962 Oswald quit his job at the sheet metal plant and moved to Dallas. While living in Fort Worth the Oswalds had been introduced to a group of Russian-speaking people in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. Many of them assisted the Oswalds by providing small amounts of food, clothing, and household items. Oswald himself was disliked by almost all of this group whose help to the family was prompted primarily by sympathy for Marina Oswald and the child. Despite the fact that he had left the Soviet Union, disillusioned with its Government, Oswald seemed more firmly committed than ever to his concepts of Marxism. He showed disdain for democracy, capitalism, and American society in general. He was highly critical of the Russian-speaking group because they seemed devoted to American concepts of democracy and capitalism and were ambitious to improve themselves economically.

In February 1963 the Oswalds met Ruth Paine at a social gathering. Ruth Paine was temporarily separated from her husband and living with her two children in their home in Irving, Tex., a suburb of

Dallas. Because of an interest in the Russian language and sympathy for Marina Oswald, who spoke no English and had little funds, Ruth Paine befriended Marina and, during the next 2 months, visited her on several occasions.

On April 6, 1963, Oswald lost his job with a photography firm. A few days later, on April 10, he attempted to kill Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker (Resigned, U.S. Army), using a rifle which he had ordered by mail 1 month previously under an assumed name. Marina Oswald learned of her husband's act when she confronted him with a note which he had left, giving her instructions in the event he did not return. That incident and their general economic difficulties impelled Marina Oswald to suggest that her husband leave Dallas and go to New Orleans to look for work.

Oswald left for New Orleans on April 24, 1963. Ruth Paine, who knew nothing of the Walker shooting, invited Marina Oswald and the baby to stay with her in the Paines' modest home while Oswald sought work in New Orleans. Early in May, upon receiving word from Oswald that he had found a job, Ruth Paine drove Marina Oswald and the baby to New Orleans to rejoin Oswald.

During the stay in New Orleans, Oswald formed a fictitious New Orleans Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He posed as secretary of this organization and represented that the president was A. J. Hidell. In reality, Hidell was a completely fictitious person created by Oswald, the organization's only member. Oswald was arrested on August 9 in connection with a scuffle which occurred while he was distributing pro_Castro leaflets. The next day, while at the police station, he was interviewed by an FBI agent after Oswald requested the police to arrange such an interview. Oswald gave the agent false information about his own background and was evasive in his replies concerning Fair Play for Cuba activities. During the next 2 weeks Oswald appeared on radio programs twice, claiming to be the spokesman for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New Orleans.

On July 19, 1963, Oswald lost his job as a greaser of coffee processing machinery. In September, after an exchange of correspondence with Marina Oswald, Ruth Paine drove to New Orleans and on September 23, transported Marina, the child, and the family belongings to Irving, Tex. Ruth Paine suggested that Marina Oswald, who was expecting her second child in October, live at the Paine house until after the baby was born. Oswald remained behind, ostensibly to find work either in Houston or some other city. Instead, he departed by bus for Mexico, arriving in Mexico City on September 27, where he promptly visited the Cuban and Russian Embassies. His stated objective was to obtain official permission to visit Cuba, on his way to the Soviet Union. The Cuban Government would not grant his visa unless the Soviet Government would also issue a visa permitting his entry into Russia. Oswald's efforts to secure these visas failed, and he left for Dallas, where he arrived on October 3, 1968.

When he saw his wife the next day, it was decided that Oswald would rent a room in Dallas and visit his family on weekends. For 1 week he rented a room from Mrs. Bledsoe, the woman who later saw him on the bus shortly after the assassination. On October 14, 1968, he rented the Beckley Avenue room and listed his name as O. H. Lee. On the same day, at the suggestion of a neighbor, Mrs. Paine phoned the Texas School Book Depository and was told that there was a job opening. She informed Oswald who was interviewed the following day at the Depository and started to work there on October 16, 1963.

On October 20 the Oswalds' second daughter was born. During October and November Oswald established a general pattern of weekend visits to Irving, arriving on Friday afternoon and returning to Dallas Monday morning with a fellow employee, Buell Wesley Frazier, who lived near the Paines. On Friday, November 15, Oswald remained in Dallas at the suggestion of his wife who told him that the house would be crowded because of a birthday party for Ruth Paine's daughter. On Monday, November 18, Oswald and his wife quarreled bitterly during a telephone conversation, because she learned for the first time that he was living at the rooming house under an assumed name. On Thursday, November 21, Oswald told Frazier that he would like to drive to Irving to pick up some curtain rods for an apartment in Dallas. His wife and Mrs. Paine were quite surprised to see him since it was a Thursday night. They thought he had returned to make up after Monday's quarrel. He was conciliatory, but Marina Oswald was still angry.

Later that evening, when Mrs. Paine had finished cleaning the kitchen, she went into the garage and noticed that the light was burning. She was certain that she had not left it on, although the incident appeared unimportant at the time. In the garage were most of the Oswalds' personal possessions. The following morning Oswald left while his wife was still in bed feeding the baby. She did not see him leave the house, nor did Ruth Paine. On the dresser in their room he left his wedding ring which he had never done before. His wallet containing \$170 was left intact in a dresser_drawer.

Oswald walked to Frazier's house about half a block away and placed a long bulky package, made out

of wrapping paper and tape, into the rear seat of the car. He told Frazier that the package contained curtain rods. When they reached the Depository parking lot, Oswald walked quickly ahead. Frazier followed and saw Oswald enter the Depository Building carrying the long bulky package with him.

During the morning of November 22, Marina Oswald followed President Kennedy's activities on television. She and Ruth Paine cried when they heard that the President had been shot. Ruth Paine translated the news of the shooting to Marina Oswald as it came over television, including the report that the shots were probably fired from the building where Oswald worked. When Marina Oswald heard this, she recalled the Walker episode and the fact that her husband still owned the rifle. She went quietly to the Paine's garage where the rifle had been concealed in a blanket among their other belongings. It appeared to her that the rifle was still there, although she did not actually open the blanket.

At about 3 p.m. the police arrived at the Paine house and asked Marina Oswald whether her husband owned a rifle. She said that he did and then led them into the garage and pointed to the rolled up blanket. As a police officer lifted it, the blanket hung limply over either side of his arm. The rifle was not there.

Meanwhile, at police headquarters Captain Fritz had begun questioning Oswald. Soon after the start of the first interrogation, agents of the FBI and the U.S. Secret Service arrived and participated in the questioning. Oswald denied having anything to do with the assassination of President Kennedy or the murder of Patrolman Tippit. He claimed that he was eating lunch at the time of the assassination, and that he then spoke with his foreman for 5 to 10 minutes before going home. He denied that he owned a rifle and when confronted, in a subsequent interview, with a picture showing him holding a rifle and pistol, he claimed that his face had been superimposed on someone else's body. He refused to answer any questions about the presence in his wallet of a selective service card with his picture and the name "Alek J. Hidell."

During the questioning of Oswald on the third floor of the police department, more than 100 representatives of the press, radio, and television were crowded into the hallway through which Oswald had to pass when being taken from his cell to Captain Fritz' office for interrogation. Reporters tried to interview Oswald during these trips. Between Friday afternoon and Sunday morning he appeared in the hallway at least 16 times. The generally confused conditions outside and inside Captain Fritz' office increased the difficulty of police questioning. Advised by the police that he could communicate with an attorney, Oswald made several telephone calls on Saturday in an effort to procure representation of his own choice and discussed the matter with the president of the local bar association, who offered to obtain counsel. Oswald declined the offer saying that he would first try to obtain counsel by himself. By Sunday morning he had not yet engaged an attorney.

At 7:10 p.m. on November 22, 1963, Lee Harvey Oswald was formally advised that he had been charged with the murder of Patrolman J. D. Tippit. Several witnesses to the Tippit slaying and to the subsequent flight of the gunman had positively identified Oswald in police lineups. While positive firearm identification evidence was not available at the time, the revolver in Oswald's possession at the time of his arrest was of a type which could have fired the shots that killed Tippit.

The formal charge against Oswald for the assassination of President Kennedy was lodged shortly after 1:30 a.m., on Saturday, November 28. By 10 p.m. of the day of the assassination, the FBI had traced the rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository to a mailorder house in Chicago which had purchased it from a distributor in New York. Approximately 6 hours later the Chicago firm advised that this rifle had been ordered in March 1968 by an A. Hidell for shipment to post office box 2915, in Dallas, Tex., a box rented by Oswald. Payment for the rifle was remitted by a money order signed by A. Hidell. By 6:45 p.m. on November 23, the FBI was able to advise the Dallas police that, as a result of handwriting analysis of the documents used to purchase the rifle, it had concluded that the rifle had been ordered by Lee Harvey Oswald.

Throughout Friday and Saturday, the Dallas police released to the public many of the details concerning the alleged evidence against Oswald. Police officials discussed important aspects of the case, usually in the course of impromptu and confused press conferences in the third floor corridor. Some of the information divulged was erroneous. Efforts by the news media representatives to reconstruct the crime and promptly report details frequently led to erroneous and often conflicting reports. At the urgings of the newsmen, Chief of Police Jesse E. Curry, brought Oswald to a press conference in the police assembly room shortly after midnight of the day Oswald was arrested. The assembly room was crowded with newsmen who had come to Dallas from all over the country. They shouted questions at Oswald and flashed cameras at him. Among this group was a 52_year_old Dallas nightclub operator-- Jack Ruby.

On Sunday morning, November 24, arrangements were made for Oswald's transfer from the city jail to the Dallas County jail, about 1 mile away. The news media had been informed on Saturday night that the transfer of Oswald would not take place until after 10 a.m. on Sunday. Earlier on Sunday, between 2:30 and 3 a.m., anonymous telephone calls threatening Oswald's life had been received by the Dallas office of the FBI and by the office of the county sheriff. Nevertheless, on Sunday morning, television, radio, and newspaper representatives crowded into the basement to record the transfer. As viewed through television cameras, Oswald would emerge from a door in front of the cameras and proceed to the transfer vehicle. To the right of the cameras was a "down" ramp from Main Street on the north. To the left was an "up" ramp leading to Commerce Street on the south.

The armored truck in which Oswald was to be transferred arrived shortly after 11 a.m. Police officials then decided, however, that an unmarked police car would be preferable for the trip because of its greater speed and maneuverability. At approximately 11:20 a.m. Oswald emerged from the basement jail office flanked by detectives on either side and at his rear. He took a few steps toward the car and was in the glaring light of the television cameras when a man suddenly darted out from an area on the right of the cameras where newsmen had been assembled. The man was carrying a Colt .45 revolver in his right hand and, while millions watched on television, he moved quickly to within a few feet of Oswald and fired one shot into Oswald's abdomen. Oswald groaned with pain as he fell to the ground and quickly lost consciousness. Within 7 minutes Oswald was at Parkland Hospital where, without having regained consciousness, he was pronounced dead at 1:07 p.m.

The man who killed Oswald was Jack Ruby. He was instantly arrested and, minutes later, confined in a cell on the fifth floor of the Dallas police jail. Under interrogation, he denied that the killing of Oswald was in any way connected with a conspiracy involving the assassination of President Kennedy. He maintained that he had killed Oswald in a temporary fit of depression and rage over the President's death. Ruby was transferred the following day to the county jail without notice to the press or to police officers not directly involved in the transfer. Indicted for the murder of Oswald by the State of Texas on November 26, 1963, Ruby was found guilty on March 14, 1964, and sentenced to death. As of September 1964, his case was pending on appeal.

This Commission was created to ascertain the facts relating to the preceding summary of events and to consider the important questions which they raised. The Commission has addressed itself to this task and has reached certain conclusions based on all the available evidence. No limitations have been placed on the Commission's inquiry; it has conducted its own investigation, and all Government agencies have fully discharged their responsibility to cooperate with the Commission in its investigation. These conclusions represent the reasoned judgment of all members of the Commission and are presented after an investigation which has satisfied the Commission that it has ascertained the truth concerning the assassination of President Kennedy to the extent that a prolonged and thorough search makes this possible.

Warren Report: Chapter I - Conclusions

1. The shots which killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally were fired from the sixth floor window at the southeast corner of the Texas School Book Depository. This determination is based upon the following:
 - (a) Witnesses at the scene of the assassination saw a rifle being fired from the sixth-floor window of the Depository Building, and some witnesses saw a rifle in the window immediately after the shots were fired.
 - (b) The nearly whole bullet found on Governor Connally's stretcher at Parkland Memorial Hospital and the two bullet fragments found in the front seat of the Presidential limousine were fired from the 6.5_millimeter Mannlicher_Carcano rifle found on the sixth floor of the Depository Building to the exclusion of all other weapons.
 - (c) The three used cartridge cases found near the window on the sixth floor at the southeast corner of the building were fired from the same rifle which fired the above_described bullet and fragments, to the exclusion of all other weapons.
 - (d) The windshield in the Presidential limousine was struck by a bullet fragment on the inside surface of the glass, but was not penetrated.
 - (e) The nature of the bullet wounds suffered by President Kennedy and Governor Connally and the location of the car at the time of the shots establish that the bullets were fired from above and behind the Presidential limousine, striking the President and the Governor as follows:
 - (1) President Kennedy was first struck by a bullet which entered at the back of his neck and exited through the lower front portion of his neck, causing a wound which would not necessarily have been lethal. The President was struck a second time by a bullet which entered the right_rear portion of his head, causing a massive and fatal wound.
 - (2) Governor Connally was struck by a bullet which entered on the right side of his back and traveled downward through the right side of his chest, exiting below his right nipple. This bullet then passed through his right wrist and entered his left thigh where it caused a superficial wound.
 - (f) There is no credible evidence that the shots were fired from the Triple Underpass, ahead of the motorcade, or from any other location.
2. The weight of the evidence indicates that there were three shots fired.
3. Although it is not necessary to any essential findings of the Commission to determine just which shot hit Governor Connally, there is very persuasive evidence from the experts to indicate that the same bullet which pierced the President's throat also caused Governor Connally's wounds. However, Governor Connally's testimony and certain other factors have given rise to some difference of opinion as to this probability but there is no question in the mind of any member of the Commission that all the shots which caused the President's and Governor Connally's wounds were fired from the sixth floor window of the Texas School Book Depository.
4. The shots which killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally were fired by Lee Harvey Oswald. This conclusion is based upon the following:
 - (a) The Mannlicher_Carcano 6.5_millimeter Italian rifle from which the shots were fired was owned by and in the possession of Oswald.
 - (b) Oswald carried this rifle into the Depository Building on the morning of November 22, 1963.
 - (c) Oswald, at the time of the assassination, was present at the window from which the shots were fired.
 - (d) Shortly after the assassination, the Mannlicher_Carcano rifle belonging to Oswald was found partially hidden between some cartons on the sixth floor and the improvised paper bag in which Oswald brought the rifle to the Depository was found close by the window from which the shots were fired.
 - (e) Based on testimony of the experts and their analysis of films of the assassination, the Commission has concluded that a rifleman of Lee Harvey Oswald's capabilities could have fired the shots from the rifle used in the assassination within the elapsed time of the shooting. The Commission has concluded further that Oswald possessed the capability with a rifle which enabled him to commit the assassination.
 - (f) Oswald lied to the police after his arrest concerning important substantive matters.
 - (g) Oswald had attempted to kill Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker (Resigned, U.S. Army) on April 10, 1963, thereby demonstrating his disposition to take human life.

5. Oswald killed Dallas Police Patrolman J. D. Tippit approximately 45 minutes after the assassination. This conclusion upholds the finding that Oswald fired the shots which killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally and is supported by the following:
 - (a) Two eyewitnesses saw the Tippit shooting and seven eyewitnesses heard the shots and saw the gunman leave the scene with revolver in hand. These nine eyewitnesses positively identified Lee Harvey Oswald as the man they saw.
 - (b) The cartridge cases found at the scene of the shooting were fired from the revolver in the possession of Oswald at the time of his arrest to the exclusion of all other weapons.
 - (c) The revolver in Oswald's possession at the time of his arrest was purchased by and belonged to Oswald.
 - (d) Oswald's jacket was found along the path of flight taken by the gunman as he fled from the scene of the killing.
6. Within 80 minutes of the assassination and 35 minutes of the Tippit killing Oswald resisted arrest at the theater by attempting to shoot another Dallas police officer.
7. The Commission has reached the following conclusions concerning Oswald's interrogation and detention by the Dallas police:
 - (a) Except for the force required to effect his arrest, Oswald was not subjected to any physical coercion by any law enforcement officials. He was advised that he could not be compelled to give any information and that any statements made by him might be used against him in court. He was advised of his right to counsel. He was given the opportunity to obtain counsel of his own choice and was offered legal assistance by the Dallas Bar Association, which he rejected at that time.
 - (b) Newspaper, radio, and television reporters were allowed uninhibited access to the area through which Oswald had to pass when he was moved from his cell to the interrogation room and other sections of the building, thereby subjecting Oswald to harassment and creating chaotic conditions which were not conducive to orderly interrogation or the protection of the rights of the prisoner.
 - (c) The numerous statements, sometimes erroneous, made to the press by various local law enforcement officials, during this period of confusion and disorder in the police station, would have presented serious obstacles to the obtaining of a fair trial for Oswald. To the extent that the information was erroneous or misleading, it helped to create doubts, speculations, and fears in the mind of the public which might otherwise not have arisen.
8. The Commission has reached the following conclusions concerning the killing of Oswald by Jack Ruby on November 24, 1963:
 - (a) Ruby entered the basement of the Dallas Police Department shortly after 11:17 a.m. and killed Lee Harvey Oswald at 11:21 a.m.
 - (b) Although the evidence on Ruby's means of entry is not conclusive, the weight of the evidence indicates that he walked down the ramp leading from Main Street to the basement of the police department.
 - (c) There is no evidence to support the rumor that Ruby may have been assisted by any members of the Dallas Police Department in the killing of Oswald.
 - (d) The Dallas Police Department's decision to transfer Oswald to the county jail in full public view was unsound.

The arrangements made by the police department on Sunday morning, only a few hours before the attempted transfer, were inadequate. Of critical importance was the fact that news media representatives and others were not excluded from the basement even after the police were notified of threats to Oswald's life. These deficiencies contributed to the death of Lee Harvey Oswald.
9. The Commission has found no evidence that either Lee Harvey Oswald or Jack Ruby was part of any conspiracy, domestic or foreign, to assassinate President Kennedy. The reasons for this conclusion are:
 - (a) The Commission has found no evidence that anyone assisted Oswald in planning or carrying out the assassination. In this connection it has thoroughly investigated, among other factors, the circumstances surrounding the planning of the motorcade route through Dallas, the hiring of Oswald by the Texas School Book Depository Co. on October 15, 1963, the method by which the rifle was brought into the building, the placing of cartons of books at the window, Oswald's escape from the building, and the testimony of eyewitnesses to the shooting.
 - (b) The Commission has found no evidence that Oswald was involved with any person or group in a

conspiracy to assassinate the President, although it has thoroughly investigated, in addition to other possible leads, all facets of Oswald's associations, finances, and personal habits, particularly during the period following his return from the Soviet Union in June 1962.

(c) The Commission has found no evidence to show that Oswald was employed, persuaded, or encouraged by any foreign government to assassinate President Kennedy or that he was an agent of any foreign government, although the Commission has reviewed the circumstances surrounding Oswald's defection to the Soviet Union, his life there from October of 1959 to June of 1962 so far as it can be reconstructed, his known contacts with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and his visits to the Cuban and Soviet Embassies in Mexico City during his trip to Mexico from September 26 to October 3, 1963, and his known contacts with the Soviet Embassy in the United States.

(d) The Commission has explored all attempts of Oswald to identify himself with various political groups, including the Communist Party, U.S.A., the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and the Socialist Workers Party, and has been unable to find any evidence that the contacts which he initiated were related to Oswald's subsequent assassination of the President.

(e) All of the evidence before the Commission established that there was nothing to support the speculation that Oswald was an agent, employee, or informant of the FBI, the CIA, or any other governmental agency. It has thoroughly investigated Oswald's relationships prior to the assassination with all agencies of the U.S. Government. All contacts with Oswald by any of these agencies were made in the regular exercise of their different responsibilities.

(f) No direct or indirect relationship between Lee Harvey Oswald and Jack Ruby has been discovered by the Commission, nor has it been able to find any credible evidence that either knew the other, although a thorough investigation was made of the many rumors and speculations of such a relationship.

(g) The Commission has found no evidence that Jack Ruby acted with any other person in the killing of Lee Harvey Oswald.

(h) After careful investigation the Commission has found no credible evidence either that Ruby and Officer Tippit, who was killed by Oswald, knew each other or that Oswald and Tippit knew each other. Because of the difficulty of proving negatives to a certainty the possibility of others being involved with either Oswald or Ruby cannot be established categorically, but if there is any such evidence it has been beyond the reach of all the investigative agencies and resources of the United States and has not come to the attention of this Commission.

10. In its entire investigation the Commission has found no evidence of conspiracy, subversion, or disloyalty to the U.S. Government by any Federal, State, or local official.

11. On the basis of the evidence before the Commission it concludes that, Oswald acted alone. Therefore, to determine the motives for the assassination of President Kennedy, one must look to the assassin himself. Clues to Oswald's motives can be found in his family history, his education or lack of it, his acts, his writings, and the recollections of those who had close contacts with him throughout his life. The Commission has presented with this report all of the background information bearing on motivation which it could discover. Thus, others may study Lee Oswald's life and arrive at their own conclusions as to his possible motives. The Commission could not make any definitive determination of Oswald's motives. It has endeavored to isolate factors which contributed to his character and which might have influenced his decision to assassinate President Kennedy. These factors were:

a) His deep-rooted resentment of all authority which was expressed in a hostility toward every society in which he lived;

(b) His inability to enter into meaningful relationships with people, and a continuous pattern of rejecting his environment in favor of new surroundings;

(c) His urge to try to find a place in history and despair at times over failures in his various undertakings;

(d) His capacity for violence as evidenced by his attempt to kill General Walker;

(e) His avowed commitment to Marxism and communism, as he understood the terms and developed his own interpretation of them; this was expressed by his antagonism toward the United States, by his defection to the Soviet Union, by his failure to be reconciled with life in the United States even after his disenchantment with the Soviet Union, and by his efforts, though frustrated, to go to Cuba. Each of these contributed to his capacity to risk all in cruel and irresponsible actions.

12. The Commission recognizes that the varied responsibilities of the President require that he make

frequent trips to all parts of the United States and abroad. Consistent with their high responsibilities Presidents can never be protected from every potential threat. The Secret Service's difficulty in meeting its protective responsibility varies with the activities and the nature of the occupant of the Office of President and his willingness to conform to plans for his safety. In appraising the performance of the Secret Service it should be understood that it has to do its work within such limitations. Nevertheless, the Commission believes that recommendations for improvements in Presidential protection are compelled by the facts disclosed in this investigation.

(a) The complexities of the Presidency have increased so rapidly in recent years that the Secret Service has not been able to develop or to secure adequate resources of personnel and facilities to fulfill its important assignment. This situation should be promptly remedied.

(b) The Commission has concluded that the criteria and procedures of the Secret Service designed to identify and protect against persons considered threats to the president were not adequate prior to the assassination.

(1) The Protective Research Section of the Secret Service, which is responsible for its preventive work, lacked sufficient trained personnel and the mechanical and technical assistance needed to fulfill its responsibility.

(2) Prior to the assassination the Secret Service's criteria dealt with direct threats against the President. Although the Secret Service treated the direct threats against the President adequately, it failed to recognize the necessity of identifying other potential sources of danger to his security. The Secret Service did not develop adequate and specific criteria defining those persons or groups who might present a danger to the President. In effect, the Secret Service largely relied upon other Federal or State agencies to supply the information necessary for it to fulfill its preventive responsibilities, although it did ask for information about direct threats to the President.

(c) The Commission has concluded that there was insufficient liaison and coordination of information between the Secret Service and other Federal agencies necessarily concerned with Presidential protection. Although the FBI, in the normal exercise of its responsibility, had secured considerable information about Lee Harvey Oswald, it had no official responsibility, under the Secret Service criteria existing at the time of the President's trip to Dallas, to refer to the Secret Service the information it had about Oswald. The Commission has concluded, however, that the FBI took an unduly restrictive view of its role in preventive intelligence work prior to the assassination. A more carefully coordinated treatment of the Oswald case by the FBI might well have resulted in bringing Oswald's activities to the attention of the Secret Service.

(d) The Commission has concluded that some of the advance preparations in Dallas made by the Secret Service, such as the detailed security measures taken at Love Field and the Trade Mart, were thorough and well executed. In other respects, however, the Commission has concluded that the advance preparations for the President's trip were deficient.

(1) Although the Secret Service is compelled to rely to a great extent on local law enforcement officials, its procedures at the time of the Dallas trip did not call for well-defined instructions as to the respective responsibilities of the police officials and others assisting in the protection of the President.

(2) The procedures relied upon by the Secret Service for detecting the presence of an assassin located in a building along a motorcade route were inadequate. At the time of the trip to Dallas, the Secret Service as a matter of practice did not investigate, or cause to be checked, any building located along the motorcade route to be taken by the President. The responsibility for observing windows in these buildings during the motorcade was divided between local police personnel stationed on the streets to regulate crowds and Secret Service agents riding in the motorcade. Based on its investigation the Commission has concluded that these arrangements during the trip to Dallas were clearly not sufficient.

(e) The configuration of the Presidential car and the seating arrangements of the Secret Service agents in the car did not afford the Secret Service agents the opportunity they should have had to be of immediate assistance to the President at the first sign of danger.

(f) Within these limitations, however, the Commission finds that the agents most immediately responsible for the President's safety reacted promptly at the time the shots were fired from the Texas School Book Depository Building.

Warren Report: Chapter I - Recommendations

Prompted by the assassination of President Kennedy, the Secret Service has initiated a comprehensive and critical review of its total operations. As a result of studies conducted during the past, several months, and in cooperation with this Commission, the Secret Service has prepared a planning document dated August 27, 1964, which recommends various programs considered necessary by the Service to improve its techniques and enlarge its resources. The Commission is encouraged by the efforts taken by the Secret Service since the assassination and suggests the following recommendations.

1. A committee of Cabinet members including the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General, or the National Security Council, should be assigned the responsibility of reviewing and overseeing the protective activities of the Secret Service and the other Federal agencies that assist in safeguarding the President. Once given this responsibility, such a committee would insure that the maximum resources of the Federal Government are fully engaged in the task of protecting the President, and would provide guidance in defining the general nature of domestic and foreign dangers to Presidential security.
2. Suggestions have been advanced to the Commission for the transfer of all or parts of the Presidential protective responsibilities of the Secret Service to some other department or agency. The Commission believes that if there is to be any determination of whether or not to relocate these responsibilities and functions, it ought to be made by the Executive and the Congress, perhaps upon recommendations based on studies by the previously suggested committee.
3. Meanwhile, in order to improve daily supervision of the Secret Service within the Department of the Treasury, the Commission recommends that the Secretary of the Treasury appoint a special assistant with the responsibility of supervising the Secret Service. This special assistant should have sufficient stature and experience in law enforcement, intelligence, and allied fields to provide effective continuing supervision, and to keep the Secretary fully informed regarding the performance of the Secret Service. One of the initial assignments of this special assistant should be the supervision of the current effort by the Secret Service to revise and modernize its basic operating procedures.
4. The Commission recommends that the Secret Service completely overhaul its facilities devoted to the advance detection of potential threats against the President. The Commission suggests the following measures.
 - (a.) The Secret Service should develop as quickly as possible more useful and precise criteria defining those potential threats to the President which should be brought to its attention by other agencies. The criteria should, among other additions, provide for prompt notice to the Secret Service of all returned defectors.
 - (b) The Secret Service should expedite its current plans to utilize the most efficient data processing techniques.
 - (c) Once the Secret Service has formulated new criteria delineating the information it desires, it should enter into agreements with each Federal agency to insure its receipt of such information.
5. The Commission recommends that the Secret Service improve the protective measures followed in the planning, and conducting of Presidential motorcades. In particular the Secret Service should continue its current efforts to increase the precautionary attention given to buildings along the motorcade route.
6. The Commission recommends that the Secret Service continue its recent efforts to improve and formalize its relationships with local police departments in areas to be visited by the President.
7. The Commission believes that when the new criteria and procedures are established, the Secret Service will not have sufficient personnel or adequate facilities. The Commission recommends that the Secret Service be provided with the personnel and resources which the Service and the Department of the Treasury may be able to demonstrate are needed to fulfill its important mission.
8. Even with an increase in Secret Service personnel, the protection of the President will continue to require the resources and cooperation of many Federal agencies. The Commission recommends that these agencies, specifically the FBI, continue the practice as it has developed, particularly since the assassination, of assisting the Secret Service upon request by providing personnel or other aid, and that there be a closer association and liaison between the Secret Service and all Federal agencies.
9. The Commission recommends that the President's physician always accompany him during his travels and occupy a position near the President where he can be immediately available in case of any emergency.

10. The Commission recommends to Congress that it adopt legislation which would make the assassination of the President and Vice President a Federal crime. A state of affairs where U.S. authorities have no clearly defined jurisdiction to investigate the assassination of a President is anomalous.
11. The Commission has examined the Department of State's handling of the Oswald matters and finds that it followed the law throughout. However, the Commission believes that the Department in accordance with its own regulations should in all cases exercise great care in the return to this country of defectors who have evidenced disloyalty or hostility to this country or who have expressed a desire to renounce their American citizenship and that when such persons are so returned, procedures should be adopted for the better dissemination of information concerning them to the intelligence agencies of the Government.
12. The Commission recommends that the representatives of the bar, law enforcement associations, and the news media work together to establish ethical standards concerning the collection and presentation of information to the public so that there will be no interference with pending criminal investigations, court proceedings, or the right of individuals to a fair trial.

Warren Report: Chapter II - The Assassination

THIS CHAPTER describes President Kennedy's trip to Dallas, from its origin through its tragic conclusion. The narrative of these events is based largely on the recollections of the participants, although in many instances documentary or other evidence has also been used by the Commission. Beginning with the advance plans and Secret Service preparations for the trip, this chapter reviews the motorcade through Dallas, the fleeting moments of the assassination, the activities at Parkland Memorial Hospital, and the return of the Presidential party to Washington. An evaluation of the procedures employed to safeguard the President, with recommendations for improving these procedures, appears in Chapter VIII of the report.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Planning the Texas Trip

President Kennedy's visit to Texas in November 1963 had been under consideration for almost a year before it occurred. He had made only a few brief visits to the State since the 1960 Presidential campaign and in 1962 he began to consider a formal visit. During 1963, the reasons for making the trip became more persuasive. As a political leader, the President wished to resolve the factional controversy within the Democratic Party in Texas before the election of 1964. The party itself saw an opportunity to raise funds by having the President speak at a political dinner eventually planned for Austin. As Chief of State, the President always welcomed the opportunity to learn, firsthand, about the problems which concerned the American people. Moreover, he looked forward to the public appearances which he personally enjoyed.

The basic decision on the November trip to Texas was made at a meeting of President Kennedy, Vice President Johnson, and Governor Connally on June 5, 1963, at the Cortez Hotel in El Paso, Tex. The President had spoken earlier that day at the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, Colo., and had stopped in El Paso to discuss the proposed visit and other matters with the Vice President and the Governor. The three agreed that the President would come to Texas in late November 1963. The original plan called for the President to spend only 1 day in the State, making whirlwind visits to Dallas, Fort Worth, San Antonio, and Houston. In September, the White House decided to permit further visits by the President and extended the trip to run from the afternoon of November 21 through the evening of Friday, November 22. When Governor Connally called at the White House on October 4 to discuss the details of the visit, it was agreed that the planning of events in Texas would be left largely to the Governor. At the White House, Kenneth O'Donnell, special assistant to the President, acted as coordinator for the trip.

Everyone agreed that, if there was sufficient time, a motorcade through downtown Dallas would be the best way for the people to see their President. When the trip was planned for only 1 day, Governor Connally had opposed the motorcade because there was not enough time. The Governor stated, however, that "once we got San Antonio moved from Friday to Thursday afternoon, where that was his initial stop in Texas, then we had the time, and I withdrew my objections to a motorcade." According to O'Donnell, "we had a motorcade wherever we went," particularly in large cities where the purpose was to let the President be seen by as many people as possible. In his experience, "it would be automatic" for the Secret Service to arrange a route which would, within the time allotted, bring the President "through an area which exposes him to the greatest number of people."

Warren Report: Chapter II Advance Preparations for the Dallas Trip

Advance preparations for President Kennedy's visit to Dallas were primarily the responsibility of two Secret Service agents: Special Agent Winston G. Lawson, a member of the White House detail who acted as the advance agent, and Forrest V. Sorrels, special agent in charge of the Dallas office. Both agents were advised of the trip on November 4. Lawson received a tentative schedule of the Texas trip on November 8 from Roy H. Kellerman, assistant special agent in charge of the White House detail, who was the Secret Service official responsible for the entire Texas journey. As advance agent working closely with Sorrels, Lawson had responsibility for arranging the timetable for the President's visit to Dallas and coordinating local activities with the White House staff, the organizations directly concerned with the visit, and local law enforcement officials. Lawson's most important responsibilities were to take preventive action against anyone in Dallas considered a threat to the President, to select the luncheon site and motorcade route, and to plan security measures for the luncheon and the motorcade.

Warren Report: Chapter II Preventive Intelligence Activities

The Protective Research Section (PRS) of the Secret Service maintains records of people who have threatened the President or so conducted themselves as to be deemed a potential danger to him. On November 8, 1963, after undertaking the responsibility for advance preparations for the visit to Dallas, Agent Lawson went to the PRS offices in Washington. A check of the geographic indexes there revealed no listing for any individual deemed to be a potential danger to the President in the territory of the Secret Service regional office which includes Dallas and Fort Worth.

To supplement the PRS files, the Secret Service depends largely on local police departments and local offices of other Federal agencies which advise it of potential threats immediately before the visit of the President to their community. Upon his arrival in Dallas on November 12 Lawson conferred with the local police and the local office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation about potential dangers to the President. Although there was no mention in PRS files of the demonstration in Dallas against Ambassador Adlai Stevenson on October 24, 1963, Lawson inquired about the incident and obtained through the local police photographs of some of the persons involved. On November 22 a Secret Service agent stood at the entrance to the Trade Mart, where the President was scheduled to speak, with copies of these photographs. Dallas detectives in the lobby of the Trade Mart and in the luncheon area also had copies of these photographs. A number of people who resembled some of those in the photographs were placed under surveillance at the Trade Mart.

The FBI office in Dallas gave the local Secret Service representatives the name of a possibly dangerous individual in the Dallas area who was investigated. It also advised the Secret Service of the circulation on November 21 of a handbill sharply critical of President Kennedy, discussed in chapter VI of this report. Shortly before, the Dallas police had reported to the Secret Service that the handbill had appeared on the streets of Dallas. Neither the Dallas police nor the FBI had yet learned the source of the handbill. No one else was identified to the Secret Service through local inquiry as potentially dangerous, nor did PRS develop any additional information between November 12, when Lawson left Washington, and November 22. The adequacy of the intelligence system maintained by the Secret Service at the time of the assassination, including a detailed description of the available data on Lee Harvey Oswald and the reasons why his name had not been furnished to the Secret Service, is discussed in chapter VIII.

Warren Report: Chapter II The Luncheon Site

An important purpose of the President's visit to Dallas was to speak at a luncheon given by business and civic leaders. The White House staff informed the Secret Service that the President would arrive and depart from Dallas' Love Field; that a motorcade through the downtown area of Dallas to the luncheon site should be arranged; and that following the luncheon the President would return to the airport by the most direct route. Accordingly, it was important to determine the luncheon site as quickly as possible, so that security could be established at the site and the motorcade route selected.

On November 4, Gerald A. Behn, agent in charge of the White House detail, asked Sorrels to examine three potential sites for the luncheon. One building, Market Hall, was unavailable for November 22. The second, the Women's Building at the State Fair Grounds, was a one-story building with few entrances and easy to make secure, but it lacked necessary food-handling facilities and had certain unattractive features, including a low ceiling with exposed conduits and beams. The third possibility, the Trade Mart, a handsome new building with all the necessary facilities, presented security problems. It had numerous entrances, several tiers of balconies surrounding the central court where the luncheon would be held, and several catwalks crossing the court at each level. On November 4, Sorrels told Behn he believed security difficulties at the Trade Mart could be overcome by special precautions. Lawson also evaluated the security hazards at the Trade Mart on November 13. Kenneth O'Donnell made the final decision to hold the luncheon at the Trade Mart; Behn so notified Lawson on November 14.

Once the Trade Mart had been selected, Sorrels and Lawson worked out detailed arrangements for security at the building. In addition to the preventive measures already mentioned, they provided for controlling access to the building, closing off and policing areas around it, securing the roof and insuring the presence of numerous police officers inside and around the building. Ultimately more than 200 law enforcement officers, mainly Dallas police but including 8 Secret Service agents, were deployed in and around the Trade Mart.

Warren Report: Chapter II The Motorcade Route

On November 8, when Lawson was briefed on the itinerary for the trip to Dallas, he was told that 45 minutes had been allotted for a motorcade procession from Love Field to the luncheon site. Lawson was not specifically instructed to select the parade route, but he understood that this was one of his functions. Even before the Trade Mart had been definitely selected, Lawson and Sorrels began to consider the best motorcade route from Love Field to the Trade Mart. On November 14, Lawson and Sorrels attended a meeting at Love Field and on their return to Dallas drove over the route which Sorrels believed best suited for the proposed motorcade. This route, eventually selected for the motorcade from the airport to the Trade Mart, measured 10 miles and could be driven easily within the allotted 45 minutes. From Love Field the route passed through a portion of suburban Dallas, through the downtown area along Main Street and then to the Trade Mart via Stemmons Freeway. For the President's return to Love Field following the luncheon, the agents selected the most direct route, which was approximately 4 miles.

After the selection of the Trade Mart as the luncheon site, Lawson and Sorrels met with Dallas Chief of Police Jesse E. Curry, Assistant Chief Charles Batchelor, Deputy Chief N. T. Fisher, and several other command officers to discuss details of the motorcade and possible routes. The route was further reviewed by Lawson and Sorrels with Assistant Chief Batchelor and members of the local host committee on November 15. The police officials agreed that the route recommended by Sorrels was the proper one and did not express a belief that any other route might be better. On November 18, Sorrels and Lawson drove over the selected route with Batchelor and other police officers, verifying that it could be traversed within 45 minutes. Representatives of the local host committee and the White House staff were advised by the Secret Service of the actual route on the afternoon of November 18.

The route impressed the agents as a natural and desirable one. Sorrels, who had participated in Presidential protection assignments in Dallas since a visit by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, testified that the traditional parade route in Dallas was along Main Street, since the tall buildings along the street gave more people an opportunity to participate. The route chosen from the airport to Main Street was the normal one, except where Harwood Street was selected as the means of access to Main Street in preference to a short stretch of the Central Expressway, which presented a minor safety hazard and could not accommodate spectators as conveniently as Harwood Street. According to Lawson, the chosen route seemed to be the best.

It afforded us wide streets most of the way, because of the buses that were in the motorcade. It afforded us a chance to have alternative routes if something happened on the motorcade route. It was the type of suburban area a good part of the way where the crowds would be able to be controlled for a great distance, and we figured that the largest crowds would be downtown, which they were, and that the wide streets that we would use downtown would be of sufficient width to keep the public out of our way.

Elm Street, parallel to Main Street and one block north, was not used for the main portion of the downtown part of the motorcade because Main Street offered better vantage points for spectators.

To reach the Trade Mart from Main Street the agents decided to use the Stemmons Freeway (Route No. 77), the most direct route. The only practical way for westbound traffic on Main Street to reach the northbound lanes of the Stemmons Freeway is via Elm Street, which Route No. 77 traffic is instructed to follow in this part of the city. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2113.) Elm Street was to be reached from Main by turning right at Houston, going one block north and then turning left onto Elm. On this last portion of the journey, only 5 minutes from the Trade Mart, the President's motorcade would pass the Texas School Book Depository Building on the northwest corner of Houston and Elm Streets. The building overlooks Dealey Plaza, an attractively landscaped triangle of 3 acres. (See Commission Exhibit No. 876.) From Houston Street, which forms the base of the triangle, three streets—Commerce, Main, and Elm—trisection the plaza, converging at the apex of the triangle to form a triple underpass beneath a multiple railroad bridge almost 500 feet from Houston Street. Elm Street, the northernmost of the three, after intersecting Houston curves in a southwesterly arc through the underpass and leads into an access road, which branches off to the right and is used by traffic going to the Stemmons Freeway and the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike. (See Commission Exhibits Nos. 2113-2116.)

The Elm Street approach to the Stemmons Freeway is necessary in order to avoid the traffic hazards which would otherwise exist if right turns were permitted from both Main and Elm into the freeway. To create this traffic pattern, a concrete barrier between Main and Elm Streets presents an obstacle to a right turn from Main across Elm to the access road to Stemmons Freeway and the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike. This concrete barrier extends far enough beyond the access road to make it impracticable for vehicles to turn right from Main directly to the access road. A sign located on this barrier instructs Main

Street traffic not to make any turns. (See Commission Exhibits Nos. 2114-2116.) In conformity with these arrangements, traffic proceeding west on Main is directed to turn right at Houston in order to reach the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike, which has the same access road from Elm Street as does the Stemmons Freeway. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2967)

The planning for the motorcade also included advance preparations for security arrangements along the route. Sorrels and Lawson reviewed the route in cooperation with Assistant Chief Batchelor and other Dallas police officials who took notes on the requirements for controlling the crowds and traffic, watching the overpasses, and providing motorcycle escort. To control traffic, arrangements were made for the deployment of foot patrolmen and motorcycle police at various positions along the route. Police were assigned to each overpass on the route and instructed to keep them clear of unauthorized persons. No arrangements were made for police or building custodians to inspect buildings along the motorcade route since the Secret Service did not normally request or make such a check? Under standard procedures, the responsibility for watching the windows of buildings was shared by local police stationed along the route and Secret Service agents riding in the motorcade.

As the date for the President's visit approached, the two Dallas newspapers carried several reports of his motorcade route. The selection of the Trade Mart as the possible site for the luncheon first appeared in the Dallas Times-Herald on November 15, 1963. The following day, the newspaper reported that the Presidential party "apparently will loop through the downtown area, probably on Main Street, en route from Dallas Love Field" on its way to the Trade Mart. On November 19, the Times-Herald afternoon paper detailed the precise route:

From the airport, the President's party will proceed to Mockingbird Lane to Lemmon and then to Turtle Creek, turning south to Cedar Springs. The motorcade will then pass through downtown on Harwood and then west on Main, turning back to Elm at Houston and then out Stemmons Freeway to the Trade Mart.

Also on November 19, the Morning News reported that the President's motorcade would travel from Love Field along specified streets, then "Harwood to Main, Main to Houston, Houston to Elm, Elm under the Triple Underpass to Stemmons Freeway, and on to the Trade Mart." On November 20 a front-page story reported that the streets on which the Presidential motorcade would travel included "Main and Stemmons Freeway." On the morning of the President's arrival, the Morning News noted that the motorcade would travel through downtown Dallas onto the Stemmons Freeway, and reported that "the motorcade will move slowly so that crowds can 'get a good view' of President Kennedy and his wife."

Warren Report: Chapter II - Dallas Before The Visit

The President's intention to pay a visit to Texas in the fall of 1963 aroused interest throughout the State. The two Dallas newspapers provided their readers with a steady stream of information and speculation about the trip, beginning on September 13, when the Times-Herald announced in a front page article that President Kennedy was planning a brief one day tour of four Texas cities Dallas, Fort Worth, San Antonio, and Houston. Both Dallas papers cited White House sources on September 26 as confirming the President's intention to visit Texas on November 21 and 22, with Dallas scheduled as one of the stops.

Articles, editorials, and letters to the editor in the Dallas Morning News and the Dallas Times-Herald after September 13 reflected the feeling in the community toward the forthcoming Presidential visit. Although there were critical editorials and letters to the editors, the news stories reflected the desire of Dallas officials to welcome the President with dignity and courtesy. An editorial in the Times-Herald of September 17 called on the people of Dallas to be "congenial hosts" even though "Dallas didn't vote for Mr. Kennedy in 1960, may not endorse him in '64." On October 3 the Dallas Morning News quoted U.S. Representative Joe Pool's hope that President Kennedy would receive a "good welcome" and would not face demonstrations like those encountered by Vice President Johnson during the 1960 campaign.

Increased concern about the President's visit was aroused by the incident involving the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai E. Stevenson. On the evening of October 24, 1963, after addressing a meeting in Dallas, Stevenson was jeered, jostled, and spat upon by hostile demonstrators outside the Dallas Memorial Auditorium Theater. The local, national, and international reaction to this incident evoked from Dallas officials and newspapers strong condemnations of the demonstrators. Mayor Earle Cabell called on the city to redeem itself during President Kennedy's visit. He asserted that Dallas had shed its reputation of the twenties as the "Southwest hate capital of Dixie." On October 26 the press reported Chief of Police Curry's plans to call in 100 extra off-duty officers to help protect President Kennedy. Any thought that the President might cancel his visit to Dallas was ended when Governor Connally confirmed on November 8 that the President would come to Texas on November 21-22, and that he would visit San Antonio, Houston, Fort Worth, Dallas, and Austin.

During November the Dallas papers reported frequently on the plans for protecting the President, stressing the thoroughness of the preparations. They conveyed the pleas of Dallas leaders that citizens not demonstrate or create disturbances during the President's visit. On November 18 the Dallas City Council adopted a new city ordinance prohibiting interference with attendance at lawful assemblies. Two days before the President's arrival Chief Curry warned that the Dallas police would not permit improper conduct during the President's visit.

Meanwhile, on November 17 the president of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce referred to the city's reputation for being the friendliest town in America and asserted that citizens would "greet the President of the United States with the warmth and pride that keep the Dallas spirit famous the world over. Two days later, a local Republican leader called for a "civilized nonpartisan" welcome for President Kennedy, stating that "in many respects Dallas County has isolated itself from the mainstream of life in the world in this decade. "Another reaction to the impending visit hostile to the President came to a head shortly before his arrival. On November 21 there appeared on the streets of Dallas the anonymous handbill mentioned above. It was fashioned after the "wanted" circulars issued by law enforcement agencies. Beneath two photographs of President Kennedy, one full-face and one profile, appeared the caption, "Wanted for Treason, " followed by a scurrilous bill of particulars that constituted a vilification of the President. And on the morning of the President's arrival, there appeared in the Morning News a full page, black-bordered advertisement headed "Welcome Mr. Kennedy to Dallas," sponsored by the American Factfinding Committee, which the sponsor later testified was an ad hoc committee "formed strictly for the purpose of having a name to put in the paper." The "welcome" consisted of a series of statements and questions critical of the President and his administration. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1031.)

Warren Report: Chapter II - Visits to Other Texas Cities

The trip to Texas began with the departure of President and Mrs. Kennedy from the White House by helicopter at 10:45 a.m., e.s.t., on November 21, 1963, for Andrews AFB. They took off in the Presidential plane, Air Force One, at 11 a.m., arriving at San Antonio at 1:30 p.m., c.s.t. They were greeted by Vice President Johnson and Governor Connally, who joined the Presidential party in a motorcade through San Antonio. During the afternoon, President Kennedy dedicated the U.S. Air Force School of Aerospace Medicine at Brooks AFB. Late in the afternoon he flew to Houston where he rode through the city in a motorcade, spoke at the Rice University Stadium, and attended a dinner in honor of U.S. Representative Albert Thomas.

At Rice Stadium a very large, enthusiastic crowd greeted the President. In Houston, as elsewhere during the trip, the crowds showed much interest in Mrs. Kennedy. David F. Powers of the President's staff later stated that when the President asked for his assessment of the day's activities, Powers replied "that the crowd was about the same as the one which came to see him before but there were 100,000 extra people on hand who came to see Mrs. Kennedy." Late in the evening, the Presidential party flew to Fort Worth where they spent the night at the Texas Hotel.

On the morning of November 22, President Kennedy attended a breakfast at the hotel and afterward addressed a crowd at an open parking lot. The President liked outdoor appearances because more people could see and hear him. Before leaving the hotel, the President, Mrs. Kennedy, and Kenneth O'Donnell talked about the risks inherent in Presidential public appearances. According to O'Donnell, the President commented that "if anybody really wanted to shoot the President of the United States, it was not a very difficult job all one had to do was get a high building someday with a telescopic rifle, and there was nothing anybody could do to defend against such an attempt. "Upon concluding the conversation, the President prepared to depart for Dallas.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Arrival at Love Field

In Dallas the rain had stopped, and by midmorning a gloomy overcast sky had given way to the bright sunshine that greeted the Presidential party when Air Force One touched down at Love Field at 11:40 a.m., c.s.t. Governor and Mrs. Connally and Senator Ralph W. Yarborough had come with the President from Fort Worth. Vice President Johnson's airplane, Air Force Two, had arrived at Love Field at approximately 11:35 a.m., and the Vice President and Mrs. Johnson were in the receiving line to greet President and Mrs. Kennedy.

After a welcome from the Dallas reception committee, President and Mrs. Kennedy walked along a chain-link fence at the reception area greeting a large crowd of spectators that had gathered behind it. Secret Service agents formed a cordon to keep the press and photographers from impeding their passage and scanned the crowd for threatening movements. Dallas police stood at intervals along the fence and Dallas plainclothesmen mixed in the crowd. Vice President and Mrs. Johnson followed along the fence, guarded by four members of the Vice Presidential detail. Approximately 10 minutes after the arrival at Love Field, the President and Mrs. Kennedy went to the Presidential automobile to begin the motorcade.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Organization of the Motorcade

Secret Service arrangements for Presidential trips, which were followed in the Dallas motorcade, are designed to provide protection while permitting large numbers of people to see the President. Every effort is made to prevent unscheduled stops, although the President may, and in Dallas did, order stops in order to greet the public. When the motorcade slows or stops, agents take positions between the President and the crowd.

The order of vehicles in the Dallas motorcade was as follows:

Motorcycles. Dallas police motorcycles preceded the pilot car.⁹⁵

The pilot car. Manned by officers of the Dallas Police Department, this automobile preceded the main party by approximately quarter of a mile. Its function was to alert police along the route that the motorcade was approaching and to check for signs of trouble.

Motorcycles. Next came four to six motorcycle policemen whose main purpose was to keep the crowd back.

The lead car. Described as a "rolling command car," this was an unmarked Dallas police car, driven by Chief of Police Curry and occupied by Secret Service Agents Sorrels and Lawson and by Dallas County Sheriff J. E. Decker. The occupants scanned the crowd and the buildings along the route. Their main function was to spot trouble in advance and to direct any necessary steps to meet the trouble. Following normal practice, the lead automobile stayed approximately four to five car lengths ahead of the President's limousine.

The Presidential limousine. The President's automobile was specially designed 1961 Lincoln convertible with two collapsible jump seats between the front and rear seats. (See Commission Exhibit No. 346. It was outfitted with a clear plastic bubble top which was neither bulletproof nor bullet resistant. Because the skies had cleared in Dallas, Lawson directed that the top not be used for the day's activities. He acted on instructions he had received earlier from Assistant Special Agent in Charge Roy H. Kellerman, who was in Fort Worth with the President. Kellerman had discussed the matter with O'Donnell, whose instructions were, "If the weather is clear and it is not raining, have that bubble top off." Elevated approximately 15 inches above the back of the front seat was a metallic frame with four handholds that riders in the car could grip while standing in the rear seat during parades. At the rear on each side of the automobile were small running boards, each designed to hold a Secret Service agent, with a metallic handle for the rider to grasp. The President had frequently stated that he did not want agents to ride on these steps during a motorcade except when necessary. He had repeated this wish only a few days before, during his visit to Tampa, Fla.

President Kennedy rode on the right-hand side of the rear seat with Mrs. Kennedy on his left. Governor Connally occupied the right jump seat, Mrs. Connally the left. Driving the Presidential limousine was Special Agent William R. Greer of the Secret Service; on his right sat Kellerman. Kellerman's responsibilities included maintaining radio communications with the lead and follow-up cars, scanning the route, and getting out and standing near the President when the cars stopped.

Motorcycles. Four motorcycles, two on each side, flanked the rear of the Presidential car. They provided some cover for the President, but their main purpose was to keep back the crowd. On previous occasions, the President had requested that, to the extent possible, these flanking motorcycles keep back from the sides of his car.

Presidential follow-up car. This vehicle, a 1955 Cadillac eight-passenger convertible especially outfitted for the Secret Service, followed closely behind the President's automobile. It carried eight Secret Service agents, two in the front seat, two in the rear, and two on each of the right and left running boards. Each agent carried a .38-caliber pistol, and a shotgun and automatic rifle were also available. Presidential Assistants David F. Powers and Kenneth O'Donnell sat in the right and left jump seats, respectively.

The agents in this car, under established procedure, had instructions to watch the route for signs of trouble, scanning not only the crowds but the windows and roofs of buildings, overpasses, and crossings. They were instructed to watch particularly for thrown objects, sudden actions in the crowd, and any movements toward the Presidential car. The agents on the front of the running boards had directions to move immediately to positions just to the rear of the President and Mrs. Kennedy when the President's car slowed to a walking pace or stopped, or when the press of the crowd made it impossible for the escort motorcycles to stay in position on the car's rear flanks. The two agents on the rear of the running boards were to advance toward the front of the President's car whenever it stopped or slowed down sufficiently for them to do so.

Vice Presidential car. The Vice Presidential automobile, a four-door Lincoln convertible obtained locally for use in the motorcade, proceeded approximately two to three car lengths behind the President's follow-up car. This distance was maintained so that spectators would normally turn their gaze from the President's automobile by the time the Vice President came into view. Vice President Johnson sat on the right-hand side of the rear seat, Mrs. Johnson in the center, and Senator Yarborough on the left. Rufus W. Youngblood, special agent in charge

of the Vice President's detail, occupied the right-hand side of the front seat, and Hurchel Jacks of the Texas State Highway patrol was the driver.

Vice Presidential follow-up car. Driven by an officer of the Dallas Police Department, this vehicle was occupied by three Secret Service agents and Clifton C. Garter, assistant to the Vice President. These agents performed for the Vice President the same functions that the agents in the Presidential follow-up car performed for the President.

Remainder of motorcade. The remainder of the motorcade consisted of five cars for other dignitaries, including the mayor of Dallas and Texas Congressmen, telephone and Western Union vehicles, a White House communications car, three cars for press photographers, an official party bus for White House staff members and others, and two press buses. Admiral George G. Burkley, physician to the President, was in a car following those "containing the local and national representatives."

Police car and motorcycles. A Dallas police car and several motorcycles at the rear kept the motorcade together and prevented unauthorized vehicles from joining the motorcade.

Communications in the motorcade. A base station at a fixed location in Dallas operated a radio network which linked together the lead car, Presidential car, Presidential follow-up car, White House communications car, Trade Mart, Love Field, and the Presidential and Vice Presidential airplanes. The Vice-Presidential car and Vice-Presidential follow-up car used portable sets with a separate frequency for their own car-to-car communication.

Warren Report: Chapter II - The Drive Through Dallas

The motorcade left Love Field shortly after 11:50 a.m. and drove at speeds up to 25 to 30 miles an hour through thinly populated areas on the outskirts of Dallas. At the President's direction, his automobile stopped twice, the first time to permit him to respond to a sign asking him to shake hands. During this brief stop, agents in the front positions on the running boards of the Presidential follow-up car came forward and stood beside the President's car, looking out toward the crowd, and Special Agent Kellerman assumed his position next to the car. On the other occasion, the President halted the motorcade to speak to a Catholic nun and a group of small children.

In the downtown area, large crowds of spectators gave the President a tremendous reception. The crowds were so dense that Special Agent Clinton J. Hill had to leave the left front running board of the President's follow-up car four times to ride on the rear of the President's limousine. (See Commission Exhibit No. 698.) Several times Special Agent John D. Ready came forward from the right front running board of the Presidential follow-up car to the right side of the President's car. Special Agent Glen A. Bennett once left his place inside the follow-up car to help keep the crowd away from the President's car. When a teenage boy ran toward the rear of the President's car, Ready left the running board to chase the boy back into the crowd. On several occasions when the Vice President's car was slowed down by the throng, Special Agent Youngblood stepped out to hold the crowd back.

According to plan, the President's motorcade proceeded west through downtown Dallas on Main Street to the intersection of Houston Street, which marks the beginning of Dealey Plaza. From Main Street the motorcade turned right and went north on Houston Street, passing tall buildings on the right, and headed toward the Texas School Book Depository Building. The spectators were still thickly congregated in front of the buildings which lined the east side of Houston Street, but the crowd thinned abruptly along Elm Street, which curves in a southwesterly direction as it proceeds downgrade toward the Triple Underpass and the Stemmons Freeway.

As the motorcade approached the intersection of Houston and Elm Streets, there was general gratification in the Presidential party about the enthusiastic reception. Evaluating the political overtones, Kenneth O'Donnell was especially pleased because it convinced him that the average Dallas resident was like other American citizens in respecting and admiring the President. Mrs. Connally, elated by the reception, turned to President Kennedy and said, "Mr. President, you can't say Dallas doesn't love you." The President replied, "That is very obvious."

Warren Report: Chapter II - The Assassination

At 12:30 p.m., c.s.t., as the President's open limousine proceeded at approximately 11 miles per hour along Elm Street toward the Triple Underpass, shots fired from a rifle mortally wounded President Kennedy and seriously injured Governor Connally. One bullet passed through the President's neck; a subsequent bullet, which was lethal, shattered the right side of his skull. Governor Connally sustained bullet wounds in his back, the right side of his chest, right wrist, and left thigh.

Warren Report: Chapter II - The Time

The exact time of the assassination was fixed by the testimony of four witnesses. Special Agent Rufus W. Youngblood observed that the large electric sign clock atop the Texas School Book Depository Building showed the numerals "12:30" as the Vice-Presidential automobile proceeded north on Houston Street, a few seconds before the shots were fired. Just prior to the shooting, David F. Powers, riding in the Secret Service follow-up car, remarked to Kenneth O'Donnell that it was 12:30 p.m., the time they were due at the Trade Mart. Seconds after the shooting, Roy Kellerman, riding in the front seat of the Presidential limousine, looked at his watch and said "12:30" to the driver, Special Agent Greer. The Dallas police radio log re-fleets that Chief of Police Curry reported the shooting of the President and issued his initial orders at 12:30 p.m.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Speed of the Limousine

William Greet, operator of the Presidential limousine, estimated the car's speed at the time of the first shot as 12 to 15 miles per hour. Other witnesses in the motorcade estimated the speed of the President's limousine from 7 to 22 miles per hour. A more precise determination has been made from motion pictures taken on the scene by an amateur photographer, Abraham Zapruder. Based on these films, the speed of the President's automobile is computed at an average speed of 11.2 miles per hour. The car maintained this average speed over a distance of approximately 186 feet immediately preceding the shot which struck the President in the head. While the car traveled this distance, the Zapruder camera ran 152 frames. Since the camera operates at a speed of 18.3 frames per second, it was calculated that the car required 8.3 seconds to cover the 136 feet. This represents a speed of 11.2 miles per hour.

Warren Report: Chapter II - In the Presidential Limousine

Mrs. John F. Kennedy, on the left of the rear seat of the limousine, looked toward her left and waved to the crowds along the route. Soon after the motorcade turned onto Elm Street., she heard a sound similar to a motorcycle noise and a cry from Governor Connally, which caused her to look to her right. On turning she saw a quizzical look on her husband's face as he raised his left hand to his throat. Mrs. Kennedy then heard a quizzical look on her husband's face as he raised his left hand to his throat. Mrs. Kennedy then heard a second shot and saw the President's skull torn open under the impact of the bullet. As she cradled her mortally wounded husband, Mrs. Kennedy cried, "Oh, my God, they have shot my husband. I love you, Jack."

Governor Connally testified that he recognized the first noise as a rifle shot and the thought immediately crossed his mind that it was an assassination attempt. From his position in the right jump seat immediately in front of the President, he instinctively turned to his right because the shot appeared to come from over his right shoulder. Unable to see the President as he turned to the right, the Governor started to look back over his left shoulder, but he never completed the turn because he felt something strike him in the back. In his testimony before the Commission, Governor Connally was certain that he was hit by the second shot, which he stated he did not hear.

Mrs. Connally, too, heard a frightening noise from her right. Looking over her right shoulder, she saw that the President had both hands at his neck but she observed no blood and heard nothing. She watched as he slumped down with an empty expression on his face. Roy Kellerman, in the right front seat of the limousine, heard a report like a firecracker pop. Turning to his right in the direction of the noise, Kellerman heard the President say "My God, I am hit, " and saw both of the President's hands move up toward his neck. As he told the driver, "Let's get out of here; we are hit, " Kellerman grabbed his microphone and radioed ahead to the lead car, "We are hit. Get us to the hospital immediately." The driver, William Greer, heard a noise which he took to be a backfire from one of the motorcycles flanking the Presidential car. When he heard the same noise again, Greer glanced over his shoulder and saw Governor Connally fall. At the sound of the second shot he realized that something was wrong, and he pressed down on the accelerator as Kellerman said, "Get out of here fast." As he issued his instructions to Greer and to the lead car, Kellerman heard a "flurry of shots" within 5 seconds of the first noise. According to Kellerman, Mrs. Kennedy then cried out: "What are they doing to you!" Looking back from the front seat, Kellerman saw Governor Connally in his wife's lap and Special Agent Clinton J. Hill lying across the trunk of the car.

Mrs. Connally heard a second shot fired and pulled her husband down into her lap. Observing his blood-covered chest as he was pulled into his wife's lap, Governor Connally believed himself mortally wounded. He cried out, "Oh, no, no, no. My God, they are going to kill us all." At first Mrs. Connally thought that her husband had been killed, but then she noticed an almost imperceptible movement and knew that he was still alive. She said, "It's all right. Be still." The Governor was lying with his head on his wife's lap when he heard a shot hit the President. At that point, both Governor and Mrs. Connally observed brain tissue splattered over the interior of the car. According to Governor and Mrs. Connally, it was after this shot that Kellerman issued his emergency instructions and the car accelerated.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Reaction by Secret Service Agents

From the left front running board of the President's follow-up car, Special Agent Hill was scanning the few people standing on the south side of Elm Street after the motorcade had turned off Houston Street. He estimated that the motorcade had slowed down to approximately 9 or 10 miles per hour on the turn at the intersection of Houston and Elm Streets and then proceeded at a rate of 12 to 15 miles per hour with the follow-up car trailing the President's automobile by approximately 5 feet. Hill heard a noise, which seemed to be a firecracker, coming from his right rear. He immediately looked to his right, "and, in so doing, my eyes had to cross the Presidential limousine and I saw President Kennedy grab at himself and lurch forward and to the left." Hill jumped from the follow-up car and ran to the President's automobile. At about the time he reached the President's automobile, Hill heard a second shot, approximately 5 seconds after the first, which removed a portion of the President's head.

At the instant that Hill stepped onto the left rear step of the President's automobile and grasped the handhold, the car lurched forward, causing him to lose his footing. He ran three or four steps, regained his position and mounted the car. Between the time he originally seized the handhold and the time he mounted the car, Hill recalled:

Mrs. Kennedy had jumped up from the seat and was, it appeared to me, reaching for something coming off the right rear bumper of the car, the right rear tail, when she noticed that I was trying to climb on the car. She turned toward me and I grabbed her and put her back in the back seat, crawled up on top of the back seat and lay there.

David Powers, who witnessed the scene from the President's follow-up car, stated that Mrs. Kennedy would probably have fallen off the rear end of the car and been killed if Hill had not pushed her back into the Presidential automobile. Mrs. Kennedy had no recollection of climbing onto the back of the car.

Special Agent Ready, on the right front running board of the Presidential follow-up car, heard noises that sounded like firecrackers and ran toward the President's limousine. But he was immediately called back by Special Agent Emory P. Roberts, in charge of the follow-up car, who did not believe that he could reach the President's car at the speed it was then traveling. Special Agent George W. Hickey, Jr., in the rear seat of the Presidential follow-up car, picked up and cocked an automatic rifle as he heard the last shot. At this point the cars were speeding through the underpass and had left the scene of the shooting, but Hickey kept the automatic weapon ready as the car raced to the hospital. Most of the other Secret Service agents in the motorcade had drawn their sidearms. Roberts noticed that the Vice President's car was approximately one-half block behind the Presidential follow-up car at the time of the shooting and signaled for it to move in closer.

Directing the security detail for the Vice President from the right front seat of the Vice-Presidential car, Special Agent Youngblood recalled:

As we were beginning to go down this incline, all of a sudden there was an explosive noise. I quickly observed unnatural movement of crowds, like ducking or scattering, and quick movements in the Presidential follow-up car. So I turned around and hit the Vice President on the shoulder and hollered, get down, and then looked around again and saw more of this movement, and so I proceeded to go to the back seat and get on top of him.

Youngblood was not positive that he was in the rear seat before the second shot, but thought it probable because of President Johnson's statement to that effect immediately after the assassination. President Johnson emphasized Youngblood's instantaneous reaction after the first shot:

I was startled by the sharp report or explosion, but I had no time to speculate as to its origin because Agent Youngblood turned in a flash, immediately after the first explosion, hitting me on the shoulder, and shouted to all of us in the back seat to get down. I was pushed down by Agent Youngblood. Almost in the same moment in which he hit or pushed me, he vaulted over the back seat and sat on me. I was bent over under the weight of Agent Youngblood's body, toward Mrs. Johnson and Senator Yarborough.

Clifton C. Carter, riding in the Vice President's follow-up car a short distance behind, reported that Youngblood was in the rear seat using his body to shield the Vice President before the second and third shots were fired.

Other Secret Service agents assigned to the motorcade remained at their posts during the race to the hospital. None stayed at the scene of the shooting, and none entered the Texas School Book Depository Building at or immediately after the shooting. Secret Service procedure requires that each agent stay with the person being protected and not be diverted unless it is necessary to accomplish the protective assignment. Forrest V. Sorrels, special agent in charge of the Dallas office, was the first

Secret Service agent to return to the scene of the assassination, approximately 20 or 25 minutes after the shots were fired.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Parkland Memorial Hospital

The Race to the Hospital

In the final instant of the assassination, the Presidential motorcade began a race to Parkland Memorial Hospital, approximately 4 miles from the Texas School Book Depository Building. On receipt of the radio message from Kellerman to the lead car that the President had been hit, Chief of Police Curry and police motorcyclists at the head of the motorcade led the way to the hospital. Meanwhile, Chief Curry ordered the police base station to notify Parkland Hospital that the wounded President was en route. The radio log of the Dallas Police Department shows that at 12:30 p.m. on November 22 Chief Curry radioed, "Go to the hospital Parkland Hospital. Have them stand by." A moment later Curry added, "Looks like the President has been hit. Have Parkland stand by." The base station replied, "They have been notified." Traveling at speeds estimated at times to be up to 70 or 80 miles per hour down the Stemmons Freeway and Harry Hines Boulevard, the Presidential limousine arrived at the emergency entrance of the Parkland Hospital at about 12:35 p.m. Arriving almost simultaneously were the President's follow-up car, the Vice President's automobile, and the Vice President's follow-up car. Admiral Burkley, the President's physician, arrived at the hospital "between 3 and 5 minutes following the arrival of the President," since the riders in his car "were not exactly aware what had happened" and the car went on to the Trade Mart first.

When Parkland Hospital received the notification, the staff in the emergency area was alerted and trauma rooms 1 and 2 were prepared. These rooms were for the emergency treatment of acutely ill or injured patients. Although the first message mentioned an injury only to President Kennedy, two rooms were prepared. As the President's limousine sped toward the hospital, 12 doctors rushed to the emergency area: surgeons, Drs. Malcolm O. Perry, Charles R. Baxter, Robert N. McClelland, Ronald C. Jones; the chief neurologist, Dr. William Kemp Clark; 4 anesthesiologists, Drs. Marion T. Jenkins, Adolph H. Giesecke, Jr., Jackie H. Hunt, Gene C. Akin; urological surgeon, Dr. Paul C. Peters; an oral surgeon, Dr. Don T. Curtis; and a heart specialist, Dr. Fouad A. Bashour.

Upon arriving at Parkland Hospital, Lawson jumped from the lead car and rushed into the emergency entrance, where he was met by hospital staff members wheeling stretchers out to the automobile. Special Agent Hill removed his suit jacket and covered the President's head and upper chest to prevent the taking of photographs. Governor Connally, who had lost consciousness on the ride to the hospital, regained consciousness when the limousine stopped abruptly at the emergency entrance. Despite his serious wounds, Governor Connally tried to get out of the way so that medical help could reach the President. Although he was reclining in his wife's arms, he lurched forward in an effort to stand upright and get out of the car, but he collapsed again. Then he experienced his first sensation of pain, which became excruciating. The Governor was lifted onto a stretcher and taken into trauma room 2. For a moment, Mrs. Kennedy refused to release the President, whom she held in her lap, but then Kellerman, Greer, and Lawson lifted the President onto a stretcher and pushed it into trauma room 1.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Treatment of President Kennedy

The first physician to see the President at Parkland Hospital was Dr. Charles J. Carrico, a resident in general surgery.

Dr. Carrico was in the emergency area, examining another patient, when he was notified that President Kennedy was en route to the hospital. Approximately 2 minutes later, Dr. Carrico saw the President on his back, being wheeled into the emergency area. He noted that the President was blue-white or ashen in color; had slow, spasmodic, agonal respiration without any coordination; made no voluntary movements; had his eyes open with the pupils dilated without any reaction to light; evidenced no palpable pulse; and had a few chest sounds which were thought to be heart beats. On the basis of these findings, Dr. Carrico concluded that President Kennedy was still alive.

Dr. Carrico noted two wounds: a small bullet wound in the front lower neck, and an extensive wound in the President's head where a sizable portion of the skull was missing. He observed shredded brain tissue and "considerable slow oozing" from the latter wound, followed by "more profuse bleeding" after some circulation was established. Dr. Carrico felt the President's back and determined that there was no large wound there which would be an immediate threat to life. Observing the serious problems presented by the head wound and inadequate respiration, Dr. Carrico directed his attention to improving the President's breathing. He noted contusions, hematoma to the right of the larynx, which was deviated slightly to the left, and also ragged tissue which indicated a tracheal injury. Dr. Carrico inserted a cuffed endotracheal tube past the injury, inflated the cuff, and connected it to a Bennett machine to assist in respiration.

At that point, direction of the President's treatment was undertaken by Dr. Malcolm O. Perry, who arrived at trauma room 1 a few moments after the President. Dr. Perry noted the President's back brace as he felt for a femoral pulse, which he did not find. Observing that an effective airway had to be established if treatment was to be effective, Dr. Perry performed a tracheotomy, which required 3 to 5 minutes. While Dr. Perry was performing the tracheotomy, Drs. Carrico and Ronald Jones made cut downs on the President's right leg and left arm, respectively, to infuse blood and fluids into the circulatory system. Dr. Carrico treated the President's known adrenal insufficiency by administering hydrocortisone. Dr. Robert N. McClelland entered at that point and assisted Dr. Perry with the tracheotomy.

Dr. Fouad Bashour, chief of cardiology, Dr. M. T. Jenkins, chief of anesthesiology, and Dr. A. H. Giesecke, Jr., then joined in the effort to revive the President. When Dr. Perry noted free air and blood in the President's chest cavity, he asked that chest tubes be inserted to allow for drainage of blood and air. Drs. Paul C. Peters and Charles R. Baxter initiated these procedures. As a result of the infusion of liquids through the cutdowns, the cardiac massage, and the airway, the doctors were able to maintain peripheral circulation as monitored at the neck (carotid) artery and at the wrist (radial) pulse. A femoral pulse was also detected in the President's leg. While these medical efforts were in progress, Dr. Clark noted some electrical activity on the cardi tachyscope attached to monitor the President's heart responses. Dr. Clark, who most closely observed the head wound, described a large, gaping wound in the right rear part of the head, with substantial damage and exposure of brain tissue, and a considerable loss of blood. Dr. Clark did not see any other hole or wound on the President's head. According to Dr. Clark, the small bullet hole on the right rear of the President's head discovered during the subsequent autopsy "could have easily been hidden in the blood and hair."

In the absence of any neurological, muscular, or heart response, the doctors concluded that efforts to revive the President were hopeless. This was verified by Admiral Burkley, the President's physician, who arrived at the hospital after emergency treatment was under way and concluded that "my direct services to him at that moment would have interfered with the action of the team which was in progress." At approximately 1 p.m., after last rites were administered to the President by Father Oscar L. Huber, Dr. Clark pronounced the President dead. He made the official determination because the ultimate cause of death, the severe head injury, was within his sphere of specialization. The time was fixed at 1 p.m., as an approximation, since it was impossible to determine the precise moment when life left the President. President Kennedy could have survived the neck injury, but the head wound was fatal. From a medical viewpoint, President Kennedy was alive when he arrived at Parkland Hospital; the doctors observed that he had a heart beat and was making some respiratory efforts. But his condition was hopeless, and the extraordinary efforts of the doctors to save him could not help but to have been unavailing. Since the Dallas doctors directed all their efforts to controlling the massive bleeding caused by the head wound, and to reconstructing an airway to his lungs, the President remained on his back throughout his medical treatment at Parkland.

When asked why he did not turn the President over, Dr. Carrico testified as follows:

- A. This man was in obvious extreme distress and any more thorough inspection would have involved several

minutes well, several considerable time which at this juncture was not available. A thorough inspection would have involved washing and cleansing the back, and this is not practical in treating an acutely injured patient. You have to determine which things, which are immediately life threatening and cope with them, before attempting to evaluate the full extent of the injuries.

Q. Did you ever have occasion to look at the President's back?

A. No, sir. Before well, in trying to treat an acutely injured patient, you have to establish an airway, adequate ventilation and you have to establish adequate circulation. Before this was accomplished the President's cardiac activity had ceased and closed cardiac massage was instituted, which made it impossible to inspect his back.

Q. Was any effort made to inspect the President's back after he had expired?

A. No, sir.

Q. And why was no effort made at that time to inspect his back? A. I suppose nobody really had the heart to do it.

Moreover, the Parkland doctors took no further action after the President had expired because they concluded that it was beyond the scope of their permissible duties.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Treatment of Governor Connally

While one medical team tried to revive President Kennedy, a second performed a series of operations on the bullet wounds sustained by Governor Connally. Governor Connally was originally seen by Dr. Carrico and Dr. Richard Dulany. While Dr. Carrico went on to attend the President, Dr. Dulany stayed with the Governor and was soon joined by several other doctors. At approximately 12:45 p.m., Dr. Robert Shaw, chief of thoracic surgery, arrived at trauma room 2, to take charge of the care of Governor Connally, whose major wound fell within Dr. Shaw's area of specialization.

Governor Connally had a large sucking wound in the front of the right chest which caused extreme pain and difficulty in breathing. Rubber tubes were inserted between the second and third ribs to re-expand the right lung, which had collapsed because of the opening in the chest wall. At 1:35 p.m., after Governor Connally had been moved to the operating room, Dr. Shaw started the first operation by cutting away the edges of the wound on the front of the Governor's chest and suturing the damaged lung and lacerated muscles. The elliptical wound in the Governor's back, located slightly to the left of the Governor's right armpit approximately five-eighths inch (a centimeter and a half) in its greatest diameter, was treated by cutting away the damaged skin and suturing the back muscle and skin. This operation was concluded at 3:20 p.m.

Two additional operations were performed on Governor Connally for wounds which he had not realized he had sustained until he regained consciousness the following day. From approximately 4 p.m. to 4:50 p.m. on November 22, Dr. Charles F. Gregory, chief of orthopedic surgery, operated on the wounds of Governor Connally's right wrist, assisted by Drs. William Osborne and John Parker. The wound on the back of the wrist was left partially open for draining, and the wound on the palm side was enlarged, cleansed, and closed. The fracture was set, and a cast was applied with some traction utilized. While the second operation was in progress, Dr. George T. Shires, assisted by Drs. Robert McClelland, Charles Baxter, and Ralph Don Patman, treated the gunshot wound in the left thigh. This punctuate missile wound, about two-fifths inch in diameter (1 centimeter) and located approximately 5 inches above the left knee, was cleansed and closed with sutures; but a small metallic fragment remained in the Governor's leg.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Vice President Johnson at Parkland

As President Kennedy and Governor Connally were being removed from the limousine onto stretchers, a protective circle of Secret Service agents surrounded Vice President and Mrs. Johnson and escorted them into Parkland Hospital through the emergency entrance. The agents moved a nurse and patient out of a nearby room, lowered the shades, and took emergency security measures to protect the Vice President. Two men from the President's follow-up car were detailed to help protect the Vice President. An agent was stationed at the entrance to stop anyone who was not a member of the Presidential party. U.S. Representatives Henry B. Gonzalez, Jack Brooks, Homer Thornberry, and Albert Thomas joined Clifton C. Carter and the group of special agents protecting the Vice President. On one occasion Mrs. Johnson, accompanied by two Secret Service agents, left the room to see Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Connally.

Concern that the Vice President might also be a target for assassination prompted the Secret Service agents to urge him to leave the hospital and return to Washington immediately. The Vice President decided to wait until he received definitive word of the President's condition. At approximately 1:20 p.m., Vice President Johnson was notified by O'Donnell that President Kennedy was dead. Special Agent Youngblood learned from Mrs. Johnson the location of her two daughters and made arrangements through Secret Service headquarters in Washington to provide them with protection immediately.

When consulted by the Vice President, O'Donnell advised him to go to the airfield immediately and return to Washington. It was decided that the Vice President should return on the Presidential plane rather than on the Vice- Presidential plane because it had better communication equipment. The Vice President conferred with White House Assistant Press Secretary Malcolm Kilduff and decided that there would be no release of the news of the President's death until the Vice President had left the hospital. When told that Mrs. Kennedy refused to leave without the President's body, the Vice President said that he would not leave Dallas without her. On the recommendation of the Secret Service agents, Vice President Johnson decided to board the Presidential airplane, Air Force One, and wait for Mrs. Kennedy and the President's body.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Secret Service Emergency Security Arrangements

Immediately after President Kennedy's stretcher was wheeled into trauma room 1, Secret Service agents took positions at the door of the small emergency room. A nurse was asked to identify hospital personnel and to tell everyone, except necessary medical staff members, to leave the emergency room. Other Secret Service agents posted themselves in the corridors and other areas near the emergency room. Special Agent Lawson made certain that the Dallas police kept the public and press away from the immediate area of the hospital. Agents Kellerman and Hill telephoned the head of the White House detail, Gerald A. Behn, to advise him of the assassination. The telephone line to Washington was kept open throughout the remainder of the stay at the hospital.

Secret Service agents stationed at later stops on the President's itinerary of November 22 were redeployed. Men at the Trade Mart were driven to Parkland Hospital in Dallas police cars. The Secret Service group awaiting the President in Austin were instructed to return to Washington. Meanwhile, the Secret Service agents in charge of security at Love Field started to make arrangements for departure. As soon as one of the agents learned of the shooting, he asked the officer in charge of the police detail at the airport to institute strict security measures for the Presidential aircraft, the airport terminal, and the surrounding area. The police were cautioned to prevent picture taking. Secret Service agents working with police cleared the areas adjacent to the aircraft, including warehouses, other terminal buildings and the neighboring parking lots, of all people. The agents decided not to shift the Presidential aircraft to the far side of the airport because the original landing area was secure and a move would require new measures.

When security arrangements at the airport were complete, the Secret Service made the necessary arrangements for the Vice President to leave the hospital. Unmarked police cars took the Vice President and Mrs. Johnson from Parkland Hospital to Love Field. Chief Curry drove one automobile occupied by Vice President Johnson, U.S. Representatives Thomas and Thornberry, and Special Agent Youngblood. In another car Mrs. Johnson was driven to the airport accompanied by Secret Service agents and Representative Brooks. Motorcade policemen who escorted the automobiles were requested by the Vice President and Agent Youngblood not to use sirens. During the drive Vice President Johnson, at Youngblood's instruction, kept below window level.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Removal of the President's Body

While the team of doctors at Parkland Hospital tried desperately to save the life of President Kennedy, Mrs. Kennedy alternated between watching them and waiting outside. After the President was pronounced dead, O'Donnell tried to persuade Mrs. Kennedy to leave the area, but she refused. She said that she intended to stay with her husband. A casket was obtained and the President's body was prepared for removal. Before the body could be taken from the hospital, two Dallas officials informed members of the President's staff that the body could not be removed from the city until an autopsy was performed. Despite the protests of these officials, the casket was wheeled out of the hospital, placed in an ambulance, and transported to the airport shortly after 2 p.m. At approximately 2:15 p.m. the casket was loaded, with some difficulty because of the narrow airplane door, onto the rear of the Presidential plane where seats had been removed to make room. Concerned that the local officials might try to prevent the plane's departure, O'Donnell asked that the pilot take off immediately. He was informed that takeoff would be delayed until Vice President Johnson was sworn in.

Warren Report: Chapter II - The End of the Trip

Swearing in of the New President

From the Presidential airplane, the Vice President telephoned Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who advised that Mr. Johnson take the Presidential oath of office before the plane left Dallas. Federal Judge Sarah T. Hughes hastened to the plane to administer the oath. Members of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential parties filled the central compartment of the plane to witness the swearing in. At 2:38 p.m., c.s.t., Lyndon Baines Johnson took the oath of office as the 36th President of the United States. Mrs. Kennedy and Mrs. Johnson stood at the side of the new President as he took the oath of office. Nine minutes later, the Presidential airplane departed for Washington, DC.

Warren Report: Chapter II - Return to Washington, DC.

On the return flight, Mrs. Kennedy sat with David Powers, Kenneth O'Donnell, and Lawrence O'Brien. At 5:58 p.m., e.s.t., Air Force One landed at Andrews AFB, where President Kennedy had begun his last trip only 31 hours before. Detailed security arrangements had been made by radio from the President's plane on the return flight. The public had been excluded from the base, and only Government officials and the press were permitted near the landing area.

Upon arrival, President Johnson made a brief statement over television and radio. President and Mrs. Johnson were flown by helicopter to the White House, from where Mrs. Johnson was driven to her residence under Secret Service escort. The President then walked to the Executive Office Building, where he worked until 9 p.m.

Warren Report: Chapter II - The Autopsy

Given a choice between the National Naval Medical Center at Bethesda, Md., and the Army's Walter Reed Hospital, Mrs. Kennedy chose the hospital in Bethesda for the autopsy because the President had served in the Navy. Mrs. Kennedy and the Attorney General, with three Secret Service agents, accompanied President Kennedy's body on the 45- minute automobile trip from Andrews AFB to the Hospital. On the 17th floor of the Hospital, Mrs. Kennedy and the Attorney General joined other members of the Kennedy family to await the conclusion of the autopsy. Mrs. Kennedy was guarded by Secret Service agents in quarters assigned to her in the naval hospital. The Secret Service established a communication system with the White House and screened all telephone calls and visitors.

The hospital received the President's body for autopsy at approximately 7:85 p.m. X-rays and photographs were taken preliminary and the pathological examination began at about 8 p.m. The autopsy report noted that President Kennedy was 46 years of age, 72 1/2 inches tall, weighed 170 pounds, had blue eyes and reddish-brown hair. The body was muscular and well developed with no gross skeletal abnormalities except for those caused by the gunshot wounds. Under "Pathological Diagnosis" the cause of death was set forth as "Gunshot wound, head." (See app. IX.)

The autopsy examination revealed two wounds in the President's head. One wound, approximately one-fourth of an inch by five-eighths of an inch (6 by 15 millimeters), was located about an inch (2.5 centimeters) to the right and slightly above the large bony protrusion (external occipital protuberance) which juts out at the center of the lower part of the back of the skull. The second head wound measured approximately 5 inches (13 centimeters) in its greatest diameter, but it was difficult to measure accurately because multiple crisscross fractures radiated from the large defect. During the autopsy examination, Federal agents brought the surgeons three pieces of bone recovered from Elm Street and the Presidential automobile. When put together, these fragments accounted for approximately three-quarters of the missing portion of the skull. The surgeons observed, through X-ray analysis, 30 or 40 tiny dust like fragments of metal running in a line from the wound in the rear of the President's head toward the front part of the skull, with a sizable metal fragment lying just above the right eye. From this head wound two small irregularly shaped fragments of metal were recovered and turned over to the FBI.

The autopsy also disclosed a wound near the base of the back of President Kennedy's neck slightly to the right of his spine. The doctors traced the course of the bullet through the body and, as information was received from Parkland Hospital, concluded that the bullet had emerged from the front portion of the President's neck that had been cut away by the tracheotomy at Parkland. The nature and characteristics of this neck wound and the two head wounds are discussed fully in the next chapter. After the autopsy was concluded at approximately 11 p.m., the President's body was prepared for burial. This was finished at approximately 4 a.m. Shortly thereafter, the President's wife, family and aides left Bethesda Naval Hospital. The President's body was taken to the East Room of the White House where it was placed under ceremonial military guard.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The Shots From the Texas School Book Depository

IN THIS chapter the Commission analyzes the evidence and sets forth its conclusions concerning the source, effect, number and timing of the shots that killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally. In that connection the Commission has evaluated (1) the testimony of eyewitnesses present at the scene of the assassination; (2) the damage to the Presidential limousine; (3) the examination by qualified experts of the rifle and cartridge cases found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository and the bullet fragments found in the Presidential limousine and at Parkland Hospital; (4) the wounds suffered by President Kennedy and Governor Connally; (5) wound ballistics tests; (6) the examination by qualified experts of the clothing worn by President Kennedy and Governor Connally; and (7) motion-picture films and still photographs taken at the time of the assassination.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The Witnesses

As reflected in the previous chapter, passengers in the first few cars of the motorcade had the impression that the shots came from the rear and from the right, the general direction of the Texas School Book Depository Building, although none of these passengers saw anyone fire the shots. Some spectators at Houston and Elm Streets, however, did see a rifle being fired in the direction of the President's car from the easternmost window of the sixth floor on the south side of the building. Other witnesses saw a rifle in this window immediately after the assassination. Three employees of the Depository, observing the parade from the fifth floor, heard the shots fired from the floor immediately above them. No credible evidence suggests that the shots were fired from the railroad bridge over the Triple Underpass, the nearby railroad yards or any place other than the Texas School Book Depository Building.

Warren Report: Chapter III - Near the Depository

Eyewitnesses testified that they saw a man fire a weapon from the sixth-floor window. Howard L. Brennan, a 45-year-old steam fitter, watched the motorcade from a concrete retaining wall at the southwest corner of Elm and Houston, where he had a clear view of the south side of the Depository Building. (See Commission Exhibit No. 477, p. 62.) He was approximately 107 feet from the Depository entrance and 120 feet from the southeast corner window of the sixth floor. Brennan's presence and vantage point are corroborated by a motion picture of the motorcade taken by amateur photographer Abraham Zapruder, which shows Brennan, wearing gray khaki work clothes and a gray work helmet, seated on the retaining wall. Brennan later identified himself in the Zapruder movie. While waiting about 7 minutes for the President to arrive, he observed the crowd on the street and the people at the windows of the Depository Building. He noticed a man at the southeast corner window of the sixth floor, and observed him leave the window "a couple of times." Brennan watched the President's car as it turned the corner at Houston and Elm and moved down the incline toward the Triple Underpass. Soon after the President's car passed, he heard an explosion like the backfire of a motorcycle.

Brennan recalled:

Well, then something, just right after this explosion, made me think that it was a firecracker being thrown from the Texas Book Store. And I glanced up. And this man that I saw previous was aiming for his last shot.

* * * * *

Well, as it appeared to me he was standing up and resting against the left window sill, with gun shouldered to his right shoulder, holding the gun with his left hand and taking positive aim and fired his last shot. As I calculate a couple of seconds. He drew the gun back from the window as though he was drawing it back to his side and maybe paused for another second as though to assure himself that he hit his mark, and then he disappeared.

Brennan stated that he saw 70 to 85 percent of the gun when it was fired and the body of the man from the waist up. The rifle was aimed southwesterly down Elm Street toward the underpass. Brennan saw the man fire one shot and he remembered hearing a total of only two shots. When questioned about the number of shots, Brennan testified:

I don't know what made me think that there was firecrackers thrown out of the Book Store unless I did hear the second shot, because I positively thought the first shot was a backfire, and subconsciously I must have heard a second shot, but I do not recall it. I could not swear to it.

Brennan quickly reported his observations to police officers. Brennan's description of the man he saw is discussed in the next chapter.

Amos Lee Euins, a 15-year-old ninth grade student, stated that he was facing the Depository as the motorcade turned the corner at Elm and Houston. He recalled:

Then I was standing here, and as the motorcade turned the corner, I was facing, looking dead at the building. And so I seen this pipe thing sticking out the window. I wasn't paying too much attention to it. Then when the first shot was fired, I started looking around, thinking it was a backfire. Everybody else started looking around. Then I looked up at the window, and he shot again.

After witnessing the first shots, Euins hid behind a fountain bench and saw the man shoot again from the window in the southeast corner of the Depository's sixth floor. According to Euins, the man had one hand on the barrel and the other on the trigger. Euins believed that there were four shots.

Immediately after the assassination, he reported his observations to Sgt. D. V. Harkness of the Dallas Police Department and also to James Underwood of station KRLD-TV of Dallas. Sergeant Harkness testified that Euins told him that the shots came from the last window of the floor "under the ledge" on the side of the building they were facing. Based on Euins' statements, Harkness radioed to headquarters at 12:36 p.m. that "I have a witness that says that it came from the fifth floor of the Texas Book Depository Store." Euins accurately described the sixth floor as the floor "under the ledge." Harkness testified that the error in the radio message was due to his own "hasty count of the floors."

Other witnesses saw a rifle in the window after the shots were fired. Robert H. Jackson, staff photographer, Dallas Times Herald, was in a press car in the Presidential motorcade, eight or nine cars from the front. On Houston Street about halfway between Main and Elm, Jackson heard the first shot. As someone in the car commented that it sounded like a firecracker, Jackson heard two more shots.

He testified:

Then we realized or we thought that it was gunfire, and then we could not at that point see the President's car. We were still moving slowly, and after the third shot the second two shots seemed much closer together than the first shot, than they were to the first shot. Then after the last shot, I guess all of us were just looking all around and I just looked straight up ahead of me which would have been looking at the School Book Depository and I noticed two Negro men in a window straining to see directly above them, and my eyes followed right on up to the window above them and I saw the rifle or what looked like a rifle approximately half of the weapon, I guess I saw, and just as I looked at it, it was drawn fairly slowly back into the building, and I saw no one in the window with it. I didn't even see a form in the window.

In the car with Jackson were James Underwood, television station KRLD-TV; Thomas Dillard, chief photographer, Dallas Morning News; Malcolm O. Couch and James Darnell, television newsreel cameramen. Dillard, Underwood, and the driver were in the front seat, Couch and Darnell were sitting on top of the back seat of the convertible with Jackson. Dillard, Couch, and Underwood confirmed that Jackson spontaneously exclaimed that he saw a rifle in the window. According to Dillard, at the time the shots were fired he and his fellow passengers "had an absolutely perfect view of the School Depository from our position in the open car." Dillard immediately took two pictures of the building: one of the east two-thirds of the south side and the other of the southeast corner, particularly the fifth- and sixth-floor windows. These pictures show three Negro men in windows on the fifth floor and the partially open window on the sixth floor directly above them. (See Dillard Exhibits C and D, pp. 66-67.) Couch also saw the rifle in the window, and testified:

And after the third shot, Bob Jackson, who was, as I recall, on my right, yelled something like, "Look up in the window! There's the rifle!"

And I remember glancing up to a window on the far right, which at the time impressed me as the sixth or seventh floor, and seeing about a foot of a rifle being the barrel brought into the window.

Couch testified he saw people standing in other windows on the third or fourth floor in the middle of the south side, one of them being a Negro in a white T-shirt leaning out to look up at the windows above him.

Mayor and Mrs. Earle Cabell rode in the motorcade immediately behind the Vice-Presidential follow-up car. Mrs. Cabell was seated in the back seat behind the driver and was facing U.S. Representative Ray Roberts on her right as the car made the turn at Elm and Houston. In this position Mrs. Cabell "was actually facing" the seven-story Depository when the first shot rang out. She "jerked" her head up immediately and saw a "projection" in the first group of windows on a floor which she described both as the sixth floor and the top floor. According to Mrs. Cabell, the object was "rather long looking," but she was unable to determine whether it was a mechanical object or a person's arm. She turned away from the window to tell her husband that the noise was a shot, and "just as I got the words out * * * the second two shots rang out." Mrs. Cabell did not look at the sixth-floor window when the second and third shots were fired.

James N. Crawford and Mary Ann Mitchell, two deputy district clerks for Dallas County, watched the motorcade at the southeast corner of Elm and Houston. After the President's car turned the corner, Crawford heard a loud report which he thought was backfire coming from the direction of the Triple Underpass. He heard a second shot seconds later, followed quickly by a third. At the third shot, he looked up and saw a "movement" in the far east corner of the sixth floor of the Depository, the only open window on that floor. He told Miss Mitchell "that if those were shots they came from that window." When asked to describe the movement more exactly, he said,

* * * I would say that it was a profile, somewhat from the waist up, but it was a very quick movement and rather indistinct and it was very light colored. * * *

* * * * *

When I saw it, I automatically in my mind came to the conclusion that it was a person having moved out of the window. * * *

He could not state whether the person was a man or a woman. Miss Mitchell confirmed that after the third shot Crawford told her, "Those shots came from that building." She saw Crawford pointing at a window but was not sure at which window he was pointing.

Warren Report: Chapter III - On the Fifth Floor

Three Depository employees shown in the picture taken by Dillard were on the fifth floor of the building when the shots were fired: James Jarman, Jr., age 34, a wrapper in the shipping department; Bonnie Ray Williams, age 20, a warehouseman temporarily assigned to laying a plywood floor on the sixth floor; and Harold Norman, age 26, an "order filler." Norman and Jarman decided to watch the parade during the lunch hour from the fifth-floor windows. From the ground floor they took the west elevator, which operates with push-button controls, to the fifth floor. Meanwhile, Williams had gone up to the sixth floor where he had been working and ate his lunch on the south side of that floor. Since he saw no one around when he finished his lunch, he started down on the east elevator, looking for company. He left behind his paper lunch sack, chicken bones and an empty pop bottle. Williams went down to the fifth floor, where he joined Norman and Jarman at approximately 12:20 p.m.

Harold Norman was in the fifth-floor window in the southeast corner, directly under the window where witnesses saw the rifle. (See Commission Exhibit No. 485, p. 69.) He could see light through the ceiling cracks between the fifth and sixth floors. As the motorcade went by, Norman thought that the President was saluting with his right arm,

* * * and I can't remember what the exact time was but I know I heard a shot, and then after I heard the shot, well, it seems as though the President, you know, slumped or something, and then another shot and I believe Jarman or someone told me, he said, "I believe someone is shooting at the President," and I think I made a statement "It is someone shooting at the President, and I believe it came from up above us." Well, I couldn't see at all during the time but I know I heard a third shot fired, and I could also hear something sounded like the shell hulls hitting the floor and the ejecting of the rifle * * *

Williams said that he "really did not pay any attention" to the first shot

* * * because I did not know what was happening. The second shot, it sounded like it was right in the building, the second and third shot. And it sounded it even shook the building, the side we were on. Cement fell on my head.

Q. You say cement fell on your head ?

A. Cement, gravel, dirt, or something, from the old building, because it shook the windows and everything. Harold was sitting next to me, and he said it came right from over our head.

Williams testified Norman said "I can even hear the shell being ejected from the gun hitting the floor." When Jarman heard the first sound, he thought that it was either a backfire

* * * or an officer giving a salute to the President. And then at that time I didn't, you know, think too much about it. * * *

* * * * *

Well, after the third shot was fired, I think I got up and I run over to Harold Norman and Bonnie Ray Williams, and told them, I said, I told them that it wasn't a backfire or anything, that somebody was shooting at the President.

Jarman testified that Norman said "that he thought the shots had come from above us, and I noticed that Bonnie Ray had a few debris in his head. It was sort of white stuff, or something." Jarman stated that Norman said "that he was sure that the shot came from inside the building because he had been used to guns and all that, and he said it didn't sound like it was too far off anyway." The three men ran to the west side of the building, where they could look toward the Triple Underpass to see what had happened to the motorcade.

After the men had gone to the window on the west side of the building, Jarman "got to thinking about all the debris on Bonnie Ray's head" and said, "That shot probably did come from upstairs, up over us." He testified that Norman said, "I know it did, because I could hear the action of the bolt, and I could hear the cartridges drop on the floor." After pausing for a few minutes, the three men ran downstairs. Norman and Jarman ran out of the front entrance of the building, where they saw Brennan, the construction worker who had seen the man in the window firing the gun, talking to a police officer, and they then reported their own experience.

On March 20, 1964, preceding their appearance before the Commission, these witnesses were interviewed in Dallas. At that time members of the Commission's legal staff conducted an experiment. Norman, Williams, and Jarman placed themselves at the windows of the fifth floor as they had been on November 22. A Secret Service agent operated the bolt of a rifle directly above them at the southeast

corner window of the sixth floor. At the same time, three cartridge shells were dropped to the floor at intervals of about 3 seconds. According to Norman, the noise outside was less on the day of the assassination than on the day of the test. He testified, "Well, I heard the same sound, the sound similar. I heard three something that he dropped on the floor and then I could hear the rifle or whatever he had up there." The experiment with the shells and rifle was repeated for members of the Commission on May 9, 1964, on June 7, 1964, and again on September 6, 1964. All seven of the Commissioners clearly heard the shells drop to the floor.

Warren Report: Chapter III - At the Triple Underpass

In contrast to the testimony of the witnesses who heard and observed shots fired from the Depository, the Commission's investigation has disclosed no credible evidence that any shots were fired from anywhere else. When the shots were fired, many people near the Depository believed that the shots came from the railroad bridge over the Triple Underpass or from the area to the west of the Depository. In the hectic moments after the assassination, many spectators ran in the general direction of the Triple Underpass or the railroad yards northwest of the building. Some were running toward the place from which the sound of the rifle fire appeared to come, others were fleeing the scene of the shooting. None of these people saw anyone with a rifle, and the Commission's inquiry has yielded no evidence that shots were fired from the bridge over the Triple Underpass or from the railroad yards.

On the day of the motorcade, Patrolman J. W. Foster stood on the east side of the railroad bridge over the Triple Underpass and Patrolman J. C. White stood on the west side. Patrolman Joe E. Murphy was standing over Elm Street on the Stemmons Freeway overpass, west of the railroad bridge farther away from the Depository. Two other officers were stationed on Stemmons Freeway to control traffic as the motorcade entered the Freeway. Under the advance preparations worked out between the Secret Service and the Dallas Police Department, the policemen were under instructions to keep "unauthorized" people away from these locations. When the motorcade reached the intersection of Elm and Houston Streets, there were no spectators on Stemmons Freeway where Patrolman Murphy was stationed. Patrolman Foster estimated that there were 10 or 11 people on the railroad bridge where he was assigned; another witness testified that there were between 14 and 18 people there as the motorcade came into view. Investigation has disclosed 15 persons who were on the railroad bridge at this time, including 2 policemen, 2 employees of the Texas-Louisiana Freight Bureau and 11 employees of the Union Terminal Co. In the absence of any explicit definition of "unauthorized" persons, the policemen permitted these employees to remain on the railroad bridge to watch the motorcade. (See chapter VIII, pp. 446-447.) At the request of the policemen, S. M. Holland, signal supervisor for Union Terminal Co., came to the railroad bridge at about 11:45 a.m. and remained to identify those persons who were railroad employees. In addition, Patrolman Foster checked credentials to determine if persons seeking access to the bridge were railroad employees. Persons who were not railroad employees were ordered away, including one news photographer who wished only to take a picture of the motorcade.

Another employee of the Union Terminal Co., Lee E. Bowers, Jr., was at work in a railroad tower about 14 feet above the tracks to the north of the railroad bridge and northwest of the corner of Elm and Houston, approximately 50 yards from the back of the Depository. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2218, p. 73.) From the tower he could view people moving in the railroad yards and at the rear of the Depository. According to Bowers, "Since approximately 10 o'clock in the morning traffic had been cut off into the area so that anyone moving around could actually be observed." During the 20 minutes prior to the arrival of the motorcade, Bowers noticed three automobiles which entered his immediate area; two left without discharging any passengers and the third was apparently on its way out when last observed by Bowers. Bowers observed only three or four people in the general area, as well as a few bystanders on the railroad bridge over the Triple Underpass.

As the motorcade proceeded toward the Triple Underpass, the spectators were clustered together along the east concrete wall of the railroad bridge facing the oncoming procession. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2215, p. 75.) Patrolman Foster stood immediately behind them and could observe all of them. Secret Service agents in the lead car of the motorcade observed the bystanders and the police officer on the bridge. Special Agent Winston G. Lawson motioned through the windshield in an unsuccessful attempt to instruct Patrolman Foster to move the people away from their position directly over the path of the motorcade. Some distance away, on the Stemmons Freeway overpass above Elm Street, Patrolman Murphy also had the group on the railroad bridge within view. When he heard the shots, Foster rushed to the wall of the railroad bridge over the Triple Underpass and looked toward the street. After the third shot, Foster ran toward the Depository and shortly thereafter informed Inspector Herbert J. Sawyer of the Dallas Police Department that he thought the shots came from the vicinity of Elm and Houston.

Other witnesses on the railroad bridge had varying views concerning the source and number of the shots. Austin L. Miller, employed by the Texas-Louisiana Freight Bureau, heard three shots and thought that they came from the area of the Presidential limousine itself. One of his coworkers, Royce G. Skelton, thought he heard four shots, but could not tell their exact source. Frank E. Reilly, an electrician at Union Terminal, heard three shots which seemed to come from the trees "On the north side of Elm Street at the corner up there." According to S. M. Holland, there were four shots which sounded as though they came from the trees on the north side of Elm Street where he saw a puff of smoke.

Thomas J. Murphy, a mail foreman at Union Terminal Co., heard two shots and said that they came from a spot just west of the Depository. In the railroad tower, Bowers heard three shots, which sounded as though they came either from the Depository Building or near the mouth of the Triple Underpass. Prior to November 22, 1963, Bowers had noted the similarity of the sounds coming from the vicinity of the Depository and those from the Triple Underpass, which he attributed to "a reverberation which takes place from either location." Immediately after the shots were fired, neither the policemen the spectators on the railroad bridge over the Triple Underpass saw anything suspicious on the bridge in their vicinity. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2214, p. 74.) No one saw anyone with a rifle. As he ran around through the railroad yards to the Depository, Patrolman Foster saw no suspicious activity. The same was true of the other bystanders, many of whom made an effort after the shooting to observe any unusual activity. Holland, for example, immediately after the shots, ran off the overpass to see if there was anyone behind the picket fence on the north side of Elm Street, but he did not see anyone among the parked cars. Miller did not see anyone running across the railroad tracks or on the plaza west of the Depository. Bowers and others saw a motorcycle officer dismount hurriedly and come running up the incline on the north side of Elm Street. The motorcycle officer, Clyde A. Haygood, saw no one running from the railroad yards.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The Presidential Automobile'

After the Presidential car was returned to Washington on November 22, 1963, Secret Service agents found two bullet fragments in the front seat. One fragment, found on the seat beside the driver, weighed 44.6 grains and consisted of the nose portion of a bullet. The other fragment, found along the right side of the front seat, weighed 21.0 grains and consisted of the base portion of a bullet. During the course of an examination on November 23, agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation found three small lead particles, weighing between seven-tenths and nine-tenths of a grain each, on the rug underneath the left jump seat which had been occupied by Mrs. Connally. During this examination, the Bureau agents noted a small residue of lead on the inside surface of the laminated windshield and a very small pattern of cracks on the outer layer of the windshield immediately behind the lead residue. There was a minute particle of glass missing from the outside surface, but no penetration. The inside layer of glass was not broken. The agents also observed a dent in the strip of chrome across the top of the windshield, located to the left of the rear view mirror support.

The lead residue on the inside of the windshield was compared under spectrographic analysis by FBI experts with the bullet fragments found on and alongside the front seat and with the fragments under the left jump seat. It was also compared with bullet fragments found at Parkland Hospital. All these bullet fragments were found to be similar in metallic composition, but it was not possible to determine whether two or more of the fragments came from the same bullet. It is possible for the fragments from the front seat to have been a part of the same bullet as the three fragments found near the left jump seat, since a whole bullet of this type weighs 160-161 grains. (See app. X, pp. 555-558.) The physical characteristics of the windshield after the assassination demonstrate that the windshield was struck on the inside surface. The windshield is composed of two layers of glass with a very thin layer of plastic in the middle "which bonds them together in the form of safety glass." The windshield was extracted from the automobile and was examined during a Commission hearing. (See Commission Exhibit No. 350, p. 78.) According to Robert A. Frazier, FBI firearms expert, the fact that cracks were present on the outer layer of glass showed that the glass had been struck from the inside. He testified that the windshield

could not have been struck on the outside surface because of the manner in which the glass broke and further because of the lead residue on the inside surface. The cracks appear in the outer layer of the glass because the glass is bent outward at the time of impact which stretches the outer layer of the glass to the point where these small radial or wagon spoke, wagon wheel spoke-type cracks appear on the outer surface.

Although there is some uncertainty whether the dent in the chrome on the windshield was present prior to the assassination, Frazier testified that the dent "had been caused by some projectile which struck the chrome on the inside surface." If it was caused by a shot during the assassination, Frazier stated that it would not have been caused by a bullet traveling at full velocity, but rather by a fragment traveling at "fairly high velocity." It could have been caused by either fragment found in the front seat of the limousine.

Warren Report: Chapter III - Expert Examination of Rifle, Cartridge Cases, and Bullet Fragments

On the sixth floor of the Depository Building, the Dallas police found three spent cartridges and a rifle. A nearly whole bullet was discovered on the stretcher used to carry Governor Connally at Parkland Hospital. As described in the preceding section, five bullet fragments were found in the President's limousine. The cartridge cases, the nearly whole bullet and the bullet fragments were all subjected to firearms identification analysis by qualified experts. It was the unanimous opinion of the experts that the nearly whole bullet, the two largest bullet fragments and the three cartridge cases were definitely fired in the rifle found on the sixth floor of the Depository Building to the exclusion of all other weapons.

Warren Report: Chapter III - Discovery of Cartridge Cases and Rifle

Shortly after the assassination, police officers arrived at the Depository Building and began a search for the assassin and evidence. Around 1 p.m. Deputy Sheriff Luke Mooney noticed a pile of cartons in front of the window in the southeast corner of the sixth floor. (See Commission Exhibit No. 723, p. 80.)

Searching that area he found at approximately 1:12 p.m. three empty cartridge cases on the floor near the window. When he was notified of Mooney's discovery, Capt. J. W. Fritz, chief of the homicide bureau of the Dallas Police Department, issued instructions that nothing be moved or touched until technicians from the police crime laboratory could take photographs and check for fingerprints. Mooney stood guard to see that nothing was disturbed. A few minutes later, Lt. J. C. Day of the Dallas Police Department arrived and took photographs of the cartridge cases before anything had been moved.

At 1:22 p.m. Deputy Sheriff Eugene Boone and Deputy Constable Seymour Weitzman found a bolt-action rifle with a telescopic sight between two rows of boxes in the northwest corner near the staircase on the sixth floor. No one touched the weapon or otherwise disturbed the scene until Captain Fritz and Lieutenant Day arrived and the weapon was photographed as it lay on the floor. After Lieutenant Day determined that there were no fingerprints on the knob of the bolt and that the wooden stock was too rough to take fingerprints, he picked the rifle up by the stock and held it that way while Captain Fritz opened the bolt and ejected a live round. Lieutenant Day retained possession of the weapon and took it back to the police department for examination. Neither Boone nor Weitzman handled the rifle.

Warren Report: Chapter III - Discovery of Bullet at Parkland Hospital

A nearly whole bullet was found on Governor Connally's stretcher at Parkland Hospital after the assassination. After his arrival at the hospital the Governor was brought into trauma room No. 2 on a stretcher, removed from the room on that stretcher a short time later, and taken on an elevator to the second-floor operating room. On the second floor he was transferred from the stretcher to an operating table which was then moved into the operating room, and a hospital attendant wheeled the empty stretcher into an elevator. Shortly afterward, Darrell C. Tomlinson, the hospital's senior engineer, removed this stretcher from the elevator and placed it in the corridor on the ground floor, alongside another stretcher wholly unconnected with the care of Governor Connally. A few minutes later, he bumped one of the stretchers against the wall and a bullet rolled out.

Although Tomlinson was not certain whether the bullet came from the Connally stretcher or the adjacent one, the Commission has concluded that the bullet came from the Governor's stretcher. That conclusion is buttressed by evidence which eliminated President Kennedy's stretcher as a source of the bullet. President Kennedy remained on the stretcher on which he was carried into the hospital while the doctors tried to save his life. He was never removed from the stretcher from the time he was taken into the emergency room until his body was placed in a casket in that same room. After the President's body was removed from that stretcher, the linen was taken off and placed in a hamper and the stretcher was pushed into trauma room No. 2, a completely different location from the site where the nearly whole bullet was found.

Warren Report: Chapter III - Description of Rifle

The bolt-action, clip-fed rifle found on the sixth floor of the Depository, described more fully in appendix X, is inscribed with various markings, including "MADE ITALY," "CAL. 6.5," "1940" and the number C2766. (See Commission Exhibit Nos. 1303, 541(2) and 541(3), pp. 82-83.) These markings have been explained as follows: "MADE ITALY" refers to its origin; "CAL. 6.5" refers to the rifle's caliber; "1940" refers to the year of manufacture; and the number C2766 is the serial number. This rifle is the only one of its type bearing that serial number. After review of standard reference works and the markings on the rifle, it was identified by the FBI as a 6.5-millimeter model 91/38 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle. Experts from the FBI made an independent determination of the caliber by inserting a Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5-millimeter cartridge into the weapon for fit, and by making a sulfur cast of the inside of the weapon's barrel and measuring the cast with a micrometer. From outward appearance, the weapon would appear to be a 7.35-millimeter rifle, but its mechanism had been re-barreled with a 6.5-millimeter barrel. Constable Deputy Sheriff Weitzman, who only saw the rifle at a glance and did not handle it, thought the weapon looked like a 7.65 Mauser bolt-action rifle. (See chapter V, p. 235.)

The rifle is 40.2 inches long and weighs 8 pounds. The minimum length broken down is 34.8 inches, the length of the wooden stock. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1304, p. 132.) Attached to the weapon is an inexpensive four-power telescopic sight, stamped "Optics Ordnance Inc./Hollywood California," and "Made in Japan." The weapon also bears a sling consisting of two leather straps. The sling is not a standard rifle sling but appears to be a musical instrument strap or a sling from a carrying case or camera bag.

Warren Report: Chapter III - Expert Testimony

Four experts in the field of firearms identification analyzed the nearly whole bullet, the two largest fragments and the three cartridge cases to determine whether they had been fired from the C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found on the sixth floor of the Depository. Two of these experts testified before the Commission. One was Robert A. Frazier, a special agent of the FBI assigned to the FBI Laboratory in Washington, DC. Frazier has worked generally in the field of firearms identification for 23 years, examining firearms of various types for the purpose of identifying the caliber and other characteristics of the weapons and making comparisons of bullets and cartridge cases for the purpose of determining whether or not they were fired in a particular weapon. He estimated that he has made "in the neighborhood of 50,000 to 60,000" firearms comparisons and has testified in court on about 400 occasions. The second witness who testified on this subject was Joseph D. Nicol, superintendent of the bureau of criminal identification and investigation for the State of Illinois. Nicol also has had long and substantial experience since 1941 in firearms identification, and estimated that he has made thousands of bullet and cartridge case examinations.

In examining the bullet fragments and cartridge cases, these experts applied the general principles accepted in the field of firearms identification, which are discussed in more detail in appendix X at pages 547-553. In brief, a determination that a particular bullet or cartridge case has been fired in a particular weapon is based upon a comparison of the bullet or case under examination with one or more bullets or cases known to have been fired in that weapon. When a bullet is fired in any given weapon, it is engraved with the characteristics of the weapon. In addition to the rifling characteristics of the barrel which are common to all weapons of a given make and model, every weapon bears distinctive microscopic markings on its barrel, firing pin and bolt face. These markings arise initially during manufacture, since the action of the manufacturing tools differs microscopically from weapon to weapon and since, in addition, the tools change microscopically while being used. As a weapon is used further distinctive markings are introduced. Under microscopic examination a qualified expert may be able to determine whether the markings on a bullet known to have been fired in a particular weapon and the markings on a suspect bullet are the same and, therefore, whether both bullets were fired in the same weapon to the exclusion of all other weapons. Similarly, firearms identification experts are able to compare the markings left upon the base of cartridge cases and thereby determine whether both cartridges were fired by the same weapon to the exclusion of all other weapons. According to Frazier, such an identification "is made on the presence of sufficient individual microscopic characteristics so that a very definite pattern is formed and visualized on the two surfaces." Under some circumstances, as where the bullet or cartridge case is seriously mutilated, there are not sufficient individual characteristics to enable the expert to make a firm identification.

After making independent examinations, both Frazier and Nicol positively identified the nearly whole bullet from the stretcher and the two larger bullet fragments found in the Presidential limousine as having been fired in the C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found in the Depository to the exclusion of all other weapons. Each of the two bullet fragments had sufficient unmutated area to provide the basis for an identification. However, it was not possible to determine whether the two bullet fragments were from the same bullet or from two different bullets. With regard to the other bullet fragments discovered in the limousine and in the course of treating President Kennedy and Governor Connally, however, expert examination could demonstrate only that the fragments were "similar in metallic composition" to each other, to the two larger fragments and to the nearly whole bullet. After examination of the three cartridge cases found on the sixth floor of the Depository, Frazier and Nicol concluded that they had been fired in the C2766 Mannlicher- Carcano rifle to the exclusion of all other weapons. Two other experts from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who made independent examinations of the nearly whole bullet, bullet fragments and cartridge cases, reached the identical conclusions.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The Bullet Wounds

In considering the question of the source of the shots fired at President Kennedy and Governor Connally, the Commission has also evaluated the expert medical testimony of the doctors who observed the wounds during the emergency treatment at Parkland Hospital and during the autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital. It paid particular attention to any wound characteristics which would be of assistance in identifying a wound as the entrance or exit point of a missile. Additional information regarding the source and nature of the injuries was obtained by expert examination of the clothes worn by the two men, particularly those worn by President Kennedy, and from the results of special wound ballistics tests conducted at the Commission's request, using the C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle with ammunition of the same type as that used and found on November 22, 1963.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The President's Head Wounds

The detailed autopsy of President Kennedy performed on the night of November 22 at the Bethesda Naval Hospital led the three examining pathologists to conclude that the smaller hole in the rear of the President's skull was the point of entry and that the large opening on the right side of his head was the wound of exit. The smaller hole on the back of the President's head measured one-fourth of an inch by five-eighths of an inch (6 by 15 millimeters). The dimensions of that wound were consistent with having been caused by a 6.5-millimeter bullet fired from behind and above which struck at a tangent or an angle causing a 15-millimeter cut. The cut reflected a larger dimension of entry than the bullet's diameter of 6.5 millimeters, since the missile, in effect, sliced along the skull for a fractional distance until it entered. The dimension of 6 millimeters, somewhat smaller than the diameter of a 6.5-millimeter bullet, was caused by the elastic recoil of the skull which shrinks the size of an opening after a missile passes through it.

Lt. Col. Pierre A. Finck, Chief of the Wound Ballistics Pathology Branch of the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, who has had extensive experience with bullet wounds, illustrated the characteristics which led to his conclusions about the head wound by a chart prepared by him. This chart, based on Colonel Finck's studies of more than 400 cases, depicted the effect of a perforating missile wound on the human skull. When a bullet enters the skull (cranial vault) at one point and exits at another, it causes a beveling or cratering effect where the diameter of the hole is smaller on the impact side than on the exit side. Based on his observations of that beveling effect on the President's skull, Colonel Finck testified: "President Kennedy was, in my opinion, shot from the rear. The bullet entered in the back of the head and went out on the right side of his skull * * * he was shot from above and behind."

Comdr. James J. Humes, senior pathologist and director of laboratories at the Bethesda Naval Hospital, who acted as chief autopsy surgeon, concurred in Colonel Finck's analysis. He compared the beveling or coning effect to that caused by a BB shot which strikes a pane of glass, causing a round or oval defect on the side of the glass where the missile strikes and a belled-out or coned-out surface on the opposite side of the glass. Referring to the bullet hole on the back of President Kennedy's head, Commander Humes testified: "The wound on the inner table, however, was larger and had what in the field of wound ballistics is described as a shelving or coning effect." After studying the other hole in the President's skull, Commander Humes stated: "* * * we concluded that the large defect to the upper right side of the skull, in fact, would represent a wound of exit." Those characteristics led Commander Humes and Comdr. J. Thornton Boswell, chief of pathology at Bethesda Naval Hospital, who assisted in the autopsy, to conclude that the bullet penetrated the rear of the President's head and exited through a large wound on the right side of his head.

Ballistics experiments (discussed more fully in app. X, pp. 585-586) showed that the rifle and bullets identified above were capable of producing the President's head wound. The Wound Ballistics Branch of the U.S. Army laboratories at Edgewood Arsenal, Md., conducted an extensive series of experiments to test the effect of Western Cartridge Co. 6.5-millimeter bullets, the type found on Governor Connally's stretcher and in the Presidential limousine, fired from the C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found in the Depository. The Edgewood Arsenal tests were performed under the immediate supervision of Alfred G. Olivier, a doctor who had spent 7 years in wounds ballistics research for the U.S. Army.

One series of tests, performed on reconstructed inert human skulls, demonstrated that the President's head wound could have been caused by the rifle and bullets fired by the assassin from the sixth-floor window. The results of this series were illustrated by the findings on one skull which was struck at a point closely approximating the wound of entry on President Kennedy's head. That bullet blew out the right side of the reconstructed skull in a manner very similar to the head wound of the President. As a result of these tests, Dr. Olivier concluded that a Western Cartridge Co. 6.5 bullet fired from the C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle at a distance of 90 yards would make the same type of wound as that found on the President's head. Referring to the series of tests, Dr. Olivier testified:

It disclosed that the type of head wounds that the President received could be done by this type of bullet. This surprised me very much, because this type of stable bullet I didn't think would cause a massive head wound, I thought it would go through making a small entrance and exit, but the bones of the skull are enough to deform the end of this bullet causing it to expend a lot of energy and blowing out the side of the skull or blowing out fragments of the skull.

After examining the fragments of the bullet which struck the reconstructed skull, Dr. Olivier stated that the recovered fragments were very similar to the ones recovered on the front seat and on the floor of the car. This, to me, indicates that those fragments did come from the bullet that wounded the President in the head.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The President's Neck Wounds

During the autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital another bullet wound was observed near the base of the back of President Kennedy's neck slightly to the right of his spine which provides further enlightenment as to the source of the shots. The hole was located approximately 5 1/2 inches (14 centimeters) from the tip of the right shoulder joint and approximately the same distance below the tip of the right mastoid process, the bony point immediately behind the ear. The wound was approximately one-fourth by one-seventh of an inch (7 by 4 millimeters), had clean edges, was sharply delineated, and had margins similar in all respects to those of the entry wound in the skull. Commanders Humes and Boswell agreed with Colonel Finck's testimony that this hole.

*** is a wound of entrance. *** The basis for that conclusion is that this wound was relatively small with clean edges. It was not a jagged wound, and that is what we see in wound of entrance at a long range.

The autopsy examination further disclosed that, after entering the President, the bullet passed between two large muscles, produced a contusion on the upper part of the pleural cavity (without penetrating that cavity), bruised the top portion of the right lung and ripped the windpipe (trachea) in its path through the President's neck. The examining surgeons concluded that the wounds were caused by the bullet rather than the tracheotomy performed at Parkland Hospital. The nature of the bruises indicated that the President's heart and lungs were functioning when the bruises were caused, whereas there was very little circulation in the President's body when incisions on the President's chest were made to insert tubes during the tracheotomy. No bone was struck by the bullet which passed through the President's body. By projecting from a point of entry on the rear of the neck and proceeding at a slight downward angle through the bruised interior portions, the doctors concluded that the bullet exited from the front portion of the President's neck that had been cut away by the tracheotomy.

Concluding that a bullet passed through the President's neck, the doctors at Bethesda Naval Hospital rejected a theory that the bullet lodged in the large muscles in the back of his neck and fell out through the point of entry when external heart massage was applied at Parkland Hospital. In the earlier stages of the autopsy, the surgeons were unable to find a path into any large muscle in the back of the neck. At that time they did not know that there had been a bullet hole in the front of the President's neck when he arrived at Parkland Hospital because the tracheotomy incision had completely eliminated that evidence. While the autopsy was being performed, surgeons learned that a whole bullet had been found at Parkland Hospital on a stretcher which, at that time, was thought to be the stretcher occupied by the President. This led to speculation that the bullet might have penetrated a short distance into the back of the neck and then dropped out onto the stretcher as a result of the external heart massage.

Further exploration during the autopsy disproved that theory. The surgeons determined that the bullet had passed between two large strap muscles and bruised them without leaving any channel, since the bullet merely passed between them. Commander Humes, who believed that a tracheotomy had been performed from his observations at the autopsy, talked by telephone with Dr. Perry early on the morning of November 23, and learned that his assumption was correct and that Dr. Perry had used the missile wound in the neck as the point to make the incision. This confirmed the Bethesda surgeons' conclusion that the bullet had exited from the front part of the neck.

The findings of the doctors who conducted the autopsy were consistent with the observations of the doctors who treated the President at Parkland Hospital. Dr. Charles S. Carrico, a resident surgeon at Parkland, noted a small wound approximately one-fourth of an inch in diameter (5 to 8 millimeters) in the lower third of the neck below the Adam's apple. Dr. Malcolm O. Perry, who performed the tracheotomy, described the wound as approximately one-fifth of an inch in diameter (5 millimeters) and exuding blood which partially hid edges that were "neither cleancut, that is, punched out, nor were they very ragged." Dr. Carrico testified as follows:

Q. Based on your observations on the neck wound alone did you have a sufficient basis to form an opinion as to whether it was entrance or an exit wound?

A. No, sir; we did not. Not having completely evaluated all the wounds, traced out the course of the bullets, this wound would have been compatible with either entrance or exit wound depending upon the size, the velocity, the tissue structure and so forth.

The same response was made by Dr. Perry to a similar query:

Q. Based on the appearance of the neck wound alone, could it have been either an entrance or an exit wound ?

A. It could have been either.

Then each doctor was asked to take into account the other known facts, such as the autopsy findings, the approximate distance the bullet traveled and tested muzzle velocity of the assassination weapon. With these additional factors, the doctors commented on the wound on the front of the President's neck as follows:

Dr. CARRICO. With those facts and the fact as I understand it no other bullet was found this would be, this was, I believe, was an exit wound.

Dr. PERRY. A full jacketed bullet without deformation passing through skin would leave a similar wound for an exit and entrance wound and with the facts which you have made available and with these assumptions, I believe that it was an exit wound.

Other doctors at Parkland Hospital who observed the wound prior to the tracheotomy agreed with the observations of Drs. Perry and Carrico. The bullet wound in the neck could be seen for only a short time, since Dr. Perry eliminated evidence of it when he performed the tracheotomy. He selected that spot since it was the point where such an operation was customarily performed, and it was one of the safest and easiest spots from which to reach the trachea. In addition, there was possibly an underlying wound to the muscles in the neck, the carotid artery or the jugular vein, and Dr. Perry concluded that the incision, therefore, had to be low in order to maintain respiration.

Considerable confusion has arisen because of comments attributed to Dr. Perry concerning the nature of the neck wound. Immediately after the assassination, many people reached erroneous conclusions about the source of the shots because of Dr. Perry's observations to the press. On the afternoon of November 22, a press conference was organized at Parkland Hospital by members of the White House press staff and a hospital administrator. Newsmen with microphones and cameras were crowded into a room to hear statements by Drs. Perry and William Kemp Clark, chief neurosurgeon at Parkland, who had attended to President Kennedy's head injury. Dr. Perry described the situation as "bedlam." The confusion was compounded by the fact that some questions were only partially answered before other questions were asked.

At the news conference, Dr. Perry answered a series of hypothetical questions and stated to the press that a variety of possibilities could account for the President's wounds. He stated that a single bullet could have caused the President's wounds by entering through the throat, striking the spine, and being deflected upward with the point of exit being through the head. This would have accounted for the two wounds he observed, the hole in the front of the neck and the large opening in the skull. At that time, Dr. Perry did not know about either the wound on the back of the President's neck or the small bullet-hole wound in the back of the head. As described in chapter II, the President was lying on his back during his entire time at Parkland. The small hole in the head was also hidden from view by the large quantity of blood which covered the President's head. Dr. Perry said his answers at the press conference were intended to convey his theory about what could have happened, based on his limited knowledge at the time, rather than his professional opinion about what did happen. Commenting on his answers at the press conference, Dr. Perry testified before the Commission:

I expressed it [his answers] as a matter of speculation that this was conceivable. But, again, Dr. Clark [who also answered questions at the conference] and I emphasized that we had no way of knowing.

Dr. Perry's recollection of his comments is corroborated by some of the news stories after the press conference. The New York Herald Tribune on November 23, 1963, reported as follows:

Dr. Malcolm Perry, 34, attendant surgeon at Parkland Hospital who attended the President, said he saw two wounds one below the Adam's apple, the other at the back of the head. He said he did not know if two bullets were involved. It is possible, he said, that the neck wound was the entrance and the other the exit of the missile.

According to this report, Dr. Perry stated merely that it was "possible" that the neck wound was a wound of entrance. This conforms with his testimony before the Commission, where he stated that by themselves the characteristics of the neck wound were consistent with being either a point of entry or exit.

Wound ballistics tests. Experiments performed by the Army Wound Ballistics experts at Edgewood Arsenal, Md. (discussed in app. X, p. 582) showed that under simulated conditions entry and exit wounds are very similar in appearance. After reviewing the path of the bullet through the President's neck, as disclosed in the autopsy report, the experts simulated the neck by using comparable material with a thickness of approximately 5 1/2 inches (13 1/2 to 14 1/2 centimeters), which was the distance traversed by the bullet. Animal skin was placed on each side, and Western Cartridge Co. 6.5 bullets

were fired from the C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle from a distance of 180 feet. The animal skin on the entry side showed holes which were regular and round. On the exit side two holes were only slightly elongated, indicating that the bullet had become only a little unstable at the point of exit. A third exit hole was round, although not quite as regular as the entry holes. The exit holes, especially the one most nearly round, appeared similar to the descriptions given by Drs. Perry and Carrico of the hole in the front of the President's neck.

The autopsy disclosed that the bullet which entered the back of the President's neck hit no bony structure and proceeded in a slightly downward angle. The markings on the President's clothing indicate that the bullet moved in a slight right to left lateral direction as it passed through the President's body. After the examining doctors expressed the thought that a bullet would have lost very little velocity in passing through the soft tissue of the neck, wound ballistics experts conducted tests to measure the exit velocity of the bullet. The tests were the same as those used to create entry and exit holes, supplemented by the use of break-type screens which measured the velocity of bullets. The entrance velocity of the bullet fired from the rifle averaged 1,904 feet per second after it traveled 180 feet. The exit velocity averaged 1,772 to 1,798 feet per second, depending upon the substance through which the bullet passed. A photograph of the path of the bullet traveling through the simulated neck showed that it proceeded in a straight line and was stable.

Examination of clothing. The clothing worn by President Kennedy on November 22 had holes and tears which showed that a missile entered the back of his clothing in the vicinity of his lower neck and exited through the front of his shirt immediately behind his tie, nicking the knot of his tie in its forward flight. Although the caliber of the bullet could not be determined and some of the clothing items precluded a positive determination that some tears were made by a bullet, all the defects could have been caused by a 6.5-millimeter bullet entering the back of the President's lower neck and exiting in the area of the knot of his tie.

An examination of the suit jacket worn by the President by FBI Agent Frazier revealed a roughly circular hole approximately one-fourth of an inch in diameter on the rear of the coat, 5 3/8 inches below the top of the collar and 1 3/4 inches to the right of the center back seam of the coat. The hole was visible on the upper rear of the coat slightly to the right of center. Traces of copper were found in the margins of the hole and the cloth fibers around the margins were pushed inward. Those characteristics established that the hole was caused by an entering bullet. Although the precise size of the bullet could not be determined from the hole, it was consistent with having been made by a 6.5- millimeter bullet.

The shirt worn by the President contained a hole on the back side 5 3/4 inches below the top of the collar and 1 1/8 inches to the right of the middle of the back of the shirt. The hole on the rear of the shirt was approximately circular in shape and about one-fourth of an inch in diameter, with the fibers pressed inward. These factors established it as a bullet entrance hole. The relative position of the hole in the back of the suit jacket to the hole in the back of the shirt indicated that both were caused by the same penetrating missile.

On the front of the shirt, examination revealed a hole seven-eighths of an inch below the collar button and a similar opening seven-eighths of an inch below the buttonhole. These two holes fell into alignment on overlapping positions when the shirt was buttoned. Each hole was a vertical, ragged slit approximately one-half of an inch in height, with the cloth fibers protruding outward. Although the characteristics of the slit established that the missile had exited to the front, the irregular nature of the slit precluded a positive determination that it was a bullet hole. However, the hole could have been caused by a round bullet although the characteristics were not sufficiently clear to enable the examining expert to render a conclusive opinion.

When the President's clothing was removed at Parkland Hospital, his tie was cut off by severing the loop immediately to the wearer's left of the knot, leaving the knot in its original condition. The tie had a nick on the left side of the knot. The nick was elongated horizontally, indicating that the tear was made by some object moving horizontally, but the fibers were not affected in a manner which would shed light on the direction or the nature of the missile.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The Governor's Wounds

While riding in the right jump seat of the Presidential limousine on November 22, Governor Connally sustained wounds of the back, chest, right wrist and left thigh. Because of the small size and dean-cut edges of the wound on the Governor's back, Dr. Robert Shaw concluded that it was an entry wound. The bullet traversed the Governor's chest in a downward angle, shattering his fifth rib, and exited below the right nipple. The ragged edges of the 2-inch (5 centimeters) opening on the front of the chest led Dr. Shaw to conclude that it was the exit point of the bullet. When Governor Connally testified before the Commission 5 months after the assassination, on April 21, 1964, the Commission observed the Governor's chest wounds, as well as the injuries to his wrist and thigh and watched Dr. Shaw measure with a caliper an angle of declination of 25 from the point of entry on the back to the point of exit on the front of the Governor's chest.

At the time of the shooting, Governor Connally was unaware that he had sustained any injuries other than his chest wounds. On the back of his arm, about 2 inches (5 centimeters) above the wrist joint on the thumb side, Dr. Charles F. Gregory observed a linear perforating wound approximately one-fifth of an inch (one-half centimeter) wide and 1 inch (2 1/2 centimeters) long. During his operation on this injury, the doctor concluded that this ragged wound was the point of entry because thread and cloth had been carried into the wound to the region of the bone. Dr. Gregory's conclusions were also based upon the location in the Governor's wrist, as revealed by X-ray, of small fragments of metal shed by the missile upon striking the firm surface of the bone. Evidence of different amounts of air in the tissues of the wrist gave further indication that the bullet passed from the back to the front of the wrist. An examination of the palm surface of the wrist showed a wound approximately one-fifth of an inch (one-half centimeter) long and approximately three-fourths of an inch (2 centimeters) above the crease of the right wrist. Dr. Shaw had initially believed that the missile entered on the palm side of the Governor's wrist and exited on the back side. After reviewing the factors considered by Dr. Gregory, however, Dr. Shaw withdrew his earlier opinion. He deferred to the judgment of Dr. Gregory, who had more closely examined that wound during the wrist operation.

In addition, Governor Connally suffered a puncture wound in the left thigh that was approximately two-fifths of an inch (1 centimeter) in diameter and located approximately 5 or 6 inches above the Governor's left knee. On the Governor's leg, very little soft-tissue damage was noted, which indicated a tangential wound or the penetration of a larger missile entering at low velocity and stopping after entering the skin. X-ray examination disclosed a tiny metallic fragment embedded in the Governor's leg. The surgeons who attended the Governor concluded that the thigh wound was not caused by the small fragment in the thigh but resulted from the impact of a larger missile.

Examination of clothing. The clothing worn by Governor Connally on November 22, 1963, contained holes which matched his wounds. On the back of the Governor's coat, a hole was found 1 1/8 inches from the seam where the right sleeve attached to the coat and inches to the right of the midline. This hole was elongated in a horizontal direction approximately five-eighths of an inch in length and one-fourth of an inch in height. The front side of the Governor's coat contained a circular hole three-eighths of an inch in diameter, located 5 inches to the right of the front right edge of the coat slightly above the top button. A rough hole approximately five-eighths of an inch in length and three-eighths of an inch in width was found near the end of the right sleeve. Each of these holes could have been caused by a bullet, but a positive determination of this fact or the direction of the missile was not possible because the garment had been cleaned and pressed prior to any opportunity for a scientific examination.

An examination of the Governor's shirt disclosed a very ragged tear five-eighths of an inch long horizontally and one-half of an inch vertically on the back of the shirt near the right sleeve 2 inches from the line where the sleeve attaches. Immediately to the right was another small tear, approximately three-sixteenths of an inch long. The two holes corresponded in position to the hole in the back of the Governor's coat. A very irregular tear in the form of an "H" was observed on the front side of the Governor's shirt, approximately 1 1/2 inches high, with a crossbar tear approximately 1 inch wide, located 5 inches from the right side seam and 9 inches from the top of the right sleeve. Because the shirt had been laundered, there were insufficient characteristics for the expert examiner to form a conclusive opinion on the direction or nature of the object causing the holes. The rear hole could have been caused by the entrance of a 6.5-millimeter bullet and the front hole by the exit of such a bullet.

On the French cuff of the right sleeve of the Governor's shirt was a ragged, irregularly shaped hole located 1 1/2 inches from the end of the sleeve and 5 1/2 inches from the outside cuff-link hole. The characteristics after laundering did not permit positive conclusions but these holes could have been caused by a bullet passing through the Governor's right wrist from the back to the front sides. The Governor's trousers contained a hole approximately one-fourth of an inch in diameter in the region of the

left knee. The roughly circular shape of the hole and the slight tearing away from the edges gave the hole the general appearance of a bullet hole but it was not possible to determine the direction of the missile which caused the hole.

Course of bullet. Ballistics experiments and medical findings established that the missile which passed through the Governor's wrist and penetrated his thigh had first traversed his chest. The Army Wound Ballistics experts conducted tests which proved that the Governor's wrist wound was not caused by a pristine bullet. (See app. X, pp. 582-585.) A bullet is pristine immediately on exiting from a rifle muzzle when it moves in a straight line with a spinning motion and maintains its uniform trajectory with but a minimum of nose surface striking the air through which it passes. When the straight line of flight of a bullet is deflected by striking some object, it starts to wobble or become irregular in flight, a condition called yaw. A bullet with yaw has a greater surface exposed to the striking material or air, since the target or air is struck not only by the nose of the bullet, its smallest striking surface, but also by the bullet's sides.

The ballistics experts learned the exact nature of the Governor's wrist wound by examining Parkland Hospital records and X-rays and conferring with Dr. Gregory. The C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found in the Depository was fired with bullets of the same type as the bullet found on the Governor's stretcher and the fragments found in the Presidential limousine. Shots were fired from a distance of 70 yards at comparable flesh and bone protected by material similar to the clothing worn by the Governor. One of the test shots wounded the comparable flesh and bone structure in virtually the same place and from the same angle as the wound inflicted on Governor Connally's wrist. An X-ray and photograph of the simulated wrist confirmed the similarity. The bullet which inflicted that injury during the tests had a nose which was substantially flattened from striking the material. The striking velocity at 70 yards of seven shots fired during the tests averaged 1,858 feet per second; the average exit velocity of five shots was 1,776 feet per second.

The conclusion that the Governor's wrist was not struck by a pristine bullet was based upon the following: (1) greater damage was inflicted on the test material than on the Governor's wrist; (2) the test material had a smaller entry wound and a larger exit wound, characteristic of a pristine bullet, while the Governor's wrist had a larger entry wound as compared with its exit wound, indicating a bullet which was tumbling; (3) cloth was carried into the wrist wound, which is characteristic of an irregular missile; (4) the partial cutting of a radial nerve and tendon leading to the Governor's thumb further suggested that the bullet which struck him was not pristine, since such a bullet would merely push aside a tendon and nerve rather than catch and tear them; (5) the bullet found on the Governor's stretcher probably did not pass through the wrist as a pristine bullet because its nose was not considerably flattened, as was the case with the pristine bullet which struck the simulated wrist; and (6) the bullet which caused the Governor's thigh injury and then fell out of the wound had a "very low velocity," whereas the pristine bullets fired during the tests possessed a very high exit velocity.

All the evidence indicated that the bullet found on the Governor's stretcher could have caused all his wounds. The weight of the whole bullet prior to firing was approximately 160-161 grains and that of the recovered bullet was 158 grains. An X-ray of the Governor's wrist showed very minute metallic fragments, and two or three of these fragments were removed from his wrist. All these fragments were sufficiently small and light so that the nearly whole bullet found on the stretcher could have deposited those pieces of metal as it tumbled through his wrist. In their testimony, the three doctors who attended Governor Connally at Parkland Hospital expressed independently their opinion that a single bullet had passed through his chest; tumbled through his wrist with very little exit velocity, leaving small metallic fragments from the rear portion of the bullet; punctured his left thigh after the bullet had lost virtually all of its velocity; and had fallen out of the thigh wound.

Governor Connally himself thought it likely that all his wounds were caused by a single bullet. In his testimony before the Commission, he repositioned himself as he recalled his position on the jump seat, with his right palm on his left thigh, and said:

I * * * wound up the next day realizing I was hit in three places, and I was not conscious of having been hit but by one bullet, so I tried to reconstruct how I could have been hit in three places by the same bullet, and I merely, I know it penetrated from the back through the chest first. I assumed that I had turned as I described a moment ago, placing my right hand on my left leg, that it hit my wrist, went out the center of the wrist, the underside, and then into my leg, but it might not have happened that way at all.

The Governor's posture explained how a single missile through his body would cause all his wounds. His doctors at Parkland Hospital had recreated his position, also, but they placed his right arm somewhat higher than his left thigh although in the same alignment. The wound ballistics experts

concluded in the opinion that a single bullet caused all the Governor's wounds.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The Trajectory

The cumulative evidence of eyewitnesses, firearms and ballistic experts and medical authorities demonstrated that the shots were fired from above and behind President Kennedy and Governor Connally, more particularly, from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. In order to determine the facts with as much precision as possible and to insure that all data were consistent with the shots having been fired from the sixth floor window, the Commission requested additional investigation, including the analysis of motion picture films of the assassination and onsite tests. The facts developed through this investigation by the FBI and Secret Service confirmed the conclusions reached by the Commission regarding the source and trajectory of the shots which hit the President and the Governor. Moreover, these facts enabled the Commission to make certain approximations regarding the locations of the Presidential limousine at the time of the shots and the relevant time intervals.

Warren Report: Chapter III - Films and Tests

When the shots rang out the Presidential limousine was moving beyond the Texas School Book Depository Building in a southwesterly direction on Elm Street between Houston Street and the Triple Underpass. The general location of the car was described and marked on maps by eyewitnesses as precisely as their observations and recollections permitted. More exact information was provided by motion pictures taken by Abraham Zapruder, Orville O. Nix and Mary Muchmore, who were spectators at the scene. Substantial light has been shed on the assassination sequence by viewing these motion pictures, particularly the Zapruder film, which was the most complete and from which individual 35-millimeter slides were made of each motion picture frame.

Examination of the Zapruder motion picture camera by the FBI established that 18.8 pictures or frames were taken each second, and therefore, the timing of certain events could be calculated by allowing 1/18.3 seconds for the action depicted from one frame to the next. The films and slides made from individual frames were viewed by Governor and Mrs. Connally, the Governor's doctors, the autopsy surgeons, and the Army wound ballistics scientists in order to apply the knowledge of each to determine the precise course of events. Tests of the assassin's rifle disclosed that at least 2 seconds were required between shots. In evaluating the films in the light of these timing guides, it was kept in mind that a victim of a bullet wound may not react immediately and, in some situations, according to experts, the victim may not even know where he has been hit, or when.

On May 24, 1964, agents of the FBI and Secret Service conducted a series of tests to determine as precisely as possible what happened on November 22, 1963. Since the Presidential limousine was being remodeled and was therefore unavailable, it was simulated by using the Secret Service follow-up car, which is similar in design. Any differences were taken into account. Two Bureau agents with approximately the same physical characteristics sat in the car in the same relative positions as President Kennedy and Governor Connally had occupied. The back of the stand-in for the President was marked with chalk at the point where the bullet entered. The Governor's model had on the same coat worn by Governor Connally when he was shot, with the hole in the back circled in chalk.

To simulate the conditions which existed at the assassination scene on November 22, the lower part of the sixth-floor window at the southeast corner of the Depository Building was raised halfway, the cardboard boxes were repositioned, the C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found on the sixth floor of the Depository was used, and mounted on that rifle was a camera which recorded the view as was seen by the assassin. In addition, the Zapruder, Nix, and Muchmore cameras were on hand so that photographs taken by these cameras from the same locations where they were used on November 22, 1963, could be compared with the films of that date. The agents ascertained that the foliage of an oak tree that came between the gunman and his target along the motorcade route on Elm Street was approximately the same as on the day of the assassination.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The First Bullet That Hit

The position of President Kennedy's car when he was struck in the neck was determined with substantial precision from the films and onsite tests. The pictures or frames in the Zapruder film were marked by the agents, with the number "1" given to the first frame where the motorcycles leading the motorcade came into view on Houston Street. The numbers continue in sequence as Zapruder filmed the Presidential limousine as it came around the corner and proceeded down Elm. The President was in clear view of the assassin as he rode up Houston Street and for 100 feet as he proceeded down Elm Street, until he came to a point denoted as frame 166 on the Zapruder film. These facts were determined in the test by placing the car and men on Elm Street in the exact spot where they were when each frame of the Zapruder film was photographed. To pinpoint their locations, a man stood at Zapruder's position and directed the automobile and both models to the positions shown on each frame, after which a Bureau photographer crouched at the sixth-floor window and looked through a camera whose lens recorded the view through the telescopic sight of the C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle. (See Commission Exhibit No. 887, p. 99.) Each position was measured to determine how far President Kennedy had gone down Elm from a point, which was designated as station C, on a line drawn along the west curbline of Houston Street.

Based on these calculations, the agents concluded that at frame 166 of the Zapruder film the President passed beneath the foliage of the large oak tree and the point of impact on the President's back disappeared from the gunman's view as seen through the telescopic lens. (See Commission Exhibit No. 889, p. 100.) For a fleeting instant, the President came back into view in the telescopic lens at frame 186 as he appeared in an opening among the leaves. (See Commission Exhibit No. 891, p. 101.) The test revealed that the next point at which the rifleman had a clear view through the telescopic sight of the point where the bullet entered the President's back was when the car emerged from behind the tree at frame 210. (See Commission Exhibit No. 893, p. 102.) According to FBI Agent Lyndal L. Shaneyfelt, "There is no obstruction from the sixth floor window from the time they leave the tree until they disappear down toward the triple overpass."

As the President rode along Elm Street for a distance of about 140 feet, he was waving to the crowd. Shaneyfelt testified that the waving is seen on the Zapruder movie until around frame 205, when road sign blocked out most of the President's body from Zapruder's view through the lens of his camera. However, the assassin continued to have a clear view of the President as he proceeded down Elm. When President Kennedy again came fully into view in the Zapruder film at frame 225, he seemed to be reacting to his neck wound by raising his hands to his throat. (See Commission Exhibit No. 895, p. 103.) According to Shaneyfelt the reaction was "clearly apparent in and barely apparent in 225." It is probable that the President was not shot before frame 210, since it is unlikely that the assassin would deliberately have shot at him with a view obstructed by the oak tree when he was about to have a clear opportunity. It is also doubtful that even the most proficient marksman would have hit him through the oak tree. In addition, the President's reaction is "barely apparent" in frame 225, which is 15 frames or approximately eight-tenths second after frame 210, and a shot much before 210 would assume a longer reaction time than was recalled by eyewitnesses at the scene. Thus, the evidence indicated that the President was not hit until at least frame 210 and that he was probably hit by frame 225. The possibility of variations in reaction time in addition to the obstruction of Zapruder's view by the sign precluded a more specific determination than that the President was probably shot through the neck between frames 210 and 225, which marked his position between 138.9 and 153.8 feet west of station C.

According to Special Agent Robert A. Frazier, who occupied the position of the assassin in the sixth-floor window during the reenactment, it is likely that the bullet which passed through the President's neck, as described previously, then struck the automobile or someone else in the automobile. The minute examination by the FBI inspection team, conducted in Washington between 14 and 16 hours after the assassination, revealed no damage indicating that a bullet struck any part of the interior of the Presidential limousine, with the exception of the cracking of the windshield and the dent on the windshield chrome. Neither of these points of damage to the car could have been caused by the bullet which exited from the President's neck at a velocity of 1,772 to 1,779 feet per second. If the trajectory had permitted the bullet to strike the windshield, the bullet would have penetrated it and traveled a substantial distance down the road unless it struck some other object en route. Had that bullet struck the metal framing, which was dented, it would have torn a hole in the chrome and penetrated the framing, both inside and outside the car. At that exit velocity, the bullet would have penetrated any other metal or upholstery surface of the interior of the automobile.

The bullet that hit President Kennedy in the back and exited through his throat most likely could not have missed both the automobile and its occupants. Since it did not hit the automobile, Frazier testified that

it probably struck Governor Connally. The relative positions of President Kennedy and Governor Connally at the time when the President was struck in the neck confirm that the same bullet probably passed through both men. Pictures taken of the President's limousine on November 22, 1963, showed that the Governor sat immediately in front of the President. Even though the precise distance cannot be ascertained, it is apparent that President Kennedy was somewhat to the Governor's right. The President sat on the extreme right, as noted in the films and by eyewitnesses, while the right edge of the jump seat in which the Governor sat is 6 inches from the right door. (See Commission Exhibit No. 697 p. 104.) The President wore a back brace which tended to make him sit up straight, and the Governor also sat erect since the jump seat gave him little leg room.

Based on his observations during the reenactment and the position of Governor Connally shown in the Zapruder film after the car emerged from behind the sign, Frazier testified that Governor Connally was in a position during the span from frame 207 to frame 225 to receive a bullet which would have caused the wounds he actually suffered. Governor Connally viewed the film and testified that he was hit between frames 231 and 234. According to Frazier, between frames 235 and 240 the Governor turned sharply to his right, so that by frame 240 he was too far to the right to have received his injuries at that time. At some point between frames 235 and 240, therefore, is the last occasion when Governor Connally could have received his injuries, since in the frames following 240 he remained turned too far to his right. If Governor Connally was hit by a separate shot between frames 235 and 240 which followed the shot which hit the President's neck, it would follow that: (1) the assassin's first shot, assuming a minimum firing time of 2.3 seconds (or 42 frames), was fired between frames 193 and 198 when his view was obscured by the oak tree; (2) President Kennedy continued waving to the crowd after he was hit and did not begin to react for about 1 1/2 seconds; and (3) the first shot, although hitting no bones in the President's body, was deflected after its exit from the President's neck in such a way that it failed to hit either the automobile or any of the other occupants.

Viewed through the telescopic sight of the C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle from the sixth-floor window during the test, the marks that simulated the entry wounds on the stand-ins for the President and the Governor were generally in a straight line. That alignment became obvious to the viewer through the scope as the Governor's model turned slightly to his right and assumed the position which Governor Connally had described as his position when he was struck. Viewing the stand-ins for the President and the Governor in the sight of the C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle at the location depicted in frames 207 and 210, Frazier testified: "They both are in direct alignment with the telescopic sight at the window. The Governor is immediately behind the President in the field of view." (See Commission Exhibit No. 893, p. 102.) A surveyor then placed his sighting equipment at the precise point of entry on the back of the President's neck, assuming that the President was struck at frame 210, and measured the angle to the end of the muzzle of the rifle positioned where it was believed to have been held by the assassin. That angle measured 2134'. From the same points of reference, the angle at frame 225 was measured at 2011, giving an average angle of 2052'30" from frame 210 to frame 225. Allowing for a downward street grade of 309', the probable angle through the President's body was calculated at 1743'30", assuming that he was sitting in a vertical position.

That angle was consistent with the trajectory of a bullet passing through the President's neck and then striking Governor Connally's back, causing the wounds which were discussed above. Shortly after that angle was ascertained, the open car and the stand-ins were taken by the agents to a nearby garage where a photograph was taken to determine through closer study whether the angle of that shot could have accounted for the wounds in the President's neck and the Governor's back. A rod was placed at an angle of 1743'30" next to the stand-ins for the President and the Governor, who were seated in the same relative positions. The wounds of entry and exit on the President were approximated based on information gained from the autopsy reports and photographs. The hole in the back of the jacket worn by the Governor and the medical description of the wound on his back marked that entry point. That line of fire from the sixth floor of the Depository would have caused the bullet to exit under the Governor's right nipple just as the bullet did. Governor Connally's doctors measured an angle of declination on his body from the entry wound on his back to the exit on the front of his chest at about 25 when he sat erect. That difference was explained by either a slight deflection of the bullet caused by striking the fifth rib or the Governor's leaning slightly backward at the time he was struck. In addition, the angle could not be fixed with absolute precision, since the large wound on the front of his chest precluded an exact determination of the point of exit.

The alignment of the points of entry was only indicative and not conclusive that one bullet hit both men. The exact positions of the men could not be re-created; thus, the angle could only be approximated. Had President Kennedy been leaning forward or backward, the angle of declination of the shot to a perpendicular target would have varied. The angle of 1743'30" was approximately the angle of

declination reproduced in an artist's drawing. That drawing, made from data provided by the autopsy surgeons, could not reproduce the exact line of the bullet, since the exit wound was obliterated by the tracheotomy. Similarly, if the President or the Governor had been sitting in a different lateral position, the conclusion might have varied. Or if the Governor had not turned in exactly the way calculated, the alignment would have been destroyed.

Additional experiments by the Army Wound Ballistics Branch further suggested that the same bullet probably passed through both President Kennedy and Governor Connally. (See app. X, pp. 582-585.) Correlation of a test simulating the Governor's chest wound with the neck and wrist experiments indicated that course. After reviewing the Parkland Hospital medical records and X-rays of the Governor and discussing his chest injury with the attending surgeon, the Army ballistics experts virtually duplicated the wound using the assassination weapon and animal flesh covered by cloth. The bullet that struck the animal flesh displayed characteristics similar to the bullet found on Governor Connally's stretcher. Moreover, the imprint on the velocity screen immediately behind the animal flesh showed that the bullet was tumbling after exiting from the flesh, having lost a total average of 265 feet per second. Taking into consideration the Governor's size, the reduction in velocity of a bullet passing through his body would be approximately 400 feet per second.

Based upon the medical evidence on the wounds of the Governor and the President and the wound ballistics tests performed at Edgewood Arsenal, Drs. Olivier and Arthur J. Dziemian, chief of the Army Wound Ballistics Branch, who had spent 17 years in that area of specialization, concluded that it was probable that the same bullet passed through the President's neck and then inflicted all the wounds on the Governor. Referring to the President's neck wound and all the Governor's wounds, Dr. Dziemian testified: "I think the probability is very good that it is, that all the wounds were caused by one bullet." Both Drs. Dziemian and Olivier believed that the wound on the Governor's wrist would have been more extensive had the bullet which inflicted that injury merely passed through the Governor's chest, exiting at a velocity of approximately 1,500 feet per second. Thus, the Governor's wrist wound suggested that the bullet passed through the President's neck, began to yaw in the air between the President and the Governor, and then lost more velocity than 400 feet per second in passing through the Governor's chest. A bullet which was yawing on entering into the Governor's back would lose substantially more velocity in passing through his body than a pristine bullet. In addition, the bullet that struck the animal flesh was flattened to a greater extent than the bullet which presumably struck the Governor's rib, which suggests that the bullet which entered the Governor's chest had already lost velocity by passing through the President's neck. Moreover, the large wound on the Governor's back would be explained by a bullet which was yawing, although that type of wound might also be accounted for by a tangential striking.

Dr. Frederick W. Light, Jr., the third of the wound ballistics experts, who has been engaged in that specialty at Edgewood Arsenal since 1951, testified that the anatomical findings were insufficient for him to formulate a firm opinion as to whether the same bullet did or did not pass through the President's neck first before inflicting all the wounds on Governor Connally. Based on the other circumstances, such as the relative positions of the President and the Governor in the automobile, Dr. Light concluded that it was probable that the same bullet traversed the President's neck and inflicted all the wounds on Governor Connally.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The Subsequent Bullet That Hit

After a bullet penetrated President Kennedy's neck, a subsequent shot entered the back of his head and exited through the upper right portion of his skull. The Zapruder, Nix and Muchmore films show the instant in the sequence when that bullet struck. (See Commission Exhibit No. 902, p. 108.) That impact was evident from the explosion of the President's brain tissues from the right side of his head. The immediately preceding frame from the Zapruder film shows the President slumped to his left, clutching at his throat, with his chin close to his chest and his head tilted forward at an angle. Based upon information provided by the doctors who conducted the autopsy, an artist's drawing depicted the path of the bullet through the President's head, with his head being in the same approximate position.

By using the Zapruder, Nix and Muchmore motion pictures, the President's location at the time the bullet penetrated his head was fixed with reasonable precision. A careful analysis of the Nix and Muchmore films led to fixing the exact location of these cameramen. The point of impact of the bullet on the President's head was apparent in all of the movies. At that point in the Nix film a straight line was plotted from the camera position to a fixed point in the background and the President's location along this line was marked on a plat map. A similar process was followed with the Muchmore film. The President's location on the plat map was identical to that determined from the Nix film. The President's location, established through the Nix and Muchmore films, was confirmed by comparing his position on the Zapruder film. This location had hitherto only been approximated, since there were no landmarks in the background of the Zapruder frame for alignment purposes other than a portion of a painted line on the curb. Through these procedures, it was determined that President Kennedy was shot in the head when he was 230.8 feet from a point on the west curblin on Houston Street where it intersected with Elm Street. The President was 265.3 feet from the rifle in the sixth-floor window and at that position the approximate angle of declination was 1521'.

Warren Report: Chapter III - Number of Shots

The consensus among the witnesses at the scene was that three shots were fired. However, some heard only two shots, while others testified that they heard four and perhaps as many as five or six shots. The difficulty of accurate perception of the sound of gunshots required careful scrutiny of all of this testimony regarding the number of shots. The firing of a bullet causes a number of noises: the muzzle blast, caused by the smashing of the hot gases which propel the bullet into the relatively stable air at the gun's muzzle; the noise of the bullet, caused by the shock wave built up ahead of the bullet's nose as it travels through the air; and the noise caused by the impact of the bullet on its target. Each noise can be quite sharp and may be perceived as a separate shot. The tall buildings in the area might have further distorted the sound.

The physical and other evidence examined by the Commission compels the conclusion that at least two shots were fired. As discussed previously, the nearly whole bullet discovered at Parkland Hospital and the two larger fragments found in the Presidential automobile, which were identified as coming from the assassination rifle, came from at least two separate bullets and possibly from three. The most convincing evidence relating to the number of shots was provided by the presence on the sixth floor of three spent cartridges which were demonstrated to have been fired by the same rifle that fired the bullets which caused the wounds. It is possible that the assassin carried an empty shell in the rifle and fired only two shots, with the witnesses hearing multiple noises made by the same shot. Soon after the three empty cartridges were found, officials at the scene decided that three shots were fired, and that conclusion was widely circulated by the press. The eyewitness testimony may be subconsciously colored by the extensive publicity given the conclusion that three shots were fired. Nevertheless, the preponderance of the evidence, in particular the three spent cartridges, led the Commission to conclude that there were three shots fired.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The Shot That Missed

From the initial findings that (a) one shot passed through the President's neck and then most probably passed through the Governor's body, (b) a subsequent shot penetrated the President's head, (c) no other shot struck any part of the automobile, and (d) three shots were fired, it follows that one shot probably missed the car and its occupants. The evidence is inconclusive as to whether it was the first, second, or third shot which missed.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The First Shot

If the first shot missed, the assassin perhaps missed in an effort to fire a hurried shot before the President passed under the oak tree, or possibly he fired as the President passed under the tree and the tree obstructed his view. The bullet might have struck a portion of the tree and been completely deflected. On the other hand, the greatest cause for doubt that the first shot missed is the improbability that the same marksman who twice hit a moving target would be so inaccurate on the first and closest of his shots as to miss completely, not only the target, but the large automobile.

Some support for the contention that the first shot missed is found in the statement of Secret Service Agent Glen A. Bennett, stationed in the right rear seat of the President's follow-up car, who heard a sound like a firecracker as the motorcade proceeded down Elm Street. At that moment, Agent Bennett stated:

*** I looked at the back of the President. I heard another firecracker noise and saw that shot hit the President about four inches down from the right shoulder. A second shot followed immediately and hit the right rear high of the President's head.

Substantial weight may be given Bennett's observations. Although his formal statement was dated November 23, 1963, his notes indicate that he recorded what he saw and heard at 5:30 p.m., November 1963, on the airplane en route back to Washington, prior to the autopsy, when it was not yet known that the President had been hit in the back. It is possible, of course, that Bennett did not observe the hole in the President's back, which might have been there immediately after the first noise.

Governor Connally's testimony supports the view that the first shot missed, because he stated that he heard a shot, turned slightly to his right, and, as he started to turn back toward his left, was struck by the second bullet. He never saw the President during the shooting sequence, and it is entirely possible that he heard the missed shot and that both men were struck by the second bullet. Mrs. Connally testified that after the first shot she turned and saw the President's hands moving toward his throat, as seen in the films at frame 225. However, Mrs. Payne further stated that she thought her husband was hit immediately thereafter by the second bullet. If the same bullet struck both the President and the Governor, it is entirely possible that she saw the President's movements at the same time as she heard the second shot. Her testimony, therefore, does not preclude the possibility of the first shot having missed.

Other eyewitness testimony, however, supports the conclusion that the first of the shots fired hit the President. As discussed in chapter II, Special Agent Hill's testimony indicates that the President was hit by the first shot and that the head injury was caused by a second shot which followed about 5 seconds later. James W. Altgens, a photographer in Dallas for the Associated Press, had stationed himself on Elm Street opposite the Depository to take pictures of the passing motorcade. Altgens took a widely circulated photograph which showed President Kennedy reacting to the first of the two shots which hit him. (See Commission Exhibit No. 900, p. 113.) According to Altgens, he snapped the picture "almost simultaneously" with a shot which he is confident was the first one fired. Comparison of his photograph with the Zapruder film, however, revealed that Altgens took his picture at approximately the same moment as frame 255 of the movie, 30 to 45 frames (approximately 2 seconds) later than the point at which the President was shot in the neck. (See Commission Exhibit No. 901, p. 114.) Another photographer, Phillip L. Willis, snapped a picture at a time which he also asserts was simultaneous with the first shot. Analysis of his photograph revealed that it was taken at approximately frame 210 of the Zapruder film, which was the approximate time of the shot that probably hit the President and the Governor. If Willis accurately recalled that there were no previous shots, this would be strong evidence that the first shot did not miss.

If the first shot did not miss, there must be an explanation for Governor Connally's recollection that he was not hit by it. There was, conceivably, a delayed reaction between the time the bullet struck him and the time he realized that he was hit, despite the fact that the bullet struck a glancing blow to a rib and penetrated his wrist bone. The Governor did not even know that he had been struck in the wrist or in the thigh until he regained consciousness in the hospital the next day. Moreover, he testified that he did not hear what he thought was the second shot, although he did hear a subsequent shot which coincided with the shattering of the President's head. One possibility, therefore, would be a sequence in which the Governor heard the first shot, did not immediately feel the penetration of the bullet, then felt the delayed reaction of the impact on his back, later heard the shot which shattered the President's head, and then lost consciousness without hearing a third shot which might have occurred later.

Warren Report: Chapter III - The Second Shot

The possibility that the second shot missed is consistent with the elapsed time between the two shots that hit their mark. From the timing evidenced by the Zapruder films, there was an interval of from 4.8 to 5.6 seconds between the shot which struck President Kennedy's neck (between frames 210 to 225) and the shot which struck his head at frame 813. Since a minimum of 2.3 seconds must elapse between shots, a bullet could have been fired from the rifle and missed during this interval. This possibility was buttressed by the testimony of witnesses who claimed that the shots were evenly spaced, since a second shot occurring within an interval of approximately 5 seconds would have to be almost exactly midway in this period. If Altgens' recollection is correct that he snapped his picture at the same moment as he heard a shot, then it is possible that he heard a second shot which missed, since a shot fired 2.3 seconds before he took his picture at frame 255 could have hit the President at about frame 213.

On the other hand, a substantial majority of the witnesses stated that the shots were not evenly spaced. Most witnesses recalled that the second and third shots were bunched together, although some believed that it was the first and second which were bunched. To the extent that reliance can be placed on recollection of witnesses as to the spacing of the shots, the testimony that the shots were not evenly spaced would militate against a second shot missing. Another factor arguing against the second shot missing is that the gunman would have been shooting at very near the minimum allowable time to have fired the three shots within 4.8 to 5.6 seconds, although it was entirely possible for him to have done so. (See ch. IV, pp. 188-194.)

Warren Report: Chapter III - The Third Shot

The last possibility, of course, is that it was the third shot which missed. This conclusion conforms most easily with the probability that the assassin would most likely have missed the farthest shot, particularly since there was an acceleration of the automobile after the shot which struck the President's head. The limousine also changed direction by following the curve to the right, whereas previously it had been proceeding in almost a straight line with a rifle protruding from the sixth-floor window of the Depository Building.

One must consider, however, the testimony of the witnesses who described the head shot as the concluding event in the assassination sequence. Illustrative is the testimony of Associated Press photographer Altgens, who had an excellent vantage point near the President's car. He recalled that the shot which hit the President's head "was the last shot that much I will say with a great degree of certainty." On the other hand, Emmett J. Hudson, the grounds-keeper of Dealey Plaza, testified that from his position on Elm Street, midway between Houston Street and the Triple Underpass, he heard a third shot after the shot which hit the President in the head. In addition, Mrs. Kennedy's testimony indicated that neither the first nor the second shot missed. Immediately after the first noise she turned, because of the Governor's yell, and saw her husband raise his hand to his forehead. Then the second shot struck the President's head.

Some evidence suggested that a third shot may have entirely missed and hit the turf or street by the Triple Underpass. Royce G. Skelton, who watched the motorcade from the railroad bridge, testified that after two shots "the car came on down close to the Triple Underpass" and an additional shot "hit in the left front of the President's car on the cement." Skelton thought that there had been a total of four shots, either the third or fourth of which hit in the vicinity of the underpass. Dallas Patrolman J. W. Foster, who was also on the Triple Underpass, testified that a shot hit the turf near a manhole cover in the vicinity of the underpass. Examination of this area, however, disclosed no indication that a bullet struck at the locations indicated by Skelton or Foster.

At a different location in Dealey Plaza, the evidence indicated that a bullet fragment did hit the street. James T. Tague, who got out of his car to watch the motorcade from a position between Commerce and Main Streets near the Triple Underpass, was hit on the cheek by an object during the shooting. Within a few minutes Tague reported this to Deputy Sheriff Eddy R. Walthers, who was examining the area to see if any bullets had struck the turf. Walthers immediately started to search where Tague had been standing and located a place on the south curb of Main Street where it appeared a bullet had hit the cement. According to Tague, "There was a mark quite obviously. that was a bullet, and it was very fresh." In Tague's opinion, it was the second shot which caused the mark, since he thinks he heard the third shot after he was hit in the face. This incident appears to have been recorded in the contemporaneous report of Dallas Patrolman L. L. Hill, who radioed in around 12:40 p.m.: "I have one guy that was possibly hit by a ricochet from the bullet off the concrete." Scientific examination of the mark on the south curb of Main Street by FBI experts disclosed metal smears which, "were spectrographically determined to be essentially lead with a trace of antimony." The mark on the curb could have originated from the lead core of a bullet but the absence of copper precluded "the possibility that the mark on the curbing section was made by an un mutilated military full metal-jacketed bullet such as the bullet from Governor Connally's stretcher."

It is true that the noise of a subsequent shot might have been drowned out by the siren on the Secret Service follow-up car immediately after the head shot, or the dramatic effect of the head shot might have caused so much confusion that the memory of subsequent events was blurred. Nevertheless, the preponderance of the eyewitness testimony that the head shot was the final shot must be weighed in any determination as to whether it was the third shot that missed. Even if it were caused by a bullet fragment, the mark on the south curb of Main Street cannot be identified conclusively with any of the three shots fired. Under the circumstances it might have come from the bullet which hit the President's head, or it might have been a product of the fragmentation of the missed shot upon hitting some other object in the area. Since he did not observe any of the shots striking the President, Tague's testimony that the second shot, rather than the third, caused the scratch on his cheek, does not assist in limiting the possibilities.

The wide range of possibilities and the existence of conflicting testimony, when coupled with the impossibility of scientific verification, precludes a conclusive finding by the Commission as to which shot missed.

Warren Report: Chapter III - Time Span of Shots

Witnesses at the assassination scene said that the shots were fired within a few seconds, with the general estimate being 5 to 6 seconds. That approximation was most probably based on the earlier publicized reports that the first shot struck the President in the neck, the second wounded the Governor and the third shattered the President's head, with the time span from the neck to the head shots on the President being approximately 5 seconds. As previously indicated, the time span between the shot entering the back of the President's neck and the bullet which shattered his skull was 4.8 to 5 seconds. If the second shot missed, then 4.8 to 5.6 seconds was the total time span of the shots. If either the first or third shots missed, then a minimum of 2.3 seconds (necessary to operate the rifle) must be added to the time span of the shots which hit, giving a minimum time of 7.1 to 7.9 seconds for the three shots. If more than 2.3 seconds elapsed between a shot that missed and one that hit, then the time span would be correspondingly increased.

Warren Report: Chapter III - Conclusion

Based on the evidence analyzed in this chapter, the Commission has concluded that the shots which killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally were fired from the sixth-floor window at the southeast corner of the Texas School Book Depository Building. Two bullets probably caused all the wounds suffered by President Kennedy and Governor Connally. Since the preponderance of the evidence indicated that three shots were fired, the Commission concluded that one shot probably missed the Presidential limousine and its occupants, and that the three shots were fired in a time period ranging from approximately 4.8 to in excess of 7 seconds.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Assassin

THE PRECEDING chapter has established that the bullets which killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally were fired from the southeast corner window of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building and that the weapon which fired these bullets was a Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5-millimeter Italian rifle bearing the serial number C2766. In this chapter the Commission evaluates the evidence upon which it has based its conclusion concerning the identity of the assassin. This evidence includes (1) the ownership and possession of the weapon used to commit the assassination, (2) the means by which the weapon was brought into the Depository Building, (3) the identity of the person present at the window from which the shots were fired, (4) the killing of Dallas Patrolman J. D. Tippit within 45 minutes after the assassination, (5) the resistance to arrest and the attempted shooting of another police officer by the man (Lee Harvey Oswald) subsequently accused of assassinating President Kennedy and killing Patrolman Tippit, (6) the lies told to the police by Oswald, (7) the evidence linking Oswald to the attempted killing of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker (Resigned, U.S. Army) on April 10, 1963, and (8) Oswald's capability with a rifle.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Ownership and Possession of Assassination Weapon

Purchase of Rifle by Oswald

Shortly after the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle was found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building, agents of the FBI learned from retail outlets in Dallas that Crescent Firearms, Inc., of New York City, was a distributor of surplus Italian 6.5-millimeter military rifles. During the evening of November 22, 1963, a review of the records of Crescent Firearms revealed that the firm had shipped an Italian carbine, serial number C2766, to Klein's Sporting Goods Co., of Chicago, Ill. After searching their records from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m. the officers of Klein's discovered that a rifle bearing serial number C2766 had been shipped to one A. Hidell, Post Office Box 2915, Dallas, Tex., on March 20, 1963. (See Waldman Exhibit No. 7, p. 120.) According to its microfilm records, Klein's received an order for a rifle on March 13, 1963, on a coupon clipped from the February 1963 issue of the American Rifleman magazine. The order coupon was signed, in hand printing, "A. Hidell, P.O. Box 2915, Dallas, Texas." (See Commission Exhibit No. 773, p. 120.) It was sent in an envelope bearing the same name and return address in handwriting. Document examiners for the Treasury Department and the FBI testified unequivocally that the bold printing on the face of the mail-order coupon was in the hand printing of Lee Harvey Oswald and that the writing on the envelope was also his. Oswald's writing on these and other documents was identified by comparing the writing and printing on the documents in question with that appearing on documents known to have been written by Oswald, such as his letters, passport application, and endorsements of checks. (See app. X, p. 568-569.) In addition to the order coupon the envelope contained a U.S. postal money order for \$21.45, purchased as No. 2, 202, 130, 462 in Dallas, Tex., on March 12, 1963. The canceled money order was obtained from the Post Office Department. Opposite the printed words "Pay To" were written the words "Kleins Sporting Goods," and opposite the printed word "From" were written the words "A. Hidell, P.O. Box 2915 Dallas, Texas." These words were also in the handwriting of Lee Harvey Oswald. (See Commission Exhibit No. 788, p. 120.) From Klein's records it was possible to trace the processing of the order after its receipt. A bank deposit made on March 13, 1963, included an item of \$21.45. Klein's shipping order form shows an imprint made by the cash register which recorded the receipt of \$21.45 on March 13, 1963. This price included \$19.95 for the rifle and the scope, and \$1 for postage and handling. The rifle without the scope cost only \$12.78.

According to the vice president of Klein's, William Waldman, the scope was mounted on the rifle by a gunsmith employed by Klein's, and the rifle was shipped fully assembled in accordance with customary company procedures. The specific rifle shipped against the order had been received by Klein's from Crescent on February 21, 1963. It bore the manufacturer's serial number C2766. On that date, Klein's placed an internal control number VC836 on this rifle.

According to Klein's shipping order form, one Italian carbine 6.5 X-4 x scope, control number VC836, serial number C2766, was shipped parcel post to "A. Hidell, P.O. Box 2915, Dallas, Texas," on March 20, 1963. Information received from the Italian Armed Forces Intelligence Service has established that this particular rifle was the only rifle of its type bearing serial number C2766. (See app. X, p. 554.) The post office box to which the rifle was shipped was rented to "Lee H. Oswald" from October 9, 1962, to May 14, 1963. Experts on handwriting identification from the Treasury Department and the FBI testified that the signature and other writing on the application for that box were in the handwriting of Lee Harvey Oswald, as was a change-of-address card dated May 12, 1963, by which Oswald requested that mail addressed to that box be forwarded to him in New Orleans, where he had moved on April 24. Since the rifle was shipped from Chicago on March 20, 1963, it was received in Dallas during the period when Oswald rented and used the box. (See Commission Exhibit No. 791, p. 120.) It is not known whether the application for post office box 2915 listed "A. Hidell" as a person entitled to receive mail at this box. In accordance with postal regulations, the portion of the application which lists names of persons, other than the applicant, entitled to receive mail was thrown away after the box was closed on May 1963. Postal Inspector Harry D. Holmes of the Dallas Post Office testified, however, that when a package is received for a certain box, a notice is placed in that box regardless of whether the name on the package is listed on the application as a person entitled to receive mail through that box. The person having access to the box then takes the notice to the window and is given the package. Ordinarily, Inspector Holmes testified, identification is not requested because it is assumed that the person with the notice is entitled to the package.

Oswald's use of the name "Hidell" to purchase the assassination weapon was one of several instances in which he used this name as an alias. When arrested on the day of the assassination, he had in his possession a Smith & Wesson 38 caliber revolver purchased by mail-order coupon from Seaport-Traders, Inc., a mail-order division of George Rose & Co., Los Angeles. The mail-order coupon listed

the purchaser as "A. J. Hidell Age 28" with the address of post office box 2915 in Dallas, handwriting experts from the FBI and the Treasury Department testified that the writing on the mail-order form was that of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Among other identification cards in Oswald's wallet at the time of his arrest were a Selective Service notice of classification, a Selective Service registration certificate, and a certificate of service in the U.S. Marine Corps, all three cards being in his own name. Also in his wallet at that time were a Selective Service notice of classification and a Marine certificate of service in the name of Alek James Hidell. On the Hidell Selective Service card there appeared signature, "Alek J. Hidell," and the photograph of Lee Harvey Oswald. Experts on questioned documents from the Treasury Department and the FBI testified that the Hidell cards were counterfeit photographic reproductions made by photographing the Oswald cards, retouching the resulting negatives, and producing prints from the retouched negatives.

The Hidell signature on the notice of classification was in the handwriting of Oswald. (See app. X, p. 572.) In Oswald's personal effects found in his room at 1026 North Beckley Avenue in Dallas was a purported international certificate of vaccination signed by "Dr. A. J. Hidell," Post Office Box 30016, New Orleans. It certified that Lee Harvey Oswald had been vaccinated for smallpox on June 8, 1963. This, too, was a forgery. The signature of "A. J. Hideel" was in the handwriting of Lee Harvey Oswald. There is no "Dr. Hideel" licensed to practice medicine in Louisiana.

There is no post office box 30016 in the New Orleans Post Office but Oswald had rented post office box 30061 in New Orleans on June 3, 1963, listing Marina Oswald and A. J. Hidell as additional persons entitled to receive mail in the box.

The New Orleans postal authorities had not discarded the portion of the application listing the names of those, other than the owner of the box, entitled to receive mail through the box. Expert testimony confirmed that the writing on this application was that of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Hidell's name on the post office box application was part of Oswald's use of a nonexistent Hidell to serve as president of the so-called New Orleans Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. (As discussed below in ch.VI, p. 292.) Marina Oswald testified that she first learned of Oswald's use of the fictitious name "Hidell" in connection with his pro-Castro activities in New Orleans. According to her testimony, he compelled her to write the name "Hidell" on membership cards in the space designated for the signature of the "Chapter President." The name "Hidell" was stamped on some of the "Chapter's" printed literature and on the membership application blanks. Marina Oswald testified, "I knew there was no such organization. And I know Hidell is merely an altered Fidel, and I laughed at such foolishness." Hidell was a fictitious president of an organization of which Oswald was the only member.

When seeking employment in New Orleans, Oswald listed a "Sgt. Robert. Hidell" as a reference on one job application and "George Hidell" as a reference on another. Both names were found to be fictitious. Moreover, the use of "Alek" as a first name for Hidell is a further link to Oswald because "Alek" was Oswald's nickname in Russia. Letters received by Marina Oswald from her husband signed "Alek" were given to the Commission.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Oswald's Palmprint on Rifle Barrel

Based on the above evidence, the Commission concluded that Oswald purchased the rifle found on the sixth floor of the Depository Building. Additional evidence of ownership was provided in the form of palm print identification which indicated that Oswald had possession of the rifle he had purchased. A few minutes after the rifle was discovered on the sixth floor of the Depository Building it was examined by Lt. J.

C. Day of the identification bureau of the Dallas police. He lifted the rifle by the wooden stock after his examination convinced him that the wood was too rough to take fingerprints. Capt. J. W. Fritz then ejected a cartridge by operating the bolt, but only after Day viewed the knob on the bolt through a magnifying glass and found no prints. Day continued to examine the rifle with the magnifying glass, looking for possible fingerprints. He applied fingerprint powder to the side of the metal housing near the trigger, and noticed traces of two prints. At 11:45 p.m. on November 22, the rifle was released to the FBI and forwarded to Washington where it was examined on the morning of November 23 by Sebastian Fritz.

Latona, supervisor of the Latent Fingerprint Section of the FBI's Identification Division.

In his testimony before the Commission, Latona stated that when he received the rifle, the area where prints were visible was protected by cellophane. He examined these prints, as well as photographs of them which the Dallas police had made, and concluded that:

* * * the formations, the ridge formations and characteristics, were insufficient for purposes of either effecting identification or a determination that the print was not identical with the prints of people. Accordingly, my opinion simply was that the latent prints which were there were of no value.

Latona then processed the complete weapon but developed no identifiable prints. He stated that the poor quality of the wood and the metal would cause the rifle to absorb moisture from the skin, thereby making a clear print unlikely.

On November 22, however, before surrendering possession of the rifle to the FBI Laboratory, Lieutenant Day of the Dallas Police Department had "lifted" a palmprint from the underside of the gun barrel "near the firing end of the barrel about 3 inches under the woodstock when I took the woodstock loose. "Lifting" a print involves the use of adhesive material to remove the fingerprint powder which adheres to the original print. In this way the powdered impression is actually removed from the object. The lifting had been so complete in this case that there was no trace of the print on the rifle itself when it was examined by Latona. Nor was there any indication that the lift had been performed. Day, on the other hand, believed that sufficient traces of the print had been left on the rifle barrel, because he did not release the lifted print until November 26, when he received instructions to send "everything that we had" to the FBI. The print arrived in the FBI Laboratory in Washington on November 29, mounted on a card on which Lieutenant Day had written the words "off underside gun barrel near end of grip C2766." The print's positive identity as having been lifted from the rifle was confirmed by FBI Laboratory tests which established that the adhesive material bearing the print also bore impressions of the same irregularities that appeared on the barrel of the rifle.

Latona testified that this palmprint was the right palmprint of Lee Harvey Oswald. At the request of the Commission, Arthur Mandella, fingerprint expert with the New York City Police Department, conducted an independent examination and also determined that this was the right palmprint of Oswald. Latona's findings were also confirmed by Ronald G. Wittmus, another FBI fingerprint expert. In the opinion of these experts, it was not possible to estimate the time which elapsed between the placing of the print on the rifle and the date of the lift.

Experts testifying before the Commission agreed that palmprints are as unique as fingerprints for purposes of establishing identification. Oswald's palmprint on the underside of the barrel demonstrates that he handled the rifle when it was disassembled. A palmprint could not be placed on this portion of

the rifle, when assembled, because the wooden foregrip covers the barrel at this point. The print is additional proof that the rifle was in Oswald's possession.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Fibers on Rifle

In a crevice between the butt plate of the rifle and the wooden stock was a tuft of several cotton fibers of dark blue, gray-black, and orange-yellow shades. On November 23, 1963, these fibers were examined by Paul M. Stombaugh, a special agent assigned to the Hair and Fiber Unit of the FBI Laboratory. He compared them with the fibers found in the shirt which Oswald was wearing when arrested in the Texas Theatre. This shirt was also composed of dark blue, gray-black and orange-yellow cotton fibers. Stombaugh testified that the colors, shades, and twist of the fibers found in the tuft on the rifle matched those in Oswald's shirt. (See app. X, p. 592.) Stombaugh explained in his testimony that in fiber analysis, as distinct from fingerprint or firearms identification, it is not possible to state with scientific certainty that a particular small group of fibers come from a certain piece of clothing to the exclusion of all others because there are not enough microscopic characteristics present in fibers. Judgments as to probability will depend on the number and types of matches. He concluded, "There is no doubt in my mind that these fibers could have come from this shirt. There is no way, however, to eliminate the possibility of the fibers having come from another identical shirt." Having considered the probabilities as explained in Stombaugh's testimony, the Commission has concluded that the fibers in the tuft on the rifle most probably came from the shirt worn by Oswald when he was arrested, and that this was the same shirt which Oswald wore on the morning of the assassination. Marina Oswald testified that she thought her husband wore this shirt to work on that day. The testimony of those who saw him after the assassination was inconclusive about the color of Oswald's shirt, but Mary Bledsoe, a former landlady of Oswald, saw him on a bus approximately 10 minutes after the assassination and identified the shirt as being the one worn by Oswald primarily because of a distinctive hole in the shirt's right elbow. Moreover, the bus transfer which he obtained as he left the bus was still in the pocket when he was arrested. Although Oswald returned to his rooming house after the assassination and when questioned by the police, claimed to have changed his shirt, the evidence indicates that he continued wearing the same shirt which he was wearing all morning and which he was still wearing when arrested. In light of these findings the Commission evaluated the additional testimony of Stombaugh that the fibers were caught in the crevice of the rifle's butt plate "in the recent past." Although Stombaugh was unable to estimate the period of time the fibers were on the rifle he said that the fibers "were clean, they had good color to them, there was no grease on them and they were not fragmented. They looked as if they had just been picked up." The relative freshness of the fibers is strong evidence that they were caught on the rifle on the morning of the assassination or during the preceding evening. For 10 days prior to the eve of the assassination Oswald had not been present at Ruth Paine's house in Irving, Tex., where the rifle was kept. Moreover, the Commission found no reliable evidence that Oswald used the rifle at any time between September 23, when it was transported from New Orleans, and November 22, the day of the assassination. The fact that on the morning of the assassination Oswald was wearing the shirt from which these relatively fresh fibers most probably originated, provides some evidence that they were placed on the rifle that day since there was limited, if any, opportunity for Oswald to handle the weapon during the 2 months prior to November 22. On the other hand Stombaugh pointed out that fibers might retain their freshness if the rifle had been "put aside" after catching the fibers. The rifle used in the assassination probably had been wrapped in a blanket for about 8 weeks prior to November 22. Because the relative freshness of these fibers might be explained by the continuous storage of the rifle in the blanket, the Commission was unable to reach any firm conclusion as to when the fibers were caught in the rifle. The Commission was able to conclude, however, that the fibers most probably came from Oswald's shirt. This adds to the conviction of the Commission that Oswald owned and handled the weapon used in the assassination.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Photograph of Oswald With Rifle

During the period from March 2, 1963, to April 24, 1963, the Oswalds lived on Neely Street in Dallas in a rented house which had a small back yard. One Sunday, while his wife was hanging diapers, Oswald asked her to take a picture of him holding a rifle, a pistol and issues of two newspapers later identified as the Worker and the Militant. Two pictures were taken. The Commission has concluded that the rifle shown in these pictures is the same rifle which was found on the sixth floor of the Depository Building on November 22, 1963. (See Commission Exhibits Nos. 133-A and 133-B, p. 126.) One of these pictures, Exhibit No. 133-A, shows most of the rifle's configuration. Special Agent Lyndal L. Shaneyfelt, a photography expert with the FBI, photographed the rifle used in the assassination, attempting to duplicate the position of the rifle and the lighting in Exhibit No. 133-A. After comparing the rifle in the simulated photograph with the rifle in Exhibit No. 133-A, Shaneyfelt testified, "I found it to be the same general configuration. All appearances were the same." He found "one notch in the stock at this point that appears very faintly in the photograph." He stated, however, that while he "found no differences" between the rifles in the two photographs, he could not make a "positive identification to the exclusion of all other rifles of the same general configuration." The authenticity of these pictures has been established by expert testimony which links the second picture, Commission Exhibit No. 133-B, to Oswald's Imperial Reflex camera, with which Marina Oswald testified she took the pictures. The negative of that picture, Commission Exhibit No. 133-B, was found among Oswald's possessions. Using a recognized technique of determining whether a picture was taken with a particular camera, Shaneyfelt compared this negative with a negative which he made by taking a new picture with Oswald's camera. He concluded that the negative of Exhibit No. 133-B was exposed in Oswald's Imperial Reflex camera to the exclusion of all other cameras. He could not test Exhibit No. 133-A in the same way because the negative was never recovered. Both pictures, however, have identical backgrounds and lighting and, judging from the shadows, were taken at the same angle. They are photographs of the same scene. Since Exhibit No. 133-B was taken with Oswald's camera, it is reasonably certain that Exhibit No. 133-A was taken by the same camera at the same time, as Marina Oswald testified. Moreover, Shaneyfelt testified that in his opinion the photographs were not composites of two different photographs and that Oswald's face had not been superimposed on another body.

One of the photographs taken by Marina Oswald was widely published in newspapers and magazines, and in many instances the details of these pictures differed from the original, and even from each other, particularly as to the configuration of the rifle. The Commission sought to determine whether these photographs were touched prior to publication. Shaneyfelt testified that the published photographs appeared to be based on a copy of the original which the publications had each retouched differently. Several of the publications furnished the Commission with the prints they had used, or described by correspondence the retouching they had done. This information enabled the Commission to conclude that the published pictures were the same as the original except for retouching done by these publications, apparently for the purpose of clarifying the lines of the rifle and other details in the picture.

The dates surrounding the taking of this picture and the purchase of the rifle reinforce the belief that the rifle in the photograph is the rifle which Oswald bought from Klein's. The rifle was shipped from Klein's in Chicago on March 20, 1963, at a time when the Oswalds were living on Neely Street. From an examination of one of the photographs, the Commission determined the dates of the issues of the Militant and the Worker which Oswald was holding in his hand. By checking the actual mailing dates of these issues and the time usually takes to effect delivery to Dallas, it was established that the photographs must have been taken sometime after March 27. Marina Oswald testified that the photographs were taken on a Sunday about 2 weeks before the attempted shooting of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker on April 10, 1968. By Sunday, March 31, 1963, 10 days prior to the Walker attempt, Oswald had undoubtedly received the rifle shipped from Chicago on March 20, the revolver shipped from Los Angeles on the same date, and the two newspapers which he was holding in the picture.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Rifle Among Oswald's Possessions

Marina Oswald testified that the rifle found on the sixth floor of the Depository Building was the "fateful rifle of Lee Oswald." Moreover, it was the only rifle owned by her husband following his return from the Soviet Union in June 1962. It had been purchased in March 1963, and taken to New Orleans where Marina Oswald saw it in their rented apartment during the summer of 1963. It appears from his wife's testimony that Oswald may have sat on the screened-in porch at night practicing with the rifle by looking through the telescopic sight and operating the bolt. In September 1963, Oswald loaded their possessions into a station wagon owned by Ruth Paine, who had invited Marina Oswald and the baby to live at her home in Irving, Tex. Marina Oswald has stated that the rifle was among these possessions, although Ruth Paine testified that she was not aware of it.

From September 24, 1963, when Marina Oswald arrived in Irving from New Orleans, until the morning of the assassination, the rifle was, according to the evidence, stored in a green and brown blanket in the Paines' garage among the Oswalds' other possessions. About 1 week after the return from New Orleans, Marina Oswald was looking in the garage for parts to the baby's crib and thought that the parts might be in the blanket. When she started to open the blanket, she saw the stock of the rifle. Ruth and Michael Paine both noticed the rolled-up blanket in the garage during the time that Marina Oswald was living in their home. On several occasions, Michael Paine moved the blanket in the garage. He thought it contained tent poles, or possibly other camping equipment such as a folding shovel. When he appeared before the Commission, Michael Paine lifted the blanket with the rifle wrapped inside and testified that it appeared to be the same approximate weight and shape as the package in his garage.

About 3 hours after the assassination, a detective and deputy sheriff saw the blanket-roll, tied with a string, lying on the floor of the Paines' garage. Each man testified that he thought he could detect the outline of a rifle in the blanket, even though the blanket was empty. Paul M. Stombaugh, of the FBI Laboratory, examined the blanket and discovered a bulge approximately 10 inches long midway in the blanket. This bulge was apparently caused by a hard protruding object which had stretched the blanket's fibers. It could have been caused by the telescopic sight of the rifle which was approximately 11 inches long. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1304 p. 132.)

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Ownership and possession of Assassination Weapon Conclusion

Having reviewed the evidence that (1) Lee Harvey Oswald purchased the rifle used in the assassination, (2) Oswald's palmp~~ri~~nt was on the rifle in a position which shows that he had handled it while it was disassembled, (3) fibers found on the rifle most probably came from the shirt Oswald was wearing on the day of the assassination, (4) a photograph taken in the yard of Oswald's apartment showed him holding this rifle, and (5) the rifle was kept among Oswald's possessions from the time of its purchase until the day of the assassination, the Commission concluded that the rifle used to assassinate President Kennedy and wound Governor Connally was owned and possessed by Lee Harvey Oswald.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Rifle in the Building

The Commission has evaluated the evidence tending to show how Lee Harvey Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, serial number C2766, was brought into the Depository Building, where it was found on the sixth floor shortly after the assassination. In this connection the Commission considered (1) the circumstances surrounding Oswald's return to Irving, Tex., on Thursday, November 21, 1963, (2) the disappearance of the rifle from its normal place of storage, (3) Oswald's arrival at the Depository Building on November 22, carrying a long and bulky brown paper package, (4) the presence of a long handmade brown paper bag near the point from which the shots were fired, and (5) the palmpoint, fiber, and paper analyses linking Oswald and the assassination weapon to this bag.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Curtain Rod Story

During October and November of 1963, Lee Harvey Oswald lived in a rooming house in Dallas while his wife and children lived in Irving, at the home of Ruth Paine, approximately 15 miles from Oswald's place of work at the Texas School Book Depository. Oswald traveled between Dallas and Irving on weekends in a car driven by a neighbor of the Paines, Buell Wesley Frazier, who also worked at the Depository. Oswald generally would go to Irving on Friday afternoon and return to Dallas Monday morning. According to the testimony of Frazier, Marina Oswald, and Ruth Paine, it appears that Oswald never returned to Irving in midweek prior to November 21, 1963, except on Monday, October 21, when he visited his wife in the hospital after the birth of their second child.

During the morning of November 21, Oswald asked Frazier whether he could ride home with him that afternoon. Frazier, surprised, asked him why he was going to Irving on Thursday night rather than Friday. Oswald replied, "I'm going home to get some curtain rods * * * [to] put in an apartment." The two men left work at 4: 40 p.m. and drove to Irving. There was little conversation between them on the way home. Mrs. Linnie Mac Randle, Frazier's sister, commented to her brother about Oswald's unusual midweek return to Irving. Frazier told her that Oswald had come home to get curtain rods, It would appear, however, that obtaining curtain rods was not the purpose of Oswald's trip to Irving on November 21.

Mrs. A. C. Johnson, his landlady, testified that Oswald's room at 1026 North Beckley Avenue had curtains and curtain rods, and that Oswald had never discussed the subject with her. In the Paines' garage, along with many other objects of a household character, there were two flat lightweight curtain rods belonging to Ruth Paine but they were still there on Friday afternoon after Oswald's arrest. Oswald never asked Mrs. Paine about the use of curtain rods, and Marina Oswald testified that Oswald did not say anything about curtain rods on the day before the assassination.

No curtain rods were known to have been discovered in the Depository Building after the assassination. In deciding whether Oswald carried a rifle to work in a long paper bag on November 22, the Commission gave weight to the fact that Oswald gave a false reason for returning home on November 21, and one which provided an excuse for the carrying of a bulky package the following morning.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Missing Rifle

Before dinner on November 21, Oswald played on the lawn of the Paines' home with his daughter June. After dinner Ruth Paine and Marina Oswald were busy cleaning house and preparing their children for bed. Between the hours of 8 and 9 p.m. they were occupied with the children in the bedrooms located at the extreme east end of the house. On the west end of the house is the attached garage, which can be reached from the kitchen or from the outside. In the garage were the personal belongings of the Oswald family including, as the evidence has shown, the rifle wrapped in the old brown and green blanket.

At approximately 9 p.m., after the children had been put to bed, Mrs. Paine, according to her testimony before the Commission, "went out to the garage to paint some children's blocks, and worked in the garage for half an hour or so. I noticed when I went out that the light was on." Mrs. Paine was certain that she had not left the light on in the garage after dinner. According to Mrs. Paine, Oswald had gone to bed by 9 p.m.; Marina Oswald testified that it was between 9 and 10 p.m. Neither Marina Oswald nor Ruth Paine saw Oswald in the garage. The period between 8 and 9 p.m., however, provided ample opportunity for Oswald to prepare the rifle for his departure the next morning. Only if disassembled could the rifle fit into the paper bag found near the window from which the shots were fired. A firearms expert with the FBI assembled the rifle in 6 minutes using a 10-cent coin as a tool, and he could disassemble it more rapidly. While the rifle may have already been disassembled when Oswald arrived home on Thursday, he had ample time that evening to disassemble the rifle and insert it into the paper bag. On the day of the assassination, Marina Oswald was watching television when she learned of the shooting. A short time later Mrs. Paine told her that someone had shot the President "from the building in which Lee is working." Marina Oswald testified that at that time "My heart dropped. I then went to the garage to see whether the rifle was there and I saw that the blanket was still there and I said 'Thank God.'" She did not unroll the blanket. She saw that it was in its usual position and it appeared to her to have something inside.

Soon afterward, at about 3 p.m., police officers arrived and searched the house. Mrs. Paine pointed out that most of the Oswalds' possessions were in the garage. With Ruth Paine acting as an interpreter, Detective Rose asked Marina whether her husband had a rifle. Mrs. Paine, who had no knowledge of the rifle, first said "No," but when the question was translated, Marina Oswald replied "Yes." She pointed to the blanket which was on the floor very close to where Ruth Paine was standing. Mrs. Paine testified:

As she [Marina] told me about it I stepped onto the blanket roll. * * * And she indicated to me that she had peered into this roll and saw a portion of what she took to be a gun she knew her husband to have, a rifle. And I then translated this to the officers that she knew that her husband had a gun that he had stored in here. * * * I then stepped off of it and the officer picked it up in the middle and it bent so. * * *

Mrs. Paine had the actual blanket before her as she testified and she indicated that the blanket hung limp in the officer's hand. Marina Oswald testified that this was her first knowledge that the rifle was not in its accustomed place.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Long and Bulky Package

On the morning of November 22, 1963, Lee Harvey Oswald left the Paine house in Irving at approximately 7:15 a.m. while Marina Oswald was still in bed. Neither she nor Mrs. Paine saw him leave the house. About half-a-block away from the Paine house was the residence of Mrs. Linnie Mac Randle, the sister of the man with whom Oswald drove to work Buell Wesley Frazier. Mrs. Randle stated that on the morning of November 22, while her brother was eating breakfast, she looked out the breakfast-room window and saw Oswald cross the street and walk toward the driveway where her brother parked his car near the carport. He carried a "heavy brown bag." Oswald gripped the bag in his right hand near the top. "It tapered like this as he hugged it in his hand. It was * * * more bulky toward the bottom" than toward the top. She then opened the kitchen door and saw Oswald open the right rear door of her brother's car and place the package in the back of the car. Mrs. Randle estimated that the package was approximately 28 inches long and about 8 inches wide. She thought that its color was similar to that of the bag found on the sixth floor of the School Book Depository after the assassination.

Frazier met Oswald at the kitchen door and together they walked to the car. After entering the car, Frazier glanced over his shoulder and noticed a brown paper package on the back seat. He asked, "What's the package, Lee?" Oswald replied, "curtain rods." Frazier told the Commission " * * * the main reason he was going over there that Thursday afternoon when he was to bring back some curtain rods, so I didn't think any more about it when he told me that." Frazier estimated that the bag was 2 feet long "give and take a few inches," and about 5 or 6 inches wide. As they sat in the car, Frazier asked Oswald where his lunch was, and Oswald replied that he was going to buy his lunch that day.

Frazier testified that Oswald carried no lunch bag that day. "When he rode with me, I say he always brought lunch except that one day on November 22 he didn't bring his lunch that day." Frazier parked the car in the company parking lot about 2 blocks north of the Depository Building. Oswald left the car first, picked up the brown paper bag, and proceeded toward the building ahead of Frazier. Frazier walked behind and as they crossed the railroad tracks he watched the switching of the cars. Frazier recalled that one end of the package was under Oswald's armpit and the lower part was held with his right hand so that it was carried straight and parallel to his body. When Oswald entered the rear door of the Depository Building, he was about 50 feet ahead of Frazier. It was the first time that Oswald had not walked with Frazier from the parking lot to the building entrance. When Frazier entered the building, he did not see Oswald. One employee, Jack Dougherty, believed that he saw Oswald coming to work, but he does not remember that Oswald had anything in his hands as he entered the door. No other employee has been found who saw Oswald enter that morning.

In deciding whether Oswald carried the assassination weapon in the bag which Frazier and Mrs. Randle saw, the Commission has carefully considered the testimony of these two witnesses with regard to the length of the bag. Frazier and Mrs. Randle testified that the bag which Oswald was carrying was approximately 27 or 28 inches long, whereas the wooden stock of the rifle, which is its largest component, measured 34.8 inches. The bag found on the sixth floor was 88 inches long. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1304, p. 132.) When Frazier appeared before the Commission and was asked to demonstrate how Oswald carried the package, he said, "Like I said, I remember that I didn't look at the package very much * * * but when I did look at it he did have his hands on the package like that," and at this point Frazier placed the upper part of the package under his armpit and attempted to cup his right hand beneath the bottom of the bag. The disassembled rifle was too long to be carried in this manner. Similarly, when the butt of the rifle was placed in Frazier's hand, it extended above his shoulder to ear level. Moreover, in an interview on December 1, 1963, with agents of the FBI, Frazier had marked the point on the back seat of his car which he believed was where the bag reached when it was laid on the seat with one edge against the door. The distance between the point on the seat and the door was 27 inches.

Mrs. Randle said, when shown the paper bag, that the bag she saw Oswald carrying "wasn't that long, I mean it was folded down at the top as I told you. It definitely wasn't that long." And she folded the bag to length of about 28 inches. Frazier doubted whether the bag that Oswald carried was as wide as the bag found on the sixth floor, although Mrs. Randle testified that the width was approximately the same.

The Commission has weighed the visual recollection of Frazier and Mrs. Randle against the evidence here presented that the bag Oswald carried contained the assassination weapon and has concluded that Frazier and Randle are mistaken as to the length of the bag. Mrs. Randle saw the bag fleetingly and her first remembrance is that it was held in Oswald's right hand "and it almost touched the ground as he carried it." Frazier's view of the bag was from the rear. He continually advised that he was not paying close attention. For example, he said,

* * * I didn't pay too much attention the way he was walking because I was walking along there looking at the railroad cars and watching the men on the diesel switch them cars and I didn't pay too much attention on how he carried the package at all.

Frazier could easily have been mistaken when he slated that Oswald held the bottom of the bag cupped in his hand with the upper end tucked into his armpit.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Location of Bag

A handmade bag of wrapping paper and tape was found in the southeast corner of the sixth floor alongside the window from which the shots were fired. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2707, p. 142.) It was not a standard type bag which could be obtained in a store and it was presumably made for a particular purpose. It was the appropriate size to contain, in disassembled form, Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, serial No. CS2766, which was also found on the sixth floor. Three cartons had been placed at the window apparently to act as a gun rest and a fourth carton was placed behind those at the window. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1301, p. 138.) A person seated on the fourth carton could assemble the rifle without being seen from the rest of the sixth floor because the cartons stacked around the southeast corner would shield him. (See Commission Exhibit No. 723, p. 80.) The presence of the bag in this corner is cogent evidence that it was used as the container for the rifle. At the time the bag was found, Lieutenant Day of the Dallas police wrote on it, "Found next to the sixth floor window gun fired from. May have been used to carry gun. Lt. J. C. Day."

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Scientific Evidence Linking Rifle and Oswald to Paper Bag

Oswald's fingerprint and palmprint found on bag. Using a standard chemical method involving silver nitrate the FBI Laboratory developed a latent palmprint and latent fingerprint on the bag. (See app. X, p. 565.) Sebastian F. Latona, supervisor of the FBI's Latent Fingerprint Section, identified these prints as the left index fingerprint and right palmprint of Lee Harvey Oswald. The portion of the palm which was identified was the heel of the right palm, i.e., the area near the wrist, on the little finger side. These prints were examined independently by Ronald G. Wittmus of the FBI, and by Arthur Mandella, a fingerprint expert with the New York City Police Department. Both included that the prints were the right palm and left index finger of Lee Oswald. No other identifiable prints were found on the bag.

Oswald's palmprint on the bottom of the paper bag indicated, of course, that he had handled the bag. Furthermore, it was consistent with the bag having contained a heavy or bulky object when he handled it since a light object is usually held by the fingers. The palmprint was found on the closed end of the bag. It was from Oswald's right hand, in which he carried the long package as he walked from Frazier's car to the building.

Materials used to make bag. On the day of the assassination, the Dallas police obtained a sample of wrapping paper and tape from the shipping room of the Depository and forwarded it to the FBI Laboratory in Washington. James C. Cadigan, a questioned-documents expert with the Bureau, compared the samples with the paper and tape in the actual bag. He testified, "In all of the observations and physical tests that I made I found * * * the bag * * * and the paper sample * * * were the same." Among other tests, the paper and tape were submitted to fiber analysis and spectrographic examination. In addition the tape was compared to determine whether the sample tape and the tape on the bag had been taken from the tape dispensing machine at the Depository. When asked to explain the similarity of characteristics, Cadigan stated:

Well, briefly, it would be the thickness of both the paper and the tape, the color under various lighting conditions of both the paper and the tape, the width of the tape, the knurled markings on the surface of the fiber, the texture of the fiber, the letting pattern * * *

* * * * *

I found that the paper sack found on the sixth floor * * * and the sample * * * had the same observable characteristics both under the microscope and all the visual tests that I could conduct.

* * * * *

The papers I also found were similar in fiber composition, therefore, in addition to the visual characteristics, microscopic and UV [ultra violet] characteristics.

Mr. Cadigan concluded that the paper and tape from the bag were identical in all respects to the sample paper and tape taken from the Texas School Book Depository shipping room on November 22, 1963. On December 1, 1963, a replica bag was made from materials found on that date in the shipping room. This was done as an investigation aid since the original bag had been discolored during various laboratory examinations and could not be used for valid identification by witnesses. Cadigan found that the paper used to make this replica sack had different characteristics from the paper in the original bag. The science of paper analysis enabled him to distinguish between different rolls of paper even though they were produced by the same manufacturer.

Since the Depository normally used approximately one roll of paper every 3 working days, it was not surprising that the replica sack made on December 1, 1963, had different characteristics from both the actual bag and the sample taken on November 22. On the other hand, since two rolls could be made from the same batch of paper, one cannot estimate when, prior to November 22, Oswald made the paper bag. However, the complete identity of characteristics between the paper and tape in the bag found on the sixth floor and the paper and tape found in the shipping room of the Depository on November 22 enabled the Commission to conclude that the bag was made from these materials. The Depository shipping department was on the first floor to which Oswald had access in the normal performance of his duties filling orders.

Fibers in paper bag matched fibers in blanket. When Paul M. Stombaugh of the FBI Laboratory examined the paper bag, he found, on the inside, a single brown delustered viscose fiber and several light green cotton fibers. The blanket in which the rifle was stored was composed of brown and green cotton, viscose and woolen fibers.

The single brown viscose fiber found in the bag matched some of the brown viscose fibers from the blanket in all observable characteristics. The green cotton fibers found in the paper bag matched 'some of the green cotton fibers in the blanket "in all observable microscopic characteristics.'" Despite these matches, however, Stombaugh was unable to render an opinion that the fibers which he found in the bag had probably come from the blanket, because other types of fibers present in the blanket were not found in the bag. He concluded:

All I would say here is that it is possible that these fibers could have come from this blanket., because this blanket is composed of brown and green woolen fibers, brown and green delustered viscose fibers, and brown and green cotton fibers. * * * We found no brown cotton fibers, no green viscose fibers, and no woolen fibers. So if I found all of these then I would have been able to say these fibers probably had come from this blanket. But since I found so few, then I would say the possibility exists, these fibers could have come from this blanket.

Stombaugh confirmed that the rifle could have picked up fibers from the blanket and transferred them to the paper bag. In light of the other evidence linking Lee Harvey Oswald, the blanket, and the rifle to the paper bag found on the sixth floor, the Commission considered Stombaugh's testimony of probative value in deciding whether Oswald' carried the rifle into the building in the paper bag.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Rifle in the Building Conclusion

The preponderance of the evidence supports the conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald (1) told the curtain rod story to Frazier to explain both the return to Irving on a Thursday and the obvious bulk of the package which he intended to bring to work the next day; (2) took paper and tape from the wrapping bench of the Depository and fashioned a bag large enough to carry the disassembled rifle; (3) removed the rifle from the blanket in the Paines' garage on Thursday evening; (4) carried the rifle into the Depository Building, concealed in the bag; and, (5) left the bag alongside the window from which the shots were fired.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Oswald At Window

Lee Harvey Oswald was hired on October 15, 1963, by the Texas School Book Depository as an "order filler." He worked principally on the first and sixth floors of the building, gathering books listed on orders and delivering them to the shipping room on the first floor. He had ready access to the sixth floor, from the southeast corner window of which the shots were fired. The Commission evaluated the physical evidence found near the window after the assassination and the testimony of eyewitnesses in deciding whether Lee Harvey Oswald was present at this window at the time of the assassination.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Palmprints and Fingerprints on Cartons and Paper Bag

Below the southeast corner window on the sixth floor was a large carton of books measuring approximately 18 by 12 by 14 inches which had been moved from a stack along the south wall. Atop this carton was a small carton marked "Rolling Readers," measuring approximately 13 by 9 by 8 inches. In front of this small carton and resting partially on the windowsill was another small "Rolling Readers" carton. These two small cartons had been moved from a stack about three aisles away. The boxes in the window appeared to have been arranged as a convenient gun rest. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1301, p. 138.) Behind these boxes was another carton placed on the floor on which a man sitting could look southwesterly down Elm Street over the top of the "Rolling Readers" cartons. Next to these cartons was the handmade paper bag, previously discussed, on which appeared the print of the left index finger and right palm of Lee Harvey Oswald. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1302, p. 139.) The cartons were forwarded to the FBI in Washington. Sebastian F. Latona, supervisor of the Latent Fingerprint Section, testified that 20 identifiable fingerprints and 8 palmprints were developed on these cartons. The carton on the windowsill and the large carton below the window contained no prints which could be identified as being those of Lee Harvey Oswald. The other "Rolling Readers" carton, however, contained a palmprint and a fingerprint which were identified by Latona as being the left palmprint and right index fingerprint of Lee Harvey Oswald. (See app. X, p. 566.) The Commission has considered the possibility that the cartons might have been moved in connection with the work that was being performed on the sixth floor on November 22. Depository employees were laying a new floor at the west end and transferring books from the west to the east end of the building. The "Rolling Readers" cartons, however, had not been moved by the floor layers and had apparently been taken to the window from their regular position for some particular purpose. The "Rolling Readers" boxes contained, instead of books, light blocks used as reading aids.

They could be easily adjusted and were still solid enough to serve as a gun rest. The box on the floor, behind the three near the window, had been one of these moved by the floor layers from the west wall to near the east side of the building in preparation for the laying of the floor. During the afternoon of November 22, Lieutenant Day of the Dallas police dusted this carton with powder and developed a palmprint on the top edge of the carton on the side nearest the window. The position of this palmprint on the carton was parallel with the long axis of the box, and at right angles with the short axis; the bottom of the palm rested on the box. Someone sitting on the box facing the window would have his palm in this position if he placed his hand alongside his right hip. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1302, p. 139.) This print which had been cut out of the box was also forwarded to the FBI and Latona identified it as Oswald's right palmprint. In Latona's opinion "not too long" a time had elapsed between the time that the print was placed on the carton and the time that it had been developed by the Dallas police. Although Bureau experiments had shown that 24 hours was a likely maximum time, Latona stated that he could only testify with certainty that the print was less than 3 days old.

The print, therefore, could have been placed on the carton at any time within this period. The freshness of this print could be estimated only because the Dallas police developed it through the use of powder. Since cartons absorb perspiration, powder can successfully develop a print on such material only within a limited time. When the FBI in Washington received the cartons, the remaining prints, including Oswald's on the Rolling Readers carton, were developed by chemical processes. The freshness of prints developed in this manner cannot be estimated, so no conclusions can be drawn as to whether these remaining prints preceded or followed the print developed in Dallas by powder. Most of the prints were found to have been placed on the cartons by an FBI clerk and a Dallas police officer after the cartons had been processed with powder by the Dallas Police. (See ch. VI, p. 249; app. X, p. 566.) In his independent investigation, Arthur Mandella of the New York City Police Department reached the same conclusion as Latona that the prints found on the cartons were those of Lee Harvey Oswald. In addition, Mandella was of the opinion that the print taken from the carton on the floor was probably made within a day or a day and a half of the examination on November 22. Moreover, another expert with the FBI, Ronald G. Wittmus, conducted a separate examination and also agreed with Latona that the prints were Oswald's.

In evaluating the significance of these fingerprint and palmprint identifications, the Commission considered the possibility that Oswald handled these cartons as part of his normal duties. Since other identifiable prints were developed on the cartons, the Commission requested that they be compared with the prints of the 12 warehouse employes who, like Oswald, might have handled the cartons. They were also compared with the prints of those law enforcement officials who might have handled the cartons. The results of this investigation are fully discussed in chapter VI, page 249. Although a person could handle a carton and not leave identifiable prints, none of these employees except Oswald left identifiable

prints on the cartons. This finding, in addition to the freshness of one of the prints and the presence of Oswald's prints on two of the four cartons and the paper bag led the Commission to attach some probative value to the fingerprint and palmpoint identifications in reaching the conclusion that Oswald was at the window from which the shots were fired, although the prints do not establish the exact time he was there.

Warren Report: Oswald's Presence on Sixth Floor Approximately 35 Minutes Before the Assassination

Additional testimony linking Oswald with the point from which the shots were fired was provided by the testimony of Charles Givens, who was the last known employee to see Oswald inside the building prior to the assassination. During the morning of November 22, Givens was working with the floor-laying crew in the southwest section of the sixth floor.

At about 11:45 a.m. the floor-laying crew used both elevators to come down from the sixth floor. The employees raced the elevators to the first floor. Givens saw Oswald standing at the gate on the fifth floor as the elevator went by.

Givens testified that after reaching the first floor, "I discovered I left my cigarettes in my jacket pocket upstairs, and I took the elevator back upstairs to get my jacket with my cigarettes in it." He saw Oswald, a clipboard in hand, walking from the southeast corner of the sixth floor toward the elevator. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2707, p. 142.) Givens said to Oswald, "Boy are you going downstairs? * * * It's near lunch time." Oswald said, "No, sir. When you get downstairs, close the gate to the elevator." Oswald was referring to the west elevator which operates by push-button and only with the gate closed. Givens said, "Okay," and rode down in the east elevator. When he reached the first floor, the west elevator the one with the gate was not there. Givens thought this was about 11:55 a.m. None of the Depository employees is known to have seen Oswald again until after the shooting.

The significance of Givens' observation that Oswald was carrying his clipboard became apparent on December 2, 1963, when an employee, Frankie Kaiser, found a clipboard hidden by book cartons in the northwest corner of the sixth floor at the west wall a few feet from where the rifle had been found. This clipboard had been made by Kaiser and had his name on it. Kaiser identified it as the clipboard which Oswald had appropriated from him when Oswald came to work at the Depository. Three invoices on this clipboard, each dated November 22, were for Scott Foresman books, located on the first and sixth floors. Oswald had not filled any of the three orders.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Eyewitness Identification of Assassin

Howard L. Brennan was an eyewitness to the shooting. As indicated previously the Commission considered his testimony as probative in reaching the conclusion that the shots came from the sixth floor, southeast corner window of the Depository Building. (See ch. III, pp. 61-68.) Brennan also testified that Lee Harvey Oswald, whom he viewed in a police lineup on the night of the assassination, was the man he saw fire the shots from the sixth-floor window of the Depository Building. When the shots were fired, Brennan was in an excellent position to observe anyone in the window. He was sitting on a concrete wall on the southwest corner of Elm and Houston Streets, looking north at the Depository Building which was directly in front of him. The window was approximately 120 feet away. (See Commission Exhibit No. 477, p. 62.) In the 6- to 8-minute period before the motorcade arrived, Brennan saw a man leave and return to the window "a couple of times." After hearing the first shot, which he thought was a motorcycle backfire, Brennan glanced up at the window. He testified that "this man I saw previously was aiming for his last shot * * * as it appeared to me he was standing up and resting against the left window sill * * * Brennan saw the man fire the last shot and disappear from the window. Within minutes of the assassination, Brennan described the man to the police. This description most probably led to the radio alert sent to police cars at approximately 12:45 p.m., which described the suspect as white, slender, weighing about 165 pounds, about 5'10" tall, and in his early thirties. In his sworn statement to the police later that day, Brennan described the man in similar terms, except that he gave the weight as between 165 and 175 pounds and the height was omitted. In his testimony before the Commission, Brennan described the person he saw as " * * a man in his early thirties, fair complexion, slender, but neat, neat slender, possible 5 foot 10 * * * 160 to 170 pounds." Oswald was 5'9" slender and 24 years old. When arrested, he gave his weight as 140 pounds. On other occasions he gave weights of both 140 and 150 pounds. The New Orleans police records of his arrest in August of 1963 show a weight of 136 pounds. The autopsy report indicated an estimated weight of 150 pounds.

Brennan's description should also be compared with the eyewitness description broadcast over the Dallas police radio at 1:22 p.m. of the man who shot Patrolman J. D. Tippit. The suspect was described as "a white male about 30, 5'8", black hair, slender. * * *" At 1:29 p.m. the police radio reported that the description of the suspect in the Tippit shooting was similar to the description which had been given by Brennan in connection with the assassination. Approximately 7 or 8 minutes later the police radio reported that "an eyeball witness" described the suspect in the Tippit shooting as "a white male, 27, 5'11", 165 pounds, black wavy hair." As will be discussed fully below, the Commission has concluded that this suspect was Lee Harvey Oswald. Although Brennan testified that the man in the window was standing when he fired the shots, most probably he was either sitting or kneeling. The half-open window, the arrangement of the boxes, and the angle of the shots virtually preclude a standing position. It is understandable, however, for Brennan to have believed that the man with the rifle was standing. A photograph of the building taken seconds after the assassination shows three employees looking out of the fifth-floor window directly below the window from which the shots were fired. Brennan testified that they were standing, which is their apparent position in the photograph. (See Dillard Exhibits Nos. C and D, pp. 66-67.) But the testimony of these employees, together with photographs subsequently taken of them at the scene of the assassination, establishes that they were either squatting or kneeling. (See Commission Exhibit No. 485, p. 69.) Since the window ledges in the Depository Building are lower than in most buildings, a person squatting or kneeling exposes more of his body than would normally be the case. From the street, this creates the impression that the person is standing.

Brennan could have seen enough of the body of a kneeling or squatting person to estimate his height. Shortly after the assassination Brennan noticed two of these employees leaving the building and immediately identified them as having been in the fifth-floor windows. When the three employees appeared before the Commission, Brennan identified the two whom he saw leave the building. The two men, Harold Norman and James Jarman, Jr., each confirmed that when they came out of the building, they saw and heard Brennan describing what he had seen.

Norman stated, " * * I remember him talking and I believe I remember seeing him saying that he saw us when we first went up to the fifth-floor window, he saw us then." Jarman heard Brennan "talking to this officer about that he had heard these shots and he had seen the barrel of the gun sticking out the window, and he said that the shots came from inside the building." During the evening of November 22, Brennan identified Oswald as the person in the lineup who bore the closest resemblance to the man in the window but he said he was unable to make a positive identification. Prior to the lineup, Brennan had seen Oswald's picture on television and he told the Commission that whether this affected his identification "is something I do not know." In an interview with FBI agents on December 17, 1963,

Brennan stated that he was sure that the person firing the rifle was Oswald. In another interview with FBI agents on January 7, 1964, Brennan appeared to revert to his earlier inability to make a positive identification, but, in his testimony before the Commission, Brennan stated that his remarks of January 7 were intended by him merely as an accurate report of what he said on November 22.

Brennan told the Commission that he could have made a positive identification in the lineup on November 22 but did not do so because he felt that the assassination was "a Communist activity, and I felt like there hadn't been more than one eyewitness, and if it got to be a known fact that I was an eyewitness, my family or I, either one, might not be safe." When specifically asked before the Commission whether or not he could positively identify the man he saw in the sixth-floor window as the same man he saw in the police station, Brennan stated, "I could at that time I could, with all sincerity, identify him as being the same man." Although the record indicates that Brennan was an accurate observer, he declined to make a positive identification of Oswald when he first saw him in the police lineup. The Commission, therefore, does not base its conclusion concerning the identity of the assassin on Brennan's subsequent certain identification of Lee Harvey Oswald as the man he saw fire the rifle. Immediately after the assassination, however, Brennan described to the police the man he saw in the window and then identified Oswald as the person who most nearly resembled the man he saw. The Commission is satisfied that, at the least, Brennan saw a man in the window who closely resembled Lee Harvey Oswald, and that Brennan believes the man he saw was in fact Lee Harvey Oswald. Two other witnesses were able to offer partial descriptions of a man they saw in the southeast corner window of the sixth floor approximately 1 minute before the assassination, although neither witness saw the shots being fired. Ronald Fischer and Robert Edwards were standing on the curb at the southwest corner of Elm and Houston Streets, the same corner where Brennan was sitting on a concrete wall. Fischer testified that about 10 or 15 seconds before the motorcade turned onto Houston Street from Main Street, Edwards said, "Look at that guy there in that window." Fischer looked up and watched the man in the window for 10 or 15 seconds and then started watching the motorcade, which came into view on Houston Street. He said that the man held his attention until the motorcade came because the man:

*** appeared uncomfortable for one, and secondly, he wasn't watching *** he didn't look like he was watching for the parade. He looked like he was looking down toward the Trinity River and the Triple Underpass down at the end toward the end of Elm Street. And *** all the time I watched him, he never moved his head, he never he never moved anything. Just was there transfixed.

Fischer placed the man in the easternmost window on the south side of the Depository Building on either the fifth or the sixth floor. He said that he could see the man from the middle of his chest to the top of his head, and that as he was facing the window the man was in the lower right-hand portion of the window and "seemed to be sitting a little forward." The man was dressed in a light-colored, open-neck shirt which could have been either a sports shirt or a T-shirt, and he had brown hair, a slender face and neck with light complexion, and looked to be 22 or 24 years old. The person in the window was a white man and "looked to me like he was looking straight at the Triple Underpass" down Elm Street. Boxes and cases were stacked behind him.

Approximately 1 week after the assassination, according to Fischer, policemen showed him a picture of Oswald. In his testimony he said, "I told them that that could have been the man. *** That that could have been the man that I saw in the window in the School Book Depository Building, but that I was not sure." Fischer described the man's hair as some shade of brown "it wasn't dark and it wasn't light." On November 22, Fischer had apparently described the man as "light-headed" Fischer explained that he did not mean by the earlier statement that the man was blond, but rather that his hair was not black.

Robert Edwards said that, while looking at the south side of the Depository Building shortly before the motorcade, he saw nothing of importance "except maybe one individual who was up there in the corner room of the sixth floor which was crowded in among boxes." He said that this was a white man about average in size, "possibly thin," and that he thought the man had light-brown hair. Fischer and Edwards did not see the man clearly enough or long enough to identify him.

Their testimony is of probative value, however, because their limited description is consistent with that of the man who has been found by the Commission, based on other evidence, to have fired the shots from the window. Another person who saw the assassin as the shots were fired was Amos L. Euins, age 15, who was one of the first witnesses to alert the police to the Depository as the source of the shots, as has been discussed in chapter III. Euins, who was on the southwest corner of Elm and Houston Streets testified that he could not describe the man he saw in the window. According to Euins, however, as the man lowered his head in order to aim the rifle down Elm Street, he appeared to have a white bald spot, on his head. Shortly after the assassination, Euins signed an affidavit describing the man as "white," but a radio reporter testified that Euins described the man to him as "colored." In his Commission

testimony, Euins stated that he could not ascertain the man's race and that the statement in the affidavit was intended to refer only to the white spot on the man's head and not to his race. A Secret Service agent who spoke to Euins approximately 20 to 30 minutes after the assassination confirmed that Euins could neither describe the man in the window nor indicate his race. Accordingly, Euins' testimony is considered probative as to the source of the shots but is inconclusive as to the identity of the man in the window. In evaluating the evidence that Oswald was at the southeast corner window of the sixth floor at the time of the shooting, the Commission has considered the allegation that Oswald was photographed standing in front of the building when the shots were fired. The picture which gave rise to these allegations was taken by Associated Press Photographer James W. Altgens, who was standing on the south side of Elm Street between the Triple Underpass and the Depository Building. As the motorcade started its descent down Elm Street., Altgens snapped a picture of the Presidential limousine with the entrance to the Depository Building in the background. Just before snapping the picture Altgens heard a noise which sounded like the popping of a firecracker. Investigation has established that Altgens' picture was taken approximately 2 seconds after the firing of the shot which entered the back of the President's neck.

In the background of this picture were several employees watching the parade from the steps of the Depository Building. One of these employees was alleged to resemble Lee Harvey Oswald. The Commission has determined that the employee was in fact Billy Lovelady, who identified himself in the picture. Standing alongside him were Buell Wesley Frazier and William Shelley, who also identified Lovelady. The Commission is satisfied that Oswald does not appear in this photograph. (See Commission Exhibit No. 900, p. 113.)

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Oswald's Actions in Building After Assassination

In considering whether Oswald was at the southeast corner window at the time the shots were fired, the Commission has reviewed the testimony of witnesses who saw Oswald in the building within minutes after the assassination. The Commission has found that Oswald's movements, as described by these witnesses, are consistent with his having been at the window at 12:30 p.m.

The encounter in the lunchroom. The first person to see Oswald after the assassination was Patrolman M. L. Baker of the Dallas Police Department. Baker was riding a two-wheeled motorcycle behind the last press car of the motorcade. As he turned the corner from Main onto Houston at a speed of about 5 to 10 miles per hour, a strong wind blowing from the north almost unseated him. At about this time he heard the first shot. Having recently heard the sounds of rifles while on a hunting trip, Baker recognized the shots as that of a high-powered rifle; "it sounded high and I immediately kind of looked up, and I had a feeling that it came from the building, either right in front of me [the Depository Building] or of the one across to the right of it." He saw pigeons flutter upward. He was not certain, "but I am pretty sure they came from the building right on the northwest corner." He heard two more shots spaced "pretty well even to me." After the third shot, he "revved that motorcycle up," drove to the northwest corner of Elm and Houston, and parked approximately 10 feet from the traffic signal. As he was parking he noted that people were "falling, and they were rolling around down there * * * grabbing their children" and rushing about. A woman screamed, "Oh, they have shot that man, they have shot that man." Baker "had it in mind that the shots came from the top of this building here," so he ran straight to the entrance of the Depository Building. Baker testified that he entered the lobby of the building and "spoke out and asked where the stairs or elevator was * * * and this man, Mr. Truly, spoke up and says, it seems to me like he says, 'I am a building manager. Follow me, officer, and I will show you.'" Baker and building superintendent Roy Truly went through a second set of doors and stopped at a swinging door where Baker bumped into Truly's back. They went through the swinging door and continued at "a good trot" to the northwest corner of the floor where Truly hoped to find one of the two freight elevators. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1061, p. 148.) Neither elevator was there. Truly pushed the button for the west elevator which operates automatically if the gate is closed. He shouted twice, "Turn loose the elevator." When the elevator failed to come, Baker said, "let's take the stairs," and he followed Truly up the stairway, which is to the west of the elevator.

The stairway is located in the northwest corner of the Depository Building. The stairs from one floor to the next are "L-shaped," with both legs of the "L" approximately the same length. Because the stairway itself is enclosed, neither Baker nor Truly could see anything on the second-floor hallway until they reached the landing at the top of the stairs.

On the second-floor landing there is a small open area with a door at the east end. This door leads into a small vestibule, and another door leads from the vestibule into the second-floor lunchroom. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1118, p. 150.) The lunchroom door is usually open, but the first door is kept shut by a closing mechanism on the door. This vestibule door is solid except for a small glass window in the upper part of the door. As Baker reached the second floor, he was about 20 feet from the vestibule door. He intended to continue around to his left toward the stairway going up but through the window in the door he caught a fleeting glimpse of a man walking in the vestibule toward the lunchroom. Since the vestibule door is only a few feet from the lunchroom door, the man must have entered the vestibule only a second or two before Baker arrived at the top of the stairwell. Yet he must have entered the vestibule door before Truly reached the top of the stairwell, since Truly did not see him. If the man had passed from the vestibule into the lunchroom, Baker could not have seen him. Baker said:

He [Truly] had already started around the bend to come to the next elevator going up, I was coming out this one on the second floor, and I don't know, I was kind of sweeping this area as I come up, I was looking from right to left and as I got to this door here I caught a glimpse of this man, just, you know, a sudden glimpse * * * and it looked to me like he was going away from me. * * * I can't say whether he had gone on through that door [the lunchroom door] or not. All I did was catch a glance at him, and evidently he was this door might have been, you know, closing and almost shut at that time.

With his revolver drawn, Baker opened the vestibule door and ran into the vestibule. He saw a man walking away from him in the lunchroom. Baker stopped at the door of the lunchroom and commanded, "Come here." The man turned and walked back toward Baker. He had been proceeding toward the rear of the lunchroom. Along a side wall of the lunchroom was a soft drink vending machine, but at that time the man had nothing in his hands.

Meanwhile, Truly had run up several steps toward the third floor. Missing Baker, he came back to find

the officer in the doorway to the lunchroom "facing Lee Harvey Oswald. Baker turned to Truly and said, "Do you know this man, does he work here?" Truly replied, "Yes." Baker stated later that the man did not seem to be out of breath; he seemed calm. "He never did say a word or nothing. In fact, he didn't change his expression one bit." Truly said of Oswald: "He didn't seem to be excited or overly afraid or anything. He might have been a bit startled, like I might have been if somebody confronted me. But I cannot recall any change in expression of any kind on his face." Truly thought that the officer's gun at that time appeared to be almost touching the middle portion of Oswald's body. Truly also noted at this time that Oswald's hands were empty.

In an effort to determine whether Oswald could have descended to the lunchroom from the sixth floor by the time Baker and Truly arrived, Commission counsel asked Baker and Truly to repeat their movements from the time of the shot until Baker came upon Oswald in the lunchroom. Baker placed himself on a motorcycle about 200 feet from the corner of Elm and Houston Streets where he said he heard the shots. Truly stood in front of the building. At a given signal, they reenacted the event. Baker's movements were timed with a stopwatch. On the first test, the elapsed time between the simulated first shot and Baker's arrival on the second-floor stair landing was 1 minute and 30 seconds. The second test run required 1 minute and 15 seconds.

A test was also conducted to determine the time required to walk from the southeast corner of the sixth floor to the second-floor lunchroom by stairway. Special Agent John Howlett of the Secret Service carried a rifle from the southeast corner of the sixth floor along the east aisle to the northeast corner. He placed the rifle on the floor near the site where Oswald's rifle was actually found after the shooting. Then Howlett walked down the stairway to the second-floor landing and entered the lunchroom. The first test, run at normal walking pace, required 1 minute, 18 seconds; the second test, at a "fast walk" took 1 minute, 14 seconds. The second test followed immediately after the first. The only interval was the time necessary to ride in the elevator from the second to the sixth floor and walk back to the southeast corner. Howlett was not short winded at the end of either test run.

The minimum time required by Baker to park his motorcycle and reach the second-floor lunchroom was within 3 seconds of the time needed to walk from the southeast corner of the sixth floor down the stairway to the lunchroom. The time actually required for Baker and Truly to reach the second floor on November 22 was probably longer than in the test runs. For example, Baker required 15 seconds after the simulated shot to ride his motorcycle 180 to 200 feet, park it, and run 45 feet to the building. No allowance was made for the special conditions which existed on the day of the assassination possible delayed reaction to the shot, jostling with the crowd of people on the steps and scanning the area along Elm Street and the parkway. Baker said, "We simulated the shots and by the time we got there, we did everything that I did that day, and this would be the minimum, because I am sure that I, you know, it took me a little longer." On the basis of this time test, therefore, the Commission concluded that Oswald could have fired the shots and still have been present in the second-floor lunchroom when seen by Baker and Truly. That Oswald descended by stairway from the sixth floor to the second floor lunchroom is consistent with the movements of the two elevators, which would have provided the other possible means of descent. When Truly, accompanied by Baker, ran to the rear of the first floor, he was certain that both elevators, which occupy the same shaft, were on the fifth floor. Baker, not realizing that there were two elevators, thought that only one elevator was in the shaft and that it was two or three floors above the second floor. In the few seconds which elapsed while Baker and Truly ran from the first to the second floor, neither of these slow elevators could have descended from the fifth to the second floor. Furthermore, no elevator was at the second floor when they arrived there. Truly and Baker continued up the stairs after the encounter with Oswald in the lunchroom. There was no elevator on the third or fourth floor. The east elevator was on the fifth floor when they arrived; the west elevator was not. They took the east elevator to the seventh floor and ran up a stairway to the roof where they searched for several minutes.

Jack Dougherty, an employee working on the fifth floor, testified that he took the west elevator to the first floor after hearing a noise which sounded like a backfire. Eddie Piper, the janitor, told Dougherty that the President had been shot, but in his testimony Piper did not mention either seeing or talking with Dougherty during these moments of excitement. Both Dougherty and Piper were confused witnesses. They had no exact memory of the events of that afternoon. Truly was probably correct in stating that the west elevator was on the fifth floor when he looked up the elevator shaft from the first floor. The west elevator was not on the fifth floor when Baker and Truly reached that floor, probably because Jack Dougherty took it to the first floor while Baker and Truly were running up the stairs or in the lunchroom with Oswald. Neither elevator could have been used by Oswald as a means of descent. Oswald's use of the stairway is consistent with the testimony of other employees in the building. Three employees James Jarman, Jr., Harold Norman, and Bonnie Ray Williams were watching the parade from the fifth

floor, directly below the window from which the shots were fired. They rushed to the west windows after the shots were fired and remained there until after they saw Patrolman Baker's white helmet on the fifth floor moving toward the elevator.

While they were at the west windows their view of the stairwell was completely blocked by shelves and boxes. This is the period during which Oswald would have descended the stairs. In all likelihood Dougherty took the elevator down from the fifth floor after Jarman, Norman, and Williams ran to the west windows and were deciding what to do. None of these three men saw Dougherty, probably because of the anxiety of the moment and because of the books which may have blocked the view. Neither Jarman, Norman, Williams, or Dougherty saw Oswald.

Victoria Adams, who worked on the fourth floor of the Depository Building, claimed that within about 1 minute following the shots she ran from a window on the south side of the fourth floor, down the rear stairs to the first floor, where she encountered two Depository Shelley and Billy Lovelady. If her estimate of time is correct, she reached the bottom of the stairs before Truly and Baker started up, and she must have run down the stairs ahead of Oswald and would probably have seen or heard him. Actually she noticed no one on the back stairs. If she descended from the fourth to the first floor as fast as she claimed in her testimony, she would have seen Baker or Truly on the first floor or on the stairs, unless they were already in the second-floor lunchroom talking to Oswald. When she reached the first floor, she actually saw Shelley and Lovelady slightly east of the east elevator. Shelley and Lovelady, however, have testified that they were watching the parade from the top step of the building entrance when Gloria Calverly, who works in the Depository Building, ran up and said that the President had been shot.

Lovelady and Shelley moved out into the street. About this time Shelley saw Truly and Patrolman Baker go into the building Shelley and Lovelady, at a fast walk or trot, turned west into the railroad yards and then to the west side of the Depository Building. They reentered the building by the rear door several minutes after Baker and Truly rushed through the front entrance. On entering, Lovelady saw a girl on the first floor who he believes was Victoria Adams. If Miss Adams accurately recalled meeting Shelley and Lovelady when she reached the bottom of the stairs, then her estimate of the time when she descended from the fourth floor is incorrect, and she actually came down the stairs several minutes after Oswald and after Truly and Baker as well.

Oswald's departure from building. Within a minute after Baker and Truly left Oswald in the lunchroom, Mrs. R. A. Reid, clerical supervisor for the Texas School Book Depository, saw him walk through the clerical office on the second floor toward the door leading to the front stairway. Mrs. Reid had watched the parade from the sidewalk in front of the building with Truly and Mr. O. V. Campbell, vice president of the Depository. She testified that she heard three shots which she thought came from the building. She ran inside and up the front stairs into the large open office reserved for clerical employees. As she approached her desk, she saw Oswald. He was walking into the office from the back hallway, carrying a full bottle of Coca-Cola in his hand, presumably purchased after the encounter with Baker and Truly. As Oswald passed Mrs. Reid she said, "Oh, the President has been shot, but maybe they didn't hit him." Oswald mumbled something and walked by. She paid no more attention to him. The only exit from the office in the direction Oswald was moving was through the door to the front stairway. (See Commission Exhibit 1118, p. 150.) Mrs. Reid testified that when she saw Oswald, he was wearing a T-shirt and no jacket. When he left home that morning, Marina Oswald, who was still in bed, suggested that he wear a jacket. A blue jacket, later identified by Marina Oswald as her husband's, was subsequently found in the building, apparently left behind by Oswald.

Mrs. Reid believes that she returned to her desk from the street about 2 minutes after the shooting. Reconstructing her movements, Mrs. Reid ran the distance three times and was timed in 2 minutes by stopwatch. The reconstruction was the minimum time. Accordingly, she probably met Oswald at about 12:32, approximately 30-45 seconds after Oswald's lunchroom encounter with Baker and Truly. After leaving Mrs. Reid in the front office, Oswald could have gone down the stairs and out the front door by 12:33 p.m. 3 minutes after the shooting. At that time the building had not yet been sealed off by the police.

While it was difficult to determine exactly when the police sealed off the building, the earliest estimates would still have permitted Oswald to leave the building by 12:33. One of the police officers assigned to the corner of Elm and Houston Streets for the Presidential motorcade, W. E. Barnett, testified that immediately after the shots he went to the rear of the building to check the fire escape. He then returned to the corner of Elm and Houston where he met a sergeant who instructed him to find out the name of the building. Barnett ran to the building, noted its name, and then returned to the corner. There he was met by a construction worker in all likelihood Howard Brennan, who was wearing his work

helmet. This worker told Barnett that the shots had been fired from a window in the Depository Building, where upon Barnett posted himself at the front door to make certain that no one left the building. The sergeant did the same thing at the rear of the building. Barnett estimated that approximately 3 minutes elapsed between the time he heard the last of the shots and the time he started guarding the front door. According to Barnett, "there were people going in and out" during this period. Sgt. D. V. Harkness of the Dallas police said that to his knowledge the building was not sealed off at 12:36 p.m. when he called in on police radio that a witness (Amos Euins) had seen shots fired from a window of the building. At that time, Inspector Herbert V. Sawyer's car was parked in front of the building. Harkness did not know whether or not two officers with Sawyer were guarding the doors. At 12:34 p.m. Sawyer heard a call over the police radio that the shots had come from the Depository Building. He then entered the building and took the front passenger elevator as far as it would go to the fourth floor. After inspecting this floor, Sawyer returned to the street about 3 minutes after he entered the building. After he returned to the street he directed Sergeant Harkness to station two patrolmen at the front door and not let anyone in or out; he also directed that the back door be sealed off. This was no earlier than 12:37 p.m. and may have been later. Special Agent Forrest V. Sorrels of the Secret Service, who had been in the motorcade, testified that after driving to Parkland Hospital, he returned to the Depository Building about 20 minutes after the shooting, found no police officers at the rear door and was able to enter through this door without identifying himself. Although Oswald probably left the building at about 12:33 p.m., his absence was not noticed until at least one-half hour later. Truly, who had returned with Patrolman Baker from the roof, saw the police questioning the warehouse employees. Approximately 15 men worked in the warehouse and Truly noticed that Oswald was not among those being questioned. Satisfying himself that Oswald was missing, Truly obtained Oswald's address, phone number, and description from his employment application card. The address listed was for the Paine home in Irving. Truly gave this information to Captain Fritz who was on the sixth floor at the time. Truly estimated that he gave this information to Fritz about 15 or 20 minutes after the shots, but it was probably no earlier than 1:22 p.m., the time when the rifle was found. Fritz believed that he learned of Oswald's absence after the rifle was found. The fact that Truly found Fritz in the northwest corner of the floor, near the point where the rifle was found, supports Fritz' recollection.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Oswald at Window Conclusion

Fingerprint and palmprint evidence establishes that Oswald handled two of the four cartons next to the window and also handled a paper bag which was found near the cartons. Oswald was seen in the vicinity of the southeast corner of the sixth floor approximately 35 minutes before the assassination and no one could be found who saw Oswald anywhere else in the building until after the shooting. An eyewitness to the shooting immediately provided a description of the man in the window which was similar to Oswald's actual appearance. This witness identified Oswald in a lineup as the man most nearly resembling the man he saw and later identified Oswald as the man he observed. Oswald's known actions in the building immediately after the assassination are consistent with his having been at the southeast corner window of the sixth floor at 12:30 p.m. On the basis of these findings the Commission has concluded that Oswald, at the time of the assassination, was present at the window from which the shots were fired.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Killing of Patrolman J.D. Tippit

After leaving the Depository Building at approximately 12:38 p.m., Lee Harvey Oswald proceeded to his rooming house by bus and taxi. He arrived at approximately 1 p.m. and left a few minutes later. At about 1:16 p.m., a Dallas police officer, J. D. Tippit, was shot less than 1 mile from Oswald's rooming house. In deciding whether Oswald killed Patrolman Tippit the Commission considered the following: (1) positive identification of the killer by two eyewitnesses who saw the shooting and seven eyewitnesses who heard the shots and saw the gunman flee the scene with the revolver in his hand, (2) testimony of firearms identification experts establishing the identity of the murder weapon, (3) evidence establishing the ownership of the murder weapon, (4) evidence establishing the ownership of a zipper jacket found along the path of flight taken by the gunman from the scene of the shooting to the place of arrest.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Oswald's Movements After Leaving Depository Building

The bus ride. According to the reconstruction of time and events which the Commission found most credible, Lee Harvey Oswald left the building approximately 3 minutes after the assassination. probably walked east on Elm Street for seven blocks to the corner of Elm and Murphy where he boarded a bus which was heading back in the direction of the Depository Building, on its way to the Oak Cliff section of Dallas. (See Commission Exhibit 1119-A, p. 158.) When Oswald was apprehended, a bus transfer marked for the Lakewood-Marsalis route was found in his shirt pocket.

The transfer was dated "Fri. Nov. 22, '63" and was punched in two places by the bus driver. On the basis of this punch mark, which was distinctive to each Dallas driver, the transfer was conclusively identified as having been issued by Cecil J. McWatters, a bus driver for the Dallas Transit Company. On the basis of the date and time on the transfer, McWatters was able to testify that the transfer had been issued by him on a trip which passed a check point at St. Paul and Elm Streets at 12:36 p.m., November 22, 1963.

McWatters was sure that he left the checkpoint on time and he estimated that it took him 3 to 4 minutes to drive three blocks west from the checkpoint to Field Street, which he reached at about 12:40 p.m. McWatters' recollection is that he issued this transfer to a man who entered his bus just beyond Field Street where a man beat on the front door of the bus, boarded it and paid his fare. About two blocks later, a woman asked to get off to make a 1 o'clock train at Union Station and requested a transfer which she might use if she got through the traffic.

*** So I gave her a transfer and opened the door and she was going out the gentleman I had picked up about two blocks [back] asked for a transfer and got off at the same place in the middle of the block where the lady did. *** It was the intersection near Lamar Street, it was near Poydras and Lamar Street.

The man was on the bus approximately 4 minutes.

At about 6:30 p.m. on the day of the assassination, McWatters viewed four men in a police lineup. He picked Oswald from the lineup as the man who had boarded the bus at the "lower end of town on Elm around Houston," and who, during the ride south on Marsalls, had an argument with a woman passenger. In his Commission testimony, McWatters said he had been in error and that a teenager named Milton Jones was the passenger he had in mind. In a later interview, Jones confirmed that he had exchanged words with a woman passenger on the bus during the ride south on Marsalis.

McWatters also remembered that a man received a transfer at Lamar and Elm Streets and that a man in the lineup was about the size of this man. However, McWatters' recollection alone was too vague to be a basis for placing Oswald on the bus. Riding on the bus was an elderly woman, Mary Bledsoe, who confirmed the mute evidence of the transfer. Oswald had rented a room from Mrs. Bledsoe about 6 weeks before, on October 7, but she had asked him to leave at the end of a week. Mrs. Bledsoe told him "I am not going to rent to you any more." She testified, "I didn't like his attitude. *** There was just something about him I didn't like or want him. *** Just didn't want him around me." On November 22, Mrs. Bledsoe came downtown to watch the Presidential motorcade. She boarded the Marsalis bus at St. Paul and Elm Streets to return home. She testified further:

And, after we got past Akard, at Murphyl figured it out. Let's see. I don't know for sure. Oswald got on. He looks like a maniac. His sleeve was out here. *** His shirt was undone. ***

* * * * *

*** Was a hole in it, hole, and he was dirty, and I didn't look at him. I didn't want to know I even seen him

* * * * *

*** he looked so bad in his face, and his face was so distorted.

* * * * *

*** Hole in his sleeve right here.

As Mrs. Bledsoe said these words, she pointed to her right elbow. When Oswald was arrested in the Texas Theatre, he was wearing a brown sport shirt with a hole in the right sleeve at the elbow. Mrs. Bledsoe identified the shirt as the one Oswald was wearing and she stated she was certain that it was Oswald who boarded the bus. Mrs. Bledsoe recalled that Oswald sat halfway to the rear of the bus which moved slowly and intermittently as traffic became heavy. She heard a passing motorist tell the

driver that the President had been shot. People on the bus began talking about it. As the bus neared Lamar Street, Oswald left the bus and disappeared into the crowd.

The Marsalis bus which Oswald boarded traveled a route west on Elm, south on Houston, and southwest across the Houston viaduct to service the Oak Cliff area along Marsalis. A Beckley bus which also served the Oak Cliff area, followed the same route as the Marsalis bus through downtown Dallas, except that it continued west on Elm, across Houston in front of the Depository Building, past the Triple Underpass into west Dallas, and south on Beckley.

Marsalis Street is seven blocks from Beckley. Oswald lived at 1026 North Beckley. He could not reach his rooming house on the Marsalis bus, but the Beckley bus stopped across the street. According to McWatters, the Beckley bus was behind the Marsalis bus, but he did not actually see it. Both buses stopped within one block of the Depository Building. Instead of waiting there, Oswald apparently went as far away as he could and boarded the first Oak Cliff bus which came along rather than wait for one which stopped across the street from his rooming house.

In a reconstruction of this bus trip, agents of the Secret Service and the FBI walked the seven blocks from the front entrance of the Depository Building to Murphy and Elm three times, averaging 6.5 minutes for the three trips. A bus moving through heavy traffic on Elm from Murphy to Lamar was timed at 4 minutes. If Oswald left the Depository Building at 12:33 p.m., walked seven blocks directly to Murphy and Elm, and boarded a bus almost immediately, he would have boarded the bus at approximately 12:40 p.m. and left it at approximately 12:44 p.m. (See Commission Exhibit No.1119-A, p. 158.) Roger D. Craig, a deputy sheriff of Dallas County, claimed that about 15 minutes after the assassination he saw a man, whom he later identified as Oswald, coming from the direction of the Depository Building' and running down the hill north of Elm Street toward a light-colored Rambler station wagon, which was moving slowly along Elm toward the underpass: The station wagon stopped to pick up the man and then drove off. Craig testified that later in the afternoon he saw Oswald in the police interrogation room and told Captain Fritz that Oswald was the man he saw.

Craig also claimed that when Fritz pointed out to Oswald that Craig had identified him, Oswald rose from his chair, looked directly at Fritz, and said, "Everybody will know who I am now." The Commission could not accept important elements of Craig's testimony. Captain Fritz stated that a deputy sheriff whom he could not identify did ask to see him that afternoon and told him a similar story to Craig's. Fritz did not bring him into his office to identify Oswald but turned him over to Lieutenant Baker for questioning. If Craig saw Oswald that afternoon, he saw him through the glass windows of the office. And neither Captain Fritz nor any other officer can remember that Oswald dramatically arose from his chair and said, "Everybody will know who I am now." ' If Oswald had made such a statement, Captain Fritz and others present would probably have remembered it. Craig may have seen a person enter a white Rambler station wagon 15 or 20 minutes after the shooting and travel west on Elm Street, but the Commission concluded that this man was not Lee Harvey Oswald, because of the overwhelming evidence that Oswald was far away from the building by that time.

The taxicab ride. William Whaley, a taxicab driver, told his employer on Saturday morning, November 23, that he recognized Oswald from a newspaper photograph as a man whom he had driven to the Oak Cliff area the day before.

Notified of Whaley's statement, the police brought him to the police station that afternoon. He was taken to the lineup room where, according to Whaley, five young teenagers, all handcuffed together, were displayed with Oswald. He testified that Oswald looked older than the other boys. The police asked him whether he could pick out his passenger from the lineup. Whaley picked Oswald. He said,

*** you could have picked him out without identifying him by just listening to him because he was bawling out the policeman, telling them it wasn't right to put him in line with these teenagers and all of that and they asked me which one and I told them. It was him all right, the same man.

* * * * *

He showed no respect for the policemen, he told them what he thought about them. They knew what they were doing and they were trying to railroad him and he wanted his lawyer.

Whaley believes that Oswald's conduct did not aid him in his identification "because I knew he was the right one as soon as I saw him." Whaley's memory of the lineup is inaccurate. There were four men altogether, not six men, in the lineup with Oswald. Whaley said that Oswald was the man under No. 2. Actually Oswald was under No. 3. Only two of the men in the lineup with Oswald were teenagers: John T. Horn, aged 18, was No. 1; David Knapp, aged 18, was No. 2; Lee Oswald was No. 3; and Daniel Lujan, aged 26, was No. 4.

When he first testified before the Commission, Whaley displayed a trip manifest which showed a 12 o'clock trip from Travis Hotel to the Continental bus station, unloaded at 12:15 p.m., a 12:15 p.m. pickup at Continental to Greyhound, unloaded at 12:30 p.m., and a pickup from Greyhound (bus station) at 12:30 p.m., unloaded at 500 North Beckley at 12:45 p.m. Whaley testified that he did not keep an accurate time record of his trips but recorded them by the quarter hour, and that sometimes he made his entry right after a trip while at other times he waited to record three or four trips. As he unloaded his Continental bus station passenger in front of Greyhound, he started to get out to buy a package of cigarettes. He saw a man walking south on Lamar from Commerce. The man was dressed in faded blue color khaki work clothes, a brown shirt, and some kind of work jacket that almost matched his pants. The man asked, "May I have the cab?", and got into the front seat. Whaley described the ensuing events as follows:

And about that time an old lady, I think she was an old lady, I don't remember nothing but her sticking her head down past him in the door and said, "Driver, will you call me a cab down here?" She had seen him get this cab and she wanted one, too, and he opened the door a little bit like he was going to get out and he said, "I will let you have this one," and she says, "No, the driver can call me one."

* * * * *

I asked him where he wanted to go. And he said, "500 North Beckley." Well, I started up, I started to that address, and the police cars, the sirens was going, running crisscrossing everywhere, just a big uproar in that end of town and I said, "What the hell. I wonder what the hell is the uproar?" And he never said anything. So I figured he was one of these people that don't like to talk so I never said any more to him. But when I got pretty close to 500 block at Neches and North Beckley which is the 500 block, he said, "This will do fine," and I pulled over to the curb right there. He gave me a dollar bill, the trip was 95 cents. He gave me a dollar bill and didn't say anything, just got out and closed the door and walked around the front of the cab over to the other side of the street [east side of the street]. Of course, the traffic was moving through there and I put it in gear and moved on, that is the last I saw of him.

Whaley was somewhat imprecise as to where he unloaded his passenger. He marked what, he thought was the intersection of Neches and Beckley on a map of Dallas with a large "X." He said, "Yes, sir; that is right, because that is the 500 block of North Beckley." However, Neches and Beckley do not intersect. Neches is within one-half block of the rooming house at 1026 North Beckley where Oswald was living. The 500 block of North Beckley is five blocks south of the rooming house.

After a review of these inconsistencies in his testimony before the Commission, Whaley was interviewed again in Dallas. The route of the taxicab was retraced under the direction of Whaley. He directed the driver of the car to a point 20 feet north of the northwest corner of the intersection of Beckley and Neely, the point at which he said his passenger alighted. This was the 700 block of North Beckley. The elapsed time of the reconstructed run from the Greyhound Bus Station to Neely and Beckley was 5 minutes and 30 seconds by stopwatch. The walk from Beckley and Neely to 1026 North Beckley was timed by Commission counsel at 5 minutes and 45 seconds.

Whaley testified that Oswald was wearing either the gray zippered jacket or the heavy blue jacket. He was in error, however. Oswald could not possibly have been wearing the blue jacket during the trip with Whaley, since it was found in the "domino" room of the Depository late in November. Moreover, Mrs. Bledsoe saw Oswald in the bus without a jacket and wearing a shirt with a hole at the elbow. On the other hand, Whaley identified Commission Exhibit No. 150 (the shirt taken from Oswald upon arrest) as the shirt his passenger was wearing. He also stated he saw a silver identification bracelet on his passenger's left wrist. Oswald was wearing such a bracelet when he was arrested. On November 22, Oswald told Captain Fritz that he rode a bus to a stop near his home and then walked to his rooming house. When queried the following morning concerning a bus transfer found in his possession at the time of his arrest, he admitted receiving it. And when interrogated about a cab ride, Oswald also admitted that he left the slow-moving bus and took a cab to his rooming house.

The Greyhound Bus Station at Lamar and Jackson Streets, where Oswald entered Whaley's cab, is three to four short blocks south of Lamar and Elm. If Oswald left the bus at 12:44 p.m. and walked directly to the terminal, he would have entered the cab at 12:47 or 12:48 p.m. If the cab ride was approximately 6 minutes, as was the reconstructed ride, he would have reached his destination at approximately 12:54 p.m. If he was discharged at Neely and Beckley and walked directly to his rooming house, he would have arrived there about 12:59 to 1 p.m. From the 500 block of North Beckley, the walk would be a few minutes longer, but in either event he would have been in the rooming house at about 1 p.m. This is the approximate time he entered the rooming house, according to Earlene Roberts, the housekeeper there. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1119-A, p. 158.) Arrival and

departure from rooming house-Earlene Roberts, housekeeper for Mrs. A. C. Johnson at 1026 North Beckley, knew Lee Harvey Oswald under the alias of O. H. Lee. She first saw him the day he rented a room at that address on October 14, 1963. He signed his name as O. H. Lee on the rooming house register.

Mrs. Roberts testified that on Thursday, November 21, Oswald did not come home. On Friday, November 22, about 1 p.m., he entered the house in unusual haste. She recalled that it was subsequent to the time the President had been shot.

After a friend had called and told her, "President Kennedy has been shot," she turned on the television. When Oswald came in she said, "Oh, you are in a hurry," but Oswald did not respond. He hurried to his room and stayed no longer than 3 or 4 minutes. Oswald had entered the house in his shirt sleeves, but when he left, he was zipping up a jacket. Mrs. Roberts saw him a few seconds later standing near the bus stop in front of the house on the east side of Beckley.

Oswald was next seen about nine-tenths of a mile away at the southeast corner of 10th Street and Patton Avenue, moments before the Tippit shooting. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1119-A, p. 158.) If Oswald left his rooming house shortly after 1 p.m. and walked at a brisk pace, he would have reached 10th and Patton shortly after 1:15 p.m. Tippit's murder was recorded on the police radio tape at about 1:16 p.m.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Description of Shooting

Patrolman J. D. Tippit joined the Dallas Police Department in July 1952. He was described by Chief Curry as having the reputation of being "a very free, dedicated officer." Tippit patrolled district No. 78 in the Oak Cliff area of Dallas during daylight hours. He drove a police car' painted distinctive colors with No. 10 prominently displayed on each side. Tippit rode alone, as only one man was normally assigned to a patrol car in residential areas during daylight shifts.

At about 12:44 p.m. on November 22, the radio dispatcher on channel 1 ordered all downtown patrol squads to report to Elm and Houston, code 3 (emergency). At 12:45 p.m. the dispatcher ordered No. 78 (Tippit.) to "move into central Oak Cliff area." At 12:54 p.m., Tippit reported that he was in the central Oak Cliff area at Lancaster and Eighth. The dispatcher ordered Tippit to be: "** * * at large for any emergency that comes in." According to Chief Curry, Tippit was free to patrol the central Oak Cliff area. Tippit must have heard the description of the suspect wanted for the President's shooting; it was broadcast over channel 1 at 12:45 p.m., again at 12:48 p.m., and again at 12:55 p.m. The suspect was described as a "white male, approximately 30, slender build, height 5 foot 10 inches, weight 165 pounds." A similar description was given on channel 2 at 12:45 p.m.

At approximately 1:15 p.m., Tippit, who was cruising east on 10th Street, passed the intersection of 10th and Patton, about eight blocks from where he had reported at 12:54 p.m. About 100 feet past the intersection Tippit stopped a man walking east along the south side of Patton. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1968, p. 164.) The man's general description was similar to the one broadcast over the police radio. Tippit stopped the man and called him to his car. He approached the car and apparently exchanged words with Tippit through the right front or vent window. Tippit got out and started to walk around the front of the car. As Tippit reached the left front wheel the man pulled out a revolver and fired several shots. Four bullets hit Tippit and killed him instantly. The gunman started back toward Patton Avenue, ejecting the empty cartridge cases before reloading with fresh bullets.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Eyewitnesses

At least 12 persons saw the man with the revolver in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene at or immediately after the shooting. By the evening of November 22, five of them had identified Lee Harvey Oswald in police lineups as the man they saw. A sixth did so the next day. Three others subsequently identified Oswald from a photograph. Two witnesses testified that Oswald resembled the man they had seen. One witness felt he was too distant from the gunman to make a positive identification. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1968, p. 164.) A taxi driver, William Scoggins, was eating lunch in his cab which was parked on Patton facing the southeast corner of 10th Street and Patton Avenue a few feet to the north. A police car moving east on 10th at about 10 or 12 miles an hour passed in front of his cab. About 100 feet from the corner the police car pulled up alongside a man on the sidewalk.

This man, dressed in a light-colored jacket, approached the car. Scoggins lost sight of him behind some shrubbery on the southeast corner lot, but he saw the policeman leave the car, heard three or four shots, and then saw the policeman fall.

Scoggins hurriedly left his seat and hid behind the cab as the man came back toward the corner with gun in hand. The man cut across the yard through some bushes, passed within 12 feet of Scoggins, and ran south on Patton. Scoggins saw him and heard him mutter either "Poor damn cop" or "Poor dumb cop." The next day Scoggins viewed a lineup of four persons and identified Oswald as the man whom he had seen the day before at 10th and Patton. In his testimony before the Commission, Scoggins stated that he thought he had seen a picture of Oswald in the newspapers prior to the lineup identification on Saturday. He had not seen Oswald on television and had not been shown any photographs of Oswald by the police.

Another witness, Domingo Benavides, was driving a pickup truck west on 10th Street. As he crossed the intersection a block east of 10th and Patton, he saw a policeman standing by the left door of the police car parked along the south side of 10th. Benavides saw a man standing at the right side of the parked police car. He then heard three shots and saw the policeman fall to the ground. By this time the pickup truck was across the street and about 25 feet from the police car.

Benavides stopped and waited in the truck until the gunman ran to the corner. He saw him empty the gun and throw the shells into some bushes on the southeast corner lot. It was Benavides, using Tippit's car radio, who first reported the killing of Patrolman Tippit at about 1:16 p.m.: "We've had a shooting out here." He found two empty shells in the bushes and gave them to Patrolman J. M. Poe who arrived on the scene shortly after the shooting. Benavides never saw Oswald after the arrest. When questioned by police officers on the evening of November 22, Benavides told them that he did not think that he could identify the man who fired the shots. As a result, they did not take him to the police station. He testified that the picture of Oswald which he saw later on television bore a resemblance to the man who shot Officer Tippit.

Just prior to the shooting, Mrs. Helen Markham, a waitress in downtown Dallas, was about to cross 101st Street at Patton. As she waited on the northwest corner of the intersection for traffic to pass, she noticed a young man as he was "almost ready to get up on the curb" at the southeast corner of the intersection, approximately 50 feet away. The man continued along 10th Street. Mrs. Markham saw a police car slowly approach the man from the rear and stop alongside of him. She saw the man come to the right window of the police car. As he talked, he leaned on the ledge of the right window with his arms. The man appeared to step back as the policeman "calmly opened the car door" and very slowly got out and walked toward the front of the car. The man pulled a gun. Mrs. Markham heard three shots and saw the policeman fall to the ground near the left front wheel. She raised her hands to her eyes as the man started to walk back toward Patton. She peered through her fingers, lowered her hands, and saw the man doing something with his gun. "He was just fooling with it. I didn't know what he was doing. I was afraid he was fixing to kill me." The man "in kind of a little trot" headed down Patton toward Jefferson Boulevard, a block away. Mrs. Markham then ran to Officer Tippit's side and saw him lying in a pool of blood. Helen Markham was screaming as she leaned over the body. A few minutes later she described the gunman to a policeman. Her description and that of other eyewitnesses led to the police broadcast at 1:22 p.m. describing the slayer as "about 30, 5'8", black hair, slender." At about 4:30 p.m., Mrs. Markham, who had been greatly upset by her experience, was able to view a lineup of four men handcuffed together at the police station. She identified Lee Harvey Oswald as the man who shot the policeman. Detective L. C. Graves, who had been with Mrs. Markham before the lineup testified that she was "quite hysterical" and was "crying and upset." He said that Mrs. Markham started crying when Oswald walked into the lineup room. In testimony before the Commission, Mrs. Markham confirmed her positive identification of Lee Harvey Oswald as the man she saw kill Officer Tippit.

In evaluating Mrs. Markham's identification of Oswald, the Commission considered certain allegations that Mrs. Markham described the man who killed Patrolman Tippit as "short, a little on the heavy side," and having "somewhat bushy" hair. The Commission reviewed the transcript of a phone conversation in which Mrs. Markham is alleged to have provided such a description. A review of the complete transcript has satisfied the Commission that Mrs. Markham strongly reaffirmed her positive identification of Oswald and denied having described the killer as short, stocky and having bushy hair. She stated that the man weighed about 150 pounds. Although she used the words "a little bit bushy" to describe the gunman's hair, the transcript establishes that she was referring to the uncombed state of his hair, a description fully supported by a photograph of Oswald taken at the time of his arrest. (See Pizzo Exhibit No. 453-C, p. 177.) Although in the phone conversation she described the man as "short," on November 22, within minutes of the shooting and before the lineup, Mrs. Markham described the man to the police as 5'8" tall.

During her testimony Mrs. Markham initially denied that she ever had the above phone conversation. She has subsequently admitted the existence of the conversation and offered an explanation for her denial. Addressing itself solely to the probative value of Mrs. Markham's contemporaneous description of the gunman and her positive identification of Oswald at a police lineup, the Commission considers her testimony reliable. However, even in the absence of Mrs. Markham's testimony, there is ample evidence to identify Oswald as the killer of Tippit. Two young women, Barbara Jeanette Davis and Virginia Davis, were in an apartment of a multiple-unit house on the southeast corner of 10th and Patton when they heard the sound of gunfire and the screams of Helen Markham. They ran to the door in time to see a man with a revolver cut across their lawn and disappear around a corner of the house onto Patton. Barbara Jeanette Davis assumed that he was emptying his gun as "he had it open and was shaking it." She immediately called the police. Later in the day each woman found an empty shell on the ground near the house. These two shells were delivered to the police.

On the evening of November 22, Barbara Jeanette and Virginia Davis viewed a group of four men in a lineup and each one picked Oswald as the man who crossed their lawn while emptying his pistol. Barbara Jeanette Davis testified that no one had shown her a picture of Oswald before the identification and that she had not seen him on television. She was not sure whether she had seen his picture in a newspaper on the afternoon or evening of November 22 prior to the lineup.

Her reaction when she saw Oswald in the lineup was that "I was pretty sure it was the same man I saw. When they made him turn sideways, I was positive that was the one I seen." Similarly, Virginia Davis had not been shown pictures of anyone prior to the lineup and had not seen either television or the newspapers during the afternoon. She identified Oswald, who was the No. 2 man in the lineup, as the man she saw running with the gun: she testified, "I would say that was him for sure." Barbara Jeanette Davis and Virginia Davis were sitting alongside each other when they made their positive identifications of Oswald. Each woman whispered Oswald's number to the detective. Each testified that she was the first to make the identification.

William Arthur Smith was about a block east of 10th and Patton when he heard shots. He looked west on 10th and saw a man running to the west and a policeman falling to the ground. Smith failed to make himself known to the police on November 22. Several days later he reported what he had seen and was questioned by FBI agents. Smith subsequently told a Commission staff member that he saw Oswald on television the night of the murder and thought that Oswald was the man he had seen running away from the shooting. On television Oswald's hair looked blond, whereas Smith remembered that the man who ran away had hair that was brown or brownish black. Later, the FBI showed Smith a picture of Oswald. In the picture the hair was brown. According to his testimony, Smith told the FBI, "It looked more like him than it did on television." He stated further that from "What I saw of him" the man looked like the man in the picture.

Two other important eyewitnesses to Oswald's flight were Ted Callaway, manager of a used-car lot on the northeast corner of Patton Avenue and Jefferson Boulevard, and Sam Guinyard, a porter at the lot. They heard the sound of shots to the north of their lot. Callaway heard five shots, and Guinyard three. Both ran to the sidewalk on the east side of Patton at a point about a half a block south of 10th. They saw a man coming south on Patton with a revolver held high in his right hand. According to Callaway, the man crossed to the west side of Patton. From across the street Callaway yelled, "Hey, man, what the hell is going on?" He slowed down, halted, said something, and then kept on going to the corner, turned right, and continued west on Jefferson. Guinyard claimed that the man ran down the east side of Patton and passed within 10 feet of him before crossing to the other side. Guinyard and Callaway ran to 10th and Patton and found Tippit lying in the street beside his car. Apparently he had reached for his gun; it lay beneath him outside of the holster. Callaway picked up the gun. He and Scoggins attempted to chase down the gunman in Scoggin's taxicab, but he had disappeared. Early in the

evening of November 22, Guinyard and Callaway viewed the same lineup of four men from which Mrs. Markham had earlier made her identification of Lee Harvey Oswald. Both men picked Oswald as the man who had run south on Patton with a gun in his hand. Callaway told the Commission: "So they brought four men in. I stepped to the back of the room, so I could kind of see him from the same distance which I had seen him before. And when he came out I knew him." Guinyard said, "I told them that was him right there. I pointed him out right there." Both Callaway and Guinyard testified that they had not been shown any pictures by the police before the lineup.

The Dallas Police Department furnished the Commission with pictures of the men who appeared in the lineups with Oswald, and the Commission has inquired into general lineup procedures used by the Dallas police as well as the specific procedures in the lineups involving Oswald. The Commission is satisfied that the lineups were conducted fairly. As Oswald ran south on Patton Avenue toward Jefferson Boulevard he was moving in the direction of a used-car lot located on the southeast corner of this intersection. Four men Warren Reynolds, Harold Russell Pat Patterson and L. J. Lewis were on the lot at the time, and they saw a white male with a revolver in his hands running south on Patton. When the man reached Jefferson, he turned right and headed west. Reynolds and Patterson decided to follow him. When he reached a gasoline service station one block away he turned north and walked toward a parking area in the rear of the station. Neither Reynolds nor Patterson saw the man after he turned off Jefferson at the service station. These four witnesses were interviewed by FBI agents 2 months after the shooting. Russell and Patterson were shown a picture of Oswald and they stated that Oswald was the man they saw on November 22, 1963. Russell confirmed this statement in a sworn affidavit for the Commission. Patterson, when asked later to confirm his identification by affidavit said he did not recall having been shown the photograph. He was then shown two photographs of Oswald and he advised that Oswald was "unquestionably" the man he saw. Reynolds did not make a positive identification when interviewed by the FBI, but he subsequently testified before a Commission staff member and, when shown two photographs of Oswald, stated that they were photographs of the man he saw. L.J. Lewis said in an interview that because of the distance from which he observed the gunman he would hesitate to state whether the man was identical with Oswald.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Murder Weapon

When Oswald was arrested, he had in his possession a Smith & Wesson .38 Special caliber revolver, serial number V510210. (See Commission Exhibit No. 143, p. 170). Two of the arresting officers placed their initials on the weapon and a third inscribed his name. All three identified Exhibit No. 143 as the revolver taken from Oswald when he was arrested. Four cartridge cases were found in the shrubbery on the corner of 10th and Patton by three of the eyewitnesses Domingo Benavides, Barbara Jeanette Davis, and Virginia Davis. It was the unanimous and unequivocal testimony of expert witnesses before the Commission that these used cartridge cases were fired from the revolver in Oswald's possession to the exclusion of all other weapons. (See app. X, p. 559.) Cortlandt Cunningham, of the Firearms Identification Unit of the FBI Laboratory, testified that he compared the four empty cartridge cases found near the scene of the shooting with a test cartridge fired from the weapon in Oswald's possession when he was arrested. Cunningham declared that this weapon fired the four cartridges to the exclusion of all other weapons. Identification was effected through breech face marks and firing pin marks. Robert A. Frazier and Charles Killion, other FBI firearms experts, independently examined the four cartridge cases and arrived at the same conclusion as Cunningham. At the request of the Commission, Joseph D. Nicol, superintendent of the Illinois Bureau of Criminal Identification Investigation, also examined the four cartridge cases found near the site of the homicide and compared them with the test cartridge cases fired from the Smith & Wesson revolver taken from Oswald. He concluded that all of these cartridges were fired from the same weapon.

Cunningham compared four lead bullets recovered from the body of Patrolman Tippit with test bullets fired from Oswald's revolver. He explained that the bullets were slightly smaller than the barrel of the pistol which had fired them.

This caused the bullets to have an erratic passage through the barrel and impressed upon the lead of the bullets inconsistent individual characteristics which made identification impossible. Consecutive bullets fired from the revolver by the FBI experts could not be identified as having been fired from that revolver. (See app. X, p. 559.) Cunningham testified that all of the bullets were mutilated, one being useless for comparison purposes. All four bullets were fired from a weapon with five lands and grooves and a right twist which were the rifling characteristics of the revolver taken from Oswald.

He concluded, however, that he could not say whether the four bullets were fired from the revolver in Oswald's possession. "The only thing I can testify is they could have on the basis of the rifling characteristic they could have been." Nicol differed with the FBI experts on one bullet taken from Tippit's body. He declared that this bullet was fired from the same weapon that fired the test bullets to the exclusion of all other weapons. But he agreed that because the other three bullets were mutilated, he could not determine if they had been fired from the same weapon as the test bullets.

The examination and testimony of the experts enabled the Commission to conclude that five shots may have been fired, even though only four bullets were recovered. Three of the bullets recovered from Tippit's body were manufactured by Winchester-Western, and the fourth bullet by Remington-Peters, but only two of the four discarded cartridge cases found on the lawn at 10th Street and Patton Avenue were of Winchester-Western manufacture. Therefore, one cartridge case of this type was not recovered. And though only one bullet of Remington-Peters manufacture was recovered, two empty cartridge cases of that make were retrieved. Therefore, either one bullet of Remington-Peters manufacture is missing or one used Remington-Peters cartridge case, which may have been in the revolver before the shooting, was discarded along with the others as Oswald left the scene. If a bullet is missing, five were fired. This corresponds with the observation and memory of Ted Callaway, and possibly Warren Reynolds, but not with the other eyewitnesses who claim to have heard from two to four shots.

Warren Report: Ownership of Revolver

By checking certain importers and dealers after the assassination of President Kennedy and slaying of Officer Tippit, agents of the FBI determined that George Rose & Co. of Los Angeles was a major distributor of this type of revolver.

Records of Seaport Traders, Inc., a mail-order division of George Rose & Co., disclosed that on January 3, 1963, the company received from Empire Wholesale Sporting Goods, Ltd., Montreal, a shipment of 99 guns in one case. Among these guns was a .38 Special caliber Smith & Wesson revolver, serial No. V510210, the only revolver made by Smith & Wesson with this serial number. When first manufactured, it had a 5-inch barrel. George Rose & Co. had the barrel shortened by a gunsmith to inches.

Sometime after January 27, 1963, Seaport Traders, Inc., received through the mail a mail-order coupon for one ".38 St. W. 2" Bbl.," cost \$29.95. Ten dollars in cash was enclosed. The order was signed in ink by "A. J. Hidell, aged 28." (See Commission Exhibit No. 790, p. 173.) The date of the order was January 27 (no year shown), and the return address was Post Office Box 2915, Dallas, Tex. Also on the order form was an order, written in ink, for one box of ammunition and one holster, but a line was drawn through these items. The mail-order form had a line for the name of a witness to attest that the person ordering the gun was a U.S. citizen and had not been convicted of a felony. The name written in this space was D. F. Drittal.

Heinz W. Michaelis, office manager of both George Rose & Co., Inc., and Seaport Traders, Inc., identified records of Seaport Traders, Inc., which showed that a ".38 S and W Special two-inch Commando, serial number V510210" was shipped on March 20, 1963, to A. J. Hidell, Post Office Box 2915, Dallas, Tex. The invoice was prepared on March 13, 1963; the revolver was actually shipped on March 20 by Railway Express. The balance due on the purchase was \$19.95.

Michaelis furnished the shipping copy of the invoice, and the Railway Express Agency shipping documents, showing that \$19.95, plus \$1.27 shipping charge, had been collected from the consignee, Hidell. (See Michaelis Exhibits Nos. 2, 4, 5, p. 173.) Handwriting experts, Alwyn Cole of the Treasury Department and James C. Cadigan of the FBI, testified before the Commission that the writing on the coupon was Oswald's. The signature of the witness, D. F. Drittal, who attested that the fictitious Hidell was an American citizen and had not been convicted of a felony, was also in Oswald's handwriting.

Marina Oswald gave as her opinion that the mail-order coupon was in Oswald's handwriting. When shown the revolver, she stated that she recognized it as the one owned by her husband. She also testified that this appeared to be the revolver seen in Oswald's belt in the picture she took in late March or early April 1963 when the family was living on Neely Street in Dallas? Police found an empty revolver holster when they searched Oswald's room on Beckley Avenue after his arrest. Marina Oswald testified that this was the holster which contained the revolver in the photographs taken on Neely Street.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Oswald's Jacket

Approximately 15 minutes before the shooting of Tippit, Oswald was seen leaving his rooming house. He was wearing a zipper jacket which he had not been wearing moments before when he had arrived home. When Oswald was arrested, he did not have a jacket. Shortly after Tippit was slain, policemen found a light-colored zipper jacket along the route taken by the killer as he attempted to escape. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1968, p. 164.) At 1:22 p.m. the Dallas police radio described the man wanted for the murder of Tippit as "a white male about thirty, five foot eight inches, black hair, slender, wearing a white jacket, white shirt and dark slacks." According to Patrolman Poe this description came from Mrs. Markham and Mrs. Barbara Jeanette Davis. Mrs. Markham told Poe that the man was a "white male, about 25, about five feet eight, brown hair, medium," and wearing a "white jacket." Mrs. Davis gave Poe the same general description: a "white male in his early twenties, around five foot seven inches or eight inches, about 145 pounds," and wearing a white jacket. As has been discussed previously, two witnesses, Warren Reynolds and B. M. Patterson, saw the gunman run toward the rear of a gasoline service station on Jefferson Boulevard. Mrs. Mary Brock, the wife of a mechanic who worked at the station, was there at the time and she saw a white male, 5 feet, 10 inches * * * wearing light clothing * * * a light-colored jacket" walk past her at a fast pace with his hands in his pocket. She last saw him in the parking lot directly behind the service station. When interviewed by FBI agents on January 91, 1964, she identified a picture of Oswald as being the same person she saw on November 22. She confirmed this interview by a sworn affidavit.

At 1:24 p.m., the police radio reported, "The suspect last seen running west on Jefferson from 400 East Jefferson." Police Capt. W. R. Westbrook and several other officers concentrated their search along Jefferson Boulevard. Westbrook walked through the parking lot behind the service station and found a light-colored jacket lying under the rear of one of the cars. Westbrook identified Commission Exhibit No. 162 as the light-colored jacket which he discovered underneath the automobile.

This jacket belonged to Lee Harvey Oswald. Marina Oswald stated that her husband owned only two jackets, one blue and the other gray. The blue jacket was found in the Texas School Book Depository and was identified by Marina Oswald as her husband's. Marina Oswald also identified Commission Exhibit No. 162, the jacket found by Captain Westbrook, as her husband's second jacket.

The eyewitnesses vary in their identification of the jacket. Mrs. Earlene Roberts, the housekeeper at Oswald's rooming house and the last person known to have seen him before he reached 10th Street and Patton Avenue, said that she may have seen the gray zipper jacket but she was not certain. It seemed to her that the jacket Oswald wore was darker than Commission Exhibit No. 162. Ted Callaway, who saw the gunman moments after the shooting, testified that Commission Exhibit No. 162 looked like the jacket he was wearing but "I thought it had a little more tan to it." Two other witnesses, Sam Guinyard and William Arthur Smith, testified that Commission Exhibit No. 162 was the jacket worn by the man they saw on November 22. Mrs. Markham and Barbara Davis thought that the jacket worn by the slayer of Tippit was darker than the jacket found by Westbrook. Scoggins thought it was lighter.

There is no doubt, however, that Oswald was seen leaving his rooming house at about 1 p.m. wearing a zipper jacket, that the man who killed Tippit was wearing a light-colored jacket, that he was seen running along Jefferson Boulevard, that a jacket was found under a car in a lot adjoining Jefferson Boulevard, that the jacket belonged to Lee Harvey Oswald, and that when he was arrested at approximately 1:50 p.m., he was in shirt sleeves. These facts warrant the finding that Lee Harvey Oswald disposed of his jacket as he fled from the scene of the Tippit killing.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Killing of Patrolman J. D. Tippit Conclusion

The foregoing evidence establishes that (1) two eyewitnesses who heard the shots and saw the shooting of Dallas Police Patrolman J. D. Tippit and seven eyewitnesses who saw the flight of the gunman with revolver in hand positively identified Lee Harvey Oswald as the man they saw fire the shots or flee from the scene, (2) the cartridge cases found near the scene of the shooting were fired from the revolver in the possession of Oswald at the time of his arrest, to the exclusion of all other weapons, (3) the revolver in Oswald's possession at the time of his arrest was purchased by and belonged to Oswald, and (4) Oswald's jacket was found along the path of flight taken by the gunman as he fled from the scene of the killing. On the basis of this evidence the Commission concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald killed Dallas Police Patrolman J. D. Tippit.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Oswald's Arrest

The Texas Theatre is on the north side of Jefferson Boulevard, approximately eight blocks from the scene of the Tippit shooting and six blocks from where several witnesses last saw Oswald running west on Jefferson Boulevard. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1968, p. 164.) Shortly after the Tippit murder, police sirens sounded along Jefferson Boulevard.

One of the persons who heard the sirens was Johnny Calvin Brewer, manager of Hardy's Shoe store, a few doors east of the Texas Theatre. Brewer knew from radio broadcasts that the President had been shot and that a patrolman had also been shot in Oak Cliff. When he heard police sirens, he "looked up and saw the man enter the lobby," a recessed area extending about 15 feet between the sidewalk and the front door of his store. A police car made a U-turn, and as the sirens grew rainier, the man in the lobby "looked over his shoulder and turned around and walked up West Jefferson towards the theatre." The man wore a T-shirt beneath his outer shirt and he had no jacket. Brewer said, "He just looked funny to me. * * * His hair was sort of messed up and looked like he had been running, and he looked scared, and he looked funny." Mrs. Julia Postal, selling tickets at the box office of the Texas Theatre, heard police sirens and then saw a man as he "ducked into" the outer lobby space of the theater near the ticket office. Attracted by the sound of the sirens, Mrs. Postal stepped out of the box office and walked to the curb. Shortly thereafter, Johnny Brewer, who had come from the nearby shoe store, asked Mrs. Postal whether the fellow that had ducked in had bought a ticket. She said, "No; by golly, he didn't," and turned around, but the man was nowhere in sight. Brewer told Mrs. Postal that he had seen the man ducking into his place of business and that he had followed him to the theater. She sent Brewer into the theater to find the man and check the exits, told him about the assassination, and said "I don't know if this is the man they want. * * * but he is running from them for some reason." She then called the police.

At 1:45 p.m., the police radio stated, "Have information a suspect just went in the Texas Theatre on West Jefferson." Patrol cars bearing at least 15 officers converged on the Texas Theatre. Patrolman M. N. McDonald, with Patrolmen R. Hawkins, T. A. Hutson, and C. T. Walker, entered the theater from the rear. Other policemen entered the front door and searched the balcony. Detective Paul L. Bentley rushed to the balcony and told the projectionist to turn up the house lights. Brewer met McDonald and the other policemen at the alley exit door, stepped out onto the stage with them and pointed out the man who had come into the theater without paying. The man was Oswald. He was sitting alone in the rear of the main floor of the theater near the right center aisle. About six or seven people were seated on the theater's main floor and an equal number in the balcony.

McDonald first searched two men in the center of the main floor, about 10 rows from the front. He walked out of the row up the right center aisle. When he reached the row where the suspect was sitting, McDonald stopped abruptly and told the man to get on his feet. Oswald rose from his seat, bringing up both hands. As McDonald started to search Oswald's waist for a gun, he heard him say, "Well, it's all over now." Oswald then struck McDonald between the eyes with his left fist.; with his right hand he drew a gun from his waist. McDonald struck back with his right hand and grabbed the gun with his left hand. They both fell into the seats. Three other officers, moving toward the scuffle, grabbed Oswald from the front, rear and side. As McDonald fell into the seat with his left hand on the gun, he felt something graze across his hand and heard what sounded like the snap of the hammer. McDonald felt the pistol scratch his cheek as he wrenched it away from Oswald. Detective Bob K. Carroll, who was standing beside McDonald, seized the gun from him.

The other officers who helped subdue Oswald corroborated McDonald in his testimony except that they did not hear Oswald say, "It's all over now." Deputy Sheriff Eddy R. Walthers recalled such a remark but he did not reach the scene of the struggle until Oswald had been knocked to the floor by McDonald and the others. Some of the officers saw Oswald strike McDonald with his fist. Most of them heard a click which they assumed to be a click of the hammer of the revolver. Testimony of a firearms expert before the Commission established that the hammer of the revolver never touched the shell in the chamber. Although the witnesses did not hear the sound of a misfire, they might have heard a snapping noise resulting from the police officer grabbing the cylinder of the revolver and pulling it away from Oswald while he was attempting to pull the trigger. (See app. X, p. 560.) Two patrons of the theater and John Brewer testified regarding the arrest of Oswald, as did the various police officers who participated in the fight. George Jefferson Applin, Jr., confirmed that Oswald fought with four or five officers before he was handcuffed. He added that one officer grabbed the muzzle of a shotgun, drew back, and hit Oswald with the butt end of the gun in the back. No other theater patron or officer has testified that Oswald was hit by a gun. Nor did Oswald ever complain that he was hit with a gun, or injured in the back. Deputy Sheriff Walthers brought a shotgun into the theater but laid it on some seats

before helping subdue Oswald. Officer Ray Hawkins said that there was no one near Oswald who had a shotgun and he saw no one strike Oswald in the back with a rifle butt or the butt of a gun.

John Gibson, another patron in the theater, saw an officer grab Oswald, and he claims that he heard the click of a gun misfiring. He saw no shotgun in the possession of any policeman near Oswald. Johnny Brewer testified he saw Oswald pull the revolver and the officers struggle with him to take it away but that once he was subdued, no officer struck him. He further stated that while fists were flying he heard one of the officers say "Kill the President, will you." It is unlikely that any of the police officers referred to Oswald as a suspect in the assassination. While the police radio had noted the similarity in description of the two suspects, the arresting officers were pursuing Oswald for the murder of Tippit. As Oswald, handcuffed, was led from the theater, he was, according to McDonald, "cursing a little bit and hollering police brutality." At 1:51 p.m., police car 2 reported by radio that it was on the way to headquarters with the suspect.

Captain Fritz returned to police headquarters from the Texas School Book Depository at 2:15 after a brief stop at the sheriff's office. When he entered the homicide and robbery bureau office, he saw two detectives standing there with Sgt. Gerald L. Hill, who had driven from the theater with Oswald. Hill testified that Fritz told the detective to get a search warrant, go to an address on Fifth Street in Irving, and pick up a man named Lee Oswald. When Hill asked why Oswald was wanted, Fritz replied, "Well, he was employed down at the Book Depository and he had not been present for a roll call of the employees." Hill said, "Captain, we will save you a trip * * * there he sits."

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Statements of Oswald During Detention

Oswald was questioned intermittently for approximately 12 hours between 2:30 p.m., on November 22, and 11 a.m., on November 24. Throughout this interrogation he denied that he had anything to do either with the assassination of President Kennedy or the murder of Patrolman Tippit. Captain Fritz of the homicide and robbery bureau did most of the questioning, but he kept no notes and there were no stenographic or tape recordings. Representatives of other law enforcement agencies were also present, including the FBI and the U. S. Secret Service. They occasionally participated in the questioning. The reports prepared by those present at these interviews are set forth in appendix XI. A full discussion of Oswald's detention and interrogation is presented in chapter V of this report. During the evening of November 22, the Dallas Police Department performed paraffin tests on Oswald's hands and right cheek in an apparent effort to determine, by means of a scientific test, whether Oswald had recently fired a weapon.

The results were positive for the hands and negative for the right cheek. Expert testimony before the Commission was to the effect that the paraffin test was unreliable in determining whether or not a person has fired a rifle or revolver. The Commission has, therefore, placed no reliance on the paraffin tests administered by the Dallas police. (See app. X, pp. 561-562.)

Oswald provided little information during his questioning. Frequently, however, he was confronted with evidence which he could not explain, and he resorted to statements which are known to be lies. While Oswald's untrue statements during interrogation were not considered items of positive proof by the Commission, they had probative value in deciding the weight to be given to his denials that he assassinated President Kennedy and killed Patrolman Tippit. Since independent evidence revealed that Oswald repeatedly and blatantly lied to the police, the Commission gave little weight to his denials of guilt.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Denial of Rifle Ownership

From the outset, Oswald denied owning a rifle. On November 23, Fritz confronted Oswald with the evidence that he had purchased a rifle under the fictitious name of "Hidell." Oswald said that this was not true. Oswald denied that he had a rifle wrapped up in a blanket in the Paine garage. Oswald also denied owning a rifle and said that since leaving the Marine Corps he had fired only a small bore .22 rifle. On the afternoon of November 23, Officers H. M. Moore, R. S. Stovall, and G. F. Rose obtained a search warrant and examined Oswald's effects in the Paine garage. They discovered two photographs, each showing Oswald with a rifle and a pistol. These photographs were shown to Oswald on the evening of November 23 and again on the morning of the 24th. According to Fritz, Oswald sneered, saying that they were fake photographs, that he had been photographed a number of times the day before by the police, that they had superimposed upon the photographs a rifle and a revolver. He told Fritz a number of times that the smaller photograph was either made from the larger, or the larger photograph was made from the smaller and that at the proper time he would show that the pictures were fakes. Fritz told him that the two small photographs were found in the Paine garage. At that point, Oswald refused to answer any further questions. As previously indicated, Marina Oswald testified that she took the two pictures with her husband's Imperial Reflex camera when they lived on Neely Street. Her testimony was fully supported by a photography expert who testified that in his opinion the pictures were not composites.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Revolver

At the first interrogation, Oswald claimed that his only crime was carrying a gun and resisting arrest. When Captain Fritz asked him why he carried the revolver, he answered, "Well, you know about a pistol. I just carried it." He falsely alleged that he bought the revolver in Fort Worth, when in fact he purchased it from a mail-order house in Los Angeles.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Aliases "Hidell" and "O. H. Lee"

The arresting officers found a forged selective service card with a picture of Oswald and the name "Alek J. Hidell" in Oswald's billfold. On November 22 and 23, Oswald refused to tell Fritz why this card was in his possession, or to answer any questions concerning the card. On Sunday morning, November 24, Oswald denied that he knew A. J. Hidell. Captain Fritz produced the selective service card bearing the name "Alek J. Hidell." Oswald became angry and said, "Now, I've told you all I'm going to tell you about that card in my billfold you have the card yourself and you know as much about it as I do." At the last interrogation on November Oswald admitted to Postal Inspector Holmes that he had rented post office box 2915, Dallas, but denied that he had received a package in this box addressed to Hidell. He also denied that he had received the rifle through this box. Holmes reminded Oswald that A. J. Hidell was listed on post office box 30061, New Orleans, as one entitled to receive mail. Oswald replied, "I don't know anything about that." When asked why he lived at his rooming house under the name O. H. Lee, Oswald responded that the landlady simply made a mistake, because he told her that his name was Lee, meaning his first name. An examination of the rooming house register revealed that Oswald actually signed the name O. H. Lee.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Curtain Rod Story

In concluding that Oswald was carrying a rifle in the paper bag on the morning of November 22, 1963, the Commission found that Oswald lied when he told Frazier that he was returning to Irving to obtain curtain rods. When asked about the curtain rod story, Oswald lied again. He denied that he had ever told Frazier that he wanted a ride to Irving to get curtain rods for an apartment. He explained that a party for the Paine children had been planned for the weekend and he preferred not to be in the Paine house at that time; therefore, he made his weekly visit on Thursday night. Actually, the party for one of the Paine's children was the preceding weekend, when Marina Oswald suggested that Oswald remain in Dallas. When told that Frazier and Mrs. Randle had seen him carrying a long heavy package, Oswald replied, "Well, they was mistaken. That must have been some other time he picked me up." In one interview, he told Fritz that the only sack he carried to work that day was a lunch sack which he kept on his lap during the ride from Irving to Dallas. Frazier testified before the Commission that Oswald carried no lunch sack that day.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Actions During and After Shooting

During the first interrogation on November 22, Fritz asked Oswald to account for himself at the time the President was shot. Oswald told him that he ate lunch in the first-floor lunchroom and then went to the second floor for a Coke which he brought downstairs. He acknowledged the encounter with the police officer on the second floor. Oswald told Fritz that after lunch he went outside, talked with Foreman Bill Shelley for 5 or 10 minutes and then left for home. He said that he left work because Bill Shelley said that there would be no more work done that day in the building. Shelley denied seeing Oswald after 12 noon or at any time after the shooting. The next day, Oswald' added to his story. He stated that at the time the President was shot he was having lunch with "Junior" but he did not give Junior's last name. The only employee at the Depository Building named "Junior" was James Jarman, Jr. Jarman testified that he ate his lunch on the first floor around 5 minutes to 12, and that he neither ate lunch with nor saw Oswald. Jarman did talk to Oswald that morning:

* * * he asked me what were the people gathering around on the corner for and I told him that the President was supposed to pass that morning, and he asked me did I know which way he was coming, and I told him, yes, he probably come down Main and turn on Houston and then back again on Elm. Then he said, "Oh, I see," and that was all.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Prior Attempt to Kill

The Attempt on the Life of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker

At approximately 9 p.m., on April 10, 1963, in Dallas, Tex., Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, an active and controversial figure on the American political scene since his resignation from the U.S. Army in 1961, narrowly escaped death when a rifle bullet fired from outside his home passed near his head as he was seated at his desk. There were no eyewitnesses, although a 14-year-old boy in a neighboring house claimed that immediately after the shooting he saw two men, in separate cars, drive out of a church parking lot adjacent to Walker's home. A friend of Walker's testified that two nights before the shooting he saw "two men around the house peering in windows." General Walker gave this information to the police before the shooting, but it did not help solve the crime. Although the bullet was recovered from Walker's house (see app. X, p. 562), in the absence of a weapon it was of little investigatory value. General Walker hired two investigators to determine whether a former employee might have been involved in the shooting. Their results were negative. Until December 3, 1963, the Walker shooting remained unsolved.

The Commission evaluated the following evidence in considering whether Lee Harvey Oswald fired the shot which almost killed General Walker: (1) A note which Oswald left for his wife on the evening of the shooting, photographs found among Oswald's possessions after the assassination of President Kennedy, (3) firearm identification of the bullet found in Walker's home, and (4) admissions and other statements made to Marina Oswald by Oswald concerning the shooting.

Note left by Oswald. On December 2, 1963, Mrs. Ruth Paine turned over to the police some of the Oswalds' belongings, including a Russian volume entitled "Book of Useful Advice." 704, In this book was an undated note written in Russian. In translation, the note read as follows:

1. This is the key to the mailbox which is located in the main post office in the city on Ervay Street. This is the same street where the drugstore, in which you always waited is located. You will find the mailbox in the post office which is located 4 blocks from the drugstore on that street. I paid for the box last month so don't worry about it
2. Send the information as to what has happened to me to the Embassy and include newspaper clippings (should there be anything about me in the newspapers). I believe that the Embassy will come quickly to your assistance on learning everything.
3. I paid the house rent on the 2d so don't worry about it.
4. Recently I also paid for water and gas.
5. The money from work will possibly be coming. The money will be sent to our post office box. Go to the bank and cash the check.
6. You can either throw out or give my clothing, etc. away. Do not keep these. However, I prefer that you hold on to my personal papers (military, civil, etc.) .
7. Certain of my documents are in the small blue valise.
8. The address book can be found on my table in the study should need same.
9. We have friends here. The Red Cross also will help you. (Red Cross in English).[sic]
10. I left you as much money as I could, \$60 on the second of the month. You and the baby [apparently] can live for another 2 months using \$10 per week.
11. If I am alive and taken prisoner, the city jail is located at the end of the bridge through which we always passed on going to the city (right in the beginning of the city after crossing the bridge).

James C. Cadigan, FBI handwriting expert, testified that this note was written by Lee Harvey Oswald. Prior to the Walker shooting on April 10, Oswald had been attending typing classes on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday evenings. He had quit these classes at least a week before the shooting, which occurred on a Wednesday night. According to Marina Oswald's testimony, on the night of the Walker shooting, her husband left their apartment on Neely Street shortly after dinner. She thought he was attending a class or was on his own business." When he failed to return by 10 or 10:30 p.m., Marina Oswald went to his room and discovered the note. She testified: "When he came back I asked him what had happened. He was very pale. I don't remember the exact time, but it was very late. And he told me not to ask him any questions. He only told me he had shot at General Walker." Oswald told his wife that he did not know whether he had hit Walker; according to Marina Oswald when he learned on the radio and in the newspapers the next day that he had missed, he said that he "was very sorry that

he had not hit him." Marina Oswald's testimony was fully supported by the note itself which appeared to be the work of a man expecting to be killed, or imprisoned, or to disappear. The last paragraph directed her to the jail and the other paragraphs instructed her on the disposal of Oswald's personal effects and the management of her affairs if he should not return. It is clear that the note was written while the Oswalds were living in Dallas before they moved to New Orleans in the spring of 1963. The references to house rent and payments for water and gas indicated that the note was written when they were living in a rented apartment; therefore it could not have been written while Marina Oswald was living with the Paines. Moreover, the reference in paragraph 3 to paying "the house rent on the 2d" would be consistent with the period when the Oswalds were living on Neely Street since the apartment was rented on March 3, 1963. Oswald had paid the first month's rent in advance on March 2, 1963, and the second month's rent was paid on either April 2 or April 3. The main post office "on Ervay Street" refers to the post office where Oswald rented box 2915 from October 9, 1962, to May 14, 1963. Another statement which limits the time when it could have been written is the reference "you and the baby," which would indicate that it was probably written before the birth of Oswald's second child on October 20, 1963. Oswald had apparently mistaken the county jail for the city jail. From Neely Street the Oswalds would have traveled downtown on the Beckley bus, across the Commerce Street viaduct and into downtown Dallas through the Triple Underpass. Either the viaduct or the underpass might have been the "bridge" mentioned in the last paragraph of the note. The county jail is at the corner of Houston and Main Streets "right in the beginning of the city" after one travels through the underpass.

Photographs. In her testimony before the Commission in February 1964, Marina Oswald stated that when Oswald returned home on the night of the Walker shooting, he told her that he had been planning the attempt for 2 months. He showed her a notebook 3 days later containing photographs of General Walker's home and a map of the area where the house was located. Although Oswald destroyed the notebook, three photographs found among Oswald's possessions after the assassination were identified by Marina Oswald as photographs of General Walker's house. Two of these photographs were taken from the rear of Walker's house. The Commission confirmed, by comparison with other photographs, that these were, indeed, photographs of the rear of Walker's house. An examination of the window at the rear of the house, the wall through which the bullet passed, and the fence behind the house indicated that the bullet was fired from a position near the point where one of the photographs was taken.

The third photograph identified by Marina Oswald depicts the entrance to General Walker's driveway from a back alley. Also seen in the picture is the fence on which Walker's assailant apparently rested the rifle. An examination of certain construction work appearing in the background of this photograph revealed that the picture was taken between March 8 and 12, 1963, and most probably on either March 9 or March 10. Oswald purchased the money order for the rifle on March 12, the rifle was shipped on March 20, and the shooting occurred on April 10. A photography expert with the FBI was able to determine that, this picture was taken with the Imperial Reflex camera owned by Lee Harvey Oswald. (See app. X, p. 596.) A fourth photograph, showing a stretch of railroad tracks, was also identified by Marina Oswald as having been taken by her husband, presumably in connection with the Walker shooting. Investigation determined that this photograph was taken approximately seven-tenths of a mile from Walker's house. Another photograph of railroad tracks found among Oswald's possessions was not identified by his wife, but investigation revealed that it was taken from a point slightly less than half a mile from General Walker's house. Marina Oswald stated that when she asked her husband what he had done with the rifle, he replied that he had buried it in the ground or hidden it in some bushes and that he also mentioned a railroad track in this connection. She testified that several days later Oswald recovered his rifle and brought it back to their apartment.

Firearms identification. In the room beyond the one in which General Walker was sitting on the night of the shooting the Dallas police recovered a badly mutilated bullet which had come to rest on a stack of paper. The Dallas City County Investigation Laboratory tried to determine the type of weapon which fired the bullet. The oral report was negative because of the battered condition of the bullet. On November 30, 1963, the FBI requested the bullet for ballistics examination; the Dallas Police Department forwarded it on December 2, 1963.

Robert A. Frazier, an FBI ballistics identification expert, testified that he was "unable to reach a conclusion" as to whether or not the bullet recovered from Walker's house had been fired from the rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building. He concluded that "the general rifling characteristics of the rifle * * * are of the same type as those found on the bullet * * * and, further, on this basis * * * the bullet could have been fired from the rifle on the basis of its land and groove impressions." Frazier testified further that the FBI "avoids the category of "probable" identification. Unless the missile or cartridge case can be identified as coming from a particular weapon to the

exclusion of all others, the FBI refuses to draw any conclusion as to probability. Frazier testified, however, that he found no microscopic characteristics or other evidence which would indicate that the bullet was not fired from the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle owned by Lee Harvey Oswald. It was a 6.5-millimeter bullet and, according to Frazier, "relatively few" types of rifles could produce the characteristics found on the bullet.

Joseph D. Nicol, superintendent of the Illinois Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation, conducted an independent examination of this bullet and concluded "that there is a fair probability" that the bullet was fired from the rifle used in the assassination of President Kennedy. In explaining the difference between his policy and that of the FBI on the matter of probable identification, Nicol said:

I am aware of their position. This is not, I am sure, arrived at without careful consideration. However, to say that because one does not find sufficient marks for identification that it is a negative, I think is going overboard in the other direction. And for purposes of probative value, for whatever it might be worth, in the absence of very definite negative evidence, I think it is permissible to say that in an exhibit such as there is enough on it to say that it could have come, and even perhaps a little stronger, to say that it probably came from this, without going so far as to say to the exclusion of all other guns. This I could not do.

Although the Commission recognizes that neither expert was able to state that the bullet which missed General Walker was fired from Oswald's rifle to the exclusion of all others, this testimony was considered probative when combined with the other testimony linking Oswald to the shooting.

Additional corroborative evidence. The admissions made to Marina Oswald by her husband are an important element in the evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald fired the shot at General Walker. As shown above, the note and the photographs of Walker's house and of the nearby railroad tracks provide important corroboration for her account of the incident. Other details described by Marina Oswald coincide with facts developed independently of her statements. She testified that her husband had postponed his attempt to kill Walker until that Wednesday because he had heard that there was to be a gathering at the church next door to Walker's house on that evening. He indicated that he wanted more people in the vicinity at the time of the attempt so that his arrival and departure would not attract great attention. An official of this church told FBI agents that services are held every Wednesday at the church except during the month of August.

Marina Oswald also testified that her husband had used a bus to return home. A study of the bus routes indicates that Oswald could have taken any one of several different buses to Walker's house or to a point near the railroad tracks where he may have concealed the rifle. It would have been possible for him to take different routes in approaching and leaving the scene of the shooting.

Conclusion. Based on (1) the contents of the note which Oswald left for his wife on April 10, 1963, (2) the photographs found among Oswald's possessions, (3) the testimony of firearms identification experts, and (4) the testimony of Marina Oswald, the Commission has concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald attempted to take the life of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker (Resigned, U.S. Army) on April 10, 1963. The finding that Lee Harvey Oswald attempted to murder a public figure in April 1963 was considered of probative value in this investigation, although the Commission's conclusion concerning the identity of the assassin was based on evidence independent of the finding that Oswald attempted to kill General Walker.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Richard M. Nixon Incident

Another alleged threat by Oswald against a public figure involved former Vice President Richard M. Nixon. In January 1964, Marina Oswald and her business manager, James Martin, told Robert Oswald, Lee Harvey Oswald's brother, that Oswald had once threatened to shoot former Vice President Richard M. Nixon. When Marina Oswald testified before the Commission on February 3-6, 1964, she had failed to mention the incident when she was asked whether Oswald had ever expressed any hostility toward any official of the United States. The Commission first learned of this incident when Robert Oswald related it to FBI agents on February 19, 1964, and to the Commission on February 21.

Marina Oswald appeared before the Commission again on June 11, 1964, and testified that a few days before her husband's departure from Dallas to New Orleans on April 24, 1963, he finished reading a morning newspaper " * * * and put on a good suit. I saw that he took a pistol. I asked him where he was going, and why he was getting dressed. He answered 'Nixon is coming. I want to go and have a look.' " He also said that he would use the pistol if the opportunity arose. She reminded him that after the Walker shooting he had promised never to repeat such an act. Marina Oswald related the events which followed:

I called him into the bathroom and I closed the door and I wanted to prevent him and then I started to cry. And I told him that he shouldn't do this, and that he had promised me.

* * * * *

* * * I remember that I held him. We actually struggled for several minutes and then he quieted down.

She stated that it was not physical force which kept him from leaving the house. "I couldn't keep him from going out if he really wanted to." After further questioning she stated that she might have been confused about shutting him in the bathroom, but that "there is no doubt that he got dressed and got a gun." Oswald's revolver was shipped from Los Angeles on March 20, 1968, and he left for New Orleans on April 24, 1968. No edition of either Dallas newspaper during the period January 1, 1963, to May 15, 1968, mentioned any proposed visit by Mr. Nixon to Dallas. Mr. Nixon advised the Commission that the only time he was in Dallas in 1963 was on November 20-21, 1963. An investigation failed to reveal any invitation extended to Mr. Nixon during the period when Oswald's threat reportedly occurred. The Commission has concluded, therefore, that regardless of what Oswald may have said to his wife he was not actually planning to shoot Mr. Nixon at that time in Dallas. On April 23, 1963, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was in Dallas for a visit which had 'been publicized in the Dallas newspapers throughout April.' The Commission asked Marina Oswald whether she might have misunderstood the object of her husband's threat. She stated, "there is no question that in this incident it was a question of Mr. Nixon." When asked later whether it might have been Mr. Johnson, she said, "Yes, no. I am getting a little confused with so many questions. I was absolutely convinced it was Nixon and now after all these questions I wonder if I am right in my mind. She stated further that Oswald had only mentioned Nixon's name once during the incident. Marina Oswald might have misunderstood her husband. Mr. Johnson was the then Vice President and his visit took place on April 23d. This was 1 day before Oswald left for New Orleans and Marina appeared certain that the Nixon incident "wasn't the day before. Perhaps 3 days before." Marina Oswald speculated that the incident may have been unrelated to an actual threat. She said,

* * * It might have been that he was just trying to test me. He was the kind of person who could try and wound somebody in that way. Possibly he didn't want to go out at all but was just doing this all as a sort of joke, not really as a joke but rather to simply wound me, to make me feel bad.

In the absence of other evidence that Oswald actually intended to shoot someone at this time, the Commission concluded that the incident, as described by Marina Oswald, was of no probative value in the Commission's decision concerning the identity of the assassin of President Kennedy.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Oswald's Rifle Capability

In deciding whether Lee Harvey Oswald fired the shots which killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally, the Commission considered whether Oswald, using his own rifle, possessed the capability to hit his target with two out of three shots under the conditions described in chapter III. The Commission evaluated (1) the nature of the shots, (2) Oswald's Marine training in marksmanship, (3) his experience and practice after leaving the Marine Corps, and (4) the accuracy of the weapon and the quality of the ammunition.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - The Nature of the Shots

For a rifleman situated on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building the shots were at a slow-moving target proceeding on a downgrade in virtually a straight line with the alignment of the assassin's rifle, at a range of 177 to 266 feet. An aerial photograph of Dealey Plaza shows that Elm Street runs at an angle so that the President would have been moving in an almost straight line away from the assassin's rifle. (See Commission Exhibit No. 876, p. 33.) In addition, the 3 downward slope of Elm Street was of assistance in eliminating at least some of the adjustment which is ordinarily required when a marksman must raise his rifle as a target moves farther away.

Four marksmanship experts testified before the Commission. Maj. Eugene D. Anderson, assistant head of the Marksmanship Branch of the US. Marine Corps, testified that the shots which struck the President in the neck and in the head were "not *** particularly difficult." Robert A. Frazier, FBI expert in firearms identification and training, said:

From my own experience in shooting over the years, when you shoot at 175 feet or 260 feet, which is less than 100 yards, with a telescopic sight, you should not have any difficulty in hitting your target.

* * * * *

I mean it requires no training at all to shoot a weapon with a telescopic sight once you know that you must put the crosshairs on the target and that is all that is necessary.

Ronald Simmons, chief of the US. Army Infantry Weapons Evaluation Branch of the Ballistics Research Laboratory, said: "Well, in order to achieve three hits, it would not be required that a man be an exceptional shot. A proficient man with this weapon, yes." The effect of a four-power telescopic sight on the difficulty of these shots was considered in detail by M. Sgt. James A. Zahm, noncommissioned officer in charge of the Marksmanship Training Unit in the Weapons Training Battalion of the Marine Corps School at Quantico, Va. Referring to a rifle with a four-power telescope, Sergeant Zahm said:

*** this is the ideal type of weapon for moving targets ***

* * * * *

*** Using the scope, rapidly working a bolt and using the scope to relocate your target quickly and at the same time when you locate that target you identify it and the crosshairs are in close relationship to the point you want to shoot at, it just takes a minor move in aiming to bring the crosshairs to bear, and then it is a quick squeeze.

* * * * *

I consider it a real advantage, particularly at the range of 100 yards, in identifying your target. It allows you to see your target clearly, and it is still of a minimum amount of power that it doesn't exaggerate your own body movements. It just is an aid in seeing in the fact that you only have the one element, the crosshair, in relation to the target as opposed to iron sights with aligning the sights and then aligning them on the target.

Characterizing the four-power scope as "a real aid, an extreme aid" in rapid fire shooting, Sergeant Zahm expressed the opinion that the shot which struck President Kennedy in the neck at 176.9 to 190.8 feet was "very easy" and the shot which struck the President in the head at a distance of 265.3 feet was "an easy shot." After viewing photographs depicting the alignment of Elm Street in relation to the Texas School Book Depository Building, Zahm stated further:

This is a definite advantage to the shooter, the vehicle moving directly away from him and the downgrade of the street, and he being in an elevated position made an almost stationary target while he was aiming in, very little movement if any.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Oswald's Marine Training

In accordance with standard Marine procedures, Oswald received extensive training in marksmanship. During the first week of an intensive 8-week training period he received instruction in sighting, aiming, and manipulation of the trigger. He went through a series of exercises called dry firing where he assumed all positions which would later be used in the qualification course. After familiarization with live ammunition in The .22 rifle and .22 pistol, Oswald, like all Marine recruits, received training on the rifle range at distances up to 500 yards, firing 50 rounds each day for five days.

Following that training, Oswald was tested in December of 1956, and obtained a score of 212, which was 2 points above the minimum for qualifications as a "sharpshooter" in a scale of marksmanship-shooter-expert. In May of 1959, on another range, Oswald scored 191, which was 1 point over the minimum for ranking as a "marksman." The Marine Corps records maintained on Oswald further show that he had fired and was familiar with the Browning Automatic rifle, .45 caliber pistol, and 12-gage riot gun.

Based on the general Marine Corps ratings, Lt. Col. A. G. Folsom, Jr., head, Records Branch, Personnel Department, Headquarters US Marine Corps, evaluated the sharpshooter qualification as a "fairly good shot" and a low marksman rating as a "rather poor shot." When asked to explain the different scores achieved by Oswald on the two occasions when he fired for record, Major Anderson said:

* * * when he fired that [212] he had just completed a very intensive preliminary training period. He had the services of an experienced highly trained coach. He had high motivation. He had presumably a good to excellent rifle and good ammunition. We have nothing here to show under what conditions the B course was fired. It might well have been a bad day for firing the rifle windy, rainy, dark. There is little probability that he had a good, expert coach, and he probably didn't have as high a motivation because he was no longer in recruit training and under the care of the drill instructor. There is some possibility that the rifle he was firing might not have been as good a rifle as the rifle that he was firing in his A course firing, because [he] may well have carried this rifle for quite some time, and it got banged around in normal usage.

Major Anderson concluded:

I would say that as compared to other Marines receiving the same type of training, that Oswald was a good shot, somewhat better than or equal to better than the average let us say. As compared to a civilian who had not received this intensive training, he would be considered as a good to excellent shot.

When Sergeant Zahm was asked whether Oswald's Marine Corps training would have made it easier to operate a rifle with a four-power scope, he replied:

Based on that training, his basic knowledge in sight manipulation and trigger squeeze and what not, I would say that he would be capable of sighting that rifle in well, firing it, with 10 rounds.

After reviewing Oswald's marksmanship scores, Sergeant Zahm concluded:

I would say in the Marine Corps he is a good shot, slightly above average, and as compared to the average male of his age throughout the civilian, throughout the United States, that he is an excellent shot.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Oswald's Rifle Practice Outside the Marines

During one of his leaves from the Marines, Oswald hunted with his brother Robert, using a .22 caliber bolt-action rifle belonging either to Robert or Robert's in-laws. After he left the Marines and before departing for Russia, Oswald, his brother, and a third companion went hunting for squirrels and rabbits. On that occasion Oswald again used a bolt-action .22 caliber rifle; and according to Robert, Lee Oswald exhibited an average amount of proficiency with that weapon. While in Russia, Oswald obtained a hunting license, joined a hunting club and went hunting about six times, as discussed more fully in chapter VI. Soon after Oswald returned from the Soviet Union he again went hunting with his brother, Robert, and used a borrowed .22 caliber bolt-action rifle. After Oswald purchased the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, he told his wife that he practiced with it. Marina Oswald testified that on one occasion she saw him take the rifle, concealed in a raincoat, from the house on Neely Street. Oswald told her he was going to practice with it. According to George De Mohrenschildt, Oswald said that he went target shooting with that rifle.

Marina Oswald testified that in New Orleans in May of 1963, she observed Oswald sitting with the rifle on their screened porch at night, sighting with the telescopic lens and operating the bolt. Examination of the cartridge cases found on the sixth floor of the Depository Building established that they had been previously loaded and ejected from the assassination rifle, which would indicate that Oswald practiced operating the bolt.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Accuracy of Weapon

It will be recalled from the discussion in chapter III that the assassin in all probability hit two out of the three shots during the maximum time span of 4.8 to 5.6 seconds if the second shot missed, or, if either the first or third shots missed, the assassin fired the three shots during a minimum time span of 7.1 to 7.9 seconds. A series of tests were performed to determine whether the weapon and ammunition used in the assassination were capable of firing the shots which were fired by the assassin on November 22, 1968. The ammunition used by the assassin was manufactured by Western Cartridge Co. of East Alton, Ill. In tests with the Mannlicher-Carcano C2766 rifle, over 100 rounds of this ammunition were fired by the FBI and the Infantry Weapons Evaluation Branch of the US. Army. There were no misfires.

In an effort to test the rifle under conditions which simulated those which prevailed during the assassination, the Infantry Weapons Evaluation Branch of the Ballistics Research Laboratory had expert riflemen fire the assassination weapon from a tower at three silhouette targets at distances of 175, 240, and 265 feet. The target at 265 feet was placed to the right of the 240-foot target which was in turn placed to the right of the closest silhouette. Using the assassination rifle mounted with the telescopic sight, three marksmen, rated as master by the National Rifle Association, each fired two series of three shots. In the first series the firers required time spans of 4.6, 6.75, and 8.25 seconds respectively. On the second series they required 5.15, 6.45, and 7 seconds. None of the marksmen had any practice with the assassination weapon except for exercising the bolt for 2 or 3 minutes on a dry run. They had not even pulled the trigger because of concern about breaking the firing pin.

The marksmen took as much time as they wanted for the first target and all hit the target. For the first four attempts, the firers missed the second shot by several inches. The angle from the first to the second shot was greater than from the second to the third shot and required a movement in the basic firing position of the marksmen. This angle was used in the test because the majority of the eyewitnesses to the assassination stated that there was a shorter interval between shots two and three than between shots one and two. As has been shown in chapter III, if the three shots were fired within a period of from 4.8 to 5.6 seconds, the shots would have been evenly spaced and the assassin would not have incurred so sharp an angular movement.

Five of the six shots hit the third target where the angle of movement of the weapon was small. On the basis of these results, Simmons testified that in his opinion the probability of hitting the targets at the relatively short range at which they were hit was very high. Considering the various probabilities which may have prevailed during the actual assassination, the highest level of firing performance which would have been required of the assassin and the C2766 rifle would have been to fire three times and hit the target twice within a span of 4.8 to 5.6 seconds. In fact, one of the firers in the rapid fire test in firing his two series of three shots, hit the target twice within a span of 4.6 and 5.15 seconds. The others would have been able to reduce their times if they had been given the opportunity to become familiar with the movement of the bolt and the trigger pull. Simmons testified that familiarity with the bolt could be achieved in dry practice and, as has been indicated above, Oswald engaged in such practice. If the assassin missed either the first or third shot, he had a total of between 4.8 and 5.6 seconds between the two shots which hit and a total minimum time period of from 7.1 to 7.9 seconds for all three shots. All three of the firers in these tests were able to fire the rounds within the time period which would have been available to the assassin under those conditions. Three FBI firearms experts tested the rifle in order to determine the speed with which it could be fired. The purpose of this experiment was not to test the rifle under conditions which prevailed at the time of the assassination but to determine the maximum speed at which it could be fired. The three FBI experts each fired three shots from the weapon at 15 yards in 6, 7, and 9 seconds, and one of these agents, Robert A. Frazier, fired two series of three shots at 25 yards in 4.6 and 4 seconds. At 15 yards each man's shots landed within the size of a dime. The shots fired by Frazier at the range of 25 yards landed within an area of 2 inches and 5 inches respectively. Frazier later fired four groups of three shots at a distance of 100 yards in 5.9, 6.2, 5.6, and 6.5 seconds. Each series of three shots landed within areas ranging in diameter from 3 to 5 inches. Although all of the shots were a few inches high and to the right of the target., this was because of a defect in the scope which was recognized by the FBI agents and which they could have compensated for if they were aiming to hit a bull's-eye. They were instead firing to determine how rapidly the weapon could be fired and the area within which three shots could be placed. Frazier testified that while he could not tell when the defect occurred, but that a person familiar with the weapon could compensate for it. Moreover, the defect was one which would have assisted the assassin aiming at a target which was moving away. Frazier said, "The fact that the crosshairs are set high would actually compensate for any lead which had to be taken. So that if you aimed with this weapon as it actually was received at the laboratory, it would not be necessary to take any lead whatsoever in order

to hit the intended object. The scope would accomplish the lead for you." Frazier added that the scope would cause a slight miss to the right. It should be noted, however, that the President's car was curving slightly to the right when the third shot was fired. Based on these tests the experts agreed that the assassination rifle was an accurate weapon. Simmons described it as "quite accurate," in fact, as accurate as current military rifles. Frazier testified that the rifle was accurate, that it had less recoil than the average military rifle and that one would not have to be an expert marksman to have accomplished the assassination with the weapon which was used.

Conclusion

The various tests showed that the Mannlicher-Carcano was an accurate rifle and that the use of a four-power scope was a substantial aid to rapid, accurate firing. Oswald's Marine training in marksmanship, his other rifle experience and his established familiarity with this particular weapon show that he possessed ample capability to commit the assassination. Based on the known facts of the assassination, the Marine marksmanship experts, Major Anderson and Sergeant Zahm, concurred in the opinion that Oswald had the capability to fire three shots, with two hits, within 4.8 and 5.6 seconds. Concerning the shots which struck the President in the back of the neck, Sergeant Zahm testified: "With the equipment he [Oswald] had and with his ability I consider it a very easy shot." Having fired this shot the assassin was then required to hit the target one more time within a space of from 4.8 to 5.6 seconds. On the basis of Oswald's training and the accuracy of the weapon as established by the tests, the Commission concluded that Oswald was capable of accomplishing this second hit even if there was an intervening shot which missed. The probability of hitting the President a second time would have been markedly increased if, in fact, he had missed either the first or third shots thereby leaving a time span of 4.8 to 5.6 seconds between the two shots which struck their mark. The Commission agrees with the testimony of Marine marksmanship expert Zahm that it was easy shot" to hit some part of the President's body, and that the range where the rifleman would be expected to hit would include the President's head.

Warren Report: Chapter IV - Oswald's Rifle Capability Conclusion

On the basis of the evidence reviewed in this chapter, the Commission has found that Lee Harvey Oswald (1) owned and possessed the rifle used to kill President Kennedy and wound Governor Connally, (2) brought this rifle into the Depository Building on the morning of the assassination, (3) was present, at the time of the assassination, at the window from which the shots were fired (4) killed Dallas Police Officer J. D. Tippit in an apparent attempt to escape, (5) resisted arrest by drawing a fully loaded pistol and attempting to shoot. another police officer, (6) lied to the police after his arrest concerning important substantive matters, (7) attempted, in April 1963, to kill Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, and (8) possessed the capability with a rifle which would have enabled him to commit the assassination. On the basis of these findings the Commission has concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald was the assassin of President Kennedy.

Warren Report: Chapter V - Detention and Death of Oswald

LEE HARVEY OSWALD spent almost all of the last 48 hours of his life in the Police and Courts Building, a gray stone structure in downtown Dallas that housed the headquarters of the Dallas Police Department and the city jail.

Following his arrest early Friday afternoon, Oswald was brought immediately to this building and remained there until Sunday morning, November 24, when he was scheduled to be transferred to the county jail. At 11:21 that morning, in full view of millions of people watching on television, Oswald was fatally wounded by Jack Ruby, who emerged suddenly from the crowd of newsmen and policemen witnessing the transfer and fired a single shot at Oswald. Whether the killing of Oswald was part of a conspiracy involving the assassination of President Kennedy is considered in chapter VI. Aside from that question, the occurrences within the Police and Courts Building between November 22 and 24 raise other important issues concerning the conduct of law enforcement officials, the responsibilities of the press, the rights of accused persons, and the administration of criminal justice in the United States. The Commission has therefore deemed it necessary to determine the facts concerning Oswald's detention and death and to evaluate the actions and responsibilities of the police and press involved in these events.

Warren Report: Chapter V - Treatment of Oswald in Custody

The focal center of the Police and Courts Building during Oswald's detention was the third floor, which housed the main offices of the Dallas Police Department. The public elevators on this floor opened into a lobby midpoint of a corridor that extended along the length of the floor for about 140 feet. At one end of this 7-foot-wide corridor were the offices occupied by Chief of Police Jesse E. Curry and his immediate subordinates; at the other end was a small pressroom that could accommodate only a handful of reporters. Along this corridor were other police offices, including those of the major detective bureaus. Between the pressroom and the lobby was the complex of offices belonging to the homicide and robbery bureau, headed by Capt. J. Will Fritz. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2175, p. 197.)

Warren Report: Chapter V - Chronology

The policemen who seized Oswald at the Texas Theatre arrived with him at the police department building at about 9 p.m. and brought him immediately to the third floor offices of the homicide and robbery bureau to await the arrival of Captain Fritz from the Texas School Book Depository. After about 15 or 20 minutes Oswald was ushered into the office of Captain Fritz for the first of several interrogation sessions. At 4:05 p.m. he was taken to the basement assembly room for his first lineup. While waiting outside the lineup room, Oswald was searched, and five cartridges and other items were removed from his pockets. After the lineup, at about 4:20, Oswald was returned to Captain Fritz' office for further questioning. Two hours later, at 6:20 p.m., Oswald was taken downstairs for a second lineup and returned to Captain Fritz' office within 15 minutes for additional interrogation. Shortly after 7 p.m., Captain Fritz signed a complaint charging Oswald with the murder of Patrolman Tippit. Oswald was formally arraigned, i.e., advised of the charges, at 7:10 p.m., before Justice of the Peace David L. Johnston, who came to Captain office for the occasion.

After a third lineup at about 7:40 p.m., Oswald was returned to Fritz' office. About an hour later, after further questioning, Oswald's fingerprints and palprints were taken and a paraffin test (see app. XI) administered in Fritz' office, after which the questioning resumed. At 11:26 p.m. Fritz signed the complaint charging Oswald with the murder of President Kennedy. Shortly after midnight, detectives took Oswald to the basement assembly room for an appearance of several minutes before members of the press. At about 12:20 a.m. Oswald was delivered to the jailer who placed him in a maximum security cell on the fifth floor. His cell was the center one in a block of three cells that were separated from the remainder of the jail area. The cells on either side of Oswald were empty and a guard was nearby whenever Oswald was present. Shortly after 1:30 a.m. Oswald was brought to the identification bureau on the fourth floor and arraigned before Justice of the Peace Johnston, this time for the murder President Kennedy.

Questioning resumed in Fritz' office on Saturday morning at about 10:25 a.m., and the session lasted nearly an hour and 10 minutes. Oswald was then returned to his cell for an hour, and at 12:35 p.m. he was brought back to Fritz' office for an additional half-hour of questioning. From 1:10 to 1:30 p.m., Oswald's wife and mother visited him in the fourth floor visiting area; at 1:40 p.m. he attempted to call an attorney in New York. He appeared in another lineup at 2:15 p.m. At 2:45 p.m., with Oswald's consent, a member of the identification bureau obtained fingernail scrapings and specimens of hair from him. He returned to the fourth floor at 3:30 p.m. for a 10-minute visit with his brother, Robert.

Between 4 and 4:30 p.m., Oswald made two telephone calls to Mrs. Ruth Paine at her home in Irving; at about 5:30 p.m. he was visited by the president of the Dallas Bar Association with whom he spoke for about 5 minutes. From 6 to 7:15 p.m. Oswald was interrogated once again in Captain Fritz' office and then returned to his cell. At 8 p.m. he called the Paine residence again and asked to speak to his wife, but Mrs. Paine told him that his wife was no longer there.

Oswald was signed out of jail at 9:30 a.m. on Sunday, November 24, and taken to Captain Fritz' office for a final round of questioning. The transfer party left Fritz' office at about 11:15 a.m.; at 11:21 a.m. Oswald was shot. He was declared dead at Parkland Hospital at 1:07 p.m.

Warren Report: Chapter V - Interrogation Sessions

During the period between 2:30 p.m. on Friday afternoon and 11:15 a.m. Sunday morning, Oswald was interrogated for a total of approximately 12 hours. Though subject to intermittent questioning for more than 7 hours on Friday, Oswald was given 8 to 9 hours to rest that night. On Saturday he was questioned for a total of only 3 hours during three interrogation sessions, and on Sunday he was questioned for less than 2 hours. (These interrogations are discussed in ch. IV.)

Captain Fritz' office, within which the interrogations took place, was a small room, 14 feet by 9 and a half feet in size. In addition to the policemen guarding the prisoner, those present usually included Dallas detectives, investigators from the FBI and the Secret Service, and occasionally other officials, particularly a post office inspector and the US. marshal. (See statements in app. XI.) As many as seven or eight people crowded into the small office. In all, more than 25 different persons participated in or were present at some time during interrogations. Captain Fritz, who conducted most of the interrogations, was frequently called from the room. He said, "I don't believe there was any time when I went through a very long period without having to step to the door, or step outside, to get a report from some pair of officers, or to give them additional assignments." In his absence, others present would occasionally question Oswald.

The interrogators differ on whether the confusion prevailing in the main third floor corridor penetrated Fritz' office and affected the atmosphere within. Oswald's processions through the third floor corridor, described more fully below, tended, in Fritz' opinion, to keep Oswald upset, and the remarks and questions of newsmen sometimes caused him to become annoyed. Despite the confusion that frequently prevailed, Oswald remained calm most of the time during the interrogations. According to Captain Fritz:

You know I didn't have trouble with him. If we would just talk to him quietly like we are talking right now, we talked all right until I asked him a question that meant something, every time I asked him a question that meant something, that would produce evidence he immediately told me he wouldn't tell me about it and he seemed to anticipate what I was going to ask.

Special Agent James W. Bookhout, who represented the FBI at most of the interrogations, stated, "I think generally you might say any-time that you asked a question that would be pertinent to the investigation, that would be the type of question he would refuse to discuss." The number of people in the interrogation room and the tumultuous atmosphere throughout the third floor made it difficult for the interrogators to gain Oswald's confidence and to encourage him to be truthful. As Chief Curry has recognized in his testimony, "we were violating every principle of interrogation * * * it was just against all principles of good interrogation practice."

Warren Report: Chapter V - Oswald's Legal Rights

All available evidence indicates that Oswald was not subjected to any physical hardship during the interrogation sessions or at any other time while he was in custody. He was fed and allowed to rest. When he protested on Friday against being handcuffed from behind, the cuffs were removed and he was handcuffed in front. Although he made remarks to newsmen about desiring a shower and demanding his "civil rights," Oswald did not complain about his treatment to any of the numerous police officers and other persons who had much to do with him during the 2 days of his detention. As described in chapter IV, Oswald received a slight cut over his right eye and a bruise under his left eye during the scuffle in the Texas Theatre with the arresting officers, three of whom were injured and required medical treatment. These marks were visible to all who saw him during the 2 days of his detention and to millions of television viewers.

Before the first questioning session on Friday afternoon, Fritz warned Oswald that he was not compelled to make any statement and that statements he did make could be used against him. About 5 hours later, he was arraigned for the Tippit murder and within an additional 6 and a half hours he was arraigned for the murder of President Kennedy. On each occasion the justice of the peace advised Oswald of his right to obtain counsel and the right to remain silent.

Throughout the period of detention, however, Oswald was not represented by counsel. At the Friday midnight press conference in the basement assembly room, he made the following remarks:

Oswald. Well, I was questioned by Judge[Johnston]. However, I protested at that time that I was not allowed legal representation during that very short and sweet hearing. I really don't know what the situation is about. Nobody has told me anything except that I am accused of, of, murdering a policeman. I know nothing more than that and I do request someone to come forward to give me legal assistance.

Q. Did you kill the President?

A. No. I have not been charged with that. In fact nobody has said that to me yet. The first thing I heard about it was when the newspaper reporters in the hall asked me that question.

Q. Mr. Oswald, how did you hurt your eye?

A. A policeman hit me.

At this time Oswald had been arraigned only for the murder of Patrolman Tippit, but questioning by Captain Fritz and others had been substantially concerned with Oswald's connection with the assassination.

On Friday evening, representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union visited the police department to determine whether Oswald was being deprived of counsel. They were assured by police officials and Justice of the Peace Johnston that Oswald had been informed of his rights and was being allowed to seek a lawyer. On Saturday Oswald attempted several times to reach John Abt, a New York lawyer, by telephone, but with no success. In the afternoon, he called Ruth Paine and asked her to try to reach Abt for him, but she too failed. Later in the afternoon, H. Louis Nichols, president of the Dallas Bar Association, visited Oswald in his cell and asked him whether he wanted the association to obtain a lawyer for him. Oswald declined the offer, stating a first preference for Abt and a second preference for a lawyer from the American Civil Liberties Union. As late as Sunday morning, according to Postal Inspector Harry D. Holmes, Oswald said that he preferred to get his own lawyer.

Warren Report: Chapter V - Activity of Newsman

Within an hour of Oswald's arrival at the police department on November 22, it became known to newsmen that he was a possible suspect in the slaying of President Kennedy as well as in the murder of Patrolman Tippit. At least as early as 3:26 p.m. a television report carried this information. Reporters and cameramen flooded into the building and congregated in the corridor of the third floor, joining those few who had been present when Oswald first arrived.

Warren Report: Chapter V - On the Third Floor

Felix McKnight, editor of the Dallas Times-Herald, who handled press arrangements for the President's visit, estimated that within 24 hours of the assassination more than 800 representatives of news media were in Dallas, including correspondents from foreign newspapers and press associations. District Attorney Henry M. Wade thought that the crowd in the third floor hallway itself may have numbered as many as 300. Most estimates, including those based on examination of video tapes, place upwards of 100 newsmen and cameramen in the third floor corridor of the police department by the evening of November 22. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2633, p. 203.) In the words of an FBI agent who was present, the conditions at the police station were "not too much unlike Grand Central Station at rush hour, maybe like the Yankee Stadium during the World Series games. * * *" In the lobby of the third floor, television cameramen set up two large cameras and floodlights in strategic positions that gave them a sweep of the corridor in either direction. Technicians stretched their television cables into and out of offices, running some of them out of the windows of a deputy chief's office and down the side of the building. Men with newsreel cameras, still cameras, and microphones, more mobile than the television cameramen, moved back and forth seeking information and opportunities for interviews. Newsmen wandered into the offices of other bureaus located on the third floor, sat on desks, and used police telephones; indeed, one reporter admits hiding a telephone behind a desk so that he would have exclusive access to it if something developed.

By the time Chief Curry returned to the building in the middle of the afternoon from Love Field where he had escorted President Johnson from Parkland Hospital, he found that "there was just pandemonium on the third floor." The news representatives, he testified:

* * * were jammed into the north hall of the third floor, which are the offices of the criminal investigation division.

The television trucks, there were several of them around the city hall. I went into my administrative offices, I saw cables coming through the administrative assistant office and through the deputy chief of traffic through his office, and running through the hall they had a live TV set up on the third floor, and it was a bedlam of confusion.

According to Special Agent Winston G. Lawson of the Secret Service:

At least by 6 or 7 o'clock * * * [the reporters and cameramen] were quite in evidence up and down the corridors, cameras on the tripods, the sound equipment, people with still cameras, motion picture-type hand cameras, all kinds of people with tape recorders, and they were trying to interview people, anybody that belonged in police headquarters that might know anything about Oswald * * *.

The corridor became so jammed that policemen and newsmen had to push and shove if they wanted to get through, stepping over cables, wires, and tripods. The crowd in the hallway was so dense that District Attorney Wade found it a "strain to get the door open" to get into the homicide office. According to Lawson, "You had to literally fight your way through the people to get up and down the corridor." A witness who was escorted into the homicide offices on Saturday afternoon related that he tried to get by the reporters, stepping over television cables and you couldn't hardly get by, they would grab you and wanted to know what you were doing down here, even with the detectives one in front and one behind you.

The television cameras continued to record the scene on the third floor as some of the newsmen kept vigil through the night.

Such police efforts as there were to control the newsmen were unavailing. Capt. Glen D. King, administrative assistant to Chief Curry, witnessed efforts to clear an aisle through the hallway, but related that "this was a constant battle because of the number of newsmen who were there. They would move back into the aisle way that had been cleared. They interfered with the movement of people who had to be there." According to one detective, "they would be asked to stand back and stay back but it wouldn't do much good, and they would push forward and you had to hold them off physically." The detective recalled that on one occasion when he was escorting a witness through the corridor he "stopped * * * and looked down and there was a joker had a camera stuck between * * * [his] legs taking pictures. * * *" Forrest V. Sorrels of the Secret Service had the impression that the "press and the television people just * * * took over." Police control over the access of other than newsmen to the third floor was of limited but increasing effectiveness after Oswald's arrival at the police department. Initially no steps were taken to exclude unauthorized persons from the third floor corridor, but late Friday afternoon Assistant Chief Charles Batchelor stationed guards at the elevators and the stairway to prevent the admission of such persons. He also directed the records room in the basement to issue passes, after verification by the bureaus involved, to people who had legitimate business on the third

floor. Throughout the 3 days of Oswald's detention, the police were obliged to continue normal business in all five bureaus located along the third floor hallway. Thus many persons relatives of prisoners, complainants, witnesses had occasion to visit police offices on the third floor on business unrelated to the investigation of the assassination. Newsmen seeking admission to the third floor were required to identify themselves by their personal press cards; however, the department did not follow its usual procedure of checking the authenticity of press credentials. Captain King felt that this would have been impossible in light of "the atmosphere that existed over there, the tremendous pressures that existed, the fact that telephones were ringing constantly, that there were droves of people in there * * * the fact that the method by which you positively identify someone * * * it's not easy." Police officers on the third floor testified that they carefully checked all persons for credentials, and most newsmen indicated that after Batchelor imposed security they were required to identify themselves by their press cards. Special Agent Sorrels of the Secret Service stated that he was requested to present credentials on some of his visits to the third floor. However, other newsmen apparently went unchallenged during the entire period before Oswald was killed, although some of them were wearing press badges on their lapels and some may have been known to the police officers.

According to some reporters and policemen, people who appeared to be unauthorized were present on the third floor after security procedures were instituted, and video tapes seem to confirm their observations. Jack Ruby was present on the third floor on Friday night. Assistant Chief of Police N. T. Fisher testified that even on Saturday "anybody could come up with a plausible reason for going to one of the third floor bureaus and was able to get in."

Warren Report: Chapter 5 - Oswald and the Press

When the police car bringing Oswald from the Texas Theatre drove into the basement of police headquarters at about 2 p.m. on Friday, some reporters and cameramen, principally from local papers and stations, were already on hand. The policemen formed a wedge around Oswald and conducted him to the elevator, but several newsmen crowded into the elevator with Oswald and the police. When the elevator stopped at the third floor, the cameramen ran ahead down the corridor, and then turned around and backed up, taking pictures of Oswald as he was escorted toward the homicide and robbery bureau office. According to one escorting officer, some six or seven reporters followed the police into the bureau office so From Friday afternoon, when Oswald arrived in the building, until Sunday, newspaper reporters and television cameras focused their attention on the homicide office. In full view and within arm's length of the assembled newsmen, Oswald traversed the 20 feet of corridor between the homicide office and the locked door leading to the jail elevator at least 15 times after his initial arrival. The jail elevator, sealed off from public use, took him to his fifth floor cell and to the assembly room in the basement for lineups and the Friday night news conference.

On most occasions, Oswald's escort of three to six detectives and policemen had to push their way through the newsmen who sought to surround them. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2631, p. 205.) Although the Dallas press normally did not take pictures of a prisoner without first obtaining permission of the police, who generally asked the prisoner, this practice was not followed by any of the newsmen with Oswald. Generally when Oswald appeared the newsmen turned their cameras on him, thrust microphones at his face, and shouted questions at him. Sometimes he answered. Reporters in the forefront of the throng would repeat his answers for the benefit of those behind them who could not hear. On Saturday, however in response to police admonitions, the reporters exercised more restraint and shouted fewer questions at Oswald when he passed through the corridor.

Oswald's most prolonged exposure occurred at the midnight press conference on Friday night. In response to demands of newsmen, District Attorney Wade, after consulting with Chief Curry and Captain Fritz, had announced shortly before midnight that Oswald would appear at a press conference in the basement assembly room. An estimated 70 to 100 people, including Jack Ruby, and other unauthorized persons, crowded into the small downstairs room. No identification was required. The room was so packed that Deputy Chief M. W. Stevenson and Captain Fritz who came down to the basement after the crowd had assembled could not get in and were forced to remain in the doorway.

Oswald was brought into the room shortly after midnight. Curry had instructed policemen not to permit newsmen to touch Oswald or get close to him, but no steps were taken to shield Oswald from the crowd. Captain Fritz had asked that Oswald be placed on the platform used for lineups so that he could be more easily removed "if anything happened." Chief Curry, however, insisted that Oswald stand on the floor in front of the stage, where he was also in front of the one-way nylon-cloth screen customarily used to prevent a suspect from seeing those present in the room. This was done because cameramen had told Curry that their cameras would not photograph well through the screen.

Curry had instructed the reporters that they were not to "ask any questions and try to interview * * * [Oswald] in any way," but when he was brought into the room, immediately they began to shoot questions at him and shove microphones into his face." It was difficult to hear Oswald's answers above the uproar. Cameramen stood on the tables to take pictures and others pushed forward to get close-ups. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2965, p. 207.) The noise and confusion mounted as reporters shouted at each other to get out of the way and cameramen made frantic efforts to get into position for pictures. After Oswald had been in the room only a few minutes, Chief Curry intervened and directed that Oswald be taken back to the jail because, he testified, the newsmen "tried to overrun him."

Warren Report: Chapter V - The Abortive Transfer

In Dallas, after a person is charged with a felony, the county sheriff ordinarily takes custody of the prisoner and assumes responsibility for his safekeeping. Normally, the Dallas Police Department notifies the sheriff when a prisoner has been charged with a felony and the sheriff dispatches his deputies to transport the accused to the county jail. This is usually done within a few hours after the complaint has been filed. In cases of unusual importance, however, the Dallas city police sometimes transport the prisoners to the county jail.

The decision to move Oswald to the county jail on Sunday morning was reached by Chief Curry the preceding evening. Sometime after 7:30 Saturday evening, according to Assistant Chief Batchelor, two reporters told him that they wanted to go out to dinner but that "they didn't want to miss anything if we were going to move the prisoner." Curry came upon them at that point and told the two newsmen that if they returned by 10 o'clock in the morning, they wouldn't "miss anything." A little later, after checking with Captain Fritz, Curry made a similar announcement to the assembled reporters. Curry reported the making of his decision to move Oswald as follows:

Then, I talked to Fritz about when he thought he would transfer the prisoner, and he didn't think it was a good idea to transfer him at night because of the fact you couldn't see, and if anybody tried to cause them any trouble, they needed to see who they were and where it was coming from and so forth, and he suggested that we wait until daylight, so this was normal procedure, I mean, for Fritz to determine when he is going to transfer his prisoners, so I told him "Okay." I asked him, I said, "What time do you think you will be ready tomorrow?" And he didn't know exactly and I said, "Do you think about 10 o'clock," and he said, "I believe so," and then is when I went out and told the newspaper people * * * "I believe if you are back here by 10 o'clock you will be back in time to observe anything you care to observe."

During the night, between 2:30 and 3 a.m., the local office of the FBI and the sheriff's office received telephone calls from an unidentified man who warned that a committee had decided "to kill the man that killed the President." Shortly after, an FBI agent notified the Dallas police of the anonymous threat. The police department and ultimately Chief Curry were informed of both threats.

Immediately after his arrival at the building on Sunday morning between 8:30 and 8:45 a.m., Curry spoke by telephone with Sheriff J. E. Decker about the transfer. When Decker indicated that he would leave to Curry the decision on whether the sheriff's office or the police would move Oswald, Curry decided that the police would handle it because "we had so much involved here, we were the ones that were investigating the case and we had the officers set up downstairs to handle it." After talking with Decker, Curry began to discuss plans for the transfer. With the threats against Oswald in mind, Curry suggested to Batchelor and Deputy Chief Stevenson that Oswald be transported to the county jail in an armored truck, to which they agreed. While Batchelor made arrangements to have an armored truck brought to the building, Curry and Stevenson tentatively agreed on the route the armored truck would follow from the building to the county jail.

Curry decided that Oswald would leave the building via the basement. He stated later that he reached this decision shortly after his arrival at the police building Sunday morning, when members of the press had already begun to gather in the basement. There is no evidence that anyone opposed this decision. Two members of the Dallas police did suggest to Captain Fritz that Oswald be taken from the building by another exit, leaving the press "waiting in the basement and on Commerce Street, and we could be to the county jail before anyone knew what was taking place." However, Fritz said that he did not think Curry would agree to such a plan because he had promised that Oswald would be transferred at a time when newsmen could take pictures. Forrest Sorrels also suggested to Fritz that Oswald be moved at an unannounced time when no one was around, but Fritz again responded that Curry "wanted to go along with the press and not try to put anything over on them." Preliminary arrangements to obtain additional personnel to assist with the transfer were begun Saturday evening. On Saturday night, the police reserves were requested to provide 8 to 10 men on Sunday, and additional reservists were sought in the morning. Capt. C. E. Talbert, who was in charge of the patrol division for the city of Dallas on the morning of November 24, retained a small number of policemen in the building when he took charge that morning and later ordered other patrolmen from several districts to report to the basement. At about 9 a.m. Deputy Chief Stevenson instructed all detectives within the building to remain for the transfer. Sheriff Decker testified that his men were ready to receive Oswald at the county jail from the early hours of Sunday morning.

With the patrolmen and reserve policemen available to him, Captain Talbert, on his own initiative, undertook to secure the basement of the police department building. He placed policemen outside the building at the top of the Commerce Street ramp to keep all spectators on the opposite side of

Commerce Street. Later, Talbert directed that patrolmen be assigned to all street intersections the transfer vehicle would cross along the route to the county jail. His most significant security precautions, however, were steps designed to exclude unauthorized persons from the basement area. The spacious basement of the Police and Courts Building contains, among other things, the jail office and the police garage. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2179, p. 211.) The jail office, into which the jail elevator opens, is situated on the west side of an auto ramp cutting across the length of the basement from Main Street, on the north side of the building, to Commerce Street, on the south side. From the foot of this ramp, on the east side, midway through the basement, a decline runs down a short distance to the I-shaped police garage. In addition to the auto ramp, five doors to the garage provide access to the basement from the Police and Courts Building on the west side of the garage and the attached Municipal Building on the east. Three of these five doors provide access to three elevators opening into the garage, two for passengers near the central part of the garage and one for service at the east end of the garage. A fourth door near the passenger elevator opens into the municipal building; the fifth door, at the Commerce Street side of the garage, opens into a sub-basement that is connected with both buildings.

Shortly after 9 o'clock Sunday morning, policemen cleared the basement of all but police personnel. Guards were stationed at the top of the Main and Commerce Streets auto ramps leading down into the basement, at each of the five doorways into the garage, and at the double doors leading to the public hallway adjacent to the jail office. Then, Sgt. Patrick T. Dean, acting under instructions from Talbert, directed 14 men in a search of the garage. Maintenance workers were directed to leave the area. The searchers examined the rafters, tops of air conditioning ducts, and every closet and room opening off the garage. They searched the interior and trunk compartment of automobiles parked in the garage. The two passenger elevators in the central part of the garage were not in service and the doors were shut and locked; the service elevator was moved to the first floor, and the operator was instructed not to return it to the basement.

Despite the thoroughness with which the search was conducted, there still existed one and perhaps two weak points in controlling access to the garage. Testimony did not resolve positively whether or not the stairway door near the public elevators was locked both from the inside and outside as was necessary to secure it effectively. And although guards were stationed near the double doors, the hallway near the jail office was accessible to people from inside the Police and Courts Building without the necessity of presenting identification. Until seconds before Oswald was shot, newsmen hurrying to photograph Oswald were able to run without challenge through those doors into the basement.

After the search had been completed, the police allowed news representatives to reenter the basement area and gather along the entrance to the garage on the east side of the ramp. Later, the police permitted the newsmen to stand in front of the railing on the east side of the ramp leading to Main Street. The policemen deployed by Talbert and Dean had instructions to allow no one but identified news media representatives into the basement. As before, the police accepted any credentials that appeared authentic, though some officers did make special efforts to check for pictures and other forms of corroborating identification. Many newsmen reported that they were checked on more than one occasion while they waited in the basement. A small number did not recall that their credentials were ever checked.

Shortly after his arrival on Sunday morning, Chief Curry issued instructions to keep reporters and cameramen out of the jail office and to keep television equipment behind the railing separating the basement auto ramp from the garage.

Curry observed that in other respects Captain Talbert appeared to have security measures in hand and allowed him to proceed on his own initiative. Batchelor and Stevenson checked progress in the basement during the course of the morning, and the officials were generally satisfied with the steps Talbert had taken.

At about 11 a.m., Deputy Chief Stevenson requested that Capt. O. A. Jones of the forgery bureau bring all available detectives from the third floor offices to the basement. Jones instructed the detectives who accompanied him to the basement to line the walls on either side of the passageway cleared for the transfer party. According to Detective T. D. McMillon,

* * * Captain Jones explained to us that, when they brought the prisoner out, that he wanted two lines formed and we were to keep these two lines formed: you know, a barrier on either side of them, kind of an aisle * * * for them to walk through, and when they came down this aisle, we were to keep this line intact and move along with them until the man was placed in the car.

With Assistant Chief Batchelor's permission, Jones removed photographers who had gathered once again in the basement jail office. Jones recalled that he instructed all newsmen along the Main Street

ramp to remain behind an imaginary line extending from the southeast corner of the jail office to the railing on the east side of the ramp; other officers recalled that Jones directed the newsmen to move away from the foot of the Main Street ramp and to line up against the east railing. In any event, newsmen were allowed to congregate along the foot of the ramp after Batchelor observed that there was insufficient room along the east of the ramp to permit all the news representatives to see Oswald as he was brought out. By the time Oswald reached the basement, 40 to 50 newsmen and 70 to 75 police officers were assembled there.

Three television cameras stood along the railing and most of the newsmen were congregated in that area and at the top of the adjacent decline leading into the garage. A group of newsmen and police officers, best estimated at about 20, stood strung across the bottom of the Main Street ramp. Along the south wall of the passageway outside the jail office door were about eight detectives, and three detectives lined the north wall. Two officers stood in front of the double doors leading into the passageway from the corridor next to the jail office. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2634, p. 214.) Beginning Saturday night, the public had been kept informed of the approximate time of the transfer. At approximately 10:20 a.m. Curry told a press conference that Oswald would be moved in an armored truck and gave a general description of other security precautions. Apparently no newsmen were informed of the transfer route, however, and the route was not disclosed to the driver of the armored truck until the truck arrived at the Commerce Street exit at about 11:07 a.m. When they learned of its arrival, many of the remaining newsmen who had waited on the third floor descended to the basement. Shortly after, newsmen may have had another indication that the transfer was imminent if they caught a glimpse through the glass windows of Oswald putting on a sweater in Captain Fritz' office.

Because the driver feared that the truck might stall if it had to start from the bottom of the ramp and because the overhead clearance appeared to be inadequate, Assistant Chief Batchelor had it backed only into the entranceway at the top of the ramp. Batchelor and others then inspected the inside of the truck.

When Chief Curry learned that the truck had arrived, he informed Captain Fritz that security controls were in effect and inquired how long the questioning of Oswald would continue. At this point, Fritz learned for the first time of the plan to convey Oswald by armored truck and immediately expressed his disapproval. He urged the use of an unmarked police car driven by a police officer, pointing out that this would be better from the standpoint of both speed and maneuverability.

Curry agreed to Fritz' plan; the armored truck would be used as a decoy. They decided that the armored truck would leave the ramp first, followed by a car which would contain only security officers. A police car bearing Oswald would follow. After proceeding one block, the car with Oswald would turn off and proceed directly to the county jail; the armored truck would follow a lead car to the jail along the previously agreed upon and more circuitous route.

Captain Fritz instructed Detectives C. W. Brown and C. N. Dhority and a third detective to proceed to the garage and move the follow up car and the transfer car into place on the auto ramp. He told Lt. Rio S. Pierce to obtain another automobile from the basement and take up a lead position on Commerce Street. Deputy Chief Stevenson went back to the basement to inform Batchelor and Jones of the change in plans. Oswald was given his sweater, and then his right hand was handcuffed to the left hand of Detective J. R. Leavelle. Detective T. L. Baker called the jail office to check on security precautions in the basement and notify officials that the prisoner was being brought down.

On arriving in the basement, Pierce asked Sgt. James A. Putnam and Billy Joe Maxey to accompany him in the lead car. Since the armored truck was blocking the Commerce Street ramp, it would be necessary to drive out the Main Street ramp and circle the block to Commerce Street. Maxey sat on the back seat of Pierce's car, and Putnam helped clear a path through reporters on the ramp so that Pierce could drive up toward Main Street. When the car passed by the reporters at about 11:20 a.m., Putnam entered the car on the right front side. Pierce drove to the top of the Main Street ramp and slowed momentarily as Patrolman Roy E. Vaughn stepped from his position at the top of the ramp toward the street to watch for traffic. After Pierce's car left the garage area, Brown drove another police car out of the garage, moved part way up the Commerce Street ramp, and began to back down into position to receive Oswald. Dhority also proceeded to drive the follow-up car into position ahead of Brown.

As Pierce's car started up the ramp at about 11:20 a.m., Oswald, accompanied by Captain Fritz and four detectives, arrived at the jail office. Cameramen in the hallway of the basement took pictures of Oswald through the interior glass windows of the jail office as he was led through the office to the exit. Some of these cameramen then ran through the double doors near the jail office and squeezed into the line which had formed across the Main Street ramp.

Still others remained just inside the double doors or proceeded through the double doors after Oswald and his escort emerged from the jail office. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2177, p. 217.) When Fritz came to the jail office door, he asked if everything was ready, and a detective standing in the passageway answered yes. Someone shouted, "Here he comes!"; additional spotlights were turned on in the basement, and the din increased. A detective stepped from the jail office and proceeded toward the transfer car. Seconds later Fritz and then Oswald, with Detective Leavelle at his right, Detective L. C. Graves at his left, and Detective L. D. Montgomery at his rear, came through the door. Fritz walked to Brown's car, which had not yet backed fully into position; Oswald followed a few feet behind. Newsmen near the double door moved forward after him. Though movie films and video tapes indicate that the front line newsmen along the Main Street ramp remained fairly stationary, it was the impression of many who were close to the scene that with Oswald's appearance the crowd surged forward. According to Detective Montgomery, who was walking directly behind Oswald, soon as we came out this door * * * this bunch here just moved in on us." To Detective B. H. Combest, standing on the Commerce Street side of the passageway from the jail office door, it appeared that

Almost the whole line of people pushed forward when Oswald started to leave the jail office, the door, the hallway the newsmen were poking their sound mikes across to him and asking questions, and they were everyone sticking their flashbulbs up and around and over him and in his face.

After Oswald had moved about 10 feet from the door of the jail office, Jack Ruby passed between a newsman and a detective at the edge of the straining crowd on the Main Street ramp. With his right hand extended and holding a caliber revolver, Ruby stepped quickly forward and fired a single fatal bullet into Oswald's abdomen. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2636, p. 218.)

Warren Report: Chapter V - Possible Assistance to Jack Ruby in Entering the Basement

The killing of Lee Harvey Oswald in the basement of police headquarters in the midst of more than 70 police officers gave rise to immediate speculation that one or more members of the police department provided Jack Ruby assistance which had enabled him to enter the basement and approach within a few feet of the accused Presidential assassin. In chapter VI, the Commission has considered whether there is any evidence linking Jack Ruby with a conspiracy to kill the President. At this point, however, it is appropriate to consider whether there is evidence that Jack Ruby received assistance from Dallas policemen or others in gaining access to the basement on the morning of November 24. An affirmative answer would require that the evidence be evaluated for possible connection with the assassination itself. While the Commission has found no evidence that Ruby received assistance from any person in entering the basement, his means of entry is significant in evaluating the adequacy of the precautions taken to protect Oswald. Although more than a hundred policemen and newsmen were present in the basement of police headquarters during the 10 minutes before the shooting of Oswald, none has been found who definitely observed Jack Ruby's entry into the basement. After considering all the evidence, the Commission has concluded that Ruby entered the basement unaided, probably via the Main Street ramp, and no more than 3 minutes before the shooting of Oswald. Ruby's account of how he entered the basement by the Main Street ramp merits consideration in determining his means of entry. Three Dallas policemen testified that approximately 80 minutes after his arrest, Ruby told them that he had walked to the top of the Main Street ramp from the nearby Western Union office and that he walked down the ramp at the time the police car driven by Lieutenant Pierce emerged into Main Street. This information did not come to light immediately because the policemen did not report it to their superiors until some days later. Ruby refused to discuss his means of entry in interrogations with other investigators later on the day of his arrest. Thereafter, in a lengthy interview on December 21 and in a sworn deposition taken after his trial, Ruby gave the same explanation he had given to the three policemen.

The Commission has been able to establish with precision the time of certain events leading up to the shooting. Minutes before Oswald appeared in the basement, Ruby was in the Western Union office located on the same block of Main Street some 350 feet from the top of the Main Street ramp. The time stamp on a money order which he sent and on the receipt found in his pocket establish that the order was accepted for transmission at almost exactly 11:17 a.m. Ruby was then observed to depart the office walking in the direction of the police building. Video tapes taken without interruption before the shooting establish that Lieutenant Pierce's car cleared the crowd at the foot of the ramp 55 seconds before the shooting. They also show Ruby standing at the foot of the ramp on the Main Street side before the shooting. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2635, p. 220.)

The shooting occurred very close to 11:21 a.m. This time has been established by observing the time on a clock appearing in motion pictures of Oswald in the basement jail office, and by records giving the time of Oswald's departure from the city jail and the time at which an ambulance was summoned for Oswald.

The Main Street ramp provided the most direct route to the basement from the Western Union office. At normal stride, it requires approximately 1 minute to walk from that office to the top of the Main Street ramp and about 20-25 seconds to descend the ramp. It is certain, therefore, that Ruby entered the basement no more than 2-3 minutes before the shooting. This timetable indicates that a little more than 2 of the 4 minutes between Ruby's departure from the Western Union office and the time of the shooting are unaccounted for. Ruby could have consumed this time in loitering along the way, at the top of the ramp, or inside the basement. However, if Ruby is correct that he passed Pierce's car at the top of the ramp, he could have been in the basement no more than 30 seconds before the shooting.

The testimony of two witnesses partially corroborates Ruby's claim that he entered by the Main Street ramp. James Turner, an employee of WBAP-TV Fort Worth, testified that while he was standing near the railing on the east side of the Main Street ramp, perhaps 30 seconds before the shooting, he observed a man he is confident was Jack Ruby moving slowly down the Main Street ramp about 10 feet from the bottom. Two other witnesses testified that they thought they had seen Ruby on the Main Street side of the ramp before the shooting.

One other witness has testified regarding the purported movements of a man on the Main Street ramp, but his testimony merits little credence. A former police officer, N.J. Daniels, who was standing at the top of the ramp with the single patrolman guarding this entrance, R. E. Vaughn, testified that "3 or 4 minutes, I guess" before the shooting, a man walked down the Main Street ramp in full view of Vaughn but was not stopped or questioned by the officer. Daniels did not identify the man as Ruby. Moreover, he gave a description which differed in important respects from Ruby's appearance on November 24,

and he has testified that he doesn't think the man was Ruby. On November 24, Vaughn telephoned Daniels to ask him if he had seen anybody walk past him on the morning of the 24th and was told that he had not; it was not until November 29 that Daniels came forward with the statement that he had seen a man enter.

Although the sum of this evidence tends to support Ruby's claim that he entered by the Main Street ramp, there is other evidence not fully consistent with Ruby's story. Patrolman Vaughn stated that he checked the credentials of all unknown persons seeking to enter the basement, and his testimony was supported by several persons. Vaughn denied that the emergence of Lieutenant Pierce's car from the building distracted him long enough to allow Ruby to enter the ramp unnoticed, and neither he nor any of the three officers in Lieutenant Pierce's car saw Ruby enter.

Despite Vaughn's denial the Commission has found no credible evidence to support any other entry route. Two Dallas detectives believed they observed three men pushing a WBAP-TV camera into the basement minutes before the shooting, while only two were with the camera after Oswald had been shot. However, films taken in the basement show the WBAP-TV camera being pushed past the detectives by only two men. The suspicion of the detectives is probably explained by testimony that a third WBAP-TV employee ran to help steady the incoming camera as it entered the basement, probably just before the camera became visible on the films. Moreover, since the camera entered the basement close to 4 minutes before the shooting, it is virtually impossible that Ruby could have been in the basement at that time. The possibility that Ruby entered the basement by some other route has been investigated, but the Commission has found no evidence to support it. Ruby could have walked from the Western Union office to the Commerce Street ramp on the other side of the building in about 2 and a half minutes. However, during the minutes preceding the shooting video tapes show the armored truck in the entranceway to this ramp with only narrow clearance on either side. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2710, p. 223.) Several policemen were standing near the truck and a large crowd of spectators was gathered across the street. It is improbable that Ruby could have squeezed past the truck without having been observed. If Ruby entered by any other means, he would have had to pass first through the Police and Courts Building or the attached Municipal Building, and then secondly through one of the five doors into the basement, all of which, according to the testimony of police officers, were secured. The testimony was not completely positive about one of the doors.

There is no evidence to support the speculations that Ruby used a press badge to gain entry to the basement or that he concealed himself in a police car. Police found no form of press card on Ruby's person after his apprehension, nor any discarded badges within the basement. There is no evidence that any police officer admitted Ruby on the pretense that he was a member of the press or any other pretense.

Police vehicles in the basement were inspected during the course of the search supervised by Sergeant Dean. According to Patrolman Vaughn, the only vehicles that entered the basement while he was at the top of the Main Street ramp were two patrol cars, one of which entered twice, and a patrol wagon which was searched by another policeman after it entered the basement. All entered on official police business and considerably more than 4 minutes before Oswald was shot. None of the witnesses at the top of the Main Street ramp recalled any police car entering the basement in the 4-minute period after Ruby left the Western Union office and preceding the shooting. The possibility that Ruby could have entered the basement in a car may therefore be completely discounted. The Dallas Police Department, concerned at the failure of its security measures, conducted an extensive investigation that revealed no information indicating complicity between any police officer and Jack Ruby. Ruby denied to the Commission that he received any form of assistance. The FBI interviewed every member of the police department who was on duty in the basement on November 24, and Commission staff members took sworn depositions from many. With few exceptions, newsmen who were present in the basement at the time also gave statements and/or depositions. As the record before the Commission indicated, Ruby had had rather free access to the Dallas police quarters during the period subsequent to the assassination, but there was no evidence that implicated the police or newsmen in Ruby's actions on that day.

Ruby was known to have a wide acquaintance ship with Dallas policemen and to seek their favor. According to testimony from many sources, he gave free coffee at his clubs to many policemen while they were on duty and free admittance and discounts on beverages when they were off duty. Although Chief Curry's estimate that approximately 25 to 50 of the 1,175 men in the Dallas Police Department knew Ruby may be too conservative, the Commission found no evidence of any suspicious relationships between Ruby and any police officer. The Commission found no substantial evidence that any member of the Dallas Police Department recognized Jack Ruby as an unauthorized person in the basement prior to the time Sgt. P. T. Dean, according to his testimony, saw Ruby dart forward toward Oswald. But

Dean was then part way up the Commerce Street ramp, too far removed to act.

Patrolman W. J. Harrison, Capt. Glen King, and reserve officers Capt. C. O. Arnett and Patrolman W. M. Croy were among those in front of Ruby at the time Dean saw him. They all faced away from Ruby, toward the jail office. Video tapes show that Harrison turned in the direction of the ramp at the time Lieutenant Pierce's car passed, and once again 25 seconds later, but there is no indication that he observed or recognized Ruby. The policemen standing on the south side of the passageway from the jail office, who might have been looking in Ruby's direction, had the glare of television and photographer's lights in their eyes.

The Commission also considered the possibility that a member of the police department called Ruby at his apartment and informed him, either intentionally or unintentionally, of the time of the planned transfer. From at least 10:19 a.m., until close to 11 a.m., on Sunday, Ruby was at his apartment, where he could have received a call that the transfer was imminent. He apparently left his apartment between 10:45 and 11 a.m. However, the drive from Ruby's apartment to the Western Union office takes approximately 15 minutes. Since the time of the contemplated transfer could not have been known to anyone until a few minutes before 11:15 a.m., a precise time could not have been conveyed to Ruby while he was at his apartment. Moreover, the television and radio publicized the transfer plans throughout the morning, obviating the need for Ruby to obtain information surreptitiously.

Warren Report: Chapter V - Adequacy of Security Precautions

The shooting of Lee Harvey Oswald obviously resulted from the failure of the security precautions which the Dallas Police Department had taken to protect their prisoner. In assessing the causes of the security failure, the Commission has not overlooked the extraordinary circumstances which prevailed during the days that the attention of the world was turned on Dallas. Confronted with a unique situation, the Dallas police took special security measures to insure Oswald's safety.

Unfortunately these did not include adequate control of the great crowd of newsmen that inundated the police department building. The Dallas police had in custody a man whose alleged act had brought upon him immediate and universal opprobrium.

There were many possible reasons why people might have attempted to kill him if given the opportunity. Concerned that there might be an attempt on Oswald's life, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover sent a message to Chief Curry on November 22 through Special Agent Manning C. Clements of the FBI's Dallas office, urging that Oswald be afforded the utmost security. Curry does not recall receiving the message.

Although the presence of a great mass of press representatives created an extraordinary security problem in the building, the police department pursued its normal policy of admitting the press. That policy, set forth in General Order No. 81 of the Dallas Police Department, provided

* * * that members of this Department render every assistance, except such as obviously may seriously hinder or delay the proper functioning of the Department, to the accredited members of the official news-gathering agencies and this includes newspaper, television cameramen and news-reel photographers.

In a letter to all members of the police department, dated February 7, 1963, Chief Curry explained the general order, in part, as follows:

The General Order covering this subject is not merely permissive. It does not state that the Officer may, if he so chooses, assist the press. It rather places on him a responsibility to lend active assistance.

* * * * *

* * * as a Department we deal with public affairs. It is the right of the public to know about these affairs, and one of the most accurate and useful avenues we have of supplying this information is through the newspapers and radio and television stations. Implied in the General Order is a prohibition for the Officer to improperly attempt to interfere with the news media representative, who is functioning in his capacity as such. Such activity on the part of any Police Officer is regarded by the press as an infringement of rights, and the Department shares this view.

Under this policy, news representatives ordinarily had access to the Police and Courts Building. The first newsmen to arrive on Friday afternoon were admitted in accordance with the policy; others who came later simply followed behind them. Shortly after Oswald arrived, Captain King granted permission to bring television cameras to the third floor. By the time the unwieldy proportions of the crowd of newsmen became apparent, it had already become well entrenched on the third floor. No one suggested reversing the department's policy expressed in General Order No. 81. Chief Curry testified that at no time did he consider clearing the crowd from the building; he "saw no particular harm in allowing the media to observe the prisoner." Captain King later stated candidly that he simply became "accustomed to the idea of them being out there." The general policy of the Dallas police recognized that the rule of full cooperation did not apply when it might jeopardize an investigation. In retrospect, most members of the department believed that the general rule allowing admittance of the press to the police quarters should not have been followed after the assassination. Few, if any, thought this at the time. By failing to exclude the press from the building on Friday and Saturday, the Dallas police made it possible for the uncontrolled crowd to nearly surround Oswald on the frequent occasions that he moved through the third floor corridor. The decision to allow newsmen to observe the transfer on Sunday followed naturally the policy established during these first 2 days of Oswald's detention. The reporters and cameramen descended upon the third floor of the Police and Courts Building in such numbers that the pressroom on the third floor proved wholly inadequate. Rather than the "two or three or maybe a half dozen reporters" who normally appeared to cover local police stories, the police were faced with upward of 100. Bringing with them cameras, microphones, cables, and spotlights, the newsmen inevitably spilled over into areas where they interfered with the transaction of police business and the maintenance of security.

Aside from numbers, the gathering of reporters presented a problem because most of them were

representatives of the national and foreign press, rather than the local press. These newsmen carried individual press cards rather than identification cards issued by the Dallas police. Therefore, it was impossible for the police to verify quickly the identity of this great number of unfamiliar people who appeared almost simultaneously. Because of the close physical proximity of the milling mass of insistent newsmen to the prisoner, the failure to authenticate press credentials subjected the prisoner to a serious security risk. Although steps were taken on Friday afternoon to insure that persons seeking entry to the third floor were there for a legitimate purpose, reasons could be fabricated. Moreover, because of the large crowd, it was easier for unauthorized persons to slip by those guarding the entrances. Jack Ruby, for one, was able to gain entry to the third-floor corridor on Friday night. The third-floor corridor provided the only passageway between the homicide and robbery bureau and the jail elevator.

No thought seems to have been given, however, to the possibility of questioning Oswald on some other floor. Moreover, Oswald's most extended exposure to the press, at the Friday evening press conference, was unrelated to any phase of the investigation and was motivated primarily by the desire to satisfy the demands of the news media to see the prisoner. The risks attendant upon this appearance were emphasized by the presence of unauthorized persons, including Jack Ruby, at the press conference in the basement assembly room.

Although Oswald was repeatedly exposed to possible assaults on Friday and Saturday, he met his death on Sunday, when police took the most extensive security precautions. The assembly of more than 70 police officers, some of them armed with tear gas, and the contemplated use of an armored truck, appear to have been designed primarily to repel an attempt of a mob to seize the prisoner. Chief Curry's own testimony indicated that such a focus resulted not from any appraisal of the varied risks to Oswald's life but came about in response to the telephone threat Sunday morning that a hundred men were going to attack Oswald.

A more balanced appraisal would have given thought to protection against any attack. For example, the acceptance of inadequate press credentials posed a clear avenue for a one-man assault. The likelihood of an unauthorized person obtaining entry by such means is confirmed not alone by the fact that Jack Ruby managed to get by a guard at one entrance. Several newsmen related that their credentials were not checked as they entered the basement Sunday morning. Seconds before Oswald was shot, the double doors from the hallway next to the jail office afforded a means of entry to the basement without presentation of credentials earlier demanded of newsmen.

The swarm of news people in the basement also substantially limited the ability of the police to detect an unauthorized person once he had entered the basement. 'While Jack Ruby might have been easily spotted if only police officers had been in the basement, he remained apparently unnoticed in the crowd of newsmen until he lunged forward toward Oswald.

The near-blinding television and motion picture lights which were allowed to shine upon the escort party further increased the difficulty of observing unusual movements in the basement. Moreover, by making public the plans for the transfer, the police attracted to the city jail many persons who otherwise might not have learned of the move until it had been completed. This group included the onlookers gathered on Commerce Street and a few people on Main Street. Also, continuous television and radio coverage of the activities in the basement might have resulted in compromise of the transfer operation. These risks to Oswald's safety, growing in part out of adherence to the general policy of the police department, were also accepted for other reasons. Many members of the police department believed that the extraordinary public attention aroused by the tragic death of President Kennedy obliged them to make special efforts to accommodate the press. Captain King carefully articulated one reason why the newsmen were permitted

* * * to remain in the hallways, * * * to view the investigation and to keep in constant touch with progress of the investigation.

* * * * *

We realized that if we arrested a suspect, that if we brought him into the police station and then conducted all of our investigations behind closed doors, that if we gave no reports on the progress of our investigation and did not permit the newsmen to see the suspect if we excluded them from it we would leave ourselves open not only to criticisms that we were fabricating a suspect and were attempting to pin something on someone, but even more importantly, we would cause people to lose faith in our fairness and, through losing faith in our fairness, to lose faith to a certain extent in the processes of law. We felt it was mandatory that as many people knew about it as possible. We knew, too, that if we did exclude

the newsmen, we would be leaving ourselves open to a charge that we were using improper action, duress, physical abuse, all of these things.

While Oswald was in custody, the Dallas police kept the press informed about the treatment Oswald was receiving.

The public could have been assured that the prisoner was not mistreated and that his rights were fully respected by the police, without each one of hundreds of cameramen and reporters being permitted to satisfy himself that the police had not abused the prisoner. This result could have been accomplished by obtaining reports from members of the family who visited him, or by a committee of the bar or other substantial citizens of the community. When it became known on Saturday that Oswald did not have an attorney, the president of the Dallas Bar Association visited him to inquire whether he wished assistance in obtaining counsel.

Moreover, the right of the public to know does not give the press license to interfere with the efficient operation of law-enforcement agencies. Permitting the press to remain on the third floor of the building served no valid purpose that could not have been met if the press had been excluded from the third floor, as it was from the fourth and fifth floors, and informed of developments either through press releases or at press conferences elsewhere in the building. Having failed to exclude the mass of the press from the basement during the transfer of Oswald, the police department's security measures could not be completely effective. Despite the pressures that prevailed, planning and coordination of security arrangements could have been more thorough and precise. No single member of the Dallas Police Department ever assumed full responsibility for the details of Oswald's transfer. Chief Curry participated in some of the planning, but he felt that primary authority for the transfer should be Fritz', since Fritz had charge of the investigation.

According to Chief Curry

Fritz and I, I think, discussed this briefly, the possibility of getting that prisoner out of the city hall during the night hours and by another route and slipping him to the jail, but actually Fritz was not too much in favor of this and I more or less left this up to Fritz as to when and how this transfer would be made, because he has in the past transferred many of his prisoners to the county jail and I felt that since it was his responsibility, the prisoner was, to let him decide when and how he wanted to transfer this prisoner.

Fritz, on the other hand, felt that Curry was directing the transfer arrangements: "I was transferring him like the chief told me to. transfer him." When Capt. W. B. Frazier notified Fritz by telephone early Sunday morning about the threats to Oswald's life, Fritz replied that Curry should be notified, since he was handling the transfer. When urged to modify the transfer plans to avoid the press, as he later testified he would have preferred to do, Fritz declined on the ground that Curry had already decided to the contrary. Hence, if the recollection of both officials is accurate, the basic decision to move Oswald at an announced time and in the presence of the news media was never carefully thought through by either man. Curry and Fritz had agreed Saturday evening that Oswald should not be moved at night, but their discussion apparently went little further.

Perhaps the members of the Dallas Police Department were, as many testified, accustomed to working together so that formal instructions were sometimes unnecessary. On the other hand, it is clear, at least in retrospect, that this particular occasion demanded more than the usual informal unspoken understandings. The evidence indicates that no member of the department at any time considered fully the implications of moving Oswald through the basement. Nor did any single official or group of officials coordinate and direct where the transfer vehicle would be stationed to accept Oswald, where the press would stand, and the number and positioning of police officers in the basement. Captain Jones indicated that there were to be two solid lines of policemen from the jail office door to the transfer vehicle, but lines were formed only along the walls of the areaway between the jail office door and the ramp. The newsmen were not kept east of the auto ramp where a railing would have separated them from Oswald. No strong ranks of policemen were ever placed in front of the newsmen once they were allowed to gather in the area of the Main Street ramp. Many policemen in the basement did not know the function they were supposed to perform. No instructions were given that certain policemen should watch the crowd rather than Oswald. Apparently no one gave any thought to the blinding effect of television and other camera lights upon the escort party. Largely on his own initiative, Captain Talbert undertook to secure the basement, with only minimal coordination with those responsible for and familiar with the route Oswald would take through the basement. Several officials recalled that Lt. Woodrow Wiggins was directed to clear the basement jail office, but Wiggins testified that he received no such assignment. In any event, less than 20 minutes before the transfer, Captain Jones observed newsmen in the jail office and had them removed. But no official removed news personnel from the corridor

beside the jail office; indeed, cameramen took pictures through the glass windows of the jail office as Oswald walked through it toward the basement, and then approached to within 20 feet of Oswald from the rear at the same time that Jack Ruby moved toward Oswald from the front.

A clear example of the inadequacy of coordination was the last-minute change in plans to transfer Oswald in an unmarked police car rather than by armored truck. The plan to use an armored vehicle was adopted without informing Fritz. When Fritz was told of the arrangement shortly after 11 o'clock, he objected, and hurried steps were taken to modify the arrangements. Fritz was then prematurely informed that the basement arrangements were complete. When Oswald and the escorting detectives entered the basement, the transfer car had not yet been backed into position, nor had the policemen been arranged to block the newsmen's access to Oswald's path. If the transfer car had been carefully positioned between the press and Oswald, Ruby might have been kept several yards from his victim and possibly without a clear view of him.

Detective Leavelle, who accompanied Oswald into the basement, testified:

*** I was surprised when I walked to the door and the car was not in the spot it should have been, but I could see it was in back, and backing into position, but had it been in position where we were told it would be, that would have eliminated a lot of the area in which anyone would have access to him, because it would have been blocked. by the car. In fact, if the car had been sitting where we were told it was going to be, see it would have been sitting directly upon the spot where Ruby was standing when he fired the shot.

Captain Jones described the confusion with which Oswald's entry into the basement was in fact received:

Then the change going to put two cars up there. There is no reason why that back car can't get all the way back to the jail office. The original plan would be that the line of officers would be from the jail door to the vehicle. Then they say, "Here he comes." *** It is too late to get the people out of the way of the car and form the line. I am aware that. Oswald is already coming because of the furor, so, I was trying to keep everybody out of the way and keep the way clear and I heard a shot.

Therefore, regardless of whether the press should have been allowed to witness the transfer, security measures in the basement for Oswald's protection could and should have been better organized and more thorough. These additional deficiencies were directly related to the decision to admit newsmen to the basement. The Commission concludes that the failure of the police to remove Oswald secretly or to control the crowd in the basement at the time of the transfer were the major causes of the security breakdown which led to Oswald's death.

Warren Report: Chapter V - News Coverage and Police Policy

Consistent with its policy of allowing news representatives to remain within the working quarters of the Police and Courts Building, the police department made every effort to keep the press fully informed about the progress of the investigation. As a result, from Friday afternoon until after the killing of Oswald on Sunday, the press was able to publicize virtually all of the information about the case which had been gathered until that time. In the process, a great deal of misinformation was disseminated to a worldwide audience. (For some examples see app. XII.) As administrative assistant to Chief Curry, Captain King also handled departmental press relations and issued press releases. According to King, it was "the responsibility of each member of the department to furnish to the press information on incidents in which they, themselves, were involved, except on matters which involved * * * personnel policies of the department, or * * * unless it would obviously interfere with an investigation underway." In Oswald's case, Chief Curry released most of the information to the press. He and Assistant Chief Batchelor agreed on Friday that Curry would make all announcements to the press. However, there is no evidence that this decision was ever communicated to the rest of the police force. The chief consequence appears to have been that Batchelor refrained from making statements to the news media during this period. Most of the information was disclosed through informal oral statements or answers to questions at impromptu and clamorous press conferences in the third floor corridor. Written press releases were not employed. The ambulatory press conference became a familiar sight during these days. Whenever Curry or other officials appeared in the hallway, newsmen surrounded them, asking questions and requesting statements. Usually the officials complied. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2632, p. 232.) Curry appeared in interviews on television and radio at least a dozen times during November 22-24. He did not attend any of the interrogations of Oswald in Captain Fritz' office except at the beginning and toward the end of Sunday morning's session; he received his information through Captain Fritz and other sources. Nevertheless, in sessions with the newsmen on Friday and Saturday he gave detailed information on the progress of the case against Oswald. Recorded statements of television and radio interviews with Curry and other officials in Dallas during November 22-24 have been transcribed and included in the record compiled by the Commission. An example of these interviews is the following transcript of remarks made by Curry to newsmen on Saturday:

Q. Chief Curry, I understand you have some new information in this case. Could you relate what that is?

A. Yes, we've just been informed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, that they, the FBI, have the order letter from a mail order house, and the order was sent to their laboratory in Washington and the writing on this order was compared with known samples of our suspect, Oswald's handwriting and found to be the same.

Q. This order was for the rifle?

A. This order was for the rifle to a mail order house in Chicago. It was [inaudible]. The return address was to Dallas, Texas, to the post office box under the name of A. Hidell, H-I-D-E-double L. This is the post office box of our suspect. This gun was mailed parcel post March 20, 1963. I understand he left Dallas shortly after this and didn't come back until I think about two months ago.

Q. Do you know again on what date this rifle was ordered and are you able to link it definitely as the rifle which you confiscated at the School Book Depository?

A. That we have not done so far. If the FBI has been able to do it I have not been informed of it yet. We do know that this man ordered a rifle of the type that was used in the assassination of the President from this mail order house in Chicago and the FBI has definitely identified the writing as that of our suspect.

Q. On another subject I understand you have photographs of the suspect, Oswald, with a rifle like that used. Could you describe that picture?

A. This is the picture of Oswald standing facing a camera with a rifle in his hand which is very similar to the rifle that we have in our possession. He also had a pistol strapped on his hip. He was holding two papers in his hand, with one of them seemed to be The Worker and the other says Be Militant! I don't know whether that was headlines or the name of the paper.

Q. How much did the gun cost from the mail order house?

A. I understand the gun was advertised for \$12.78, I believe.

Q. Have you received any results on the ballistics test conducted on the gun and on Oswald?

A. They're going to be favorable. I don't have a formal report yet.

Q. But you are sure at this time they will be favorable?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you feel now that you have the case completely wrapped up, or are you continuing?

A. We will continue as long as there is a shred of evidence to be gathered. We have a strong case at this time.

Q. I believe you said earlier this afternoon that you have a new development which does wrap up the case the first time you said the case definitely is secure. Is that correct?

A. That was this morning. This additional evidence just makes a stronger case.

Q. But this is not the same evidence you were referring to then?

A. No, that's true.

Q. Would you be willing to say what that evidence was?

A. No, sir. I don't wish to reveal it. It might jeopardize our case.

Commentator: Thank you very much Chief Jesse Curry of the Dallas Police Department.

Although Captain Fritz permitted himself to be interviewed by the news media less frequently than did Chief Curry, he nevertheless answered questions and ventured opinions about the progress of the investigation. On Saturday he told reporters that he was convinced beyond a doubt that Oswald had killed the President. He discussed some of the evidence in the case, especially the rifle, but his contribution to the knowledge of the reporters was small compared with that of Chief Curry.

Many other members of the police department, including high officials, detectives, and patrolmen, were also interviewed by news representatives during these days. Some of these men had participated in specific aspects of the case, such as the capture of Oswald at the Texas Theatre and the search for evidence at the Texas School Book Depository Building. Few, if any, seemed reluctant to submit to questions and to being televised. It seemed to District Attorney Wade that the newsmen "just followed everybody everywhere they went * * * they interviewed some of your patrolmen * * * on the corner * * * they were interviewing anybody." Wade himself also made several statements to the press. He visited police headquarters twice on Friday, twice on Saturday, and twice on Sunday. On most of these occasions he was interviewed by the press and appeared on television. After Oswald had appeared before the press on Friday night, Wade held an impromptu conference with reporters in the overflowing assembly room. Wade told the press on Saturday that he would not reveal any evidence because it might prejudice the selection of a jury. On other occasions, however, he mentioned some items of evidence and expressed his opinions regarding Oswald's guilt. He told the press on Friday night that Oswald's wife had told the police that her husband had a rifle in the garage at the house in Irving and that it was missing the morning of the assassination. On one occasion he repeated the error that the murder rifle had been a Mauser. Another time, he stated his belief that Oswald had prepared for the assassination months in advance, including what he would tell the police. He also said that Oswald had practiced with the rifle to improve his marksmanship.

The running commentary on the investigation by the police inevitably carried with it the disclosure of many details that proved to be erroneous. In their efforts to keep the public abreast of the investigation, the police reported hearsay items and unverified leads; further investigation proved many of these to be incorrect or inaccurate. For example, the rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building was initially identified as a Mauser 7.65 rather than a Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5 because a deputy constable who was one of the first to see it thought it looked like a Mauser. He neither handled the weapon nor saw it at close range.

Police sources were also responsible for the mistaken notion that the chicken bones found on the sixth floor were the remains of Oswald's lunch. They had in fact been left by another employee who ate his lunch there at least 15 minutes before the assassination. Curry repeated the erroneous report that a Negro had picked up Oswald near the scene of the assassination and driven him across town. It was also reported that the map found in Oswald's room contained a marked route of the Presidential motorcade when it actually contained markings of places where Oswald may have applied for jobs, including, of course, the Texas School Book Depository.

Concern about the effects of the unlimited disclosures was being voiced by Saturday morning. According to District Attorney Wade, he received calls from lawyers in Dallas and elsewhere expressing concern about providing an attorney for Oswald and about the amount of information being given to the press by the police and the district attorney. Curry continued to answer questions on television and radio during the remainder of the day and Sunday morning.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover became concerned because "almost as soon as * * * [FBI Laboratory reports] would reach the Dallas Police Department, the chief of police or one of the representatives of the department would go on TV or radio and relate findings of the FBI, giving information such as the identification of the gun and other items of physical evidence." On Sunday, after Oswald was shot,

Hoover dispatched a personal message to Curry requesting him "not to go on the air any more until this case * * * [is] resolved." Hoover testified later that Curry agreed not to make any more statements.

The shooting of Oswald shocked the Dallas police, and after the interviews that immediately followed the shooting they were disposed to remain silent. Chief Curry made only one more television appearance after the shooting. At 1:30 p.m., he descended to the assembly room where, tersely and grimly, he announced Oswald's death. He refused to answer any of the questions shouted at him by the persistent reporters, concluding the conference in less than a minute.

District Attorney Wade also held one more press conference. Before doing so on Sunday evening, he returned once more to the police station and held a meeting with "all the brass" except Curry. Wade told them that "people are saying * * * you had the wrong man and you all were the one who killed him or let him out here to have him killed intentionally." Wade told the police that "somebody ought to go out in television and lay out the evidence that you had on Oswald, and tell them everything." He sat down and listed from memory items of evidence in the case against Oswald. According to Wade, Chief Curry refused to make any statements because he had told an FBI inspector that he would say no more. The police refused to furnish Wade with additional details of the case.

Wade nonetheless proceeded to hold a lengthy formal press conference that evening, in which he attempted to list all of the evidence that had been accumulated at that point tending to establish Oswald as the assassin of President Kennedy.

Unfortunately, at that time, as he subsequently testified, he lacked a thorough grasp of the evidence and made a number of errors. He stated that Oswald had told a woman on a bus that the President had been killed, an error apparently caused by the bus driver having confused Oswald with another passenger who was on the bus after Oswald had left. Wade also repeated the error about Oswald's having a map marked with the route of the motorcade. He told reporters that Oswald's description and name "went out by the police to look for him." The police never mentioned Oswald's name in their broadcast descriptions before his arrest.

Wade was innocent of one error imputed to him since November 24. The published transcript of part of the press conference furnished to newspapers by the Associated Press represented Wade as having identified the cabdriver who took Oswald to North Beckley Avenue after the shooting, as one named "Darryl Click." The transcript as it appeared in the New York Times and the Washington Post of November 26, reads:

A. [Wade] a lady. He then the bus, he asked the bus driver to stop, got off at a stop, caught a taxicab driver, Darryl Click. don't have his exact place and went to his home in Oak Cliff, changed his clothes hurriedly, and left.

The correct transcript of the press conference, taken from an audio tape supplied by station WBAP, Fort. Worth, is as follows:

A. [Wade] A lady. He then the bus, he asked the bus driver to stop, got off at a stop, caught a taxicab driver.

Q. Where?

A. In Oak Cliff. I don't have the exact place and went to his home in Oak Cliff, changed his clothes hurriedly and left.

In this manner, a section of Dallas, "Oak Cliff," became a nonexistent taxicab driver, "Darryl Click." Wade did not mention the cabdriver by name at any time. In transcribing the conference from the sound tape, a stenographer apparently made an error that might have become permanently imbedded in the literature of the event but for the preservation and use of an original sound tape. Though many of the inaccuracies were subsequently corrected by the police and are negated by findings of the Commission included elsewhere in this report, the publicizing of unchecked information provided much of the basis for the myths and rumors that came into being soon after the President's death. The erroneous disclosures became the basis for distorted reconstructions and interpretations of the assassination. The necessity for the Dallas authorities to correct themselves or to be corrected by other sources gave rise not only to criticism of the police department's competence but also to doubts regarding the veracity of the police. Skeptics sought to cast doubt on much of the correct evidence later developed and to find support for their own theories in these early police statements. The immediate disclosure of information by the police created a further risk of injuring innocent citizens by unfavorable publicity. This was the unfortunate experience of Joe R. Molina, a Dallas-born Navy veteran who had been employed by the Texas School Book Depository since 1947 and on November 22, 1963, held the position of credit manager. Apparently because of Molina's employment at the Depository and his membership in a veterans' organization, the American G.I. Forum, that the Dallas

police considered possibly subversive, Dallas policemen searched Molina's home with his permission, at about 1:30 a.m., Saturday, November 23. During the day Molina was intermittently interrogated at police headquarters for 6 or 7 hours, chiefly about his membership in the American G.I. Forum, and also about Oswald. He was never arrested, charged, or held in custody.

While Molina was being questioned, officials of the police department made statements or answered questions that provided the basis for television reports about Molina during the day. These reports spoke of a "second suspect being picked up," insinuated that the Dallas police had reason to suspect another person who worked in the Texas School Book Depository, stated that the suspect had been arrested and his home searched, and mentioned that Molina may have been identified by the U.S. Department of Justice as a possible subversive.

No evidence was ever presented to link Molina with Oswald except as a fellow employee of the Texas School Book Depository. According to Molina, he had never spoken to Oswald. The FBI notified the Commission that Molina had never been the subject of an investigation by it and that it had never given any information about Molina to the Dallas police concerning any alleged subversive activities by him. The Dallas police explained in a statement to the FBI that they had never had a file on Molina, but that they did have one on the American G.I. Forum.

Molina lost his job in December. He felt that he was being discharged because of the unfavorable publicity he had received, but officials of the Depository claimed that automation was the reason. Molina testified that he had difficulty in finding another position, until finally, with the help of a fellow church member, he secured a position at a lower salary than his previous one.

If Oswald had been tried for his murders of November 22, the effects of the news policy pursued by the Dallas authorities would have proven harmful both to the prosecution and the defense. The misinformation reported after the shootings might have been used by the defense to cast doubt on the reliability of the State's entire case. Though each inaccuracy can be explained without great difficulty, the number and variety of misstatements issued by the police shortly after the assassination would have greatly assisted a skillful defense attorney attempting to influence the attitudes of jurors. A fundamental objection to the news policy pursued by the Dallas police, however, is the extent to which it endangered Oswald's constitutional right to a trial by an impartial jury. Because of the nature of the crime, the widespread attention which it necessarily received, and the intense public feelings which it aroused, it would have been a most difficult task to select an unprejudiced jury, either in Dallas or elsewhere. But the difficulty was markedly increased by the divulgence of the specific items of evidence with which the police linked Oswald to the two killings. The disclosure of evidence encouraged the public, from which a jury would ultimately be impaneled, to prejudge the very questions that would be raised at trial. Moreover, rules of law might have prevented the prosecution from presenting portions of this evidence to the jury.

For example, though expressly recognizing that Oswald's wife could not be compelled to testify against him, District Attorney Wade revealed to the Nation that Marina Oswald had affirmed her husband's ownership of a rifle like that found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository. Curry stated that Oswald had refused to take a lie detector test, although such a statement would have been inadmissible in a trial. The exclusion of such evidence, however, would have been meaningless if jurors were already familiar with the same facts from previous television or newspaper reports. Wade might have influenced prospective jurors by his mistaken statement that the paraffin test showed that Oswald had fired a gun. The tests merely showed that he had nitrate traces on his hands, which did not necessarily mean that he had fired either a rifle or a pistol.

The disclosure of evidence was seriously aggravated by the statements of numerous responsible officials that they were certain of Oswald's guilt. Captain Fritz said that the case against Oswald was "cinched." Curry reported on Saturday that "we are sure of our case." Curry announced that he considered Oswald sane, and Wade told the public that he would ask for the death penalty.

The American Bar Association declared in December 1963 that "widespread publicizing of Oswald's alleged guilt, involving statements by officials and public disclosures of the details of 'evidence,' would have made it extremely difficult to impanel an unprejudiced jury and afford the accused a fair trial." Local bar associations expressed similar feelings. The Commission agrees that Lee Harvey Oswald's opportunity for a trial by 12 jurors free of preconception as to his guilt or innocence would have been seriously jeopardized by the premature disclosure and weighing of the evidence against him. The problem of disclosure of information and its effect on trials is, of course, further complicated by the independent activities of the press in developing information on its own from sources other than law enforcement agencies. Had the police not released the specific items of evidence against Oswald, it is still possible that the other information presented on television and in the newspapers, chiefly of a

biographical nature, would itself have had a prejudicial effect on the public. In explanation of the news policy adopted by the Dallas authorities, Chief Curry observed that "it seemed like there was a great demand by the general public to know what was going on." In a prepared statement, Captain King wrote:

At that time we felt a necessity for permitting the newsmen as much latitude as possible. We realized the magnitude of the incident the newsmen were there to cover. We realized that not only the nation but the world would be greatly interested in what occurred in Dallas. We believed that we had an obligation to make as widely known as possible everything we could regarding the investigation of the assassination and the manner in which we undertook that investigation.

The Commission recognizes that the people of the United States, and indeed the world, had a deep-felt interest in learning of the events surrounding the death of President Kennedy, including the development of the investigation in Dallas. An informed public provided the ultimate guarantee that adequate steps would be taken to apprehend those responsible for the assassination and that all necessary precautions would be taken to protect the national security. It was therefore proper and desirable that the public know which agencies were participating in the investigation and the rate at which their work was progressing. The public was also entitled to know that Lee Harvey Oswald had been apprehended and that the State had gathered sufficient evidence to arraign him for the murders of the President and Patrolman Tippit, that he was being held pending action of the grand jury, that the investigation was continuing, and that the law enforcement agencies had discovered no evidence which tended to show that any other person was involved in either slaying. However, neither the press nor the public had a right to be contemporaneously informed by the police or prosecuting authorities of the details of the evidence being accumulated against Oswald. Undoubtedly the public was interested in these disclosures, but its curiosity should not have been satisfied at the expense of the accused's right to a trial by an impartial jury. The courtroom, not the newspaper or television screen, is the appropriate forum in our system for the trial of a man accused of a crime. If the evidence in the possession of the authorities had not been disclosed, it is true that the public would not have been in a position to assess the adequacy of the investigation or to apply pressures for further official undertakings. But a major consequence of the hasty and at times inaccurate divulgence of evidence after the assassination was simply to give rise to groundless rumors and public confusion. Moreover, without learning the details of the case, the public could have been informed by the responsible authority of the general scope of the investigation and the extent to which State and Federal agencies were assisting in the police work.

Warren Report: Chapter V - Responsibility of News Media

While appreciating the heavy and unique pressures with which the Dallas Police Department was confronted by reason of the assassination of President Kennedy, primary responsibility for having failed to control the press and to check the flow of undigested evidence to the public must be borne by the police department. It was the only agency that could have established orderly and sound operating procedures to control the multitude of newsmen gathered in the police building after the assassination. The Commission believes, however, that a part of the responsibility for the unfortunate circumstances following the President's death must be borne by the news media. The crowd of newsmen generally failed to respond properly to the demands of the police. Frequently without permission, news representatives used police offices on the third floor, tying up facilities and interfering with normal police operations. Police efforts to preserve order and to clear passageways in the corridor were usually unsuccessful. On Friday night the reporters completely ignored Curry's injunction against asking Oswald questions in the assembly room and crowding in on him. On Sunday morning, the newsmen were instructed to direct no questions at Oswald; nevertheless, several reports, were shouted questions at him when he appeared in the basement.

Moreover, by constantly pursuing public officials, the news representatives placed an insistent pressure upon them to disclose information. And this pressure was not without effect, since the police attitude toward the press was affected by the desire to maintain satisfactory relations with the news representatives and to create a favorable image of themselves.

Chief Curry frankly told the Commission that

I didn't order them out of the building, which if I had it to do over I would. In the past like I say, we had always maintained very good relations with our press, and they had always respected US. * * *

Curry refused Fritz' request to put Oswald behind the screen in the assembly room at the Friday night press conference because this might have hindered the taking of pictures. Curry's subordinates had the impression that an unannounced transfer of Oswald to the county jail was unacceptable because Curry did not want to disappoint the newsmen; he had promised that they could witness the transfer. It seemed clear enough that any attempt to exclude the press from the building or to place limits on the information disclosed to them would have been resented and disputed by the newsmen, who were constantly and aggressively demanding all possible information about anything related to the assassination. Although the Commission has found no corroboration in the video and audio tapes, police officials recall that one or two representatives of the press reinforced their demands to see Oswald by suggesting that the police had been guilty of brutalizing him. They intimated that unless they were given the opportunity to see him, these suggestions would be passed on to the public. Captain King testified that he had been told that

A short time after Oswald's arrest one newsman held up a photograph and said, "This is what the man charged with the assassination of the President looks like. Or at least this is what he did look like. We don't know what he looks like after an hour in the custody of the Dallas Police Department."

City Manager Elgin Crull stated that when he visited Chief Curry in his office on the morning of November 23, Curry told him that he "felt it was necessary to cooperate with the news media representatives, in order to avoid being accused of using Gestapo tactics in connection with the handling of Oswald." Crull agreed with Curry. The Commission deems any such veiled threats to be absolutely without justification. The general disorder in the Police and Courts Building during November 22-24 reveals a regrettable lack of self-discipline by the newsmen. The Commission believes that the news media, as well as the police authorities, who failed to impose conditions more in keeping with the orderly process of justice, must share responsibility for the failure of law enforcement which occurred in connection with the death of Oswald. On previous occasions, public bodies have voiced the need for the exercise of self-restraint by the news media in periods when the demand for information must be tempered by other fundamental requirements of our society. At its annual meeting in Washington in April 1964, the American Society of Newspaper Editors discussed the role of the press in Dallas immediately after President Kennedy's assassination. The discussion revealed the strong misgivings among the editors themselves about the role that the press had played and their desire that the press display more self-discipline and adhere to higher standards of conduct in the future. To prevent a recurrence of the unfortunate events which followed the assassination, however, more than general concern will be needed. The promulgation of a code of professional conduct governing representatives of all news media would be welcome evidence that the press had profited by the lesson of Dallas. The burden of insuring that appropriate action is taken to establish ethical standards of conduct for the news

media must also be borne, however, by State and local governments, by the bar, and ultimately by the public. The experience in Dallas during November 22-24 is a dramatic affirmation of the need for steps to bring about a proper balance between the right of the public to be kept informed and the right of the individual to a fair and impartial trial.

CHAPTER VI

Investigation of Possible Conspiracy

THIS chapter sets forth the findings of the Commission as to whether Lee Harvey Oswald had any accomplices in the planning or execution of the assassination. Particularly after the slaying of Oswald by Jack Ruby under the circumstances described in the preceding chapter, rumors and suspicions developed regarding the existence of a conspiracy to assassinate President Kennedy. As discussed in appendix XII, many of these rumors were based on a lack of information as to the nature and extent of evidence that Oswald alone fired the shots which killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally. Others of the more widely publicized rumors maintained that Oswald must have received aid from one or more persons or political groups, ranging from the far left to the far right of the political spectrum, or from a foreign government, usually either the Castro regime in Cuba or the Soviet Union.

The Commission faced substantial difficulties in determining whether anyone conspired with or assisted the person who committed the assassination. Prior to his own death Oswald had neither admitted his own involvement nor implicated any other persons in the assassination of the President. The problem of determining the existence or nonexistence of a conspiracy was compounded because of the possibility of subversive activity by a foreign power. Witnesses and evidence located in other countries were not subject to subpoena, as they would have been if they had been located in the United States. When evidence was obtained from a foreign nation, it could not be appraised as effectively as if it had been derived from a domestic source. The Commission has given the closest scrutiny to all available evidence which related or might have related to a foreign country. All such evidence was tested, whenever possible, against the contingency that it had been fabricated or slanted to mislead or confuse. In order to meet its obligations fully, the Commission has investigated each rumor and allegation linking Oswald to a conspiracy which has come to its attention, regardless of source. In addition, the Commission has explored the details of Lee Harvey Oswald's activities and life, especially in the months immediately preceding the assassination, in order to develop any investigative lead relevant to the issue of conspiracy. All of Oswald's known writings or other possessions which might have been used for code or other espionage purposes have been examined by either the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the National Security Agency, or both agencies, to determine whether they were so used.

In setting forth the results of this investigation, the first section of this chapter reviews the facts related to the assassination itself, previously considered in more detail in chapter IV. If any conspiracy did exist, it might have manifested itself at some point during Oswald's preparation for the shooting, his execution of the plan, or his escape from the scene of the assassination. The Commission has therefore studied the precise means by which the assassination occurred for traces of evidence that Oswald received any form of assistance in effecting the killing.

The second section of the chapter deals more broadly with Oswald's life since 1959. During the period following his discharge from the Marines in 1959, Oswald engaged in several activities which demand close scrutiny to determine whether, through these pursuits, he developed any associations which were connected with the planning or execution of the assassination. Oswald professed commitment to Marxist ideology; he defected to the Soviet Union in 1959; he attempted to expatriate himself and acquire Soviet citizenship; and he resided in the Soviet Union until June of 1962. After his return to the United States he sought to maintain contacts with the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee; he associated with various Russian-speaking citizens in the Dallas-Fort Worth areas some of whom had resided in Russia; he traveled to Mexico City where he visited both the Cuban and Soviet Embassies 7 weeks before the assassination; and he corresponded with the Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC. In view of these activities, the Commission has instituted a thorough investigation to determine whether the assassination was in some manner directed or encouraged through contacts made abroad or through Oswald's politically oriented activities in this country. The Commission has also considered whether any connections existed between Oswald and certain right-wing activity in Dallas which, shortly before the assassination, led to the publication of hostile criticism of President Kennedy. The final section of this chapter considers the possibility that Jack Ruby was part of a conspiracy to assassinate President Kennedy. The Commission explored Ruby's background and his activities in the months prior to the assassination, and especially his activities in the 2 days after the assassination, in an effort to determine whether there was any indication that Ruby was implicated in that event. The Commission also sought to ascertain the truth or falsity of assertions that Oswald and Ruby were known to one another prior to the assassination. In considering the question of foreign involvement, the Commission has received valuable assistance from the Department of State, the

Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and other Federal agencies with special competence in the field of foreign investigation. Some of the information furnished by these agencies is of a highly confidential nature. Nevertheless, because the disclosure of all facts relating to the assassination of President Kennedy is of great public importance, the Commission has included in this report all information furnished by these agencies which the Commission relied upon in coming to its conclusions, or which tended to contradict those conclusions. Confidential sources of information, as contrasted with the information itself, have, in a relatively few instances, been withheld.

CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE ASSASSINATION

Earlier chapters have set forth the evidence upon which the Commission concluded that President Kennedy was fired upon from a single window in the southeast corner of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository, and that Lee Harvey Oswald was the person who fired the shots from this point. As reflected in those chapters, a certain sequence of events necessarily took place in order for the assassination to have occurred as it did. The motorcade traveled past the Texas School Book Depository; Oswald had access to the sixth floor of the building; Oswald brought the rifle into the building; the cartons were arranged at the sixth-floor window; and Oswald escaped from the building before the police had sealed off the exits. Accordingly, the Commission has investigated these circumstances to determine whether Oswald received help from any other person in planning or performing the shooting.

Selection of Motorcade Route

The factors involved in the choice of the motorcade route by the Secret Service have been discussed in chapter II of this report. It was there indicated that after passing through a portion of suburban Dallas, the motorcade was to travel west on Main Street, and then to the Trade Mart by way of the Stemmons Freeway, the most direct route from that point. This route would take the motorcade along the traditional parade route through downtown Dallas; it allowed the maximum number of persons to observe the President; and it enabled the motorcade to cover the distance from Love Field to the Trade Mart in the 45 minutes allocated by members of the White House staff planning the President's schedule in Dallas. No member of the Secret Service, the Dallas Police Department, or the local host committee who was consulted felt that any other route would be preferable.

To reach Stemmons Freeway from Main Street, it was determined that the motorcade would turn right from Main Street onto Houston Street for one block and then left onto Elm Street, proceeding through the Triple Underpass to the Stemmons Freeway access road. This route took the motorcade past the Texas School Book Depository Building on the northwest corner of Elm and Houston Streets. Because of the sharp turn at this corner, the motorcade also reduced its speed. The motorcade would have passed approximately 90 yards further from the Depository Building and made no turn near the building if it had attempted to reach the Stemmons Freeway directly from Main Street. The road plan in Dealey Plaza, however, is designed to prevent such a turn. In order to keep motorists from reaching the freeway from Main Street, a concrete barrier has been erected between Main and Elm Streets extending beyond the freeway entrance. (See Commission Exhibits Nos. 2114-2116.) Hence, it would have been necessary for the motorcade either to have driven over this barrier or to have made a sharp S-turn in order to have entered the freeway from Main Street. Selection of the motorcade route was thus entirely appropriate and based on such legitimate considerations as the origin and destination of the motorcade, the desired opportunity for the President to greet large numbers of people, and normal patterns of traffic.

Oswald's Presence in the Depository Building

Oswald's presence as an employee in the Texas School Book Depository Building was the result of a series of happenings unrelated to the President's trip to Dallas. He obtained the Depository job after almost 2 weeks of job hunting which began immediately upon his arrival in Dallas from Mexico on October 8, 1963. At that time he was in poor financial circumstances, having arrived from Mexico City with approximately \$133 or less, and with his unemployment compensation benefits due to expire on October 8. Oswald and his wife were expecting the birth of their second child, who was in fact born on October 20. In attempting to procure work, Oswald utilized normal channels, including the Texas Employment Commission.

On October 4, 1963, Oswald applied for a position with Padgett Printing Corp., which was located at 1313 Industrial Boulevard, several blocks from President Kennedy's parade routes Oswald favorably impressed the plant superintendent who checked his prior job references, one of which was Jaggars-

Chiles-Stovall, the firm where Oswald had done photography work from October 1962 to April 1963. The following report was written by Padgett's plant superintendent on the reverse side of Oswald's job application: "Bob Stovall does not recommend this man. He was released because of his record as a troublemakerHas Communistic tendencies." Oswald received word that Padgett Printing had hired someone else.

Oswald's employment with the Texas School Book Depository came about through a chance conversation on Monday, October 14, between Ruth Paine, with whom his family was staying while Oswald was living in a rooming house in Dallas, and two of Mrs. Paine's neighbors. During a morning conversation over coffee, at which Marina Oswald was present, Oswald's search for employment was mentioned. The neighbors suggested several places. where Oswald might apply for work. One of the neighbors present, Linnie Mac Randle, said that her brother had recently been hired as a schoolbook order filler at the Texas School Book Depository and she thought. the Depository might need additional help. She testified, "and of course you know just being neighborly and everything, we felt sorry for Marina because her baby was due right away as we understood it, and he didn't have any work * * *."

When Marina Oswald and Mrs. Paine returned home, Mrs. Paine promptly telephoned the Texas School Book Depository and spoke to Superintendent Roy Truly, whom she did not know. Truly agreed to interview Oswald, who at the time was in Dallas seeking employment. When Oswald called that evening, Mrs. Paine told him of her conversation with Truly. The next morning Oswald went to the Texas School Book Depository where he was interviewed and hired for the position of order filler.

On the same date, the Texas Employment Commission attempted to refer Oswald to an airline company which was looking for baggage and cargo handlers at a salary which was \$100 per month higher than that offered by the Depository Co. The Employment Commission tried to advise Oswald of this job at 10:30 a.m. on October 16, 1963. Since the records of the Commission indicate that Oswald was then working, it seems clear that Oswald was hired by the Depository Co. before the higher paying job was available. It is unlikely that he ever learned of this second opportunity.

Although publicity concerning the President's trip to Dallas appeared in Dallas newspapers as early as September 13, 1963, the planning of the motorcade route was not started until after November 4, when the Secret Service was first notified of the trip. A final decision as to the route could not have been reached until November 14, when the Trade Mart was selected as the luncheon site. Although news reports on November 15 and November 16 might have led a person to believe that the motorcade would pass the Depository Building, the route was not finally selected until November 18; it was announced in the press on November 19, only 3 days before the President's arrival. Based on the circumstances of Oswald's employment and the planning of the motorcade route, the Commission has concluded that Oswald's employment in the Depository was wholly unrelated to the President's trip to Dallas.

Bringing Rifle Into Building

On the basis of the evidence developed in chapter IV the Commission concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald carried the rifle used in the assassination into the Depository Building on Friday, November 22, 1963, in the handmade brown paper bag found near the window from which the shots were fired. The arrangement by which Buell Wesley Frazier drove Oswald between Irving and Dallas was an innocent one, having commenced when Oswald first started working at the Depository. As noted above, it was Frazier's sister, Linnie May Randle, who had suggested to Ruth Paine that Oswald might be able to find employment at the Depository. When Oswald started working there, Frazier, who lived only a half block away from the Paines, offered to drive Oswald to and from Irving whenever he was going to stay at the Paines' home. Although Oswald's request for a ride to Irving on Thursday, November 21, was a departure from the normal weekend pattern, Oswald gave the explanation that he needed to obtain curtain rods for an "apartment" in Dallas.

This served also to explain the long package which he took with him from Irving to the Depository Building the next morning. Further, there is no evidence that Ruth Paine or Marina Oswald had reason to believe that Oswald's return was in any way related to an attempt to shoot the President the next day. Although his visit was a surprise, since he arrived on Thursday instead of Friday for his usual weekend visit, both women testified that they thought he had come to patch up a quarrel which he had with his wife a few days earlier when she learned that he was living in Dallas under an assumed name.

It has also been shown that Oswald had the opportunity to work in the Paines' garage on Thursday evening and prepare the rifle by disassembling it, if it were not already disassembled, and packing it in the brown bag. It has been demonstrated that the paper and tape from which the bag was made came from the shipping room of the Texas School Book Depository and that Oswald had access to this

material. Neither Ruth Paine nor Marina Oswald saw the paper bag or the paper and tape out of which the bag was constructed. Oswald actually prepared the bag in the Depository out of materials available to him there, he could have concealed it in the jacket or shirt which he was wearing. The Commission has found no evidence which suggests that Oswald required or in fact received any assistance in bringing the rifle into the building other than the innocent assistance provided by Frazier in the form of the ride to work.

Accomplices at the Scene of the Assassination

The arrangement of boxes at the window from which the shots were fired was studied to determine whether Oswald required any assistance in moving the cartons to the window. Cartons had been stacked on the floor, a few feet behind the window, thus shielding Oswald from the view of anyone on the sixth floor who did not attempt to go behind them. (See Commission Exhibit No. 723.) Most of those cartons had been moved there by other employees to clear an area for laying a new flooring on the west end of the sixth floor. Superintendent Roy Truly testified that the floor-laying crew moved a long row of books parallel to the windows on the south side and had "quite a lot of cartons" in the southeast corner of the building. He said that there was not any particular pattern that the men used in putting them there. "They were just piled up there more or less at that time." According to Truly, "several cartons" which had been in the extreme southeast corner had been placed on top of the ones that had been piled in front of the southeast corner window.

The arrangement of the three boxes in the window and the one on which the assassin may have sat has been described previously. Two of these four boxes, weighing approximately 55 pounds each, had been moved by the floor-laying crew from the west side of the floor to the area near the southwest corner. The carton on which the assassin may have sat might not even have been moved by the assassin at all. A photograph of the scene depicts this carton on the floor alongside other similar cartons. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1301.) Oswald's right palmprint on this carton may have been placed there as he was sitting on the carton rather than while carrying it. In any event both of these 55-pound cartons could have been carried by one man. The remaining two cartons contained light block-like reading aids called "Rolling Readers" weighing only about 8 pounds each. Although they had been moved approximately 40 feet from their normal locations at the southeast corner window, it would appear that one man could have done this in a matter of seconds.

In considering the possibility of accomplices at the window, the Commission evaluated the significance of the presence of fingerprints other than Oswald's on the four cartons found in and near the window. Three of Oswald's prints were developed on two of the cartons. In addition a total of 25 identifiable prints were found on the 4 cartons. Moreover, prints were developed which were considered as not identifiable, i.e., the quality of the print was too fragmentary to be of value for identification purposes.

As has been explained in chapter IV, the Commission determined that none of the warehouse employees who might have customarily handled these cartons left prints which could be identified. This was considered of some probative value in determining whether Oswald moved the cartons to the window. All but 1 of the 25 definitely identifiable prints were the prints of 2 persons an FBI employee and a member of the Dallas Police Department who had handled the cartons during the course of the investigation. One identifiable palmprint was not identified.

The presence on these cartons of unidentified prints, whether or not identifiable, does not appear to be unusual since these cartons contained commercial products which had been handled by many people throughout the normal course of manufacturing, warehousing, and shipping. Unlike other items of evidence such as, for example, a ransom note in a kidnapping, these cartons could contain the prints of many people having nothing to do with the assassination. Moreover, the FBI does not maintain a filing system for palmprints because, according to the supervisor of the Bureau's latent fingerprint section, Sebastian F. Latona, the problems of classification make such a system impracticable. Finally, in considering the significance of the unidentified prints, the Commission gave weight to the opinion of Latona to the effect that people could handle these cartons without leaving prints which were capable of being developed.

Though the fingerprints other than Oswald's on the boxes thus provide no indication of the presence of an accomplice at the window, two Depository employees are known to have been present briefly on the sixth floor during the period between 11:45 a.m., when the floor-laying crew stopped for lunch, and the moment of the assassination. One of these was Charles Givens, a member of the floor-laying crew, who went down on the elevator with the others and then, returned to the sixth floor to get his jacket and cigarettes. He saw Oswald walking away from the southeast corner, but saw no one else on the sixth floor at that time. He then took one of the elevators back to the first floor at approximately 11:55 a.m.

Bonnie Ray Williams, who was also working with the floor-laying crew, returned to the sixth floor at about noon to eat his lunch and watch the motorcade. He looked out on Elm Street from a position in the area of the third or fourth set of windows from the east wall. At this point he was approximately 20-30 feet away from the southeast corner window. He remained for about "5, 10, maybe 12 minutes" eating his lunch which consisted of chicken and 'a bottle of soda pop. Williams saw no one on the sixth floor during this period, although the stacks of books prevented his seeing the east side of the building. After finishing his lunch Williams took the elevator down because no one had joined him on the sixth floor to watch the motorcade. He stopped at the fifth floor where he joined Harold Norman and James Jarman, Jr., who watched the motorcade with him from a position on the fifth floor directly below the point from which the shots were fired. Williams left the remains of his lunch, including chicken bones and a bottle of soda, near the window where he was eating.

Several witnesses outside the building claim to have seen a person in the southeast corner window of the sixth floor. As has already been indicated, some were able to offer better descriptions than others and one, Howard L. Brennan, made a positive identification of Oswald as being the person at the window. Although there are differences among these witnesses with regard to their ability to describe the person they saw, none of these witnesses testified to seeing more than one person in the window.

One witness, however, offered testimony which, if accurate, would create the possibility of an accomplice at the window at the time of the assassination. The witness was 18-year-old Arnold Rowland, who testified in great detail concerning his activities and observations on November 22, 1963. He and his wife were awaiting the motorcade, standing on the east side of Houston Street between Maine and Elm, when he looked toward the Depository Building and noticed a man holding a rifle standing back from the southwest corner window on the sixth floor. The man was rather slender in proportion to his size and of light complexion with dark hair. Rowland said that his wife was looking elsewhere at the time and when they looked back to the window the man "was gone from our vision." They thought the man was most likely someone protecting the President. After the assassination Rowland signed an affidavit in which he told of seeing this man, although Rowland was unable to identify him.

When Rowland testified before the Commission on March 10, 1964, he claimed for the first time to have seen another person on the sixth floor. Rowland said that before he had noticed the man with the rifle on the southwest corner of the sixth floor he had seen an elderly Negro man "hanging out that window" on the southeast corner of the sixth floor. Rowland described the Negro man as "very thin, an elderly gentleman, bald or practically bald, very thin hair if he wasn't bald," between 50 and 60 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches to 5 feet 10 inches tall, with fairly dark complexion. Rowland claimed that he looked back two or three times and noticed that the man remained until 5 or 6 minutes prior to the time the motorcade came. Rowland did not see him thereafter. He made no mention of the Negro man in his affidavit. And, while he said he told FBI agents about the man in the southeast corner window when interviewed on the Saturday and Sunday following the assassination, no such statement appears in any FBI report.

Mrs. Rowland testified that her husband never told her about seeing any other man on the sixth floor except the man with the rifle in the southwest corner that he first saw. She also was present during Rowland's interview with representatives of the FBI and said she did not hear him make such a statement, although she also said that she did not hear everything that was discussed. Mrs. Rowland testified that after her husband first talked about seeing a man with the rifle, she looked back more than once at the Depository Building and saw no person looking out of any window on the sixth floor. She also said that "At times my husband is prone to exaggerate." Because of inconsistencies in Rowland's testimony and the importance of his testimony to the question of a possible accomplice, the Commission requested the FBI to conduct an inquiry into the truth of a broad range of statements made by Rowland to the Commission.

The investigation showed that numerous statements by Rowland concerning matters about which he would not normally be expected to be mistaken such as subjects he studied in school, grades he received, whether or not he had graduated from high school, and whether or not he had been admitted to college were false.

The only possible corroboration for Rowland's story is found in the testimony of Roger D. Craig, a deputy sheriff of Dallas County, whose testimony on other aspects of the case has been discussed in chapter IV. Craig claimed that about 10 minutes after the assassination he talked to a young couple, Mr. and Mrs. Rowland,

* * * and the boy said he saw two men on the sixth floor of the Book Depository Building over there; one of them had a rifle with a telescopic sight on it but he thought they were Secret Service agents or guards and didn't

report it. This was aboutoh, he said, 15 minutes before the motorcade ever arrived.

According to Craig, Rowland said that he looked back a few minutes later and "the other man was gone, and there was just one manthe man with the rifle." Craig further testified that Rowland told him that when he first saw the two men, they were walking back and forth in front of the window for several minutes. They were both white men and one of them had a rifle with a scope on it. This report by Craig is contradicted by the testimony of both the Rowlands, and by every recorded interview with them conducted by law enforcement agencies after the assassination.

As part of its investigation of Rowland's allegation and of the general question of accomplices at the scene of the assassination, the Commission undertook an investigation of every person employed in the Texas School Book Depository Building. Two employees might possibly fit the general description of an elderly Negro man, bald or balding. These two men were on the first floor of the building during the period before and during the assassination. Moreover, all of the employees were asked whether they saw any strangers in the building on the morning of November 22. Only one employee saw a stranger whom he described as a feeble individual who had to be helped up the front steps of the building. He went to a public restroom and left the building 5 minutes later, about 40 minutes before the assassination.

Rowland's failure to report his story despite several interviews until his appearance before the Commission, the lack of probative corroboration, and the serious doubts about his credibility, have led the Commission to reject the testimony that Rowland saw an elderly balding Negro man in the southeast corner window of the sixth floor of the Depository Building several minutes before the assassination.

Oswald's Escape

The Commission has analyzed Oswald's movements between the time of the assassination and the shooting of Patrolman Tippit to determine whether there is any evidence that Oswald had assistance in his flight from the building. Oswald's activities during this period have been traced through the testimony of seven witnesses and discussed in detail in chapter IV. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1119-A, and Commission Exhibit No. 1118.) Patrolman M. L. Baker and Depository superintendent Roy Truly saw him within 2 minutes of the assassination on the second floor of the building. Mrs. R. A. Reid saw him less than 1 minute later walking through the second-floor offices toward the front of the building. A bus driver, Cecil J. McWatters, and Oswald's former landlady, Mrs. Mary Bledsoe, saw him board a bus at approximately 12:40 p.m., and get off about 4 minutes later. A cabdriver, William W. Whaley, drove Oswald from a cab stand located a few blocks from where Oswald left the bus to a point in Oak Cliff about four blocks from his rooming house; and Earlene Roberts, the housekeeper at Oswald's rooming house, saw him enter the rooming house at about 1 p.m. and leave a few minutes later. When seen by these seven witnesses Oswald was always alone.

Particular attention has been directed to Oswald's departure from the Depository Building in order to determine whether he could have left the building within approximately 3 minutes of the assassination without assistance. As discussed more fully in chapter IV, the building was probably first sealed off no earlier than 12:37 by Inspector Herbert Sawyer. The shortest estimate of the time taken to seal off the building comes from Police Officer W. E. Barnett, one of the officers assigned to the corner of Elm and Houston Streets for the Presidential motorcade, who estimated that approximately 3 minutes elapsed between the time he heard the last of the shots and the time he started guarding the front door. According to Barnett, "there were people going in and out" during this period. The evidence discussed in chapter IV shows that 3 minutes would have been sufficient time for Oswald to have descended from the sixth floor and left the building without assistance.

One witness, James R. Worrell, Jr., claims to have seen a man running from the rear of the building shortly after the assassination, but in testimony before the Commission he stated that he could not see his face. Two other witnesses who watched the rear of the building during the first 5 minutes after the shooting saw no one leave. The claim of Deputy Sheriff Roger Craig that he saw Oswald leave the Depository Building approximately 15 minutes after the assassination has been discussed in chapter IV. Although Craig may have seen someone enter a station wagon 15 minutes after the assassination, the person he saw was not Lee Harvey Oswald, who was far removed from the building at that time.

The possibility that accomplices aided Oswald in connection with his escape was suggested by the testimony of Earlene Roberts, the housekeeper at the 1026 North Beckley rooming house. She testified that at about 1 p.m. on November 22, after Oswald had returned to the rooming house, a Dallas police car drove slowly by the front of the 1026 North Beckley premises and stopped momentarily; she said she heard its horn several times. Mrs. Roberts stated that the occupants of the car were not known to her even though she had worked for some policemen who would occasionally come by. She

said the policeman she knew drove car No. 170 and that this was not the number on the police car that honked on November 22. She testified that she first thought the car she saw was No. 106 and then said that it was No. 107. In an FBI interview she had stated that she looked out the front window and saw police car No. 207. Investigation has not produced any evidence that there was a police vehicle in the area of 1026 North Beckley at about 1 p.m. on November 22. Squad car 207 was at the Texas School Book Depository Building, as was car 106. Squad cars 170 and 107 were sold in April 1963 and their numbers were not reassigned until February 1964.

Whatever may be the accuracy of Mrs. Roberts' recollection concerning the police car, it is apparent from Mrs. Roberts' further testimony that she did not see Oswald enter a car when he hurriedly left the house. She has stated that when she last saw Oswald, shortly after 1 p.m., he was standing at a bus stop in front of the house. Oswald was next seen less than 1 mile away, at the point where he shot Patrolman Tippit. Oswald could have easily reached this point on foot by about 1:16 p.m., when Tippit was shot. Finally, investigation has produced no evidence that Oswald had prearranged plans for a means to leave Dallas after the assassination or that any other person was to have provided him assistance in hiding or in departing the city.

BACKGROUND OF LEE HARVEY OSWALD

Finding no evidence in the circumstances immediately surrounding the assassination that any person other than Lee Harvey Oswald was involved in the killing of the President, the Commission directed an intensive investigation into his life for the purpose, among others, of detecting any possible traces that at some point he became involved in a conspiracy culminating in the deed of November 22, 1963. As a product of this investigation, the Commission has compiled a detailed chronological biography of Oswald which is set forth as appendix XIII. Study of the period from Oswald's birth in 1939 to his military service from 1956 to 1959 has revealed no evidence that he was associated with any type of sinister or subversive organization during that period. Though his personality and political views took shape during these early years, the events of that period are significant primarily to an understanding of the personality of Lee Harvey Oswald and are discussed in that connection in chapter VII. Beginning with his preparation for defection to the Soviet Union in 1959, however, Oswald engaged in several activities which required close scrutiny by the Commission. In an appraisal of Oswald's actions since 1959 for the purpose of determining whether he was part of a conspiracy, several aspects of his background and character must be borne in mind. He was young, inexperienced, and had only a limited education. As will be more fully discussed in chapter VII, he was unable to establish relationships with others and had a resentment for authority and any discipline flowing from it. While he demonstrated the ability to act secretly and alone, without regard to the consequences to himself, as in his defection to the Soviet Union, he does not appear to have been the kind of person whom one would normally expect to be selected as a conspirator.

Residence in the Soviet Union

Lee Harvey Oswald was openly committed to Marxist ideology, he defected to the Soviet Union in 1959, and resided there until June of 1962, eventually returning to the United States with a Russian wife. In order to evaluate rumors and speculations that Oswald may have been an agent of the Soviet Union, the Commission investigated the facts surrounding Oswald's stay in Russia. The Commission was thus fulfilling its obligation to probe all facts of possible relevance to the assassination, and does not suggest by this investigation that the rulers of the Soviet Union believed that their political interests would be advanced by the assassination of President Kennedy. On this question, the Secretary of State testified before the Commission on June 10, 1964 as follows:

I have seen no evidence that would indicate to me that the Soviet Union considered that it had an interest in the removal of President Kennedy or that it was in any way involved in the removal of President Kennedy.

* * * * *

I have not seen or heard of any scrap of evidence indicating that the Soviet Union had any desire to eliminate President Kennedy nor in any way participated in any such event. Now, standing back and trying to look at that question objectively despite the ideological differences between our two great systems, I can't see how it could be to the interest of the Soviet Union to make any such effort.

* * * * *

I do think that the Soviet Union, again objectively considered, has an interest in the correctness of state

relations.

* * * * *

This would be particularly true among the great powers, with which the major interests of the Soviet Union are directly engaged.

* * * * *

I think that although there are grave differences between the Communist world and the free world, between the Soviet Union and other major powers, that even from their point of view there needs to be some shape and form to international relations, that it is not in their interest to have this world structure dissolve into complete anarchy, that great states and particularly nuclear powers have to be in a position to deal with each other, to transact business with each other, to try to meet problems with each other, and that requires the maintenance of correct relations and access to the leadership on all sides.

I think also that although there had been grave differences between Chairman Khrushchev and President Kennedy, I think there were evidences of a certain mutual respect that had developed over some of the experiences, both good and bad, through which these two men had lived.

I think both of them were aware of the fact that any Chairman of the Soviet Union, and any President of the United States, necessarily bear somewhat special responsibility for the general peace of the world. Indeed without exaggeration, one could almost say the existence of the northern hemisphere in this nuclear age.

* * * * *

So that it would be an act of rashness and madness for Soviet leaders to undertake such an action as an active policy. Because everything would have been put in jeopardy or at stake in connection with such an act.

It has not been our impression that madness has characterized the actions of the Soviet leadership in recent years.

The Commission accepts Secretary Rusk's estimate as reasonable and objective but recognizes that a precise assessment of Soviet intentions or interests is most difficult. The Commission has thus examined all the known facts regarding Oswald's defection, residence in the Soviet Union, and return to the United States. At each step the Commission sought to determine whether there was any evidence which supported a conclusion that Soviet authorities may have directly or indirectly influenced Oswald's actions in assassinating the President.

Oswald's entry into the Soviet Union. Although the evidence is inconclusive as to the factors which motivated Oswald to go to the Soviet Union, there is no indication that he was prompted to do so by agents of that country. He may have begun to study the Russian language when he was stationed in Japan, which was intermittently from August 1957 to November 1958. After he arrived in Moscow in October 1959 he told several persons that he had been planning his defection for 2 years, which suggests that the decision was made while he was in the Far East. George De Mohrenschildt, who met Oswald after his return from the Soviet Union, testified that Oswald once told him much the same thing: "I met some Communists in Japan and they got me excited and interested, and that was one of my inducements in going to Soviet Russia, to see what goes on there." This evidence, however, is somewhat at variance with Oswald's statements made to two American newspaper reporters in Moscow shortly after his defection in 1959, and to other people in the United States after his return in 1962. Though his remarks were not inconsistent as to the time he decided to defect, to these people he insisted that before going to the Soviet Union he had "never met a Communist" and that the intent to defect derived entirely from his own reading and thinking. He said much the same to his brother in a letter he wrote to him from Russia explaining why he had defected. Which of Oswald's statements was the more accurate remains unknown.

There is no evidence that Oswald received outside assistance in financing his trip to the Soviet Union. After he arrived in Moscow, Oswald told a newspaper correspondent, Aline Mosby, that he had saved \$1,500 out of his Marine Corps salary to finance his defection, although the news story based upon Oswald's interview with Aline Mosby unaccountably listed the sum of \$1,600 instead of \$1,500. After this article had appeared, Marguerite Oswald also related the \$1,600 figure to an FBI agent. Either amount could have been accumulated out of Oswald's earnings in the Marine Corps; during his 2 years and 10 months of service he received \$3,452.20, after all taxes, allotments and other deductions. Moreover Oswald could certainly have made the entire trip on less than \$1,000. The ticket on the ship he took from New Orleans to Le Havre, France, cost \$220.75; it cost him about \$20 to reach London from Le Havre: his plane fare from London to Helsinki, where he received his visa, cost him \$111.90; he

probably purchased Russian "tourist Vouchers" normally good for room and board for 10 days for \$300; his train fare from Helsinki to Moscow was about \$44; in Moscow he paid only \$1.50 to \$3 a night for his room and very little for his meals after his tourist vouchers ran out; and apparently he did not pay his hotel bill at all after November 30, 1959. Oswald's known living habits indicate that he could be extraordinarily frugal when he had reason to be, and it seems clear that he did have a strong desire to go to the Soviet Union.

While in Atsugi, Japan, Oswald studied the Russian language, perhaps with some help from an officer in his unit who was interested in Russian and used to "talk about it" with Oswald occasionally. He studied by himself a great deal in late 1958 and early 1959 after he was transferred from Japan to California. He took an Army aptitude test in Russian in February 1959 and rated "Poor." When he reached the Soviet Union in October of the same year he could barely speak the language. During the period in Moscow while he was awaiting decision on his application for citizenship, his diary records that he practiced Russian 8 hours a day. After he was sent to Minsk in early January 1960 he took lessons from an interpreter assigned to him for that purpose by the Soviet Government. Marina Oswald said that by the time she met him in March 1961 he spoke the language well enough so that at first she thought he was from one of the Baltic areas of her country, because of his accent. She stated that his only defects were that his grammar was sometimes incorrect and that his writing was never good.

Thus, the limited evidence provides no indication that Oswald was recruited by Soviet agents in the Far East with a view toward defection and eventual return to the United States. Moreover, on its face such a possibility is most unlikely. If Soviet agents had communicated with Oswald while he was in the Marine Corps, one of the least probable instructions they would have given him would have been to defect. If Oswald had remained a Marine radar specialist, he might at some point have reached a position of value as a secret agent. However, his defection and the disloyal statements he made publicly in connection with it eliminated the possibility that he would ever gain access to confidential information or programs of the United States. The very fact that he defected, therefore, is itself persuasive evidence that he was not recruited as an agent prior to his defection. The Commission has investigated the circumstances under which Oswald obtained a visa to enter the Soviet Union for possible evidence that he received preferential treatment in being permitted to enter the country. Oswald left New Orleans, La., for Europe on September 20, 1959, having been released from active duty in the Marine Corps on September 11, 1959. He went directly to Helsinki, Finland, by way of Le Havre, France, and London, England, arriving at Helsinki on Saturday, October 10, 1959. Oswald probably arrived in Helsinki too late in the evening to have applied for a visa at the Soviet Union consulate that night. In light of the rapidity with which he made connections throughout his entire trip, he probably applied for a visa early on Monday, October 12. On October 14, he was issued Soviet Tourist Visa No. 403339, good for one 6-day visit in the U.S.S.R. He left Helsinki on a train destined for Moscow on October 15.

The Department of State has advised the Commission that it has some information that in 1959 it usually took an American tourist in Helsinki 1 to 2 weeks to obtain a visa, and that it has other information that the normal waiting period during the past 5 years has been a week or less. According to the Department's information, the waiting period has always varied frequently and widely, with one confirmed instance in 1963 of a visa routinely issued in less than 24 hours. The Central Intelligence Agency has indicated that visas during the 1964 tourist season were being granted in about 5 to 7 days. This information from the Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency thus suggests that Oswald's wait for a visa may have been shorter than usual but not beyond the range of possible variation. The prompt issuance of Oswald's visa may have been merely the result of normal procedures, due in part to the fact that the summer rush had ended. It might also mean that Oswald was unusually urgent in his demands that his visa be issued promptly. Oswald himself told officials at the American Embassy in Moscow on October 31, when he appeared to renounce his citizenship, that he had said nothing to the Soviets about defecting until he arrived in Moscow. In any event, the Commission has found nothing in the circumstances of Oswald's entry into the Soviet Union which indicates that he was at the time an agent of the U.S.S.R.

Defection and admission to residence. Two months and 22 days elapsed from Oswald's arrival in Moscow until he left that city to take up residence in Minsk. The Commission has considered the possibility that Oswald was accepted for residence in the Soviet Union and sent to Minsk unusually soon after he arrived, either because he had been expected or because during his first weeks in Moscow he developed an undercover relationship with the Soviet Government. In doing so, the Commission has attempted to reconstruct the events of those months, though it is, of course, impossible to account for Oswald's activities on every day of that period.

Oswald's "Historic Diary," which commences on October 16, 1959, the date Oswald arrived in Moscow, and other writings he later prepared, have provided the Commission with one source of information about Oswald's activities throughout his stay in the Soviet Union. Even assuming the diary was intended to be a truthful record, it is not an accurate guide to the details of Oswald's activities. Oswald seems not to have been concerned about the accuracy of dates and names, and apparently made many of his entries subsequent to the date the events occurred. Marina Oswald testified that she believed that her husband did not begin to keep the diary until he reached Minsk, 3 months after his arrival in Russia, and scraps of paper found in Oswald's possession, containing much the same information as appears in his diary, suggest that he transcribed the entries into the diary at a later time. The substance of Oswald's writings has been carefully examined for consistency with all other related information available to the Commission. In addition, the writings have been checked for handwriting, and for consistency of style, grammar, and spelling with earlier and later writings which are known to be his. No indication has been found that entries were written or coached by other persons.

However, the most reliable information concerning the period Oswald spent in Moscow in the latter part of 1962 comes from the records of the American Embassy in Moscow, the testimony of Embassy officials, and the notes of two American newspaper reporters, Aline Mosby and Priscilla Johnson, who interviewed Oswald during this period. Oswald's correspondence with his brother and mother has also been relied upon for some relatively minor information. The findings upon which the Commission based its conclusion concerning Soviet involvements in the assassination were supported by evidence other than material provided by the Soviet Union or Oswald's writings. The Central Intelligence Agency has also contributed data on the normal practices and procedures of the Soviet authorities in handling American defectors.

The "Historic Diary" indicates that on October 16, 1959, the day Oswald arrived in Moscow, he told his Intourist guide, Rima Shirokova, that he wished to renounce his American citizenship and become a Soviet citizen. The same day, the guide reportedly helped Oswald prepare a letter to the Soviet authorities requesting citizenship. The diary indicates, however, that on October 21 he was informed that his visa had expired and that he would be required to leave Moscow within 2 hours. During the preceding days, according to the diary, he had been interviewed once and perhaps twice by Soviet officials. During this period the KGB,* the agency with primary responsibility for examining defectors arriving in Russia, undoubtedly investigated Oswald as fully as possible. In 1959, virtually all Intourist guides were KGB informants, and there is no reason to believe that this was not true of Oswald's guide.

*The Committee for State Security, best known by its Russian initials, "KGB," is a lineal descendant of the revolutionary ChEKA and has passed through numerous changes of name since 1917 with little change of function. Presently the KGB handles all Soviet counterintelligence operations and is the instrument for various types of subversive activities. It is responsible for the internal security of the Soviet state and the safety of its leaders. In addition it shares responsibility for foreign espionage activities with the intelligence component of the Ministry of Defense, the "GRU." The KGB would have the primary responsibility for keeping track of a defector such as Oswald.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs or "MVD" was for many years the designation of the organization responsible for civil law enforcement and administration of prisons and forced labor camps in the Soviet Union. During a part of its history it also directed vast economic combines. In January 1960, the central or all-union MVD was abolished and its powers transferred to the MVD's of the several Soviet republics. A further change took place in the summer of 1962, when the republic MVD's were renamed Ministries for the Preservation of Public Order and Safety. In the past few years the republic MVD's have been gradually divesting themselves of their economic functions. When Lee Harvey Oswald was in the Soviet Union though, the MVD still carried on substantial economic activities. For example, inmates of the MVD-administered "corrective labor colonies" engaged in brick making, heavy construction work, and lumbering.

In the Commission's report, the term KGB will be used, as above, to describe the principal Soviet counterintelligence and espionage service. Oswald often inaccurately referred to the "secret police" as the MVD; and in any quotations from him, the Commission will reproduce his actual words. Whenever the Commission refers to the MVD, it will be referring to it as defined in this footnote.

Russia, undoubtedly investigated Oswald as fully as possible. In 1959, virtually all Intourist guides were KGB informants, and there is no reason to believe that this was not true of Oswald's guide.

According to Oswald's diary he attempted suicide when he learned his application for citizenship had been denied. If true, this would seem to provide strong evidence that, at least prior to October 21, there was no undercover relationship between Oswald and the Soviet Government. Though not necessarily

conclusive, there is considerable direct evidence which indicates that Oswald did slash his wrist. Oswald's autopsy showed that he had a scar on his left wrist and that it was of the kind which could have been caused by a suicide attempt. The medical records from the Botkinskaya Hospital in Moscow, furnished by the Soviet Government, reveal that from October 21 to October 28 he was treated there for a self-inflicted wound on the left wrist. The information contained in these records is consistent with the facts disclosed by the autopsy examination relating to Oswald's wrist and to other facts known about Oswald. Although no witness recalled Oswald mentioning a suicide attempt, Marina Oswald testified that when she questioned her husband about the scar on his wrist, he became "very angry," and avoided giving her a reply. Oswald's character, discussed in the following chapter, does not seem inconsistent with a suicide or feigned suicide attempt, nor with his having failed to disclose the suicide attempt. Many witnesses who testified before the Commission observed that he was not an "open" or trusting person, had a tendency toward arrogance, and was not the kind of man who would readily admit weaknesses.

Oswald appeared at the American Embassy in Moscow on October 31, 1959, 3 days after his release from the Botkinskaya Hospital. He did not give the officials at the Embassy any indication that he had recently received medical treatment. Oswald's appearance was the first notification to the American Government that he was in Russia, since he had failed to inform the Embassy upon his arrival, as most American tourists did at the time. In appendix XV, Oswald's dealings with the Embassy in 1959 until his return to the United States in 1962 are described in full, and all action taken by the American officials on his case is evaluated. His conduct at the Embassy has also been considered by the Commission for any indication it may provide as to whether or not Oswald was then acting under directions of the Soviet Government.

At the Embassy, Oswald declared that he wished to renounce his U.S. citizenship, but the consul to whom he spoke, Richard E. Snyder, refused to accept his renunciation at that time, telling him that he would have to return to complete the necessary papers. However, Oswald did give the consul his passport and a hand-written statement requesting that his American citizenship be "revoked" and "affirm[ing] [his] * * * allegiance" to the Soviet Union. (See Commission Exhibit No. 913.) The FBI has confirmed that this statement is in Oswald's handwriting, and Snyder has testified that the letter's phrases are consistent with the way Oswald talked and conducted himself. During the approximately 40-minute interview, Oswald also informed Snyder that he had been a radar operator in the Marine Corps, intimating that he might know something of special interest, and that he had informed a Soviet official that he would give the Soviets any information concerning the Marine Corps and radar operation which he possessed. Although Oswald never filed a formal renunciation, in a letter to the Embassy dated November 3, 1959, he again requested that his American citizenship be revoked and protested the refusal to accept his renunciation on October 31. (See Commission Exhibit 912.)

While at the Embassy, and in a subsequent interview with an American journalist, Oswald displayed familiarity with Communist ideological arguments, which led those with whom he spoke to speculate that he may have received some instruction from Soviet authorities. Oswald's familiarity with the law regarding renunciation of citizenship, observed by both Embassy officials, could also be construed as a sign of coaching by Soviet authorities. However, Oswald is known to have been an avid reader and there is evidence that he had read Communist literature without guidance while in the Marine Corps and before that time. After his arrival in Moscow, Oswald most probably had discussions with his Intourist guide and others, but none of the Americans with whom he talked in Moscow felt that his conversations necessarily revealed any type of formal training. The "Historic Diary" indicates that Oswald did not tell his guide that he intended to visit the Embassy because he feared she would disapprove. (See Commission Exhibit No. 24.) Though Oswald gave Snyder the impression "of an intelligent person who spoke in a manner and on a level, which seemed to befit his apparent level of intelligence," correspondent Priscilla Johnson, who spent about 5 hours talking with him, received a much less favorable impression:

He liked to create the pretense, the impression that he was attracted to abstract discussion and was capable of engaging in it, and was drawn to it. But it was like pricking a balloon. I had the feeling that if you really did engage him on this ground, you very quickly would discover that he didn't have the capacity for a logical sustained argument about an abstract point on economics or on non economic, political matters or any matter, philosophical.

A comparison of the formal note Oswald handed Snyder and his letter of November 3 with the provisions of section 349 (a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act suggests that Oswald had read the statute but understood it imperfectly; he apparently was trying to use three out of the four ways set out in the statute to surrender his citizenship, but he succeeded in none.

Moreover, persuasive evidence that Oswald's conduct was not carefully coached by Soviet agents is provided by some of his actions at the Embassy. The single statement which probably caused Oswald the most future trouble was his declaration that he had already volunteered to a Soviet official that he would, if asked, tell the Soviet Government all that he knew about his job in radar as a Marine. Certainly a statement of this type would prejudice any possibility of his being an effective pro-Communist agent.

Further, though unquestionably evidencing anti-American sentiments, Oswald's behavior at the Embassy, which brought him exceedingly close to expatriation, was unlikely to have increased his value in any capacity to the Soviet Union. Richard E. Snyder, the official who interviewed Oswald on October 31, testified that he "had every reason to believe" that Oswald would have carried through a formal and therefore effective renunciation of his American citizenship immediately if he had let him. However, as a defector, Oswald could have had considerable propaganda value without expatriating himself; and if he had expatriated himself his eventual return to the United States would have been much more difficult and perhaps impossible. If Snyder's assessment of Oswald's intentions is accurate, it thus tends to refute the suggestion that Oswald was being coached by the Soviets. In addition, reporters noticed Oswald's apparent ambivalence in regard to renouncing his citizenship stormily demanding that he be permitted to renounce while failing to follow through by completing the necessary papers behavior which might have detracted from his propaganda value.

According to Oswald's "Historic Diary" and the documents furnished to the Commission by the Soviet Government, Oswald was not told that he had been accepted as a resident of the Soviet Union until about January 4, 1960. Although on November 13 and 16 Oswald informed Aline Mosby and Priscilla Johnson that he had been granted permission to remain in the country indefinitely, the diary indicates that at that time he had been told only that he could remain "until some solution is found with what to do with me." The diary is more consistent with the letter Oswald wrote to his brother Robert on December 17, saying that he was then, more than a month after he saw Johnson and Mosby, about to leave his hotel, and with some later correspondence with his mother. Oswald mailed a short note to his mother which she received in Texas on January 5; that same day she mailed a money order to him in Moscow, but it apparently got there too late, because she received it back, unopened, on February 25. Oswald's conflicting statement to the correspondents also seems reconcilable with his very apparent desire to appear important to others. Moreover, so long as Oswald continued to stay in a hotel in Moscow, the inference is that the Soviet authorities had not yet decided to accept him. This inference is supported by information supplied by the CIA on the handling of other defectors in the Soviet Union.

Thus, the evidence is strong that Oswald waited at least until November 16, when he saw Miss Johnson, and it is probable that he was required to wait until January 4, a little over 2.5 months from October 16, before his application to remain in Russia was granted. In mid-November Miss Johnson asked Oswald whether the Russians were encouraging his defection, to which Oswald responded: "The Russians are treating it like a legal formality. They don't encourage you and they don't discourage you." And, when the Soviet Government finally acted, Oswald did not receive Soviet citizenship, as he had requested, but merely permission to reside in Russia on a year-to-year basis.

Asked to comment upon the length of time, 2 months and 22 days, that probably passed before Oswald was granted the right to remain in the Soviet Union, the CIA has advised that "when compared to five other defector cases, this procedure seems unexceptional." Similarly, the Department of State reports that its information "indicated that a 2-month waiting period is not unusual." The full response of the CIA is as follows:

Oswald said that he asked for Soviet citizenship on 16 October 1959. According to his diary, he received word a month later that he could stay in the USSR pending disposition of his request, but it was another month and a half before he was given his stateless passport. When compared to five other defector cases, this procedure seems unexceptional. Two defectors from US Army intelligence units in West Germany appear to have been given citizenship immediately, but both had prior KGB connections and fled as a result of Army security checks. Of the other three cases, one was accepted after not more than five weeks and given a stateless passport apparently at about the same time. The second was immediately given permission to stay for a while, and his subsequent request for citizenship was granted three months later. The third was allowed to stay after he made his citizenship request, but almost two months passed before he was told that he had been accepted. Although the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs soon after told the US Embassy that he was a Soviet citizen, he did not receive his document until five or six months after initial application. We know of only one case in which an American asked for Soviet citizenship but did not take up residence in the USSR. In that instance, the American changed his mind and voluntarily returned to the United States less than three weeks after he had requested Soviet citizenship.

The Department of State has commented as follows:

The files of the Department of State reflect the fact that Oswald first applied for permission to remain in Russia permanently, or at least for a long period, when he arrived in Moscow, and that he obtained permission to remain within one or two months.

A. Is the fact that he obtained permission to stay within this period of time usual?

Answer Our information indicates that a two months waiting period is not unusual. In the case of [name withheld] the Supreme Soviet decided within two months to give Soviet citizenship and he was thereafter, of course, permitted to stay.

B. Can you tell us what the normal procedures are under similar circumstances?

Answer It is impossible for us to state any "normal" procedures. The Soviet Government never publicizes the proceedings in these cases or the reasons for its action. Furthermore, it is, of course, extremely unusual for an American citizen to defect.

The information relating to Oswald's suicide attempt indicates that his application to remain in the Soviet Union was probably rejected about 6 days after his arrival in Moscow. Since the KGB is the Soviet agency responsible for the initial handling of all defectors, it seems likely that the original decision not to accept Oswald was made by the KGB. That Oswald was permitted to remain in Moscow after his release from the hospital suggests that another ministry of the Soviet Government may have intervened on his behalf. This hypothesis is consistent with entries in the "Historic Diary" commenting that the officials Oswald met after his hospital treatment were different from those with whom he had dealt before. The most plausible reason for any such intervention may well have been apprehension over the publicity that would follow the rejection of a devout convert to the Communist cause.

Oswald's Life in Minsk. According to the "Historic Diary" and documents received from the Soviet Government, Oswald resided in the city of Minsk from January 1960 until June 1962. Oswald's life in Minsk is the portion of his life concerning which the least is known. The primary sources of information are Oswald's own writings and the testimony of Marina Oswald. Other evidence, however, establishes beyond doubt that Oswald was in fact located in Minsk on at least two occasions. The Commission has obtained two photographs which were taken by American tourists in Minsk in August 1961 in which Oswald appears. The tourists did not know Oswald, nor did they speak with him; they remembered only that several men gathered near their car. (See Kramer Exhibit 1.) In addition, Oswald was noticed in Minsk by a student who was traveling with the University of Michigan band on a tour of Russia in the spring of 1961. Oswald corresponded with the American Embassy in Moscow from Minsk, and wrote letters from Minsk to his family in the United States. Oswald and his wife have many photographs taken of themselves which show Minsk backgrounds and persons who are identifiable as residents of Minsk. After he returned to the United States, Oswald conversed about the city with Russian-born American citizens who were familiar with it. Marina Oswald is also familiar with the city. The Commission has also been able independently to verify the existence in Minsk of many of the acquaintances of Oswald and his wife whom they said they knew there. (See Commission Exhibits Nos. 1392, 1395, 2606, 2609, 2612 and 2623.) Once he was accepted as a resident alien in the Soviet Union, Oswald was given considerable benefits which ordinary Soviet citizens in his position in society did not have. The "Historic Diary" recites that after Oswald was informed that he could remain in the Soviet Union and was being sent to Minsk he was given 5,000 rubles* (\$500) by the "Red Cross, * * * for expenses." He used 2,200 rubles to pay his hotel bill, and another 150 rubles to purchase a train ticket. With the balance of slightly over 2,500 rubles, Oswald felt, according to the diary, like a rich man. Oswald did not receive free living quarters, as the diary indicates the "Mayor" of Minsk promised him, but about 6 weeks after his arrival he did receive an apartment, very pleasant by Soviet standards, for which he was required to pay only 60 rubles (\$6.00) a month. Oswald considered the apartment "almost rent free." Oswald was given a job in the "Byelorussian Radio and Television Factory, " where his pay on a per piece basis ranged from 700 to 900 rubles (\$70-\$90) a month. According to his wife, this rate of pay was average for people in his occupation but good by Soviet standards generally. She explained that piecemeal rates throughout the Soviet Union have generally grown out of line with compensation for other jobs. The CIA has confirmed that this condition exists in many areas and occupations in the Soviet Union. In addition to his salary, Oswald regularly received 700 rubles (\$70) per month from the Soviet "Red Cross." The well-paying job, the monthly subsidy, and the "almost rent-free" apartment combined to give Oswald more money than he needed. The only complaint recorded in the "Historic Diary" is that there was "no place to spend the money." The Commission has found no basis for associating Oswald's preferred income with Soviet undercover activity.

Marina Oswald testified that foreign nationals are commonly given special treatment in the Soviet Union,

and the Central Intelligence Agency has confirmed that it is standard practice in the Soviet Union for Americans and other foreign defectors from countries with high standards of living to be "subsidized." Apparently it is Soviet practice. About a year after Oswald received this money, the ruble was revalued to about 10 times its earlier value to attempt to make life sufficiently pleasant for a foreign defector so that he will not become disillusioned and return to his native country. The Commission has also assumed that it is customary for Soviet intelligence agencies to keep defectors under surveillance during their residence in the Soviet Union, through periodic interviews of neighbors and associates of the defector. Oswald once mentioned that the Soviet police questioned his neighbors occasionally.

Moreover, it is from Oswald's personal writings alone that the Commission has learned that he received supplementary funds from the Soviet "Red Cross." In the notes he made during the return trip to the United States Oswald recognized that the "Red Cross" subsidy had nothing to do with the well-known International Red Cross. He frankly stated that the money was paid to him for having "denounced" the United States and that it had come from the "MVD." Oswald's papers reveal that the "Red Cross" subsidy was terminated as soon as he wrote the American Embassy in Moscow in February 1961 asking that he be permitted to return. (See Commission Exhibit No. 25.) Marina Oswald's testimony confirmed this; she said that when she knew Oswald he no longer was receiving the monthly grant but still retained some of the savings accumulated in the months when he had been receiving it. Since she met Oswald in March and married him in April of 1961, her testimony was consistent with his records.

The nature of Oswald's employment while in Minsk has been examined by the Commission. The factory in which he worked was a large plant manufacturing electronic parts and radio and television sets. Marina Oswald has testified that he was an "apprentice machinist" and "ground small metallic parts for radio receivers, on a lathe." So far as can be determined, Oswald never straightforwardly described to anyone else in the United States exactly what his job was in the Soviet Union. Some of his acquaintances in Dallas and Fort Worth had the impression that he was disappointed in having been given a menial job and not assigned to an institution of higher learning in the Soviet Union. Marina Oswald confirmed this and also testified that her husband was not interested in his work and not regarded at the factory as a very good worker. The documents furnished to the Commission by the Soviet government were consistent with her testimony on this point, since they included a report from Oswald's superior at the factory which is critical of his performance on the job. Oswald's employment and his job performance are thus consistent with his known occupational habits in this country and otherwise afford no ground for suspicion.

Oswald's membership in a hunting club while he was in the Soviet Union has been a matter of special interest to the Commission. One Russian émigré testified that this was a suspicious circumstance because no one in the Soviet Union is permitted to own a gun for pleasure. The Commission's investigation, however, has established that this is not so. The Central Intelligence Agency has advised the Commission that hunting societies such as the one to which Oswald belonged are very popular in the Soviet Union. They are frequently sponsored by factories for their employees, as was Oswald's. Moreover, Soviet citizens (or foreigners residing in the Soviet Union) are permitted to own shotguns, but not rifles, without joining a society; all that is necessary is that the gun be registered at the local militia office immediately after it has been purchased. Experts from the Central Intelligence Agency have examined Oswald's club membership certificate and gun permit and expressed the opinion that its terms and numbers are consistent with other information the CIA has about the Soviet Union.

Marina Oswald testified that her husband went hunting only on one occasion during the time of their marriage. However, Oswald apparently joined the Byelorussian Society of Hunters and Fishermen in the summer of 1960 and did not marry until April 30, 1961, so he could have been more active while he was still a bachelor. Oswald made no secret of his membership in the hunting club. He mentioned it on occasion to friends after he returned to the United States; discussed it at some length in a speech at a Jesuit Seminary in Mobile, Ala., in the summer of 1962; included it in his correspondence with his brother Robert; and kept his membership certificate and gun permit until the day he was killed. In view of these facts, it is unlikely that Oswald's membership in a hunting club was contrived to conceal some sort of secret training. Moreover, the CIA has informed the Commission that it is in possession of considerable information on the location of secret Soviet training institutions and that it knows of no such institution in or near Minsk during the time Oswald was there.

Oswald's marriage to Marina Prusakova on April 30, 1961, is itself a fact meriting consideration. A foreigner living in Russia cannot marry without the permission of the Soviet Government. It seems unlikely that the Soviet authorities would have permitted Oswald to marry and to take his wife with him to the United States if they were contemplating using him alone as an agent. The fact that he had a Russian wife would be likely, in their view, to increase any surveillance under which he would be kept by American security agencies, would make him even more conspicuous to his neighbors as "an ex-

Russian, " and would decrease his mobility. A wife's presence in the United States would also constitute a continuing risk of disclosure. On the other hand, Marina Oswald's lack of English training and her complete ignorance of the United States and its customs would scarcely recommend her to the Soviet authorities as one member of an "agent team" to be sent to the United States on a difficult and dangerous foreign enterprise.

Oswald's departure from the Soviet Union. On February 13, 1961, the American Embassy in Moscow received a letter from Oswald postmarked Minsk, February 5, asking that he be readmitted to the United States. This was the first time that the Embassy had heard from or about Oswald since November 16, 1959. The end of the 15-month silence came only a few days after the Department of State in Washington had forwarded a request to the Moscow Embassy on February 1, 1961, informing the Embassy that Oswald's mother was worried about him, and asking that he get in touch with her if possible. The simultaneity of the two events was apparently coincidental. The request from Marguerite Oswald went from Washington to Moscow by sealed diplomatic pouch and there was no evidence that the seal had been tampered with. The officer of the Department of State who carried the responsibility for such matters has testified that the message was not forwarded to the Russians after it arrived in Moscow.

Oswald's letter does not seem to have been designed to ingratiate him with the Embassy officials. It starts by incorrectly implying that he had written an earlier letter that was not answered, states that he will return to the United States only if he can first "come to some agreement" on there being no legal charges brought against him, and ends with a reminder to the officials at the Embassy that they have a responsibility to do everything they can to help him, since he is an American citizen.

The Embassy's response to this letter was to invite Oswald to come personally to Moscow to discuss the matter. Oswald at first protested because of the difficulty of obtaining Soviet permission. He wrote two more protesting letters during the following 4 months, but received no indication that the Embassy would allow him to handle the matter by mail. While the Department of State was clarifying its position on this matter, Oswald unexpectedly appeared in Moscow on Saturday, July 8, 1961. On Sunday, Marina Oswald flew to Moscow, and was interviewed by officials in the American Embassy on Tuesday.

The Commission asked the Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency to comment on whether the Oswalds' travel to Moscow without permission signified special treatment by the Soviet Union. From their responses, it appears that since Marina Oswald possessed a Soviet citizen's internal passport, she did not require prior approval to make the trip. Although Soviet law did require her husband, as the holder of a "stateless passport," to obtain advance permission for the trip, his failure to do so would not normally have been considered a serious violation. In this respect, the CIA has advised the Commission as follows:

OSWALD'S travel from Minsk to Moscow and return in July 1961 would normally have required prior authorization. Bearers of a Soviet "passport for foreigners" (*ridnazhitelstov v. SSSR dlya innostrantsa*) are required to obtain travel authorization from the Visa and Registration Department (OVIR) (or Passport Registration Department (PRO) in smaller towns) if they desire to leave the city (or oblast) where they are domiciled. This same requirement is believed to apply to persons, such as OSWALD, holding Soviet "stateless passports" (*vid na zhitelstvo v. SSSR dlya lits bez grazhdanstva*).

The practicality of even "unauthorized" travel was demonstrated by events related by a United States citizen who defected in 1960, and subsequently was sent to Kiev to study. After repatriating this defector told U.S. authorities he had made a total of seven unauthorized trips from Kiev during his stay in the USSR. He was apprehended on two of his flights and was returned to Kiev each time, the second time under escort. On both occasions he was merely reprimanded by the deputy chief of the institute at which he was studying. Since Marina had a Soviet citizen's internal passport there would have been no restrictions against her making the trip to Moscow.

The answers of the Department of State, together with the Commission's specific questions, are as follows:

B. Could resident foreigners normally travel in this manner without first obtaining such permission?

Answer There are only a few U.S. nationals now living in the Soviet Union. They include an American Roman Catholic priest, an American Protestant minister, a number of correspondents, some students and technical advisers to Soviet businesses. We know that the priest, the minister, the correspondents and the students must obtain permission from Soviet authorities before taking any trips. The technical advisers notify officials of their project before they travel and these officials personally inform the militia.

C. If travel of this type was not freely permitted, do you believe that Oswald normally would have been

apprehended during the attempt or punished after the fact for traveling without permission?

*Answer*Based on the information we have, we believe that if Oswald went to Moscow without permission, and this was known to the Soviet authorities, he would have been fined or reprimanded. Oswald was not, of course, an average foreign resident. He was a defector from a foreign country and the bearer of a Soviet internal "stateless" passport * * * during the time when he was contemplating the visit to Moscow to come to the Embassy * * *

The Soviet authorities probably knew about Oswald's trip even if he did not obtain advance permission, since in most instances the Soviet militia guards at the Embassy ask for the documents of unidentified persons entering the Embassy grounds * * *

An American citizen who, with her American citizen husband, went to the Soviet Union to live permanently and is now trying to obtain permission to leave, informed the Embassy that she had been fined for not getting permission to go from Odessa to Moscow on a recent trip to visit the Embassy.

- D. Even if such travel did not have to be authorized, do you have any information or observations regarding the practicality of such travel by Soviet citizens or persons in Oswald's status?

*Answer*t is impossible to generalize in this area. We understand from interrogations of former residents in the Soviet Union who were considered "stateless" by Soviet authorities that they were not permitted to leave the town where they resided without permission of the police. In requesting such permission they were required to fill out a questionnaire giving the reason for travel, length of stay, addresses of individuals to be visited, etc. Notwithstanding these requirements, we know that at least one "stateless" person often traveled without permission of the authorities and stated that police stationed at railroad stations usually spot-checked the identification papers of every tenth traveler, but that it was an easy matter to avoid such checks. Finally, she stated that persons who were caught evading the registration requirements were returned to their home towns by the police and sentenced to short jail terms and fined. These sentences were more severe for repeated violations.

When Oswald arrived at the Embassy in Moscow, he met Richard E. Snyder, the same person with whom he had dealt in October of 1959. Primarily on the basis of Oswald's interview with Snyder on Monday, July 10, 1961, the American Embassy concluded that Oswald had not expatriated himself. (See app. XV.) On the basis of this tentative decision, Oswald was given back his American passport, which he had surrendered in 1959. The document was due to expire in September 1961, however, and Oswald was informed that its renewal would depend upon the ultimate decision by the Department of State on his expatriation. On July 11, Marina Oswald was interviewed at the Embassy and the steps necessary for her to obtain an American visa were begun. In May 1962, after 15 months of dealings with the Embassy, Oswald's passport was ultimately renewed and permission for his wife to enter the United States was granted.

The files on Oswald and his wife compiled by the Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service contain no indication of any expert guidance by Soviet authorities in Oswald's dealings with the Department or the Service. For example, the letters from Minsk to the Embassy in Moscow, which are in his handwriting, display the arrogant attitude which was characteristic of him both before and after he lived in Russia, and, when compared with other letters that were without doubt composed and written by him, show about the same low level of sophistication, fluency, and spelling. The Department officer who most frequently dealt with Oswald when he began negotiations to return to the United States, Richard E. Snyder, testified that he can recall nothing that indicated Oswald was being guided or assisted by a third party when he appeared at the Embassy in July 1961. On the contrary, the arrogant and presumptuous attitude which Oswald displayed in his correspondence with the Embassy from early 1961 until June 1962, when he finally departed from Russia, undoubtedly hindered his attempts to return to the United States. Snyder has testified that although he made a sincere effort to treat Oswald's application objectively, Oswald's attitude made this very difficult.

In order to leave Russia, it was also necessary for the Oswalds to obtain permission from the Soviet Government. The timing and circumstances under which the Oswalds obtained this permission have also been considered by the Commission.

Marina Oswald, although her memory is not clear on the point, said that she and Oswald first made their intentions to go to the United States known to Soviet officials in Minsk in May, even before coming to Moscow in July for the conference at the American Embassy. The Oswalds' correspondence with the Embassy and the documents furnished the Commission by the Soviet Government show that the Oswalds made a series of formal applications to the Soviets from July 15 to August 21. Presumably the most difficult question for the Soviet-authorities was whether to allow Marina Oswald to accompany her husband. She was called to the local passport office in Minsk on December 25, 1961, and told that

authority had been received to issue exit visas to her and Oswald. Obtaining the permission of the Soviet Government to leave may have been aided by a conference which Marina Oswald had, at her own request, with a local MVD official, Colonel Aksenov, sometime in late 1961. She testified that she applied for the conference at her husband's urging, after he had tried unsuccessfully to arrange such a conference for himself. She believed that it may have been granted her because her uncle with whom she had lived in Minsk before her marriage was also an MVD official.

The correspondence with the American Embassy at this time reflected that the Oswalds did not pick up their exit visas immediately. On January 11, 1962, Marina Oswald was issued her Soviet exit visa. It was marked valid until December 1, 1962. The Oswalds did not leave Russia until June 1962, but the additional delay was caused by problems with the U.S. Government and by the birth of a child in February. Permission of the Soviet authorities to leave, once given, was never revoked. Oswald told the FBI in July 1962, shortly after he returned to the United States, that he had been interviewed by the MVD twice, once when he first came to the Soviet Union and once just before he departed. His wife testified that the second interview did not occur in Moscow but that she and her husband dealt with the MVD visa officials frequently in Minsk.

Investigation of the circumstances, including the timing, under which the Oswalds obtained permission from the Soviet Government to leave Russia for the United States show that they differed in no discernible manner from the normal. The Central Intelligence Agency has informed the Commission that normally a Soviet national would not be permitted to emigrate if he might endanger Soviet national security once he went abroad. Those persons in possession of confidential information, for example, would constitute an important category of such "security risks." Apparently Oswald's predeparture interview by the MVD was part of an attempt to ascertain whether he or his wife had access to any confidential information. Marina Oswald's reported interview with the MVD in late 1961, which was arranged at her request, may have served the same purpose. The Commission's awareness of both interviews derives entirely from Oswald's and his wife's statements and letters to the American Embassy, which afford additional evidence that the conferences carried no subversive significance. It took the Soviet authorities at least 5% months, from about July 15, 1961, until late December, to grant permission for the Oswalds to leave the country. When asked to comment upon the alleged rapidity of the Oswalds' departure, the Department of State advised the Commission:

* * * In the immediate post-war period there were about fifteen marriages in which the wife had been waiting for many years for a Soviet exit permit. After the death of Stalin the Soviet Government showed a disposition to settle these cases. In the summer of 1953 permission was given for all of this group of Soviet citizen wives to accompany their American citizen husbands to the United States.

Since this group was given permission to leave the Soviet Union, there have been from time to time marriages in the Soviet Union of American citizens and Soviet citizens. With one exception, it is our understanding that all of the Soviet citizens involved have been given permission to emigrate to the United States after waiting periods which were, in some cases from three to six months and in others much longer.

Both the Department of State and the Central Intelligence Agency compiled data for the Commission on Soviet wives of American citizens who received exit visas to leave the Soviet Union, where the relevant information was available. In both cases the data were consistent with the above conclusion of the State Department. The Department of State had sufficient information to measure the time span in 14 cases. The Department points out that it has information on the dates of application for and receipt of Soviet exit visas only on those cases that have been brought to its attention. A common reason for bringing a case to the attention of the Department is that the granting of the exit visa by the Soviet Union has been delayed, so that the American spouse seeks the assistance of his own government. It therefore appears that the sampling data carry a distinct bias toward lengthy waiting periods. Of the 14 cases tested, 6 involve women who applied for visas after 1953, when the liberalized post-Stalin policy was in effect. The approximate waiting periods for these wives were, in decreasing order, 13 months, 6 months, 8 months, 1 month, and 10 days. Of the 11 cases examined by the Central Intelligence Agency in which the time period is known or can be inferred, the Soviet wives had to wait from 5 months to a year to obtain exit visas.

In his correspondence with the American Embassy and his brother while he was in Russia, in his diary, and in his conversations with people in the United States after he returned, Oswald claimed that his wife had been subjected to pressure by the Soviet Government in an effort to induce her not to emigrate to the United States. In the Embassy correspondence, Oswald claimed that the pressure had been so intense that she had to be hospitalized for 5 days for "nervous exhaustion." Marina Oswald testified that her husband exaggerated and that no such hospitalization or "nervous exhaustion" ever occurred. However, she did testify that she was questioned on the matter occasionally and given the impression

that her government was not pleased with her decision. Her aunt and uncle in Minsk did not speak to her "for a long time"; she also stated that she was dropped from membership in the Communist Youth Organization (Kom-somol) when the news of her visit to the American Embassy in Moscow reached that organization.

A student who took Russian lessons from her in Texas testified that she once referred to the days when the pressure was applied as "a very horrible time." Despite all this Marina Oswald testified that she was surprised that their visas were granted as soon as they were and that hers was granted at all. This evidence thus indicates that the Soviet authorities, rather than facilitating the departure of the Oswalds, first tried to dissuade Marina Oswald from going to the United States and then, when she failed to respond to the pressure, permitted her to leave without undue delay. There are indications that the Soviet treatment of another recent defector who left the Soviet Union to return to the United States resembled that accorded to the Oswalds.

On the basis of all the foregoing evidence, the Commission concluded that there was no reason to believe that the Oswalds received unusually favorable treatment in being permitted to leave the Soviet Union.

Associations in the Dallas-Fort Worth Community

The Russian-speaking community. Shortly after his return from Russia in June 1962, Oswald and his family settled in Fort Worth, Tex., where they met a group of Russian-born or Russian-speaking persons in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. The members of this community were attracted to each other by common background, language, and culture. Many of them were well-educated, accomplished, and industrious people, several being connected with the oil exploration, production, and processing industry that flourishes in the Dallas-Fort Worth area. As described more fully in chapter VII and in appendix XIII, many of these persons assisted the Oswalds in various ways. Some provided the Oswalds with gifts of such things as food, clothing, and baby furniture. Some arranged appointments and transportation for medical and dental treatment, and assumed the cost in some instances. When Oswald undertook to look for employment in Dallas in early October of 1962 and again when marital difficulties arose between the Oswalds in November of the same year, Marina Oswald and their child were housed at times in the homes of various members of the group. The Commission has examined the background of many of these individuals and has thoroughly investigated Oswald's relationship with them. There is no basis to suppose that Oswald came to Fort Worth upon his return from Russia for the purpose of establishing contacts with the Russian-speaking community located in that area. Oswald had spent several of his grammar-school years in Fort Worth. In 1962, his brother Robert lived in Fort Worth and his mother resided in nearby Vernon, Tex. In January of that year, Oswald indicated to American officials in Russia that he intended to stay with his mother upon his return to the United States; however, sometime after mid-February, he received an invitation to stay with Robert and his family until he became settled, and he did spend the first several weeks after his return at Robert's home. In July, Oswald's mother moved to Fort Worth and Oswald and his wife and child moved into an apartment with her. While in that apartment, Oswald located a job in Fort Worth and then rented and moved with his family into an apartment on Mercedes Street.

Upon his arrival in 1962, Oswald did not know any members of the relatively small and loosely knit Russian-speaking community. Shortly after his arrival Oswald obtained the name of two Russian-speaking persons in Fort Worth from the office of the Texas Employment Commission in that city. Attempts to arrange a prompt visit with one of them failed. The second person, Peter Paul Gregory, was a consulting petroleum engineer and part-time Russian-language instructor at the Fort Worth Public Library. Oswald contacted him in order to obtain a letter certifying to his proficiency in Russian and Marina Oswald later tutored his son in the Russian language. Gregory introduced the Oswalds to George Bouhe and Anna Meller, both of whom lived in Dallas and became interested in the welfare of Marina Oswald and her child. Through them, other members of the Russian community became acquainted with the Oswalds.

The Oswalds met some 30 persons in the Russian-speaking community, of whom 25 testified before the Commission or its staff, others were interviewed on behalf of the Commission. This range of testimony has disclosed that the relationship between Lee Harvey Oswald and the Russian-speaking community was short lived and generally quite strained. During October and November of 1962 Marina Oswald lived at the homes of some of the members of the Russian-speaking community. She stayed first with Elena Hall while Oswald was looking for work in Dallas. In early November, Marina Oswald and the baby joined Oswald in Dallas, but soon thereafter, she spent approximately 2 weeks with different Russian-speaking friends during another separation. Oswald openly resented the help Marina's

"Russian friends" gave to him and his wife and the efforts of some of them to induce Marina to leave him. George Bouhe attempted to dissuade Marina from returning to her husband in November 1962, and when she rejoined him, Bouhe became displeased with her as well. Relations between the Oswalds and the members of the Russian community had practically ceased by the end of 1962. Katherine Ford, one of the members of the group, summed up the situation as it existed at the end of January 1963: "So it was rather, sort of, Marina and her husband were dropped at that time, nobody actually wanted to help. * * *"

In April of 1963, Oswald left Fort Worth for New Orleans, where he was later joined by his wife and daughter, and remained until his trip to Mexico City in late September and his subsequent return to the Dallas-Fort Worth area in early October of 1963. With only minor exceptions, there is no evidence that any member of the Russian-speaking community had further contact with Oswald or his family after April. In New Orleans, Oswald made no attempt to make new Russian-speaking acquaintances for his wife and there is no evidence that he developed any friendships in that city. Similarly, after the return from New Orleans, there seems to have been no communication between the Oswalds and this group until the evening of November 22, 1963, when the Dallas Police enlisted Ilya Mamantov to serve as an interpreter for them in their questioning of Marina Oswald.

George De Mohrenschildt and his wife, both of whom speak Russian as well as several other languages, however, did continue to see the Oswalds on occasion up to about the time Oswald went to New Orleans on April 24, 1963. De Mohrenschildt was apparently the only Russian-speaking person living in Dallas for whom Oswald had appreciable respect, and this seems to have been true even though De Mohrenschildt helped Marina Oswald leave her husband for a period in November of 1962.

In connection with the relations between Oswald and De Mohrenschildt, the Commission has considered testimony concerning an event which occurred shortly after Oswald shot at General Walker. The De Mohrenschildts came to Oswald's apartment on Neely Street for the first time on the evening of April 13, 1963, apparently to bring an Easter gift for the Oswald child. Mrs. De Mohrenschildt testified that while Marina Oswald was showing her the apartment, she saw a rifle with a scope in a closet. Mrs. De Mohrenschildt then told her husband, in the presence of the Oswalds, that there was a rifle in the closet. Mrs. De Mohrenschildt testified that "George, of course, with his sense of humor Walker was shot at a few days ago, within that time. He said, 'Did you take a pot shot at Walker by any chance?' " At that point, Mr. De Mohrenschildt testified, Oswald "sort of shriveled, you see, when I asked this question. * * * made a peculiar face * * * [and] changed the expression on his face" and remarked that he did target shooting. Marina Oswald testified that the De Mohrenschildts came to visit a few days after the Walker incident and that when De Mohrenschildt made his reference to Oswald's possibly shooting at Walker, Oswald's "face changed, * * * he almost became speechless." According to the De Mohrenschildts, Mr. De Mohrenschildt's remark was intended as a joke, and he had no knowledge of Oswald's involvement in the attack on Walker. Nonetheless, the remark appears to have created an uncomfortable silence, and the De Mohrenschildts left "very soon afterwards." They never saw either of the Oswalds again. They left in a few days on a trip to New York City and did not return until after Oswald had gone to New Orleans. A postcard from Oswald to De Mohrenschildt was apparently the only contact they had thereafter. The De Mohrenschildts left in early June for Haiti on a business venture, and they were still residing there at the time they testified on April 23, 1964.

Extensive investigation has been conducted into the background of both De Mohrenschildts. The investigation has revealed that George De Mohrenschildt is a highly individualistic person of varied interests. He was born in the Russian Ukraine in 1911 and fled Russia with his parents in 1921 during the civil disorder following the revolution. He was in a Polish cavalry military academy for 1 1/2 years. Later he studied in Antwerp and attended the University of Liege from which he received a doctor's degree in international commerce in 1928. Soon thereafter, he emigrated to the United States; he became a U.S. citizen in 1949. De Mohrenschildt eventually became interested in oil exploration and production; he entered the University of Texas in 1944 and received a master's degree in petroleum geology and petroleum engineering in 1945. He has since become active as a petroleum engineer throughout the world. In 1960, after the death of his son, he and his wife made an 8-month hike from the United States-Mexican border to Panama over primitive jungle trails. By happenstance they were in Guatemala City at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion. A lengthy film and complete written log was prepared by De Mohrenschildt and a report of the trip was made to the U.S. Government. Upon arriving in Panama they journeyed to Haiti where De Mohrenschildt eventually became involved in a Government-oriented business venture in which he has been engaged continuously since June 1963 until the time of this report.

The members of the Dallas-Fort Worth Russian community and others have variously described De Mohrenschildt as eccentric, outspoken, and a strong believer in individual liberties and in the U.S. form

of government, but also of the belief that some form of undemocratic government might be best for other peoples. De Mohrenschildt frankly admits his provocative personality.

Jeanne De Mohrenschildt was born in Harbin, China, of White Russian parents. She left during the war with Japan, coming to New York in 1938 where she became a successful ladies dress and sportswear apparel designer. She married her present husband in 1959.

The Commission's investigation has developed no signs of subversive or disloyal conduct on the part of either of the De Mohrenschildts. Neither the FBI, CIA, nor any witness contacted by the Commission has provided any information linking the De Mohrenschildts to subversive or extremist organizations. Nor has there been any evidence linking them in any way with the assassination of President Kennedy.

The Commission has also considered closely the relations between the Oswalds and Michael and Ruth Paine of Irving, Tex. The Paines were not part of the Russian community which has been discussed above. Ruth Paine speaks Russian, however, and for this reason was invited to a party in February of 1963 at which she became acquainted with the Oswalds. The host had met the Oswalds through the De Mohrenschildts. Marina Oswald and Ruth Paine subsequently became quite friendly, and Mrs. Paine provided considerable assistance to the Oswalds. Marina Oswald and her child resided with Ruth Paine for a little over 2 weeks while Oswald sought a job in New Orleans in late April and early May 1963. In May, she transported Marina Oswald to New Orleans, paying all of the traveling and other expenses. While the Oswalds were in New Orleans, the two women corresponded. Mrs. Paine came to New Orleans in late September and took Marina Oswald and her child to her home in Irving.

Since Oswald left for Mexico City promptly after Mrs. Paine and his family departed New Orleans, the Commission has considered whether Ruth Paine's trip to New Orleans was undertaken to assist Oswald in this venture, but the evidence is clear that it was not. In her letters to Ruth Paine during the summer of 1963, Marina Oswald confided that she was having continuing difficulties with her husband, and Mrs. Paine urged Marina Oswald to live with her in Irving; the letters of the two women prior to Mrs. Paine's arrival in New Orleans on September 20, 1963, however, contain no mention that Oswald was planning a trip to Mexico City or elsewhere. In New Orleans, Mrs. Paine was told by Oswald that he planned to seek employment in Houston, or perhaps Philadelphia. Though Marina Oswald knew this to be false, she testified that she joined in this deception. At no time during the entire weekend was Mexico City mentioned. Corroboration for this testimony is found in a letter Mrs. Paine wrote her mother shortly after she and Marina Oswald had returned to Irving on September 24, in which she stated that Marina Oswald was again living with her temporarily and that Oswald was job-hunting. When Oswald arrived at the Paine home on October 4, he continued his deception by telling Mrs. Paine, in his wife's presence, that he had been unsuccessful in finding employment. At Oswald's request, Marina Oswald remained silent.

Marina Oswald lived with Ruth Paine through the birth of her second daughter on October 20, 1963, and until the assassination of President Kennedy. During this period, Oswald obtained a room in Dallas and found employment in Dallas, but spent weekends with his family at the Paine home. On November 1 and 5, Ruth Paine was interviewed by agents of the FBI who were investigating Oswald's activities since his return from the Soviet Union, as set forth in greater detail in chapter VIII. She did not then know Oswald's address in Dallas. She was not asked for, nor did she volunteer, Oswald's telephone number in Dallas, which she did know. She advised the Bureau agent to whom she spoke of Oswald's periodic weekend visits, and she informed him that Oswald was employed at the Texas School Book Depository Building.

On November 10, Ruth Paine discovered a draft of Oswald's letter written the day before to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, in which he indicated that he had journeyed to Mexico City and conferred with a "comrade Kostine in the Embassy of the Soviet Union, Mexico City, Mexico." (This letter is discussed later in this chapter.) Mr. and Mrs. Paine testified that although they initially assumed the letter was a figment of Oswald's imagination, the letter gave Mrs. Paine considerable misgivings. She determined that if the FBI agents returned she would deliver to them the copy of a draft of the letter which, unknown to Oswald, she had made. However, the agents did not return before the assassination. On November 19, Mrs. Paine learned that Oswald was living in his Dallas rooming house under an assumed name. She did not report this to the FBI because, as she testified, she "had no occasion to see them, and * * * did not think it important enough to call them after that until the 23d of November."

The Commission has thoroughly investigated the background of both Paines. Mrs. Paine was born Ruth Hyde in New York City on September 8, 1932. Her parents moved to Columbus, Ohio, in the late 1930's. They were divorced in 1961. Ruth Paine graduated from Antioch College in 1955. While in high school she first became interested in Quaker activities; she and her brother became Quakers in 1951. In 1952, following completion of her sophomore year at Antioch College, she was a delegate to

two Friends conferences in England.

At the time the Paines met in 1955, Mrs. Paine was active in the work of the Young Friends Committee of North America, which, with the cooperation of the Department of State, was making an effort to lessen the tensions between Soviet Russia and the United States by means of the stimulation of contacts and exchange of cultures between citizens of the two nations through "pen-pal" correspondence and exchanges of young Russians and Americans. It was during this period that Mrs. Paine became interested in the Russian language. Mrs. Paine participated in a Russian-American student exchange program sponsored by the Young Friends Committee of North America, and has participated in the "pen-pal" phase of the activities of the Young Friends Committee. She has corresponded until recently with a schoolteacher in Russia. Although her active interest in the Friends' program for the lessening of East-West tensions ceased upon her marriage in December 1957, she has continued to hold to the tenets of the Quaker faith.

Michael Paine is the son of George Lyman Paine and Ruth Forbes Paine, now Ruth Forbes Young, wife of Arthur Young of Philadelphia, Pa. His parents were divorced when he was 4 years of age. His father, George Lyman Paine, is an architect and resides in California. Michael Paine testified that during his late grammar and early high school days his father participated actively in the Trotskyite faction of the Communist movement in the United States and that he attended some of those meetings. He stated that his father, with whom he has had little contact throughout most of his life, has not influenced his political thinking. He said that he has visited his father four or five times in California since 1959, but their discussions did not include the subject of communism. Since moving to Irving, Tex., in 1959, he has been a research engineer for Bell Helicopter Co. in Fort Worth. Mr. Paine has security clearance for his work. He has been a long-time member of the American Civil Liberties Union. Though not in sympathy with rightist political aims, he has attended a few meetings of far-right organizations in Dallas for the purpose, he testified, of learning something about those organizations and because he "was interested in seeing more communication between the right and the left."

The Commission has conducted a thorough investigation of the Paines' finances and is satisfied that their income has been from legitimate and traceable sources, and that their expenditures were consistent with their income and for normal purposes. Although in the course of their relationship with the Oswalds, the Paines assumed expenses for such matters as food and transportation, with a value of approximately \$500, they made no direct payments to, and received no moneys or valuables from, the Oswalds.

Although prior to November 22, Mrs. Paine had information relating to Oswald's use of an alias in Dallas, his telephone number, and his correspondence with the Soviet Embassy, which she did not pass on to the FBI, her failure to have come forward with this information must be viewed within the context of the information available to her at that time.

There is no evidence to contradict her testimony that she did not then know about Oswald's attack on General Walker, the presence of the rifle on the floor of her garage, Oswald's ownership of a pistol, or the photographs of Oswald displaying the firearms. She thus assumed that Oswald, though a difficult and disturbing personality, was not potentially violent, and that the FBI was cognizant of his past history and current activities.

Moreover, it is from Mrs. Paine herself that the Commission has learned that she possessed the information which she did have. Mrs. Paine was forthright with the agent of the FBI with whom she spoke in early November 1963, providing him with sufficient information to have located Oswald at his job if he had deemed it necessary to do so, and her failure to have taken immediate steps to notify the Bureau of the additional information does not under the circumstances appear unusual. Throughout the Commission's investigation, Ruth Paine has been completely cooperative, voluntarily producing all correspondence, memoranda, and other written communications in her possession that had passed between her and Marina Oswald both before and after November 22, 1963. The Commission has had the benefit of Mrs. Paine's 1963 date book and calendar and her address book and telephone notation book, in both of which appear many entries relating to her activities with the Oswalds. Other material of a purely personal nature was also voluntarily made available. The Commission has found nothing in the Paines' background, activities, or finances which suggests disloyalty to the United States, and it has concluded that Ruth and Michael Paine were not involved in any way with the assassination of President Kennedy.

A fuller narrative of the social contacts between the Oswalds and the various persons of the Dallas-Fort Worth community is incorporated in chapter VII and appendix XIII, and the testimony of all members of the group who testified before the Commission is included in the printed record which accompanies the report. The evidence establishes that the Oswalds' contacts with these people were originated and

maintained under normal and understandable circumstances. The files maintained by the FBI contain no information indicating that any of the persons in the Dallas-Fort Worth community with whom Oswald associated were affiliated with any Communist, Fascist, or other subversive organization. During the course of this investigation, the Commission has found nothing which suggests the involvement of any member of the Russian-speaking community in Oswald's preparations to assassinate President Kennedy.

Political Activities Upon Return to the United States

Upon his return from the Soviet Union, Oswald had dealings with the Communist Party, U.S.A., the Socialist Workers Party, and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and he also had minor contacts with at least two other organizations with political interests. For the purpose of determining whether Oswald received any advice, encouragement, or assistance from these organizations in planning or executing the assassination of President Kennedy, the Commission has conducted a full investigation of the nature and extent of Oswald's relations with them. The Commission has also conducted an investigation to determine whether certain persons and organizations expressing hostility to President Kennedy prior to the assassination had any connection with Lee Harvey Oswald or with the shooting of the President.

Communist Party, U.S.A.; Socialist Workers Party. In August of 1962, Oswald subscribed to the Worker, a publication of the Communist Party, U.S.A. He also wrote the Communist Party to obtain pamphlets and other literature which, the evidence indicates, were sent to him as a matter of course.

Oswald also attempted to initiate other dealings with the Communist Party, U.S.A., but the organization was not especially responsive. From New Orleans, he informed the party of his activities in connection with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee discussed below, submitting membership cards in his fictitious chapter to several party officials. In a letter from Arnold S. Johnson, director of the information and lecture bureau of the party, Oswald was informed that although the Communist Party had no "organizational ties" with the committee, the party issued much literature which was "important for anybody who is concerned about developments in Cuba." In September 1963 Oswald inquired how he might contact the party when he relocated in the Baltimore-Washington area, as he said he planned to do in October, and Johnson suggested in a letter of September 19 that he "get in touch with us here [New York] and we will find some way of getting in touch with you in that city [Baltimore]." However, Oswald had also written asking whether, "handicapped as it were, by * * * [his] past record, " he could "still * * * compete with anti progressive forces, above ground or whether in your opinion * * * [he] should always remain in the background, i.e., underground, "and in the September 19 letter received the reply that "often it is advisable for some people to remain in the background, not underground."

In a letter postmarked November 1, Oswald informed the party that he had moved to Dallas, and reported his attendance at a meeting at which General Walker had spoken, and at a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union; he asked Johnson for the party's "general view" of the latter organization and "to what degree, if any, [he] should attempt to heighten its progressive tendencies." According to Johnson, this letter was not received by the Communist Party until after the assassination. At different times, Oswald also wrote the Worker and the Hall-Davis Defense Committee, enclosing samples of his photographic work and offering to assist in preparing posters; he was told that "his kind offer [was] most welcomed and from time to time we shall call on you, " but he was never asked for assistance. The correspondence between Oswald and the Communist Party, and with all other organizations, is printed in the record accompanying this report.

When Oswald applied for a visa to enter Cuba during his trip to Mexico City, discussed below, Senora Silvia Duran, the Cuban consular employee who dealt with Oswald, wrote on the application that Oswald said he was a member of the Communist Party and that he had "displayed documents in proof of his membership." When Oswald went to Mexico, he is believed to have carried his letters from the Soviet Embassy in Washington and from the Communist Party in the United States, his 1959 passport, which contained stamps showing that he had lived in Russia for years, his Russian work permit, his Russian marriage certificate, membership cards and newspaper clippings purporting to show his role in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and a prepared statement, of his qualifications as a "Marxist." Because of the mass of papers Oswald did present showing his affinity for communism, some in the Russian language, which was foreign to Senora Duran, and because further investigation, discussed below, indicated that Oswald was not a member of the party, Senora Duran's notation was probably inaccurate.

Upon his arrest after the assassination, Oswald attempted to contact John J. Abt, a New York attorney, to request Abt to represent him. Abt was not in New York at the time, and he was never reached in connection with representing Oswald. Abt has testified that he at no time had any dealings with

Oswald and that prior to the assassination he had never heard of Lee Harvey Oswald.

After his return from the Soviet Union, Oswald also carried on a limited correspondence with the Socialist Workers Party. In October of 1962 he attempted to join the party, but his application was not accepted since there was then no chapter in the Dallas area. Oswald also wrote the Socialist Workers Party offering his assistance in preparing posters. From this organization too he received the response that he might be called upon if needed. He was asked for further information about his photographic skills, which he does not appear to have ever provided. Oswald did obtain literature from the Socialist Workers Party, however, and in December 1962 he entered a subscription to the affiliated publication, the Militant. Apparently in March of 1963 Oswald wrote the party of his activities and submitted a clipping with his letter. In response, he was told that his name was being sent to the Young Socialist Alliance for further correspondence, but the files of the alliance apparently contain no reference to Oswald. Neither the letter nor the clipping which Oswald sent has been located.

Investigation by the Commission has produced no plausible evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald had any other significant contacts with the Communist Party, U.S.A., the Socialist Workers Party, or with any other extreme leftist political organization. The FBI and other Federal security agencies have made a study of their records and files and contacted numerous confidential informants of the agencies and have produced no such evidence. The Commission has questioned persons who, as a group, knew Oswald during virtually every phase of his adult life, and from none of these came any indication that Oswald maintained a surreptitious relationship with any organization. Arnold S. Johnson, of the American Communist Party; James T. Tormey, executive secretary of the Hall-Davis Defense Committee; and Farrell Dobbs, secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, voluntarily appeared before the Commission and testified under oath that Oswald was not a member of these organizations and that a thorough search of their files had disclosed no records relating to Oswald other than those which they produced for the Commission. The material that has been disclosed is in all cases consistent with other data in the possession of the Commission.

Socialist Labor Party. Oswald also wrote to the Socialist Labor Party in New York in November 1962 requesting literature. Horace Twiford, a national committeeman at large for the party in the State of Texas, was informed by the New York headquarters in July of Oswald's request, and on September 11, 1963, he did mail literature to Oswald at his old post office box in Dallas. On his way to Mexico City in September 1963, Oswald attempted to contact Twiford at his home in Houston; Oswald spoke briefly with Twiford's wife, identifying himself as a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, but since Twiford was out of town at the time, Oswald was unable to speak with him. Arnold Peterson, national secretary and treasurer of the Socialist Labor Party, has stated that a search of the records of the national headquarters reveals no record pertaining to Oswald; he explained that letters requesting literature are routinely destroyed. The Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation has also advised that a review of its records fails to reflect any information or correspondence pertaining to Oswald.

Fair Play for Cuba Committee. During the period Oswald was in New Orleans, from the end of April to late September 1963, he was engaged in activity purportedly on behalf of the now defunct Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC), an organization centered in New York which was highly critical of U.S. policy toward the Cuban Government under Fidel Castro. In May 1963, after having obtained literature from the FPCC, Oswald applied for and was granted membership in the organization. When applying for membership, Oswald wrote national headquarters that he had

* * * been thinking about renting a small office at my own expense for the purpose of forming a FPCC. branch here in New Orleans.

Could you give me a charter?

With his membership card, Oswald apparently received a copy of the constitution and bylaws for FPCC chapters, and a letter, dated May 29, which read in part as follows (with spelling as in original):

It would be hard to conceive of a chapter with as few members as seem to exist in the New Orleans area. I have just gone through our files and find that Louisiana seems somewhat restricted for Fair Play activities. However, with what is there perhaps you could build a larger group if a few people would undertake the disciplined responsibility of concrete organizational work.

We certainly are not at all adverse to a very small Chapter but certainly would expect that there would be at least twice the amount needed to conduct a legal executive board for the Chapter. Should this be reasonable we could readily issue a charter for a New Orleans Chapter of FPCC. In fact, we would be very, very pleased to see this take place and would like to do everything possible to assist in bringing it about.

* * * * *

You must realize that you will come under tremendous pressures with any attempt to do FPCC work in that area and that you will not be able to operate in the manner which is conventional here in the north-east. Even most of our big city Chapters have been forced to Abandon the idea of operating an office in public. * * * Most Chapters have discovered that it is easier to operate semi-privately out of a home and maintain a P.O. Box for all mailings and public notices. (A P.O. Box is a must for any Chapter in the organization to guarantee the continued contact with the national even if an individual should move or drop out.) We do have a serious and often violent opposition and this procedure helps prevent many unnecessary incidents which frighten away prospective supporters. I definitely would not recommend an office, at least not one that will be easily identifiable to the lunatic fringe in your community. Certainly, I would not recommend that you engage in one at the very beginning but wait and see how you can operate in the community through several public experiences.

Thereafter Oswald informed national headquarters that he had opened post office box No. 30061, and that against its advice he had decided "to take an office from the very beginning"; he also submitted copies of a membership application form and a circular headed "Hands Off Cuba!" which he had had printed, and informed the headquarters that he intended to have membership cards for his chapter printed, which he subsequently did. He wrote three further letters to the New York office to inform it of his continued activities. In one he reported that he had been evicted from the office he claimed to have opened, so that he "worked out of a post office box and by using street demonstrations and some circular work * * * sustained a great deal of interest but no new members."

Oswald did distribute the handbills he had printed on at least three occasions. Once, while doing so, he was arrested and fined for being involved in a disturbance with anti-Castro Cuban refugees, one of whom he had previously met by presenting himself as hostile to Premier Castro in an apparent effort to gain information about anti-Castro organizations operating in New Orleans. When arrested, he informed the police that His chapter had 35 members. His activities received some attention in the New Orleans press, and he twice appeared on a local radio program representing himself as a spokesman for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. After his return to Dallas, he listed the FPCC as an organization authorized to receive mail at his post office box.

Despite these activities, the FPCC chapter which Oswald purportedly formed in New Orleans was entirely fictitious. Vincent T. Lee, formerly national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, has testified that the New York office did not authorize the creation of a New Orleans chapter, nor did it provide Oswald with funds to support his activities there. The national office did not write Oswald again after its letter of May 29. As discussed more fully in chapter VII, Oswald's later letters to the national office purporting to inform it of his progress in New Orleans contained numerous exaggerations about the scope of his activities and the public reaction to them. There is no evidence that Oswald ever opened an office as he claimed to have done. Although a pamphlet taken from him at the time of his arrest in New Orleans contains the rubber stamp imprint "FPCC, 544 CAMP ST., NEW ORLEANS, LA.," investigation has indicated that neither the Fair Play for Cuba Committee nor Lee Harvey Oswald ever maintained an office at that address. The handbills and other materials bearing the name of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee were printed commercially by Oswald without the approval of the national headquarters. Oswald's membership card in the "New Orleans chapter" of the committee carried the signature of "A. J. Hidell," purportedly the president of the chapter, but there is no evidence that an "A. J. Hidell" existed and, as pointed out in chapter IV, there is conclusive evidence that the name was an alias which Oswald used on various occasions. Marina Oswald herself wrote the name "Hidell" on the membership card at her husband's insistence.

No other member of the so-called New Orleans chapter of the committee has ever been found. The only occasion on which anyone other than Oswald was observed taking part in these activities was on August 9, 1963, when Oswald and two young men passed out leaflets urging "Hands Off Cuba!" on the streets of New Orleans. One of the two men, who was 16 years old at the time, has testified that Oswald approached him at the Louisiana State Employment Commission and offered him \$2 for about an hour's work. He accepted the offer but later, when he noticed that television cameras were being focused on him, he obtained his money and left. He testified that he had never seen Oswald before and never saw him again. The second individual has never been located; but according to the testimony of the youth who was found, he too seemed to be someone not previously connected with Oswald. Finally, the FBI has advised the Commission that its information on undercover Cuban activities in the New Orleans area reveals no knowledge of Oswald before the assassination.

Right-wing groups hostile to President Kennedy. The Commission also considered the possibility that there may have been a link between Oswald and certain groups which had bitterly denounced President Kennedy and his policies prior to the time of the President's trip to Dallas. As discussed in chapter II, two provocative incidents took place concurrently with President Kennedy's visit and a third but a month

prior thereto. The incidents were (1) the demonstration against the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, in late October 1963, when he came to Dallas on United Nations Day; (2) the publication in the Dallas Morning News on November 22 of the full page, black-bordered paid advertisement entitled, "Welcome Mr. Kennedy"; and (3) the distribution of a throwaway handbill entitled "Wanted for Treason" throughout Dallas on November 20 and 21. Oswald was aware of the Stevenson incident; there is no evidence that he became aware of either the "Welcome Mr. Kennedy" advertisement or the "Wanted for Treason" handbill, though neither possibility can be precluded.

The only evidence of interest on Oswald's part in rightist groups in Dallas was his alleged attendance at a rally at the Dallas Auditorium the evening preceding Ambassador Stevenson's address on United Nations Day, October 24, 1963. On the evening of October 25, 1968, at the invitation of Michael Paine, Oswald attended a monthly meeting of the Dallas chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union in which he was later to seek membership. During the course of the discussion at this meeting, a speaker mentioned Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker (Resigned, U.S. Army). Oswald arose in the midst of the meeting to remark that a "night or two nights before" he had attended a meeting at which General Walker had spoken in terms that led Oswald to assert that General Walker was both anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic. General Walker testified that he had been the speaker at a rally the night before Ambassador Stevenson's appearance, but that he did not know and had never heard of Oswald prior to the announcement of his name on radio and television on the afternoon of November 22. Oswald confirmed his attendance at the U.S. Day rally in an undated letter he wrote to Arnold Johnson, director of the information and lecture bureau of the Communist Party, mailed November 1, 1963, in which he reported:

On October 23rd, I had attended a ultra-right meeting headed by General Edwin a. Walker, who lives in Dallas.

This meeting preceded by one day the attack on a. e. Stevenson at the United Nations Day meeting at which he spoke.

As you can see, political friction between 'left' and 'right' is very great here.

In the light of Oswald's attack upon General Walker on the evening of April 10, 1963, discussed in chapter IV, as well as Oswald's known political views, his asserted attendance at the political rally at which General Walker spoke may have been induced by many possible motives. However, there is no evidence that Oswald attended any other rightist meetings or was associated with any politically conservative organizations.

While the black-bordered "Welcome Mr. Kennedy" advertisement in the November 22 Dallas Morning News, which addressed a series of critical questions to the President, probably did not come to Oswald's attention, it was of interest to the Commission because of its appearance on the day of the assassination and because of an allegation made before the Commission concerning the person whose name appeared as the chairman of the committee sponsoring the advertisement. The black-bordered advertisement was purported to be sponsored by "The American Fact-Finding Committee," which was described as "An unaffiliated and nonpartisan group of citizens who wish truth." Bernard Weissman was listed as "Chairman" and a post office box in Dallas was the only address. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1031.)

The Commission has conducted a full investigation into the genesis of this advertisement and the background of those responsible for it. Three of the four men chiefly responsible, Bernard W. Weissman, William B. Burley III, and Larrie H. Schmidt, had served together in the U.S. Army in Munich, Germany, in 1962. During that time they had with others devised plans to develop two conservative organizations, one political and the other business. The political entity was to be named ConservatismUSA, or CUSA, and the business entity was to be named American Business, or AMBUS. While in Munich, according to Weissman, they attempted to develop in their "own minds * * * ways to build up various businesses that would support us and at the same time support our political activities." According to a subsequent letter from Schmidt to Weissman, "Cusa was founded for patriotic reasons rather than for personal gain even though, as a side effect, Ambus was to have brought great return, as any business endeavor should." To establish their organizations, Weissman testified that they:

* * * had planned while in Munich that in order to accomplish our goals, to try to do it from scratch would be almost impossible, because it would be years before we could even get the funds to develop a powerful organization. So we had planned to infiltrate various right-wing organizations and by our own efforts become involved in the hierarchy of these various organizations and eventually get ourselves elected or appointed to various higher offices in these organizations, and by doing this bring in some of our own people, and eventually take over the leadership of these organizations, and at that time having our people in these various

organizations, we would then, you might say, call a conference and have them unite, and while no one knew of the existence of CUSA aside from us, we would then bring them all together, unite them, and arrange to have it called CUSA.

Schmidt was the first to leave the service; settling in Dallas in October 1962, he became a life insurance salesman and quickly engaged in numerous political activities in pursuit of the objectives devised in Munich. He became affiliated with several organizations and prepared various political writings.

Upon their release from the military, Weissman and Burley did not immediately move to Dallas, though repeatedly urged to do so by Schmidt. On October 1, 1963, Schmidt wrote Weissman: "Adlai Stevenson is scheduled here on the 24th on UN Day. Kennedy is scheduled in Dallas on Nov. 24th. There are to be protests. All the big things are happening now if we don't get in right now we may as well forget it." The day of the Stevenson demonstration, Schmidt telephoned Weissman, again urging him to move to Dallas. Recalling that conversation with Schmidt, Weissman testified:

And he said, "If we are going to take advantage of the situation * * * you better hurry down here and take advantage of the publicity, and at least become known among these various right-wingers, because this is the chance we have been looking for to infiltrate some of these organizations and become known, " in other words, go along with the philosophy we had developed in Munich.

Five days later he wrote to Weissman and Burley to report that as the "only organizer of the demonstration to have publicly identified himself, " he had "become, overnight, a 'fearless spokesman' and 'leader' of the right-wing in Dallas. What I worked so hard for in one year and nearly failed finally came through one incident in one night He ended, "Politically, CUSA is set. It is now up to you to get Ambus going." Weissman and Burley accepted Schmidt's prompting and traveled to Dallas, arriving on November 4, 1963. Both obtained employment as carpet salesmen. At Schmidt's solicitation they took steps to join the John Birch Society, and through Schmidt they met the fourth person involved in placing the November 22 advertisement, Joseph P. Grinnan, Dallas independent oil operator and a John Birch Society coordinator in the Dallas area.

Within a week to 10 days after Weissman and Burley had arrived in Dallas, the four men began to consider plans regarding President Kennedy's planned visit to Dallas. Weissman explained the reason for which it was decided that the ad should be placed:

* * * after the Stevenson incident, it was felt that a demonstration would be entirely out of order, because we didn't want anything to happen in the way of physical violence to President Kennedy when he came to Dallas. But we thought that the conservatives in Dallas was told were a pretty downtrodden lot after that, because they were being oppressed by the local liberals, because of the Stevenson incident. We felt we had to do something to build up the morale of the conservative element, in Dallas. So we hit upon the idea of the ad.

Weissman, Schmidt, and Grinnan worked on the text for the advertisement. A pamphlet containing 50 questions critical of American policy was employed for this purpose, and was the source of the militant questions contained in the ad attacking President Kennedy's administration. Grinnan undertook to raise the \$1, needed to pay for the ad. He employed a typed draft of the advertisement to support his funds solicitation. Grinnan raised the needed money from three wealthy Dallas businessmen: Edgar R. Crissey, Nelson Bunker Hunt, and H. R. Bright, some of whom in turn collected contributions from others. At least one of the contributors would not make a contribution unless a question he suggested was inserted. Weissman, believing that Schmidt, Grinnan, and the contributors were active members of the John Birch Society, and that Grinnan eventually took charge of the project, expressed the opinion that the advertisement was the creation of the John Birch Society, though Schmidt and Grinnan have maintained that they were acting "solely as individuals."

A fictitious sponsoring organization was invented out of whole cloth. The name chosen for the supposed organization was The American Fact-Finding Committee. This was "Solely a name, " Weissman testified; "* * * As a matter of fact, when I went to place the ad, I could not remember the name * * * I had to refer to a piece of paper for the name." Weissman's own name was used on the ad in part to counter charges of anti-Semitism which had been leveled against conservative groups in Dallas. Weissman conceived the idea of using a black border, and testified he intended it to serve the function of stimulating reader attention. Before accepting the advertisement, the Dallas Morning News apparently submitted it to its attorneys for their opinion as to whether its publication might subject them to liability.

Weissman testified that the advertisement drew 50 or 60 mailed responses. He took them from the post office box early on Sunday morning, November 24. He said that those postmarked before the attack on President Kennedy were "favorable" in tone; those of later postmark were violently

unfavorable, nasty, and threatening; and, according to a report from Schmidt, those postmarked some weeks later were again of favorable tone.

The four promoters of the ad deny that they had any knowledge of or familiarity with Lee Harvey Oswald prior to November 22, or Jack Ruby prior to November 24. Each has provided a statement of his role in connection with the placement of the November 22 advertisement and other matters, and investigation has revealed no deception. The Commission has found no evidence that any of these persons was connected with Oswald or Ruby, or was linked to a conspiracy to assassinate President Kennedy.

The advertisement, however, did give rise to one allegation concerning Bernard Weissman which required additional investigation. On March 4, 1964, Mark Lane, a New York attorney, testified before the Commission that an undisclosed informant had told him that Weissman had met with Jack Ruby and Patrolman J. D. Tippit at Ruby's Carousel Club on November 14, 1963. Lane declined to state the name of his informant but said that he would attempt to obtain his informant's permission to reveal his name. On July 2, 1964, after repeated requests by the Commission that he disclose the name of his informant, Lane testified a second time concerning this matter, but declined to reveal the information, stating as his reason that he had promised the individual that his name would not be revealed without his permission. Lane also made this allegation during a radio appearance, whereupon Weissman twice demanded that Lane reveal the name of the informant. As of the date of this report Lane has failed to reveal the name of his informant and has offered no evidence to support his allegation. The Commission has investigated the allegation of a Weissman-Ruby-Tippit meeting and has found no evidence that such a meeting took place anywhere at any time. The investigation into this matter is discussed in a later section of this chapter dealing with possible conspiracies involving Jack Ruby.

A comparable incident was the appearance of the "Wanted for Treason" handbill on the streets of Dallas 1 to 2 days before President Kennedy's arrival. These handbills bore a reproduction of a front and profile photograph of the President and set forth a series of inflammatory charges against him. Efforts to locate the author and the lithography printer of the handbill at first met with evasive responses and refusals to furnish information. Robert A. Surrey was eventually identified as the author of the handbill. Surrey, a 38-year-old printing salesman employed by Johnson Printing Co. of Dallas, Tex, has been closely associated with General Walker for several years in his political and business activities. He is president of American Eagle Publishing Co. of Dallas, in which he is a partner with General Walker. Its office and address is the post office box of Johnson Printing Co. Its assets consist of cash and various printed materials composed chiefly of General Walker's political and promotional literature, all of which is stored at General Walker's headquarters.

Surrey prepared the text for the handbill and apparently used Payne Printing Co. facilities to set the type and print a proof. Surrey induced Klause, a salesman employed by Lettercraft Printing Co. of Dallas, whom Surrey had met when both were employed at Johnson Printing Co., to print the handbill "on the side." According to Klause, Surrey contacted him initially approximately 2 or 2 1/2 weeks prior to November 22. About a week prior to November 22, Surrey delivered to Klause two slick paper magazine prints of photographs of a front view and profile of President Kennedy, together with the textual page proof. Klause was unable to make the photographic negative of the prints needed to prepare the photographic printing plate, so that he had this feature of the job done at a local shop. Klause then arranged the halftone front and profile representations of President Kennedy at the top of the textual material he had received from Surrey so as to simulate a "man wanted" police placard. He then made a photographic printing plate of the picture. During the night, he and his wife surreptitiously printed approximately 5,000 copies on Lettercraft Printing Co. offset printing equipment without the knowledge of his employers. The next day he arranged with Surrey a meeting place, and delivered the handbills. Klause's charge for the printing of the handbills was, including expenses, \$60.

At the outset of the investigation Klause stated to Federal agents that he did not know the name of his customer, whom he incorrectly described; he did say, however, that the customer did not resemble either Oswald or Ruby. Shortly before he appeared before the Commission, Klause disclosed Surrey's identity. He explained that no record of the transaction had been made because "he saw a chance to make a few dollars on the side."

Klause's testimony receives some corroboration from Bernard Weissman's testimony that he saw a copy of one of the "Wanted for Treason" handbills on the floor of General Walker's station wagon shortly after November 22. Other details of the manner in which the handbills were printed have also been verified. Moreover, Weissman testified that neither he nor any of his associates had anything to do with the handbill or were, acquainted with Surrey, Klause, Lettercraft Printing Co., or Johnson Printing Co. Klause and Surrey, as well as General Walker, testified that they were unacquainted with Lee Harvey Oswald and had not heard of him prior to the afternoon of November 22. The Commission has found

no evidence of any connection between those responsible for the handbill and Lee Harvey Oswald or the assassination.

Contacts With the Cuban and Soviet Embassies in Mexico City and the Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC.

Eight weeks before the assassination, Oswald traveled to Mexico City where he visited both the Cuban and Soviet Embassies. The Soviet Embassy in Mexico City includes consular as well as diplomatic personnel in a single building. (The Cuban Embassy and Cuban Consulate in Mexico City, though in separate buildings, are in the same compound. Both the Soviet and the Cuban establishments will be referred to throughout the report simply as Embassies.) Oswald's wife knew of this trip before he went, but she denied such knowledge until she testified before the Commission. The Commission undertook an intensive investigation to determine Oswald's purpose and activities on this journey, with specific reference to reports that Oswald was an agent of the Cuban or Soviet Governments. As a result of its investigation, the Commission believes that it has been able to reconstruct and explain most of Oswald's actions during this time. A detailed chronological account of this trip appears in appendix XIII.

Trip to Mexico. Oswald was in Mexico from September 26, 1963, until October 3, 1968. (See Commission Exhibits Nos. 2478, 2481.) Marina Oswald testified that Oswald had told her that the purpose of the trip was to evade the American prohibition on travel to Cuba and to reach that country. He cautioned her that the trip and its purpose were to be kept strictly secret. She testified that he had earlier laid plans to reach Cuba by hijacking an airliner flying out of New Orleans, but she refused to cooperate and urged him to give it up, which he finally did. Witnesses who spoke with Oswald while he was on a bus going to Mexico City also testified that Oswald told them he intended to reach Cuba by way of Mexico, and that he hoped to meet Fidel Castro after he arrived. When Oswald spoke to the Cuban and Soviet consular officials in Mexico City, he represented that he intended to travel to the Soviet Union and requested an "in-transit" Cuban visa to permit him to enter Cuba on September 30 on the way to the Soviet Union. Marina Oswald has testified that these statements were deceptions designed to get him to Cuba. Thus, although it is possible that Oswald intended to continue on to Russia from Cuba, the evidence makes it more likely that he intended to remain in Cuba.

Oswald departed from New Orleans probably about noon on September 25 and arrived in Mexico City at about 10 a.m. on September 27. In Mexico City he embarked on a series of visits to the Soviet and Cuban Embassies, which occupied most of his time during the first 2 days of his visit. At the Cuban Embassy, he requested an "in-transit" visa to permit him to visit Cuba on his way to the Soviet Union. Oswald was informed that he could not obtain a visa for entry into Cuba unless he first obtained a visa to enter the U.S.S.R., and the Soviet Embassy told him that he could not expect an answer on his application for a visa for the Soviet Union for about 4 months. Oswald carried with him newspaper clippings, letters and various documents, some of them forged or containing false information, purporting to show that he was a "friend" of Cuba. With these papers and his record of previous residence in the Soviet Union and marriage to a Soviet national, he tried to curry favor with both Embassies. Indeed, his wife testified that in her opinion Oswald's primary purpose in having engaged in Fair Play for Cuba Committee activities was to create a public record that he was a "friend" of Cuba. He made himself especially unpopular at the Cuban Embassy by persisting in his demands that as a sympathizer in Cuban objectives he ought to be given a visa. This resulted in a sharp argument with the consul, Eusebio Azque.

By Saturday, September 28, 1963, Oswald had failed to obtain visas at both Embassies. From Sunday, September 29, through Wednesday morning, October 2, when he left Mexico City on a bus bound for the United States, Oswald spent considerable time making his travel arrangements, sightseeing and checking again with the Soviet Embassy to learn whether anything had happened on his visa application. Marina Oswald testified that when she first saw him after his return to the United States he was disappointed and discouraged at his failure to reach Cuba.

The general outlines of Oswald's activities in Mexico, particularly the nature and extent of his contacts at the Cuban Embassy, were learned very early in the investigation. An important source of information relating to his business at the Cuban Embassy was Senora Silvia Tirado de Duran, a Mexican national employed in the visa section of the Cuban Embassy, who was questioned intensively by Mexican authorities soon after the assassination. An excerpt from the report of the Mexican Government summarized the crucial portion of Senora Duran's recollection of Oswald. In translation it reads as follows:

* * * she remembered * * * [that Lee Harvey Oswald] was the name of an American who had come to the Cuban Consulate to obtain a visa to travel to Cuba in transit to Russia, the latter part of September or the early part of October of this year, and in support of his application had shown his passport., in which it was noted that he had lived in that country for a period of three years; his labor-card from the same country written in the Russian language; and letters in that same language. He had presented evidence that he was married to a Russian woman, and also that he was apparently the leader of an organization in the city of New Orleans called "Fair * * * [Play] for Cuba, " claiming that he should be accepted as a "friend" of the Cuban Revolution. Accordingly, the declarant, complying with her duties, took down all of the information and completed the appropriate application form; and the declarant, admittedly exceeding her responsibilities, informally telephoned the Russian consulate, with the intention of doing what she could to facilitate issuance of the Russian visa to Lee Harvey Oswald. However, they told her that there would be a delay of about four months in processing the case, which annoyed the applicant since, according to his statement, he was in a great hurry to obtain visas that would enable him to travel to Russia, insisting on his right to do so in view of his background and his loyalty and his activities in behalf of the Cuban movement. The declarant was unable to recall accurately whether or not the applicant told her he was a member of the Communist Party, but he did say that his wife * * * was then in New York City, and would follow him, * * * [Senora Duran stated] that when Oswald understood that it was not possible to give him a Cuban visa without his first having obtained the Russian visa, * * * he became very excited or angry, and accordingly, the affiant called Consul Ascue [sic], * * * [who] came out and began a heated discussion in English with Oswald, that concluded by Ascue telling him that "if it were up to him, he would not give him the visa, " and "a person of his type was harming the Cuban Revolution rather than helping it, " it being understood that in their conversation they were talking about the Russian Socialist Revolution and not the Cuban. Oswald maintained that he had two reasons for requesting that his visa be issued promptly, and they were: one, that his tourist permit in Mexico was about to expire; and the other, that he had to get to Russia as quickly as possible. Despite her annoyance, the declarant gave Oswald a paper * * * in which she put down her name, "Silvia Duran, " and the number of the telephone at the consulate, which is "11- 28-47" and the visa application was processed anyway. It was sent to the Ministry of [Foreign] Relations of Cuba; from which a routine reply was received some fifteen to thirty days later, approving the visa, but on the condition that the Russian visa be obtained first, although she does not recall whether or not Oswald later telephoned her at the Consulate number that she gave him.

With the dates of Oswald's entry into and departure from Mexico, which had been obtained from the records of the Mexican Immigration Service very shortly after the assassination, the Government of Mexico initiated a thorough investigation to uncover as much information as possible on Oswald's trip. Representatives of U.S. agencies worked in close liaison with the Mexican law enforcement authorities. The result of this investigative effort was to corroborate the statements of Senora Duran and to verify the essentials of Oswald's activities in Mexico as outlined above.

Senora Duran is a well-educated native of Mexico, who was 26 years old at the time of her interrogation. She is married to Senor Horacio Duran Navarro, a 40-year-old industrial designer, and has a young child. Although Senora Duran denies being a member of the Communist Party or otherwise connected with it, both Durans have been active in far left political affairs in Mexico, believe in Marxist ideology, and sympathize with the government of Fidel Castro, and Senor Duran has written articles for El Dia, a pro-Communist newspaper in Mexico City. The Commission has reliable evidence from a confidential source that Senora Duran as well as other personnel at the Cuban Embassy were genuinely upset upon receiving news of President Kennedy's death. Senora Duran's statements were made to Mexican officials soon after the assassination, and no significant inaccuracies in them have been detected. Documents fitting the description given by Senora Duran of the documents Oswald had shown her, plus a notation which she said she had given him, were found among his possessions after his arrest.

The Cuban Government was asked to document and confirm the essentials of Senora Duran's testimony. Its response, which has been included in its entirety in this Report, included a summary statement of Oswald's activities at the Cuban Embassy, a photograph of the application for a visa he completed there, and a photograph of the communication from Havana rejecting the application unless he could first present a Soviet visa. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2564.) The information on these documents concerning Oswald's date of birth, American passport number and activities and statements at the Embassy is consistent with other information available to the Commission. CIA experts have given their opinion that the handwriting on the visa application which purports to be Oswald's is in fact his and that, although the handwritten notations on the bottom of the document are too brief and faint to permit a conclusive determination, they are probably Senora Duran's. The cloths which Oswald was wearing in the photograph which appears on the application appear to be the same as some of those found among his effects after the assassination, and the photograph itself appears to be from the same negative as a photograph found among his effects. Nothing on any of the documents raises a suspicion

that they might not be authentic.

By far the most important confirmation of Senora Duran's testimony, however, has been supplied by confidential sources of extremely high reliability available to the United States in Mexico. The information from these sources establishes that her testimony was truthful and accurate in all material respects. The identities of these sources cannot be disclosed without destroying their future usefulness to the United States.

The investigation of the Commission has produced considerable testimonial and documentary evidence establishing the precise time of Oswald's journey, his means of transportation, the hotel at which he stayed in Mexico City, and a restaurant at which he often ate. All known persons whom Oswald may have met while in Mexico, including passengers on the buses he rode, and the employees and guests of the hotel where he stayed, were interviewed. No credible witness has been located who saw Oswald with any unidentified person while in Mexico City; to the contrary, he was observed traveling alone to and from Mexico City, at his hotel, and at the nearby restaurant where he frequently ate. A hotel guest stated that on one occasion he sat down at a table with Oswald at the restaurant because no empty table was available, but that neither spoke to the other because of the language barrier. Two Australian girls who saw Oswald on the bus to Mexico City relate that he occupied a seat next to a man who has been identified as Albert Osborne, an elderly itinerant preacher. Osborne denies that Oswald was beside him on the bus. To the other passengers on the bus it appeared that Osborne and Oswald had not previously met, and extensive investigation of Osborne has revealed no further contact between him and Oswald. Osborne's responses to Federal investigators on matters unrelated to Oswald have proved inconsistent and unreliable, and, therefore, based on the contrary evidence and Osborne's lack of reliability, the Commission has attached no credence to his denial that Oswald was beside him on the bus. Investigation of his background and activities, however, disclose no basis for suspecting him of any involvement in the assassination.

Investigation of the hotel at which Oswald stayed has failed to uncover any evidence that the hotel is unusual in any way that could relate to Oswald's visit. It is not especially popular among Cubans, and there is no indication that it is used as a meeting place for extremist or revolutionary organizations. Investigation of other guests of the hotel who were there when Oswald was has failed to uncover anything creating suspicion. Oswald's notebook which he carried with him to Mexico City contained the telephone number of the Cuban Airlines Office in Mexico City; however, a Cuban visa is required by Mexican authorities before an individual may enplane for Cuba, and a confidential check of the Cuban Airlines Office uncovered no evidence that Oswald visited their offices while in the city.

Allegations of conspiracy. Literally dozens of allegations of a conspiratorial contact between Oswald and agents of the Cuban Government have been investigated by the Commission. Among the claims made were allegations that Oswald had made a previous trip to Mexico City in early September to receive money and orders for the assassination, that he had been flown to a secret airfield somewhere in or near the Yucatan Peninsula, that he might have made contacts in Mexico City with a Communist from the United States shortly before the assassination, and that Oswald assassinated the President at the direction of a particular Cuban agent who met with him in the United States and paid him \$7,000. A letter was received from someone in Cuba alleging the writer had attended a meeting where the assassination had been discussed as part of a plan which would soon include the death of other non-Communist leaders in the Americas. The charge was made in a Cuban expatriate publication that in a speech he delivered 5 days after the assassination, while he was under the influence of liquor, Fidel Castro made a slip of the tongue and said, "The first time Oswald was in Cuba," thereby giving away the fact that Oswald had made one or more surreptitious trips to that country.

Some stories linked the assassination to anti-Castro groups who allegedly were engaged in obtaining illicit firearms in the United States, one such claim being that these groups killed the President as part of a bargain with some illicit organizations who would then supply them with firearms as payment. Other rumors placed Oswald in Miami, Fla., at various times, allegedly in pro-Cuban activities there. The assassination was claimed to have been carried out by Chinese Communists operating jointly with the Cubans. Oswald was also alleged to have met with the Cuban Ambassador in a Mexico City restaurant and to have driven off in the Ambassador's car for a private talk. Castro himself, it was alleged, 2 days after the assassination called for the files relating to Oswald's dealings with two members of the Cuban diplomatic mission in the Soviet Union; the inference drawn was that the "dealings" had occurred and had established a secret subversive relationship which continued through Oswald's life. Without exception, the rumors and allegations of a conspiratorial contact were shown to be without any factual basis, in some cases the product of mistaken identification.

Illustrative of the attention given to the most serious allegations is the case of "D," a young Latin

American secret agent who approached U.S. authorities in Mexico shortly after the assassination and declared that he saw Lee Harvey Oswald receiving \$6,500 to kill the President. Among other details, "D" said that at about noon on September 18, waiting to conduct some business at the Cuban consulate, he saw a group of three persons conversing in a patio a few feet away. One was a tall, thin Negro with reddish hair, obviously dyed, who spoke rapidly in both Spanish and English, and another was a man he said was Lee Harvey Oswald. A tall Cuban joined the group momentarily and passed some currency to the Negro. The Negro then allegedly said to Oswald in English, "I want to kill the man." Oswald replied, "You're not man enough, I can do it." The Negro then said in Spanish, "I can't go with you, I have a lot to do." Oswald replied, "The people are waiting for me back there." The Negro then gave Oswald \$6,500 in large-denomination American bills, saying, "This isn't much." After hearing this conversation, "D" said that he telephoned the American Embassy in Mexico City several times prior to the assassination in an attempt to report his belief that someone important in the United States was to be killed, but was finally told by someone at the Embassy to stop wasting his time.

"D" and his allegations were immediately subjected to intensive investigation. His former employment as an agent for a Latin American country was confirmed, although his superiors had no knowledge of his presence in Mexico or the assignment described by "D." Four days after "D" first appeared the U.S. Government was informed by the Mexican authorities that "D" had admitted in writing that his whole narrative about Oswald was false. He said that he had never seen Oswald anywhere, and that he had not seen anybody paid money in the Cuban Embassy. He also admitted that he never tried to telephone the American Embassy in September and that his first call to the Embassy was after the assassination. "D" said that his motive in fabricating the story was to help get himself admitted into the United States so that he could there participate in action against Fidel Castro. He said that he hated Castro and hoped that the story he made up would be believed and would cause the United States to "take action" against him.

Still later, when questioned by American authorities, "D" claimed that he had been pressured into retracting his statement by the Mexican police and that the retraction, rather than his first statement, was false. A portion of the American questioning was carried on with the use of a polygraph machine, with the consent of "D." When told that the machine indicated that he was probably lying, "D" said words to the effect that he "must be mistaken." Investigation in the meantime had disclosed that the Embassy extension number "D" said he had called would not have given him the person he said he spoke to, and that no one at the Embassy clerks, secretaries, or officers had any recollection of his calls. In addition, Oswald spoke little, if any, Spanish. That he could have carried on the alleged conversation with the red-headed Negro in the Cuban Embassy, part of which was supposed to have been in Spanish, was therefore doubtful. "D" now said that he was uncertain as to the date when he saw "someone who looked like Oswald" at the Cuban Embassy, and upon reconsideration, he now thought it was on a Tuesday, September 17, rather than September 18. On September 17, however, Oswald visited the Louisiana State Unemployment Commission in New Orleans and also cashed a check from the Texas Employment Commission at the Winn-Dixie Store No. 1425 in New Orleans. On the basis of the retractions made by "D" when he heard the results of the polygraph examination, and on the basis of discrepancies which appeared in his story, it was concluded that "D" was lying.

The investigation of the Commission has thus produced no evidence that Oswald's trip to Mexico was in any way connected with the assassination of President Kennedy, nor has it uncovered evidence that the Cuban Government had any involvement in the assassination. To the contrary, the Commission has been advised by the CIA and FBI that secret and reliable sources corroborate the statements of Senora Duran in all material respects, and that the Cuban Government had no relationship with Lee Harvey Oswald other than that described by Senora Duran. Secretary of State Rusk also testified that after the assassination "there was very considerable concern in Cuba as to whether they would be held responsible and what the effect of that might be on their own position and their own safety."

Contact with the Soviet Embassy in the United States. Soon after the Oswalds reached the United States in June 1962 they wrote to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC. Oswald requested information about subscriptions to Russian newspapers and magazines and ultimately did subscribe to several Russian journals. Soviet law required Marina Oswald, as a Soviet citizen living abroad, to remain in contact with her nation's Embassy and to file various papers occasionally. In 1963, after Oswald had experienced repeated employment difficulties, there were further letters when the Oswalds sought permission to return to the Soviet Union. The first such request was a letter written by Marina Oswald on February 17, 1963. She wrote that she wished to return to Russia but that her husband would stay in the United States because "he is an American by nationality." She was informed on March 8, 1963, that it would take from 5 to 6 months to process the application. The Soviet Union made available to the Commission what purports to be the entire correspondence between the Oswalds and the Russian

Embassy in the United States. This material has been checked for codes and none has been detected. With the possible exception of a letter which Oswald wrote to the Soviet Embassy after his return from Mexico City, discussed below, there is no material which gives any reason for suspicion. The implications of all of this correspondence for an understanding of Lee Harvey Oswald's personality and motivation is discussed in the following chapter.

Oswald's last letter to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., dated November 9, 1963, began by stating that it was written "to inform you of recent events since my meetings with Comrade Kostin in the Embassy of the Soviet Union, Mexico City, Mexico." The envelope bears a postmark which appears to be November 12, 1963. Ruth Paine has testified that Oswald spent the weekend at her home working on the letter and that she observed one preliminary draft. A piece of paper which was identified as one of these drafts was found among Oswald's effects after the assassination. (See Commission Exhibits Nos. 15, 103.) According to Marina Oswald, her husband retyped the envelope 10 times.

Information produced for the Commission by the CIA is to the effect that the person referred to in the letter as "comrade Kostin" was probably Valeriy Vladimirovich Kostikov, a member of the consular staff of the Soviet Union in Mexico City. He is also one of the KGB officers stationed at the Embassy. It is standard Soviet procedure for KGB officers stationed in embassies and in consulates to carry on the normal duties of such a position in addition to the undercover activities. The Commission has identified the Cuban consul referred to in Oswald's letter as Senor Eusebio Azque (also "Ascue"), the man with whom Oswald argued at the Cuban Embassy, who was in fact replaced. The CIA advised the Commission:

We surmise that the references in Oswald's 9 November letter to a man who had since been replaced must refer to Cuban Consul Eusebio Azque, who left Mexico for Cuba on permanent transfer on 18 November 1963, four days before the assassination. Azque had been in Mexico for 18 years and it was known as early as September 1963 that Azque was to be replaced. His replacement did arrive in September. Azque was scheduled to leave in October but did not leave until 18 November.

We do not know who might have told Oswald that Azque or any other Cuban had been or was to be replaced, but we speculate that Silvia Duran or some Soviet official might have mentioned it if Oswald complained about Azque's altercation with him.

When asked to explain the letter, Marina Oswald was unable to add anything to an understanding of its contents. Some light on its possible meaning can be shed by comparing it with the early draft. When the differences between the draft and the final document are studied, and especially when crossed-out words are taken into account, it becomes apparent that Oswald was intentionally beclouding the true state of affairs in order to make his trip to Mexico sound as mysterious and important as possible.

For example, the first sentence in the second paragraph of the letter reads, "I was unable to remain in Mexico indefinitely because of my Mexican visa restrictions which was for 15 days only." The same sentence in the draft begins, before the words are crossed out, "I was unable to remain in Mexico City because I considered useless * * *" As already mentioned, the Commission has good evidence that Oswald's trip to Mexico was indeed "useless" and that he returned to Texas with that conviction. The first draft, therefore, spoke the truth; but Oswald rewrote the sentence to imply that he had to leave because his visa was about to expire. This is false; Oswald's tourist card still had a full week to run when he departed from Mexico on October 3.

The next sentence in the letter reads, "I could not take a chance on requesting a new visa unless I used my real name, so I returned to the United States." The fact is that he did use his real name for his tourist card, and in all dealings with the Cuban Embassy, the Russian Embassy and elsewhere. Oswald did use the name of "Lee" on the trip, but as indicated below, he did so only sporadically and probably as the result of a clerical error. In the opinion of the Commission, based upon its knowledge of Oswald, the letter constitutes no more than a clumsy effort to ingratiate himself with the Soviet Embassy.

Investigation of Other Activities

Oswald's use of post office boxes and false names. After his return from the Soviet Union, Lee Harvey Oswald is known to have received his mail at post office boxes and to have used different aliases on numerous occasions. Since either practice is susceptible of use for clandestine purposes, the Commission has directed attention to both for signs that Oswald at some point made undercover contact with other persons who might have been connected with the assassination.

Oswald is known to have opened three post office boxes during 1962 and 1963. On October 9, 1962, the same day that he arrived in Dallas from Fort Worth, and before establishing a residence there, he

opened box No. 2915 at the Dallas General Post Office. This box was closed on May 14, 1963, shortly after Oswald had moved to New Orleans. That portion of the post office box application listing the names of those persons other than the applicant entitled to receive mail at the box was discarded in accordance with postal regulations after the box was closed; hence, it is not known what names other than Oswald's were listed on that form. However, as discussed in chapter IV, Oswald is known to have received the assassination rifle under the name of A. Hidell and his Smith & Wesson revolver under the name of A. J. Hidell at that box. On June 3, 1963, Oswald opened box No. 30061 at the Lafayette Square Substation in New Orleans. Marina Oswald and A. J. Hidell were listed as additional persons entitled to receive mail at this box. Immediately before leaving for Mexico City in late September, Oswald submitted a request to forward his mail to the Paines' address in Irving, and the box was closed on September 26. On November 1, 1963, he opened box No. 6225 at the Dallas Post Office Terminal Annex. The Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union were listed as also being entitled to receive mail at this box.

Oswald's use of post office boxes is consistent with other information known about him. His frequent changes of address and receipt of Communist and other political literature would appear to have provided Oswald reason to have rented postal boxes. These were the explanations for his use of the boxes which he provided Postal Inspector H. D. Holmes on November 24. Moreover, on October 14, 1963, he had moved into a room on Beckley Avenue under the name of O. H. Lee and it would have been extremely difficult for Oswald to have received his mail at that address without having disclosed his true name. The boxes cost Oswald only \$1.50 or less per month.

Although the possibilities of investigation in this area are limited, there is no evidence that any of the three boxes was ever used for the surreptitious receipt of messages or was used by persons other than Oswald or his family. No unexplainable notes were found among Oswald's possessions after his arrest. Oswald's box on the day of the assassination, No. 6225, was kept under constant personal surveillance by postal inspectors from about 5 p.m. November 22 until midnight November 24. A modified surveillance was maintained there after. No one called for mail out of this box; indeed the only mail in the box was a Russian magazine addressed to Oswald. The single outstanding key was recovered from Oswald immediately after he was taken in custody.

In appraising the import of Oswald's rental of post office boxes, it is significant that he was not secretive about their use. All three boxes were rented by Oswald using his true name. His application for box No. 2915 showed his home address as that of Alexandra De Mohrenschildt (Taylor), whose husband had agreed to allow Oswald to use his address. His application for the New Orleans box listed his address as French Street; his aunt, Lillian Murret, lived at 757 French Street. On the application for box No. 6225, Oswald gave an incorrect street number, though he did show Beckley Avenue, where he was then living. He furnished the box numbers to his brother, to an employer, to Texas and New Orleans unemployment commissions, and to others. Based on all the facts disclosed by its investigation, the Commission has attached no conspiratorial significance to Oswald's rental of post office boxes.

Oswald's use of aliases is also well established. In chapter IV, the evidence relating to his repeated use of the name "A. J. Hidell," and close variants thereof, is set forth. Because Oswald's use of this pseudonym became known quickly after the assassination, investigations were conducted with regard to persons using the name Hidell Payne or names similar to it. Subversive files, public carrier records, telegraph company records, banking and other commercial records, and other matters investigated and persons interviewed have been examined with regard to Oswald's true name and his known alias. No evidence has been produced that Oswald ever used the name Hidell as a means of making undercover contact with any person. Indeed, though Oswald did prepare a counterfeit selective service card and other identification using this name, he commonly used "Hidell" to represent persons other than himself, such as the president of his nonexistent Fair Play for Cuba Committee chapter, the doctor whose name appeared on his counterfeit international certificate of vaccination, and as references on his job applications.

Alwyn Cole, questioned document expert for the Treasury Department, testified that the false identification found on Oswald upon his arrest could have been produced by employing elementary techniques used in a photographic printing plant. (See app. X.) Though to perform the necessary procedures would have been difficult without the use of expensive photographic equipment, such equipment and the needed film and photographic paper were available to Oswald when he was employed from October 1962 through early April 1963 at Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall, a commercial advertising photography firm in Dallas. While so employed, Oswald is known to have become familiar with the mechanics of photographic enlargements, contraction, and image distortion that would have been necessary to produce his false identification, and to have used the facilities of his employer for some personal work. Cole testified that the cards in Oswald's wallet did not exhibit a great deal of skill,

pointing out various errors that had been committed. Oswald's supervisor at Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall has stated that Oswald seemed unable to perform photographic work with precision, which was one of the main reasons for which he was ultimately discharged. The retouched negatives used to make Oswald's counterfeit certificate of service identification were found among Oswald's personal effects after his arrest, as was a rubber stamping kit apparently employed to produce his spurious international certificate of vaccination. There is strong evidence, therefore, that Oswald himself made the various pieces of counterfeit identification which he carried, and there is no reason to believe that he received assistance from any person in establishing his alias.

Oswald also used incorrect names other than Hidell, but these too appear unconnected with any form of conspiracy. Oswald's last name appears as "Lee" in three places in connection with his trip to Mexico City, discussed above. His tourist card was typed by the Mexican consulate in New Orleans, "Lee, Harvey Oswald." However, the comma seems to have been a clerical error, since Oswald signed both the application and the card itself, "Lee H. Oswald." Moreover, Oswald seems originally to have also printed his name, evenly spaced, as "Lee H Oswald, " but, noting that the form instructed him to "Print full name. No initials, " printed the remainder of his middle name after the "H." The clerk who typed the card thus saw a space after "Lee, " followed by "Harvey Oswald" crowded together, and probably assumed that "Lee" was the applicant's last name. (See Commission Exhibit 2481.) The clerk who prepared Oswald's bus reservation for his return trip wrote "H. O. Lee." He stated that he did not remember the occasion, although he was sure from the handwriting and from other facts that he had dealt with Oswald. He surmised that he probably made out the reservation directly from the tourist card, since Oswald spoke no Spanish, and, seeing the comma, wrote the name "H. O. Lee." Oswald himself signed the register at the hotel in Mexico City as "Lee, Harvey Oswald," but since the error is identical to that on the tourist card and since he revealed the remainder of his name, "Harvey Oswald," it is possible that Oswald inserted the comma to conform to the tourist card, or that the earlier mistake suggested a new pseudonym to Oswald which he decided to continue.

In any event, Oswald used his correct name in making reservations for the trip to Mexico City, in introducing himself to passengers on the bus, and in his dealings with the Cuban and Soviet Embassies. When registering at the Beckley Avenue house in mid-October, Oswald perpetuated the pseudonym by giving his name as "O. H. Lee, " though he had given his correct name to the owner of the previous rooming house where he had rented a room after his return from Mexico City. Investigations of the Commission have been conducted with regard to persons using the name "Lee, " and no evidence has been found that Oswald used this alias for the purpose of making any type of secret contacts.

Oswald is also known to have used the surname "Osborne" in ordering Fair Play for Cuba Committee handbills in May 1963. He also used the false name D. F. Dittal as a certifying witness on the mail-order coupon with which he purchased his Smith & Wesson revolver. He used the name Lt. J. Evans as a reference on an employment application in New Orleans.

Oswald's repeated use of false names is probably not to be disassociated from his antisocial and criminal inclinations. No doubt he purchased his weapons under the name of Hidell in attempt to prevent their ownership from being traced. Oswald's creation of false names and fictitious personalities is treated in the discussion of possible motives set forth in chapter VII. Whatever its significance in that respect may be, the Commission has found no indication that Oswald's use of aliases was linked with any conspiracy with others.

Ownership of a second rifle. The Commission has investigated a report that, during the first 2 weeks of November 1963, Oswald had a telescopic sight mounted and sighted on a rifle at a sporting goods store in Irving, Tex. The main evidence that Oswald had such work performed for him is an undated repair tag bearing the name "Oswald" from the Irving Sports Shop in Irving, Tex. On November 25, 1963, Dial D. Ryder, an employee of the Irving Sports Shop, presented this tag to agents of the FBI, claiming that the tag was in his handwriting. The undated tag indicated that three holes had been drilled in an unspecified type of rifle and a telescopic sight had been mounted on the rifle and boresighted.

As discussed in chapter IV, the telescopic sight on the C2766 Mannlicher-Carcano rifle was already mounted when shipped to Oswald, and both Ryder and his employer, Charles W. Greener, feel certain that they never did any work on this rifle. If the repair tag actually represented a transaction involving Lee Harvey Oswald, therefore, it would mean that Oswald owned another rifle. Although this would not alter the evidence which establishes Oswald's ownership of the rifle used to assassinate President Kennedy, the possession of a second rifle warranted investigation because it would indicate that a possibly important part of Oswald's life had not been uncovered.

Since all of Oswald's known transactions in connection with firearms after his return to the United States were undertaken under an assumed name, it seems unlikely that if he did have repairs made at the

sports shop he would have used his real name. Investigation has revealed that the authenticity of the repair tag bearing Oswald's name is indeed subject to grave doubts. Ryder testified that he found the repair tag while cleaning his workbench on November 23, 1963. However, Ryder spoke with Greener repeatedly during the period between November 22-28 and, sometime prior to November 25, he discussed with him the possibility that Oswald had been in the store. Neither he nor Greener could remember that he had been. But despite these conversations with Greener, it is significant that Ryder never called the repair tag to his employer's attention. Greener did not learn about the tag until November 28, when he was called by TV reporters after the story had appeared in the Dallas Times-Herald. The peculiarity of Ryder's silence is compounded by the fact that, when speaking to the FBI on November 25, Ryder fixed the period during which the tag had been issued as November 1-14, 1963, yet, from his later testimony, it appears that he did so on the basis that it must have occurred when Greener was on vacation since Greener did not remember the transaction. Moreover, the FBI had been directed to the Irving Sports Shop by anonymous telephone calls received by its Dallas office and by a local television station. The anonymous male who telephoned the Bureau attributed his information to an unidentified sack boy at a specified supermarket in Irving, but investigation has failed to verify this source.

Neither Ryder nor Greener claimed that Lee Harvey Oswald had ever been a customer in the Irving Sports Shop. Neither has any recollection of either Oswald or his Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, nor does either recall the transaction allegedly represented by the repair tag or the person for whom the repair was supposedly made. Although Ryder stated to the FBI that he was "quite sure" that he had seen Oswald and that Oswald may have been in the store at one time, when shown a photograph of Oswald during his deposition, Ryder testified he knew the picture to be of Oswald, "as the pictures in the paper, but as far as seeing the guy personally, I don't think I ever have."

Subsequent events also reflect on Ryder's credibility. In his deposition, Ryder emphatically denied that he talked to any reporters about this matter prior to the time a story about it appeared in the November 28, 1963, edition of the Dallas Times-Herald. Earlier, however, he told an agent of the U.S. Secret Service that the newspaper had misquoted him. Moreover, a reporter for the Dallas Times-Herald has testified that on November 28, 1968, he called Ryder at his home and obtained from him all of the details of the alleged transaction, and his story is supported by the testimony of a second reporter who overheard one end of the telephone conversation. No other person by the name of Oswald in the Dallas-Fort Worth area has been found who had a rifle repaired at the Irving Sports Shop.

Possible corroboration for Ryder's story is provided by two women, Mrs. Edith Whitworth, who operates the Furniture Mart, a furniture store located about 1 1/2 blocks from the Irving Sports Shop, and Mrs. Gertrude Hunter, a friend of Mrs. Whitworth. They testified that in early November of 1963, a man who they later came to believe was Oswald drove up to the Furniture Mart in a two-tone blue and white 1957 Ford automobile, entered the store and asked about a part for a gun, presumably because of a sign that appeared in the building advertising a gunsmith shop that had formerly occupied part of the premises. When he found that he could not obtain the part, the man allegedly returned to his car and then came back into the store with a woman and two young children to look at furniture, remaining in the store for about 30 to 40 minutes.

Upon confronting Marina Oswald, both women identified her as the woman whom they had seen in the store on the occasion in question, although Mrs. Hunter could not identify a picture of Lee Harvey Oswald and Mrs. Whitworth identified some pictures of Oswald but not others. Mrs. Hunter purported to identify Marina Oswald by her eyes, and did not observe the fact that Marina Oswald had a front tooth missing at the time she supposedly saw her. After a thorough inspection of the Furniture Mart, Marina Oswald testified that she had never been on the premises before.

The circumstances surrounding the testimony of the two women are helpful in evaluating the weight to be given to their testimony, and the extent to which they lend support to Ryder's evidence. The women previously told newspaper reporters that the part for which the man was looking was a "plunger," which the Commission has been advised is a colloquial term used to describe a firing pin. This work was completely different from the work covered by Ryder's repair tag, and the firing pin of the assassination weapon does not appear to have been recently replaced. At the time of their depositions, neither woman was able to recall the type of work which the man wanted done.

Mrs. Whitworth related to the FBI that the man told her that the younger child with him was born on October 20, 1968, which was in fact Rachel Oswald's birthday. In her testimony before the Commission, however, Mrs. Whitworth could not state that the man had told her the child's birthdate was October 20, 1963, and in fact expressed uncertainty about the birthday of her own grandchild, which she had previously used as a guide to remembering the birthdate of the younger child in the shop. Mrs.

Hunter thought that the man she and Mrs. Whitworth believed was Oswald drove the car to and from the store; however, Lee Harvey Oswald apparently was not able to drive an automobile by himself and does not appear to have had access to a car.

The two women claimed that Oswald was in the Furniture Mart on a weekday, and in mid afternoon. However, Oswald had reported to work at the Texas School Book Depository on the dates referred to by the women and there is no evidence that he left his job during business hours. In addition, Ruth Paine has stated that she always accompanied Marina Oswald whenever Marina left the house with her children and that they never went to the Furniture Mart, either with or without Lee Harvey Oswald, at any time during October or November of 1963. There is nothing to indicate that in November the Oswalds were interested in buying furniture.

Finally, investigation has produced reason to question the credibility of Mrs. Hunter as a witness. Mrs. Hunter stated that one of the reasons she remembers the description of the car in which Oswald supposedly drove to the furniture store was that she was awaiting the arrival of a friend from Houston, who drove a similar automobile. However, the friend in Houston has advised that in November 1963, she never visited or planned to visit Dallas, and that she told no one that she intended to make such a trip. Moreover the friend added, according to the FBI interview report, that Mrs. Hunter has "a strange obsession for attempting to inject herself into any big event which comes to her attention" and that she "is likely to claim some personal knowledge of any major crime which receives much publicity." She concluded that "the entire family is aware of these 'tall tales' Mrs. Hunter tells and they normally pay no attention to her."

Another allegation relating to the possible ownership of a second rifle by Oswald comes from Robert Adrian Taylor, a mechanic at a service station in Irving. Some 3 weeks after the assassination, Taylor reported to the FBI that he thought that, in March or April of 1963, a man he believed to be Oswald had been a passenger in an automobile that stopped at his station for repairs; since neither the driver nor the passenger had sufficient funds for the repair work, the person believed to be Oswald sold a U.S. Army rifle to Mr. Taylor, using the proceeds to pay for the repairs. However, a second employee at the service station, who recalled the incident, believed that, despite a slight resemblance, the passenger was not Oswald. Upon reflection, Taylor himself stated that he is very doubtful that the man was Oswald.

Rifle practice. Several witnesses believed that in the weeks preceding the assassination, they observed a man resembling Oswald practicing with a rifle in the fields and wooded areas surrounding Dallas, and at rifle ranges in that area. Some witnesses claimed Oswald was alone, while others said he was accompanied by one or more other persons. In most instances, investigation has disclosed that there is no substantial basis for believing that the person reported by the various witnesses was Oswald.

One group of witnesses, however, believed that they observed Lee Harvey Oswald at the Sports Drome Rifle Range in Dallas at various times from September through November of 1963. In light of the number of witnesses, the similarity of the descriptions of the man they saw, and the type of weapon they thought the individual was shooting, there is reason to believe that these witnesses did see the same person at the firing range, although the testimony of none of these witnesses is fully consistent with the reported observations of the other witnesses.

The witnesses who claimed to have seen Oswald at the firing range had more than a passing notice of the person they observed. Malcolm H. Price, Jr., adjusted the scope on the individual's rifle on one occasion; Garland G. Slack had an altercation with the individual on another occasion because he was shooting at Slack's target; and Sterling C. Wood, who on a third date was present at the range with his father, Dr. Homer Wood, spoke with his father and very briefly with the man himself about the individual's rifle. All three of these persons, as well as Dr. Wood, expressed confidence that the man they saw was Oswald. Two other persons believed they saw a person resembling Oswald firing a similar rifle at another range near Irving 2 days before the assassination.

Although the testimony of these witnesses was partially corroborated by other witnesses, there was other evidence which prevented the Commission from reaching the conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald was the person these witnesses saw. Others who were at the firing range remembered the same individual but, though noting a similarity to Oswald, did not believe that the man was Oswald; others either were unable to state whether the man was Oswald or did not recall seeing anybody who they feel may have been Oswald. Moreover, when interviewed on December 2, 1963, Slack recalled that the individual whom he saw had blond hair, and on December 3, 1963, Price stated that on several occasions when he saw the individual, he was wearing a "Bulldogger Texas style" hat and had bubble gum or chewing tobacco in his cheek. None of these characteristics match those known about Lee Harvey Oswald.

Moreover, the date on which Price adjusted the scope for the unknown person was September 28, 1963,

but Oswald is known to have been in Mexico City at that time; since a comparison of the events testified to by Price and Slack strongly suggests that they were describing the same man, there is reason to believe that Slack was also describing a man other than Oswald. In addition, Slack believed he saw the same person at the rifle range on November 10 and there is persuasive evidence that on November 10, Oswald was at the Paine's home in Irving and did not leave to go to the rifle range. Finally, the man whom Price assisted on September 28 drove an old car, possibly a 1940 or 1941 Ford. However, there is evidence that Oswald could not drive at that time, and there is no indication that Oswald ever had access to such a car. Neither Oswald's name nor any of his known aliases was found in the sign-in register maintained at the Sports Drome Rifle Range though many customers did not sign this register. The allegations pertaining to the companions who reportedly accompanied the man believed to be Oswald are also inconsistent among themselves and conform to no other credible information ascertained by the Commission. Several witnesses noticed a bearded man at the club when the person believed to be Oswald was there, although only one witness thought the two men were together the bearded gentleman was located, and he was not found to have any connection with Oswald.

It seems likely that the identification of Price, Slack, and the Woods was reinforced in their own minds by the belief that the man whom they saw was firing a rifle perhaps identical to Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano. The witnesses agreed that the man they observed was firing a Mauser-type bolt-action rifle with the ammunition clip immediately in front of the trigger action, and that a scope was mounted on the rifle. These features are consistent with the rifle Oswald used for the assassination. The witnesses agreed that the man had accurate aim with the rifle.

However, the evidence demonstrated that the weapon fired by the man they observed was different from the assassination rifle. The witnesses agreed that the barrel of the gun which the individual was firing had been shortened in the process of "sporterizing" the weapon. In addition, Price and Slack recalled that certain pieces were missing from the top of the weapon, and Dr. Wood and his son, and others, remembered that the weapon spouted flames when fired. None of these characteristics correspond with Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano. Price and Slack believed that the gun did not have a sling, but the assassination weapon did have one. Sterling Wood, on the other hand, recalled that the rifle which he saw had a sling. Price also recalled that he examined the rifle briefly for some indication as to where it had been manufactured, but saw nothing, whereas the words "MADE ITALY" are marked on the top of Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano.

The scope on the rifle observed at the firing range does not appear to be the same as the one on the assassination weapon. Price remembered that the individual told him that his scope was Japanese, that he had paid \$18 for it, and that he had it mounted in a gunshop in Cedar Hills, though apparently no such shop exists in that area. The scope on the Mannlicher-Carcano was of Japanese origin but it was worth a little more than \$7 and was already mounted when he received the rifle from a mail-order firm in Chicago. Sterling Wood and Slack agreed that the scope had a somewhat different appearance from the scope on the assassination rifle.

Though the person believed to be Oswald retained his shell casings, presumably for reuse, all casings recovered from areas where it is believed that Oswald may have practiced have been examined by the FBI Laboratory, and none has been found which was fired from Oswald's rifle. Finally, evidence discussed in chapter IV tends to prove that Oswald brought his rifle to Dallas from the home of the Paines in Irving on November 22, and there is no other evidence which indicates that he took the rifle or a package which might have contained the rifle out of the Paine's garage, where it was stored, prior to that date.

Automobile demonstration. The testimony of Albert Guy Bogard has been carefully evaluated because it suggests the possibility that Oswald might have been a proficient automobile driver and, during November 1963, might have been expecting funds with which to purchase a car. Bogard, formerly an automobile salesman with a Lincoln-Mercury firm in Dallas, testified that in the early afternoon of November 9, 1963, he attended a prospective customer who he believes was Lee Harvey Oswald. According to Bogard, the customer, after test driving an automobile over the Stemmons Freeway at 60 to 70 miles per hour, told Bogard that in several weeks he would have the money to make a purchase. Bogard asserted that the customer gave his name as "Lee Oswald," which Bogard wrote on a business card. After Oswald's name was mentioned on the radio on November 22, Bogard assertedly threw the card in a trash can, making the comment to co-employees that he supposed Oswald would no longer wish to buy a car.

Bogard's testimony has received corroboration. The assistant sales manager at the time, Frank Pizzo, and a second salesman, Eugene M. Wilson, stated that they recall an instance when the customer described by Bogard was in the showroom. Another salesman, Oran Brown, recalled that Bogard

asked him to assist the customer if he appeared during certain evenings when Bogard was away from the showroom. Brown stated that he too wrote down the customer's name and both he and his wife remember the name "Oswald" as being on a paper in his possession before the assassination.

However, doubts exist about the accuracy of Bogard's testimony. He, Pizzo, and Wilson differed on important details of what is supposed to have occurred when the customer was in the showroom. Whereas Bogard stated that the customer said he did not wish credit and wanted to purchase a car for cash, Pizzo and Wilson both indicated that the man did attempt to purchase on credit. According to Wilson, when the customer was told that he would be unable to purchase a car without a credit rating, substantial cash or a lengthy employment record, he stated sarcastically, "Maybe I'm going to have to go back to Russia to buy a car." While it is possible that Oswald would have made such a remark, the statement is not consistent with Bogard's story. Indeed, Bogard has made no mention that the customer ever spoke with Wilson while he was in the showroom. More important, on November 23, a search through the showroom's refuse was made, but no paper bearing Oswald's name was found. The paper on which Brown reportedly wrote Oswald's name also has never been located.

The assistant sales manager, Mr. Pizzo, who saw Bogard's prospect on November 9 and shortly after the assassination felt that Oswald may have been this man, later examined pictures of Oswald and expressed serious doubts that the person with Bogard was in fact Oswald. While noting a resemblance, he did not believe that Oswald's hairline matched that of the person who had been in the showroom on November 9. Wilson has stated that Bogard's customer was only about 5 feet tall. Several persons who knew Oswald have testified that he was unable to drive, although Mrs. Paine, who was giving Oswald driving lessons, stated that Oswald was showing some improvement by November. Moreover, Oswald's whereabouts on November 9, as testified to by Marina Oswald and Ruth Paine, would have made it impossible for him to have visited the automobile showroom as Mr. Bogard claims.

Alleged association with various Mexican or Cuban individuals. The Commission has examined Oswald's known or alleged contacts and activities in an effort to ascertain whether or not he was involved in any conspiracy may be seen in the investigation it conducted as a result of the testimony given by Mrs. Sylvia Odio. The Commission investigated her statements in connection with its consideration of the testimony of several witnesses suggesting that Oswald may have been seen in the company of unidentified persons of Cuban or Mexican background. Mrs. Odio was born in Havana in 1937 and remained in Cuba until 1960; it appears that both of her parents are political prisoners of the Castro regime. Mrs. Odio is a member of the Cuban Revolutionary Junta (JURE), an anti-Castro organization. She testified that late in September 1963, three men came to her apartment in Dallas and asked her to help them prepare a letter soliciting funds for JURE activities. She claimed that the men, who exhibited personal familiarity with her imprisoned father, asked her if she were "working in the underground," and she replied that she was not. She testified that two of the men appeared to be Cubans, although they also had some characteristics that she associated with Mexicans. Those two men did not state their full names, but identified themselves only by their fictitious underground "war names." Mrs. Odio remembered the name of one of the Cubans as "Leopoldo." The third man, an American, allegedly was introduced to Mrs. Odio as "Leon Oswald," and she was told that he was very much interested in the Cuban cause. Mrs. Odio said that the men told her that they had just come from New Orleans and that they were then about to leave on a trip. Mrs. Odio testified that the next day Leopoldo called her on the telephone and told her that it was his idea to introduce the American into the underground "because he is great, he is kind of nuts." Leopoldo also said that the American had been in the Marine Corps and was an excellent shot, and that the American said the Cubans "don't have any guts * * * because President Kennedy should have been assassinated after the Bay of Pigs, and some Cubans should have done that, because he was the one that was holding the freedom of Cuba actually."

Although Mrs. Odio suggested doubts that the men were in fact members of JURE, she was certain that the American who was introduced to her as Leon Oswald was Lee Harvey Oswald. Her sister, who was in the apartment at the time of the visit by the three men, and who stated that she saw them briefly in the hallway when answering the door, also believed that the American was Lee Harvey Oswald. By referring to the date on which she moved from her former apartment, October 1, 1963, Mrs. Odio fixed the date of the alleged visit on the Thursday or Friday immediately preceding that date, i.e., September 26 or 27. She was positive that the visit occurred prior to October 1.

During the course of its investigation, however, the Commission concluded that Oswald could not have been in Dallas on the evening of either September 26 or 27, 1963. It also developed considerable evidence that he was not in Dallas at any time between the beginning of September and October 3, 1963. On April 24, Oswald left Dallas for New Orleans, where he lived until his trip to Mexico City in late September and his subsequent return to Dallas. Oswald is known to have been in New Orleans as late as September 23, 1963, the date on which Mrs. Paine and Marina Oswald left New Orleans for

Dallas. Sometime between 4 p.m. on September 24 and 1 p.m. on September 25, Oswald cashed an unemployment compensation check at a store in New Orleans; under normal procedures this check would not have reached Oswald's postal box in New Orleans until at least 5 on September 25. The store at which he cashed the check did not open until 8 a.m. Therefore, it appeared that Oswald's presence in New Orleans until sometime between 8 a.m. and 1 p.m. on September 25 was quite firmly established.

Although there is no firm evidence of the means by which Oswald traveled from New Orleans to Houston, on the first leg of his Mexico City trip, the Commission noted that a Continental Trailways bus leaving New Orleans at 12:30 p.m. on September 25 would have brought Oswald to Houston at 10:50 p.m. that evening. His presence on this bus would be consistent with other evidence before the Commission. There is strong evidence that on September 26, 1963, Oswald traveled on Continental Trailways bus No. 5133 which left Houston at 2:35 a.m. for Laredo, Tex. Bus company records disclose that one ticket from Houston to Laredo was sold during the night shift on September 25-26, and that such ticket was the only one of its kind sold in the period of September-24 through September 26. The agent who sold this ticket has stated that Oswald could have been the purchaser. Two English passengers, Dr. and Mrs. John B. McFarland, testified that they saw Oswald riding alone on this bus shortly after they awoke at 6 a.m. The bus was scheduled to arrive in Laredo at 1:20 p.m. on September 26, and Mexican immigration records show that Oswald in fact crossed the border at Laredo to Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, between 6 a.m. and 2 p.m. on that day. Evidence set out in appendix XIII establishes that Oswald did not leave Mexico until October 3, and that he arrived in Dallas the same day.

The Commission noted that the only time not strictly accounted for during the period that Mrs. Odio thought Oswald might have visited her is the span between the morning of September 25 and 2:35 a.m. on September 26. The only public means of transportation by which Oswald could have traveled from New Orleans to Dallas in time to catch his bus from Houston to Laredo, would have been the airlines. Investigation disclosed no indication that he flew between these points. Moreover, it did not seem probable that Oswald would speed from New Orleans, spend a short time talking to Sylvia Odio, and then travel from Dallas to Mexico City and back on the bus. Automobile travel in the time available, though perhaps possible, would have been difficult. The Commission noted, however, that if Oswald had reached Dallas on the evening of September 25, he could have traveled by bus to Alice, Tex., and there caught the bus which had left Houston for Laredo at 2:35 a.m. on September 26, 1963. Further investigation in that regard indicated, however, that no tickets were sold, during the period September 23-26, 1963 for travel from Dallas to Laredo or points beyond by the Dallas office of Continental Trailways, the only bus line on which Oswald could have made connections with the bus on which he was later seen. Furthermore, if Oswald had traveled from Dallas to Alice, he would not have reached the Houston to Laredo bus until after he was first reportedly observed on it by the McFarlands. Oswald had also told passengers on the bus to Laredo that he had traveled from New Orleans by bus, and made no mention of an intervening trip to Dallas. In addition, the Commission noted evidence that on the evening of September 25, 1963, Oswald made a telephone call to a party in Houston proposing to visit a resident of Houston that evening and the fact that such a call would appear to be inconsistent with Oswald's having been in Dallas at the time. It thus appeared that the evidence was persuasive that Oswald was not in Dallas on September 25, and, therefore, that he was not in that city at the time Mrs. Odio said she saw him.

In spite of the fact that it appeared almost certain that Oswald could not have been in Dallas at the time Mrs. Odio thought he was, the Commission requested the FBI to conduct further investigation to determine the validity of Mrs. Odio's testimony. The Commission considered the problems raised by that testimony as important, in view of the possibility it raised that Oswald may have had companions on his trip to Mexico. The Commission specifically requested the FBI to attempt to locate and identify the two men who Mrs. Odio stated were with the man she thought was Oswald. In an effort to do that the FBI located and interviewed Manuel Ray, a leader of JURE who confirmed that Mrs. Odio's parents were political prisoners in Cuba, but stated that he did not know anything about the alleged Oswald visit. The same was true of Rogelio Cisneros, a former anti-Castro leader from Miami who had visited Mrs. Odio in June of 1962 in connection with certain anti-Castro activities. Additional investigation was conducted in Dallas and in other cities in search of the visitors to Mrs. Odio's apartment. Mrs. Odio herself was reinterviewed.

On September 16, 1964, the FBI located Loran Eugene Hall in Johnsandale California, Hall has been identified as a participant in numerous anti-Castro activities. He told the FBI that in September of 1963 he was in Dallas, soliciting aid in connection with anti-Castro activities. He said he had visited Mrs. Odio. He was accompanied by Lawrence Howard, a Mexican-American from East Los Angeles and one William Seymour from Arizona. He stated that Seymour is similar in appearance to Lee Harvey

Oswald; he speaks only a few words of Spanish, as Mrs. Odio had testified one of the men who visited her did. While the FBI had not yet completed its investigation into this matter at the time the report went to press, the Commission has concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald was not at Mrs. Odio's apartment in September of 1963.

The Commission has also noted the testimony of Evaristo Rodriguez, a bartender in the Havana Bar in New Orleans, to the effect that he saw Oswald in that bar in August of 1963 in the company of a Latin-appearing man. Rodriguez' description of the man accompanying the person he thought to be Oswald was similar in respects to the description given by Sylvia Odio since both testified that the man may have been of either Cuban or Mexican extraction, and had a slight bald spot on the forepart of his hairline. Rodriguez' identification of Oswald was uncorroborated except for the testimony of the owner of the bar, Orest Pena; according to Rodriguez, Pena was not in a position to observe the man he thought later to have been Oswald. Although Pena has testified that he did observe the same person as did Rodriguez, and that this person was Oswald, an FBI interview report indicated that a month earlier Pena had stated that he "could not at this time or at any time say whether or not the person was identical with Lee Harvey Oswald." Though when testifying, Pena identified photographs of Oswald, the FBI report also recorded that Pena "stated the only reason he was able to recognize Oswald was because he had seen Oswald's picture in the news media so often after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy." When present at Pena's bar, Oswald was supposed to have been intoxicated to the extent that he became ill, which is inconsistent with other evidence that Oswald did not drink alcoholic beverages to excess.

The Commission has also noted the testimony of Dean Andrews, an attorney in New Orleans. Andrews stated that Oswald came to his office several times in the summer of 1963 to seek advice on a less than honorable discharge from the Armed Forces, the citizenship status of his wife and his own citizenship status. Andrews, who believed that he was contacted on November 23 to represent Oswald, testified that Oswald was always accompanied by a Mexican and was at times accompanied by apparent homosexuals. Andrews was able to locate no records of any of Oswald's alleged visits, and investigation has failed to locate the person who supposedly called Andrews on November 23, at a time when Andrews was under heavy sedation. While one of Andrews' employees felt that Oswald might have been at his office, his secretary has no recollection of Oswald being there.

Oswald Was Not an Agent for the U.S. Government

From the time of his release from the Marine Corps until the assassination, Lee Harvey Oswald dealt in various transactions with several agencies of the U.S. Government. Before departing the United States for the Soviet Union in 1959, he obtained an American passport, which he returned to the Embassy in Moscow in October 1959 when he attempted to renounce his U.S. citizenship. Thereafter, while in the Soviet Union, Oswald had numerous contacts with the American Embassy, both in person and through correspondence. Two years later, he applied for the return and renewal of his passport, which was granted him. His application concerning the admittance of his wife to this country was passed upon by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice in addition to the State Department. And before returning to this country, he secured a loan from the State Department to help cover his transportation costs from Moscow to New York. These dealings with the Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service have been reviewed earlier in this chapter and are considered in detail in appendix XV. After his return, Oswald was interviewed on three occasions by agents of the FBI, and Mrs. Paine was also questioned by the FBI about Oswald's activities. Oswald obtained a second passport in June of 1963. And both the FBI and the CIA took note of his Fair Play for Cuba Committee activities in New Orleans and his appearance at the Soviet consulate in Mexico City. For reasons which will be discussed fully in chapter VIII, Oswald's name was never given to the U.S. Secret Service.

These dealings have given rise to numerous rumors and allegations that Oswald may have been a paid informant or some type of undercover agent for a Federal agency, usually the FBI or the CIA. The Commission has fully explored whether Oswald had any official or unofficial relationship with any Federal agency beyond that already described.

Oswald's mother, Mrs. Marguerite Oswald, testified before the Commission that she believes her son went to Russia and returned as an undercover agent for the U.S. Government. Mrs. Oswald mentioned the belief that her son was an agent to a State Department representative whom she visited in January 1961, when she was trying to locate her son. She had been interviewed earlier by FBI Agent John W. Fain, within some 6 months of Oswald's departure for Russia, and did not at that time suggest such an explanation for Oswald's departure. Though provided the opportunity to present any material she

considered pertinent, Mrs. Oswald was not able to give the Commission any reasonable basis for her speculation. As discussed later in this chapter, the Commission has investigated Marguerite Oswald's claim that an FBI agent showed her a picture of Jack Ruby after the assassination but before Lee Harvey Oswald had been killed; this allegation was inaccurate, since the picture was not of Ruby.

After the assassination it was reported that in 1962 Oswald had told Pauline Bates, a public stenographer in Fort Worth, Tex., that he had become a "secret agent" of the U.S. Government and that he was soon going back to Russia "or Washington." Mrs. Bates in her sworn testimony denied that Oswald ever told her anything to that effect. She testified that she had stated "that when he first said that he went to Russia and had gotten a visa that I thought it was just a thought that maybe he was going over under the auspices of the State Department as a student or something."

In order to evaluate the nature of Oswald's dealings with the Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Commission has obtained the complete files of both the Department and the Service pertaining to Lee Harvey Oswald. Officials who were directly involved in dealing with the Oswald case on these matters have testified before the Commission. A critical evaluation of the manner in which they were handled by these organizations is set forth in appendix XV. The record establishes that Oswald received no preferential treatment and that his case involved no impropriety on the part of any Government official.

Director John A. McCone and Deputy Director Richard Helms of the Central Intelligence Agency testified before the Commission that no one connected with the CIA had ever interviewed Oswald or communicated with him in any way. In his supplementing affidavit, Director McCone stated unequivocally that Oswald was not an agent, employee, or informant of the CIA, that the Agency never communicated with him in any manner or furnished him any compensation, and that Oswald was never directly or indirectly associated with the CIA. The Commission has had access to the full CIA file on Oswald which is entirely consistent with Director McCone's statements.

The Director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, Assistant to the Director Alan H. Belmont, FBI Agents John W. Fain and John L. Quigley, who interviewed Oswald, and FBI Agent James P. Hosty, Jr., who was in charge of his case at the time of the assassination, have also testified before the Commission. All declared, in substance, that Oswald was not an informant or agent of the FBI, that he did not act in any other capacity for the FBI, and that no attempt was made to recruit him in any capacity. Director Hoover and each Bureau agent, who according to the FBI would have been responsible for or aware of any attempt to recruit Oswald as an informant, have also provided the Commission with sworn affidavits to this effect. Director Hoover has sworn that he caused a search to be made of the records of the Bureau, and that the search discloses that Oswald "was never an informant of the FBI, and never assigned a symbol number in that capacity, and was never paid any amount of money by the FBI in any regard." This testimony is corroborated by the Commission's independent review of the Bureau files dealing with the Oswald investigation.

The Commission also investigated the circumstances which led to the presence in Oswald's address book of the name of Agent Hosty together with his office address, telephone number, and license number. Hosty and Mrs. Paine testified that on November 1, 1963, Hosty left his name and phone number with Mrs. Paine so that she could advise Hosty when she learned where Oswald was living in Dallas. Mrs. Paine and Marina Oswald have testified that Mrs. Paine handed Oswald the slip of paper on which Hosty had written this information. In accordance with prior instructions from Oswald, Marina Oswald noted Hosty's license number which she gave to her husband. The address of the Dallas office of the FBI could have been obtained from many public sources.

Thus, close scrutiny of the records of the Federal agencies involved and the testimony of the responsible officials of the U.S. Government establish that there was absolutely no type of informant or undercover relationship between an agency of the U.S. Government and Lee Harvey Oswald at any time.

Oswald's Finances

In search of activities or payments demonstrating the receipt of unexplained funds, the Commission undertook a detailed study of Oswald's receipts and expenditures starting with the date of his return from the Soviet Union on June 13, 1962, and continuing to the date of his arrest on November 22, 1963. In appendix XIV there appears a table listing Oswald's estimated receipts and expenditures on a monthly basis during this period.

The Commission was assisted in this phase of the investigation by able investigators of the Internal Revenue Service of the Department of the Treasury and by agents of the FBI. The investigation

extended far beyond interrogation of witnesses who appeared before the Commission. At banks in New Orleans, La.; Fort Worth, Dallas, Houston, and Laredo, Tex., inquiries were made for any record of a checking, savings, or loan accounts or a safe deposit box rented in the names of Lee Harvey Oswald, his known aliases, or members of his immediate family. In many cases a photograph of Oswald was exhibited to bank officials who were in a position to see a person in the safe deposit box area of their banks. No bank account or safe deposit boxes were located which could be identified with Oswald during this period of his life, although evidence was developed of a bank account which he had used prior to his trip to the Soviet Union in 1959. Telegraph companies were checked for the possibility of money orders that may have been sent to Oswald. All known locations where Oswald cashed checks which he received were queried as to the possibility of his having cashed other checks there. Further inquiries were made at Oswald's places of employment, his residences and with local credit associations, hospitals, utility companies, State and local government offices, post offices, periodicals, newspapers, and employment agencies.

Marina Oswald testified that she knew of no sources of income Oswald other than his wages and his unemployment compensation. No evidence of other cash income has been discovered. The Commission has found that the funds known to have been available to Oswald during the period June 13, 1962, through November 22, 1963, were sufficient to cover all of his known expenditures during this period. Including cash on hand of \$63 when he arrived from the Soviet Union, the Oswalds received a total of \$3,665.89 in cash from wages, unemployment compensation benefits, loans, and gifts from acquaintances. His cash disbursements during this period were estimated at \$3, 501.79, leaving a balance of \$164.10. (See app. XIV.) This estimated balance is within \$19 of the \$183.87 in cash which was actually in Oswald's possession at the time of his arrest, consisting of \$13.87 on his person and \$170 in his wallet left at the Paine house.

In computing Oswald's expenditures, estimates were made for food, clothing, and incidental expenses. The incidental expenses included telephone calls, the cost of local newspapers, money order and check-cashing fees, postage, local transportation costs, personal care goods and services, and other such small items. All of these expenses, including food and clothing, were estimated at a slightly higher figure than would be normal for a family with the income of the Oswalds, and probably higher than the Oswalds actually spent on such items. This was done in order to be certain that even if some of Oswald's minor expenditures are not known, he had adequate funds to cover his known expenditures.

During the 17-month period preceding his death, Oswald's pattern of living was consistent with his limited income. He lived with his family in furnished apartments whose cost, including utilities, ranged from about \$60 to \$75 per month. Witnesses testified to his wife's disappointment and complaints and to their own shock and misgivings about several of the apartments in which the Oswalds lived during the period. Moreover, the Oswalds, particularly Marina, frequently lived with relatives and acquaintances at no cost. Oswald and his family lived with his brother Robert and then with Marguerite Oswald from June until sometime in August 1962. As discussed previously, Marina Oswald lived with Elena Hall and spent a few nights at the Taylors' house during October of 1962; in November of that same year, Marina Oswald lived with two families. When living away from his family Oswald rented rooms for \$7 and \$8 per week or stayed at the YMCA in Dallas where he paid \$2.25 per day. During late April and early May 1963, Oswald lived with relatives in New Orleans, while his wife lived with Ruth Paine in Irving, Tex. From September 24, 1963, until November Marina Oswald stayed with Ruth Paine, while Oswald lived in rooming houses in Dallas. During the period Marina Oswald resided with others, neither she nor her husband made any contribution to her support.

The Oswalds owned no major household appliances, had no automobile, and resorted to dental and hospital clinics for medical care. Acquaintances purchased baby furniture for them, and paid dental bills in one instance. After his return to the United States, Oswald did not smoke or drink, and he discouraged his wife from doing so. Oswald spent much of his time reading books which he obtained from the public library, and periodicals to which he subscribed. He resided near his place of employment and used buses to travel to and from work. When he visited his wife and the children on weekends in October and November 1963, he rode in a neighbor's ear, making no contribution for gasoline or other expenses. Oswald's personal wardrobe was also very modest. He customarily wore T-shirts, cheap slacks, well-worn sweaters, and well-used zipper jackets. Oswald owned one suit, of Russian make and purchase, poor fitting and of heavy fabric which, despite its unsuitability to the climates of Texas and Louisiana and his obvious discomfort, he wore on the few occasions that required dress.

Food for his family was extremely meager. Paul Gregory testified that during the 6 weeks that Marina Oswald tutored him he took the Oswalds shopping for food and groceries on a number of occasions and that he was "amazed at how little they bought." Their friends in the Dallas-Fort Worth area frequently

brought them food and groceries. Marina testified that her husband ate "very little." He "never had breakfast. He just drank coffee and that is all. Not because he was trying to economize. Simply he never liked to eat." She estimated that when he was living by himself in a rooming house, he would spend "about a dollar, \$1.30" for dinner and have a sandwich and soft drink for lunch.

The thrift which Oswald exercised in meeting his living expenses allowed him to accumulate sufficient funds to meet other expenses which he incurred after his return from the Soviet Union. From his return until January of 1963, Oswald repaid the \$435.71 he had borrowed from the State Department for travel expenses from Moscow, and the \$200 loan he had obtained from his brother Robert to fly from New York to Dallas upon his return to this country. He completed the retirement of the debt to his brother in October 1962. His cash receipts from all sources from the day of his arrival in Fort Worth through October 1962 aggregated \$719.94; it is estimated that he could have made the repayments to Robert and met his other known expenses and still have been left with savings of \$122.06 at the end of the month. After making initial \$10 monthly payments to the State Department, Oswald paid the Government \$190 in December and \$206 in January, thus liquidating that debt. From his net earning of \$805.96 from November through January plus his prior savings, Oswald could have made these payments to the State Department, met his other known expenses, and still have had a balance of \$8.59 at the end of January 1963. In discussing the repayment of these debts, Marina Oswald testified: "Of course we did not live in luxury. We did not buy anything that was not absolutely needed, because Lee had to pay his debt to Robert and to the Government. But it was not particularly difficult."

Included in the total figure for Oswald's disbursements were \$21.45 for the rifle used in the assassination and \$31.22 for the revolver with which Oswald shot Officer Tippit. The major portion of the purchase price for these weapons was paid in March 1963, when Oswald had finished paying his debts, and the purchases were compatible with the total funds then available to him. During May, June, and July of 1963, Oswald spent approximately \$23 for circulars, application blanks, and membership cards for his one-man New Orleans chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. In August he paid \$2 to one and possibly two young men to assist in passing out circulars and then paid a \$10 court fine after pleading guilty to a charge of disturbing the peace. Although some of these expenses were incurred after Oswald lost his job on July 19, 1963, his wages during June and July, and his unemployment compensation thereafter, provided sufficient funds to enable him to finance these activities out of his own resources.

Although Oswald paid his own busfare to New Orleans on April 24, 1963, his wife and the baby were taken there, at no cost to Oswald, by Ruth Paine. Similarly, Ruth Paine drove to New Orleans in September and brought Marina Oswald and the baby back to Irving, Tex. Oswald's uncle, Charles Murret, also paid for the short trip taken by Oswald and his family from New Orleans to Mobile, Ala., on July 27, 1963. It is estimated that when Oswald left for Mexico City in September 1963, he had accumulated slightly over \$200. Marina Oswald testified that when he left for Mexico City he had "a little over \$100," though she may not have taken into account the \$33 unemployment compensation check which Oswald collected after her departure from New Orleans. In any event, expenses in Mexico have been estimated as approximately \$85, based on transportation costs of \$50 and a hotel expense of about \$1.28 per day. Oswald ate inexpensively and, allowing \$15 for entertainment and miscellaneous items, it would appear that he had the funds available to finance the trip.

The Commission has considered the testimony of Leonard E. Hutchison, proprietor of Hutch's Market in Irving, in connection with Oswald's finances. Hutchison has testified that on a Friday during the first week in November, a man he believes to have been Lee Harvey Oswald attempted to cash a "two-party," or personal check for \$189, but that he refused to cash the check since his policy is to cash personal checks for no more than \$25. Oswald is not known to have received a check for this amount from any source.

On Friday, November 1, Oswald did cash a Texas Unemployment Commission check for \$33 at another supermarket in Irving, so that a possible explanation of Hutchison's testimony is that he refused to cash this \$33 check for Oswald and is simply in error as to the amount of the instrument. However, since the check cashed at the super-market was issued by the State comptroller of Texas, it is not likely that Hutchison could have confused it with a personal check.

Examination of Hutchison's testimony indicates that a more likely explanation is that Oswald was not in his store at all. Hutchison testified that the man who attempted to cash the check was a customer in his store on previous occasions; in particular, Hutchison recalled that the man, accompanied by a woman he believes was Marina Oswald and an elderly woman, were shopping in his store in October or November of 1963 on a night he feels certain was a Wednesday evening. Oswald, however, is not known to have been in Irving on any Wednesday evening during this period. Neither of the two

checkers at the market recall such a visit by a person matching the description provided by Hutchison, and both Marina Oswald and Marguerite Oswald deny that they were ever in Hutchison's store. Hutchison further stated that the man made irregular calls at his grocery between 7:20 a.m. and 7:45 a.m. on weekday mornings, and always purchased cinnamon rolls and a full gallon of milk. However, the evidence indicates that except for rare occasions Oswald was in Irving only on weekends; moreover, Buell Wesley Frazier, who drove Oswald to and from Irving on these occasions, testified that on Monday mornings he picked Oswald up at a point which is many blocks from Hutchison's store and ordinarily by Hutchison also testified that Ruth Paine was an occasional customer in his store; however, Mrs. Paine indicated that she was not in the store as often as Hutchison testified; and her appearance is dissimilar to the description of the woman Hutchison stated was Mrs. Paine. In light of the strong reasons for doubting the correctness of Hutchison's testimony and the absence of any other sign that Oswald ever possessed a personal check for \$189, the Commission was unable to conclude that he ever received such a check.

The Commission has also examined a report that, not long before the assassination, Oswald may have received unaccounted funds through money orders sent to him in Dallas. Five days after the assassination, C. A. Hamblen, early night manager for the Western Union Telegraph Co. in Dallas, told his superior that about 2 weeks earlier he remembered Oswald sending a telegram from the office to Washington, DC., possibly to the Secretary of the Navy, and that the application was completed in an unusual form of hand printing. The next day Hamblen told a magazine correspondent who was in the Western Union office on other business that he remembered seeing Oswald in the office on prior occasions collecting money orders for small amounts of money. Soon thereafter Hamblen signed a statement relating to both the telegram and the money orders, and specifying two instances in which he had seen the person he believed to be Oswald in the office; in each instance the man had behaved disagreeably and one other Western Union employee had become involved in assisting him.

During his testimony, Hamblen did not recall with clarity the statements he had previously made and was unable to state whether the person he reportedly had seen in the Western Union office was or was not Lee Harvey Oswald. Investigation has disclosed that a second employee does recall one of the occurrences described by Hamblen, and believes that the money order in question was delivered "to someone at the YMCA"; however, he is unable to state whether or not the man involved was Oswald. The employee referred to by Hamblen in connection with the second incident feels certain that the unusual episode described by Hamblen did not occur, and that she at no time observed Oswald in the Western Union office.

At the request of Federal investigators, officers of Western Union conducted a complete search of their records in Dallas and in other cities, for the period from June through November 1963, for money orders payable to Lee Harvey Oswald or his known aliases and for telegrams sent by Oswald or his known aliases. In addition, all money orders addressed to persons at the YMCA in Dallas during October and November 1963 were inspected, and all telegrams handled from November 1 through November 29 by the employee who Hamblen assertedly saw service Oswald were examined, as were all telegrams sent from Dallas to Washington during November. No indication of any such money order or telegram was found in any of these records. Hamblen himself participated in this search, and was "unable * * * to pin down any of these telegrams or money orders that would indicate it was Oswald." Hamblen's superiors have concluded "that this whole thing was a figment of Mr. Hamblen's imagination," and the Commission accepts this assessment.

POSSIBLE CONSPIRACY INVOLVING JACK RUBY

Jack Ruby shot Lee Harvey Oswald at 11:21 a.m., on Sunday, November 24, 1968, shortly after Ruby entered the basement of the Dallas Police Department. Almost immediately, speculation arose that Ruby had acted on behalf of members of a conspiracy who had planned the killing of President Kennedy and wanted to silence Oswald. This section of chapter VI sets forth the Commission's investigation into the possibility that Ruby, together with Oswald or with others, conspired to kill the President., or that Ruby, though not part of any such conspiracy, had accomplices in the slaying of Oswald. Presented first are the results of the Commission's detailed inquiry into Ruby's actions from November 21 to November 24. In addition, this section analyzes the numerous rumors and suspicions that Ruby and Oswald were acquainted and examines Ruby's background and associations for evidence of any conspiratorial relationship or motive. A detailed life of Ruby is given in appendix XVI which provides supplemental information about Ruby and his associations.

Ruby's Activities From November 21 to November 24,

The Commission has attempted to reconstruct as precisely as possible the movements of Jack Ruby during the period November 21-November 24, 1968. It has done so on the premise that, if Jack Ruby were involved in a conspiracy, his activities and associations during this period would, in some way, have reflected the conspiratorial relationship. The Commission has not attempted to determine the time at which Ruby first decided to make his attack on Lee Harvey Oswald, nor does it purport to evaluate the psychiatric and related legal questions which have arisen from the assault upon Oswald. Ruby's activities during this 3-day period have been scrutinized, however, for the insight they provide into whether the shooting of Oswald was grounded in any form of conspiracy.

The eve of the President's visit. On Thursday, November 21, Jack Ruby was attending to his usual duties as the proprietor of two Dallas night spots: the Carousel Club, a downtown nightclub featuring striptease dancers, and the Vegas Club, a rock-and-roll establishment in the Oaklawn section of Dallas. Both clubs opened for business each day in the early evening and continued 7 days a week until after midnight. Ruby arrived at the Carousel Club at about 3 p.m. Thursday afternoon, as was his custom, and remained long enough to chat with a friend and receive messages from Larry Crafard, a handyman and helper who lived at the Carousel. Earlier in the day Ruby had visited with a young lady who was job hunting in Dallas, paid his rent for the Carousel premises, conferred about a peace bond he had been obliged to post as a result of a fight with one of his striptease dancers, consulted with an attorney about problems he was having with Federal tax authorities, distributed membership cards for the Carousel Club, talked with Dallas County Assistant District Attorney William F. Alexander about insufficient fund checks which a friend had passed, and submitted advertising copy for his nightclubs to the Dallas Morning News.

Ruby's evening activities on Thursday, November 21, were a combination of business and pleasure. At approximately 7:30 p.m., he drove Larry Crafard to the Vegas Club which Crafard was overseeing because Ruby's sister, Eva Grant, who normally managed the club, was convalescing from a recent illness. Thereafter, Ruby returned to the Carousel Club and conversed for about an hour with Lawrence Meyers, a Chicago businessman. Between 9:45 and 10:45 p.m., Ruby had dinner with Ralph Paul, his close friend and financial backer. While dining Ruby spoke briefly with a Dallas Morning News employee, Don Campbell, who suggested that they go to the Castaway Club, but Ruby declined. Thereafter, Ruby returned to the Carousel Club where he acted as master of ceremonies for his show and peacefully ejected an unruly patron. At about midnight Ruby rejoined Meyers at the Bon Vivant Room of the Dallas Cabana where they met Meyers' brother and sister-in-law. Neither Ralph Paul nor Lawrence Meyers recalled that Ruby mentioned the President's trip to Dallas. Leaving Meyers at the Cabana after a brief visit, Ruby returned to close the Carousel Club and obtain the night's receipts. He then went to the Vegas Club which he helped Larry Crafard close for the night; and, as late as 2:30 a.m., Ruby was seen eating at a restaurant near the Vegas Club.

Friday morning at the Dallas Morning News. Jack Ruby learned of the shooting of President Kennedy while in the second-floor advertising offices of the Dallas Morning News, five blocks from the Texas School Book Depository, where he had come Friday morning to place regular weekend advertisements for his two nightclubs. On arriving at the newspaper building at about 11 or 11:30 a.m., he talked briefly with two newspaper employees concerning some diet pills he had recommended to them. Ruby then went to the office of Morning News columnist, Tony Zoppi, where he states he obtained a brochure on his new master of ceremonies that he wanted to use in preparing copy for his advertisements. Proceeding to the advertising department, he spoke with advertising employee Don Campbell from about noon until 12:25 p.m. when Campbell left the office. In addition to the business at hand, much of the conversation concerned Ruby's unhappiness over the financial condition of his clubs and his professed ability to handle the physical fights which arose in connection with the clubs. According to Campbell, Ruby did not mention the Presidential motorcade nor did he display any unusual behavior.

About 10 minutes after the President had been shot but before word had spread to the second floor, John Newnam, an advertising department employee, observed Ruby sitting at the same spot where Campbell had left him. At that time Ruby had completed the advertisement, which he had apparently begun to compose when Campbell departed, and was reading a newspaper. To Newnam, Ruby voiced criticism of the black-bordered advertisement entitled "Welcome, Mr. Kennedy" appearing in the morning paper and bearing the name of Bernard Weissman as the chairman of the committee sponsoring the advertisement. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1031.) According to Eva Grant, Ruby's sister, he had telephoned her earlier in the morning to call her attention to the ad. At about 12:45 p.m., an employee entered the office and announced that shots had been fired at the President. Newnam remembered that Ruby responded with a look of "stunned disbelief."

Shortly afterward, according to Newnam, "confusion reigned" in the office as advertisers telephoned to cancel advertising they had placed for the weekend. Ruby appears to have believed that some of those

cancellations were motivated by the Weissman advertisement. After Newnam accepted a few telephone calls, he and Ruby walked toward a room where other persons were watching television. One of the newspaper employees recalled that Ruby then appeared "obviously shaken, and an ashen color just very pale * * *" showed little disposition to converse, and sat for a while with a dazed expression in his eyes.

After a few minutes, Ruby placed telephone calls to Andrew Armstrong, his assistant at the Carousel Club, and to his sister, Mrs. Grant. He told Armstrong, "If anything happens we are going to close the club" and said he would see him in about 30 minutes. During the call to his sister, Ruby again referred to the Weissman advertisement; at one point he put the telephone to Newnam's ear, and Newnam heard Mrs. Grant exclaim, "My God, what do they want?" It was Newnam's recollection that Ruby tried to calm her.

Ruby testified that after calling his sister he said, "John, I will have to leave Dallas." Ruby explained to the Commission:

I don't know why I said that, but it is a funny reaction that you feel; the city is terribly let down by the tragedy that happened. And I said, "John, I am not opening up tonight."

And I don't know what else transpired. I know people were just heartbroken * * *.

I left the building and I went down 'and I got in my car and I couldn't stop crying. * * *

Newnam estimated that Ruby departed from the Morning News at about 1:30 p.m., but other testimony indicated that Ruby may have left earlier.

Ruby's alleged visit to Parkland Hospital. The Commission has investigated claims that Jack Ruby was at Parkland Hospital at about 1:30 p.m., when a Presidential press secretary, Malcolm Kilduff, announced that President Kennedy was dead. Seth Kantor, a newspaperman who had previously met Ruby in Dallas, reported and later testified that Jack Ruby stopped him momentarily inside the main entrance to Parkland Hospital some time between 1:30 and 2 p.m., Friday, November 22, 1963. The only other person besides Kantor who recalled seeing Ruby at the hospital did not make known her observation until April 1964, had never seen Ruby before, allegedly saw him only briefly then, had an obstructed view, and was uncertain of the time. Ruby has firmly denied going to Parkland and has stated that he went to the Carousel Club upon leaving the Morning News. Video tapes of the scene at Parkland do not show Ruby there, although Kantor can be seen.

Investigation has limited the period during which Kantor could have met Ruby at Parkland Hospital on Friday to a few minutes before and after 1:30 p.m. Telephone company records and the testimony of Andrew Armstrong established that Ruby arrived at the Carousel Club no later than 1:45 p.m. and probably a few minutes earlier. Kantor was engaged in a long-distance telephone call to his Washington office from 1:02 p.m. until 1:27 p.m. Kantor testified that, after completing that call, he immediately left the building from which he had been telephoning, traveled perhaps 100 yards, and entered the main entrance of the hospital. It was there, as he walked through a small doorway, that he believed he saw Jack Ruby, who, Kantor said, tugged at his coattails and asked, "Should I close my places for the next three nights, do you think?" Kantor recalled that he turned briefly to Ruby and proceeded to the press conference at which the President's death was announced. Kantor was certain he encountered Ruby at Parkland but had doubts about the exact time and place.

Kantor probably did not see Ruby at Parkland Hospital in the few minutes before or after 1:30 p.m., the only time it would have been possible for Kantor to have done so. If Ruby immediately returned to the Carousel Club after Kantor saw him, it would have been necessary for him to have covered the distance from Parkland in approximately 10 or 15 minutes in order to have arrived at the club before 1:45 p.m., when a telephone call was placed at Ruby's request to his entertainer, Karen Bennett Carlin. At a normal driving speed under normal conditions the trip can be made in 9 or 10 minutes. However, it is likely that congested traffic conditions on November 22 would have extended the driving time. Even if Ruby had been able to drive from Parkland to the Carousel in 15 minutes, his presence at the Dallas Morning News until after 1 p.m., and at the Carousel prior to 1:45 p.m., would have made his visit at Parkland exceedingly brief. Since Ruby was observed at the Dallas Police Department during a 2 hour period after 11 p.m. on Friday, when Kantor was also present, and since Kantor did not remember seeing Ruby there, Kantor may have been mistaken about both the time and the place that he saw Ruby. When seeing Ruby, Kantor was preoccupied with the important event that a press conference represented. Both Ruby and Kantor were present at another important event, a press conference held about midnight, November 22, in the assembly room of the Dallas Police Department. It is conceivable that Kantor's encounter with Ruby occurred at that time, perhaps near the small doorway there.

Ruby's decision to close his clubs. Upon arriving at the Carousel Club shortly before 1:45 p.m., Ruby

instructed Andrew Armstrong, the Carousel's bartender, to notify employees that the club would be closed that night. During much of the next hour Ruby talked by telephone to several persons who were or had been especially close to him, and the remainder of the time he watched television and spoke with Armstrong and Larry Crafard about the assassination. At 1:51 p.m., Ruby telephoned Ralph Paul in Arlington, Tex., to say that he was going to close his clubs. He urged Paul to do likewise with his drive-in restaurant. Unable to reach Alice Nichols, a former girl friend, who was at lunch, Ruby telephoned his sister, Eileen Kaminsky, in Chicago. Mrs. Kaminsky described her brother as completely unnerved and crying about President Kennedy's death. To Mrs. Nichols, whose return call caused Ruby to cut short his conversation with Mrs. Kaminsky, Ruby expressed shock over the assassination. Although Mrs. Nichols had dated Ruby for nearly 11 years, she was surprised to hear from him on November 22 since they had not seen one another socially for some time. Thereafter, Ruby telephoned at 2:37 p.m. to Alex Gruber, a boyhood friend from Chicago who was living in Los Angeles. Gruber recalled that in their 3-minute conversation Ruby talked about a dog he had promised to send Gruber, a carwash business Gruber had considered starting, and the assassination. Ruby apparently lost his self-control during the conversation and terminated it. However, 2 minutes after that call ended, Ruby telephoned again to Ralph Paul.

Upon leaving the Carousel Club at about 3:15 p.m., Ruby drove to Eva Grant's home but left soon after he arrived, to obtain some weekend food for his sister and himself. He first returned to the Carousel Club and directed Larry Crafard to prepare a sign indicating that the club would be closed; however, Ruby instructed Crafard not to post the sign until later in the evening to avoid informing his competitors that he would be closed. (See Commission Exhibit 2427.) Before leaving the club, Ruby telephoned Mrs. Grant who reminded him to purchase food. As a result he went to the Ritz Delicatessen, about two blocks from the Carousel Club, and bought a great quantity of cold cuts.

Ruby probably arrived a second time at his sister's home close to 5:30 p.m. and remained for about 2 hours. He continued his rapid rate of telephone calls, ate sparingly, became ill, and attempted to get some rest. While at the apartment, Ruby decided to close his clubs for 3 days. He testified that after talking to Don Saffran, a columnist for the Dallas Times-Herald:

I put the receiver down and talked to my sister, and I said "Eva, what shall we do?"

And she said, "Jack, let's close for the 3 days." She said, "We don't have anything anyway, but we owe it to" (chokes up.)

So I called Don Saffran back immediately and I said, "Don, we decided to close for Friday, Saturday, and Sunday."

And he said, "Okay."

Ruby then telephoned the Dallas Morning News to cancel his advertisement and, when unable to do so, he changed his ad to read that his clubs would be closed for the weekend. Ruby also telephoned Cecil Hamlin, a friend of many years. Sounding very "broken up," he told Hamlin that he had closed the clubs since he thought most people would not be in the mood to visit them and that he felt concern for President Kennedy's "kids." Thereafter he made two calls to ascertain when services at Temple Shearith Israel would be held. He placed a second call to Alice Nichols to tell her of his intention to attend those services and phoned Larry Crafard at the Carousel to ask whether he had received any messages. Eva Grant testified:

When he was leaving, he looked pretty bad. This I remember. I can't explain it to you. He looked too broken, a broken man already. He did make the remark, he said, "I never felt so bad in my life, even when Ma or Pa died." So I said, "Well, Pa was an old man. He was almost 89 years. * * *"

Friday evening. Ruby is uncertain whether he went directly from his sister's home to his apartment or possibly first to his club. At least 5 witnesses recall seeing a man they believe was Ruby on the third floor of police headquarters at times they have estimated between 6 and 9 p.m.; however, it is not clear that Ruby was present at the Police and Courts Building before 11 p.m. With respect to three of the witnesses, it is doubtful that the man observed was Ruby. Two of those persons had not known Ruby previously and described wearing apparel which differed both from Ruby's known dress that night and from his known wardrobe. The third, who viewed from the rear the person he believed was Ruby, said the man unsuccessfully attempted to enter the homicide office. Of the police officers on duty near homicide at the time of the alleged event, only one remembered the episode, and he said the man in question definitely was not Ruby. The remaining witnesses knew or talked with Ruby, and their testimony leaves little doubt that they did see him on the third floor at some point on Friday night; however the possibility remains that they observed Ruby later in the evening, when his presence is

conclusively established. Ruby has denied being at the police department Friday night before approximately 11:15 p.m.

In any event, Ruby eventually returned to his own apartment before 9 p.m. There he telephoned Ralph Paul but was unable to persuade Paul to join him at synagogue services. Shortly after 9 p.m., Ruby called the Chicago home of his oldest brother, Hyman Rubenstein, and two of his sisters, Marion Carroll and Ann Volpert. Hyman Rubenstein testified that, during the call, his brother was so disturbed about the situation in Dallas that he mentioned selling his business and returning to Chicago. From his apartment, Ruby drove to Temple Shearith Israel, arriving near the end of a 2-hour service which had begun at 8 p.m. Rabbi Hillel Silverman, who greeted him among the crowd leaving the services was surprised that Ruby, who appeared depressed, mentioned only his sister's recent illness and said nothing about the assassination.

Ruby related that, after joining in the post service refreshments, he drove by some night clubs, noticing whether or not they had been closed as his were. He testified that, as he drove toward town, a radio announcement that the Dallas police were working overtime prompted the thought that he might bring those at police headquarters something to eat. At about 10:30 p.m., he stopped at a delicatessen near the Vegas Club and purchased 8 kosher sandwiches and 10 soft drinks. From the delicatessen, he called the police department but was told that the officers had already eaten. He said he then tried to offer the food to employees at radio station KLIF but failed in several attempts to obtain the private night line number to the station. On three occasions between phone calls, Ruby spoke with a group of students whom he did not know, lamenting the President's death, teasing one of the young men about being too young for his clubs, borrowing their copy of the Dallas Times-Herald to see how his advertisements had been run, and stating that his clubs were the only ones that had closed because of the assassination. He also expressed the opinion, as he had earlier in the day, that the assassination would be harmful to the convention business in Dallas. Upon leaving the delicatessen with his purchases, Ruby gave the counterman as a tip a card granting free admission to his clubs. He drove downtown to the police station where he has said he hoped to find an employee from KLIF who could give him the "hot line" phone number for the radio station.

The third floor of police headquarters. Ruby is known to have made his way, by about 11:30 p.m., to the third floor of the Dallas Police Department where reporters were congregated near the homicide bureau. Newsman John Rutledge, one of those who may well have been mistaken as to time, gave the following description of his first encounter with Ruby at the police station:

I saw Jack and two out-of-state reporters, whom I did not know, leave the elevator door and proceed toward those television cameras, to go around the corner where Captain Fritz's office was. Jack walked between them. These two out-of-state reporters had big press cards pinned on their coats, great big red ones, I think they said "President Kennedy's Visit to DallasPress", or something like that. And Jack didn't have one, but the man on either side of him did. And they walked pretty rapidly from the elevator area past the policeman, and Jack was bent over like this writing on a piece of paper, and talking to one of the reporters, and pointing to something on the piece of paper, he was kind of hunched over.

Detective Augustus M. Eberhardt, who also recalled that he first saw Ruby earlier in the evening, said Ruby carried a note pad and professed to be a translator for the Israeli press. He remembered Ruby's remarking how unfortunate the assassination was for the city of Dallas and that it was "hard to realize that a complete nothing, a zero like that, could kill a man like President Kennedy * * * "

Video tapes confirm Ruby's statement that he was present on the third floor when Chief Jesse E. Curry and District Attorney Henry M. Wade announced that Oswald would be shown to the newsmen at a press conference in the basement. Though he has said his original purpose was only to locate a KLIF employee, Ruby has stated that while at the police station he was "carried away with the excitement of history." He accompanied the newsmen to the basement to observe Oswald. His presence at the midnight news conference is established by television tapes and by at least 12 witnesses. When Oswald arrived, Ruby, together with a number of newsmen, was standing atop a table on one side of the room. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2424.) Oswald was taken from the room after a brief appearance, and Ruby remained to hear reporters question District Attorney Wade. During the press conference, Wade stated that Oswald would probably be moved to the county jail at the beginning of the next week. In answer to one question, Wade said that Oswald belonged to the "Free Cuba Committee." A few reporters spoke up correcting Wade and among the voices was that of Jack Ruby.

Ruby later followed the district attorney out of the press conference, walked up to him and, according to Wade, said "Hi Henry * * * Don't you know me? * * * I am Jack Ruby, I run the Vegas Club. * * *" Ruby also introduced himself to Justice of the Peace David L. Johnston, shook his hand, gave Johnston a

business card to the Carousel Club, and, upon learning Johnston's official position, shook Johnston's hand again. After talking with Johnston, he gave another card to Icarus M. Pappas, a reporter for New York radio station WNEW. From a representative of radio station KBOX in Dallas, Ruby obtained the "hot line" telephone number to KLIF. He then called the station and told one of the employees that he would like to come up to distribute the sandwiches and cold drinks he had purchased. Observing Pappas holding a telephone line open and attempting to get the attention of District Attorney Wade, Ruby directed Wade to Pappas, who proceeded to interview the district attorney. Ruby then called KLIF a second time and offered to secure an interview with Wade; he next summoned Wade to his phone, whereupon KLIF recorded a telephone interview with the district attorney. A few minutes later, Ruby encountered Russ Knight, a reporter from KLIF who had left the station for the police department at the beginning of Ruby's second telephone call. Ruby directed Knight to Wade and waited a short distance away while the reporter conducted another interview with the district attorney.

At radio station KLIF. When Ruby left police headquarters, he drove to radio station KLIF, arriving at approximately 1:45 a.m. and remaining for about 45 minutes. After first distributing his sandwiches and soft drinks, Ruby settled in the newsroom for the 2 a.m. newscast in which he was credited with suggesting that Russ Knight ask District Attorney Wade whether or not Oswald was sane. After the newscast, Ruby gave a Carousel card to one KLIF employee, although another did not recall that Ruby was promoting his club as he normally did. When speaking with KLIF's Danny Patrick McCurdy, Ruby mentioned that he was going to close his clubs for the weekend and that he would rather lose \$1,200 or \$1,500 than remain open at that time in the Nation's history. McCurdy remembered that Ruby "looked rather pale to me as he was talking to me and he kept looking at the floor." To announcer Glen Duncan, Ruby expressed satisfaction that the evidence was mounting against Oswald. Duncan said that Ruby did not appear to be grieving but, instead, seemed pleased about the personal contact he had had with the investigation earlier in the evening.

Ruby left the radio station accompanied by Russ Knight. Engaging Knight in a short conversation, Ruby handed him a radio script entitled "Heroism" from a conservative radio program called "Life Line." It was apparently one of the scripts that had come into Ruby's hands a few weeks before at the Texas Products Show when Hunt Foods were including such scripts with samples of their products. The script extolled the virtues of those who embark upon risky business ventures and stand firmly for causes they believe to be correct. Ruby asked Knight's views on the script and suggested that there was a group of "radicals" in Dallas which hated President Kennedy and that the owner of the radio station should editorialize against this group. Knight could not clearly determine whether Ruby had reference to persons who sponsored programs like "Life Line" or to those who held left-wing views. Knight gained the impression that Ruby believed such persons, whoever they might be, were partially responsible for the assassination.

Early morning of November 23. At about 2:30 a.m., Ruby entered his automobile and departed for the Dallas Times-Herald Building. En route, he stopped for about an hour to speak with Kay Helen Coleman, one of his dancers, and Harry Olsen, a member of the Dallas Police Department, who had hailed him from a parking garage at the corner of Jackson and Field Streets. The couple were crying and extremely upset over the assassination. At one point, according to Ruby, the police officer remarked that "they should cut this guy [Oswald] inch by inch into ribbons," and the dancer said that "in England they would drag him through the streets and would have hung him." Although Ruby failed to mention this episode during his first two FBI interviews, he later explained that his reason for failing to do so was that he did not "want to involve them in anything, because it was supposed to be a secret that he [the police officer] was going with this young lady." About 6 weeks after the assassination, Olsen left the Dallas Police Department and married Miss Coleman. Both Olsen and his wife testified that they were greatly upset during their lengthy conversation with Ruby early Saturday morning; but Mrs. Olsen denied and Olsen did not recall the remarks ascribed to them. The Olsens claimed instead that Ruby had cursed Oswald. Mrs. Olsen also mentioned that Ruby expressed sympathy for Mrs. Kennedy and her children.

From Jackson and Field Streets, Ruby drove to the Dallas Times-Herald, where he talked for about 15 minutes with composing room employee Roy Pryor, who had just finished a shift at 4 a.m. Ruby mentioned that he had seen Oswald earlier in the night, that he had corrected Henry Wade in connection with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and that he had set up a telephone interview with Wade. Pryor testified that Ruby explicitly stated to him that he believed he was in good favor with the district attorney. Recalling that Ruby described Oswald as a "little weasel of a guy" and was emotionally concerned about the President's wife and children, Pryor also was impressed by Ruby's sorrowful mood and remembered that, as he talked, Ruby shook a newspaper to emphasize his concern over the assassination.

When Pryor left the composing room, Ruby remained and continued speaking with other employees,

including Arthur Watherwax and the foreman, Clyde Gadash. Ruby, who often visited the Times-Herald at that early morning hour in connection with his ads, sought Watherwax's views on his decision to close his clubs and indicated he was going to attempt to persuade other club owners to do likewise. Watherwax described Ruby as "pretty shaken up" about the assassination and at the same time "excited" that he had attended Oswald's Friday night press conference.

While at the Times-Herald, Ruby displayed to the composing room employees a "twist board" he had previously promised to Gadash. The twist board was an exercising device consisting of two pieces of hardened materials joined together by a lazy susan bearing so that one piece could remain stationary on the floor while a person stood atop it and swiveled to and fro. Ruby had been trying to promote sales of the board in the weeks before President Kennedy was killed. Considerable merriment developed when one of the women employees at the Times-Herald demonstrated the board, and Ruby himself, put on a demonstration for those assembled. He later testified: " * * * not that I wanted to get in with the hilarity of frolicking, but he [Gadash] asked me to show him, and the other men gathered around." Gadash agreed that Ruby's general mood was one of sorrow.

At about 4:30 a.m., Ruby drove from the Dallas Times-Herald to his apartment where he awakened his roommate George Senator. During his visit in the composing room Ruby had expressed the view that the Weissman advertisement was an effort to discredit the Jews. Senator testified that when Ruby returned to the apartment, he began to discuss the Weissman advertisement and also a sign board he had seen in Dallas urging that Chief Justice Earl Warren be impeached. Shortly thereafter, Ruby telephoned Larry Crafard at the Carousel Club. He told Crafard to meet him and Senator at the Nichols Garage adjacent to the Carousel Club and to bring a Polaroid camera kept in the club. After Crafard joined Ruby and Senator, the three men drove to the "Impeach Earl Warren" sign near Hall Avenue and Central Expressway in Dallas. There Ruby instructed Crafard to take three photographs of the billboard. Believing that the sign and the Weissman newspaper ad might somehow be connected, Ruby noted on the back of an envelope a name and post office box number that appeared on the sign. According to George Senator:

* * * when he was looking at the sign and taking pictures of it, and the newspaper ad, * * * this is where he really wanted to know the whys or why these things had to be out. He is trying to combine these two together which I did hear him say, "This is the work of the John Birch Society or the Communist Party or maybe a combination of both."

Pursuing a possible connection between the billboard and the newspaper advertisement, Ruby drove to the post office and asked a postal employee for the name of the man who had rented the box indicated on the billboard, but the employee said that he could not provide such information. Ruby inspected the box, however, and was upset to find it stuffed with mail. The three men then drove to a coffee-shop where Ruby continued to discuss the two advertisements. After about 30 minutes, they left the coffee shop. Crafard was taken to the Carousel Club; Ruby and Senator returned to their apartment, and Ruby retired at about 6 a.m.

The morning and afternoon of November 23. At 8 or 8:30 a.m. Crafard, who had been asked to feed Ruby's dogs, telephoned Ruby at his apartment to inquire about food for the animals. Ruby forgot that he had told Crafard he did not plan to go to bed and reprimanded Crafard for waking him. A few hours thereafter Crafard assembled his few belongings, took from the Carousel cash register \$5 of money due him from Ruby, left a receipt and thank-you note, and began hitchhiking to Michigan. Later that day, Andrew Armstrong found the note and telephoned Ruby.

Ruby apparently did not return to bed following Crafard's call. During the morning hours, he watched a rabbi deliver on television a moving eulogy of President Kennedy. According to Ruby, the rabbi:

went ahead and eulogized that here is a man that fought in every battle, went to every country, and had to come back to his own country to be shot in the back [starts crying] * * * That created a tremendous emotional feeling for me, the way he said that. Prior to all the other times, I was carried away.

An employee from the Carousel Club who telephoned Ruby during the morning remembered that his "voice was shaking" when he spoke of the assassination.

Ruby has stated that, upon leaving his apartment some time between noon and 1:30 p.m., he drove to Dealey Plaza where a police officer, who noted Ruby's solemnity, pointed out to him the window from which the rifleshots had been fired the day before. Ruby related that he inspected the wreaths that had been placed in memory of the President and became filled with emotion while speaking with the police officer. Ruby introduced himself to a reporter for radio station KRLD who was working inside a mobile news unit at the plaza; the newsman mentioned to Ruby that he had heard of Ruby's help to KLIF in

obtaining an interview with Henry Wade, and Ruby pointed out to the reporter that Capt. J. Will Fritz and Chief Curry were then in the vicinity. Thereafter, the newsman interviewed and photographed the officers. Ruby said that he next drove home and returned downtown to Sol's Turf Bar on Commerce Street.

The evidence indicated, however, that sometime after leaving Dealey Plaza, Ruby went to the Nichols Parking Garage adjacent to the Carousel Club, where he was seen by Garnett C. Hallmark, general manager of the garage, and Tom Brown, an attendant. Brown believed that at about 1:30 p.m. he heard Ruby mention Chief Curry's name in a telephone conversation from the garage. Brown also recalled that, before finally departing, Ruby asked him to inform acquaintances whom he expected to stop by the garage that the Carousel would be closed. Hallmark testified that Ruby drove into the garage at about 3 p.m., walked to the telephone, inquired whether or not a competing burlesque club would be closed that night, and told Hallmark that he (Ruby) was "acting" like a reporter." Hallmark then heard Ruby address someone at the other end of the telephone as "Ken" and caught portions of a conversation concerning the transfer of Oswald. Hallmark said Ruby never called Oswald by name but used the pronoun "he" and remarked to the recipient of the call, "you know I'll be there."

Ken Dowe, a KLIF announcer, to whom Ruby made at least two telephone calls within a short span of time Saturday afternoon, confirmed that he was probably the person to whom Hallmark and Brown overheard Ruby speaking. In one call to Dowe, Ruby asked whether the station knew when Oswald would be moved; and, in another, he stated he was going to attempt to locate Henry Wade. After Ruby finished his calls, he walked onto Commerce Street, passed the Carousel Club, and returned a few minutes later to get his car.

Ruby's comment that he was "acting like a reporter" and that he would be at the Oswald transfer suggests that Ruby may have spent part of Saturday afternoon shuttling back and forth from the Police and Courts Building to Dealey Plaza. Such activity would explain the fact that Tom Brown at the Nichols Garage believed he saw Ruby at 1:30 p.m. while Garnett Hallmark placed Ruby at the garage at 3 p.m. It would also explain Ken Dowe's receiving two phone calls from Ruby. The testimony of five news reporters supports the possibility that Ruby was at the Police and Courts Building Saturday afternoon. One stated that Ruby provided sandwiches for newsmen on duty there Saturday afternoon, although no news representative has mentioned personally receiving such sandwiches. Another testified that he received a card to the Carousel Club from Ruby about p.m. that day at the police station. A third believed he saw Ruby enter an office in which Henry Wade was working, but no one else reported a similar event. The remaining two witnesses mentioned no specific activities. None of the persons who believed they saw Ruby at the police department on Saturday had known him previously, and no police officer has reported Ruby's presence on that day. Ruby has not mentioned such a visit. The Commission, therefore, reached no firm conclusion as to whether or not Ruby visited the Dallas Police Department on Saturday.

Shortly after 3 p.m. Ruby went to Sol's Turf Bar on Commerce Street where he remained for about 45 minutes. Ruby, a nondrinker, stated that he visited Sol's for the purpose of talking with his accountant, who customarily prepared the bar's payroll on Saturday afternoon. The accountant testified, however, that he saw Ruby only briefly and mentioned no business conversation with Ruby. Ruby was first noticed at the Turf Bar by jeweler Frank Bellochio, who, after seeing Ruby, began to berate the people of Dallas for the assassination. Ruby disagreed and, when Bellochio said he might close his jewelry business and leave Dallas, Ruby attempted to calm him, saying that there were many good citizens in Dallas. In response, Bellochio pointed to a copy of the Bernard Weissman advertisement. To Bellochio's bewilderment, Ruby then said he believed that the advertisement was the work of a group attempting to create anti-Semitic feelings in Dallas and that he had learned from the Dallas Morning News that the ad had been paid for partly in cash. Ruby thereupon produced one of the photographs he had taken Saturday morning of the "Impeach Earl Warren" sign and excitedly began to rail against the sign as if he agreed with Bellochio's original criticism of Dallas. He "seemed to be taking two sides he wasn't coherent," Bellochio testified. When Bellochio saw Ruby's photographs, which Bellochio thought supported his argument against Dallas, he walked to the front of the bar and showed them to Tom Apple, with whom he had been previously arguing. In Apple's presence, Bellochio asked Ruby for one of the pictures but Ruby refused, mentioning that he regarded the pictures as a scoop. Bellochio testified: "I spoke to Tom and said a few more words to Tom, and Ruby was gone never said 'Good-bye' or 'I'll be seeing you.'"

Ruby may have left in order to telephone Stanley Kaufman, a friend and attorney who had represented him in civil matters. Kaufman testified that, at approximately 4 p.m., Ruby called him about the Bernard Weissman advertisement. According to Kaufman, "Jack was particularly impressed with the [black] border as being a tip-off of some sort that this man knew the President was going to be assassinated * * *

" Ruby told Kaufman that he had tried to locate Weissman by going to the post office and said that he was attempting to be helpful to law enforcement authorities.

Considerable confusion exists as to the place from which Ruby placed the call to Kaufman and as to his activities after leaving Sol's Turf Bar. Eva Grant stated that the call was made from her apartment about 4 p.m. Ruby, however, believed it was made from the Turf Bar. He stated that from the Turf Bar he went to the Carousel and then home and has not provided additional details on his activities during the hours from about 4 to 9:30 p.m. Robert Larkin saw him downtown at about 6 p.m. and Andrew Armstrong testified that Ruby visited the Carousel Club between 6 and 7 p.m. and remained about an hour.

At Eva Grant's apartment Saturday evening. Eva Grant believed that, for most of the period from 4 until 8 p.m., Ruby was at her apartment. Mrs. Grant testified that her brother was still disturbed about the Weissman advertisement when he arrived, showed her the photograph of the Warren sign, and recounted his argument with Bellocchio about the city of Dallas. Still curious as to whether or not Weissman was Jewish, Mrs. Grant asked her brother whether he had been able to find the name Bernard Weissman in the Dallas city directory, and Ruby said he had not. Their doubts about Weissman's existence having been confirmed, both began to speculate that the Weissman ad and the Warren sign were the work of either "Commies or the Birchers," and were designed to discredit the Jews. Apparently in the midst of that conversation Ruby telephoned Russ Knight at KLIF and, according to Knight, asked who Earl Warren was.

Mrs. Grant has testified that Ruby eventually retired to her bedroom where he made telephone calls and slept. About 8:30 p.m., Ruby telephoned to Thomas J. O'Grady, a friend and former Dallas police officer who had once worked for Ruby as a bouncer. To O'Grady, Ruby mentioned closing the Carousel Club, criticized his competitors for remaining open, and complained about the "Impeach Earl Warren" sign.

Saturday evening at Ruby's apartment. By 9:30 p.m., Ruby had apparently returned to his apartment where he received a telephone call from one of his striptease dancers, Karen Bennett Carlin, who, together with her husband, had been driven from Fort Worth to Dallas that evening by another dancer, Nancy Powell. All three had stopped at the Colony Club, a burlesque nightclub which competed with the Carousel. Mrs. Carlin testified that, in need of money, she telephoned Ruby, asked whether the Carousel would be open that night, and requested part of her salary. According to Mrs. Carlin, Ruby became angry at the suggestion that the Carousel Club might be open for business but told her he would come to the Carousel in about an hour.

Thereafter, in a depressed mood, Ruby telephoned his sister Eva Grant, who suggested he visit a friend. Possibly in response to that suggestion, Ruby called Lawrence Meyers, a friend from Chicago with whom he had visited two nights previously. Meyers testified that, during their telephone conversation, Ruby asked him what he thought of this "terrible thing." Ruby then began to criticize his competitors, Abe and Barney Weinstein, for failing to close their clubs on Saturday night. In the course of his conversation about the Weinstains and the assassination, Ruby said "I've got to do something about this." Meyers initially understood that remark to refer to the Weinstains. Upon reflection after Oswald was shot, Meyers was uncertain whether Ruby was referring to his competitors, or to the assassination of President Kennedy; for Ruby had also spoken at length about Mrs. Kennedy and had repeated "those poor people, those poor people." At the conclusion of their conversation, Meyers declined Ruby's invitation to join him for a cup of coffee but invited Ruby to join him at the motel. When Ruby also declined, the two agreed to meet for dinner the following evening.

Meanwhile, Karen Carlin and her husband grew anxious over Ruby's failure to appear with the money they had requested. After a substantial wait, they returned together to the Nichols Garage where Mr. Carlin telephoned to Ruby. Carlin testified that he told Ruby they needed money in order to return to Fort Worth although Nancy Powell testified that she drove the Carlins home that evening. Agreeing to advance a small sum, Ruby asked to speak to Mrs. Carlin, who claimed that Ruby told her that if she needed more money she should call him on Sunday. Thereafter, at Ruby's request, garage attendant Huey Reeves gave Mrs. Carlin \$5, and she signed with her stage name "Little Lynn" a receipt which Reeves time-stamped 10:33 p.m., November 23. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1476.)

Inconsistent testimony was developed regarding Ruby's activities during the next 45 minutes. Eva Grant testified that she did not see her brother on Saturday night after 8 p.m. and has denied calling Ralph Paul herself that night. Nonetheless, telephone company records revealed that at 10:44 p.m. a call was made to Ralph Paul's Bull Pen Drive-In in Arlington, Tex., from Mrs. Grant's apartment. It was the only call to Paul from her apartment on Friday or Saturday; she recalled her brother making such a call that weekend; and Ralph Paul has testified that Ruby telephoned him Saturday night from Eva

Grant's apartment and said he and his sister were there crying.

Nineteen-year-old Wanda Helmick, a former waitress at the Bull Pen Drive-In, first reported in June, 1964 that some time during the evening she saw the cashier answer the Bull Pen's pay telephone and heard her call out to Paul, "It is for you. It is Jack." Mrs. Helmick claimed she overheard Paul, speaking on the telephone, mention something about a gun which, she understood from Paul's conversation, the caller had in his possession. She said she also heard Paul exclaim "Are you crazy?" She provided no other details of the conversation. Mrs. Helmick claimed that on Sunday, November 24, after Oswald had been shot, she heard Paul repeat the substance of the call to other employees as she had related it and that Paul said Ruby was the caller. Ralph Paul denied the allegations of Mrs. Helmick. Both Paul and Mrs. Helmick agreed that Paul went home soon after the call, apparently about 11 p.m.

Shortly after 11 p.m., Ruby arrived at the Nichols Garage where he repaid Huey Reeves and obtained the receipt Mrs. Carlin had signed. Outside the Carousel, Ruby exchanged greetings with Police Officer Harry Olsen and Kay Coleman, whom he had seen late the previous night. Going upstairs to the club, Ruby made a series of five brief long-distance phone calls, the first being to the Bull Pen Drive-In at 11:18 p.m. and lasting only 1 minute. Apparently unable to reach Paul there, Ruby telephoned Paul's home in Arlington, Tex., for 3 minutes. A third call was placed at 11:36 p.m. for 2 minutes, again to Paul's home. At 11:44 p.m. Ruby telephoned Breck Wall, a friend and entertainer who had gone to Galveston, Tex., when his show in Dallas suspended its performance out of respect to President Kennedy. The call lasted 2 minutes. Thereafter, Ruby immediately placed a 1-minute phone call to Paul's home.

Although Ruby has mentioned those calls, he has not provided details to the Commission; however, he has denied ever indicating to Paul or Wall that he was going to shoot Oswald and has said he did not consider such action until Sunday morning. Ralph Paul did not mention the late evening calls in his interview with FBI agents on November 24, 1963. Later Paul testified that Ruby called him from downtown to say that nobody was doing any business. Breck Wall testified that Ruby called him to determine whether or not the American Guild of Variety Artists (AGVA), which represented striptease dancers in Dallas, had met concerning a dispute Ruby was having with the union. Ruby's major difference with AGVA during the preceding 2 weeks had involved what Ruby considered to be AGVA's failure to enforce against his 2 competitors, Abe and Barney Weinstein, AGVA's ban on "striptease contests" and performances by "amateurs." As recently as Wednesday, November 20, Ruby had telephoned an AGVA representative in Chicago about that complaint and earlier in November he had unsuccessfully sought to obtain assistance from a San Francisco gambler and a Chicagoan reputed for his heavy-handed union activities. Wall testified that Ruby "was very upset the President was assassinated and he called Abe Weinstein or Bernie Weinstein * * * some names for staying open * * * " Wall added, "he was very upset * * * that they did not have the decency to close on such a day and he thought out of respect they should close."

Ruby's activities after midnight. After completing the series of calls to Paul and Wall at 11:48 p.m., Ruby went to the Pogo Club, about a 10-minute drive from the Carousel Club. He took a table near the middle of the club and, after ordering a Coke, asked the waitress in a disapproving tone, "Why are you open?" When Robert Norton, the club's manager, joined Ruby a few minutes later he expressed to Ruby his concern as to whether or not it was proper to operate the Pogo Club that evening. Ruby indicated that the Carousel was closed but did not criticize Norton for remaining open. Norton raised the topic of President Kennedy's death and said, "[W]e couldn't do enough to the person that [did] this sort of thing." Norton added, however, that "Nobody has the right to take the life of another one." Ruby expressed no strong opinion, and closed the conversation by saying he was going home because he was tired. Later, Ruby told the Commission: "he knew something was wrong with me in the certain mood I was in."

Ruby testified that he went home after speaking with Norton and went to bed about 1:30 a.m. By that time, George Senator claimed, he had retired for the night. and did not. remember Ruby's return. Eva Grant testified that her brother telephoned her at about 12:45 a.m. to learn how she was feeling.

Sunday morning. Ruby's activities on Sunday morning are the subject of conflicting testimony. George Senator believed that Ruby did not rise until 9 or 9:30 a.m.; both Ruby and Senator maintained that Ruby did not leave their apartment until shortly before 11:00 a.m., and two other witnesses have provided testimony which supports that account. of Ruby's whereabouts. On the other hand, three WBAP-TV television technicians Warren Richey, John Smith, and Ira Walker believed they saw Ruby near the Police and Courts Building at various times between 8 a.m. and 11 a.m. But there are substantial reasons to doubt the accuracy of their identifications. None had ever seen Ruby on a prior occasion. None looked for an extended period at the man believed to be Ruby, and all were occupied with their

duties and had no reason to remember the man's appearance until they saw Ruby's picture on television.

Smith, for one, was not entirely positive about his identification of Ruby as the man he saw; and Richey was looking down from atop a TV mobile unit when he observed on the sidewalk the man he believed was Ruby. In addition, Richey and Smith provided descriptions of Ruby which differ substantially from information about Ruby gathered from other sources. Smith described the man he saw as being an "unkempt person that possibly could have slept with his clothes on * * * " Ruby was characteristically clean and well groomed. In fact, Senator testified that Ruby shaved and dressed before leaving their apartment that morning, and at the time Ruby shot Oswald was dressed in a hat and business suit. Richey described Ruby as wearing a grayish overcoat, while investigation indicated that Ruby did not own an overcoat and was not wearing one at the time of the shooting. (See Pappas Deposition Exhibit No. 1.) Although Walker's identification of Ruby is the most positive, his certainty must, be contrasted with the indefinite identification made by Smith, who had seen the man on one additional occasion. Both Smith and Walker saw a man resembling Ruby when the man, on two occasions, looked through the window of their mobile news unit and once asked whether Oswald had been transferred. Both saw only the man's head, and Smith was closer to the window; yet Smith would not state positively that the man was Ruby. Finally, video tapes of scenes on Sunday morning near the NBC van show a man close to the Commerce Street entrance who might have been mistaken for Ruby.

George Senator said that when he arose, before 9 a.m., he began to do his laundry in the basement of the apartment building while Ruby slept. During Senator's absence, Ruby received a telephone call from his cleaning lady, Mrs. Elnora Pitts, who testified that she called sometime between 8:30 and 9 a.m. to learn whether Ruby wanted her to clean his apartment that day. Mrs. Pitts remembered that Ruby "sounded terrible strange to me." She said that "there was something wrong with him the way he was talking to me." Mrs. Pitts explained that, although she had regularly been cleaning Ruby's apartment on Sundays, Ruby seemed not to comprehend who she was or the reason for her call and required her to repeat herself several times. As Senator returned to the apartment after the call, he was apparently mistaken for Ruby by a neighbor, Sidney Evans, Jr. Evans had never seen Ruby before but recalled observing a man resembling Ruby, clad in trousers and T-shirt, walk upstairs from the "washateria" in the basement of their building and enter Ruby's suite with a load of laundry. Later in the morning, Malcolm Slaughter who shared an apartment, with Evans, saw an individual, similarly clad, on the same floor as Ruby's apartment. Senator stated that it was not Ruby's custom to do his own washing and that Ruby did not do so that morning.

While Senator was in the apartment, Ruby watched television, made himself coffee and scrambled eggs, and received, at 10:19 a.m., a telephone call from his entertainer, Karen Carlin. Mrs. Carlin testified that in her telephone conversation she asked Ruby for \$25 inasmuch as her rent was delinquent and she needed groceries. She said that Ruby, who seemed upset, mentioned that he was going downtown anyway and that he would send the money from the Western Union office. According to George Senator, Ruby then probably took a half hour or more to bathe and dress.

Supporting the accounts given by Mrs. Carlin and Mrs. Pitts of Ruby's emotional state, Senator testified that during the morning Ruby:

* * * was even mumbling, which I didn't, understand. And right after breakfast he got dressed. Then after he got dressed he was pacing the floor from the living room to the bedroom, from the bedroom to the living room, and his lips were going. What he was jabbering I don't know. But he was really pacing.

Ruby has described to the Commission his own emotions of Sunday morning as follows:

* * * Sunday morning * * * [I] saw a letter to Caroline, two columns about a 16-inch area. Someone had written a letter to Caroline. The most heartbreaking letter. I don't remember the contents. * * * alongside that letter on the same sheet of paper was a small comment in the newspaper that, I don't know how it was stated, that Mrs. Kennedy may have to come back for the trial of Lee Harvey Oswald. * * *

I don't know what bug got a hold of me. I don't know what it is, but I am going to tell the truth word for word.

I am taking a pill called Preludin. It is a harmless pill, and it is very easy to get in the drugstore. It isn't a highly prescribed pill. I use it for dieting.

I don't partake of that much food. I think that was a stimulus to give me an emotional feeling that suddenly I felt, which was so stupid, that I wanted to show my love for our faith, being of the Jewish faith, and I never used the term and I don't want to go into that suddenly the feeling, the emotional feeling came within me that someone owed this debt to our beloved President to save her the ordeal of coming back. I don't know why that came through my mind.

(See Commission Exhibit No. 2426.)

Sunday morning trip to police department. Leaving his apartment a few minutes before 11 a.m., Ruby went to his automobile taking with him his dachshund, Sheba, and a portable radio. He placed in his pocket a revolver which he routinely carried in a bank moneybag in the trunk of his car. Listening to the radio, he drove downtown, according to his own testimony, by a route that took him past Dealey Plaza where he observed the scattered wreaths. Ruby related that he noted the crowd that had gathered outside the county jail and assumed that Oswald had already been transferred. However, when he passed the Main Street side of the Police and Courts Building, which is situated on the same block as the Western Union office, he also noted the crowd that was gathered outside that building. Normal driving time for the trip from his apartment would have been about 15 minutes, but Ruby's possible haste and the slow movement of traffic through Dealey Plaza make a reliable estimate difficult.

Ruby parked his car in a lot directly across the street from the Western Union office. He apparently placed his keys and billfold in the trunk of the car, then locked the trunk, which contained approximately \$1,000 in cash, and placed the trunk key in the glove compartment of the car. He did not lock the car doors.

With his revolver, more than \$2,000 in cash, and no personal identification, Ruby walked from the parking lot across the street to the Western Union office where he filled out forms for sending \$25 by telegraph to Karen Carlin. After waiting in line while one other Western Union customer completed her business, Ruby paid for the telegram and retained as a receipt one of three time-stamped documents which show that the transaction was completed at almost exactly 11:17 a.m., c.s.t. (See Commission Exhibits Nos. 1476, 2420, 2421; D. Lane Deposition Exhibits Nos. 5118, 5119.) The Western Union clerk who accepted Ruby's order recalls that Ruby promptly turned, walked out of the door onto Main Street, and proceeded in the direction of the police department one block away. The evidence set forth in chapter V indicates that Ruby entered the police basement through the auto ramp from Main Street and stood behind the front rank of newsmen and police officers who were crowded together at the base of the ramp awaiting the transfer of Oswald to the county jail. As Oswald emerged from a basement office at approximately 11:21 a.m., Ruby moved quickly forward and, without speaking, fired one fatal shot into Oswald's abdomen before being subdued by a rush of police officers.

Evaluation of activities. Examination of Ruby's activities immediately preceding and following the death of President Kennedy revealed no sign of any conduct which suggests that he was involved in the assassination. Prior to the tragedy, Ruby's activities were routine. Though persons who saw him between November 22 and 24 disagree as to whether or not he appeared more upset than others around him, his response to the assassination appears to have been one of genuine shock and grief. His indications of concern over the possible effects of the assassination upon his businesses seem consistent with other evidence of his character. During the course of the weekend, Ruby seems to have become obsessed with the possibility that the Impeach Earl Warren sign and the Bernard Weissman ad were somehow connected and related to the assassination. However, Ruby's interest in these public notices was openly expressed and, as discussed below, the evidence reveals no connection between him and any political organization.

Examination of Larry Crafard's sudden departure from Dallas shortly before noon on November 23 does not suggest that Ruby was involved in a conspiracy. To be sure, Crafard started hitchhiking to Michigan, where members of his family lived, with only \$7 in his pocket. He made no attempt to communicate with law enforcement officials after Oswald's death; and a relative in Michigan recalled that Crafard spoke very little of his association with Ruby. When finally located by the FBI 6 days later, he stated that he left Ruby's employ because he did not wish to be subjected to further verbal abuse by Ruby and that he went north to see his sister, from whom he had not heard in some time.

An investigation of Crafard's unusual behavior confirms that his departure from Dallas was innocent. After Oswald was shot, FBI agents obtained from the Carousel Club an unmailed letter drafted by Crafard to a relative in Michigan at least a week before the assassination. The letter revealed that he was considering leaving Dallas at that time. On November 17, Crafard, who had been receiving only room, board, and incidental expenses, told Ruby he wanted to stop working for him; however, Crafard agreed to remain when Ruby promised a salary. Then on the morning of November 23, Ruby and Crafard had a minor altercation over the telephone. Although Crafard did not voluntarily make known to the authorities his associations with Ruby, he spoke freely and with verifiable accuracy when questioned. The automobile driver who provided Crafard his first ride from Dallas has been located; his statement generally conforms with Crafard's story; and he did not recall any unusual or troubled behavior by Crafard during that ride.

Although Crafard's peremptory decision to leave Dallas might be unusual for most persons, such

behavior does not appear to have been uncommon for him. His family residence had shifted frequently among California, Michigan, and Oregon. During his 22 years, he had earned his livelihood picking crops, working in carnivals, and taking other odd jobs throughout the country. According to his testimony, he had previously hitchhiked across the country with his then wife and two infant children. Against such a background, it is most probable that the factors motivating Crafard's departure from Dallas on November 23 were dissatisfaction with his existence in Ruby's employ, which he had never considered more than temporary, Ruby's decision to close his clubs for 3 days, the argument on Saturday morning, and his own desire to see his relatives in Michigan. There is no evidence to suggest any connection between Crafard's departure and the assassination of the President or the shooting of Oswald.

The allegations of Wanda Helmick raised speculation that Ruby's Saturday night phone calls to Ralph Paul and Breck Wall might have concerned the shooting of Oswald, but investigation has found nothing to indicate that the calls had conspiratorial implications. Paul was a close friend, business associate, and adviser to Jack Ruby. Ruby normally kept in close telephone contact with Paul, who had a substantial sum of money committed to the Carousel Club. Paul explained that Ruby called him Saturday evening once to point out his ads, another time to say that nobody seemed to be doing any business in downtown Dallas, and a third time to relate that both he and his sister were crying over the assassination. Between two of those phone calls to Paul, Ruby telephoned to Galveston, Texas to speak with Wall, a friend and former business associate who was an official of the American Guild of Variety Artists. Wall related that during that call Ruby criticized the Weinsteins for failing to close their clubs.

Having earlier made the same complaint to Lawrence Meyers to whom he mentioned a need "to do something about this" it would have been characteristic for Ruby to want to direct Breck Wall's attention, as an AGVA official, to what he regarded as the Weinstein's improper conduct. The view that the calls to Wall and Paul could have had conspiratorial implications also is belied in large measure by the conduct of both men before and after the events of November 22-24. A check of long-distance telephone records reveals no suspicious activity by either man. Paul, in fact, is not known to have visited Dallas during the weekend of the assassination except to appear openly in an effort to arrange counsel for Ruby within a few hours of the attack on Oswald. Neither the FBI nor the CIA has been able to provide any information that Ralph Paul or Breck Wall ever engaged in any form of subversive activity.

Moreover, Mrs. Helmick's reliability is undermined by her failure to report her information to any investigative official until June 9, 1964. Although a sister-in-law confirms that Mrs. Helmick wrote her "something about a gun" shortly after the shooting, the only mention of any statement by Paul which was included in a letter written by Mrs. Helmick after the Ruby trial was that Paul believed Ruby was "not in his right mind." No corroborating witness named by Mrs. Helmick has been found who remembers the conversations she mentioned. Both Ruby and Paul have denied that anything was said, as Mrs. Helmick suggests, about a gun or an intent to shoot Oswald, and Wall has stated that Ruby did not discuss such matters with him. Even if Mrs. Helmick is accurate the statements ascribed to Paul indicate only that he may have heard of a possible reference by Ruby to shooting Oswald. According to her, Paul's response was to exclaim "Are you crazy?" But under no circumstances does the report of Mrs. Helmick or any other fact support a belief that Paul or Wall was involved in the shooting of Oswald.

The Commission has conducted an investigation of the telephone call Ruby received from Karen Carlin at 10:19 Sunday morning to determine whether that call was prearranged for the purpose of conveying information about the transfer of Oswald or to provide Ruby an excuse for being near the police department. The Commission has examined the records of long-distance telephone calls on Sunday morning for Jack Ruby, the Carlins, the Dallas police, and several other persons and has found no sign of any indirect communication to Ruby through Mr. or Mrs. Carlin. No other evidence showing any link between the Carlins and the shooting of Oswald has been developed.

Ruby and Oswald Were Not Acquainted

The possibility of a prior acquaintanceship between Ruby and Oswald has been suggested by some persons who viewed the shooting on television and believed that a look of recognition appeared on Oswald's face as Ruby moved toward him in the jail basement. The Commission has examined the television tapes and movie films which were made as Oswald moved through the basement and has observed no facial expressions which can be interpreted as signifying recognition of Ruby by Oswald. It is doubtful even that Oswald could have seen Ruby sufficiently clearly to discern his identity since Oswald was walking from a dark corridor into "the flash from the many cameras" and the lights of TV

cameramen which were "blinding." In addition to such generalized suspicion, there have been numerous specific allegations that Oswald was seen in the company of Ruby prior to November 22, often at Ruby's Carousel Club. All such allegations have been investigated, but the Commission has found none which merits credence. In all but a few instances where the Commission was able to trace the claim to its source, the person responsible for the report either denied making it or admitted that he had no basis for the original allegations. Frequently those responsible for the allegations have proved to be persons of erratic memory or dubious mental stability. In a few instances, the source of the story has remained unidentified, and no person has come forward to substantiate the rumor.

The testimony of a few witnesses who claim to have seen Ruby with a person who they feel may have been Oswald warrants further comment. One such witness, Robert K. Patterson, a Dallas electronics salesman, has stated that on a date established from sales records as November 1, 1963, Ruby, accompanied by a man who resembled Oswald, purchased some equipment at his business establishment. However, Patterson did not claim positively that the man he saw was Oswald, and two of his associates who were also present at the time could not state that the man was Oswald. Other evidence indicates that Ruby's companion was Larry Crafard. Crafard, who lived at the Carousel Club while working for Ruby from mid-October until November 23, 1963, stated that sometime in late October or early November he accompanied Ruby to an electronics store in connection with the purchase of electronics equipment. Ruth Paine testified that Crafard's photograph bears a strong resemblance to Oswald; and employment records of the Texas School Book Depository show that Oswald worked a full day on November 1, 1963.

William D. Crowe, Jr., a young nightclub master of ceremonies who had worked for Ruby on three occasions and had begun a 4- or 5-week engagement at the Carousel Club on November 11, 1963, was the first person who reported a possible association between Ruby and Oswald. While attempting to enter the Carousel Club on November 24, shortly after Oswald was shot, Crowe encountered two news media representatives who were gathering information on Jack Ruby. At that time, Crowe, who included a memory act in his repertoire, mentioned the "possibility" that he had seen Oswald at the Carousel Club. As a result he was asked to appear on television. In Crowe's own words, the story "started snowballing." He testified:

They built up the memory thing and they built up the bit of having seen Oswald there, and I never stated definitely, positively, and they said that I did, and all in all, what they had in the paper was hardly even close to what I told them.

Crowe added that his memory act involved a limited system which did not, in fact, improve his memory and that his memory might not even be as good as that of the average person. When asked how certain he was that the man he saw was Oswald, Crowe testified: " * * * the face seemed familiar as some faces do, and I had associated him with a patron that I had seen in the club a week before. That was about it."

A possible explanation for Crowe's belief that Oswald's face seemed familiar was supplied by a freelance photographer, Eddie Rocco, who had taken pictures at the Carousel Club for Ruby at about the time Crowe was employed there. Rocco produced one of those photographs which depicted a man who might have been mistaken for Oswald by persons having no reason to remember the man at the time they saw him. When shown the Rocco photograph, Crowe said that there was as strong a possibility that the man he recalled seeing was the man in the photograph as there was that he was Oswald. Crowe's uncertainty was further underscored by his failure initially to provide his information about Oswald to David Hoy, a news-media friend whom Crowe telephoned in Evansville, Ind., less than 20 minutes after Oswald was shot. By then the possible recognition had occurred to Crowe, and Hoy said he was quite surprised that Crowe had given the information first to other news representatives instead of telling him in that early conversation.

After Crowe's identification had been publicized, four other persons also reported seeing Oswald at the Carousel Club. One man said he saw Ruby and Oswald seated at a table together and recalled that the man resembling Oswald was addressed by a blond-haired waitress as "Bettit" or "Pettit." The witness was unable to give any description of "Pettit" except that he was the man who had been shot by Ruby. He could not describe the inside of the Carousel and was unable to give a precise location for the club. Another witness, a resident of Tennessee, related seeing a man resembling Oswald at the Carousel Club on November 10. Ruth Paine has testified, however, that Oswald spent the entire holiday weekend of November 9, 10, and 11 at her home in Irving, Tex. Two of Ruby's former employees, Karen Carlin and Billy Joe Willis, also believed they had seen a person who resembled Oswald. Willis believed he saw the man at the Carousel Club but did not think the man was Oswald. Mrs. Carlin likewise was not certain that the man was Oswald nor was she sure where she had seen

him. Neither reported any connection between the man and Ruby. No other employees recalled seeing Oswald or a person resembling him at the Carousel Club.

Wilbryn Waldon (Robert) Litchfield II also claimed to have seen at the Carousel Club a man resembling Oswald. Litchfield stated that during a visit to the Carousel Club in late October or early November 1963, he saw such a man enter Ruby's office, apparently to confer with Ruby. Although there is substantial evidence that Litchfield did see Ruby at the Carousel Club about that time, there is strong reason to believe that Litchfield did not see Lee Harvey Oswald. Litchfield described the man he saw as having pockmarks on the right side of his chin; Oswald did not have such identifying marks. Moreover, the Commission has substantial doubts concerning Litchfield's credibility. Although present at an FBI interview of another witness on November 29, Litchfield made no mention of his observation to public officials until December 2, 1963. Litchfield, who had twice been convicted for offenses involving forged checks, testified that he first recalled that Oswald resembled the visitor he saw at the Carousel Club while watching a television showing on Sunday morning, November 24, of the shooting by Ruby. At that time Litchfield was playing poker with three friends, and he testified that he promptly informed them of the resemblance he observed. However, none of the three poker companions remembered Litchfield's making such a remark; and two added that Litchfield's statements were often untrustworthy. With regard to all of the persons who claimed to have seen Ruby and Oswald together, it is significant that none had particular reason to pay close attention to either man, that substantial periods of time elapsed before the events they assertedly witnessed became meaningful, and that, unlike the eyewitnesses who claimed to have seen Oswald on November 22, none reported their observations soon after Oswald was arrested. In the course of its investigation, the Commission has encountered numerous dear mistakes of identification. For example, at least four persons, other than Craford, are known to have been mistaken for Oswald. Other persons have been misidentified as Jack Ruby. Under all the available evidence there is no substantial likelihood that the person the various witnesses claimed to have seen with Ruby was in fact Oswald.

In addition to probing the reported evidence that Ruby and Oswald had been seen together, the Commission has examined other circumstances for signs that the two men were acquainted. From the time Oswald returned from Mexico, both he and Jack Ruby lived in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas, slightly more than a mile apart. Numerous neighbors of both Oswald and Ruby were interviewed, and none knew of any association between the two. Oswald's work began at 8 each weekday morning and terminated at 4:45 each afternoon. Jack Ruby usually remained in his apartment until past 9 a.m. each day. Although both men worked in downtown Dallas, they normally traveled to their places of employment by different routes. Ruby owned an automobile, and the shortest route downtown from his home was via a freeway adjacent to his apartment. Oswald did not own a car and had, at best, a rudimentary ability to drive. From his rooming houses on North Beckley Avenue and on Marsalis Street, he normally took public transportation which did not bring him within six blocks of either Ruby's apartment or his downtown nightclub, nor did Oswald's route from the bus stop to home or work bring him near Ruby's home or business. Persons at Oswald's rooming house testified that he regularly came home promptly after work and remained in his room. While in Dallas, he is not known to have visited any nightclub. Ruby was generally at the Carousel Club from 9 o'clock each evening until after 1 a.m. In a few instances, Ruby and Oswald patronized the same stores, but no indication has been found that they ever met at such stores. Ruby at one time frequented a restaurant where Oswald occasionally ate breakfast, but the times of their patronage were widely separated and restaurant employees knew of no acquaintance between Ruby and Oswald. Likewise, Ruby has held various memberships in the Dallas YMCA and Oswald lived there for brief periods; however, there is no indication that they were there at the same time.

Both Ruby and Oswald maintained post office boxes at the terminal annex of the U.S. post office in Dallas, but there is no indication that those facts were more than coincidental. On November 1, 1963, Oswald rented box No. 6225, his third since October 1962. Oswald's possible purpose has been discussed previously in this chapter. On November 7, 1963, Jack Ruby rented post office box No. because he hoped to receive mail responses to advertisements for the twist board exercise device which he was then promoting. Although it is conceivable that Oswald and Ruby coincidentally encountered one another while checking their boxes, the different daily schedules of the two men render even this possibility unlikely. Moreover, Oswald's withdrawn personality makes it improbable that the two would have spoken if their paths had crossed.

The Commission has also examined the known friends and acquaintances of Ruby and Oswald for evidence that the two were acquainted, but it has found very few possible links. One conceivable association was through John Carter, a boarder at 1026 North Beckley Avenue while Oswald lived there. Carter was friendly with Wanda Joyce Killam, who had known Jack Ruby since shortly after he moved to

Dallas in 1947 and worked for him from July 1963 to early November 1963. Mrs. Killam, who volunteered the information about Carter's residence during an interview with an agent of the FBI, has stated that she did not believe Carter ever visited the Carousel Club and that she did not think Carter knew Ruby. Carter stated that he had not heard of Ruby until Oswald was shot, had talked briefly with Oswald only once or twice, and had never heard Oswald mention Ruby or the Carousel Club. The Commission has no reason to disbelieve either Mrs. Killam or Mr. Carter.

A second possible link between Oswald and Ruby was through Earlene Roberts, the housekeeper at North Beckley Avenue. Bertha Cheek, the sister of Mrs. Roberts, is known to have visited Jack Ruby at the Carousel Club during the afternoon of November 18, 1963. Mrs. Cheek testified that she had met with Ruby and a person whom Ruby represented to be an interior decorator for the purpose of discussing the possibility of financially backing Ruby in a new nightclub which he planned to open. Mrs. Cheek said she had met Ruby only once, a few years before, and that she had not heard of Oswald until he shot President Kennedy. Mr. Frank Boerder, the decorator who was present at the November 18 meeting, confirmed the substance of the discussion reported by Mrs. Cheek, and other witnesses establish that Ruby was, in fact, seeking an associate for a new nightclub venture. There is no evidence that Jack Ruby ever associated with Earlene Roberts, nor is there any indication that Mrs. Cheek knew of Lee Harvey Oswald prior to November 22.

Oswald's trips to the home of Mrs. Ruth Paine at 2115 West Fifth Street in Irving, Tex., presented another possible link to Ruby. While Oswald's family resided with Mrs. Paine, William F. Simmons, piano player in the musical combo which worked at the Carousel Club from September 17, 1963, until November 21, 1963, lived at 2539 West Fifth Street, in Irving. Simmons has stated that his only relationship to Ruby was as an employee, that Ruby never visited him, that he did not know Oswald, and that he had never seen Oswald at the Carousel Club. Other persons in the neighborhood knew of no connection between Ruby and Oswald.

The Commission has investigated rumors that Jack Ruby and Lee Harvey Oswald were both homosexuals and, thus, might have known each other in that respect. However, no evidence has been uncovered to support the rumors, the closest acquaintances of both men emphatically deny them, and Ruby's nightclubs were not known to have been frequented by homosexuals.

A final suggestion of a connection between Jack Ruby and Lee Harvey Oswald arises from the testimony of Oswald's mother, Marguerite Oswald. When appearing before the Commission, Mrs. Oswald related that on November 23, 1963, before Ruby shot Oswald, FBI Agent Bardwell D. Odum showed her a picture of a man she believed was Jack Ruby, and asked whether the man shown was familiar to her. Odum had first attempted to see Marina Oswald, but Marguerite refused to allow Marina to be disturbed at that time. In the course of Marguerite's testimony, the Commission asked the FBI for a copy of the photograph displayed by Odum to her. When Marguerite viewed the photograph provided the Commission, she stated that the picture was different from the one she saw in November, in part because the "top two corners" were cut differently and because the man depicted was not Jack Ruby.

The Commission has investigated this matter and determined that Special Agent Odum did show a picture to Marguerite Oswald for possible identification but that the picture was not of Jack Ruby. On November 22 the CIA had provided the FBI with a photograph of a man who, it was thought at the time, might have been associated with Oswald. To prevent the viewer from determining precisely where the picture had been taken, FBI Agent Odum had trimmed the background from the photograph by making a series of straight cuts which reduced the picture to an irregular hexagonal shape. The picture which was displayed by the Commission to Marguerite Oswald was a copy of the same picture shown her by Agent Odum; however, in supplying a duplicate photograph for Commission use the FBI had cropped the background by cutting along the contours of the body of the man shown, resulting in a photograph without any background, unlike the first photograph Marguerite viewed on November 23. Affidavits obtained from the CIA and from the two FBI agents who trimmed the photographs established that the one shown to Mrs. Oswald before the Commission, though trimmed differently from the one shown her on November 23, was a copy of the same picture. Neither picture was of Jack Ruby. The original photograph had been taken by the CIA outside of the United States sometime between July 1, 1963, and November 22, 1963, during all of which time Ruby was within the country.

Ruby's Background and Associations

In addition to examining in detail Jack Ruby's activities from November 21 to November 24 and his possible acquaintanceship with Lee Harvey Oswald, the Commission has considered whether or not Ruby had ties with individuals or groups that might have obviated the need for any direct contact near the time of the assassination. Study of Jack Ruby's background, which is set out more fully in appendix

XVI, leads to the firm conclusion that he had no such ties.

Business activities. Ruby's entire life is characteristic of a rigorously independent person. He moved from his family home soon after leaving high school at age 16, although a "family" residence has been maintained in Chicago throughout the years. Later, in 1947, he moved from Chicago to Dallas and maintained only sporadic contact with most of his family. For most of his working years and continuously since 1947, Jack Ruby was self-employed. Although he had partners from time to time, the partnerships were not lasting, and Ruby seems to have preferred to operate independently.

Ruby's main sources of income were his two nightclubs—the Carousel Club and the Vegas Club—although he also frequently pursued a number of independent, short-lived business promotions. (Ruby's business dealings are described in greater detail in app. XVI.) At the time of the assassination, the United States claimed approximately \$44,000 in delinquent taxes, and he was in substantial debt to his brother Earl and to his friend Ralph Paul. However, there are no indications that Earl Ruby or Ralph Paul was exerting pressure for payment or that Ruby's tax liabilities were not susceptible to an acceptable settlement. Ruby operated his clubs on a cash basis, usually carrying large amounts of cash on his person; thus there is no particular significance to the fact that approximately \$3,000 in cash was found on his person and in his automobile when arrested. Nor do his meager financial records reflect any suspicious activities. He used his bank accounts only infrequently, with no unexplained large transactions; and no entries were made to Ruby's safe-deposit boxes in over a year prior to the shooting of Oswald. There is no evidence that Ruby received any sums after his arrest except royalties from a syndicated newspaper article on his life and small contributions for his defense from friends, sympathizers, and family members.

Ruby's political activities. Jack Ruby considered himself a Democrat, perhaps in part because his brother Hyman had been active in Democratic ward politics in Chicago. When Ruby was arrested, police officers found in his apartment, 10 political cards urging the election of the "Conservative Democratic slate," but the Commission has found no evidence that Ruby had distributed that literature and he is not known ever to have campaigned for any political candidates. None of his friends or associates expressed any knowledge that he belonged to any groups interested in political issues, nor did they remember that he had discussed political problems except on rare occasions.

As a young man, Ruby participated in attacks upon meetings of the German-American Bund in Chicago, but the assaults were the efforts of pool hall associates from his predominantly Jewish neighborhood rather than the work of any political group. His only other known activities which had any political flavor possessed stronger overtones of financial self-interest. In early 1942 he registered a copyright for a placard which displayed an American flag and bore the inscription "Remember Pearl Harbor." The placard was never successfully promoted. At other times, he is reported to have attempted to sell busts of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The rabbi of Ruby's synagogue expressed the belief that Ruby was too unsophisticated to grasp or have a significant interest in any political creed. Although various views have been given concerning Ruby's attitude toward President Kennedy prior to the assassination, the overwhelming number of witnesses reported that Ruby had considerable respect for the President, and there has been no report of any hostility toward him.

There is also no reliable indication that Ruby was ever associated with any Communist or radical causes. Jack Ruby's parents were born in Poland in the 1870's and his father served in the Czarist Russian army from 1893-98. Though neither parent became a citizen after emigrating to the United States in the early 1900's, the evidence indicates that neither Ruby nor his family maintained any ties with relatives in Europe. Jack Ruby has denied ever being connected with any Communist activities. The FBI has reported that, prior to the shooting of Oswald, its nationwide files contained no information of any subversive activities by Ruby. In addition, a Commission staff member has personally examined all subversive activities reports from the Dallas-Fort Worth office of the FBI for the year 1963 and has found no reports pertaining to Jack Ruby or any of his known acquaintances.

The Commission has directed considerable attention to an allegation that Jack Ruby was connected with Communist Party activities in Muncie, Ind. On the day after Oswald's death, a former resident of Muncie claimed that between 1943 and 1947 a Chicagoan resembling Ruby and known to him as Jack Rubenstein was in Muncie on three occasions and associated with persons who the witness suspected were Communists. The witness stated that the man resembling Ruby visited Muncie during these years as a guest of the son-in-law of a now-deceased jeweler for whom the witness worked. A second son-in-law of the jewelry store owner suggested that he may have known Ruby while the two resided in Chicago, but the son-in-law whom Ruby allegedly visited disclaimed any acquaintanceship with Ruby. Both sons-in-law denied any Communist activities and the Commission has found no contrary evidence

other than the testimony of the witness.

On the first two occasions on which Ruby is alleged to have been in Muncie, military records show him to have been on active military duty in the South. The witness also said that the man he knew as Rubenstein owned or managed a nightclub when he met him, but the Commission has no reliable evidence that Jack Ruby ever owned or worked in any nightclubs when he lived in Chicago. The witness further stated that on one occasion he found the name of Jack Rubenstein, or perhaps a similar name, together with the names of others he believed were Communists, on a list which had been left in a room above the jewelry store after a meeting held there. The witness said he gave the list to his wife's cousin, now deceased, who was then the chief of detectives in Muncie. However, neither the list nor a person identifiable as Jack Ruby has been located after a thorough search by the FBI of its own files and those of the Muncie Police Department, the Indiana State Police, and other agencies. The witness did not recall seeing Rubenstein in Muncie during the period of that meeting, and he had never heard Rubenstein say anything which would indicate he was a Communist.

The FBI has interviewed all living persons who the witness stated were involved with Ruby in Communist activities in Muncie. One person named by the witness was known previously to have been involved in Communist Party activities, but subversive activities files have revealed no such activities for any of the others. The admitted former Communist denied knowing Ruby and stated that the jewelry store owner was not known to him as a Communist and that Communist meetings were never held above the store. All other Muncie residents named by the witness as possible associates of Ruby denied knowing Ruby. Similarly, fellow employees of the witness whom he did not claim were Communists knew of no Communist activities connected with the jewelry store owner or any visits of Jack Ruby, and FBI informants familiar with Communist activities in Indiana and Chicago did not know of any participation by Ruby. Finally, the witness testified that even though he believed as early as 1947 that all of the persons named by him were Communists he had never brought his information to the attention of any authority investigating such activities, except for providing the alleged list to his cousin. The Commission finds no basis for accepting the witness's testimony.

The Commission has also investigated the possibility that Ruby was associated with ultraconservative political endeavors in Dallas. Upon his arrest, there were found in Ruby's possession two radio scripts of a right-wing program promoted by H. L. Hunt, whose political views are highly conservative. Ruby had acquired the scripts a few weeks earlier at the Texas Products Show, where they were enclosed in bags of Hunt food products. Ruby is reported to have become enraged when he discovered the scripts, and threatened to send one to "Kennedy." He is not known to have done anything with them prior to giving one to a radio announcer on November 23; and on that day seemed to confuse organizations of the extreme right with those of the far left. On November 21, Ruby drove Connie Trammel, a young college graduate whom he had met some months previously, to the office of Lamar Hunt, the son of H. L. Hunt, for a job interview. Although Ruby stated that he would like to meet Hunt, seemingly to establish a business connection, he did not enter Hunt's office with her. An allegation that Ruby was a visitor at the home of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker (Resigned, U.S. Army) appears totally unfounded. The allegation was made in late May 1964 to an agent of the U.S. Secret Service by William McEwan Duff. Duff, who was discharged from military service in June 1964 because of a fraudulent enlistment, disclaimed any knowledge of Ruby or Oswald when questioned by FBI agents in January 1964.

Another allegation connecting Jack Ruby with right-wing activities was Mark Lane's assertion, mentioned previously, that an unnamed informant told him of a meeting lasting more than 2 hours in the Carousel Club on November 14, 1963, between Jack Ruby, Patrolman J. D. Tippit, and Bernard Weissman. Although the name of Lane's informant has never been revealed to the Commission, an investigation has been conducted in an effort to find corroboration for the claimed Tippit, Weissman, and Ruby meeting. No employee of the Carousel Club has any knowledge of the meeting described by Lane. Ruby and Weissman both deny that such a meeting occurred, and Officer Tippit's widow has no knowledge that her late husband ever went to the Carousel Club.

Some confusion has arisen, however, because early Friday afternoon, November 22, Ruby remarked that he knew the Tippit who had been shot by Oswald. Later Ruby stated that he did not know J. D. Tippit but that his reference was to G. M. Tippit, a member of the special services bureau of the Dallas Police Department who had visited Ruby establishments occasionally in the course of his official duties. Larry Crafard was unable to recognize photographs of J. D. Tippit and had no recollection of a Tippit, Weissman, and Ruby meeting at any time. However, uncertainty was introduced when Crafard identified a photograph of Bernard Weissman as resembling a man who had visited the Carousel Club and had been referred to by Ruby as "Weissman." In a subsequent interview Crafard stated that he believed Weissman was a detective on the Dallas Police Department, that his first name may have been Johnny, and that he was in his late thirties or early forties. As set forth previously, Bernard Weissman

was a 26-year-old New York carpet salesman. Crafard added "I could have my recollection of a Mr. Weissman mixed up with someone else."

Ruby's conduct on November 22 and 23, 1963, corroborates his denial that he knew Bernard Weissman. Ruby expressed hostility to the November 22 full-page advertisement to many persons. To none did he give any indication that he was familiar with the person listed as responsible for the advertisement. His attempt on November 23 to trace the holder of the post office box shown on the "Impeach Earl Warren" sign and to locate Weissman's name in a Dallas city directory also tends to indicate that in fact he was not familiar with Weissman. Had he been involved in some type of unlawful activity with Weissman, it is highly unlikely that Ruby would have called attention to Weissman as he did. Investigation has disclosed no evidence that Officer J. D. Tippit was acquainted with either Ruby or Oswald. Neither Tippit's wife nor his close friends knew of such an acquaintanceship. Tippit was not known to frequent nightclubs and he had no reason during the course of his police duties to enter Ruby's clubs. Although at the time of the assassination Tippit was working weekends in a Dallas restaurant owned by a member of the John Birch Society, the restaurant owner stated that he never discussed politics with Tippit. Persons close to Tippit related that Tippit rarely discussed political matters with any person and that he was a member of no political organization. Telephone records for the period following September 26, 1963, revealed no suspicious long-distance calls from the Tippit household.

Tippit's encounter with Oswald following the shooting of the President is indicative of no prior association between the two men. Police radio logs show that, as part of general directions issued to all officers immediately after the assassination, Tippit was specifically directed to patrol the Oak Cliff area where he came upon Oswald. His movement from the area which he had been patrolling into the central Oak Cliff area was also in conformity with the normal procedure of the Dallas Police Department for patrol cars to cover nearby districts when the patrol cars in that district became otherwise engaged, as occurred after the assassination. Oswald fit the general description, which, 15 minutes after the assassination, was broadcast to all police cars of a suspect described by a bystander who had seen Oswald in the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository. There is thus no basis for any inference that, in approaching Oswald, Tippit was acting other than in the line of police duty.

Allegations of Cuban activity. No substantiation has been found for rumors linking Ruby with pro- or anti-Castro Cuban activities, except for one incident in January 1959 when Ruby made preliminary inquiries, as a middleman, concerning the possible sale to Cuba of some surplus jeeps located in Shreveport, La., and asked about the possible release of prisoners from a Cuban prison. No evidence has been developed that the project ever became more than a "possibility".

Ruby explained that in early 1959 United States sentiment toward Cuba was still favorable and that he was merely pursuing a money-making opportunity.

During the period of the "jeep sale", R. D. Matthews, a gambler and a "passing acquaintance" of Ruby, returned to Dallas from Havana where he had been living. In mid-1959, he returned to Cuba until mid-1960. On October 3, 1963, a telephone call was made from the Carousel Club to Matthews' former wife in Shreveport. No evidence has been uncovered that Matthews was associated with the sale of jeeps or the release of prisoners or that he knew of Oswald prior to the assassination. Matthews' ex-wife did not recall the phone call in October of 1963, and she asserted that she did not know Jack Ruby or anybody working for him.

In September 1959, Ruby traveled to Havana as a guest of a close friend and known gambler, Lewis J. McWillie. Both Ruby and McWillie state the trip was purely social. In January 1961, McWillie left Cuba with strong feelings of hostility to the Castro regime. In early 1963, Ruby purchased a pistol which he shipped to McWillie in Nevada, but McWillie did not accept the package. The Commission has found no evidence that McWillie has engaged in any activities since leaving Cuba that are related to pro- or anti-Castro political movements or that he was involved in Ruby's abortive jeep transaction.

The Commission has also received evidence that in April 1962, a telegram sent to Havana, Cuba, was charged to the business telephone of Earl Ruby, brother of Jack Ruby. Earl Ruby stated that he was unable to recall that telegram but testified that he had never traveled to Cuba nor had any dealings with persons in Cuba. Jack Ruby is not known to have visited his brother at that time, and during that period Earl and Jack did not maintain a close relationship. Earl Ruby is not known to have been involved in any subversive activities.

Finally, examination of FBI information relative to Cuban groups in the Dallas-Fort Worth area for the year 1963 fails to disclose any person who might provide a link between Ruby and such groups. The Central Intelligence Agency has no information suggesting that Jack Ruby or any of his closest associates have been involved in any type of revolutionary or subversive Cuban activity.

Possible underworld connections. The Commission has investigated Ruby's possible criminal activities, looking with particular concern for evidence that he engaged in illegal activities with members of the organized underworld or that, on his own, he was a promoter of illegal endeavors. The results of that investigation are more fully detailed in appendix XVI. Ruby was reared in a Chicago neighborhood where he became acquainted with local criminals and with persons who later became criminals. Throughout his life, Ruby's friendships with persons of that character were limited largely to professional gamblers, although his night club businesses brought him in contact with persons who had been convicted of other offenses. There is no credible evidence that Ruby, himself, gambled on other than a social basis or that he had any unpaid gambling debts. He had never been charged with a felony prior to his attack on Oswald; his only encounters in Chicago stemmed from ticket scalping and the unauthorized sale of copyrighted music; and, in Dallas, his law violations, excluding traffic charges, resulted from the operation of his clubs or outbursts of temper. Ruby has disclaimed that he was associated with organized criminal activities, and law enforcement agencies have confirmed that denial.

Investigation of George Senator. In addition to examining Ruby's own activities and background, the Commission has paid careful attention to the activities and background of George Senator, Ruby's roommate and one of his closest friends in Dallas. Senator was interrogated by staff members over a 2-day period; he provided a detailed account of his own life and cooperated fully in all aspects of the Commission's inquiry into the activities of Jack Ruby. Senator was 50 years old at the time Ruby shot Oswald. He had been born September 4, 1913, in Gloversville, N.Y., and had received an eighth grade education. Upon leaving school, he worked in Gloversville and New York City until about age 25. For the next few years he worked in various restaurants and cafeterias in New York and Florida until enlisting in the Army in August 1941. After his honorable discharge in September 1945, Senator was employed for most of the next 13 years selling inexpensive dresses throughout the South and Southwest. In the course of that employment he moved to Dallas where he met Jack Ruby while visiting Ruby's Vegas Club in about 1955 or 1956. Ruby was one of many who helped Senator when he encountered financial difficulties during the years 1958 to 1962. For a while in 1962, Ruby provided room and board in exchange for Senator's help in his clubs and apartment. In August 1963, Senator was unable to maintain his own apartment alone following his roommate's marriage. Ruby again offered to help and on November 1, 1963, Senator moved into Ruby's apartment. The Commission has found no evidence that Senator ever engaged in any political activities.

Against this background the Commission has evaluated Senator's account of his own activities on November 22, 23, and 24. When questioned by Dallas and Federal authorities hours after the shooting of Oswald, Senator omitted mention of having accompanied Ruby to photograph the "Impeach Earl Warren" sign on Saturday morning. Senator stated to Commission staff members that in the interviews of November 24 he omitted the incident because of oversight. However, he spoke freely about it in his sworn testimony and no inaccuracies have been noted in that portion of his testimony.

Senator also failed to mention to the Commission and to previous interrogators that, shortly after Ruby left their apartment Sunday morning, he called friends, Mr. and Mrs. William Downey, and offered to visit their apartment and make breakfast for them. Downey stated, in June 1964, that Senator said he was alone and that, after Downey declined the offer, Senator remarked that he would then go downtown for breakfast. When told of Downey's account, Senator denied it and explained that the two were not friendly by the time Senator left Dallas about six weeks after the assassination.

The Commission also experienced difficulty in ascertaining the activities of Senator on November 22 and 23. He was unable to account specifically for large segments of time when he was not with Ruby. And, as to places and people Senator says he visited on those days prior to the time Oswald was shot, the Commission has been unsuccessful in obtaining verification. Senator admitted that he had spent much of that time drinking but denied that he was intoxicated.

It is difficult to know with complete certainty whether Senator had any foreknowledge of the shooting of Oswald. Ruby testified that at about 10:15 a.m. on Sunday morning, November 24, he said, in Senator's presence, "If something happened to this person, that then Mrs. Kennedy won't have to come back for the trial." According to Ruby, this is the most explicit statement he made concerning Oswald that morning. Senator denies any knowledge of Ruby's intentions.

Senator's general response to the shooting was not like that of a person seeking to conceal his guilt. Shortly before it was known that Ruby was the slayer of Oswald, Senator visited the Eatwell Restaurant in downtown Dallas. Upon being informed that Ruby was the attacker, Senator exclaimed, "My God, " in what appeared to be a genuinely surprised tone. He then ran to a telephone, returned to gulp down his coffee, and quickly departed. He drove promptly to the home of James Martin, an attorney and friend. Martin recalled that Senator's concern was for his friend Ruby and not for himself. Martin and

Senator drove to the Dallas Police Department where Senator voluntarily submitted himself to police questioning, and gave interviews to newspaper and television reporters. The Commission has concluded, on the basis of its investigation into Senator's background, activities, and reaction to the shooting, that Senator did not aid or conspire with Jack Ruby in the killing of Oswald.

Ruby's activities preceding President's trip. In addition to the broad investigation into Ruby's background and associations, the Commission delved particularly into Ruby's pattern of activities during the 2 months preceding President Kennedy's visit to Dallas in order to determine whether there was unusual conduct which might be linked to the President's forthcoming trip.

The Commission has been able to account specifically for Jack Ruby's presence in Dallas on every day after September 26, 1963, except five September 29, 30 and October 11, 14, and 24 and there is no evidence that he was out of the Dallas-Fort Worth area on those days. The report of one person who saw Ruby on September 28 indicates that Ruby probably remained in Dallas on September 29 and 30, when Oswald was in Mexico City. The Commission has looked for but has found no evidence that Ruby traveled to Mexico at that time. Both Ruby and Ralph Paul have stated that Ruby did not leave the Dallas-Fort Worth area during September, October, or November 1963.

During October and November of 1963, Jack Ruby maintained his usual vigorous pace of business activities. In particular, he directed considerable attention to his two nightclubs and to other business promotions. During the final month before the Kennedy trip, his time was increasingly occupied with personnel problems at both his clubs. There is no indication that he devoted less than full attention to these matters or that he appeared preoccupied with other affairs. His acquaintances did feel that Ruby seemed depressed and concerned that his friends were deserting him. However, there were no signs of secretive conduct.

Scrutiny of Ruby's activities during the several days preceding the President's arrival in Dallas has revealed no indication of any unusual activity. Ruby is remembered to have discussed the President's impending trip with only two persons and only briefly. Two newspapers containing a description of the expected motorcade routes through Dallas and Fort Worth were found in Ruby's car at the time of this arrest. However, such papers circulated widely in Dallas, and Ruby's car, like his apartment, was so cluttered with other newspapers, notebooks, brochures, cards, clothing, and personal items that there is no reason to attach any significance to the papers. Aside from the results of the Commission's investigation reported above, there are other reasons to doubt that Jack Ruby would have shot Oswald as he did if he had been involved in a conspiracy to carry out the assassination, or that he would have been delegated to perform the shooting of Oswald on behalf of others who were involved in the slaying of the President. By striking in the city jail, Ruby was certain to be apprehended. An attempt to silence Oswald by having Ruby kill him would have presented exceptionally grave dangers to any other persons involved in the scheme. If the attempt had failed, Oswald might have been moved to disclose his confederates to the authorities. If it succeeded, as it did, the additional killing might itself have produced a trail to them. Moreover, Ruby was regarded by most persons who knew him as moody and unstable, hardly one to have encouraged the confidence of persons involved in a sensitive conspiracy.

Since his apprehension, Jack Ruby has provided the Federal authorities with several detailed accounts of his activities both preceding and following the assassination of President Kennedy. Ruby has shown no reluctance to answer any questions addressed to him. The accounts provided by Ruby are consistent with evidence available to the Commission from other sources. These additional considerations are thus fully consistent with the results of the Commission's investigation. Rumors of a connection between Ruby and Oswald have proved groundless, while examination of Ruby's background and associations, his behavior prior to the assassination, and his activities during the November 22-24 weekend has yielded no evidence that Ruby conspired with anyone in planning or executing the killing of Lee Harvey Oswald. Whatever the legal culpability of Jack Ruby for his act of November 24, the evidence is persuasive that he acted independently in shooting Oswald.

CONCLUSION

Based upon the investigation reviewed in this chapter, the Commission concluded that there is no credible evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald was part of a conspiracy to assassinate President Kennedy. Examination of the facts of the assassination itself revealed no indication that Oswald was aided in the planning or execution of his scheme. Review of Oswald's life and activities since 1959, although productive in illuminating the character of Lee Harvey Oswald (which is discussed in the next chapter), did not produce any meaningful evidence of a conspiracy. The Commission discovered no evidence that the Soviet Union or Cuba were involved in the assassination of President Kennedy. Nor did the Commission's investigation of Jack Ruby produce any grounds for believing that Ruby's killing of Oswald

was part of a conspiracy. The conclusion that there is no evidence of a conspiracy was also reached independently by Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State; Robert S. McNamara, the Secretary of Defense; C. Douglas Dillon, the Secretary of the Treasury; Robert F. Kennedy, the Attorney General; J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the FBI; John A. McCone, the Director of the CIA; and James J. Rowley, the Chief of the Secret Service, on the basis of the information available to each of them.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Lee Harvey Oswald: Background and Possible Motives

THE EVIDENCE reviewed above identifies Lee Harvey Oswald as the assassin of President Kennedy and indicates that he acted alone in that event. There is no evidence that he had accomplices or that he was involved in any conspiracy directed to the assassination of the President. There remains the question of what impelled Oswald to conceive and to carry out the assassination of the President of the United States. The Commission has considered many possible motives for the assassination, including those which might flow from Oswald's commitment to Marxism or communism, the existence of some personal grievance, a desire to effect changes in the structure of society or simply to go down in history as a well publicized assassin. None of these possibilities satisfactorily explains Oswald's act if it is judged by the standards of reasonable men. The motives of any man, however, must be analyzed in terms of the character and state of mind of the particular individual involved. For a motive that appears incomprehensible to other men may be the moving force of a man whose view of the world has been twisted, possibly by factors of which those around him were only dimly aware. Oswald's complete state of mind and character are now outside of the power of man to know. He cannot, of course, be questioned or observed by those charged with the responsibility for this report or by experts on their behalf. There is, however, a large amount of material available in his writings and in the history of his life which does give some insight into his character and, possibly, into the motives for his act.

Since Oswald is dead, the Commission is not able to reach any definite conclusions as to whether or not he was "sane" under prevailing legal standards. Under our system of justice no forum could properly make that determination unless Oswald were before it. It certainly could not be made by this Commission which, as has been pointed out above, ascertained the facts surrounding the assassination but did not draw conclusions concerning Oswald's legal guilt.

Indications of Oswald's motivation may be obtained from a study of the events, relationships and influences which appear to have been significant in shaping his character and in guiding him. Perhaps the most outstanding conclusion of such a study is that Oswald was profoundly alienated from the world in which he lived. His life was characterized by isolation, frustration, and failure. He had very few, if any, close relationships with other people and he appeared to have great difficulty in finding a meaningful place in the world. He was never satisfied with anything. When he was in the United States he resented the capitalist system which he thought was exploiting him and others like him. He seemed to prefer the Soviet Union and he spoke highly of Cuba. When he was in the Soviet Union, he apparently resented the Communist Party members, who were accorded special privileges and who he thought were betraying communism, and he spoke well of the United States. He accused his wife of preferring others to himself and told her to return to the Soviet Union without him but without a divorce. At the same time he professed his love for her and said that he could not get along without her. Marina Oswald thought that he would not be happy anywhere, "Only on the moon, perhaps."

While Oswald appeared to most of those who knew him as a meek and harmless person, he sometimes imagined himself as "the Commander" and, apparently seriously, as a political propheta man who said that after 20 years he would be prime minister. His wife testified that he compared himself with great leaders of history. Such ideas of grandeur were apparently accompanied by notions of oppression. He had a great hostility toward his environment, whatever it happened to be, which he expressed in striking and sometimes violent acts long before the assassination. There was some quality about him that led him to act with an apparent disregard for possible consequences. He defected to the Soviet Union, shot at General Walker, tried to go to Cuba and even contemplated hijacking an airplane to get there. He assassinated the President, shot Officer Tippit, resisted arrest and tried to kill another policeman in the process.

Oswald apparently started reading about communism when he was about 15. In the Marines, he evidenced a strong conviction as to the correctness of Marxist doctrine, which one associate described as "irrevocable," but also as "theoretical"; that associate did not think that Oswald was a Communist. Oswald did not always distinguish between Marxism and communism. He stated several times that he was a Communist but apparently never joined any Communist Party.

His attachment to Marxist and Communist doctrine was probably, in some measure, an expression of his hostility to his environment. While there is doubt about how fully Oswald understood the doctrine which he so often espoused, it seems clear that his commitment to Marxism was an important factor influencing his conduct during his adult years. It was an obvious element in his decision to go to Russia and later to Cuba and it probably influenced his decision to shoot at General Walker. It was a factor which contributed to his character and thereby might have influenced his decision to assassinate President Kennedy.

The discussion below will describe the events known to the Commission which most clearly reveals the formation and nature of Oswald's character. It will attempt to summarize the events of his early life, his experience in New York City and in the Marine Corps, and his interest in Marxism. It will examine his defection to the Soviet Union in 1959, his subsequent return to the United States and his life here after June of 1962. The review of the latter period will evaluate his personal and employment relations, his attempt to kill General Walker, his political activities, and his unsuccessful attempt to go to Cuba in late September of 1963. Various possible motives will be treated in the appropriate context of the discussion outlined above.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - The Early Years

Significant in shaping the character of Lee Harvey Oswald was the death of his father, a collector of insurance premiums. This occurred 2 months before Lee was born in New Orleans on October 18, 1939. That death strained the financial fortunes of the remainder of the Oswald family. It had its effect on Lee's mother, Marguerite, his brother Robert, who had been born in 1934, and his half-brother John Pic, who had been born in 1932 during Marguerite's previous marriage. It forced Marguerite Oswald to go to work to provide for her family. Reminding her sons that they were orphans and that the family's financial condition was poor, she placed John Pic and Robert Oswald in an orphans' home. From the time Marguerite Oswald returned to work until December 26, 1942, when Lee too was sent to the orphans' home, he was cared for principally by his mother's sister, by babysitters and by his mother, when she had time for him.

Marguerite Oswald withdrew Lee from the orphans' home and took him with her to Dallas when he was a little over 4 years old. About 6 months later she also withdrew John Pic and Robert Oswald. Apparently that action was taken in anticipation of her marriage to Edwin A. Ekdahl, which took place in May of 1945. In the fall of that year John Pic and Robert Oswald went to a military academy where they stayed, except for vacations, until the spring of 1948. Lee Oswald remained with his mother and Ekdahl, to whom he became quite attached. John Pic testified that he thought Lee found in Ekdahl the father that he never had. That situation, however, was short-lived, for the relations between Marguerite Oswald and Ekdahl were stormy and they were finally divorced, after several separations and reunions, in the summer of 1948.

After the divorce Mrs. Oswald complained considerably about how unfairly she was treated, dwelling on the fact that she was a widow with three children. John Pic, however, did not think her position was worse than that of many other people. In the fall of 1948 she told John Pic and Robert Oswald that she could not afford to send them back to the military school and she asked Pic to quit school entirely to help support the family, which he did for 4 months in the fall of 1948. In order to supplement their income further she falsely swore that Pic was 17 years old so that he could join the Marine Corps Reserves. Pic did turn over part of his income to his mother, but he returned to high school in January of 1949, where he stayed until 3 days before he was scheduled to graduate, when he left school in order to get into the Coast Guard. Since his mother did not approve of his decision to continue school he accepted the responsibility for that decision himself and signed his mother's name to all his own excuses and report cards.

Pic thought that his mother overstated her financial problems and was unduly concerned about money. Referring to the period after the divorce from Ekdahl, which was apparently caused in part by Marguerite's desire to get more money from him, Pic said: "Lee was brought up in this atmosphere of constant money problems, and I am sure it had quite an effect on him, and also Robert." Marguerite Oswald worked in miscellaneous jobs after her divorce from Ekdahl. When she worked for a time as an insurance saleslady, she would sometimes take Lee with her, apparently leaving him alone in the car while she transacted her business. When she worked during the school year, Lee had to leave an empty house in the morning, return to it for lunch and then again at night, his mother having trained him to do that rather than to play with other children.

An indication of the nature of Lee's character at this time was provided in the spring of 1950, when he was sent to New Orleans to visit the family of his mother's sister, Mrs. Lillian Murret, for 2 or 3 weeks. Despite their urgings, he refused to play with the other children his own age. It also appears that Lee tried to tag along with his older brothers but apparently was not able to spend as much time with them as he would have liked, because of the age gaps of 5 and 7 years, which became more significant as the children grew older.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - New York City

Whatever problems may have been created by Lee's home life in Louisiana and Texas, he apparently adjusted well enough there to have had an average, although gradually deteriorating, school record with no behavior or truancy problems. That was not the case, however, after he and his mother moved to New York in August of 1952, shortly before Lee's 13th birthday. They moved shortly after Robert joined the Marines; they lived for a time with John Pic who was stationed there with the Coast Guard. Relations soon became strained, however, so in late September Lee and his mother moved to their own apartment in the Bronx. Pic and his wife would have been happy to have kept Lee, however, who was becoming quite a disciplinary problem for his mother, having struck her on at least one occasion.

The short-lived stay with the Pics was terminated after an incident in which Lee allegedly pulled out a pocket knife during an argument and threatened to use it on Mrs. Pic. When Pic returned home, Mrs. Oswald tried to play down the event but Mrs. Pic took a different view and asked the Oswalds to leave. Lee refused to discuss the matter with Pic, whom he had previously idolized, and their relations were strained thereafter.

On September 30, 1952, Lee enrolled in P.S. 117, a junior high school in the Bronx, where the other children apparently teased him because of his "western" clothes and Texas accent. He began to stay away from school, preferring to read magazines and watch television at home by himself. This continued despite the efforts of the school authorities and, to a lesser extent, of his mother to have him return to school. Truancy charges were brought against him alleging that he was "beyond the control of his mother insofar as school attendance is concerned." Lee Oswald was remanded for psychiatric observation to Youth House, an institution in which children are kept for psychiatric observation or for detention pending court appearance or commitment to a child-caring or custodial institution such as a training school. He was in Youth House from April 16 to May 7, 1953, during which time he was examined by its Chief Psychiatrist, Dr. Renatus Hartogs, and interviewed and observed by other members of the Youth House staff.

Marguerite Oswald visited her son at Youth House, where she recalled that she waited in line "with Puerto Ricans and Negroes and everything." She said that her pocketbook was searched "because the children in this home were such criminals, dope fiends, and had been in criminal offenses, that anybody entering this home had to be searched in case the parents were bringing cigarettes or narcotics or anything." She recalled that Lee cried and said, "Mother, I want to get out of here. There are children in here who have killed people, and smoke. I want to get out." Marguerite Oswald said that she had not realized until then in what kind of place her son had been confined.

On the other hand, Lee told his probation officer, John Carro, that "while he liked Youth House he miss[ed] the freedom of doing what he wanted. He indicated that he did not miss his mother." Mrs. Evelyn Strickman Siegel, a social worker who interviewed both Lee and his mother while Lee was confined in Youth House, reported that Lee "confided that the worse thing about Youth House was the fact that he had to be with other boys all the time, was disturbed about disrobing in front of them, taking showers with them etc."

Contrary to reports that appeared after the assassination, the psychiatric examination did not indicate that Lee Oswald was a potential assassin, potentially dangerous, that "his outlook on life had strongly paranoid overtones" or that he should be institutionalized. Dr. Hartogs did find Oswald to be a tense, withdrawn, and evasive boy who intensely disliked talking about himself and his feelings. He noted that Lee liked to give the impression that he did not care for other people but preferred to keep to himself, so that he was not bothered and did not have to make the effort of communicating. Oswald's withdrawn tendencies and solitary habits were thought to be the result of "intense anxiety, shyness, feelings of awkwardness and insecurity." He was reported to have said "I don't want a friend and I don't like to talk to people" and "I dislike everybody." He was also described as having a "vivid fantasy life, turning around the topics of omnipotence and power, through which he tries to compensate for his present shortcomings and frustrations." Dr. Hartogs summarized his report by stating:

This 13 year old well built boy has superior mental resources and functions only slightly below his capacity level in spite of chronic truancy from school which brought him into Youth House. No finding of neurological impairment or psychotic mental changes could be made. Lee has to be diagnosed as "personality pattern disturbance with schizoid features and passive-aggressive tendencies." Lee has to be seen as an emotionally, quite disturbed youngster who suffers under the impact of really existing emotional isolation and deprivation, lack of affection, absence of family life and rejection by a self involved and conflicted mother.

Dr. Hartogs recommended that Oswald be placed on probation on condition that he seek help and

guidance through a child guidance clinic. There, he suggested, Lee should be treated by a male psychiatrist who could substitute for the lack of a father figure. He also recommended that Mrs. Oswald seek "psychotherapeutic guidance through contact with a family agency." The possibility of commitment was to be considered only if the probation plan was not successful.

Lee's withdrawal was also noted by Mrs. Siegel, who described him as a "seriously detached, withdrawn youngster." She also noted that there was "a rather pleasant, appealing quality about this emotionally starved, affectionless youngster which grows as one speaks to him." She thought that he had detached himself from the world around him because "no one in it ever met any of his needs for love." She observed that since Lee's mother worked all day, he made his own meals and spent all his time alone because he didn't make friends with the boys in the neighborhood. She thought that he "withdrew into a completely solitary and detached existence where he did as he wanted and he didn't have to live by any rules or come into contact with people." Mrs. Siegel concluded that Lee "just felt that his mother never gave a damn for him. He always felt like a burden that she simply just had to tolerate." Lee confirmed some of those observations by saying that he felt almost as if there were a veil between him and other people through which they could not reach him, but that he preferred the veil to remain intact. He admitted to fantasies about being powerful and sometimes hurting and killing people, but refused to elaborate on them. He took the position that such matters were his own business.

A psychological human figure-drawing test corroborated the interviewer's findings that Lee was insecure and had limited social contacts. Irving Sokolow, a Youth House psychologist reported that:

The Human Figure Drawings are empty, poor characterizations of persons approximately the same age as the subject. They reflect a considerable amount of impoverishment in the social and emotional areas. He appears to be a somewhat insecure youngster exhibiting much inclination for warm and satisfying relationships to others. There is some indication that he may relate to men more easily than to women in view of the more mature conceptualization. He appears slightly withdrawn and in view of the lack of detail within the drawings this may assume a more significant characteristic. He exhibits some difficulty in relationship to the maternal figure suggesting more anxiety in this area than in any other.

Lee scored an IQ of 118 on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children. According to Sokolow, this indicated a "present intellectual functioning in the upper range of bright normal intelligence." Sokolow said that although Lee was "presumably disinterested in school subjects he operates on a much higher than average level." On the Monroe Silent Reading Test, Lee's score indicated no retardation in reading speed and comprehension; he had better than average ability in arithmetical reasoning for his age group.

Lee told Carro, his probation officer, that he liked to be by himself because he had too much difficulty in making friends. The reports of Carro and Mrs. Siegel also indicate an ambivalent attitude toward authority on Oswald's part. Carro reported that Lee was disruptive in class after he returned to school on a regular basis in the fall of 1953. He had refused to salute the flag and was doing very little, if any, work. It appears that he did not want to do any of the things which the authorities suggested in their efforts to bring him out of the shell into which he appeared to be retreating. He told Mrs. Siegel that he would run away if sent to a boarding school. On the other hand he also told her that he wished his mother had been more firm with him in her attempts to get him to return to school.

The reports of the New York authorities indicate that Lee's mother gave him very little affection and did not serve as any sort of substitute for a father. Furthermore she did not appear to understand her own relationship to Lee's psychological problems. After her interview with Mrs. Oswald, Mrs. Siegel described her as a "smartly dressed, gray haired woman, very self-possessed and alert and superficially affable," but essentially a "defensive, rigid, self-involved person who had real difficulty in accepting and relating to people" and who had "little understanding" of Lee's behavior and of the "protective shell he has drawn around himself." Dr. Hartogs reported that Mrs. Oswald did not understand that Lee's withdrawal was a form of "violent but silent protest against his neglect by her and represents his reaction to a complete absence of any real family life." Carro reported that when questioned about his mother Lee said, "well I've got to live with her. I guess I love her." It may also be significant that, as reported by John Pic, "Lee slept with my mother until I joined the service in 1950. This would make him approximately 10, well, almost 11 years old."

The factors in Lee Oswald's personality which were noted by those who had contact with him in New York indicate that he had great difficulty in adapting himself to conditions in that city. His usual reaction to the problems which he encountered there was simply withdrawal. Those factors indicated a severe inability to enter into relationships with other people. In view of his experiences when he visited his relatives in New Orleans in the spring of 1950, and his other solitary habits, Lee had apparently been

experiencing similar problems before going to New York, and as will be shown below, this failure to adapt to his environment was a dominant trait in his later life.

It would be incorrect, however, to believe that those aspects of Lee's personality which were observed in New York could have led anyone to predict the outburst of violence which finally occurred. Carro was the only one of Oswald's three principal observers who recommended that he be placed in a boy's home or similar institution. But Carro was quite specific that his recommendation was based primarily on the adverse factors in Lee's environmenthis lack of friends, the apparent unavailability of any agency assistance and the ineffectualness of his motherand not on any particular mental disturbance, in the boy himself. Carro testified that:

There was nothing that would lead me to believe when I saw him at the age of 12 that them would be seeds of destruction for somebody. I couldn't in all honesty sincerely say such a thing.

Mrs. Siegel concluded her report with the statement that:

Despite his withdrawal, he gives the impression that he is not so difficult to reach as he appears and patient, prolonged effort in a sustained relationship with one therapist might bring results. There are indications that he has suffered serious personality damage but if he can receive help quickly this might be repaired to some extent.

Lee Oswald never received that help. Few social agencies even in New York were equipped to provide the kind of intensive treatment that he needed, and when one of the city's clinics did find room to handle him, for some reason the record does not show, advantage was never taken of the chance afforded to Oswald. When Lee became a disciplinary problem upon his return to school in the fall of 1953, and when his mother failed to cooperate in any way with school authorities, authorities were finally forced to consider placement in a home for boys. Such a placement was postponed, however, perhaps in part at least because Lee's behavior suddenly improved. Before the court took any action, the Oswalds left New York in January of 1954, and returned to New Orleans where Lee finished the ninth grade before he left school to work for a year. Then in October of 1956, he joined the Marines.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Return to New Orleans and Joining the Marine Corps

After his return to New Orleans Oswald was teased at school because of the northern accent which he had acquired. He concluded that school had nothing to offer him. His mother exercised little control over him and thought he could decide for himself whether to go on in school. Neighbors and others who knew him at that time recall an introverted boy who read a great deal. He took walks and visited museums, and sometimes rode a rented bicycle in the park on Saturday mornings. Mrs. Murret believes that he talked at length with a girl on the telephone, but no one remembers that he had any dates. A friend, Edward Voebel, testified that "he was more bashful about girls than anything else."

Several witnesses testified that Lee Oswald was not aggressive. He was, however, involved in some fights. Once a group of white boys beat him up for sitting in the Negro section of a bus, which he apparently did simply out of ignorance. Another time, he fought with two brothers who claimed that he had picked on the younger of them, 3 years Oswald's junior. Two days later, "some big guy, probably from a high school he looked like a tremendous football player" accosted Oswald on the way home from school and punched him in the mouth, making his lip bleed and loosening a tooth. Voebel took Oswald back to the school to attend to his wounds, and their "mild friendship" stemmed from that incident. Voebel also recalled that Oswald once outlined a plan to cut the glass in the window of a store on Rampart Street and steal a pistol, but he was not sure then that Oswald meant to carry out the plan, and in fact they never did. Voebel said that Oswald "wouldn't start any fights, but if you wanted to start one with him, he was going to make sure that he ended it, or you were going to really have one, because he wasn't going to take anything from anybody." In a space for the names of "close friends" on the ninth grade personal history record, Oswald first wrote "Edward Vogel," an obvious misspelling of Voebel's name, and "Arthor Abear," most likely Arthur Hebert, a classmate who has said that he did not know Oswald well. Oswald erased those names, however, and indicated that he had no close friends.

It has been suggested that this misspelling of names, apparently on a phonetic basis, was caused by a reading-spelling disability from which Oswald appeared to suffer. Other evidence of the existence of such a disability is provided by the many other misspellings that appear in Oswald's writings, portions of which are quoted below.

Sometime during this period, and under circumstances to be discussed more fully below, Oswald started to read Communist literature, which he obtained from the public library. One of his fellow employees, Palmer McBride, stated that Oswald said he would like to kill President Eisenhower because he was exploiting the working class. Oswald praised Khrushchev and suggested that he and McBride join the Communist Party "to take advantage of their social functions." Oswald also became interested in the New Orleans Amateur Astronomy Association, an organization of high school students. The association's then president, William E. Wulf, testified that he remembered an occasion when Oswald

*** started expounding the Communist doctrine and saying that he was highly interested in communism, that communism was the only way of life for the worker, et cetera, and then came out with a statement that he was looking for a Communist cell in town to join but he couldn't find any. He was a little dismayed at this, and he said that he couldn't find any that would show any interest in him as a Communist, and subsequently, after this conversation, my father came in and we were kind of arguing back and forth about the situation, and my father came in the room, heard what we were arguing on communism, and that this boy was loud-mouthed, boisterous, and my father asked him to leave the house and politely put him out of the house, and that is the last I have seen or spoken with Oswald.

Despite this apparent interest in communism, Oswald tried to join the Marines when he was 16 years old. This was 1 year before his actual enlistment and just a little over 2.5 years after he left New York. He wrote a note in his mother's name to school authorities in New Orleans saying that he was leaving school because he and his mother were moving to San Diego. In fact, he had quit school in an attempt to obtain his mother's assistance to join the Marines. While he apparently was able to induce his mother to make a false statement about his age he was nevertheless unable to convince the proper authorities that he was really 17 years old. There is evidence that Oswald was greatly influenced in his decision to join the Marines by the fact that his brother Robert had done so approximately 3 years before. Robert Oswald had given his Marine Corps manual to his brother Lee, who studied it during the year following his unsuccessful attempt to enlist until "He knew it by heart." According to Marguerite Oswald, "Lee lived for the time that he would become 17 years old to join the Marines that whole year." In John Pic's view, Oswald was motivated to join the Marines in large part by a desire "to get from out and under *** the yoke of oppression from my mother."

Oswald's inability or lack of desire to enter into meaningful relationships with other people continued during this period in New Orleans (1954-56). It probably contributed greatly to the general

dissatisfaction which he exhibited with his environment, a dissatisfaction which seemed to find expression at this particular point in his intense desire to join the Marines and get away from his surroundings and his mother. His study of Communist literature, which might appear to be inconsistent with his desire to join the Marines, could have been another manifestation of Oswald's rejection of his environment.

His difficulty in relating to other people and his general dissatisfaction with the world around him continued while he was in the Marine Corps. Kerry Thornley, a marine associate, who, shortly after Oswald's defection, wrote an as yet unpublished novel based in considerable part on Oswald's life, testified that "definitely the Marine Corps was not what he had expected it to be when he joined." He said that Oswald "seemed to guard against developing real close friendships." Daniel Powers, another marine who was stationed with Oswald for part of his marine career, testified that Oswald seemed "always [to be] striving for a relationship, but whenever he did * * * his general personality would alienate the group against him." Other marines also testified that Oswald had few friends and kept very much to himself.

While there is nothing in Oswald's military records to indicate that he was mentally unstable or otherwise psychologically unfit for duty in the Marine Corps, he did not adjust well to conditions which he found in that service. He did not rise above the rank of private first class, even though he had passed a qualifying examination for the rank of corporal. His Marine career was not helped by his attitude that he was a man of great ability and intelligence and that many of his superiors in the Marine Corps were not sufficiently competent to give him orders. While Oswald did not seem to object to authority in the abstract, he did think that he should be the one to exercise it. John E. Donovan, one of his former officers, testified that Oswald thought "that authority, particularly the Marine Corps, ought to be able to recognize talent such as his own, without a given magic college degree, and put them in positions of prominence"

Oswald manifested this feeling about authority by baiting his officers. He led them into discussions of foreign affairs about which they often knew less than he did, since he had apparently devoted considerable time to a study of such matters. When the officers were unable to discuss foreign affairs satisfactorily with him, Oswald regarded them as unfit to exercise command over him. Nelson Delgado, one of Oswald's fellow Marines, testified that Oswald tried to "cut up anybody that was high ranking" in those arguments "and make himself come out top dog." Oswald probably engaged his superiors in arguments on a subject that he had studied in an attempt to attract attention to himself and to support his exaggerated idea of his own abilities.

Thornley also testified that he thought that Oswald's extreme personal sloppiness in the Marine Corps "fitted into a general personality pattern of his: to do whatever was not wanted of him, a recalcitrant trend in his personality." Oswald "seemed to be a person who would go out of his way to get into trouble" and then used the "special treatment" he received as an example of the way in which he was being picked on and "as a means of getting or attempting to get sympathy." In Thornley's view, Oswald labored under a persecution complex which he strove to maintain and "felt the Marine Corps kept a pretty close watch on him because of his 'subversive' activities." Thornley added: "I think it was kind of necessary to him to believe that he was being picked on. It wasn't anything extreme. I wouldn't go as far as to call it, call him a paranoid, but a definite tendency there was in that direction, I think."

Powers considered Oswald to be meek and easily led, an "individual that you would brainwash, and quite easy * * * [but] I think once he believed in something * * * he stood in his beliefs." Powers also testified that Oswald was reserved and seemed to be "somewhat the frail, little puppy in the litter." He had the nickname "Ozzie Rabbit."

Oswald read a good deal, said Powers, but "he would never be reading any of the shoot-em-up westerns or anything like that. Normally, it would be a good type of literature; and the one that I recall was 'Leaves of Grass,' by Walt Whitman." According to Powers, Oswald said: "All the Marine Corps did was to teach you to kill" and after you got out of the Marines you might be good gangsters." Powers believed that when Oswald arrived in Japan he acquired a girlfriend, "finally attaining a male status or image in his own eyes." That apparently caused Oswald to become more self-confident, aggressive and even somewhat pugnacious, although Powers "wouldn't say that this guy is a troublemaker." Powers said "now he was Oswald the man rather than Oswald the rabbit." Oswald once told Powers that he didn't care if he returned to the United States at all.

While in Japan, Oswald's new found apparent self confidence and pugnaciousness led to an incident in which he spilled a drink on one of his sergeants and abusively challenged him to fight. At the court-martial hearing which followed, Oswald admitted that he had been rather drunk when the incident occurred. He testified that he had felt the sergeant had a grudge against him and that he had

unsuccessfully sought a transfer from the sergeant's unit. He said that he had simply wanted to discuss the question with the sergeant and the drink had been spilled accidentally. The hearing officer agreed with the latter claim but found Oswald guilty of wrongfully using provoking words and sentenced him to 28 days, canceling the suspension of a 20-day sentence that Oswald had received in an earlier court-martial for possessing an unauthorized pistol with which he had accidentally shot himself.

At his own request, Oswald was transferred from active duty to the Marine Corps Reserve under honorable conditions in September of 1959, 3 months prior to his regularly scheduled separation date, ostensibly to care for his mother who had been injured in an accident at her work. He was undesirably discharged from the Marine Corps Reserve, to which he had been assigned on inactive status following his transfer from active duty, after it was learned that he had defected to the Soviet Union. In an attempt to have this discharge reversed, Oswald wrote to then Secretary of the Navy Connally on January 30, 1962, stating that he would "employ all means to right this gross mistake or injustice."

Governor Connally had just resigned to run for Governor of Texas, so he advised Oswald that he had forwarded the letter to his successor. It is thus clear that Oswald knew that Governor Connally was never directly concerned with his discharge and he must have known that President Kennedy had had nothing to do with it. In that connection, it does not appear that Oswald ever expressed any dissatisfaction of any kind with either the President or Governor Connally. Marina Oswald testified that she "had never heard anything bad about Kennedy from Lee. And he never had anything against him." Mrs. Oswald said that her husband did not say anything about Governor Connally after his return to the United States. She testified: "But while we were in Russia he spoke well of him. * * * Lee said that when he would return to the United States he would vote for him [for Governor]." Oswald must have already learned that the Governor could not help him with his discharge because he was no longer Secretary of the Navy, at the time he made that remark.

Even though Oswald apparently did not express any hostility against the President or Governor Connally, he continued to be concerned about his undesirable discharge. It is clear that he thought he had been unjustly treated. Probably his complaint was due to the fact that his discharge was not related to anything he had done while on active duty and also because he had not received any notice of the original discharge proceedings, since his whereabouts were not known. He continued his efforts to reverse the discharge by petitioning the Navy Discharge Review Board, which finally declined to modify the discharge and so advised him in a letter dated July 25, 1963.

Governor Connally's connection with the discharge, although indirect, caused the Commission to consider whether he might have been Oswald's real target. In that connection, it should be noted that Marina Oswald testified on September 6, 1964, that she thought her husband "was shooting at Connally rather than President Kennedy." In support of her conclusion Mrs. Oswald noted her husband's undesirable discharge and that she could not think of any reason why Oswald would want to kill President Kennedy. It should be noted, however, that at the time Oswald fired the shots at the Presidential limousine the Governor occupied the seat in front of the President, and it would have been almost impossible for Oswald to have hit the Governor without hitting the President first. Oswald could have shot the Governor as the car approached the Depository or as it was making the turn onto Elm Street. Once it had started down Elm Street toward the Triple Underpass, however, the President almost completely blocked Oswald's view of the Governor prior to the time the first shot struck the President. Furthermore, Oswald would have had other and more favorable opportunities to strike at the Governor than on this occasion when, as a member of the President's party, he had more protection than usual. It would appear, therefore, that to the extent Oswald's undesirable discharge affected his motivation, it was more in terms of a general hostility against the government and its representatives rather than a grudge against any particular person.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Interest in Marxism

As indicated above, Oswald started to read Communist literature after he and his mother left New York and moved to New Orleans. He told Aline Mosby, a reporter who interviewed him after he arrived in Moscow:

I'm a Marxist, * * * I became interested about the age of 15. From an ideological viewpoint. An old lady handed me a pamphlet about saving the Rosenbergs. * * * I looked at that paper and I still remember it for some reason, I don't know why.

Oswald studied Marxism after he joined the Marines and his sympathies in that direction and for the Soviet Union appear to have been widely known, at least in the unit to which he was assigned after his return from the Far East. His interest in Russia led some of his associates to call him "comrade" or "Oswaldskovitch." He always wanted to play the red pieces in chess because, as he said in an apparently humorous context, he preferred the "Red Army." He studied the Russian language, read a Russian language newspaper and seemed interested in what was going on in the Soviet Union. Thornley, who thought Oswald had an "irrevocable conviction" that his Marxist beliefs were correct, testified:

I think you could sit down and argue with him for a number of years * * * and I don't think you could have changed his mind on that unless you knew why he believed it in the first place. I certainly don't. I don't think with any kind of formal argument you could have shaken that conviction. And that is why I say irrevocable. It was just never getting back to looking at things from any other way once he had become a Marxist, whenever that was.

Thornley also testified about an incident which grew out of a combination of Oswald's known Marxist sympathies and George Orwell's book "1984," one of Oswald's favorite books which Thornley read at Oswald's suggestion. Shortly after Thornley finished reading that book the Marine unit to which both men were assigned was required to take part in a Saturday morning parade in honor of some retiring noncommissioned officers, an event which they both approached with little enthusiasm. While waiting for the parade to start they talked briefly about "1984" even though Oswald seemed to be lost in his own thoughts. After a brief period of silence Oswald remarked on the stupidity of the parade and on how angry it made him, to which Thornley replied: "Well, comes the revolution you will change all that." Thornley testified:

At which time he looked at me like a betrayed Caesar and screamed, screamed definitely, "Not you, too, Thornley." And I remember his voice cracked as he said this. He was definitely disturbed at what I had said and I didn't really think I had said that much. * * * I never said anything to him again and he never said anything to me again.

Thornley said that he had made his remark only in the context of "1984" and had not intended any criticism of Oswald's political views which is the way in which, Thornley thought, Oswald took his remarks.

Lieutenant Donovan testified that Oswald thought that "there were many grave injustices concerning the affairs in the international situation." He recalled that Oswald had a specific interest in Latin America, particularly Cuba, and expressed opposition to the Batista regime and sympathy for Castro, an attitude which, Donovan said, was "not * * * unpopular" at that time. Donovan testified that he never heard Oswald express a desire personally to take part in the elimination of injustices anywhere in the world and that he "never heard him in any way, shape or form confess that he was a Communist, or that he ever thought about being a Communist." Delgado testified that Oswald was "a complete believer that our way of government was not quite right" and believed that our Government did not have "too much to offer," but was not in favor of "the Communist way of life." Delgado and Oswald talked more about Cuba than Russia, and sometimes imagined themselves as leaders in the Cuban Army or Government, who might "lead an expedition to some of these other islands and free them too."

Thornley also believed that Oswald's Marxist beliefs led to an extraordinary view of history under which:

He looked upon the eyes of future people as some kind of tribunal, and he wanted to be on the winning side so that 10,000 years from now people would look in the history books and say, "Well, this man was ahead of his time." * * * The eyes of the future became * * * the eyes of God. * * * He was concerned with his image in history and I do think that is why he chose * * * the particular method [of defecting] he chose and did it in the way he did. It got him in the newspapers. It did broadcast his name out.

Thornley thought that Oswald not only wanted a place in history but also wanted to live comfortably in

the present. He testified that if Oswald could not have that "degree of physical comfort that he expected or sought, I think he would then throw himself entirely on the other thing he also wanted, which was the image in history. * * * I think he wanted both if he could have them. If he didn't, he wanted to die with the knowledge that, or with the idea that he was somebody."

Oswald's interest in Marxism led some people to avoid him, even though as his wife suggested, that interest may have been motivated by a desire to gain attention. He used his Marxist and associated activities as excuses for his difficulties in getting along in the world, which were usually caused by entirely different factors. His use of those excuses to present himself to the world as a person who was being unfairly treated is shown most clearly by his employment relations after his return from the Soviet Union. Of course, he made his real problems worse to the extent that his use of those excuses prevented him from discovering the real reasons for and attempting to overcome his difficulties. Of greater importance, Oswald's commitment to Marxism contributed to the decisions which led him to defect to the Soviet Union in 1959, and later to engage in activities on behalf of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in the summer of 1963, and to attempt to go to Cuba late in September of that year.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Defection to the Soviet Union

After Oswald left the Marine Corps in September of 1959, ostensibly to care for his mother, he almost immediately left for the Soviet Union where he attempted to renounce his citizenship. At the age of 19, Oswald thus committed an act which was the most striking indication he had yet given of his willingness to act on his beliefs in quite extraordinary ways.

While his defection resulted in part from Oswald's commitment to Marxism, it appears that personal and psychological factors were also involved. On August 17, 1963, Oswald told Mr. William Stuckey, who had arranged a radio debate on Oswald's activities on behalf of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, that while he had begun to read Marx and Engels at the age of 15,

the conclusive thing that made him decide that Marxism was the answer was his service in Japan. He said living conditions over there convinced him something was wrong with the system, and that possibly Marxism was the answer. He said it was in Japan that he made up his mind to go to Russia and see for himself how a revolutionary society operates, a Marxist society.

On the other hand, at least one person who knew Oswald after his return thought that his defection had a more personal and psychological basis. The validity of the latter observation is borne out by some of the things Oswald wrote in connection with his defection indicating that his motivation was at least in part a personal one. On November 26, 1959, shortly after he arrived in the Soviet Union, and probably before Soviet authorities had given him permission to stay indefinitely, he wrote to his brother Robert that the Soviet Union was a country which "I have always considered * * * to be my own" and that he went there "only to find freedom. * * * I could never have been personally happy in the US." He wrote in another letter that he would "never return to the United States which is a country I hate." His idea that he was to find "freedom" in the Soviet Union was to be rudely shattered.

Whatever Oswald's reasons for going to the Soviet Union might have been, however, there can be little doubt that his desire to go was quite strong. In addition to studying the Russian language while he was in the Marines, Oswald had managed to save enough money to cover the expenses of his forthcoming trip. While there is no proof that he saved \$1,500, as he claimed, it would have taken considerable discipline to save whatever amount was required to finance his defection out of the salary of a low ranking enlisted man.

The extent of Oswald's desire to go to the Soviet Union and of his initial commitment to that country can best be understood, however, in the context of his concomitant hatred of the United States, which was most clearly expressed in his November 26, 1959, letter to his brother Robert. Addressing himself to the question of why "I and my fellow workers and communist's would like to see the present capitalist government of the US. overthrown" Oswald stated that government supported an economic system "which exploits all its workers" and under which "art, culture and the sprit of man are subjected to commercial enterprising, [and] religion and education are used as a tool to surpress what would otherwise be a population questioning their government's unfair economic system and plans for war." He complained in his letter about segregation, unemployment, automation, and the use of military forces to suppress other populations. Asking his brother why he supported the American Government and what ideals he put forward, Oswald wrote:

Ask me and I will tell you I fight for *communism*. * * * I will not say your grandchildren will live under communism, look for yourself at history, look at a world map! America is a dieing country, I do not wish to be a part of it, nor do I ever again wish to be used as a tool in its military aggressions.

This should answer your question, and also give you a glimpse of my way of thinking.

So you speak of advantages. Do you think that is why I am here? For personal, material advantages? Happiness is not based on oneself, it does not consist of a small home, of taking and getting, Happiness is taking part in the struggle, where there is no borderline between one's own personal world, and the world in general. I never believed I would find more material advantages at this stage of development in the Soviet Union than I might of had in the US.

* * * * *

I have been a pro-Communist for years and yet I have never met a communist, instead I kept silent and observed, and what I observed plus my Marxist learning brought me here to the Soviet Union. I have always considered this country to be my own.

Responding to Robert's statement that he had not "renounced" him, Oswald told his brother "on what terms I want this arrangement." He advised Robert that:

1. In the event of war I would kill any American who put a uniform on in defense of the American governmentary American.
2. That in my own mind I have no attachment's of any kind in the US.
3. That I want to, and I shall, live a normal happy and peaceful life here in the Soviet Union *for the rest of my life*.
4. that my mother and you are (in spite of what the newspaper said) *not* objects of affection, but only examples of workers in the U.S.

Despite this commitment to the Soviet Union Oswald met disappointments there just as he had in the past. At the outset the Soviets told him that he could not remain. It seems that Oswald immediately attempted suicide a striking indication of how much he desired to remain in the Soviet Union. It shows how willing he was to act dramatically and decisively when he faced an emotional crisis with few readily available alternatives at hand. He was shocked to find that the Soviet Union did not accept him with open arms. The entry in his self-styled "Historic Diary" for October 21, 1959, reports:

I am shocked !! My dreams! * * * I have waited for 2 year to be accepted. My fondes dreams are shattered because of a petty offiaal, * * * I decide to end it. Soak rist in cold water to numb the pain, Than slash my leftwrist. Than plagu wrist into bathtum of hot water. * * * Somewhere, a violin plays, as I wacth my life whirl away. I think to myself "How easy to Die" and "A Sweet Death, (to violins) * * *

Oswald was discovered in time to thwart his attempt at suicide. He was taken to a hospital in Moscow where he was kept until October 28, 1959.

Still intent, however, on staying in the Soviet Union, Oswald went on October 31, to the American Embassy to renounce his US. citizenship. Mr. Richard E. Snyder, then Second Secretary and senior consular official at the Embassy, testified that Oswald was extremely sure of himself and seemed "to know what his mission was. He took charge, in a sense, of the conversation right from the beginning." He presented the following signed note:

I Lee Harvey Oswald do hereby request that my present citizenship in the United States of America, be revoked. I have entered the Soviet Union for the express purpose of appling for citizenship in the Soviet Union, through the means of naturalization. My request for citizenship is now pending before the Surprem Soviet of the U.S.S.R. . I take these steps for political reasons. My request for the revoking of my American citizenship is made only after the longest and most serious considerations. I affirm that my allegiance is to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (See Commission Exhibit 913)

As his "principal reason" for renouncing his citizenship Oswald stated: "I am a Marxist." He also alluded to hardships endured by his mother as a worker, referring to them as experiences that he did not intend to have himself, even though he stated that he had never held a civilian job. He said that his Marine service in Okinawa and elsewhere had given him "a chance to observe 'American imperialism.'" but he also displayed some sensitivity at not having reached a higher rank in the Marine Corps. He stated that he had volunteered to give Soviet officials any information that he had concerning Marine Corps operations, and intimated that he might know something of special interest. Oswald's "Historic Diary" describes the event in part as follows:

I leave Embassy, elated at this showdown, returning to my hotel I feel now my enorgies are not spent in vain. I'm sure Russians will except me after this sign of my faith in them.

The Soviet authorities finally permitted Oswald to remain in their country. No evidence has been found that they used him for any particular propaganda or other political or informational purposes. They sent him to Minsk to work in a radio and television factory as a metal worker. The Soviet authorities denied Oswald permission to attend a university in Moscow, but they gave him a monthly allowance of 700 rubles a month (old exchange rate) in addition to his factory salary of approximately equal amount and considerably better living quarters than those accorded to Soviet citizens of equal age and station. The subsidy, apparently similar to those sometimes given to foreigners allowed to remain in the Soviet Union, together with his salary, gave Oswald an income which he said approximated that of the director of the factory in which he worked.

Even though he received more money and better living quarters than other Russians doing similar work, he envied his wife's uncle, a colonel in the MVD, because of the larger apartment in which he lived. Reminiscent of his attitude toward his superiors in the Marine Corps, Oswald apparently resented the

exercise of authority over him and the better treatment afforded to Communist Party officials. After he returned to the United States he took the position that the Communist Party officials in the Soviet Union were opportunists who were betraying their positions for personal gain. He is reported to have expressed the conclusion that they had "fat stinking politicians over there just like we have over here."

Oswald apparently continued to have personal difficulties while he was in Minsk. Although Marina Oswald told the Commission that her husband had good personal relationships in the Soviet Union, Katherine Ford, one of the members of the Russian community in Dallas with which the Oswalds became acquainted upon their arrival in the United States, stated that Mrs. Oswald told her everybody in Russia "hated him." Jeanne De Mohrenschildt, another member of that group, said that Oswald told her that he had returned because "I didn't find what I was looking for." George De Mohrenschildt thought that Oswald must have become disgusted with life in the Soviet Union as the novelty of the presence of an American wore off and he began to be less the center of attention.

The best description of Oswald's state of mind, however, is set forth in his own "Historic Diary." Under the entry for May 1, 1960, he noted that one of his acquaintances "relates many things I do not know about the U.S.S.R. . . I begin to feel uneasy inside, its true!" Under the entry for August-September of that year he wrote:

As my Russian improves I become increasingly conscious of just what sort of a society I live in. Mass gymnastics, compulsory afterwork meeting, usually political information meeting. Compulsory attendance at lectures and the sending of the entire shop collective (except me) to pick potatoes on a Sunday, at a state collective farm: A "patriotic duty" to bring in the harvest. The opinions of the workers (unvoiced) are that it's a great pain in the neck: they don't seem to be especially enthusiastic about any of the "collective" duties a natural feeling. I am increasingly aware of the presence, in all things, of Lebizen, shop party secretary, fat, fortyish, and jovial on the outside. He is a no-nonsense party regular.

Finally, the entry of January 4-31 of 1961:

I am stating to reconsider my desire about staying the work is drab the money I get has nowhere to be spent. No night clubs or bowling allies no places of recreation except the trade union dances I have had enough.

Shortly thereafter, less than 18 months after his defection, about 6 weeks before he met Marina Prusakova, Oswald opened negotiations with the U.S. Embassy in Moscow looking toward his return to the United States.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Return to the United States

In view of the intensity of his earlier commitment to the Soviet Union, a great change must have occurred in Oswald's thinking to induce him to return to the United States. The psychological effects of that change must have been highly unsettling. It should be remembered that he was not yet 20 years old when he went to the Soviet Union with such high hopes and not quite 23 when he returned bitterly disappointed. His attempt to renounce his citizenship had been an open expression of hostility against the United States and a profound rejection of his early life. The dramatic break with society in America now had to be undone. His return to the United States publicly testified to the utter failure of what had been the most important act of his life.

Marina Oswald confirmed the fact that her husband was experiencing psychological difficulties at the time of his return. She said that "immediately after coming to the United States Lee changed. I did not know him as such a man in Russia." She added that while he helped her as he had done before, he became more of a recluse, that "[he] was very irritable, sometimes for a trifle" and that "Lee was very unrestrained and very explosive" during the period from November 19, 1962 to March of 1963.

After the assassination she wrote that:

In general, our family life began to deteriorate after we arrived in America. Lee was always hot-tempered, and now this trait of character more and more prevented us from living together in harmony. Lee became very irritable, and sometimes some completely trivial thing would drive him into a rage. I myself do not have a particularly quiet disposition, but I had to change my character a great deal in order to maintain a more or less peaceful family life.

Marina Oswald's judgment of her husband's state of mind may be substantiated by comparing material which he wrote in the Soviet Union with what he wrote while on the way back to the United States and after his return. While in the Soviet Union he wrote his longest and clearest piece of work, "The Collective." This was a fairly coherent description of life in that country, basically centered around the radio and television factory in which he worked. While it was apparently intended for publication in the United States, and is in many respects critical of certain aspects of life in the Soviet Union, it appears to be the work of a fairly well organized person. Oswald prefaced his manuscript with a short autobiographical sketch which reads in part as follows:

Lee Harvey Oswald was born in October 1939 in New Orleans La. the son of a Insurance Salesmen whose early death left a far mean streak of independence brought on by neglect. entering the US Marine corp at 17 this streak of independence was strengthened by exotic journeys to Japan the Philipines and the scores of odd Islands in the Pacific immianly after serving out his 3 years in the USMC he abonded his american life to seek a new life in the USSR. full of optimism and hope he stood in red square in the fall of 1959 vowing to see his chosen course through, after, however, two years and alot of growing up I decided to return to the USA. * * *

"The Collective" contrasts sharply with material which Oswald seems to have written after he left the Soviet Union, which appears to be more an expression of his own psychological condition than of a reasoned analysis. The latter material expresses great hostility to both communism and capitalism. He wrote, that to a person knowing both of those systems, "their can be no mediation between those systems as they exist to-day and that person. He must be opposed to their basic foundations and representatives"

and yet it is imature to take the sort of attitude which says "a curse on both your houses!"

their are two great representative of power in the world, simply expressed, the left and right, and their offspring factions and concerns.

any practical attempt at one alternative must have as its nuclus the triditionall ideological best of both systems, and yet be utterly opposed to both systems.

Such an alternative was to be opposed both to capitalism and communism because:

No man, having known, having lived, under the Russian Communist and American capitalist system, could possibly make a choice between them, there is no choice, one offers oppresion the other poverty. Both offer imperialistic injustice, tinted with two brands of slavery.

Oswald actually did attempt to formulate such an alternative which he planned to "put forward" himself. He thought the new alternative would have its best chance to be accepted after "conflict between the two world systems leaves the world country without defense or foundation of government, " after which

the survivors would "seek a alternative opposed to those systems which have brought them misery." Oswald realized that "their thinking and education will be steeped in the traditions of those systems [and] they would never except a 'new order' complete beyond their understanding." As a result he thought it would be "neccary to oppose the old systems but at the same time support their cherished trations."

Expanding on his ideas on how his alternative to communism and capitalism might be introduced, he wrote of a "readily foreseeable * * * economic, political or military crisis, internal or external, [which] will bring about the final destruction of the capitalist system," and indicated that "preparation in a special party could safeguard an independent course of action after the debacle," which would achieve the goal, which was:

The emplacement of a separate, democratic, pure communist sociaty * * * but one with union-communes, democratic socializing of production and without regard to the twisting apart of ~~Marxism~~ Marxist Communism by other powers.

While "[r]esoufualniss and patient working towards the aforesaid goal's are prefered rather than loud and useless manifestation's of protest," Oswald went on to note:

But these prefered tactics now, may prove to be too limited in the near future, they should not be confused with slowness, indesision or fear, only the intellectually fearless could even be remotly attracted too our doctrine, and yet this doctrine requirers the up~~tm~~most utmost restraint, a state of being in itself majustic in power.

Oswald's decided rejection of both capitalism and communism seemed to place him in a situation in which he could not live with satisfaction either in the United States or in the Soviet Union. The discussion above has already set forth examples of his expression of hatred for the United States. He also expressed hatred of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party, U.S.A., even though he later referred to the latter as "trusted long time fighters for progress." He wrote:

The Communist Party of the United States has betrayed itself!
it has turned itself into the tradional lever of a foreign power to overthrow the government of the United States;
not in the name of freedow or high ideals, but in servile conformity to the wishes of the Soviet Union and in
anticipation of Soviet Russia's complete domination of the American continent.

* * * * *

There can be no sympathy for those who have turned the idea of communism into a vill curse to western man.
The Soviets have committed crimes unsurpassed even by their early day capitalist counterparts, the imprisonment of their own peoples, with the mass extermination so typical of Stalin, and the individual supresstion and regimentation under Krushehev.

The deportations, the purposefull curtailment of diet in the consumer slighted population of Russia, the murder of history, the prostitution of art and culture.

A suggestion that Oswald hated more than just capitalism and communism is provided by the following, which was apparently written either on the ship coming back, or after his return from the Soviet Union:

I have often wondered why it is that the communist, ~~anarchist~~ capitatist and even the fasist and anarchist elements in american, allways profess patriotism toward the land and the people, if not the government; although their ideals movements must surly lead to the bitter destruction of all and everything.

I am quite sure these people must hate not only the government but our the peop culture, traditions, heritage and very people itself, and yet they stand up and piously pronounce themselves patriots, displaying their war medles, that they gained in conflicts long-past between themselves.

* * * * *

I wonder what would happen it somebody was to stand up and say he was utterly opposed not only to the goverments, but to the people, too the entire land and complete foundations of his socically.

Oswald demonstrated his thinking in connection with his return to the United States by preparing two sets of identical questions of the type which he might have thought he would be asked at a press conference when he returned. With either great ambivalence, or cold calculation he prepared completely different answers to the same questions. Judged by his other statements and writings, however, he appears to have indicated his true feelings in the set of answers first presented and to have stated in the second what he thought would be least harmful to him as he resumed life in the United States. For example, in response to his questions about his decision to go to the Soviet Union, his first draft answered "as a mark of discuss and protest against american political policies in foriengn countrys,

my personal sign of discontent and horror at the misguided line of reasoning of the U.S. Government." His second answer was that he "went as a citizen of the U.S. (as a tourist) residing in a foreign country which I have a perfect right to do. I went there to see the land, the people and how their system works." To the question of "Are you a communist?" he first answered "Yes, basically, although I hate the USSR and socialist system I still *think* marxism can work under different circumstances." His second answer to this question was, "No of course not, I have never even know a communist, outside of the ones in the USSR but you can't help that." His first set of questions and answers indicated his belief that there were no outstanding differences between the Soviet Union and the United States, "except in the US, the living standard is a little higher. freedoms are about the same, medical aid and the educational system in the USSR is better than in the USA." In the second simulated transcript which ended with the statement "Newspapers, thank you sir; you are a *real* patriot! !" he apparently concluded that the United States offered "freedom of speech travel outspoken opposition to unpopular policies freedom to believe in god, " while the Soviet Union did not.

Despite the hatred that Oswald expressed toward the Soviet Union after his residence there, he continued to be interested in that country after he returned to the United States. Soon after his arrival he wrote to the Soviet Embassy in Washington requesting information on how to subscribe to Russian newspapers and magazines and asked for "any periodicals or bulletins which you may put out for the benefit of your citizens living, for a time, in the U.S.A." Oswald subsequently did subscribe to several Soviet journals. While Marina Oswald tried to obtain permission to return to the Soviet Union she testified that she did so at her husband's insistence.

In July of 1963, Oswald also requested the Soviet Union to provide a visa for his return to that country. In August of 1963, he gave the New Orleans police as a reason for refusing to permit his family to learn English, that "he hated America and he did not want them to become 'Americanized' and that his plans were to go back to Russia." Even though his primary purpose probably was to get to Cuba, he sought an immediate grant of visa on his trip to Mexico City in late September of 1963. He also inquired about visas for himself and his wife in a letter which he wrote to the Soviet Embassy in Washington on November 9, 1963.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Personal Relations

Apart from his relatives, Oswald had no friends or close associates in Texas when he returned there in June of 1962, and he did not establish any close friendships or associations, although it appears that he came to respect George De Mohrenschildt. Somewhat of a nonconformist, De Mohrenschildt was a peripheral member of the so-called Russian community, with which Oswald made contact through Mr. Peter Gregory, a Russian-speaking petroleum engineer whom Oswald met as a result of his contact with the Texas Employment Commission office in Fort Worth. Some of the members of that group saw a good deal of the Oswalds through the fall of 1963, and attempted to help Mrs. Oswald particularly, in various ways. In general, Oswald did not like the members of the Russian community. In fact, his relations with some of them, particularly George Bouhe, became quite hostile. Part of the problem resulted from the fact that, as Jeanne De Mohrenschildt testified, Oswald was "very, very disagreeable and disappointed." He also expressed considerable resentment at the help given to his wife by her Russian-American friends. Jeanne De Mohrenschildt said:

Marina had a hundred dresses given to her * * * [and] he objected to that lavish help, because Marina was throwing it into his face.

* * * * *

He was offensive with the people. And I can understand why, * * because that hurt him. He could never give her what the people were showering on her. * * * no matter how hard he worked and he worked very hard.

The relations between Oswald and his wife became such that Bouhe wanted to "liberate" her from Oswald. While the exact sequence of events is not clear because of conflicting testimony, it appears that De Mohrenschildt and his wife actually went to Oswald's apartment early in November of 1962 and helped to move the personal effects of Marina Oswald and the baby. Even though it appears that they may have left Oswald a few days before, it seems that he resisted the move as best he could. He even threatened to tear up his wife's dresses and break all the baby things. According to De Mohrenschildt, Oswald submitted to the inevitable, presumably because he was "small, you know, and he was rather a puny individual." De Mohrenschildt said that the whole affair made him nervous since he was "interfering in other people's affairs, after all."

Oswald attempted to get his wife to come back and, over Bouhe's protest, De Mohrenschildt finally told him where she was. De Mohrenschildt admitted that:

if somebody did that to me, a lousy trick like that, to take my wife away, and all the furniture, I would be mad as hell, too. I am surprised that he didn't do something worse.

After about a 2-week separation, Marina Oswald returned to her husband. Bouhe thoroughly disapproved of this and as a result almost all communication between the Oswalds and members of the Russian community ceased. Contacts with De Mohrenschildt and his wife did continue and they saw the Oswalds occasionally until the spring of 1963.

Shortly after his return from the Soviet Union, Oswald severed all relations with his mother; he did not see his brother Robert from Thanksgiving of 1962 until November 23, 1963. At the time of his defection, Oswald had said that neither his brother, Robert, nor his mother were objects of his affection, "but only examples of workers in the US." He also indicated to officials at the American Embassy in Moscow that his defection was motivated at least in part by so-called exploitation of his mother by the capitalist system. Consistent with this attitude he first told his wife that he did not have a mother, but later admitted that he did but that "he didn't love her very much."

When they arrived from the Soviet Union, Oswald and his family lived at first with his brother Robert. The latter testified that they "were just together again," as if his brother "had not been to Russia." He also said that he and his family got along well with Marina Oswald and enjoyed showing her American things. After about a month with his brother, Oswald and his family lived for a brief period with his mother at her urging, but Oswald soon decided to move out.

Marguerite Oswald visited her son and his family at the first apartment which he rented after his return, and tried to help them get settled there. After she had bought some clothes for Marina Oswald and a highchair for the baby, Oswald emphatically told her to stop. As Marguerite Oswald testified, "he strongly put me in my place about buying things for his wife that he himself could not buy." Oswald objected to his mother visiting the apartment and became quite incensed with his wife when she would open the door for her in spite of his instructions to the contrary. Oswald moved to Dallas on about October 8, 1962, without telling his mother where he was going. He never saw or communicated with her in any way again until she came to see him after the assassination.

Even though Oswald cut off relations with his mother, he attempted for the first time to learn something about his family background when he went to New Orleans in April of 1963. He visited some of his father's elderly relatives and the cemetery where his father was buried in an effort to develop the facts of his genealogy. While it does not appear that he established any new relationships as a result of his investigation, he did obtain a large picture of his father from one of the elderly relatives with whom he spoke. Oswald's interest in such things presents a sharp contrast with his attitude at the time of his defection, when he evidenced no interest in his father and hardly mentioned him, even when questioned.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Employment

Oswald's defection, his interest in the Soviet Union, and his activities on behalf of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee not only caused him difficulties in his employment relations, but they also provided him with excuses for employment failures which were largely of his own making. Oswald experienced some difficulty finding employment. Perhaps this was partially because of his lack of any specific skill or training. Some of his acquaintances, feeling that Oswald tried to impress people with the fact that he had lived and worked in Russia, were led to the belief that his employment difficulties were caused by his telling prospective employers that he had last been employed in Minsk. While he might have expected difficulty from such an approach, in fact the evidence indicates that Oswald usually told his prospective employers and employment counselors that he had recently been discharged from the Marine Corps.

Oswald obtained a job in July of 1962 as a sheet metal worker with a company in Fort Worth. His performance for that company was satisfactory. Even though he told his wife that he had been fired, he voluntarily left on October 8, 1962, and moved to Dallas.

On October 9, 1962 he went to the Dallas office of the Texas Employment Commission where he expressed a reluctance to work in the industrial field. He indicated an interest in writing. An employment counselor testified, on the basis of a general aptitude test Oswald had taken, that he had some aptitude in that area, "because the verbal score is high and the clerical score is high." While that counselor found that he was qualified to handle many different types of jobs, because of his need for immediate employment she attempted to obtain for him any job that was available at the time. Oswald made qualifying marks in 19 of 23 categories included on the general aptitude examination and scored 127 on the verbal test, as compared with 50 percent of the people taking it who score less than 100. The counselor testified that there was some indication that Oswald was capable of doing college work and noted that Oswald's verbal and clerical potential was "outstanding." Employment Commission records concerning Oswald stated: "Well-groomed & spoken, business suit, alert replies Expresses self extremely well." Oswald said that he hoped eventually to develop qualifications for employment as a junior executive through a work-study program at a local college. He indicated, however, that he would have to delay that program because of his immediate financial needs and responsibilities.

On October 11, 1962, the Employment Commission referred Oswald to a commercial advertising photography firm in Dallas, where he was employed as a trainee starting October 12, 1962. Even though Oswald indicated that he liked photographic work, his employer found that he was not an efficient worker. He was not able to produce photographic work which adhered with sufficient precision to the job specifications and as a result too much of his work had to be redone. He also had difficulty in working with the other employees. This was at least in part because of the close physical confines in which some of the work had to be done. He did not seem to be able to make the accommodations necessary when people work under such conditions and as a result became involved in conflicts, some of which were fairly heated, with his fellow employees.

In February or March of 1963, it began to appear that Oswald was having considerable difficulty doing accurate work and in getting along with the other employees. It appears that his discharge was hastened by the fact that he brought a Russian language newspaper to work. It is not possible to tell whether Oswald did this to provide an excuse for his eventual discharge, or whether he brought the Russian language newspaper with him one day after his other difficulties became clear. It is possible that his immediate supervisor noticed the newspaper at that time because his attention had otherwise been drawn more directly to Oswald. In any event, Oswald was discharged on April 6, 1963, ostensibly because of his inefficiency and difficult personality. His supervisor admitted, however, that while he did not fire Oswald because of the newspaper incident or even weigh it heavily in his decision, "it didn't do his case any good."

Upon moving to New Orleans on April 24, 1963, Oswald's employment problems became more difficult. He left his wife and child at the home of a friend, Mrs. Ruth Paine, of Irving, Tex. In New Orleans he obtained work as a greaser and oiler of coffee processing machines for the William B. Reilly Co., beginning May 10, 1963. After securing this job and an apartment, Oswald asked his wife to join him. Mrs. Paine brought Oswald's family to New Orleans. Refusing to admit that he could only get work as a greaser, Oswald told his wife and Mrs. Paine that he was working as a commercial photographer. He lost his job on July 19, 1963, because his work was not satisfactory and because he spent too much time loitering in the garage next door, where he read rifle and hunting magazines. Oswald apparently concluded that his Fair Play for Cuba Committee activities were not related to his discharge. The correctness of that conclusion is supported by the fact that he does not seem to have been publicly identified with that organization until August 9, 1963, almost a month after he lost his job.

His Fair Play for Cuba Committee activities, however, made it more difficult for him to obtain other employment. A placement interviewer of the Louisiana Department of Labor who had previously interviewed Oswald, saw him on television and heard a radio debate in which he engaged on August 21, 1963. He consulted with his supervisor and "it was determined that we should not undertake to furnish employment references for him." Ironically, he failed to get a job in another photographic firm after his return to Dallas in October of 1963, because the president of the photographic firm for which he had previously worked told the prospective employer that Oswald was "kind of peculiar sometimes and that he had some knowledge of the Russian language, " and that he "may be a damn Communist. I can't tell you. If I was you, I wouldn't hire him." The plant superintendent of the new firm testified that, one of the employees of the old firm "implied that Oswald's fellow employees did not like him because he was propagandizing and had been seen reading a foreign newspaper." As a result Oswald was not hired. He subsequently found a job with the Texas School Book Depository for which he performed his duties satisfactorily.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Attack on General Walker

The Commission has concluded that on April 10, 1963, Oswald shot at Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker (Resigned, US. Army), demonstrating once again his propensity to act dramatically and, in this instance violently, in furtherance of his beliefs. The shooting occurred 2 weeks before Oswald moved to New Orleans and a few days after he had been discharged by the photographic firm. As indicated in chapter IV, Oswald had been planning his attack on General Walker for at least 1 and perhaps as much as 2 months. He outlined his plans in a notebook and studied them at considerable length before his attack. He also studied Dallas bus schedules to prepare for his later use of buses to travel to and from General Walker's house. Sometime after March 27, but according to Marina Oswald, prior to April 10, 1963, Oswald posed for two pictures with his recently acquired rifle and pistol, a copy of the March 24, 1963, issue of the Worker, and the March 11, 1963, issue of the Militant. He told his wife that he wanted to send the pictures to the Militant and he also asked her to keep one of the pictures for his daughter, June. Following his unsuccessful attack on Walker, Oswald returned home. He had left a note for his wife telling her what to do in case he were apprehended, as well as his notebook and the pictures of himself holding the rifle. She testified that she was agitated because she had found the note in Oswald's room, where she had gone, contrary to his instructions, after she became worried about his absence. She indicated that she had no advance knowledge of Oswald's plans, that she became quite angry when Oswald told her what he had done, and that she made him promise never to repeat such a performance. She said that she kept the note to use against him "if something like that should be repeated again." When asked if Oswald requested the note back she testified that:

He forgot about it. But apparently after he thought that what he had written in his book might be proof against him, and he destroyed it. [the book]

She later gave the following testimony [*indicates that the witness answered without using the interpreter]:

Q. After he brought the rifle home, then, he showed you the book?

*A. Yes.

Q. And you said it was not a good idea to keep this book?

*A. Yes.

Q. And then he burned the book?

*A. Yes.

Q. Did you ask him why he had not destroyed the book before he actually went to shoot General Walker?.

A. It never came to me, myself, to ask him that question.

Marina Oswald's testimony indicates that her husband was not particularly concerned about his continued possession of the most incriminating sort of evidence. If he had been successful and had been apprehended even for routine questioning, his apartment would undoubtedly have been searched, and his role would have been made clear by the evidence which he had left behind. Leaving the note and picture as he did would seem to indicate that he had considered the possibility of capture. Possibly he might have wanted to be caught, and wanted his involvement made clear if he was in fact apprehended. Even after his wife told him to destroy the notebook he removed at least some of the pictures which had been pasted in it and saved them among his effects, where they were found after the assassination. His behavior was entirely consistent with his wife's testimony that:

I asked him what for he was making all these entries in the book and he answered that he wanted to leave a complete record so that all the details would be in it.

* * * * *

I am guessing that perhaps he did it to appear to be a brave man in case he were arrested, but that is my supposition. * * *

The attempt on General Walker's life deserves close attention in any consideration of Oswald's possible motive for the assassination and the trail of evidence he left behind him on that occasion. While there are differences between the two events as far as Oswald's actions and planning are concerned, there are also similarities that should be considered. The items which Oswald left at home when he made his attack on Walker suggest a strong concern for his place in history. If the attack had succeeded and Oswald had been caught, the pictures showing him with his rifle and his Communist and Socialist Worker's Party newspapers would probably have appeared on the front pages of newspapers or

magazines all over the country, as, in fact, one of them did appear after the assassination. The circumstances of the attack on Walker coupled with other indications that Oswald was concerned about his place in history and with the circumstances surrounding the assassination, have led the Commission to believe that such concern is an important factor to consider in assessing possible motivation for the assassination.

In any event, the Walker incident indicates that in spite of the belief among those who knew him that he was apparently not dangerous, Oswald did not lack the determination and other traits required to carry out a carefully planned killing of another human being and was willing to consummate such a purpose if he thought there was sufficient reason to do so. Some idea of what he thought was sufficient reason for such an act may be found in the nature of the motive that he stated for his attack on General Walker. Marina Oswald indicated that her husband had compared General Walker to Adolph Hitler. She testified that Oswald said that General Walker "was a very bad man, that he was a fascist, that he was the leader of a fascist organization, and when I said that even though all of that might be true, just the same he had no right to take his life, he said if someone had killed Hitler in time it would have saved many lives."

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Political Activities

Oswald's political activities after his return to the United States center around his interest in Cuba and in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Although, as indicated above, the Commission has been unable to find any credible evidence that he was involved in any conspiracy, his political activities do provide insight into certain aspects of Oswald's character and into his possible motivation for the assassination. While it appears that he may have distributed Fair Play for Cuba Committee materials on one uneventful occasion in Dallas sometime during the period April 6-24, 1963, Oswald's first public identification with that cause was in New Orleans. There, in late May and early June of 1963, under the name Lee Osborne, he had printed a handbill headed in large letters "Hands Off Cuba," an application form for, and a membership card in, the New Orleans branch of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He first distributed his handbills and other material uneventfully in the vicinity of the U.S.S. Wasp, which was berthed at the Dumaine Street wharf in New Orleans, on June 16, 1963. He distributed literature in downtown New Orleans on August 9, 1963, and was arrested because of a dispute with three anti-Castro Cuban exiles, and again on August 16, 1963. Following his arrest, he was interviewed by the police, and at his own request, by an agent of the FBI. On August 17, 1963, he appeared briefly on a radio program and on August 21, 1963, he debated over radio station WDSU, New Orleans, with Carlos Bringuier, one of the Cuban exiles who had been arrested with him on August 9. Bringuier claimed that on August 5, 1963, Oswald had attempted to infiltrate an anti-Castro organization with which he was associated.

While Oswald publicly engaged in the activities described above, his "organization" was a product of his imagination. The imaginary president of the nonexistent chapter was named A. J. Hidell, the name that Oswald used when he purchased the assassination weapon. Marina Oswald said she signed that name, apparently chosen because it rhymed with "Fidel," to her husband's membership card in the New Orleans chapter. She testified that he threatened to beat her if she did not do so. The chapter had never been chartered by the national FPCC organization. It appears to have been a solitary operation on Oswald's part in spite of his misstatements to the New Orleans police that it had 35 members, 5 of which were usually present at meetings which were held once a month.

Oswald's Fair Play for Cuba activities may be viewed as a very shrewd political operation in which one man single handedly created publicity for his cause or for himself. It is also evidence of Oswald's reluctance to describe events accurately and of his need to present himself to others as well as to himself in a light more favorable than was justified by reality. This is suggested by his misleading and sometime untruthful statements in his letters to Mr. V. T. Lee, then national director of FPCC. In one of those letters, dated August 1, 1963, Oswald wrote that an office which he had previously claimed to have rented for FPCC activities had been "promptly closed 3 days later for some obscure reasons by the renters, they said something about remodeling ect., I'm sure you understand." He wrote that "thousands of circulars were distrubed" and that he continued to receive inquiries through his post office box which he endeavored "to keep answering to the best of my ability." In his letter to V. T. Lee, he stated that he was then alone in his efforts on behalf of FPCC, but he attributed his lack of support to an attack by Cuban exiles in a street demonstration and being "officially cautioned" by the police, events which "robbed me of what support I had leaving me alone."

In spite of those claims, the Commission has not been able to uncover any evidence that anyone ever attacked any street demonstration in which Oswald was involved, except for the Bringuier incident mentioned above, which occurred 8 days after Oswald wrote the above letter to V. T. Lee. Bringuier, who seemed to be familiar with many anti-Castro activities in New Orleans, was not aware of any such incident. Police reports also fail to reflect any activity on Oswald's part prior to August 9, 1963, except for the uneventful distribution of literature at the Dumaine Street wharf in June. Furthermore, the general tenor of Oswald's next letter to V. T. Lee, in which he supported his report on the Bringuier incident with a copy of the charges made against him and a newspaper clipping reporting the event, suggests that his previous story of an attack by Cuban exiles was at least greatly exaggerated. While the legend "FPCC 544 Camp St. NEW ORLEANS, LA." was stamped on some literature that Oswald had in his possession at the time of his arrest in New Orleans, extensive investigation was not able to connect Oswald with that address, although it did develop the fact that an anti-Castro organization had maintained offices there for a period ending early in 1962. The Commission has not been able to find any other indication that Oswald had rented an office in New Orleans. In view of the limited amount of public activity on Oswald's part before August 9, 1963, there also seems to be no basis for his claim that he had distributed "thousands" of circulars, especially since he had claimed to have printed only 2,000 and actually had only 1,000 printed. In addition, there is no evidence that he received any substantial amount of materials from the national headquarters.

In another letter to V. T. Lee, dated August 17, 1963, Oswald wrote that he had appeared on Mr. William Stuckey's 15-minute television program over WDSU-TV called "Latin American Focus" as a result of which he was "flooded with callers and invitations to debate's ect. as well as people interested in joining the F.P.C.C. New Orleans branch." WDSU has no program of any kind called "Latin American Focus." Stuckey had a radio program called "Latin Listening Post," on which Oswald was heard for less than 5 minutes on August 17, 1963. It appears that Oswald had only one caller in response to all of his FPCC activities, an agent of Bringuier's attempting to learn more about the true nature of the alleged FPCC "organization" in New Orleans.

Oswald's statements suggest that he hoped to be flooded with callers and invitations to debate. This would have made him a real center of attention as he must have been when he first arrived in the Soviet Union and as he was to some extent when he returned to the United States. The limited notoriety that Oswald received as a result of the street fracas and in the subsequent radio debate was apparently not enough to satisfy him. He exaggerated in his letters to V. T. Lee in an apparent attempt to make himself and his activities appear far more important than they really were.

His attempt to express himself through his Fair Play for Cuba activities, however, was greatly impeded by the fact that the radio debate over WDSU on August 21, 1963, brought out the history of his defection to the Soviet Union. The basic facts of the event were uncovered independently by William Stuckey, who arranged the debate, and Edward Butler, executive director of the Information Council of the Americas, who also appeared on the program. Oswald was confronted with those facts at the beginning of the debate and was so thrown on the defensive by this that he was forced to state that Fair Play for Cuba was "not at all Communist controlled regardless of the fact that I had the experience of living in Russia."

Stuckey testified that uncovering Oswald's defection was very important:

I think that we finished him on that program. * * * because we had publicly linked the Fair Play for Cuba Committee with a fellow who had lived in Russia for 3 years and who was an admitted Marxist.

The interesting thing, or rather the danger involved, was the fact that Oswald seemed like such a nice, bright boy and was extremely believable before this. We thought the fellow could probably get quite a few members if he was really indeed serious about getting members. We figured after this broadcast of August 21, why, that was no longer possible.

In spite of the fact that Oswald had been surprised and was on the defensive throughout the debate, according to Stuckey: "Mr. Oswald handled himself very well, as usual." Stuckey thought Oswald "appeared to be a very logical, intelligent fellow, " and "was arrested by his cleancutness." He did not think Oswald looked like the "type" that he would have expected to find associating with a group such as the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Stuckey thought that Oswald acted very much as would a young attorney.

Following the disclosure of his defection, Oswald sought advice from the Communist Party, U.S.A., concerning his Fair Play for Cuba activity. He had previously sent, apparently unsolicited, to the Party newspaper, the Worker, samples of his photographic work, offering to contribute that sort of service without charge. The Worker replied: "Your kind offer is most welcomed and from time to time we shall call on you." He later wrote to another official of the Worker, seeking employment, and mentioning the praise he had received for submitting his photographic work. He presented Arnold Johnson, Gus Hall, and Benjamin J. Davis honorary membership cards in his nonexistent New Orleans chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and advised them of some of his activities on behalf of the organization. Arnold Johnson, director of the information and lecture bureau of the Communist Party, U.S.A., replied stating:

It is good to know that movements in support of fair play for Cuba has developed in New Orleans as well as in other cities. We do not have any organizational ties with the Committee, and yet there is much material that we issue from time to time that is important for anybody who is concerned about developments in Cuba.

Marina Oswald said that such correspondence from people he considered important meant much to Oswald. After he had begun his Cuban activity in New Orleans "he received a letter from somebody in New York, some Communist probably from New York I am not sure from wherefrom some Communist leader and he was very happy, he felt that this was a great man that he had received the letter from." Since he seemed to feel that no one else understood his political views, the letter was of great value to him for it "was proof * * * that there were people who' understood his activity."

He anticipated that the full disclosure of his defection would hinder him in "the struggle for progress and freedom in the United States" into which Oswald, in his own words, had "thrown" himself. He sought

advice from the central committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in a letter dated August 28, 1963, about whether he could "continue to fight, handicapped as it were, by my past record * * * [and] compete with anti-progressive forces, above-ground or weather in your opinion I should always remain in the background, i.e. underground." Stating that he had used his "position" with what he claimed to be the local branch of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee to "foster communist ideals," Oswald wrote that he felt that he might have compromised the FPCC and expressed concern lest "Our opponents could use my background of residence in the U.S.S.R. against any cause which I join, by association, they could say the organization of which I am a member, is Russian controlled, ect." In reply Arnold Johnson advised Oswald that, while as an American citizen he had a right to participate in such organizations as he wished, "there are a number of organizations, including possibly Fair Play, which are of a very broad character, and often it is advisable for some people to remain in the background, not underground."

By August of 1963, after a short 3 months in New Orleans, the city in which he had been born and had lived most of his early life, Oswald had fallen on difficult times. He had not liked his job as a greaser of coffee processing machinery and he held it for only a little over 2 months. He had not found another job. His wife was expecting their second child in October and there was concern about the cost which would be involved. His brief foray on behalf the Fair Play for Cuba Committee had failed to win any support. While he had drawn some attention to himself and had actually appeared on two radio programs, he had been attacked by Cuban exiles and arrested, an event which his wife thought upset him and as a result of which "he became less active, he cooled off a little." More seriously, the facts of his defection had become known, leaving him open to almost unanswerable attack by those who opposed his views. It would not have been possible to have followed Arnold Johnson's advice to remain in the background, since there was no background to the New Orleans FPCC "organization," which consisted solely of Oswald. Furthermore, he had apparently not received any letters from the national headquarters of FPCC since May 29, 1963, even though he had written four detailed letters since that time to Mr. V. T. Lee and had also kept the national headquarters informed of each of his changes of mailing address. Those events no doubt had their effects on Oswald.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Interest in Cuba

By August of 1963, Oswald had for some time been considering the possibility of leaving the United States again. On June 24, 1963, he applied for a new passport and in late June or early July he told his wife that he wanted to return to the Soviet Union with her. She said that he was extremely upset, very unhappy, and that he actually wept when he told her that. He said that nothing kept him in the United States, that he would not lose anything if he returned to the Soviet Union, that he wanted to be with her and that it would be better to have less and not have to be concerned about tomorrow.

As a result of that conversation, Marina Oswald wrote the Soviet Embassy in Washington concerning a request she had first made on February 17, 1963, for permission for herself and June to return to the Soviet Union. While that first request, made according to Marina Oswald at her husband's insistence, specifically stated that Oswald was to remain in the United States, she wrote in her letter of July 1963, that "things are improving due to the fact that my husband expresses a sincere wish to return together with me to the USSR." Unknown to his wife, however, Oswald apparently enclosed a note with her letter of July in which he requested the Embassy to rush his wife's entrance visa because of the impending birth of the second child but stated that: "As for my return entrance visa please consider it *separately*."

Thus while Oswald's real intentions, assuming that they were known to himself, are not clear, he may not have intended to go to the Soviet Union directly, if at all. It appears that he really wanted to go to Cuba. In his wife's words:

I only know that his basic desire was to get to Cuba by any means, and that all the rest of it was window dressing for that purpose.

Marina Oswald testified that her husband engaged in Fair Play for Cuba Committee activities "primarily for purposes of self-advertising. He wanted to be arrested. I think he wanted to get into the newspapers, so that he would be known." According to Marina Oswald, he thought that would help him when he got to Cuba. He asked his wife to help him to hijack an airplane to get there, but gave up that scheme when she refused.

During this period Oswald may have practiced opening and closing the bolt on his rifle in a screened porch in his apartment. In September he began to review Spanish. He approved arrangements for his family to return to Irving, Tex., to live with Mrs. Ruth Paine. On September 20, 1963, Mrs. Paine and her two children arrived in New Orleans from a trip to the East Coast and left for Irving with Marina Oswald and June and most of the Oswalds' effects 3 days later. While Marina Oswald knew of her husband's plan to go to Mexico and thence to Cuba if possible, Mrs. Paine was told that Oswald was going to Houston and possibly to Philadelphia to look for work.

Oswald left for Mexico City on September 25, 1963, and arrived on September 27, 1963. He went almost directly to the Cuban Embassy and applied for a visa to Cuba in transit to Russia. Representing himself as the head of the New Orleans branch of the "organization called 'Fair Play for Cuba,' he stated his desire that he should be accepted as a 'friend' of the Cuban Revolution." He apparently based his claim for a visa in transit to Russia on his previous residence, his work permit for that country, and several unidentified letters in the Russian language. The Cubans would not, however, give him a visa until he had received one from the Soviets, which involved a delay of several months. When faced with that situation Oswald became greatly agitated, and although he later unsuccessfully attempted to obtain a Soviet visa at the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City, he insisted that he was entitled to the Cuban visa because of his background, partisanship, and personal activities on behalf of the Cuban movement. He engaged in an angry argument with the consul who finally told him that "as far as he was concerned he would not give him a visa" and that "a person like him [Oswald] in place of aiding the Cuban Revolution, was doing it harm."

Oswald must have been thoroughly disillusioned when he left Mexico City on October 2, 1963. In spite of his former residence in the Soviet Union and his Fair Play for Cuba Committee activities he had been rebuffed by the officials of both Cuba and the Soviet Union in Mexico City. Now there appeared to be no chance to get to Cuba, where he had thought he might find his communist ideal. The U.S. Government would not permit travel there and as far as the performance of the Cubans themselves was concerned, he was "disappointed at not being able to get to Cuba, and he didn't have any great desire to do so any more because he had run into, as he himself said into bureaucracy and red tape."

Oswald's attempt to go to Cuba was another act which expressed his hostility toward the United States and its institutions as well as a concomitant attachment to a country in which he must have thought were embodied the political principles to which he had been committed for so long. It should be noted that

his interest in Cuba seems to have increased along with the sense of frustration which must have developed as he experienced successive failures in his jobs, in his political activity, and in his personal relationships. In retrospect his attempt to go to Cuba or return to the Soviet Union may well have been Oswald's last escape hatch, his last gambit to extricate himself from the mediocrity and defeat which plagued him throughout most of his life.

Oswald's activities with regard to Cuba raise serious questions as to how much he might have been motivated in the assassination by a desire to aid the Castro regime, which President Kennedy so outspokenly criticized. For example, the Dallas Times Herald of November 19, 1963, prominently reported President Kennedy as having "all but invited the Cuban people today to overthrow Fidel Castro's Communist regime and promised prompt U.S. aid if they do." The Castro regime severely attacked President Kennedy in connection with the Bay of Pigs affair, the Cuban missile crisis, the ban on travel to Cuba, the economic embargo against that country, and the general policy of the United States with regard to Cuba. An examination of the Militant, to which Oswald subscribed, for the 3-month period prior to the assassination reflects an extremely critical attitude toward President Kennedy and his administration concerning Cuban policy in general as well as on the issues of automation and civil rights, issues which appeared to concern Oswald a great deal. The Militant also reflected a critical attitude toward President Kennedy's attempts to reduce tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. It also dealt with the fear of the Castro regime that such a policy might result in its abandonment by the Soviet Union.

The October 7, 1963, issue of the Militant reported Castro as saying Cuba could not accept a situation where at the same time the United States was trying to ease world tensions it also "was increasing its efforts to 'tighten the noose' around Cuba." Castro's opposition to President Kennedy's attempt to reduce world tensions was also reported in the October 1, 1963, issue of the Worker, to which Oswald also subscribed. In this connection it should be noted that in speaking of the Worker, Oswald told Michael Paine, apparently in all seriousness, that "you could tell what they wanted you to do * * * by reading between the lines, reading the thing and doing a little reading between the lines."

The general conflict of views between the United States and Cuba was, of course, reflected in other media to such an extent that there can be no doubt that Oswald was aware generally of the critical attitude that Castro expressed about President Kennedy. Oswald was asked during the New Orleans radio debate in which he engaged on August 21, 1963, whether or not he agreed with Castro that President Kennedy was a "ruffian and a thief." He replied that he "would not agree with that particular wording." It should also be noted, however, that one witness testified that shortly before the assassination Oswald had expressed approval of President Kennedy's active role in the area of civil rights.

Although Oswald could possibly have been motivated in part by his sympathy for the Castro government, it should be remembered that his wife testified that he was disappointed with his failure to get to Cuba and had lost his desire to do so because of the bureaucracy and red tape which he had encountered. His unhappy experience with the Cuban consul seems thus to have reduced his enthusiasm for the Castro regime and his desire to go to Cuba. While some of Castro's more severe criticisms of President Kennedy might have led Oswald to believe that he would be well received in Cuba after he had assassinated the American President, it does not appear that he had any plans to go there. Oswald was carrying only \$13.87 at the time of his arrest, although he had left, apparently by design, \$170 in a wallet in his wife's room in Irving. If there was no conspiracy which would help him escape, the possibility of which has been considered in chapter VI, it is unlikely that a reasoning person would plan to attempt to travel from Dallas, Tex., to Cuba with \$13.87 when considerably greater resources were available to him. The fact that Oswald left behind the funds which might have enabled him to reach Cuba suggests the absence of any plan to try to flee there and raises serious questions as to whether or not he ever expected to escape.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Possible Influence of Anti-Kennedy Sentiment in Dallas

It has been suggested that one of the motivating influences operating on Lee Oswald was the atmosphere in the city of Dallas, especially an atmosphere of extreme opposition to President Kennedy that was present in some parts of the Dallas community and which received publicity there prior to the assassination. Some of that feeling was expressed in the incident involving then vice-presidential candidate Johnson during the 1960 campaign, in the treatment of Ambassador Adlai Stevenson late in October of 1963 and in the extreme anti-Kennedy newspaper advertisement and handbills that appeared in Dallas at the time of the President's visit there.

The Commission has found no evidence that the extreme views expressed toward President Kennedy by some right-wing groups centered in Dallas or any other general atmosphere of hate or right-wing extremism which may have existed in the city of Dallas had any connection with Oswald's actions on November 22, 1963. There is, of course, no way to judge what the effect of the general political ferment present in that city might have been, even though Oswald was aware of it. His awareness is shown by a letter that he wrote to Arnold Johnson of the Communist Party U.S.A., which Johnson said he did not receive until after the assassination. The letter said in part:

On October 23rd, I had attended a ultra-right meeting headed by General Edwin A. Walker, who lives in Dallas.

This meeting preceded by one day the attack on A. E. Stevenson at the United Nations Day meeting at which he spoke.

As you can see, political friction between "left" and "right" is very great here.

Could you advise me as to the general view we have on the American Civil Liberties Union?

In any event, the Commission has been unable to find any credible evidence that Oswald had direct contact or association with any of the personalities or groups epitomizing or representing the so-called right-wing, even though he did, as he told Johnson, attend a meeting at which General Walker spoke to approximately 1,300 persons. Oswald's writings and his reading habits indicate that he had an extreme dislike of the right-wing, an attitude most clearly reflected by his attempt to shoot General Walker.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Relationship With Wife

The relations between Lee and Marina Oswald are of great importance in any attempt to understand Oswald's possible motivation. During the period from Oswald's return from Mexico to the assassination, he and his wife spent every weekend but one together at the Irving, Tex., home of Mrs. Ruth Paine, who was then separated from her husband. The sole exception was the weekend of November 16-17, 1963, the weekend before the assassination, when his wife asked Oswald not to come to Irving. During the week, Oswald lived in a rooming house in Dallas, but he usually called his wife on the telephone twice a day. She testified that after his return from Mexico Oswald "changed for the better. He began to treat me better. * * * He helped me more although he always did help. But he was more attentive." Marina Oswald attributed that to their living apart and to the imminent birth of their second child. She testified that Oswald "was very happy" about the birth of the child.

While those considerations no doubt had an effect on Oswald's attitude toward his family it would seem that the need for support and sympathy after his recent rebuffs in Mexico City might also have been important to him. It would not have been the first time that Oswald sought closer ties with his family in time of adversity.

His past relationships with his wife had been stormy, however, and it did not seem that she respected him very much. They had been married after a courtship of only about 6 weeks, a part of which Oswald spent in the hospital. Oswald's diary reports that he married his wife shortly after his proposal of marriage to another girl had been rejected. He stated that the other girl rejected him partly because he was an American, a fact that he said she had exploited. He stated that "In spite of fact I married Marina to hurt Ella [the girl that had rejected him] I found myself in love with Marina." Many of the people with whom the Oswalds became acquainted after their arrival in the United States thought that Marina Oswald had married her husband primarily in the hope that she would be able to leave the Soviet Union. Marina Oswald has denied this.

Marina Oswald expressed one aspect of her husband's attitude toward her when she testified that:

* * * Lee wanted me to go to Russia, and I told him that if he wanted me to go then that meant that he didn't love me, and that in that case what was the idea of coming to the United States in the first place. Lee would say that it would be better for me if I went to Russia. I did not know why. I did not know what he had in mind. He said he loved me but that it would be better for me if I went to Russia, and what he had in mind I don't know.

On the other hand, Oswald objected to the invitation that his wife had received to live with Mrs. Ruth Paine, which Mrs. Paine had made in part to give her an alternative to returning to the Soviet Union. Marina Oswald wrote to Mrs. Paine that: "Many times [Oswald] has recalled this matter to me and said that I am just waiting for an opportunity to hurt him. It has been the cause of many of our arguments." Oswald claimed that his wife preferred others to him. He said this about members of the Russian-speaking group in the Dallas-Ft. Worth area, whom she said he tried to forbid her from seeing, and also about Mrs. Paine. He specifically made that claim when his wife refused to come to live with him in Dallas as he asked her to do on the evening of November 21, 1963.

The instability of their relations was probably a function of the personalities of both people. Oswald was overbearing in relations with his wife. He apparently attempted to be "the Commander" by dictating many of the details of their married life. While Marina Oswald said that her husband wanted her to learn English, he made no attempt to help her and there are other indications that he did not want her to learn that language. Oswald apparently wished to continue practicing his own Russian with her. Lieutenant Martello of the New Orleans police testified that Oswald stated that he did not speak English in his family because he did not want them to become Americanized. Marina Oswald's inability to speak English also made it more difficult for her to have an independent existence in this country. Oswald struck his wife on occasion, did not want her to drink, smoke or wear cosmetics and generally treated her with lack of respect in the presence of others.

The difficulties which Oswald's problems would have caused him in any relationship were probably not reduced by his wife's conduct. Katherine Ford, with whom Marina Oswald stayed during her separation from her husband in November of 1962, thought that Marina Oswald was immature in her thinking and partly responsible for the difficulties that the Oswalds were having at that time. Mrs. Ford said that Marina Oswald admitted that she provoked Oswald on occasion. There can be little doubt that some provocation existed. Oswald once struck his wife because of a letter which she wrote to a former boy friend in Russia. In the letter Marina Oswald stated that her husband had changed a great deal and that she was very lonely in the United States. She was "sorry that I had not married him [the Russian boy friend] instead, that it would have been much easier for me." The letter fell into Oswald's hands

when it was returned to his post office box because of insufficient postage, which apparently resulted from an increase in postal rates of which his wife had been unaware. Oswald read the letter, but refused to believe that it was sincere, even though his wife insisted to him that it was. As a result Oswald struck her, as to which she testified: "Generally, I think that was right, for such things that is the right thing to do. There was some grounds for it."

Although she denied it in some of her testimony before the Commission, it appears that Marina Oswald also complained that her husband was not able to provide more material things for her. On that issue George De Mohrenschildt, who was probably as close to the Oswalds as anyone else during their first stay in Dallas, said that:

She was annoying him all the time "Why don't you make some money?" * * * Poor guy was going out of his mind. * * *

We told her she should not annoy him poor guy, he is doing his best, "Don't annoy him so much." * * *

The De Mohrenschildts also testified that "right in front" of Oswald Marina Oswald complained about Oswald's inadequacy as a husband. Mrs. Oswald told another of her friends that Oswald was very cold to her, that they very seldom had sexual relations and that Oswald "was not a man." She also told Mrs. Paine that she was not satisfied with her sexual relations with Oswald.

Marina Oswald also ridiculed her husband's political views, thereby tearing down his view of his own importance. He was very much interested in autobiographical works of outstanding statesmen of the United States, to whom his wife thought he compared himself. She said he was different from other people in "At, least his imagination, his fantasy, which was quite unfounded, as to the fact that he was an outstanding man." She said that she "always tried to point out to him that he was a man like any others who were around us. But he simply could not understand that" Jeanne De Mohrenschildt, however, thought that Marina Oswald "said things that will hurt men's pride." She said that if she ever spoke to her husband the way Marina Oswald spoke to her husband, "we would not last long." Mrs. De Mohrenschildt thought that Oswald, whom she compared to "a puppy dog that everybody kicked, " had a lot of good qualities, in spite of the fact that "Nobody said anything good about him." She had "the impression that he was just pushed, pushed, pushed, and she [Marina Oswald] was probably nagging, nagging, nagging." She thought that he might not have become involved in the assassination if people had been kinder to him.

In spite of these difficulties, however, and in the face of the economic problems that were always with them, things apparently went quite smoothly from the time Oswald returned from Mexico until the weekend of November 16-17, 1963. Mrs. Paine was planning a birthday party for one of her children on that weekend and her husband, Michael, was to be at the house. Marina Oswald said that she knew her husband did not like Michael Paine and so she asked him not to come out that weekend, even though he wanted to do so. She testified that she told him "that he shouldn't come every week, that perhaps it is not convenient for Ruth that the whole family be there, live there." She testified that he responded: "As you wish. If you don't want me to come, I won't." Ruth Paine testified that she heard Marina Oswald tell Oswald about the birthday party.

On Sunday, November 17, 1963, Ruth Paine and Marina Oswald decided to call Oswald at the place where he was living, unbeknownst to them, under the name of O. H. Lee. They asked for Lee Oswald who was not called to the telephone because he was known by the other name. When Oswald called the next day his wife became very angry about his use of the alias. He said that he used it because "he did not want his landlady to know his real name because she might read in the paper of the fact that he had been in Russia and that he had been questioned." Oswald also said that he did not want the FBI to know where he lived "Because their visits were not very pleasant for him and he thought that he loses jobs because the FBI visits the place of his employment." While the facts of his defection had become known in New Orleans as a result of his radio debate with Bringuier, it would appear to be unlikely that his landlady in Dallas would see anything in the newspaper about his defection, unless he engaged in activities similar to those which had led to the disclosure of his defection in New Orleans. Furthermore, even though it appears that at times Oswald was really upset by visits of the FBI, it does not appear that he ever lost his job because of its activities, although he may well not have been aware of that fact.

While Oswald's concern about the FBI had some basis in fact, in that FBI agents had interviewed him in the past and had renewed their interest to some extent after his Fair Play for Cuba Committee activities had become known, he exaggerated their concern for him. Marina Oswald thought he did so in order to emphasize his importance. For example, in his letter of November 9, 1963, to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, he asked about the entrance visas for which he and his wife had previously applied. He absolved the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City of any blame for his difficulties there. He advised the

Washington Embassy that the FBI was "not now" interested in his Fair Play for Cuba Committee activities, but noted that the FBI "has visited us here in Dallas, Texas, on November 1. Agent James P. Hasty warned me that if I engaged in F.P.C.C. activities in Texas the F.B.I. will again take an 'interest in me.'" Neither Hosty nor any other agent of the FBI spoke to Oswald on any subject from August 10, 1963, to the time of the assassination. The claimed warning was one more of Oswald's fabrications. Hosty had come to the Paine residence on November 1 and 5, 1963, but did not issue any such warning or suggest that Marina Oswald defect from the Soviet Union and remain in the United States under FBI protection, as Oswald went on to say. In Oswald's imagination "I and my wife strongly protested these tactics by the notorious F.B.I." In fact, his wife testified that she only said that she would prefer not to receive any more visits from the Bureau because of the "very exciting and disturbing effect" they had upon her husband, who was not even present at that time.

The arguments he used to justify his use of the alias suggest that Oswald may have come to think that the whole world was becoming involved in an increasingly complex conspiracy against him. He may have felt he could never tell when the FBI was going to appear on the scene or who else was going to find out about his defection and use it against him as had been done in New Orleans. On the other hand, the concern he expressed about the FBI may have been just another story to support the objective he sought in his letter. Those arguments, however, were not persuasive to Marina Oswald, to whom "it was nothing terrible if people were to find out that he had been in Russia." She asked Oswald: "After all, when will all your foolishness come to an end? All of these comedies. First one thing and then another. And now this fictitious name." She said: "On Monday [November 18, 1963] he called several times, but after I hung up on him and didn't want to talk to him he did not call again. He then arrived on Thursday [November 21, 1963]."

The events of that evening can best be appreciated through Marina Oswald's testimony:

Q. Did your husband give any reason for coming home on Thursday?

A. He said that he was lonely because he hadn't come the preceding weekend, and he wanted to make his peace with me.

Q. Did you say anything to him then?

A. He tried to talk to me but I would not answer him, and he was very upset.

Q. Were you upset with him?

A. I was angry, of course. He was not angry he was upset. I was angry. He tried very hard to please me. He spent quite a bit of time putting away diapers and played with the children on the street.

Q. How did you indicate to him that you were angry with him?

A. By not talking to him.

Q. And how did he show that he was upset?

A. He was upset over the fact that I would not answer him. He tried to start a conversation with me several times, but I would not answer. And he said that he didn't want me to be angry at him because this upsets him.

On that day, he suggested that we rent an apartment in Dallas. He said that he was tired of living alone and perhaps the reason for my being so angry was the fact that we were not living together. That if I want to he would rent an apartment in Dallas tomorrow that he didn't want me to remain with Ruth any longer, but wanted me to live with him in Dallas.

He repeated this not once but several times, but I refused. And he said that once again I was preferring my friends to him, and that I didn't need him.

Q. What did you say to that?

A. I said it would be better if I remained with Ruth until the holidays, he would come, and we would all meet together. That this was better because while he was living alone and I stayed with Ruth, we were spending less money. And I told him to buy me a washing machine, because two children it became too difficult to wash by hand.

Q. What did he say to that?

A. He said he would buy me a washing machine.

Q. What did you say to that?

A. Thank you. That it would be better if he bought something for himself that I would manage.

That night Oswald went to bed before his wife retired. She did not speak to him when she joined him there, although she thought that he was still awake. The next morning he left for work before anyone else arose. For the first time he left his wedding ring in a cup on the dresser in his room. He also left

\$170 in a wallet in one of the dresser drawers. He took with him \$13.87 and the long brown package that Frazier and Mrs. Randle saw him carry and which he was to take to the School Book Depository.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - The Unanswered Questions

No one will ever know what passed through Oswald's mind during the week before November 22, 1963. Instead of returning to Irving on November 15 for his customary weekend visit, he remained in Dallas at his wife's suggestion because of the birthday party. He had argued with her over the use of an alias and had not called her after that argument, although he usually telephoned once or twice a day. Then on Thursday morning, November 21, he asked Frazier for a ride to Irving that night, stating falsely that he wanted to pick up some curtain rods to put in an apartment.

He must have planned his attack at the very latest prior to Thursday morning when he spoke to Frazier. There is, of course, no way to determine the degree to which he was committed to his plan at that time. While there is no way to tell when he first began to think specifically of assassinating the President it should be noted that mention of the Trade Mart as the expected site of the Presidential luncheon appeared in The Dallas Times Herald on November 15, 1963. The next day that paper announced the final approval of the Trade Mart as the luncheon site and stated that the motorcade "apparently will loop through the downtown area, probably on Main Street, en route from Dallas Love Field" on its way to the Trade Mart on Stemmons Freeway. Anyone who was familiar with that area of Dallas would have known that the motorcade would probably pass the Texas School Book Depository to get from Main Street onto the Stemmons Freeway. That fact was made precisely clear in subsequent news stories on November 19, 20, and 22.

On November 15, 1963, the same day that his wife told him not to come to Irving, Oswald could have assumed that the Presidential motorcade would pass in front of his place of work. Whether he thought about assassinating the President over the weekend can never be known, but it is reasonably certain that over the weekend he did think about his wife's request that he not come to Irving, which was prompted by the birthday party being held at the Paine home. Oswald had a highly exaggerated sense of his own importance, but he had failed at almost everything he had ever tried to do. He had great difficulty in establishing meaningful relations with other people. Except for his family he was completely alone. Even though he had searched in the Marine Corps, in his ideal of communism, in the Soviet Union and in his attempt to get to Cuba he had never found anything to which he felt he could really belong.

After he returned from his trip to Mexico where his application to go to Cuba had been sharply rejected, it must have appeared to him that he was unable to command even the attention of his family. He could not keep them with him in Dallas, where at least he could see his children whom, several witnesses testified, he seemed to love. His family lived with Mrs. Paine, ostensibly because Oswald could not afford to keep an apartment in Dallas, but it was also, at least in part, because his wife did not want to live there with him. Now it appeared that he was not welcome at the Paine home, where he had spent every previous weekend since his return from Mexico and his wife was once again calling into question his judgment, this time concerning his use of an alias.

The conversation on Monday, November 18, 1963, ended when Marina Oswald hung up and refused to talk to him. Although he may long before have decided on the course he was to follow and may have told his wife the things he did on the evening of November 21, 1963, merely to disarm her and to provide a justification of sorts, both she and Mrs. Paine thought he had come home to make up after the fight on Monday. Thoughts of his personal difficulties must have been at least partly on his mind when he went to Irving on Thursday night and told his wife that he was lonely, that he wanted to make peace with her and bring his family to Dallas where they could live with him again.

The Commission does not believe that the relations between Oswald and his wife caused him to assassinate the President. It is unlikely that the motivation was that simple. The feelings of hostility and aggression which seem to have played such an important part in Oswald's life were part of his character long before he met his wife and such a favorable opportunity to strike at a figure as great as the President would probably never have come to him again.

Oswald's behavior after the assassination throws little light on his motives. The fact that he took so little money with him when he left Irving in the morning indicates that he did not expect to get very far from Dallas on his own and suggests the possibility, as did his note to his wife just prior to the attempt on General Walker, that he did not expect to escape at all. On the other hand, he could have traveled some distance with the money he did have and he did return to his room where he obtained his revolver. He then killed Patrolman Tippit when that police officer apparently tried to question him after he had left his roominghouse and he vigorously resisted arrest when he was finally apprehended in the Texas Theatre. Although it is not fully corroborated by others who were present, two officers have testified that at the time of his arrest Oswald said something to the effect that "it's all over now."

Oswald was overbearing and arrogant throughout much of the time between his arrest and his own death. He consistently refused to admit involvement in the assassination or in the killing of Patrolman Tippit. While he did become enraged at least one point in his interrogation, the testimony of the officers present indicates that he handled himself with considerable composure during his questioning. He admitted nothing that would damage him but discussed other matters quite freely. His denials under questioning, which have no probative value in view of the many readily demonstrable lies he told at that time and in the face of the overwhelming evidence against him which has been set forth above, only served to prolong the period during which he was the center of the attention of the entire world.

Warren Report: Chapter VII - Lee Harvey Oswald: Background and Possible Motives Conclusion

Many factors were undoubtedly involved in Oswald's motivation for the assassination, and the Commission does not believe that it can ascribe to him any one motive or group of motives. It is apparent, however, that Oswald was moved by an overriding hostility to his environment. He does not appear to have been able to establish meaningful relationships with other people. He was perpetually discontented with the world around him. Long before the assassination he expressed his hatred for American society and acted in protest against it. Oswald's search for what he conceived to be the perfect society was doomed from the start. He sought for himself a place in history a role as the "great man" who would be recognized as having been in advance of his times. His commitment to Marxism and communism appears to have been another important factor in his motivation. He also had demonstrated a capacity to act decisively and without regard to the consequences when such action would further his aims of the moment. Out of these and the many other factors which may have molded the character of Lee Harvey Oswald there emerged a man capable of assassinating President Kennedy.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - The Protection of the President

IN THE 100 years since 1865 four Presidents of the United States have been assassinated Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield, William McKinley, and John F. Kennedy. During this same period there were three other attacks on the life of a President, a President-elect, and a candidate for the Presidency, which narrowly failed: on Theodore Roosevelt while campaigning in October of 1912; on President-elect Franklin Delano Roosevelt, when visiting Miami on February 15, 1933; and on President Harry S. Truman on November 1, 1950, when his temporary residence, Blair House, was attacked by Puerto Rican Nationalists. One out of every five Presidents since 1865 has been assassinated; there have been attempts on the lives of one out of every three.

Prompted by these dismaying statistics, the Commission has inquired into the problems and methods of Presidential protection in effect at the time of President Kennedy's assassination. This study has led the Commission to conclude that the public interest might be served by any contribution it can make to the improvement of protective arrangements. The Commission has not undertaken a comprehensive examination of all facets of this subject; rather, it has devoted its time and resources to those broader aspects of Presidential protection to which the events of last November called attention.

In this part of its inquiry the Commission has had full access to a major study of all phases of protective activities prepared by the Secret Service for the Secretary of the Treasury following the assassination. As a result of this study, the Secretary of the Treasury has prepared a planning document dated August 27, 1964, which recommends additional personnel and facilities to enable the Secret Service to expand its protection capabilities. The Secretary of the Treasury submitted this planning document on August 31, 1964, to the Bureau of the Budget for review and approval. This planning document has been made a part of the Commission's published record; the underlying staff and consultants' reports reviewed by the Commission have not, since a disclosure of such detailed information relating to protective measures might undermine present methods of protecting the President. However, all information considered by the Commission which pertains to the protective function as it was carried out in Dallas has been published as part of this report.

The protection of the President of the United States is an immensely difficult and complex task. It is unlikely that measures can be devised to eliminate entirely the multitude of diverse dangers that may arise, particularly when the President is traveling in this country or abroad. The protective task is further complicated by the reluctance of Presidents to take security precautions which might interfere with the performance of their duties, or their desire to have frequent and easy access to the people. The adequacy of existing procedures can fairly be assessed only after full consideration of the difficulty of the protective assignment, with particular attention to the diverse roles which the President is expected to fill. After reviewing this aspect of the matter this chapter will set forth the Commission's conclusions regarding certain protective measures in force at the time of the Dallas trip and propose recommendations for improvements.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - The Nature of the Protective Assignment

The President is Head of State, Chief Executive, Commander in Chief, and leader of a political party. As the ceremonial head of the Government the President must discharge a wide range of public duties, not only in Washington but throughout the land. In this role he appears to the American people, in the words of William Howard Taft, as "the personal embodiment and representative of their dignity and majesty." As Chief Executive, the President controls the exercise of the vast, almost incalculable powers of the executive branch of the Federal Government. As Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, he must maintain ultimate authority over the development and disposition of our military power. Finally, in accordance with George Washington's maxim that Americans have a government "of accommodation as well as a government of laws," it is the President's right and duty to be the active leader of his party, as when he seeks to be reelected or to maintain his party in power. In all of these roles the President must go to the people. Exposure of the President to public view through travel among the people of this country is a great and historic tradition of American life. Desired by both the President and the public, it is an indispensable means of communication between the two. More often than not, Presidential journeys have served more than one purpose at the same time: ceremonial, administrative, political. From George Washington to John F. Kennedy, such journeys have been a normal part of the President's activities. To promote nation-wide acceptance of his administration Washington made grand tours that, served also to excite interest in the Presidency. In recent years, Presidential journeys have been frequent and extensive, partly because of the greater speed and comfort of travel and partly because of the greater demands made on the President. It is now possible for Presidents to travel the length and breadth of a land far larger than the United States in 1789 in less time than it took George Washington to travel from New York to Mount Vernon or Thomas Jefferson from Washington to Monticello.

During his Presidency, Franklin D. Roosevelt made almost 400 journeys, and traveled more than 350,000 miles. Since 1945, Roosevelt's successors have ranged the world, and their foreign journeys have come to be accepted as normal rather than extraordinary. John F. Kennedy's journey to Texas in November 1963 was in this tradition. His friend and Special Assistant Kenneth O'Donnell, who accompanied him on his last visit to Dallas, stated the President's views of his responsibilities with simplicity and clarity:

The President's views of his responsibilities as President of the United States were that he meet the people, that he go out to their homes and see them, and allow them to see him, and discuss, if possible, the views of the world as he sees it, the problems of the country as he sees them. And he felt that leaving Washington for the President of the United States was a most necessary not only for the people, but for the President himself, that he expose himself to the actual basic problems that were disturbing the American people. It helped him in his job here, he was able to come back here with a fresh view of many things. I think he felt very strongly that the President ought to get out of Washington, and go meet the people on a regular basis.

Whatever their purposes Presidential journeys have greatly enlarged and complicated the task of protecting the President. The Secret Service and the Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies which cooperate with it, have been confronted in recent years with increasingly difficult problems, created by the greater exposure of the President during his travels and the greater diversity of the audiences he must face in a world torn by conflicting ideologies. If the sole goal were to protect the life of the President, it could be accomplished with reasonable assurance despite the multiple roles he must play. But his very position as representative of the people prevents him from effectively shielding himself from the people. He cannot and will not take the precautions of a dictator or a sovereign. Under our system, measures must be sought to afford security without impeding the President's performance of his many functions. The protection of the President must be thorough but inconspicuous to avoid even the suggestion of a garrison state. The rights of private individuals must not be infringed. If the protective job is well done, its performance will be evident only in the unexceptional fact of its success. The men in charge of protecting the President, confronted by complex problems and limited as they are in the measures they may employ, must depend upon the utmost cooperation and understanding from the public and the President. The problem and the reasonable approach to its solution were ably stated in a memorandum prepared by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover for the President soon after the assassination:

The degree of security that can be afforded the President of the United States is dependent to a considerable extent upon the degree of contact with the general public desired by the President. Absolute security is neither practical nor possible. An approach to complete security would require the President to operate in a sort of vacuum, isolated from the general public and behind impregnable barriers. His travel would be in secret; his

public appearances would be behind bulletproof glass. A more practical approach necessitates compromise. Any travel, any contact with the general public, involves a calculated risk on the part of the President and the men responsible for his protection. Such risks can be lessened when the President recognizes the security problem, has confidence in the dedicated Secret Service men who are ready to lay down their lives for him and accepts the necessary security precautions which they recommend. Many Presidents have been understandably impatient with the security precautions which many years of experience dictate because these precautions reduce the President's privacy and the access to him of the people of the country. Nevertheless the procedures and advice should be accepted if the President wishes to have any security.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - Evaluation of Presidential Protection at the Time of the Assassination of President Kennedy

The history of Presidential protection shows growing recognition over the years that the job must be done by able, dedicated, thoroughly professional personnel, using the best technical equipment that can be devised. The assassination of President Kennedy demands an examination of the protective measures employed to safeguard him and an inquiry whether improvements can be made which will reduce the risk of another such tragedy. This section considers first the means used to locate potential sources of danger to the President in time to take appropriate precautions. In this connection the information available to Federal agencies about Lee Harvey Oswald is set out and the reasons why this information was not furnished to the Secret Service appraised. Second, the adequacy of other advance preparations for the security of the President, during his visit to Dallas, largely measures taken by the Secret Service, is considered. Finally, the performance of those charged with the immediate responsibility of protecting the President on November 22 is reviewed.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - Intelligence Functions Relating to Presidential Protection at the Time of the Dallas Trip

A basic element of Presidential protection is the identification and elimination of possible sources of danger to the President before the danger becomes actual. The Secret Service has attempted to perform this function through the activities of its Protective Research Section and requests to other agencies, Federal and local, for useful information. The Commission has concluded that at the time of the assassination the arrangements relied upon by the Secret Service to perform this function were seriously deficient. Adequacy of preventive intelligence operations of the Secret Service. The main job of the Protective Research Section (PRS) is to collect, process, and evaluate information about persons or groups who may be a danger to the President. In addition to this function, PRS is responsible for such tasks as obtaining clearance of some categories of White House employees and all tradesmen who service the White House, the security processing of gifts sent to the President, and technical inspections against covert listening devices. At the time of the assassination PRS was a very small group, comprised of 12 specialists and 3 clerks.

Many persons call themselves to the attention of PRS by attempting to visit the President for bizarre reasons or by writing or in some other way attempting to communicate with him in a threatening or abusive manner or with undue persistence. Robert I. Bouck, special agent in charge of PRS, estimated that most of the material received by his office originated in this fashion or from the occasional investigations initiated by the Secret Service, while the balance was furnished to PRS by other Federal agencies, with primary source being the FBI. The total volume of information received by PRS has risen steadily. In 1943 PRS received approximately 9,000 items of information; in 1953 this had increased to more than 17,000 items; in 1963 the total exceeded 32,000 items. Since many items may pertain to a single case, these figures do not show the caseload. In the period from November 1961 to November 1963, PRS received items in 8,709 cases.

Before the assassination of President Kennedy, PRS expressed its interest in receiving information on suspects in very general terms. For example, PRS instructed the White House mailroom, a source of much PRS data, to refer all communications on identified existing cases and, in addition, any communication "that in any way indicates anyone may have possible intention of harming the President." Slightly more specific criteria were established for PRS personnel processing White House mail referred by the White House mailroom, but again the standards were very general. These instructions to PRS personnel appear to be the only instance where an effort was made to reduce the criteria to writing. When requested to provide a specific statement of the standards employed by PRS in deciding what information to seek and retain, the Secret Service responded:

The criteria in effect prior to November 22, 1963, for determining whether to accept material for the PRS general files were broad and flexible. All material is and was desired, accepted, and filed if it indicated or tended to indicate that the safety of the President is or might be in danger, either at the present or in the future. * * *

There are many actions, situations, and incidents that may indicate such potential danger. Some are specific, such as threats; danger may be implied from others, such as membership or activity in an organization which believes in assassination as a political weapon. All material received by PRS was separately screened and a determination made as to whether the information might indicate possible harm to the President. If the material was evaluated as indicating some potential danger to the President no matter how small it was indexed in the general PRS files under the name of the individual or group of individuals to whom that material related.

The general files of PRS consist of folders on individuals, card indexed by name. The files are manually maintained, without use of any automatic data-processing techniques. At the time of the assassination, the active PRS general files contained approximately 50,000 cases accumulated over a 20-year period, some of which included more than one individual. A case file was established if the information available suggested that the subject might be a danger to the President. Many of these cases were not investigated by PRS. The case file served merely as a repository for information until enough had accumulated to warrant an investigation. During the period November 1961 to November 1963, PRS investigated 34 newly established or reactivated cases concerning residents of Texas. Most of these cases involved persons who used threatening language in communications to or about the President. An additional 115 cases concerning Texas residents were established but not investigated.

When PRS learns of an individual whose conduct warrants scrutiny, it requests an investigation by the closest Secret Service field office, of which there are 65 throughout the country. If the field office determines that the case should be subject to continuing review, PRS establishes a file which requires a checkup at least, every 6 months. This might involve a personal interview or interviews with members of the person's household. Wherever possible, the Secret Service arranges for the family and friends of

the individual, and local law enforcement officials, to advise the field office if the subject displays signs of increased danger or plans to leave his home area. At the time of the assassination there were approximately 400 persons throughout the country who were subject to periodic review.

If PRS concludes after investigation that an individual presents a significant danger to the life of the President, his name is placed in a "trip index file" which is maintained on a geographical field office basis. At the time of the assassination the names of about 100 persons were in this index, all of whom were included in the group of 400 being reviewed regularly. PRS also maintains an album of photographs and descriptions of about 12 to 15 individuals who are regarded as clear risks to the President and who do not have a fixed place of residence. Members of the White House detail of the Secret Service have copies of this album.

Individuals who are regarded as dangerous to the President and who are in penal or hospital custody are listed only in the general files of PRS, but there is a system for the immediate notification of the Secret Service by the confining institution when a subject is released or escapes. PRS attempts to eliminate serious risks by hospitalization or, where necessary, the prosecution of persons who have committed an offense such as threatening the President. In June 1964 PRS had arrangements to be notified about the release or escape of approximately 1,000 persons.

In summary, at the time of the assassination PRS had received, over a 20-year period, basic information on some 50,000 cases; it had arrangements to be notified about release from confinement in roughly 1,000 cases; it had established periodic regular review of the status of 400 individuals; it regarded approximately 100 of these 400 cases as serious risks and 12 to 15 of these cases as highly dangerous risks. Members of the White House detail were expected to familiarize themselves with the descriptions and photographs of the highest risk cases. The cases subject to periodic review and the 100 or so cases in the higher risk category were filed on a geographic basis, and could conveniently be reviewed by a Secret Service agent preparing for a Presidential trip to a particular part of the country. These were the files reviewed by PRS on November 8, 1963, at the request of Special Agent Lawson, advance agent for President Kennedy's trip to Dallas. The general files of PRS were not indexed by geographic location and were of little use in preparing for a Presidential visit to a specific locality. Secret Service requests to other agencies for intelligence information were no more specific than the broad and general instructions its own agents and the White House mailroom. The head of PRS testified that the Secret Service requested other agencies to provide "any and all information that they may come in contact with that would indicate danger to the President." These requests were communicated in writing by the Secret Service; rather, the Service depended on the personal liaison maintained by PRS with the headquarters of the Federal intelligence agencies, particularly the FBI, and at the working level with personnel of the field offices of the various agencies. The Service frequently participated in the training programs of other law enforcement agencies, and agents from other agencies attended the regular Secret Service training schools. Presidential protection was an important topic in these training programs.

In the absence of more specific instructions, other Federal agencies interpreted the Secret Service's informal requests to relate principally to overt threats to harm the President or other specific manifestations of hostility. For example, at the time of the assassination, the FBI Handbook, which is in the possession of every Bureau special agent, provided:

Threats against the President of the U.S., members of his immediate family, the President-elect, and the Vice-President

Investigation of threats against the President of the United States, members of his immediate family, the President-Elect, and the Vice-President is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the U.S. Secret Service. Any information indicating the possibility of an attempt against the person or safety of the President, members of the immediate family of the President, the President-Elect or the Vice-President must be referred immediately by the most expeditious means of communication to the nearest office of the U.S. Secret Service. Advise the Bureau at the same time by teletype of the information so furnished to the Secret Service and the fact that it has been so disseminated. The above action should be taken without delay in order to attempt to verify the information and no evaluation of the information should be attempted. When the threat is in the form of a written communication, give a copy to local Secret Service and forward the original to the Bureau where it will be made available to Secret Service headquarters in Washington. The referral of the copy to local Secret Service should not delay the immediate referral of the information by the fastest available means of communication to Secret Service locally.

The State Department advised the Secret Service of all crank and threat letter mail or crank visitors and furnished reports concerning any assassination or attempted assassination of a ruler or other major

official anywhere in the world. The several military intelligence agencies reported crank mail and similar threats involving the President. According to Special Agent in Charge Bouck, the Secret Service had no standard procedure for the systematic review of its requests for and receipt of information from other Federal agencies.

The Commission believes that the facilities and procedures of the Protective Research section of the Secret Service prior to November 22, 1963, were inadequate. Its efforts appear to have been too largely directed at the "crank" threat. Although the Service recognized that its advance preventive measures must encompass more than these most obvious dangers, it made little effort to identify factors in the activities of an individual or an organized group, other than specific threats, which suggested a source of danger against which timely precautions could be taken. Except for its special "trip index" file of 400 names, none of the cases in the PRS general files was available for systematic review on a geographic basis when the President planned a particular trip. As reported in chapter II, when the special file was reviewed on November 8, it contained the names of no persons from the entire Dallas-Fort Worth area, notwithstanding the fact that Ambassador Stevenson had been abused by pickets in Dallas less than a month before. Bouck explained the failure to try to identify the individuals involved in the Stevenson incident after it occurred on the ground that PRS required a more direct indication of a threat to the President, and that there was no such indication until the President's scheduled visit to that area became known. Such an approach seriously undermines the precautionary nature of PRS work; if the presence in Dallas of the Stevenson pickets might have created a danger for the President on a visit to that city, PRS should have investigated and been prepared to guard against it. Other agencies occasionally provided information to the Secret Service concerning potentially dangerous political groups. This was done in the case of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, for example, but only after members of the group had resorted to political violence. However, the vague requests for information which the Secret Service made to Federal intelligence and law enforcement agencies were not well designed to elicit information from them about persons other than those who were obvious threats to the President. The requests shifted the responsibility for evaluating difficult cases from the Service, the agency most responsible for performing that task, to the other agencies. No specific guidance was provided. Although the CIA had on file requests from the Treasury Department for information on the counterfeiting of U.S. currency and certain smuggling matters, it had no written specification of intelligence information collected by CIA abroad which was desired by the Secret Service in advance of Presidential trips outside the United States.

Information known about Lee Harvey Oswald prior to the assassination. No information concerning Lee Harvey Oswald appeared in PRS files before the President's trip to Dallas. Oswald was known to other Federal agencies with which the Secret Service maintained intelligence liaison. The FBI had been interested in him, to some degree at least, since the time of his defection in October 1959. It had interviewed him twice shortly after his return to the United States, again a year later at his request and was investigating him at the time of the assassination. The Commission has taken the testimony of Bureau agents who interviewed Oswald after his return from the Soviet Union and prior to November 22, 1963, the agent who was assigned his case at the time of the assassination, the Director of the FBI, and the Assistant to the Director in charge of all investigative activities under the Director and Associate Director. In addition, the Director and Deputy Director for Plans of the CIA testified concerning that Agency's limited knowledge of Oswald before the assassination. Finally, the Commission has reviewed the complete files on Oswald, as they existed at the time of the assassination, of the Department of State, the Office of Naval Intelligence, the FBI and the CIA. The information known to the FBI is summarized below.

From defection to return to Fort Worth. The FBI opened a file on Oswald in October 1959, when news reports appeared of his defection to the Soviet Union. The file was opened "for the purpose of correlating information inasmuch as he was considered a possible security risk in the event he returned to this country." Oswald's defection was also the occasion for the opening of files by the Department of State, CIA, and the Office of Naval Intelligence. Until April 1960, FBI activity consisted of placing in Oswald's file information regarding his relations with the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and background data relating largely to his prior military service, provided by other agencies. In April 1960, Mrs. Marguerite Oswald and Robert Oswald were interviewed in the course of a routine FBI investigation of transfers of small sums of money from Mrs. Oswald to her son in Russia.

During the next 2 years the FBI continued to accumulate information, and kept itself informed on Oswald's status by periodic reviews of State Department and Office of Naval Intelligence files. In this way, it learned that when Oswald had arrived in the Soviet Union he had attempted to renounce his U.S. citizenship and applied for Soviet citizenship, had described himself as a Marxist, had said he would give the Soviet Union any useful information he had acquired as a marine radar technician and had

displayed an arrogant and aggressive attitude at the U.S. Embassy; it learned also that Oswald had been discharged from the Marine Corps Reserve as undesirable in August 1960. In June 1962, the Bureau was advised by the Department of State of Oswald's plan to return to the United States. The Bureau made arrangements to be advised by immigration authorities of his return, and instructed the Dallas office to interview him when he got back to determine whether he had been recruited by a Soviet intelligence service. Oswald's file at the Department of State Passport Office was reviewed in June 1962. It revealed his letter of January 30, 1962, to Secretary of the Navy Connally, in which he protested his discharge and declared that he would use "all means" to correct it. The file reflected the Department's determination that Oswald had not expatriated himself.

From return to Fort Worth to move to New Orleans. Oswald was first interviewed by FBI Agents John W. Fain and B. Tom Carter on June 26, 1962, in Fort Worth. Agent Fain reported to headquarters that Oswald was impatient and arrogant, and unwilling to answer questions regarding his motive for going to the Soviet Union. Oswald "denied that he had ever denounced his U.S. citizenship, and * * * that he had ever applied for Soviet citizenship specifically." Oswald was, however, willing to discuss his contacts with Soviet authorities. He denied having any involvement with Soviet intelligence agencies and promised to advise the FBI if he heard from them.

Agent Fain was not satisfied by this interview and arranged to see Oswald again on August 16, 1962. According to Fain's contemporaneous memorandum and his present recollection, while Oswald remained somewhat evasive at this interview, he was not antagonistic and seemed generally to be settling down. (Marina Oswald, however, recalled that her husband was upset by this interview.) Oswald again agreed to advise the FBI if he were approached under suspicious circumstances; however, he deprecated the possibility of this happening, particularly since his employment did not involve any sensitive information. Having concluded that Oswald was not a security risk or potentially dangerous or violent, Fain determined that nothing further remained to be done at that time and recommended that the case be placed in a closed status. This is an administrative classification indicating that no further work has been scheduled. It does not preclude the agent in charge of the case from reopening it if he feels that further work should be done.

From August 1962 until March 1963, the FBI continued to accumulate information regarding Oswald but engaged in no active investigation. Agent Fain retired from the FBI in October 1962, and the closed Oswald case was not reassigned. However, pursuant to a regular Bureau practice of interviewing certain immigrants from Iron Curtain countries, Fain had been assigned to see Marina Oswald at an appropriate time. This assignment was given to Agent James P. Hosty, Jr. of the Dallas office upon Fain's retirement. In March 1963, while attempting to locate Marina Oswald, Agent Hosty was told by Mrs. M. F. Tobias, a former landlady of the Oswalds at 602 Elsbeth Street in Dallas, that other tenants had complained because Oswald was drinking to excess and beating his wife. This information led Hosty to review Oswald's file, from which he learned that Oswald had become a subscriber to the Worker, a Communist Party publication. Hosty decided that the Lee Harvey Oswald case should be reopened because of the alleged personal difficulties and the contact with the Worker, and his recommendation was accepted. He decided, however, not to interview Marina Oswald at that time, and merely determined that the Oswalds were living at 214 Neely Street in Dallas.

On April 21, 1963, the FBI field office in New York was advised that Oswald was in contact with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New York, and that he had written to the committee stating that he had distributed its pamphlets on the streets of Dallas. This information did not reach Agent Hosty in Dallas until June. Hosty considered the information to be "stale" by that time, and did not attempt to verify Oswald's reported statement. Under a general Bureau request to be on the alert for activities of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee Hosty had inquired earlier and found no evidence that it was functioning in the Dallas area.

In New Orleans. In the middle of May of 1963, Agent Hosty checked Oswald's last known residence and found that he had moved. Oswald was tentatively located in New Orleans in June, and Hosty asked the New Orleans FBI office to determine Oswald's address and what he was doing. The New Orleans office investigated and located Oswald, learning his address and former place of employment on August 5, 1963. A confidential informant advised the FBI that Oswald was not known to be engaged in Communist Party activities in New Orleans.

On June 24, Oswald applied in New Orleans for a passport, stating that he planned to depart by ship for an extended tour of Western European countries, the Soviet Union, Finland, and Poland. The Passport Office of the Department of State in Washington had no listing for Oswald requiring special treatment, and his application was approved on the following day. The FBI had not asked to be informed of any effort by Oswald to obtain a passport, as it might have under existing procedures, and did not know of

his application. According to the Bureau,

We did not request the State Department to include Oswald on a list which would have resulted in advising us of any application for a passport inasmuch as the facts relating to Oswald's activities at that time did not warrant such action. Our investigation of Oswald had disclosed no evidence that Oswald was acting under the instructions or on behalf of any foreign government or instrumentality thereof.

On August 9, 1963, Oswald was arrested and jailed by the New Orleans Police Department for disturbing the peace, in connection with a street fight which broke out when he was accosted by anti-Castro Cubans while distributing leaflets on behalf of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. On the next day, he asked the New Orleans police to arrange for him to be interviewed by the FBI. The police called the local FBI office and an agent, John L. Quigley, was sent to the police station. Agent Quigley did not know of Oswald's prior FBI record when he interviewed him, inasmuch as the police had not given Oswald's name to the Bureau when they called the office.

Quigley recalled that Oswald was receptive when questioned about his general background but less than completely truthful or cooperative when interrogated about the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Quigley testified:

When I began asking him specific details with respect to his activities in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New Orleans as to where meetings were held, who was involved, what occurred, he was reticent to furnish information, reluctant and actually as far as I was concerned, was completely evasive on them.

In Quigley's judgment, Oswald "was probably making a self-serving statement in attempting to explain to me why he was distributing this literature, and for no other reason, and when I got to questioning him further then he felt that his purpose had been served and he wouldn't say anything further."

During the interview Quigley obtained background information from Oswald which was inconsistent with information already in the Bureau's possession. When Quigley returned to his office, he learned that another Bureau agent, Milton R. Kaack, had been conducting a background investigation of Oswald at the request of Agent Hosty in Dallas. Quigley advised Knack of his interview and gave him a detailed memorandum. Knack was aware of the facts known to the FBI and recognized Oswald's false statements. For example, Oswald claimed that his wife's maiden name was Prossa and that they had been married in Fort Worth and lived there until coming to New Orleans. He had told the New Orleans arresting officers that he had been born in Cuba.

Several days later, the Bureau received additional evidence that Oswald had lied to Agent Quigley. On August 22, it learned that Oswald had appeared on a radio discussion program on August 21. William Stuckey, who had appeared on the radio program with Oswald, told the Bureau on August 30 that Oswald had told him that he had worked and been married in the Soviet Union. Neither these discrepancies nor the fact that Oswald had initiated the FBI interview was considered sufficiently unusual to necessitate another interview. Alan H. Belmont, Assistant to the Director of the FBI, stated the Bureau's reasoning in this way:

Our interest in this man at this point was to determine whether his activities constituted a threat to the internal security of the country. It was apparent that he had made a self-serving statement to Agent Quigley. It became a matter of record in our files as a part of the case, and if we determined that the course of the investigation required us to clarify or face him down with this information, we would do it at the appropriate time.

In other words, he committed no violation of the law by telling us something that wasn't true, and unless this required further investigation at that time, we would handle it in due course, in accord with the whole context of the investigation.

On August 21, 1963, Bureau headquarters instructed the New Orleans and Dallas field offices to conduct an additional investigation of Oswald in view of the activities which had led to his arrest. FBI informants in the New Orleans area, familiar with pro-Castro or Communist Party activity there, advised the Bureau that Oswald was unknown in such circles.

In Dallas. In early September 1963 the FBI transferred the principal responsibility for the Oswald case from the Dallas office to the New Orleans office. Soon after, on October 1, 1963, the FBI was advised by the rental agent for the Oswalds' apartment in New Orleans that they had moved again. According to the information received by the Bureau they had vacated their apartment, and Marina Oswald had departed with their child in a station wagon with Texas registration. On October 3, Hosty reopened the case in Dallas to assist the New Orleans office. He checked in Oswald's old neighborhood and throughout the Dallas-Fort Worth area but was unable to locate Oswald.

The next word about Oswald's location was a communication from the CIA to the FBI on October 10,

advising that an individual tentatively identified as Oswald had been in touch with the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City in early October of 1963. The Bureau had had no earlier information suggesting that Oswald had left the United States. The possible contact with the Soviet Embassy in Mexico intensified the FBI's interest in learning Oswald's whereabouts. The FBI representative in Mexico City arranged to follow up this information with the CIA and to verify Oswald's entry into Mexico. The CIA message was sent also to the Department of State where it was reviewed by personnel of the Passport Office, who knew from Oswald's file that he had sought and obtained a passport on June 25, 1963. The Department of State did not advise either the CIA or the FBI of these facts.

On October 25, the New Orleans office of the FBI learned that in September Oswald had given a forwarding address of 2515 West Fifth Street, Irving, Tex. After receiving this information on October 29, Agent Hosty attempted to locate Oswald. On the same day Hosty interviewed neighbors on Fifth Street and learned that the address was that of Mrs. Ruth Paine. He conducted a limited background investigation of the Paines, intending to interview Mrs. Paine and ask her particularly about Oswald's whereabouts.

Having determined that Mrs. Paine was a responsible and reliable citizen, Hosty interviewed her on November 1. The interview lasted about 20-25 minutes. In response to Hosty's inquiries, Mrs. Paine

*** readily admitted that Mrs. Marina Oswald and Lee Oswald's two children were staying with her. She said that Lee Oswald was living somewhere in Dallas. She didn't know where. She said it was in the Oak Cliff area but she didn't have his address. I asked her if she knew where he worked. After a moment's hesitation, she told me that he worked at the Texas School Book Depository near the downtown area of Dallas. She didn't have the exact address, and it is my recollection that we went to the phone book and looked it up, found it to be 411 Elm Street.

Mrs. Paine told Hosty also that Oswald was living alone in Dallas because she did not want him staying at her house, although she was willing to let Oswald visit his wife and children. According to Hosty, Mrs. Paine indicated that she thought she could find out where Oswald was living and would let him know. At this point in the interview, Hosty gave Mrs. Paine his name and office telephone number on a piece of paper. At the end of the interview, Marina Oswald came into the room. When he observed that she seemed "quite alarmed" about the visit, Hosty assured her, through Mrs. Paine as interpreter, that the FBI would not harm or harass her.

On November 4, Hosty telephoned the Texas School Book Depository and learned that Oswald was working there and that he had given as his address Mrs. Paine's residence in Irving. Hosty took the necessary steps to have the Dallas office of the FBI, rather than the New Orleans office, reestablished as the office with principal responsibility. On November 5, Hosty was traveling near Mrs. Paine's home and took the occasion to stop by to ask whether she had any further information. Mrs. Paine had nothing to add to what she had already told him, except that during a visit that past weekend, Oswald had said that he was a "Trotskyite Communist," and that she found this and similar statements illogical and somewhat amusing. On this occasion Hosty was at the Paine residence for only a few minutes.

During neither interview did Hosty learn Oswald's address or telephone number in Dallas. Mrs. Paine testified that she learned Oswald's telephone number at the Beckley Street rooming house in the middle of October shortly after Oswald rented the room on October 14. As discussed in chapter VI, she failed to report this to Agent Hosty because she thought the FBI was in possession of a great deal of information and certainly would find it very easy to learn where Oswald was living.

Hosty did nothing further in connection with the Oswald case until after the assassination. On November 1, 1963, he had received a copy of the report of the New Orleans office which contained Agent Quigley's memorandum of the interview in the New Orleans jail on August 10, and realized immediately that Oswald had given false biographic information. Hosty knew that he would eventually have to investigate this, and "was quite interested in determining the nature of his contact with the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City." When asked what his next step would have been, Hosty replied:

Well, as I had previously stated, I have between 25 and 40 cases assigned to me at any one time. I had other matters to take care of. I had now established that Lee Oswald was not employed in a sensitive industry. I can now afford to wait until New Orleans forwarded the necessary papers to me to show me I now had all the information. It was then my plan to interview Marina Oswald in detail concerning both herself and her husband's background.

Q. Had you planned any steps beyond that point?

A. No. I would have to wait until I had talked to Marina to see what I could determine, and from there I could make my plans.

Q. Did you take any action on this case between November 5 and November 22?

A. No, sir.

The official Bureau files confirm Hosty's statement that from November 5 until the assassination, no active investigation was conducted. On November 18 the FBI learned that Oswald recently had been in communication with the Soviet Embassy in Washington and so advised the Dallas office in the ordinary course of business. Hosty received this information on the afternoon of November 1963.

Non referral of Oswald to the Secret Service. The Commission has considered carefully the question whether the FBI, in view of all the information concerning Oswald in its files, should have alerted the Secret Service to Oswald's presence in Dallas prior to President Kennedy's visit. The Secret Service and the FBI differ as to whether Oswald fell within the category of "threats against the President" which should be referred to the Service. Robert I. Bouck, special agent in charge of the Protective Research Section, testified that the information available to the Federal Government about Oswald before the assassination would, if known to PRS, have made Oswald a subject of concern to the Secret Service. Bouck pointed to a number of characteristics besides Oswald's defection the cumulative effect of which would have been to alert the Secret Service to potential danger:

I would think his continued association with the Russian Embassy after his return, his association with the Castro groups would have been of concern to us, a knowledge that he had, I believe, been court-martialed for illegal possession of a gun, of a hand gun in the Marines, that he had owned a weapon and did a good deal of hunting or use of it, perhaps in Russia, plus a number of items about his disposition and unreliability of character, I think all of those, if we had had them altogether, would have added up to pointing out a pretty bad individual, and I think that, together, had we known that he had a vantage point would have seemed somewhat serious to us, even though I must admit, that none of these in themselves would bewould meet our specific criteria, none of them alone.

But, it is when you begin adding them up to some degree that you begin to get criteria that are meaningful.

Mr. Bouck pointed out, however, that he had no reason to believe that any one Federal agency had access to all this information, including the significant fact that Oswald was employed in a building which overlooked the motorcade route.

Agent Hosty testified that he was fully aware of the pending Presidential visit to Dallas. He recalled that the special agent in charge of the Dallas office of the FBI, J. Gordon Shanklin, had discussed the President's visit on several occasions, including the regular biweekly conference on the morning of November 22:

Mr. Shanklin advised us, among other things, that in view of the President's visit to Dallas, that if anyone had any indication of any possibility of any acts of violence or any demonstrations against the President, or Vice President, to immediately notify the Secret Service and confirm it in writing. He had made the same statement about a week prior at another special conference which we had held. I don't recall the exact date. It was about a week prior.

In fact, Hosty participated in transmitting to the Secret Service two pieces of information pertaining to the visit. Hosty testified that he did not know until the evening of Thursday, November 21, that there was to be a motorcade, however, and never realized that the motorcade would pass the Texas School Book Depository Building. He testified that he did not read the newspaper story describing the motorcade route in detail, since he was interested only in the fact that the motorcade was coming up Main Street, "where maybe I could watch it if I had a chance." Even if he had recalled that Oswald's place of employment was on the President's route, Hosty testified that he would not have cited him to the Secret Service as a potential threat to the President. Hosty interpreted his instructions as requiring "some indication that the person planned to take some action against the safety of the President of the United States or the Vice President." In his opinion, none of the information in the FBI files Oswald's defection, his Fair Play for Cuba activities in New Orleans, his lies to Agent Quigley, his recent visit to Mexico City indicated that Oswald was capable of violence. Hosty's initial reaction on hearing that Oswald was a suspect in the assassination, was "shock, complete surprise," because he had no reason to believe that Oswald "was capable or potentially an assassin of the President of the United States." Shortly after Oswald was apprehended and identified, Hosty's superior sent him to observe the interrogation of Oswald. Hosty parked his car in the basement of police headquarters and there met an acquaintance, Lt. Jack Revill of the Dallas police force. The two men disagree about the conversation which took place between them. They agree that Hosty told Revill that the FBI had known about Oswald and, in particular, of his presence in Dallas and his employment at the Texas School Book Depository Building. Revill testified that Hosty said also that the FBI had information that Oswald was "capable of committing

this assassination." According to Revill, Hosty indicated that he was going to tell this to Lieutenant Wells of the homicide and robbery bureau. Revill promptly made a memorandum of this conversation in which the quoted statement appears. His secretary testified that she prepared such a report for him that afternoon and Chief of Police Jesse E. Curry and District Attorney Henry M. Wade both testified that they saw it later that day.

Hosty has unequivocally denied, first by affidavit and then in his testimony before the Commission, that he ever said that Oswald was capable of violence, or that he had any information suggesting this. The only witness to the conversation was Dallas Police Detective V. J. Brian, who was accompanying Revill. Brian did not hear Hosty make any statement concerning Oswald's capacity to be an assassin but he did not hear the entire conversation because of the commotion at police headquarters and because he was not within hearing distance at all times.

Hosty's interpretation of the prevailing FBI instructions on referrals to the Secret Service was defended before the Commission by his superiors. After summarizing the Bureau's investigative interest in Oswald prior to the assassination, J. Edgar Hoover concluded that "There was nothing up to the time of the assassination that gave any indication that this man was a dangerous character who might do harm to the President or to the Vice President." Director Hoover emphasized that the first indication of Oswald's capacity for violence was his attempt on General Walker's life, which did not become known to the FBI until after the assassination. Both Director Hoover and his assistant, Alan H. Belmont, stressed also the decision by the Department of State that Oswald should be permitted to return to the United States. Neither believed that the Bureau investigation of him up to November 22 revealed any information which would have justified referral to the Secret Service. According to Belmont, when Oswald returned from the Soviet Union,

*** he indicated that he had learned his lesson, was disenchanted with Russia, and had a renewed concept, am paraphrasing, a renewed concept of the American free society. We talked to him twice. He likewise indicated he was disenchanted with Russia. We satisfied ourselves that we had met our requirement, namely to find out whether he had been recruited by Soviet intelligence. The case was closed. We again exhibited interest on the basis of these contacts with The Worker, Fair Play for Cuba Committee, which are relatively inconsequential. His activities for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New Orleans, we knew, were not of real consequence as he was not connected with any organized activity there. The interview with him in jail is not significant from the standpoint of whether he had a propensity for violence.

Q. This is the Quigley interview you are talking about?

A. Yes; it was a self-serving interview. The visits with the Soviet Embassy were evidently for the purpose of securing a visa, and he had told us during one of the interviews that he would probably take his wife back to Soviet Russia some time in the future. He had come back to Dallas. Hosty had established that he had a job, he was working, and had told Mrs. Paine that when he got the money he was going to take an apartment, when the baby was old enough, he was going to take an apartment, and the family would live together. He gave evidence of settling down. Nowhere during the course of this investigation or the information that came to us from other agencies was there any indication of a potential for violence on his part. Consequently, there was no basis for Hosty to go to Secret Service and advise them of Oswald's presence. * * *

As reflected in this testimony, the officials of the FBI believed that there was no data in its files which gave warning that Oswald was a source of danger to President Kennedy. While he had expressed hostility at times toward the State Department, the Marine Corps, and the FBI as agents of the Government, so far as the FBI knew he had not shown any potential for violence. Prior to November 22, 1963, no law enforcement agency had any information to connect Oswald with the attempted shooting of General Walker. It was against this background and consistent with the criteria followed by the FBI prior to November 22 that agents of the FBI in Dallas did not consider Oswald's presence in the Texas School Book Depository Building overlooking the motorcade route as a source of danger to the President and did not inform the Secret Service of his employment in the Depository Building. The Commission believes, however, that the FBI took an unduly restrictive view of its responsibilities in preventive intelligence work, prior to the assassination. The Commission appreciates the large volume of cases handled by the FBI (636,371 investigative matters during fiscal year 1963). There were no Secret Service criteria which specifically required the referral of Oswald's case to the Secret Service; nor was there any requirement to report the names of defectors.

However, there was much material in the hands of the FBI about Oswald: the knowledge of his defection, his arrogance and hostility to the United States, his pro-Castro tendencies, his lies when interrogated by the FBI, his trip to Mexico where he was in contact with Soviet authorities, his presence in the School Book Depository job and its location along the route of the motorcade. All this does seem

to amount to enough to have induced an alert agency, such as the FBI, possessed of this information to list Oswald as a potential threat to the safety of the President. This conclusion may be tinged with hindsight, but it stated primarily to direct the thought of those responsible for the future safety of our Presidents to the need for a more imaginative and less narrow interpretation of their responsibilities. It is the conclusion of the Commission that, even in the absence of Secret Service criteria which specifically required the referral of such a case as Oswald's to the Secret Service, a more alert and carefully considered treatment of the Oswald case by the Bureau might have brought about such a referral. Had such a review been undertaken by the FBI, there might conceivably have been additional investigation of the Oswald case between November 5 and November 22. Agent Hosty testified that several matters brought to his attention in late October and early November, including the visit to the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City, required further attention. Under proper procedures knowledge of the pending Presidential visit might have prompted Hosty to have made more vigorous efforts to locate Oswald's rooming house address in Dallas and to interview him regarding these unresolved matters. The formal FBI instructions to its agents outlining the information to be referred to the Secret Service were too narrow at the time of the assassination. While the Secret Service bears the principal responsibility for this failure, the FBI instructions did not reflect fully the Secret Service's need for information regarding potential threats. The handbook referred thus to "the possibility of an attempt against the person or safety of the President." It is clear from Hosty's testimony that this was construed, at least by him, as requiring evidence of a plan or conspiracy to injure the President. Efforts made by the Bureau since the assassination, on the other hand, reflect keen awareness of the necessity of communicating a much wider range of intelligence information to the Service.

Most important, notwithstanding that both agencies have professed to the Commission that the liaison between them was close and fully sufficient, the Commission does not believe that the liaison between the FBI and the Secret Service prior to the assassination was as effective as it should have been. The FBI Manual of Instructions provided for liaisons with other government agencies.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - Liaison With Other Government Agencies

To insure adequate and effective liaison arrangements, each SAC should specifically designate an Agent (or Agents) to be responsible for developing and maintaining liaison with other Federal Agencies. This liaison should take into consideration FBI-agency community of interests, location of agency headquarters, and the responsiveness of agency representatives. In each instance, liaison contacts should be developed to include a close friendly relationship, mutual understanding of FBI and agency jurisdictions, and an indicated willingness by the agency representative to coordinate activities and to discuss problems of mutual interest. Each field office should determine those Federal agencies which are represented locally and with which liaison should be conducted.

The testimony reveals that liaison responsibilities in connection with the President's visit were discussed twice officially by the special agent in charge of the FBI office in Dallas. As discussed in chapter II, some limited information was made available to the Secret Service. But there was no fully adequate liaison between the two agencies. Indeed, the Commission believes that the liaison between all Federal agencies responsible for Presidential protection should be improved.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - Other Protective Measures and Aspects of Secret Service Performance

The President's trip to Dallas called into play many standard operating procedures of the Secret Service in addition to its preventive intelligence operations. Examination of these procedures shows that in most respects they were well conceived and ably executed by the personnel of the Service. Against the background of the critical events of November 22, however, certain shortcomings and lapses from the high standards which the Commission believes should prevail in the field of Presidential protection are evident.

Advance preparations. The advance preparations in Dallas by Agent Winston G. Lawson of the White House detail have been described in chapter II. With the assistance of Agent in Charge Sorrels of the Dallas field office of the Secret Service, Lawson was responsible for working out a great many arrangements for the President's trip. The Service prefers to have two agents perform advance preparations. In the case of Dallas, because President Kennedy had scheduled visits to five Texas cities and had also scheduled visits to other parts of the country immediately before the Texas trip, there were not enough men available to permit two agents to be assigned to all the advance work. Consequently, Agent Lawson did the advance work alone from November 13 to November 18, when he was joined by Agent David B. Grant, who had just completed advance work on the President's trip to Tampa.

The Commission concludes that the most significant advance arrangements for the President's trip were soundly planned. In particular, the Commission believes that the motorcade route selected by Agent Lawson, upon the advice of Agent in Charge Sorrels and with the concurrence of the Dallas police, was entirely appropriate, in view of the known desires of the President. There were far safer routes via freeways directly to the Trade Mart, but these routes would not have been in accordance with the White House staff instructions given the Secret Service for a desirable motorcade route. Much of Lawson's time was taken with establishing adequate security over the motorcade route and at the two places where the President would stop, Love Field and the Trade Mart. The Commission concludes that the arrangements worked out at the Trade Mart by these Secret Service agents with the cooperation of the Dallas police and other local law enforcement agents, were carefully executed. Since the President was to be at the Trade Mart longer than at any other location in Dallas and in view of the security hazards presented by the building, the Secret Service correctly gave particular attention in the advance preparations to those arrangements. The Commission also regards the security arrangements worked out by Lawson and Sorrels at Love Field as entirely adequate.

The Commission believes, however, that the Secret Service has inadequately defined the responsibilities of its advance agents, who have been given broad discretion to determine what matters require attention in making advance preparations and to decide what action to take. Agent Lawson was not given written instructions concerning the Dallas trip or advice about any peculiar problems which it might involve; all instructions from higher authority were communicated to him orally. He did not have a checklist of the tasks he was expected to accomplish, either by his own efforts or with the cooperation of local authorities. The only systematic supervision of the activities of the advance agent has been that provided by a requirement that he file interim and final reports on each advance assignment. The interim report must be in the hands of the agent supervising the protective group traveling with the President long enough before his departure to apprise him of any particular problems encountered and the responsive action taken. Agent Lawson's interim report was received by Agent Kellerman on November 20, the day before departure on the Texas trip.

The Secret Service has advised the Commission that no unusual precautions were taken for the Dallas trip, and that "the precautions taken for the President's trip were the usual safeguards employed on trips of this kind in the United States during the previous year." Special Agent in Charge Sorrels testified that the advance preparations followed on this occasion were "pretty much the same" as those followed in 1936 during a trip to Dallas by President Roosevelt, which was Sorrels' first important assignment in connection with Presidential work.

In view of the constant change in the nature of threats to the President and the diversity of the dangers which may arise in the various cities within the United States, the Commission believes that standard procedures in use for many years and applied in all parts of the country may not be sufficient. There is, for example, no Secret Service arrangement for evaluating before a trip particular difficulties that might be anticipated, which would bring to bear the judgment and experience of members of the White House detail other than the advance agent. Constant reevaluation of procedures, with attention to special problems and the development of instructions specific to particular trips, would be a desirable innovation. Liaison with local law enforcement authorities. In the description of the important aspects of

the advance preparations, there have been references to the numerous discussions between Secret Service representatives and the Dallas Police Department. The wholehearted support of these local authorities was indispensable to the Service in carrying out its duties. The Service had 28 agents participating in the Dallas visit. Agent Lawson's advance planning called for the deployment of almost 600 members of the Dallas Police Department, Fire Department, County Sheriff's Department, and the Texas Department of Public Safety. Despite this dependence on local authorities, which would be substantially the same on a visit by the President to any large city, the Secret Service did not at the time of the assassination have any established procedure governing its relationships with them. It had no prepared checklist of matters to be covered with local police on such visits to metropolitan areas and no written description of the role the local police were expected to perform. Discussions with the Dallas authorities and requests made of them were entirely informal. The Commission believes that a more formal statement of assigned responsibilities, supplemented in each case to reflect the peculiar conditions of each Presidential trip, is essential. This would help to eliminate varying interpretations of Secret Service instructions by different local law enforcement representatives. For example, while the Secret Service representatives in Dallas asked the police to station guards at each overpass to keep "unauthorized personnel" off, this term was not defined. At some overpasses all persons were excluded, while on the overpass overlooking the assassination scene railroad and yard terminal workmen were permitted to remain under police supervision, as discussed in chapter III.

Assistant Chief Batchelor of the Dallas police noted the absence of any formal statement by the Secret Service of specific work assigned to the police and suggested the desirability of such a statement. Agent Lawson agreed that such a procedure would assist him and other agents in fulfilling their responsibilities as advance agents.

Check of buildings along route of motorcade. Agent Lawson did not arrange for a prior inspection of buildings along the motorcade route, either by police or by custodians of the buildings, since it was not the usual practice of the Secret Service to do so. The Chief of the Service has provided the Commission a detailed explanation of this policy:

Except for inauguration or other parades involving foreign dignitaries accompanied by the President in Washington, it has not been the practice of the Secret Service to make surveys or checks of buildings along the route of a Presidential motorcade. For the inauguration and certain other parades in Washington where the traditional route is known to the public long in advance of the event, buildings along the route can be checked by teams of law enforcement officers, and armed guards are posted along the route as appropriate. But on out-of-town trips where the route is decided on and made public only a few days in advance, buildings are not checked either by Secret Service agents or by any other law enforcement officers at the request of the Secret Service. With the number of men available to the Secret Service and the time available, surveys of hundreds of buildings and thousands of windows is not practical.

In Dallas the route selected necessarily involved passing through the principal downtown section between tall buildings. While certain streets thought to be too narrow could be avoided and other choices made, it was not practical to select a route where the President could not be seen from roofs or windows of buildings. At the two places in Dallas where the President would remain for a period of time, Love Field and the Trade Mart, arrangements were made for building and roof security by posting police officers where appropriate. Similar arrangements for a motorcade of ten miles, including many blocks of tall commercial buildings is not practical. Nor is it practical to prevent people from entering such buildings, or to limit access in every building to those employed or having business there. Even if it were possible with a vastly larger force of security officers to do so, many observers have felt that such a procedure would not be consistent with the nature and purpose of the motorcade to let the people see their President and to welcome him to their city.

In accordance with its regular procedures, no survey or other check was made by the Secret Service, or by any other law enforcement agency at its request, of the Texas School Book Depository Building or those employed there prior to the time the President was shot.

This justification of the Secret Service's standing policy is not persuasive. The danger from a concealed sniper on the Dallas trip was of concern to those who had considered the problem. President Kennedy himself had mentioned it that morning as had Agent Sorrels when he and Agent Lawson were fixing the motorcade route. Admittedly, protective measures cannot ordinarily be taken with regard to all buildings along a motorcade route. Levels of risk can be determined, however, as has been confirmed by building surveys made since the assassination for the Department of the Treasury. An attempt to cover only the most obvious points of possible ambush along the route in Dallas might well have included the Texas School Book Depository Building. Instead of such advance precautions, the Secret Service depended in part on the efforts of local law enforcement personnel stationed along

the route. In addition, Secret Service agents riding in the motorcade were trained to scan buildings as part of their general observation of the crowd of spectators. These substitute measures were of limited value. Agent Lawson was unable to state whether he had actually instructed the Dallas police to scan windows of buildings lining the motorcade route, although it was his usual practice to do so. If such instructions were in fact given, they were not effectively carried out. Television films taken of parts of the motorcade by a Dallas television station show the foot patrolmen facing the passing motorcade, and not the adjacent crowds and buildings, as the procession passed.

Three officers from the Dallas Police Department were assigned to the intersection of Elm and Houston during the morning of November 22 prior to the motorcade. All received their instructions early in the morning from Capt. P. W. Lawrence of the traffic division. According to Captain Lawrence:

I then told the officers that their primary duty was traffic and crowd control and that they should be alert for any persons who might attempt to throw anything and although it was not a violation of the law to carry a placard, that they were not to tolerate any actions such as the Stevenson incident and arrest any person who might attempt to throw anything or try to get at the President and his party; paying particular attention to the crowd for any unusual activity. I stressed the fact that this was our President and he should be shown every respect due his position and that it was our duty to see that this was done.

Captain Lawrence was not instructed to have his men watch buildings along the motorcade route and did not mention the observation of buildings to them. The three officers confirm that their primary concern was crowd and traffic control, and that they had no opportunity to scan the windows of the Depository or any other building in the vicinity of Elm and Houston when the motorcade was passing. They had, however, occasionally observed the windows of buildings in the area before the motorcade arrived, in accordance with their own understanding of their function.

As the motorcade approached Elm Street there were several Secret Service agents in it who shared the responsibility of scanning the windows of nearby buildings. Agent Sorrels, riding in the lead car, did observe the Texas School Book Depository Building as he passed by, at least for a sufficient number of seconds to gain a "general impression" of the lack of any unusual activity. He was handicapped, however, by the fact that he was riding in a closed car whose roof at times obscured his view. Lawson, also in the lead car, did not scan any buildings since an important part of his job was to look backward at the President's car. Lawson stated that he "was looking back a good deal of the time, watching his car, watching the sides, watching the crowds, giving advice or asking advice from the Chief. and also looking ahead to the known hazards like overpasses, under-passes, railroads, et cetera." Agent Roy H. Kellerman, riding in the front seat of the Presidential car, stated that he scanned the Depository Building, but not sufficiently to be alerted by anything in the windows or on the roof. The agents in the follow-up car also were expected to scan adjacent buildings. However, the Commission does not believe that agents stationed in a car behind the Presidential car, who must concentrate primarily on the possibility of threats from crowds along the route, provide a significant safeguard against dangers in nearby buildings.

Conduct of Secret Service agents in Fort Worth on November 22. In the early morning hours on November 22, 1963, in Fort Worth, there occurred a breach of discipline by some members of the Secret Service who were officially traveling with the President. After the President had retired at his hotel, nine agents who were off duty went to the nearby Fort Worth Press Club at midnight or slightly thereafter, expecting to obtain food; they had had little opportunity to eat during the day. No food was available at the Press Club. All of the agents stayed for a drink of beer, or in several cases, a mixed drink. According to their affidavits, the drinking in no case amounted to more than three glasses of beer or 1 1/2 mixed drinks, and others who were present say that no agent was inebriated or acted improperly. The statements of the agents involved are supported by statements of members of the Fort Worth press who accompanied or observed them and by a Secret Service investigation.

According to their statements, the agents remained at the Press Club for periods varying from 30 minutes to an hour and a half, and the last agent left the Press Club by 2 a.m. Two of the nine agents returned to their rooms. The seven others proceeded to an establishment called the Cellar Coffee House, described by some as a beatnik place and by its manager as "a unique show place with continuous light entertainment all night [serving] only coffee, fruit juices and no hard liquors or beer." There is no indication that any of the agents who visited the Cellar Coffee House had any intoxicating drink at that establishment. Most of the agents were there from about 1:30 or 1:45 a.m. to about 2:45 or 3 a.m.; one agent was there from 2 until 5 a.m.

The lobby of the hotel and the areas adjacent to the quarters of the President were guarded during the night by members of the midnight to 8 a.m. shift of the White House detail. These agents were each relieved for a half hour break during the night. Three members of this shift separately took this

opportunity to visit the Cellar Coffee House. Only one stayed as long as a half hour, and none had any beverage there. Chief Rowley testified that agents on duty in such a situation usually stay within the building during their relief, but that their visits to the Cellar were "neither consistent nor inconsistent" with their duty.

Each of the agents who visited the Press Club or the Cellar Coffee House (apart from the three members of the midnight shift) had duty assignments beginning no later than 8 a.m. that morning. President Kennedy was scheduled to speak across the street from his hotel in Fort Worth at 8:30 a.m., and then at a breakfast, after which the entourage would proceed to Dallas. In Dallas, one of the nine agents was assigned to assist in security measures at Love Field, and four had protective assignments at the Trade Mart. The remaining four had key responsibilities as members of the complement of the follow-up car in the motorcade. Three of these agents occupied positions on the running boards of the car, and the fourth was seated in the car.

The supervisor of each of the off-duty agents who visited the Press Club or the Cellar Coffee House advised, in the course of the Secret Service investigation of these events, that each agent reported for duty on time, with full possession of his mental and physical capabilities and entirely ready for the performance of his assigned duties. Chief Rowley testified that, as a result of the investigation he ordered, he was satisfied that each of the agents performed his duties in an entirely satisfactory manner. and that their conduct the night before did not impede their actions on duty or in the slightest way prevent them from taking any action that might have averted the tragedy. However, Chief Rowley did not condone the action of the off-duty agents, particularly since it violated a regulation of the Secret Service, which provides:

Liquor, use of. Employees are strictly enjoined to refrain from the use of intoxicating liquor during the hours they are officially employed at their post of duty, or when they may reasonably expect that they may be called upon to perform an official duty. During entire periods of travel status, the special agent is officially employed and should not use liquor, until the completion of all of his official duties for the day, after which time a very moderate use of liquor will not be considered a violation. However, all members of the White House Detail and special agents cooperating with them on Presidential and similar protective assignments are considered to be subject to call for official duty at any time while in travel status. Therefore, the use of intoxicating liquor of any kind, including beer and wine, by members of the White House Detail and special agents cooperating with them, or by special agents on similar assignments, while they are in a travel status, is prohibited.

The regulations provide further that "violation or slight disregard" of these provisions "will be cause for removal from the Service.

Chief Rowley testified that under ordinary circumstances he would have taken disciplinary action against those agents who had been drinking in clear violation of the regulation. However, he felt that any disciplinary action might have given rise to an inference that the violation of the regulation had contributed to the tragic events of November 22. Since he was convinced that this was not the case, he believed that it would be unfair to the agents and their families to take explicit disciplinary measures. He felt that each agent recognized the seriousness of the infraction and that there was no danger of a repetition.

The Commission recognizes that the responsibilities of members of the White House detail of the Secret Service are arduous. They work long, hard hours, under very great strain, and must travel frequently. It might seem harsh to circumscribe their opportunities for relaxation. Yet their role of protecting the President is so important to the well-being of the country that it is reasonable to expect them to meet very high standards of personal conduct, so that nothing can interfere with their bringing to their task the finest qualities and maximum resources of mind and body. This is the salutary goal to which the Secret Service regulation is directed, when it absolutely forbids drinking by any agent accompanying the President on a trip. Nor is this goal served when agents remain out until early morning hours, and lose the opportunity to get a reasonable amount of sleep. It is conceivable that those men who had little sleep, and who had consumed alcoholic beverages, even in limited quantities, might have been more alert in the Dallas motorcade if they had retired promptly in Fort Worth. However, there is no evidence that these men failed to take any action in Dallas within their power that would have averted the tragedy. As will be seen, the instantaneous and heroic response to the assassination of some of the agents concerned was in the finest tradition of Government service.

The motorcade in Dallas. Rigorous security precautions had been arranged at Love Field with the local law enforcement authorities by Agents Sorrels and Lawson. These precautions included reserving a ceremonial area for the Presidential party, stationing police on the rooftops of all buildings overlooking the reception area, and detailing police in civilian clothes to be scattered throughout the sizable crowd.

When President and Mrs. Kennedy shook hands with members of the public along the fences surrounding the reception area, they were closely guarded by Secret Service agents who responded to the unplanned event with dispatch.

As described in chapter II, the President directed that his car stop on two occasions during the motorcade so that he could greet members of the public. At these stops, agents from the Presidential follow-up car stood between the President and the public, and on one occasion Agent Kellerman left the front seat of the President's car to take a similar position. The Commission regards such impromptu stops as presenting an unnecessary danger, but finds that the Secret Service agents did all that could have been done to take protective measures.

The Presidential limousine. The limousine used by President Kennedy in Dallas was a convertible with a detachable, rigid plastic "bubble" top which was neither bulletproof nor bullet resistant. The last Presidential vehicle with any protection against small-arms fire left the White House in 1953. It was not theft replaced because the state of the art did not permit the development of a bulletproof top of sufficiently light weight to permit its removal on those occasions when the President wished to ride in an open car. The Secret Service believed that it was very doubtful that any President would ride regularly in a vehicle with a fixed top, even though transparent. Since the assassination, the Secret Service, with the assistance of other Federal agencies and of private industry, has developed a vehicle for the better protection of the President.

Access to passenger compartment of Presidential car. On occasion the Secret Service has been permitted to have an agent riding in the passenger compartment with the President. Presidents have made it clear, however, that they did not favor this or any other arrangement which interferes with the privacy of the President and his guests. The Secret Service has therefore suggested this practice only on extraordinary occasions. Without attempting to prescribe or recommend specific measures which should be employed for the future protection of Presidents, the Commission does believe that there are aspects of the protective measures employed in the motorcade at Dallas which deserve special comment.

The Presidential vehicle in use in Dallas, described in chapter II, had no special design or equipment which would have permitted the Secret Service agent riding in the driver's compartment to move into the passenger section without hindrance or delay. Had the vehicle been so designed it is possible that an agent riding in the front seat could have reached the President in time to protect him from the second and fatal shot to hit the President. However, such access to the President was interfered with both by the metal bar some 15 inches above the back of the front seat and by the passengers in the jump seats. In contrast, the Vice Presidential vehicle, although not specially designed for that purpose, had no passenger in a jump seat between Agent Youngblood and Vice President Johnson to interfere with Agent Youngblood's ability to take a protective position in the passenger compartment before the third shot was fired.

The assassination suggests that it would have been of prime importance in the protection of the President if the Presidential car permitted immediate access to the President by a Secret Service agent at the first sign of danger. At that time the agents on the framing boards of the follow-up car were expected to perform such a function. However, these agents could not reach the President's car when it was traveling at an appreciable rate of speed. Even if the car is traveling more slowly, the delay involved in reaching the President may be crucial. It is clear that, at the time of the shots in Dallas, Agent Clinton J. Hill leaped to the President's rescue as quickly as humanly possible. Even so, analysis of the motion picture films taken by amateur photographer Zapruder reveals that Hill first placed his hand on the Presidential car at frame 343, 30 frames and therefore approximately 1.6 seconds after the President was shot in the head. About 3 seconds after the President received this wound, Hill had both feet on the car and was climbing aboard to assist President and Mrs. Kennedy.

Planning for motorcade contingencies. In response to inquiry by the Commission regarding the instructions to agents in a motorcade of emergency procedures to be taken in a contingency such as that which actually occurred, the Secret Service responded:

The Secret Service has consistently followed two general principles in emergencies involving the President. All agents are so instructed. The first duty of the agents in the motorcade is to attempt to cover the President as closely as possible and practicable and to shield him by attempting to place themselves between the President and any source of danger. Secondly, agents are instructed to remove the President as quickly as possible from known or impending danger. Agents are instructed that it is not their responsibility to investigate or evaluate a present danger, but to consider any untoward circumstances as serious and to afford the President maximum protection at all times. No responsibility rests upon those agents near the President for the identification or arrest of any assassin or an attacker. Their primary responsibility is to stay with and protect the President.

Beyond these two principles the Secret Service believes a detailed contingency or emergency plan is not feasible because the variations possible preclude effective planning. A number of steps are taken, however, to permit appropriate steps to be taken in an emergency. For instance, the lead car always is manned by Secret Service agents familiar with the area and with local law enforcement officials; the radio net in use in motorcades is elaborate and permits a number of different means of communication with various local points. A doctor is in the motorcade.

This basic approach to the problem of planning for emergencies is sound. Any effort to prepare detailed contingency plans might well have the undesirable effect of inhibiting quick and imaginative responses. If the advance preparation is thorough, and the protective devices and techniques employed are sound, those in command should be able to direct the response appropriate to the emergency.

The Commission finds that the Secret Service agents in the motorcade who were immediately responsible for the President's safety reacted promptly at the time the shots were fired. Their actions demonstrate that the President and the Nation can expect courage and devotion to duty from the agents of the Secret Service.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - Recommendations

The Commission's review of the provisions for Presidential protection at the time of President Kennedy's trip to Dallas demonstrates the need for substantial improvements. Since the assassination, the Secret Service and the Department of the Treasury have properly taken the initiative in reexamining major aspects of Presidential protection. Many changes have already been made and others are contemplated, some of them in response to the Commission's questions and informal suggestions.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - Assassination a Federal Crime

There was no Federal criminal jurisdiction over the assassination of President Kennedy. Had there been reason to believe that the assassination was the result of a conspiracy, Federal jurisdiction could have been asserted; it has long been a Federal crime to conspire to injure any Federal officer, on account of, or while he is engaged in, the lawful discharge of the duties of his office. Murder of the President has never been covered by Federal law, however, so that once it became reasonably clear that the killing was the act of a single person, the State of Texas had exclusive jurisdiction.

It is anomalous that Congress has legislated in other ways touching upon the safety of the Chief Executive or other Federal officers, without making an attack on the President a crime. Threatening harm to the President is a Federal offense, as is advocacy of the overthrow of the Government by the assassination of any of its officers. The murder of Federal judges, U.S. attorneys and marshals, and a number of other specifically designated Federal law enforcement officers is a Federal crime. Equally anomalous are statutory provisions which specifically authorize the Secret Service to protect the President, without authorizing it to arrest anyone who harms him. The same provisions authorize the Service to arrest without warrant persons committing certain offenses, including counterfeiting and certain frauds involving Federal checks or securities. The Commission agrees with the Secret Service that it should be authorized to make arrests without warrant for all offenses within its jurisdiction, as are FBI agents and Federal marshals.

There have been a number of efforts to make assassination a Federal crime, particularly after the assassination of President McKinley and the attempt on the life of President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1902 bills passed both Houses of Congress but failed of enactment when the Senate refused to accept the conference report. A number of bills were introduced immediately following the assassination of President Kennedy.

The Commission recommends to the Congress that it adopt legislation which would:

Punish the murder or manslaughter of, attempt or conspiracy to murder, kidnapping of and assault upon the President, Vice President, or other officer next in the order of succession to the Office of President, the President-elect and the Vice-President-elect, whether or not the act is committed while the victim is in the performance of his official duties or on account of such performance.

Such a statute would cover the President and Vice President or, in the absence of a Vice President, the person next in order of succession. During the period between election and inauguration, the President-elect and Vice-President-elect would also be covered. Restricting the coverage in this way would avoid unnecessary controversy over the inclusion or exclusion of other officials who are in the order of succession or who hold important governmental posts. In addition, the restriction would probably eliminate a need for the requirement which has been urged as necessary for the exercise of Federal power, that the hostile act occur while the victim is engaged in or because of the performance of official duties.

The governmental consequences of assassination of one of the specified officials give the United States ample power to act for its own protection. The activities of the victim at the time an assassination occurs and the motive for the assassination bear no relationship to the injury to the United States which follows from the act. This point was ably made in the 1902 debate by Senator George F. Hoar, the sponsor of the Senate bill:

*** what this bill means to punish is the crime of interruption of the Government of the United States and the destruction of its security by striking down the life of the person who is actually in the exercise of the executive power, or of such persons as have been constitutionally and lawfully provided to succeed thereto in case of a vacancy. It is important to this country that the interruption shall not take place for an hour ***

Enactment of this statute would mean that the investigation of any of the acts covered and of the possibility of a further attempt would be conducted by Federal law enforcement officials, in particular, the FBI with the assistance of the Secret Service. At present, Federal agencies participate only upon the sufferance of the local authorities. While the police work of the Dallas authorities in the early identification and apprehension of Oswald was both efficient and prompt, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who strongly supports such legislation, testified that the absence of clear Federal jurisdiction over the assassination of President Kennedy led to embarrassment and confusion in the subsequent investigation by Federal and local authorities. In addition, the proposed legislation will insure that any suspects who are arrested will be Federal prisoners, subject to Federal protection from vigilante justice

and other threats.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - Committee of Cabinet Officers

As our Government has become more complex, agencies other than the Secret Service have become involved in phases of the overall problem of protecting our national leaders. The FBI is the major domestic investigating agency of the United States, while the CIA has the primary responsibility for collecting intelligence overseas to supplement information acquired by the Department of State. The Secret Service must rely in large part upon the investigating capacity and experience of these and other agencies for much of its information regarding possible dangers to the President. The Commission believes that it is necessary to improve the cooperation among these agencies and to emphasize that the task of Presidential protection is one of broad national concern.

The Commission suggests that consideration might be given to assigning to a Cabinet-level committee or the National Security Council (which is responsible for advising the President respecting the coordination of departmental policies relating to the national security) the responsibility to review and oversee the protective activities of the Secret Service and the other Federal agencies that assist in safeguarding the President. The Committee should include the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General, and, if the Council is used, arrangements should be made for the attendance of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General at any meetings which are concerned with Presidential protection. The Council already includes, in addition to the President and Vice President, the Secretaries of State and Defense and has a competent staff.

The foremost assignment of the Committee would be to insure that the maximum resources of the Federal Government are fully engaged in the job of protecting the President, by defining responsibilities clearly and overseeing their execution. Major needs of personnel or other resources might be met more easily on its recommendation than they have been in the past.

The Committee would be able to provide guidance in defining the general nature of domestic and foreign dangers to Presidential security. As improvements are recommended for the advance detection of potential threats to the President, it could act as a final review board. The expert assistance and resources which it could draw upon would be particularly desirable in this complex and sensitive area.

This arrangement would provide a continuing high-level contact for agencies that may wish to consult respecting particular protective measures. For various reasons the Secret Service has functioned largely as an informal part of the White House staff, with the result that it has been unable, as a practical matter, to exercise sufficient influence over the security precautions which surround Presidential activities. A Cabinet-level committee which is actively concerned with these problems would be able to discuss these matters more effectively with the President.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - Responsibilities for Presidential Protection

The assignment of the responsibility of protecting the President to an agency of the Department of the Treasury was largely an historical accident. The Secret Service was organized as a division of the Department of the Treasury in 1865, to deal with counterfeiting. In 1894, while investigating a plot to assassinate President Cleveland, the Service assigned a small protective detail of agents to the White House. Secret Service men accompanied the President and his family to their vacation home in Massachusetts and special details protected him in Washington, on trips, and at special functions. These informal and part-time arrangements led to more systematic protection in 1902, after the assassination of President McKinley; the Secret Service, then the only Federal investigative agency, assumed full-time responsibility for the safety of the President. Since that time, the Secret Service has had and exercised responsibility for the physical protection of the President and also for the preventive investigation of potential threats against the President.

Although the Secret Service has had the primary responsibility for the protection of the President, the FBI, which was established within the Department of Justice in 1908, has had in recent years an increasingly important role to play. In the appropriations of the FBI there has recurred annually an item for the "protection of the person of the President of the United States," which first appeared in the appropriation of the Department of Justice in 1910 under the heading "Miscellaneous Objects." Although the FBI is not charged with the physical protection of the President, it does have an assignment, as do other Government agencies, in the field of preventive investigation in regard to the President's security.

As discussed above, the Bureau has attempted to meet its responsibilities in this field by spelling out in its Handbook the procedures which its agents are to follow in connection with information received "indicating the possibility of an attempt against the person or safety of the President" or other protected persons.

With two Federal agencies operating in the same general field of preventive investigation, questions inevitably arise as to the scope of each agency's authority and responsibility. As the testimony of J. Edgar Hoover and other Bureau officials revealed, the FBI did not believe that its directive required the Bureau to notify the Secret Service of the substantial information about Lee Harvey Oswald which the FBI had accumulated before the President reached Dallas. On the other hand, the Secret Service had no knowledge whatever of Oswald, his background, or his employment at the Book Depository, and Robert I. Bouck, who was in charge of the Protective Research Section of the Secret Service, believed that the accumulation of the facts known to the FBI should have constituted a sufficient basis to warn the Secret Service of the Oswald risk.

The Commission believes that both the FBI and the Secret Service have too narrowly construed their respective responsibilities. The Commission has the impression that too much emphasis is placed by both on the investigation of specific threats by individuals and not enough on dangers from other sources. In addition, the Commission has concluded that the Secret Service particularly tends to be the passive recipient of information regarding such threats and that its Protective Research Section is not adequately staffed or equipped to conduct the wider investigative work that is required today for the security of the President.

During the period the Commission was giving thought to this situation, the Commission received a number of proposals designed to improve current arrangements for protecting the President. These proposals included suggestions to locate exclusive responsibility for all phases of the work in one or another Government agency, to clarify the division of authority between the agencies involved, and to retain the existing system but expand both the scope and the operations of the existing agencies, particularly those of the Secret Service and the FBI.

It has been pointed out that the FBI, as our chief investigative agency, is properly manned and equipped to carry on extensive information gathering functions within the United States. It was also suggested that it would take a substantial period of time for the Secret Service to build up the experience and skills necessary to meet the problem. Consequently the suggestion has been made, on the one hand, that all preventive investigative functions relating to the security of the President should be transferred to the FBI, leaving with the Secret Service only the responsibility for the physical protection of the President, that is, the guarding function alone.

On the other hand, it is urged that all features of the protection of the President and his family should be committed to an elite and independent corps. It is also contended that the agents should be intimately associated with the life of the Presidential family in all its ramifications and alert to every danger that might befall it, and ready at any instant to hazard great danger to themselves in the performance of their

tremendous responsibility. It is suggested that an organization shorn of its power to investigate all the possibilities of danger to the President and becoming merely the recipient of information gathered by others would become limited solely to acts of physical alertness and personal courage incident to its responsibilities. So circumscribed, it could not maintain the esprit de corps or the necessary alertness for this unique and challenging responsibility.

While in accordance with its mandate this Commission has necessarily examined into the functioning of the various Federal agencies concerned with the tragic trip of President Kennedy to Dallas and while it has arrived at certain conclusions in respect thereto, it seems clear that it was not within the Commission's responsibility to make specific recommendations as to the long-range organization of the President's protection, except as conclusions flowing directly from its examination of the President's assassination can be drawn. The Commission was not asked to apply itself as did the Hoover Commission in 1949, for examples to a determination of the optimum organization of the President's protection. It would have been necessary for the Commission to take considerable testimony, much of it extraneous to the facts of the assassination of President Kennedy, to put it in a position to reach final conclusions in this respect. There are always dangers of divided responsibility, duplication, and confusion of authority where more than one agency is operating in the same field; but on the other hand the protection of the President is in a real sense a Government-wide responsibility which must necessarily be assumed by the Department of State, the FBI, the CIA, and the military intelligence agencies as well as the Secret Service. Moreover, a number of imponderable questions have to be weighed if any change in the intimate association now established between the Secret Service and the President and his family is contemplated.

These considerations have induced the Commission to believe that the determination of whether or not there should be a relocation of responsibilities and functions should be left to the Executive and the Congress, perhaps upon recommendations based on further studies by the Cabinet-level committee recommended above or the National Security Council.

Pending any such determination, however, this Commission is convinced of the necessity of better coordination and direction of the activities of all existing agencies of Government which are in a position to and do, furnish information and services related to the security of the President. The Commission feels the Secret Service and the FBI, as well as the State Department and the CIA when the President travels abroad, could improve their existing capacities and procedures so as to lessen the chances of assassination. Without, therefore, coming to final conclusions respecting the long-range organization of the President's security, the Commission believes that the facts of the assassination of President Kennedy point to certain measures which, while assuming no radical relocation of responsibilities, can and should be recommended by this Commission in the interest of the more efficient protection of the President. These, recommendations are reviewed below.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - General Supervision of the Secret Service

The intimacy of the Secret Service's relationship to the White House and the dissimilarity of its protective functions to most activities of the Department of the Treasury have made it difficult for the Treasury to maintain close and continuing supervision. The Commission believes that the recommended Cabinet-level committee will help to correct many of the major deficiencies of supervision disclosed by the Commission's investigation. Other measures should be taken as well to improve the overall operation of the Secret Service.

Daily supervision of the operations of the Secret Service within the Department of the Treasury should be improved. The Chief of the Service now reports to the Secretary of the Treasury through an Assistant Secretary whose duties also include the direct supervision of the Bureau of the Mint and the Department's Employment Policy Program, and who also represents the Secretary of the Treasury on various committees and groups. The incumbent has no technical qualifications in the area of Presidential protection. The Commission recommends that the Secretary of the Treasury Payne appoint a special assistant with the responsibility of supervising the Service. This special assistant should be required to have sufficient stature and experience in law enforcement, intelligence, or allied fields to be able to provide effective continuing supervision, and to keep the Secretary fully informed regarding all significant developments relating to Presidential protection.

This report has already pointed out several respects in which the Commission believes that the Secret Service has operated with insufficient planning or control. Actions by the Service since the assassination indicate its awareness of the necessity for substantial improvement in its administration. A formal and thorough description of the responsibilities of the advance agent is now in preparation by the Service. Work is going forward toward the preparation of formal understandings of the respective roles of the Secret Service and other agencies with which it collaborates or from which it derives assistance and support. The Commission urges that the Service continue this effort to overhaul and define its procedures. While manuals and memoranda are no guarantee of effective operations, no sizable organization can achieve efficiency without the careful analysis and demarcation of responsibility that is reflected in definite and comprehensive operating procedures.

The Commission also recommends that the Secret Service consciously set about the task of inculcating and maintaining the highest standard of excellence and esprit, for all of its personnel. This involves tight and unswerving discipline as well as the promotion of an outstanding degree of dedication and loyalty to duty. The Commission emphasizes that it finds no causal connection between the assassination and the breach of regulations which occurred on the night of November 21 at Fort Worth. Nevertheless, such a breach, in which so many agents participated, is not consistent with the standards which the responsibilities of the Secret Service require it to meet.

Preventive Intelligence

In attempting to identify those individuals who might prove a danger to the President, the Secret Service has largely been the passive recipient of threatening communications to the President and reports from other agencies which independently evaluate their information for potential sources of danger. This was the consequence of the Service's lack of an adequate investigative staff, its inability to process large amounts of data, and its failure to provide specific descriptions of the kind of information it sought.

The Secret Service has embarked upon a complete overhaul of its research activities. The staff of the Protective Research Section (PRS) has been augmented, and a Secret Service inspector has been put in charge of this operation. With the assistance of the President's Office of Science and Technology, and of the Advanced Research Projects Agency of the Department of Defense, it has obtained the services of outside consultants, such as the Rand Corp., International Business Machines Corp., and a panel of psychiatric and psychological experts. It has received assistance also from data processing experts at the CIA and from a specialist in psychiatric prognostication at Walter Reed Hospital. As a result of these studies, the planning document submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury to the Bureau of the Budget on August 31, 1964, makes several significant recommendations in this field. Based on the Commission's investigation, the following minimum goals for improvements are indicated:

Broader and more selective criteria. Since the assassination, both the Secret Service and the FBI have recognized that the PRS files can no longer be limited largely to persons communicating actual threats to the President. On December 26, 1963, the FBI circulated additional instructions to all its agents, specifying criteria for information to be furnished to the Secret Service in addition to that covered by the former standard, which was the possibility of an attempt against the person or safety of the President. The new instructions require FBI agents to report immediately information concerning:

Subversives, ultra rightists, racists and fascists (a) possessing emotional instability or irrational behavior, (b) who have made threats of bodily harm against officials or employees of Federal, state or local government or officials of a foreign government, (c) who express or have expressed strong or violent anti-U.S. sentiments and who have been involved in bombing or bomb-making or whose past conduct indicates tendencies toward violence, and (d) whose prior acts or statements depict propensity for violence and hatred against organized government.

Alan II. Belmont, Assistant to the Director of the FBI, testified that this revision was initiated by the FBI itself. The volume of references to the Secret Service has increased substantially since the new instructions went into effect; more than 5,000 names were referred to the Secret Service in the first 4 months of 1964. According to Chief Rowley, by mid-June 1964, the Secret Service had received from the FBI some 9,000 reports on members of the Communist Party. The FBI now transmits information on all defectors, a category which would, of course, have included Oswald.

Both Director Hoover and Belmont expressed to the Commission the great concern of the FBI, which is shared by the Secret Service, that referrals to the Secret Service under the new criteria might, if not properly handled, result in some degree of interference with the personal liberty of those involved. They emphasized the necessity that the information now being furnished be handled with judgment and care. The Commission shares this concern. The problem is aggravated by the necessity that the Service obtain the assistance of local law enforcement officials in evaluating the information which it receives and in taking preventive steps.

In June 1964, the Secret Service sent to a number of Federal law enforcement and intelligence agencies guidelines for an experimental program to develop more detailed criteria. The suggestions of Federal agencies for revision of these guidelines were solicited. The new tentative criteria are useful in making clear that the interest of the Secret Service goes beyond information on individuals or groups threatening to cause harm or embarrassment to the President. Information is requested also concerning individuals or groups who have demonstrated an interest in the President or "other high government officials in the nature of a complaint coupled with an expressed or implied determination to use a means, other than legal or peaceful, to satisfy any grievance, real or imagined. Under these criteria, whether the case should be referred to the Secret Service depends on the existence of a previous history of mental instability, propensity toward violent action, or some similar characteristic, coupled with some evaluation of the capability of the individual or group to further the intention to satisfy a grievance by unlawful means.

While these tentative criteria are a step in the right direction, they seem unduly restrictive in continuing to require some manifestation of animus against a Government official. It is questionable whether such criteria would have resulted in the referral of Oswald to the Secret Service. Chief Rowley believed that they would, because of Oswald's demonstrated hostility toward the Secretary of the Navy in his letter of January 30, 1962.

I shall employ all means to right this gross mistake or injustice to a bonified U.S. citizen and ex-service man. The U.S. government has no charges or complaints against me. I ask you to look into this case and take the necessary steps to repair the damage done to me and my family.

Even with the advantage of hindsight, this letter does not appear to express or imply Oswald's "determination to use a means, other than legal or peaceful, to satisfy [his] grievance" within the meaning of the new criteria.

It is apparent that a good deal of further consideration and experimentation will be required before adequate criteria can be framed. The Commission recognizes that no set of meaningful criteria will yield the names of all potential assassins. Charles J. Guiteau, Leon F. Czolgosz, John Schrank, and Guiseppe Zangarafour assassins or would-be assassins were all men who acted alone in their criminal acts against our leaders. None had a serious record of prior violence. Each of them was a failure in his work and in his relations with others, a victim of delusions and fancies which led to the conviction that society and its leaders had combined to thwart him. It will require every available resource of our Government to devise a practical system which has any reasonable possibility of revealing such malcontents.

Liaison with other agencies regarding intelligence. The Secret Service's liaison with the agencies that supply information to it has been too casual. Since the assassination, the Service has recognized that these relationships must be far more formal and each agency given clear understanding of the assistance which the Secret Service expects.

Once the Secret Service has formulated its new standards for collection of information, it should enter

into written agreements with each Federal agency and the leading State and local agencies that might be a source of such information. Such agreements should describe in detail the information which is sought, the manner in which it will be provided to the Secret Service, and the respective responsibilities for any further investigation that may be required.

This is especially necessary with regard to the FBI and CIA, which carry the major responsibility for supplying information about potential threats, particularly those arising from organized groups, within their special jurisdiction. Since these agencies are already obliged constantly to evaluate the activities of such groups, they should be responsible for advising the Secret Service if information develops indicating the existence of an assassination plot and for reporting such events as a change in leadership or dogma which indicate that the group may present a danger to the President. Detailed formal agreements embodying these arrangements should be worked out between the Secret Service and both of these agencies.

It should be made clear that the Secret Service will in no way seek to duplicate the intelligence and investigative capabilities of the agencies now operating in this field but will continue to use the data developed by these agencies to carry out its special duties. Once experience has been gained in implementing such agreements with the Federal and leading State and local agencies, the Secret Service, through its field offices, should negotiate similar arrangements with such other State and local law enforcement agencies as may provide meaningful assistance. Much useful information will come to the attention of local law enforcement agencies in the regular course of their activities, and this source should not be neglected by undue concentration on relationships with other Federal agencies. Finally, these agreements with Federal and local authorities will be of little value unless a system is established for the frequent formal review of activities thereunder.

In this regard the Commission notes with approval several recent measures taken and proposed by the Secret Service to improve its liaison arrangements. In his testimony Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon informed the Commission that an interagency committee has been established to develop more effective criteria. According to Secretary Dillon, the Committee will include representatives of the President's Office of Science and Technology, Department of Defense, CIA, FBI, and the Secret Service. In addition, the Department of the Treasury has requested five additional agents for its Protective Research Section to serve as liaison officers with law enforcement and intelligence agencies. On the basis of the Department's review during the past several months, Secretary Dillon testified that the use of such liaison officers is the only effective way to insure that adequate liaison is maintained. As a beginning step to improve liaison with local law enforcement officials, the Secret Service on August 26, 1964, directed its field representatives to send a form request for intelligence information to all local, county, and State law enforcement agencies in their districts. Each of these efforts appears sound, and the Commission recommends that these and the other measures suggested by the Commission be pursued vigorously by Secret Service.

Automatic data processing. Unless the Secret Service is able to deal rapidly and accurately with a growing body of data, the increased information supplied by other agencies will be wasted. PRS must develop the capacity to classify its subjects on a more sophisticated basis than the present geographic breakdown. Its present manual filing system is obsolete; it makes no use of the recent developments in automatic data processing which are widely used in the business world and in other Government offices.

The Secret Service and the Department of the Treasury now recognize this critical need. In the planning document currently under review by the Bureau of the Budget, the Department recommends that it be permitted to hire five qualified persons "to plan and develop a workable and efficient automated file and retrieval system." Also the Department requests the sum of \$100,000 to conduct a detailed feasibility study; this money would be used to compensate consultants, to lease standard equipment or to purchase specially designed pilot equipment. On the basis of such a feasibility study, the Department hopes to design a practical system which will fully meet the needs of the Protective Research Section of the Secret Service.

The Commission recommends that prompt and favorable consideration be given to this request. The Commission further recommends that the Secret Service coordinate its planning as closely as possible with all of the Federal agencies from which it receives information. The Secret Service should not and does not plan to develop its own intelligence gathering facilities to duplicate the existing facilities of other Federal agencies. In planning its data processing techniques, the Secret Service should attempt to develop a system compatible with those of the agencies from which most of its data will come.*

Protective Research participation in advance arrangements. Since the assassination, Secret Service procedures have been changed to require that a member of PRS accompany each advance survey team to establish liaison with local intelligence gathering agencies and to provide for the immediate

evaluation of information received from them. This PRS agent will also be responsible for establishing an informal local liaison committee to make certain that all protective intelligence activities are coordinated. Based on its experience during this period, the Secret Service now recommends that additional personnel be made available to PRS so that these arrangements can be made permanent without adversely affecting the operations of the Service's field offices. The Commission regards this as a most useful innovation and urges that the practice be continued.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - Liaison With Local Law Enforcement Agencies

Advice by the Secret Service to local police in metropolitan areas relating to the assistance expected in connection with a Presidential visit has hitherto been handled on an informal basis. The Service should consider preparing formal explanations of the cooperation anticipated during a Presidential visit to a city, in formats that can be communicated to each level of local authorities. Thus, the local chief of police could be given a master plan, prepared for the occasion, of all protective measures to be taken during the visit; each patrolman might be given a prepared booklet of instructions explaining what is expected of him.

Inspection of Buildings

Since the assassination of President Kennedy, the Secret Service has been experimenting with new techniques in the inspection of buildings along a motorcade route. According to Secretary Dillon, the studies indicate that there is some utility in attempting to designate certain buildings as involving a higher risk than others. The Commission strongly encourages these efforts to improve protection along a motorcade route. The Secret Service should utilize the personnel of other Federal law enforcement offices in the locality to assure adequate manpower for this task, as it is now doing. Lack of adequate resources is an unacceptable excuse for failing to improve advance precautions in this crucial area of Presidential protection.

Secret Service Personnel and Facilities

Testimony and other evidence before the Commission suggest that the Secret Service is trying to accomplish its job with too few people and without adequate modern equipment. Although Chief Rowley does not complain about the pay scale for Secret Service agents, salaries are below those of the FBI and leading municipal police forces. The assistant to the Director of the FBI testified that the caseload of each FBI agent averaged 20-25, and he felt that this was high. Chief Rowley testified that the present workload of each Secret Service agent averages 110.1 cases. While these statistics relate to the activities of Secret Service agents stationed in field offices and not the White House detail, field agents supplement those on the detail, particularly when the President is traveling. Although the Commission does not know whether the cases involved are entirely comparable, these figures suggest that the agents of the Secret Service are substantially overworked.

In its budget request for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1964, the Secret Service sought funds for 25 new positions, primarily in field offices. This increase has been approved by the Congress. Chief Rowley explained that this would not provide enough additional manpower to take all the measures which he considers required. However, the 1964- 65 budget request was submitted in November 1963 and requests for additional personnel were not made because of the studies then being conducted.

The Secret Service has now presented its recommendations to the Bureau of the Budget. The plan proposed by the Service would take approximately 20 months to implement and require expenditures of approximately \$3 million during that period. The plan provides for an additional 205 agents for the Secret Service. Seventeen of this number are proposed for the Protective Research Section; 145 are proposed for the field offices to handle the increased volume of security investigations and be available to protect the President or Vice President when they travel; 18 agents are proposed for a rotating pool which will go through an intensive training cycle and also be available to supplement the White House detail in case of unexpected need; and 25 additional agents are recommended to provide the Vice President full protection.

The Commission urges that the Bureau of the Budget review these recommendations with the Secret Service and authorize a request for the necessary supplemental appropriation, as soon as it can be justified. The Congress has often stressed that it will support any reasonable request for funds for the protection of the President.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - Manpower and Technical Assistance From Other Agencies

Before the assassination the Secret Service infrequently requested other Federal law enforcement agencies to provide personnel to assist in its protection functions. Since the assassination, the Service has experimented with the use of agents borrowed for short periods from such agencies. It has used other Treasury law enforcement agents on special experiments in building and route surveys in places to which the President frequently travels. It has also used other Federal law enforcement agents during Presidential visits to cities in which such agents are stationed. Thus, in the 4 months following the assassination, the FBI, on 16 separate occasions, supplied a total of 139 agents to assist in protection work during a Presidential visit, which represents a departure from its prior practice. From February 11 through June 30, 1964, the Service had the advantage of 9, 500 hours of work by other enforcement agencies.

The FBI has indicated that it is willing to continue to make such assistance available, even though it agrees with the Secret Service that it is preferable for the Service to have enough agents to handle all protective demands. The Commission endorses these efforts to supplement the Service's own personnel by obtaining, for short periods of time, the assistance of trained Federal law enforcement officers. In view of the ever-increasing mobility of American Presidents, it seems unlikely that the Service could or should increase its own staff to a size which would permit it to provide adequate protective manpower for all situations. The Commission recommends that the agencies involved determine how much periodic assistance they can provide, and that each such agency and the Secret Service enter into a formal agreement defining such arrangements. It may eventually be desirable to codify the practice in an Executive order. The Secret Service will be better able to plan its own long-range personnel requirements if it knows with reasonable certainty the amount of assistance that it can expect from other agencies.

The occasional use of personnel from other Federal agencies to assist in protecting the President has a further advantage. It symbolizes the reality that the job of protecting the President has not been and cannot be exclusively the responsibility of the Secret Service. The Secret Service in the past has sometimes guarded its right to be acknowledged as the sole protector of the Chief Executive. This no longer appears to be the case. Protecting the President is a difficult and complex task which requires full use of the best resources of many parts of our Government. Recognition that the responsibility must be shared increases the likelihood that it will be met.

Much of the Secret Service work requires the development and use of highly sophisticated equipment, some of which must be specially designed to fit unique requirements. Even before the assassination, and to a far greater extent thereafter, the Secret Service has been receiving full cooperation in scientific research and technological development from many Government agencies including the Department of Defense and the President's Office of Science and Technology.

Even if the manpower and technological resources of the Secret Service are adequately augmented, it will continue to rely in many respects upon the greater resources of the Office of Science and Technology and other agencies. The Commission recommends that the present arrangements with the Office of Science and Technology and the other Federal agencies that have been so helpful to the Secret Service be placed on a permanent and formal basis. The exchange of letters dated August 31, 1964, between Secretary Dillon and Donald F. Hornig, Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology, is a useful effort in the right direction. The Service should negotiate a memorandum of understanding with each agency that has been assisting it and from which it can expect to need help in the future. The essential terms of such memoranda might well be embodied in an Executive order.

Warren Report: Chapter VIII - Protection of the President Conclusion

This Commission can recommend no procedures for the future protection of our Presidents which will guarantee security. The demands on the President in the execution of His responsibilities in today's world are so varied and complex and the traditions of the office in a democracy such as ours are so deep-seated as to preclude absolute security.

The Commission has, however, from its examination of the facts of President Kennedy's assassination made certain recommendations which it believes would, if adopted, materially improve upon the procedures in effect at the time of President Kennedy's assassination and result in a substantial lessening of the danger.

As has been pointed out, the Commission has not resolved all the proposals which could be made. The Commission nevertheless is confident that, with the active cooperation of the responsible agencies and with the understanding of the people of the United States in their demands upon their President, the recommendations we have here suggested would greatly advance the security of the office without any impairment of our fundamental liberties.

Warren Report: Appendix I - Executive Order No. 11130

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NOVEMBER 30, 1963

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

EXECUTIVE ORDER

NO. 11130

APPOINTING A COMMISSION TO REPORT UPON THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

Pursuant to the authority vested in me as President of the United States, I hereby appoint a Commission to ascertain, evaluate and report upon the facts relating to the assassination of the late President John F. Kennedy and the subsequent violent death of the man charged with the assassination. The Commission shall consist of:

The Chief Justice of the United States, Chairman;

Senator Richard B. Russell;

Senator John Sherman Cooper;

Congressman Hale Boggs;

Congressman Gerald R. Ford;

The Honorable Allen W. Dulles;

The Honorable John J. McCloy.

The purposes of the Commission are to examine the evidence developed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and any additional evidence that may hereafter come to light or be uncovered by federal or state authorities; to make such further investigation as the Commission finds desirable; to evaluate all the facts and circumstances surrounding such assassination, including the subsequent violent death of the man charged with the assassination, and to report to me its findings and conclusions.

The Commission is empowered to prescribe its own procedures and to employ such assistants as it deems necessary.

necessary expenses of the Commission may be paid from the "Emergency Fund for the President".

All Executive departments and agencies are directed to furnish the Commission with such facilities, services and cooperation as it may request from time to time.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE,

November 29, 1963

Warren Report: Appendix II - White House Release

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

November 29, 1963

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

The President today announced that he is appointing a Special Commission to study and report upon all facts and circumstances relating to the assassination of the late President, John F. Kennedy, and the subsequent violent death of the man charged with the assassination.

The President stated that the Majority and Minority Leadership of the Senate and the House of Representatives have been consulted with respect to the proposed Special Commission.

The member of the Special Commission are:

Chief Justice Earl Warren, Chairman

Senator Richard Russell (Georgia)

Senator John Sherman Cooper (Kentucky)

Congressman Hale Boggs (Louisiana)

Congressman Gerald Ford (Michigan)

The Hon. Allen W. Dulles of Washington

The Hon. John J. McCloy of New York

The President stated that the Special Commission is to be instructed to evaluate all available information concerning the subject of the inquiry. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, pursuant to an earlier directive of the President, is making complete investigation of the facts. An inquiry is also scheduled by a Texas Court of Inquiry convened by the Attorney General of Texas under Texas law.

The Special Commission will have before it all evidence uncovered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and all information available to any agency of the Federal Government. The Attorney General of Texas has also offered his cooperation. All Federal agencies and offices are being directed to furnish services and cooperation to the Special commission. The Commission will also be empowered to conduct any further investigation that it deems desirable.

The President is instructing the Special Commission to satisfy itself that the truth is known as far as it can be discovered, and to report its findings and conclusions to him, to the American people, and to the world.

Warren Report: Appendix III - Senate Joint Resolution 137

Public Law 88-2-2

88th Congress, S.J. Res. 137

December 13, 1963

JOINT RESOLUTION

Authorizing the Commission established to report upon the assassination of President John F. Kennedy to compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of evidence.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That

(a) for the purposes of this joint resolution, the term "Commission" means the Commission appointed by the President by Executive Order 11130, dated November 29, 1963.

(b) The Commission, or any member of the Commission when so authorized by the Commission, shall have power to issue subpoenas requiring the attendance and testimony of witness and the production of any evidence that relates to any matter under investigation by the Commission. The Commission, or any member of the Commission or any agent or agency designated by the Commission for such purpose, may administer oaths and affirmations, examine witness, and receive evidence. Such attendance of witnesses and the production of such evidence may be required from any place within the United States at any designated place of hearing.

(c) In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpoena issued to any person under subsection (b), any court of the United States within the jurisdiction of which the inquiry is carried on or within the jurisdiction of which said person guilty of contumacy or refusal to obey is found or resides or transacts business, upon application by the Commission shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring such person to appear before the Commission, its member, agent, or agency, there to produce evidence if so ordered, or their to give testimony touching the matter under investigation or in question; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by said court as a contempt thereof.

(d) Process and papers of the Commission, its members, agent, or agency, may be served either upon the witness in person or by registered mail or by telegraph or by leaving a copy thereof at the residence of principal office or place of business of the person required to be served. The verified return by the individual so serving the same, setting forth the manner of such service, shall be proof of the same, and the return post office receipt or telegraph receipt therefor when registered and mailed or telegraphed as a foresaid shall be proof of service of the same. Witnesses summoned before the Commission, its member, agent, or agency, shall be paid the same fees and mileage that are paid witnesses in the courts of the United States, and witnesses whose depositions are taken and the persons taking the same shall severally be entitled to the same fees as are paid for like services in the courts of the United States.

(e) No person shall be excused from attending and testifying or producing books, records, correspondence, documents, or other evidence in obedience to a subpoena, on the ground that the testimony or evidence required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture; but no individual shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture (except demotion or removal from office) for or on account of any transaction, matter, or thing concerning which he is compelled, after having claimed his privilege against self-incrimination, to testify or produce evidence, except that such individual so testifying shall not be exempt from prosecution and punishment or perjury committed in so testifying.

(f) All process of any court to which application may be made under this Act may be served in the judicial district wherein the person required to be served resides or may be found.

Approved December 13, 1963.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 109 (1963)

Dec. 9: Passed Senate.

Dec. 10: Considered and passed House.

Warren Report: Appendix IV - Biographical Information and Acknowledgments

MEMBERS OF COMMISSION

The Honorable Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, was born in Los Angeles, Calif., on March 19, 1891. He graduated from the University of California with B.L. and J.D. degrees, and was admitted to the California bar in 1914. Chief Justice Warren was attorney general of California from 1939 to 1943. From 1943 to 1953 he was Governor of California and in September 1953 was appointed by President Eisenhower to be the Chief Justice of the United States.

The Honorable Richard B. Russell was born in Winder, Ga., on November 2, 1897. He received his B.L. degree from the University of Georgia in 1918 and his LL.B. from Mercer University in 1957. Senator Russell commenced the practice of law in Winder, Ga., in 1918, became county attorney for Barrow County, Ca., and was a member of the Georgia House of Representatives from 1921 to 1931. He was Governor of Georgia from 1931 to 1933, was elected to the U.S. Senate in January 1933 to fill a vacancy, and has been Senator from Georgia continuously since that date.

The Honorable John Sherman Cooper was born in Somerset, Ky., on August 23, 1901. He attended Center College, Kentucky, received his A.B. degree from Yale College in 1923, and attended Harvard Law School from 1923 to 1925. Senator Cooper has been a member of the House of Representatives of the Kentucky General Assembly, a county judge and circuit judge in Kentucky, and is now a member of the U.S. Senate, where he has served, though not continuously, for 12 years. He was a delegate to the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, an advisor to the Secretary of State in 1950 at meetings of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and Ambassador to India and Nepal in 1955-56. He served in the 3d U.S. Army in World War II in Europe, and after the war headed the reorganization of the German judicial system in Bavaria.

The Honorable Hale Boggs was born in Long Beach, Miss., on February 15, 1914. He graduated from Tulane University with a B.A. degree in 1935 and received his LL.B. in 1937. He was admitted to the Louisiana bar in 1937 and practiced law in New Orleans. Representative Boggs was elected to the 77th Congress of the United States and in World War II was an officer of the U.S. Naval Reserve and of the Maritime Service. He has been a Member of Congress since 1946 when he was elected to represent the Second District, State of Louisiana, in the 80th Congress, and he is currently the majority whip for the Democratic Party in the House of Representatives.

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford was born in Omaha, Nebr., on July 14, 1913. He graduated from the University of Michigan with a B.A. degree in 1935 and from Yale University Law School with an LL.B. degree in 1941. Representative Ford was admitted to the Michigan bar in 1941. He was first elected to Congress in 1948 and has been reelected to each succeeding Congress. He served 47 months in the U.S. Navy during World War II. Representative Ford was elected in January 1963 the chairman of the House Republican Conference.

The Honorable Allen W. Dulles was born in Watertown, N.Y., on April 7, 1893. He received his B.A. degree from Princeton in 1914, his M.A. in 1916, his LL.B. from George Washington University in 1926, and LL.D. degrees. Mr.

Dulles entered the diplomatic service of the United States in 1916 and resigned in 1926 to take up law practice in New York City. In 1953 Mr. Dulles was appointed Director of Central Intelligence and served in that capacity until 1961.

The Honorable John J. McCloy was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on March 31, 1895. He received an A.B. degree, cum laude, from Amherst College in 1916; LL.B. from Harvard, and LL.D. from Amherst College. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1921 and is now a member of the firm of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy. He was Assistant Secretary of War from April 1941 to November 1945. Mr. McCloy was President of the World Bank from 1947 to 1949 and U.S. Military Governor and High Commissioner for Germany from 1949 to 1952. He has been coordinator of U.S. disarmament activities since 1961.

Warren Report: Appendix IV - General Counsel

J. Lee Rankin was born in Hartington, Nebr., on July 8, 1907. He received his A.B. degree from the University of Nebraska in 1928 and his LL.B. in 1930 from the University of Nebraska Law School. He was admitted to the Nebraska bar in 1930 and practiced law in Lincoln, Nebr., until January 1953 when he was appointed by President Eisenhower to be the assistant attorney general in charge of the Office of Legal Counsel in the Department of Justice. In August 1956 President Eisenhower appointed Mr. Rankin to be the Solicitor General of the United States. Since January 1961 Mr. Rankin has been in private practice in New York City. He accepted the appointment as General Counsel for the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy on December 8, 1963.

Warren Report: Appendix IV - Assistant Counsel

Francis W. H. Adams was born in Mount Vernon, N.Y., on June 26, 1904. He graduated from Williams College with an A.B. degree, and received his LL.B. degree from Fordham Law School in 1928. Mr. Adams has acted as chief assistant U.S. attorney in New York, special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General, and as an arbitrator for the War Labor Board. In 1954 and 1955 he served as police commissioner of New York City. Mr. Adams is a member of the New York and Washington law firm of Satterlee, Warfield & Stephens.

Joseph A. Ball was born in Stuart, Iowa, on December 16, 1902. He received his B.A. degree from Creighton University in Omaha, Nebr., and his LL.B. degree from the University of Southern California in 1927. Mr. Ball teaches criminal law and procedure at the University of Southern California. He is a member of the U.S. Judicial Conference Advisory Committee on Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure. Mr. Ball is a member of the firm of Ball, Hunt & Hart, Long Beach and Santa Ana, Calif.

David W. Belin was born in Washington, DC., on June 20, 1928. He is a graduate of the University of Michigan, where he earned three degrees with high distinction: A.B. (1951), M. Bus. Adm. (1953), and J.D. (1954). At the University of Michigan he was associate editor of the Michigan Law Review. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and the Order of the Coif. He is a member of the law firm of Herrick, Langdon, Sandblom & Belin, Des Moines, Iowa.

William T. Coleman, Jr., was born in Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa., on July 7, 1920. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1941 with an A.B. degree, summa cum laude, received his LL.B. in 1946, magna cum laude, from Harvard Law School and served as an editor of the Harvard Law Review. From 1947 to 1948 he served as law clerk to Judge Herbert F. Goodrich, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, and during the 1948-49 term of the US.

Supreme Court, as law clerk to Justice Felix Frankfurter. Mr. Coleman has served as a special counsel for the city of Philadelphia and has been a consultant with the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency since January 1963. He is a member of the law firm of Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish, Kohn & Dilks, Philadelphia, Pa.

Melvin A. Eisenberg was born in New York City on December 3, 1934. He was graduated from Columbia College, A.B., summa cum laude, in 1956, and from Harvard Law School, LL.B., summa cum laude, in 1959. Mr. Eisenberg is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and served as an editor of the Harvard Law Review. He is associated with the law firm of Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler in New York City.

Burt W. Griffin was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on August 19, 1932. He received his B.A. degree, cum laude, from Amherst College in 1954, and LL.B. from Yale University Law School in 1959. He was note and comment editor of the Yale Law Journal. During 1959-60 Mr. Griffin served as law clerk to Judge George T. Washington of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. From 1960 to 1962 Mr. Griffin was an assistant U.S. attorney for the northern district of Ohio, and since 1962 he has been associated with the firm of MacDonald, Hopkins & Hardy, Cleveland, Ohio.

Leon D. Hubert, Jr., was born in New Orleans, La., July 1, 1911. He received his A.B. degree from Tulane University in 1932, and LL.B. from Tulane in 1934. He was associate editor of the Tulane Law Review, and a member of Phi Beta Kappa and the Order of the Coif. Mr. Hubert was assistant U.S. attorney for the eastern district of Louisiana, 1934-46, and a professor of law at Tulane University, 1942-60. He has worked with the Louisiana State Law Institute on the revision of statutes and on the codes of civil and criminal procedure. Mr. Hubert is a member of the law firm of Hubert, Baldwin & Zibillie, New Orleans, La.

Albert E. Jenner, Jr., was born in Chicago, Ill., on June 20, 1907. He received his law degree from the University of Illinois in 1930. He is a member of the Order of the Coif. In 1956 and 1957 Mr. Jenner served as a special assistant attorney general of Illinois in the investigation of fraud in the office of the auditor of public accounts of the State of Illinois. Mr. Jenner is a Commissioner on Uniform State Laws, a member of the U.S. Judicial Conference Advisory Committee on Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and vice chairman of the Joint Committee for the Effective Administration of Justice. He is a former professor of law at the Northwestern University School of Law. Mr. Jenner is a member of the law firm of Raymond, Mayer, Jenner & Block, Chicago, Ill.

Wesley G. Liebeler was born in Langdon, N. Dakota., on May 9, 1931. He received his B.A. degree from Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn., in 1953 and graduated, cum laude, from the University of Chicago Law School in 1957. He was a managing editor of the University of Chicago Law Review and is a member of the Order of the Coif. Mr. Liebeler is associated with the law firm of Carter, Ledyard & Milburn, New York City.

Norman Redlich was born in New York City on November 12, 1925. He received his B.A. degree, magna cum laude, from Williams College in 1947, his LL.B., cum laude, from Yale Law School in 1950, and LL.M. (Taxation) in 1955 from the New York University School of Law. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and the Order of the Coif, and was executive editor of the Yale Law Journal. Mr. Redlich is Professor of Law at the New York University School of Law, and is editor in chief of the Tax Law Review, New York University.

W. David Slawson was born in Grand Rapids, Mich., on June 2, 1931. He received his A.B. degree, summa cum laude, from Amherst College in 1953, and M.A. from Princeton University in 1954. Mr. Slawson received his LL.B., magna cum laude, from Harvard University in 1959. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and was a note editor of the Harvard Law Review. Mr. Slawson is a member of the law firm of Davis, Graham & Stubbs, Denver, Colo.

Arlen Specter was born in Wichita, Kans., on February 12, 1930. He received his B.A. degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1951, where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and received his LL.B. from Yale Law School in 1956. He was an editor of the Yale Law Journal. Mr. Specter was an associate of the law firm of Dechert, Price & Rhoads in Philadelphia from 1956 to 1959, and from 1959 to 1964 he was an assistant in the Philadelphia district attorney's office. Mr. Specter is a member of the firm of Specter & Katz, Philadelphia, Pa.

Samuel A. Stern was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on January 21, 1929. He graduated with honors from the University of Pennsylvania with an A.B. in 1949. In 1952 he received his LL.B., magna cum laude, from Harvard Law School, and was developments editor of the Harvard Law Review. Mr. Stern served as law clerk to Chief Judge Calvert Magruder, U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit, during 1954-55 and was law clerk to Chief Justice Earl Warren during 1955-56. He is a member of the law firm of Wilmer, Cutler & Picketing, Washington, D.C.

Howard P. Willens was born in Oak Park, Ill., on May 27, 1931. He received his B.A. degree, with high distinction, from the University of Michigan in 1953 and his LL.B. from Yale Law School in 1956. Mr. Willens is a member of Phi Beta Kappa and was an editor of the Yale Law Journal. He was associated with the law firm of Kirkland, Ellis, Hodson, Chaffetz & Masters, Washington, D.C., until 1961, when he was appointed Second Assistant in the Criminal Division of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Warren Report: Appendix IV - Staff Members

Philip Barson was born in Philadelphia, Pa, on May 2, 1912. He received his Bachelor of Science of Commerce, from Temple University, Philadelphia, in 1934. Mr. Barson has been employed by the Internal Revenue Service, Intelligence Division, Philadelphia, since September 1948, first as a special agent and since 1961 has been group supervisor. Mr. Barson is a certified public accountant from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Edward A. Conroy was born in Albany, N.Y., on March 20, 1920. He attended Brooklyn Polytechnical Institute and Benjamin Franklin University, Washington, D.C. Mr. Conroy joined the Internal Revenue Service as a revenue officer in 1946. After acting as executive assistant to the assistant regional inspector, Boston, Mass., Mr. Conroy became senior inspector in the Planning and Programming Branch of the Internal Security Division, Inspection, of the Internal Revenue Service. He currently occupies that position.

John Hart Ely was born in New York City on December 3, 1938. He graduated, summa cum laude, from Princeton University in 1960, and from Yale Law School, magna cum laude, in 1963. He was note and comment editor of the Yale Law Journal. He is a member of the Phi Beta Kappa and the Order of the Coif. During the 1964-65 term Mr. Ely will serve as law clerk to Chief Justice Warren.

Alfred Goldberg was born in Baltimore, Md., on December 23, 1918. He received his A.B. degree from Western Maryland College in 1938, and his Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins University in 1950. After 4 years' service with the U.S. Army, Dr. Goldberg became historian with the U.S. Air Force Historical Division and later Chief of the Current History Branch. In 1962-63 he was a visiting American fellow, King's College, University of London, and since his return has been senior historian, U.S. Air Force Historical Division. Dr. Goldberg is the author or editor of several publications on historical subjects and is a contributor to Encyclopedia Britannica and the World Book.

Murray J. Laulicht was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., on May 12, 1940. He received his B.A. in 1961 from Yeshiva College, and received his LL.B. degree, summa cum laude, from Columbia University School of Law in 1964. He was notes and comments editor of the Columbia Law Review. During 1964-65 Mr. Laulicht will clerk for Senior Judge Harold R. Medina of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

Arthur K. Marmor was born in New York City on December 5, 1915. He received a B.S.S. degree from the College of the City of New York in 1937 and an A.M. degree from Columbia University in 1940. He served in the U.S. Army in World War II. Mr. Marmor has been historian for the Departments of Interior, Army, and Air Force, and Chief, Editorial Services Branch, Department of State. He has also taught for the American University and the University of Maryland. Mr. Marmor has contributed to numerous Government publications and has been in charge of the editing of historical and legal volumes. At present he is a historian for the Department of the Air Force.

Richard M. Mosk was born in Los Angeles, Calif., on May 18, 1939. He graduated from Stanford University, with great distinction, in 1960 and from Harvard Law School, cum laude, in 1963. Mr. Mosk is a member of Phi Beta Kappa. During the 1964-65 term of the California Supreme Court Mr. Mosk will clerk for Justice Matthew Tobriner.

John J. O'Brien was born in Somerville, Mass., on September 11, 1919. Mr. O'Brien received his B.B.A. degree in law and business, cum laude, from Northeastern University, Boston, Mass. He re-received his M.A. degree in the field of governmental administration from George Washington University, Washington, D.C., and in 1941 joined the Bureau of Internal Revenue. After service in the U.S. Coast Guard, Mr. O'Brien resumed his work as an Internal Revenue Service investigator, and is currently the Assistant Chief of the Inspection Services Investigations Branch, in the National Office of Internal Revenue.

Stuart R. Pollak was born in San Pedro, Calif., on August 24, 1937. He received his B.A. degree from Stanford University, with great distinction, in 1959, and was a member of Phi Beta Kappa. Mr. Pollak obtained his LL.B., magna cum laude, from Harvard Law School in 1962, where he was book review and legislation editor of the Harvard Law Review. During the 1963-64 term Mr. Pollak was law clerk to Justices Stanley Reed and Harold Burton. Mr. Pollak is a staff assistant in the Criminal Division of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Alfredda Scobey was born in Kankakee, Ill. She received her A.B. degree from American University, Washington, D.C., in 1933, studied law at John Marshall Law School, Atlanta, Ga., and was admitted to the Georgia bar in 1945. Miss Scobey did graduate study at the National University of Mexico, at Duke University, and at Emory University, Atlanta. She practiced law from 1945 to 1949 in Atlanta and since 1949 has been a law assistant in the Court of Appeals, Georgia.

Charles N. Shaffer, Jr., was born in New York City on June 8, 1932. He attended Fordham College in 1951 and received his LL.B. from the Fordham University School of Law in 1957. From 1958 to 1959 Mr. Shaffer was associated with the law firm of Chadburn, Parke, White-side & Wolff, New York City. He was assistant U.S. attorney in the southern district of New York from 1959 to 1961 when he was appointed Special Trial Attorney in the Criminal and Tax Divisions of the U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Lloyd L. Weinreb was born in New York City on October 9, 1936. He received B.A. degrees from Dartmouth College, summa cum laude, in 1957, and from the University of Oxford in 1959. He received his LL.B., magna cum laude, from Harvard Law School in 1962. He was case editor of the Harvard Law Review. During the 1963-64 term Mr. Weinreb was law clerk to Justice John M. Harlan. Mr. Weinreb is a staff assistant in the Criminal Division of the US. Department of Justice.

Warren Report: Appendix IV - Acknowledgments

During the taking of testimony in various parts of the United States, the Commission was greatly assisted by the offices of numerous U.S. attorneys of the Department of Justice. The Commission would like to acknowledge its gratitude for this assistance and thank in particular Harold Barefoot Sanders, Jr., U.S. attorney for the northern district of Texas, and his conscientious assistant, Martha Joe Stroud.

In addition the Commission wishes to thank the following lawyers, secretaries, and clerks for their unstinting efforts on behalf of the Commission:

Sheila Adams	Sharon Kegarise
Stephen R. Barnett	Adele W. Lippard
Thomas D. Barr	David T. Luhm,
Miriam A. Bottum	Ella M. McCall
Stephen G. Breyer	Louise S. McKenzie
Patrick O. Burns	Michael W. Maupin
Charlene Chardwell	Jean H. Millard
Anne M. Clark	Seresa Mintor
Jonathan M. Clark	Maurice Moore
George C. Cochran	Mary L. Norton
Betty Jean Compton	Vaughnie Perry
Francine Davis	Jane W. Peter
Viola C. Davis	Edward R. Pierpoint
Paul Dodyk	James H. Pipkin, Jr.
Charlee Dianne Duke	S. Paul Posner
Julia T. Eide	Douglas Prather
Josephine M. Farrar	Monroe Price
William T. Finley, Jr.	Lucille Ann Robinson
Dennis M. Flannery	Suzanne Rolston
James C. Gaither	Mary Ann Rowcotsky
Stephen R. Goldstein	Carolyn A. Schweinsberg
Patricia E. Gormley	Ruth D. Shirley
Jeanne C. Hauer	Ray Shurtleff
Beverly A. Heckman	Helen Tarko
Sadie M. Hennigan	Jane M. Vida
Lera B. Hewlett	Jay Vogelson
Elaine Johnson	Anne V. Welsh
Vivian Johnson	Margaret C. Yager
Pearl G. Kamber	

Warren Report: Appendix V - List of Witnesses

The following is a list of the 552 witnesses whose testimony has been presented to the Commission. Witnesses who appeared before members of the Commission have a "C" following their names; those questioned during depositions by members of the Commission's legal staff are indicated by a "D"; and those who supplied affidavits and statements are similarly identified with "A" and "S". The brief descriptions of the witnesses pertain either to the time of their testimony or to the time of the events concerning which they testified.

Witness	Category	Description
Abels, Don R.	D	Jail Clerk, Dallas Police Department
Abt, John J.	D	New York City attorney
Adamcik, John P.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Adams, R.L.	A,D	Placement interviewer, Texas Employment Commission.
Adams, Victoria Elizabeth	D	Employee, <u>Texas School Book Depository</u> (TSBD)
Akin, Gene Coleman	D	Doctor, <u>Parkland Hospital</u>
Alba, Adrian Thomas	D	Acquaintance of Oswald in New Orleans
Allen, Mrs. J.U.	A	Secretary, Chamberlin-Hunt Academy
Altgens, James W.	D	Witness at assassination scene
Anderson, Eugene D.	D	Marine Corps marksmanship expert
Andrews, Dean Adams, Jr.	D	New Orleans attorney
Applin, George Jefferson, Jr.	D	Witness of Oswald arrest
Arce, Danny G.	D	Employee, TSBD
Archar, Don Ray	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Armstrong, Andrew, Jr.	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Arnett, Charles Oliver	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Aycox, James Thomas	D	Acquaintance of <u>Jack Ruby</u>
Baker, Marrion L.	A,C	Member, Dallas Police Department
Baker, Mrs. (Rachley) Donald	D	Employee, TSBD
Baker, T.L.	C	Member, Dallas Police Department
Ballen, Samuel B.	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Barbe, Emmett Charles, Jr.	A	Employee, William B. Reilly Co.
Bargas, Tommy	D	Superintendent, Leslie Welding Co.
Barnes, W.E.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Barnett, W.E.	D	do
Barnhorst, Colin	D	Desk Clerk, YMCA, in Dallas
Bashour, Fouad A.	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Batchelor, Charles	D	Assistant Chief, Dallas Police Department
Bates, Pauline Virginia	D	Public stenographer, Fort Worth
Bacter, Charles Rufus	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Beaty, Buford Lee	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Beavers, William Robert	D	Psychiatrist, Dallas
Beers, Ira J. "Jack", Jr.	D	Newspaper photographer, Dallas
Bellocchio, Frank	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Belmont, Alan H.	C	Assistant to the Director, <u>Federal Bureau of Investigation</u> (FBI).

Benavides, Domingo	D	Witness in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Benton, Nelson	D	Television reporter, CBS
Bieberdorf, FredA.	D	First aid attendant, Dallas Health Department
Biggio, William S.	S	Member, Dallas Police Department
Blalock, Vance	D	Observed Oswald in New Orleans
Blkedsoe, Mary E.	D	Oswald's former landlady in Dallas
Bogard, Albert Guy	D	Automobile salesman, Dallas.
Bookhout, James W.	D	Agent, <u>FBI</u>
Boone, Eugene	C	Deputy Sheriff, Dallas County
Boswell, J. Thornton	C	Doctor, <u>Bethesda Naval Hospital</u>
Botelho, James Anthony	A	Acquaintance of Oswald in Marine Corps.
Bouck, Robwert Inman	C	Agent, U.S. <u>Secret Service</u>
Boudreaux, Anne	D	Acquaintance of Oswald during his youth
Bouhe, George A.	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Bowers, Lee E., Jr.	D	Employee, Union Terminal Co.
Bowron, Diana Hamilton	D	Nurse, Parkland Hospital
Boyd, Elmer L.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Branch, John Henry	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Brennan, Howard Leslie	A,C	Witness at assassination scene
Brewer, E.D.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Brewer, Johnny Calvin	D	Witness of Oswald arrest
Brian, V.J.	C	Member, Dallas Police Department
Bringuier, Carlos	D	Cu ban attorney, now a resident of New Orleans
Brock, Alvin R.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Brewer, Johnny Calvin	D	Witness of Oswald arrest
Brian, V.J.	C	Member, Dallas Police Department
Bringuier, Carlos	D	Cuban attorney, now a resident of New Orleans
Brock, Alvin R.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Brock, Mary	A	Witness in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Brock, Robert	A	do
Brooks, Donald E.	D	Employment counselor, Texas Employment Commission
Brown, C.W.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Brown, Earle V.	D	Member, Dallas Police Dept.
Brown, Peter Megargeee	A	Counsel for Community Service Society, New York
Burcham, John W.	A	Chief of Unemployment Insurance, Texas Employment Commission
Burns, Doris	D	Employee, TSBD
Burroughs, Warren H.	D	Employee, Texas Theater
Cabell, Earle	D	Mayor of Dallas
Cabell, Mrs. Earle	D	Wife of Mayor Cabell
Cadigan, James C.	C,D	Questioned document expert, FBI

Call, Richard Dennis	A	Acquaintance of Oswald in the Marine Corps
Callaway, Ted	C	Witness in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Camarata, Donald Peter	A	Acquaintance of Oswald in the Marine Corps.
Carlin, Bruce Ray	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Carlin, karen Bennett	D	do
Carr, Waggoner	C	Attorney general of State of Texas
Carrico, Carles James	C,D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Carro, John	D	Probation officer, new York City, 1952-54.
Carroll, Bob K.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department.
Carswell, Robert	C	Special assistant to Secretary of the Treasury
Carter, Clifton C.	A	Assistant to <u>President Johnson</u>
Cason, Frances	D	Telephone clerk, Dallas Police Department
Cason, Jack Charles	A	President, TSBD
Caster, Warren	D	Assistant manager, Southwestern Publishing Co., TSBD.
Chayes, Abram	C	Legal Adviser, Department of State
Cheek, Bertha	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Church, George B., Jr.	A	Passenger with Oswald on SS <i>Marion Lykes</i>
Church, Mrs. George B., Jr.	A	do
Clardy, Barnard, S.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Clark, Max E.	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Clark, Richard L.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Clark, William Kemp	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Clements, Manning C.	D	Agent, FBI
Cole, Alwyn	C,D	Questioned document examiner, Treasury Department
Combest, B.H.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Connally, John Bowden, Jr.	C	Governor of Texas
Connally, Mrs., John Bowden, Jr.	C	Wife of the Governor of Texas
Connor, Peter Fancis	A	Acquaintance of Oswald in the Marine Corps
Conway, Hiram P.	D	Fort Worth neighbor of the Oswalds in Oswald's youth
Corporon, John	A	Official of New Orleans radio station
Couch, Malcolm O.	D	TV news cameraman, Dallas
Coulter, Harris	C	State Department interpreter
Cox, Roland A.	D	Reserve force, Dallas Police Department
Crafard, Curtis LaVerne	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Craig, Roger D.	D	Witness at assassination scene
Crawford, James, N.	D	do
Creel Robert J.	A	Employee, Louisiana Department of

		Labor, New Orleans
Crowe, William D., Jr. (a.k.a. Bill DeMar)	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Crowley, James D.	A	Specialist in intelligence matter, Department of State
Croy, Kenneth Hudson	D	Reserve force, Dallas Police Department
Crull, Elgin E.	D	City Manager of Dallas
Cunningham, Cortlandt	A, C	Firearms identification expert, FBI
Cunningham, Helen P.	A, D	Employment Counselor, Texas Employment Commission
Curry, Jesse Edward	A, C, D	Chief, Dallas Police Department
Curtis, Don Teel	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Cutchshaw, Wilbur Jay	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Daniels, John L.	D	Employee, Dallas parking lot
Daniels, Napoleon J.	D	Former member, Dallas Police Department
Davis, Barbara Jeanette	C	Witness in vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Davis, Floyd Guy	D	Operator, Sports Drome Rifle Range
Davis, Virginia (Mrs. Charles)	D	Witness in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Davis, Virginia Louise	D	Wife of Floyd Guy Davis
Day, J. C.	A, C	Lieutenant, Dallas Police Department
Dean, Patrick Trevore	C, D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Decker, J. E. (Bill)	D	Sheriff, Dallas County
Delgado, Nelson	D	Acquaintance of Oswald in Marine Corps
DeMar, William (see Crowe, William D., Jr.)		
De Mohrenschildt, George S.	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
De Mohrenschildt, Jeanne	D	do...
Dhority, C. N.	A, D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Dietrich, Edward C.	D	Guard, Armored Motor Service
Dillard, Tom c.	D	Photographer-Journalist, Dallas
Dillon, c. Douglas	D	Secretary of the Treasury
Dobbs, Farrell	A, D	International Secretary, Socialist Workers Party
Donabedian, George	D	Captain, U.S. Navy
Donovan, John E.	D	Acquaintance of Oswald in the Marine Corps
Dougherty, Jack Edwin	D	Employee, TSBD
Dowe, Kenneth Lawry	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Dulany, Richard B.	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Duncan, William Glenn, Jr.	D	Employee, radio station, Dallas
Dymitruk, Lydia	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Dziemian, Arthur J.	C	Wound ballistics expert, U.S. Army
Eberhardt, A. M.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Edwards, Robert Edwin	D	Employee, Dallas City Courthouse

Euins, Amos Lee	C	Witness at assassination scene
Evans, Julian	D	Husband of Myrtle Evans
Evans, Myrtle	D	Acquaintance of Marguerite Oswald in Oswald's youth
Evans, Sidney, Jr.	D	Resident of Ruby's apartment house
Fain, John W.	C	Agent, FBI
Fehrenbach, George William	D	Resident of Ashland, Oreg.
Feldsott, Louis	A	President, Crescent Firearms, Inc.
Fenley, Robert Gene	D	Reporter, Dallas
Finck, Pierre A.	C	Doctor, Bethesda Naval Hospital
Fischer, ronald B.	D	Auditor, City of Dallas
Fleming, Harold J.	D	Employee, Armored Motor Service, Inc.
Folsom, Allison G., Jr.	D	Lt. Col., U.S. Marine Corps
Ford, Declan P.	C	Husband to Katherine N. Ford and acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Ford, Katherine N.	C	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Foster, J. W.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Frazier, Buell Wesley	C, D	Employee, TSBD and neighbor of the Paines in Irving, TX
Frazier, Robert A.	A, C	Firearms Identification Expert, FBI
Frazier, W. B.	D	Captain, Dallas Police Department
Fritz, John Will	A,C,D	do
Fuqua, Harold r.	D	Parking attendant in basement of city hall
Gallagher, John f.	D	Agent, FBI
Gangl, Theodore Frank	A	Employee, Padgett Printing Corp.
Garner, Jesse J.	A	Neighbor of the Oswalds in New Orleans
Garner, Mrs. Jesse	D	Landlady of Oswald in New Orleans
Gauthier, Leo J.	C	Inspector, FBI
George, M. Waldo	A	Landlord of Oswalds in Dallas
Geraci, Philip, III	D	Resident of New Orleans who met Oswald
Gibson, Mrs. Donald	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Gibson, John	D	Witness to Oswald arrest
Giesecke, Adolph H., Jr.	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Givens Charles Douglas	D	Employee, TSBD
Glover, Everett D.	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Goin, Donald Edward	D	Armored car operator
Goldstein, David	A	Owner, Dave's House of Guns
Goodson, Clyde Franklin	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Graef, John G.	D	Oswald's supervisor, Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall, Dallas
Graf, Allen D.	A	Acquaintance of Oswald in Marine Corps
Grant, Eva	D	Sister of Jack Ruby
Graves, Gene	A	Secretary, Leslie Welding Co.
Graves, L. C.	D	Member Dallas Police Department

Gravitis, Dorothy	D	Acquaintance of Mrs. Paine in Dallas
Gray, Virginia	A	Employee, Duke University Library
Greener, Charles W.	D	Proprietor, Irving Sports Shop
Greer, William Robert	C	Agent, U.S. Secret Service
Gregory, Charles F.	C,D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Gregory Paul Roderick	D	Son of Peter Paul Gregory and acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Gregory Peter Paul	C	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Guinyard, Sam	D	Witness in the vicinity of Tippit crime scene
Hal, C. Ray	D	Agent, FBI
Hall, Elena A.	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Hall, John Raymond	D	Husband of Elena A. Hall and acquaintance of the Oswalds
Hall, Marvin E. "Bert"	D	Employee, Armored Motor Service, Dallas
Hallmark, Garnett Claud	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Hamblen, C. C.	D	Employee, Western Union Telegraph Co.
Hankal, Robert L.	D	Director, television station, Dallas
Hansen, Timothy M., Jr.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Hardin, Michael	D	City ambulance driver
Hargis, Bobby W.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Harkness, D. V.	D	do
Harrison, William J.	D	do
Hartogs, Renatus	D	Psychiatrist, New York City
Hawkins, Ray	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Haygood, Clyde A.	D	do
Heindel, John Rene	A	Acquaintance of Oswald in Marine Corps
Helmick, Wanda Yvonne or Wanda Sweat	D	Employee of Ralph Paul, an acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Helms, Richard M.	C, A	Deputy Director for Plans, central Intelligence Agency
Henchliffe, Margaret M.	D	Nurse, Parkland Hospital
Henslee, Gerald D.	D	Member Dallas Police Department
Herndon, Bell P.	D	Polygraph operator, FBI
Hicks, J. B.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Hill, Clinton j.	C	Agent, US Secret Service
Hill, Gerald Lynn	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Hill, Jean Lollis	D	Witness at assassination scene
Hine, Geneva L.	D	Employee, TSBD
Hodge, Alfred Douglas	D	Owner, Buckhorn Trading Post
Holland, S. M.	D	Witness at assassination scene
Holly, Harold B., Jr.	D	Reserve force, Dallas Police Department
Holmes, Harry D.	D	US Post Office inspector
Hoover, J. Edgar	C	Director, FBI
Hosty, James, P., Jr.	C	Agent, FBI
Howlett, John Joe	A,D	Agent, US Secret Service

Hudson, Emmett J.	D	Witness at assassination scene
Huffaker, Robert S., Jr.	D	Newsman, Dallas
Hulen, Richard Leroy	D	Employee of Dallas YMCA
Hulse, C. E.	E	Member, Dallas Police Department
Humes, James J.	C	Doctor, Bethesda Naval Hospital
Hunley, Bobb	A	Employee, Louisiana Department of Labor, New Orleans
Hunt, Jackie H.	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Hunter, Gertrude	D	Witness concerning alleged encounter with Oswald
Hutchinson, Leonard Edwin	D	Owner of grocery store in Irving
Hutson, Thomas Alexander	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Isaacs, Martin	D	Employee, Special Services Welfare Center, New York
Jackson, Robert Hill	C	News photographer, Dallas
Jackson, Theodore	D	Attendant at Dallas parking lot
James, Virginia H.	D	International Relations Officer, Office of Soviet Affairs, State Department
Jarman, James, Jr.	C	Employee, TSBD
Jenkins, Marion T.	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Jenkins, Ronald Lee	D	News editor, radio station, Dallas
Jimison, R. J.	D	Orderly, Parkland Hospital
Johnson, Arnold Samuel	D	Director of Information and Lecture Bureau, Communist Party, USA
Johnson, Arthur Carl	D	Owner of rooming house in Dallas where Oswald resided
Johnson, Mrs. Arthur Carl	D	Wife of A.C. Johnson
Johnson, Joseph Weldon, Jr.	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Johnson, Lyndon B.	S	President of the United States
Johnson, Mrs. Lyndon B.	S	Wife of the President of the United States
Johnson, Marvin	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Johnson, Speedy	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Johnston, David L.	D	Justice of the peace, Dallas
Jones, O. A.	D	Captain, Dallas Police Department
Jones, Ronald c	D	Doctor, Parkland hospital
Kaiser, Frankie	D	Employee, TSBD
Kaminsky, Eileen	D	Jack Ruby's sister
Kantor, Seth	D	Reporter
Kaufman, Stanley M.	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Kellerman, Roy H.	C	Agent, US Secret Service
Kelley, Thomas J.	A,C	Inspector, US Secret Service
Kelly, Edward	D	Porter, Dallas City Hall
Kennedy, Mrs. John F.	C	Widow of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy
Killion, Charles L.	A	Firearms identification expert, FBI
King, Glen D.	D	Captain, Dallas Police Department
Klaue, Robert G	C	Printer of handbill attacking President

Kleinlerer, Alexander	A	Kennedy
Kline, William	A	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Knight, Frances G.	C	Agent, US Customs
		Director, Passport Office, Department of State
Knight, Russell (see Moore)		
Kramer, Monica	A	Tourist in Minsk in 1961
Kravitz, Herbert B.	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Kriss, Harry M.	D	Reserve force, Dallas Police Department
Krystinik, Raymond Franklin	D	Fellow employee of Michael R. Paine in Texas
Lane, Doyle E.	D	Clerk, Western Union Telegraph Co.
Lane, Mark R.	C	Attorney, New York City
Latona, Sebastian F.	C	Fingerprint expert, FBI
Lawrence, Perdue W.	D	Captain, Dallas Police Department
Lawson, Winston G. (accompanied by Fred B. Smith)	C	Agent, US Secret Service
Leavelle, James R.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
LeBlanc, Charles Joseph	D	Maintenance man, William B. Reilly Co.
Lee, Ivan D.	A	Agent, FBI
Lee, Vincent T.	D,A	Official, Fair Play for Cuba Committee
Lehrer, James	D	Reporter, Dallas
Leslie, Helen	D	Member of Russian-speaking community in Dallas
Lewis, Aubrey Lee	D	Employee, Western Union Telegraph Co.
Lewis, Erwin Donald	A	Acquaintance of Oswald in Marine Corps.
Lewis, L. J.	A	Witness in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Light, Frederick W., Jr.	C	Wound ballistics expert, US Army
Litchfield, Wilbyrn Waldon (Robert), II	D	Acquaintance of Ruby
Lord, Billy Joe	A	Passenger with Oswald on SS Marion Lykes
Lovelady, Billy Nolan	D	Employee, TSBD
Lowery, Roy Lee	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Lujan, Daniel Gutierrez	D	Appeared in lineup with Oswald
Lux, J. Philip	A	Employee, H. L. Green Co.
McClelland, Robert N.	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
McCone, Hohn alex	C	Director, Central Intelligence Agency
McCullough, John G.	D	Reporter, Philadelphia
McCurdy, Danny Patrick	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
McDonald, M. N.	C	Member, Dallas Police Department
McFarland, John Bryan	A	Passenger on bus with Oswald to Mexico City in 1963
McFarland, Meryl	A	do

McKinzie, Louis	D	Porter, Dallas City Hall
McMillion, Thomas Donald	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
McVicar, John A.	C	Foreign Service Officer stationed at American Embassy in Soviet Union in 1959-61
McWatter, Cecil J.	C	Bus driver, Dallas
Malley, James R.	A	Inspector, FBI
Malory, Katherine	A	Tourist in Minsk n 161
Mamantov, Ilya A.	D	Member of Russian-speaking community in Dallas
Mandella, Arthur (accompanied by Joseph A. Mooney)	C	Fingerprint expert, New York City Police Department
Markham, Helen Louise	C,D	Witness in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Martele, Francis L.	A,D	Lieutenant, New Orleans Police Department
Martin, B. J.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Martin, Frank M.	D	Captain, Dallas Police Department
Martin, James Herbert	C	Former business manager for Mrs. Lee Harvey Oswald
Maxey, Billy Joe	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Mayo, Logan W.	D	Reserve force, Dallas Police Department
Meller, Anna N.	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Meyers, Lawrence v.	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Michaelis, Heinz W.	D	Manager, Seaport Traders, Inc.
Miller, Austin L.	D	Witness at assassination scene
Miller, Dave L.	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Miller, Louis D.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Mitchell, Mary Ann	D	Witness at assassination scene
Molina, Joe R.	D	Employee, TSBD
Montgomery, L. D.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Mooney, Luke	C	Deputy Sheriff, Dallas County
Moore, Henry M.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Moore, Russell Lee (Knight)	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Mumford, Pamela	D	Passenger on bus with Oswald to Mexico City in 1963
Murphy, Joe E.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Murphy, Paul Edward	A	Acquaintance of Oswald in Marine Corps
Murray, David Christie, Jr.	A	do
Murret, Charles (Dutz)	D	Uncle of Lee Harvey Oswald, New Orleans
Murret, John Martial (Boogie)	D	Cousin of Lee Harvey Oswald, New Orleans
Murret, Lillian	A,D	Sister of Marguerite Oswald and aunt of Lee Harvey Oswald, New Orleans
Murret, Marilyn Dorothea	D	Cousin of Lee Harvey Oswald, New Orleans
Naman, Rita	A	Tourist in Minsk in 1961

Nelson, Doris Mae	D	Nurse, Parkland Hospital
Newman, William J.	D	Reserve force, Dallas Police Department
Newnam John	D	Advertising department employee, Dallas newspaper
Nichols, Alice Reaves	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Nichols, H. Louis	D	Former president, Dallas bar association
Nichol, Joseph D.	D	Firearms identification expert, Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation, Illinois Department of Public Safety
Norman, Harlod	C	Employee, TSBD
Norton, Robert L.	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
O'Brien, Lawrence F.	D	Assistant to President Kennedy
Odio, Sylvia	D	Former citizen of Cuba now residing in Dallas
O'Donnell, Kenneth	D	Assistant to President Kennedy
Odum, Bardwell D.	A	Agent, FBI
Ofstein, Dennis Hyman	D	Employee, Jagggers-Chiles-Stovall, Dallas
Olds, Gregory Lee	D	President, Dallas Chapter, American Civil Liberties Union
Oliver, Revilo P.	D	Member of the council of the John Birch Society
Olivier, Alfred G.	C	Wound ballistics expert, US Army
Olsen, Kay Helen	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Osborne, Mack	A	Acquaintance of Oswald in Marine corps.
O'Sullivan, Frederick S.	D	Acquaintance of Oswald at Beauregard Junior High School, New Orleans
Oswald, Marguerite	C	Mother of Lee Harvey Oswald
Oswald, Marina	C,D	Widow of Lee Harvey Oswald
Oswald, Robert Edward Lee	C	Brother of Lee Harvey Oswald
Owens, Calvin Bud	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Paine Michael R.	C,D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Paine, Ruth Hyde	A,C,D	Wife of Michael R. Paine and acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Palmer, Thomas Stewart	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Pappas, Icarus M.	D	Reporter, radio station, New York City
Patterson, B. M.	A	Witness in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Patterson, Bobby G.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Patterson, Robert Carl	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Paul, Ralph	D	do
Pena, Orest	D	Owner, Habana Bar, New Orleans
Pena, Ruperto	D	Brother of Orest Pena
Perry, Malcolm O.	C,D	Doctor, Parkland
Perry, W. E.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department

Peterman, Viola	D	Neighbor of Oswald family in New Orleans
Peters, Paul c.	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Peterson, Joseph Alexander	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Phenix, George R.	D	Television cameraman and reporter, Dallas
Pic, Edward John, Jr.	A,D	First husband of Marguerite Oswald
Pic, John Edward	D	Half brother of Lee Harvey Oswald
Pierce, Edward E.	D	Employee, Dallas city Hall
Pierce, Rio S.	D	Lieutenant, Dallas Police Department
Pinkston, Nat. A.	D	Employee, TSBD
Piper, Eddie	D	do
Pitts, Elnora	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Pizzo, Frank	D	Assistant manager of auto agency, Dallas
Poe, J. M.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Postal, Julia	D	Cashier, Texas Theater
Potts, Walter E.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Powel, Nancy M. (a.k.a. Tammie True)	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Powers, Daniel Patrick	D	Acquaintance of Oswald in the Marine Corps
Powers, David F.	A	Assistant to President Kennedy
Price, Charles Jack	D	Administrator, Parkland Hospital
Price, Malcolm H., Jr.	D	Patron, Sports Drome Rifle Range
Priddy, Hal Jr.	D	Relief dispatcher, O'Neil Funeral Home in Dallas
Pryor, Roy A.	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Pugh, Oran	A	Agent, US Customs
Pullman, Edward J.	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Putnam, James A.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Quigley, John L.	C	Agent, FBI
Rachal, John R.	A	Employee, Louisiana Department of Labor, New Orleans
Rackley, George W., Sr.	D	Employee, Coordinated RR. Co.I
Raigorodsky, Paul M.	D	Member of Russian-speaking community in Dallas
Randle, Linnie Mae	D	Buell Wesley Frazier's sister and neighbor of Ruth Paine
Ray, Natalie (Mrs Thomas M.)	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Ray, Thomas M.	D	Husband of Nathalie Ray and acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Ray, Valentine A. (Mrs. Frank H.	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Rea, Billy a	D	Advertising staff, Dallas newspaper
Reeves, Huey	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Reid, Mrs. Robert A.	C	Employee, TSBD
Reilly, Frank E	D	Witness at assassination scene
Revill, Jack	C,D	Lieutenant, Dallas Police Department

Reynolds, Warren Allen	D	Witness in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Rheinstein, Frederic	D	Producer-director, NBC
Rich, Nancy Perrin	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Richey, Marjorie R.	D	do
Richey, Warren E.	D	TV engineer, Fort Worth
Riggs, Alfredia	D	Porter, City Hall
Riggs, Chester Allen, Jr.	A	Landlord of the Oswalds in Fort Worth
Ritchie, James L.	D	Passport Officer, Department of State
Roberts, Earlene	A,D	Housekeeper at Oswald's rooming house in Dallas
Robertson, Mary Jane	D	Employee, Dallas Police Department
Roberson, Victor F., Jr.	D	Reporter, Dallas
Rodriguez, Evaristo	D	Bartender at the Habana Bar, New Orleans
Romack, James E.	D	Witness at assassination scene
Rose, Guy F.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Ross, Henrietta M.	D	Technician, Parkland Hospital
Rossi, Joseph	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
roussel, Henry J., Jr.	A	Acquaintance of Oswald in Marine corps
Rowland, Arnold Louis	C	Witness at assassination scene
Rowland, Barbara (Mrs. Arnold L.)	D	do
Rowley, James J.	C	Chief, US Secret Service
Rubenstein, Hymen	D	Brother of Jack Ruby
Ruby, Earl	D	do
Ruby Jack	C,D	Convicted slayer of Oswald
Ruby, Sam	D	Brother of Jack Ruby
Rusk, Dean	C	Secretary of State
Russell, Harold	A	Witness in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Ryder, Dial D.	D	Employee, Irving Sports Shop
Salyer, Kenneth E.	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Saunders, Richard L.	D	Advertising staff, Dallas newspaper
Sawyer, J. Herbert	D	Inspector, Dallas Police Department
Sawyer, Mildred	D	Neighbor and acquaintance of Oswald as a youth in New Orleans
Schmidt, Hunter, Jr.	D	City editor, Dallas
Scibor, Mitchell J.	D	Employee, Klein's Sports Goods
Scoggins, William W.	C	Witness in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Seeley, Carroll Hamilton, Jr.	D	Assistant Chief, Legal Division, Passport Office, Department of State
Semingsen, W. W.	D	Employee, Western Union telegraph co.
Senator, George	D	Roommate of Jack Ruby
Servance, John Olrilege	D	Head porter, City Hall and Municipal Building
Shaneyfelt, Lyndal L.	C,D	Photography expert, FBI

Shasteen, Clifton M.	D	Owner of barbershop in Irving, TX
Shaw, robert Roeder	C,D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Shelley, William H.	D	Employee, TSBD
Shields, Edward	E	Employee, TSBD
Shires, George T.	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Siegel, Evelyn Grace Strickman	D	Social worker, New York City
Simmons, ronald	C	Weapons evaluation expert, US Army Weapons Systems Division
Sims, Richard M.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Skelton, Royce G.	D	Witness at assassination scene
Slack, Garland Glenwill	D	Patron, Sports Drome Rifle Range
Slack, Willie B.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Slaughter, malcolm R.	D	Resident in Jack Ruby's apartment building
Smart, Vernon s.	D	Lieutenant, Dallas Police Police Department
Smith, Bennierita	D	Acquaintance of Oswald at Beauregard Junior High School in New Orleans
Smith, Edgar Leon, Jr.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Smith, Glenn Emmett	D	Service station attendant in Dallas
Smith, Hilda L.	A	Employee, Louisiana Department of Labor, New Orleans
Smith, Joe Marshall	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Smith, John Allison	D	TV technician, Fort Worth
Smith, William Arthur	D	Witness in the vicinity of the Tippit crime scene
Snyder, Richard Edward	C	Foreign Service officer, stationed in the Embassy in the Soviet Union, 1959-61
Solomon, James Maurice	D	Captain, Dallas Police Department
Sorrels, Forrest V.	D,A	Agent, US Secret Service
Standifer, Roy e.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Standridge, ruth Jeanette	D	Head nurse of operating rooms, Parkland Hospital
Stapled, Albert F.	A	Dentist at Baylor University college of Dentistry
Statman, Irving	D	Assistant district Director of Dallas District, Texas Employment commission
Steele, Charles Hall, Jr.	D	Resident of New Orleans who assisted Oswald in distribution of handbills
Steele, Charles Hall, Sr.	D	Father of Charles Hall Steele, Jr.
Steele, Don Francis	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Stevenson, M. W.	d	Deputy Chief, Dallas Police Department
Stombaugh, Paul Morgan	C,A	Hair and fiber expert, FBI
Stovall, Richard s.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Stoval, Robert L.	D	President, Jaggars-Chiles-Stoval, Dallas, Texas

Strong, Jesse M.	D	Employee, Western Union telegraph co.
Stuckey, William Kirk	D	Radio program director, New Orleans
Studebaker, Robert Lee	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Surrey, Robert Alan	C	Publisher of handbill attacking President Kennedy
Tague, James Thomas	D	Witness at assassination scene
Talbert, Cecil E.	D	Captain, Dallas Police Department
Tasker, Harry T.	D	Taxicab driver in Dallas
Taylor, Gary e	D,A	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Thompson, Llewellyn e.	C	Former US Ambassador to Russia
Thornley, Kerry Wendall	D	Acquaintance of Oswald in Marines
Tice, Wilma May	D	Resident of Dallas
Tobias, Mahlon F., Sr.	D	Manager of apartment house where the Oswalds resided, Dallas
Tobias, Mrs. Mahlon F.	D	Wife of M. F. Tobias, Sr
Tomlinson, Darrell C.	D	Senior engineer, Parkland Hospital
Tormey, James J.	D	Executive secretary, Hall-Davis Defense Commission
Truly, Toy Sansom	A,C,D	Superintendent, TSBD
Turner, F. M.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Turner, Jimmy	D	TV director, Fort Worth
Twiford, Horace Elroy	A	Member, Socialist Labor Party, Houston TX
Twiford, Estelle	A	Wife of Horace Elroy Twiford
Underwood, James R.	D	Assistant news director, TV and radio, Dallas
Vaughn, Roy Eugene	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Vinson, Philip Eugene	D	Reporter, Fort Worth
Voebel, Edward	D	Acquaintance of Oswald in Beauregard Junior High School, New Orleans
Voshinin, Igor Vladimir	D	Member of Russian-speaking community in Dallas
Voshinin, Mrs. Igor Vladimir	D	Acquaintance of the Oswalds in Texas
Wade, Henry	C	District attorney, Dallas County
Waldman, William J.	D	Vice President, Klein's Sporting Goods, Inc.
Waldo, Thayer	D	Reporter, Fort Worth
Walker, C.T.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Walker, Maj Gen. Edwin A.	D	Resident of Dallas and object of shooting in April 1963
Walker, Ira N., Jr.	D	Broadcast technician, Fort Worth
Wall, Breck (a.k.a. Bily Ray Wilson)	D	Acquaintance of Ruby
Walthers, Eddy Raymond	D	Deputy sheriff, Dallas County
Warner, Roger C.	A	Agent, US Secret Service
Waterman, Bernice	C	Adjudicator, Passport Office Department of State
Watherwax, Arthur William	D	Printer, Dallas newspaper

Watson, James C.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
Weinstock, Louis	A	General manager, the Worker
Weissman, Bernard	C,D	Codraftman and signer of November 22, 1963, full-page advertisement
Weitzman, Seymour	D	Deputy constable, Dallas County
West, Troy Eugene	D	Employee TSBD
Westbrook, W. R	D	Captain, Dallas Police Department
Wester, Jane Carolyn	D	Nurse, Parkland Hospital
Whaley, William Wayne	C,D	Taxicab driver in Dallas
White, J. C.	D	Member, Dallas Police Department
White, Martin G.	D	Doctor, Parkland Hospital
Whitworth, Edith	D	Manager, used furniture store, Irving, TX
Wiggins, Woodrow	D	Lieutenant, Dallas Police Department
Wilcox, Laurance R.	D	District manager, Western Union Telegraph co.
Williams, Bonnie Ray	C	Employee, TSBD
Willis, Linda Kay	D	Daughter of Phillip L. Willis
Willis, Phillip L.	D	Witness at assassination scene
Wilson, Billy Ray (see Wall, Breck)		
Wittmus, Ronald G.	A	Fingerprint expert, FBI
Wood, Homer	D	Patron, Sports Drome Rifle Range
Wood, Sterling Charles	D	Son of Dr. Homer Wood
Wood, Theresa	D	Wife of Dr. Homer Wood
Worley, Gano E.	D	Reserve Force, Dallas Police Department
Worrel, James Richard, Jr.	C	Witness at assassination scene
Wright, Norman Earl	D	Acquaintance of Jack Ruby
Wulf, William E.	D	Acquaintance of Oswald in his youth
Yarborough, Ralph W.	A	US Senator from Texas
Yeagan, Albert C., Jr.	A	Employee, H. C. Green, Dallas
Youngblood, Rufus Wayne	C	Agent, US Secret Service
Zahm, James A	D	Marine Corps expert on marksmanship
Zapruder, Abraham	D	Witness at assassination scene

Warren Report: Appendix VI - Commission Procedures for the Taking of Testimony

RESOLUTION GOVERNING QUESTIONING OF WITNESSES BY MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION STAFF

Pursuant to Executive Order No. 11130, November 29, 1963, which authorizes this Commission "to prescribe its own procedures," it is therefore

Resolved, That the following are hereby adopted as the rules of this Commission for the questioning of witnesses by members of the Commission staff.

I. Sworn Depositions

- A. Individual members of the staff are hereby authorized to administer oaths and affirmations, examine witnesses, and receive evidence in the form of sworn depositions on any matter under investigation by the Commission.

- B. Such sworn depositions may be taken only from witnesses designated in writing for questioning in this manner by the Commission, by a member of the Commission, or by the General Counsel of the Commission.
- C. A stenographic verbatim transcript shall be made of all sworn depositions. Copies of the witness' testimony shall be available for inspection by the witness or his counsel. When approved by the Commission, said copies may be purchased by the witness or his counsel at regularly prescribed rates from the official reporter.
- D. Process and papers of the Commission issued under Paragraph (d) of Joint Resolution S. J. 137, 88th Congress, 1st session, shall be returnable no less than three days from the date on which such process or papers are issued, and shall state the time, place, and general subject matter of the deposition. In lieu of such process and papers, the Commission may request the presence of witnesses and production of evidence for the purpose of sworn depositions by written notice mailed no less than three days from the date of the deposition.
- E. The period of notice specified in Paragraph D may be waived by a witness.
- F. A witness at a sworn deposition shall have the right to be accompanied by counsel of his own choosing, who shall have the right to advise the witness of his rights under the laws and Constitution of the United States, and the state wherein the deposition shall occur, and to make brief objections to questions. At the conclusion of the witness' testimony, counsel shall have the right to clarify the testimony of the witness by questioning the witness.
- G. At the opening of any deposition a member of the Commission's staff shall read into the record a statement setting forth the nature of the Commission's inquiry and the purpose for which the witness has been asked to testify or produce evidence.
- H. Any witness who refuses to answer a question shall state the grounds for so doing. At the conclusion of any deposition in which the witness refuses to answer a question the transcript shall be submitted to the General Counsel for review and consideration whether the witness should be called to testify before the Commission.

II. Sworn Affidavits

- A. Members of the Commission staff are hereby authorized to obtain sworn affidavits from those witnesses who have been designated in writing by the Commission, a member of the Commission, or the general counsel of the Commission as witnesses whose testimony will be obtained in this manner.
- B. A copy of the affidavit shall be provided the affiant or his counsel.

RESOLUTION

Pursuant to Executive Order No. 11130, November 99, 1963, which authorizes this Commission "to prescribe its own procedures, " it is therefore

Resolved, That the following are hereby adopted as the rules of this Commission in connection with hearings conducted for the purpose of the taking of testimony or the production of evidence.

1. One or more members of the Commission shall be present at all hearings. If more than one Commissioner is present, the Chairman of the Commission shall designate the order in which the Commissioners shall preside.
2. Any member of the Commission or any agent or agency designated by the Commission for such purpose, may administer oaths and affirmations, examine witnesses, and receive evidence.
3. Process and papers of the Commission issued under Paragraph (d) of Joint Resolution S_J. 137, 88th Congress, 1st session, shall be returnable no less than three days from the date on which such process or papers are issued, and shall state the time, place, and general subject matter of the hearing. In lieu of such process and papers, the Commission may request the presence of witness and the production of evidence by written notice mailed no less than 3 days from the date of the hearing.
4. The period of notice specified in paragraph three (3) may be waived by a witness.
5. At the opening of any hearing at which testimony is to be received a member of the Commission shall read into the record a statement setting forth the nature of the Commission's inquiry and the purpose for which the witness has been asked to testify or produce evidence. A copy of this statement shall be given to each witness prior to his testifying.
6. A witness shall have the right to be accompanied by counsel, of his own choosing, who shall have the right to advise the witness of his rights under the laws and Constitution of the United States and to

make brief objections to questions. At the conclusion of the witness' testimony, counsel shall have the right to clarify the testimony of the witness by questioning the witness.

7. Every witness who testifies at a hearing shall have the right to make an oral statement and to file a sworn statement which shall be made part of the transcript of such hearing, but such oral or written statement shall be relevant to the subject of the hearing.

8. Rulings on objections or other procedural questions shall be made by the presiding member of the Commission.

9. A stenographic verbatim transcript shall be made of all testimony received by the Commission. Copies of such transcript shall be available for inspection or purchase by the witness or his counsel at regularly prescribed rates from the official reporter. A witness or his counsel shall be permitted to purchase or inspect only the transcript of his testimony before the Commission.

Warren Report: Appendix VII - A Brief History of Presidential Protection

In the course of the history of the United States four Presidents have been assassinated, within less than 100 years, beginning with Abraham Lincoln in 1865. Attempts were also made on the lives of two other Presidents, one President-elect, and one ex-President. Still other Presidents were the objects of plots that were never carried out. The actual attempts occurred as follows:

Andrew Jackson	Jan. 30, 1835.	
Abraham Lincoln	Apr. 14, 1865.	Died Apr. 15, 1865.
James A. Garfield	July 2, 1881.	Died Sept. 19, 1881.
William McKinley	Sept. 6, 1901.	Died Sept. 14, 1901.
Theodore Roosevelt	Oct. 14, 1912.	Wounded; recovered.
Franklin D. Roosevelt	Feb. 15, 1933.	
Harry S. Truman	Nov. 1, 1950.	
John F. Kennedy	Nov. 22, 1963.	Died that day.

Attempts have thus been made on the lives of one of every five American Presidents. One of every nine Presidents has been killed. Since 1865, there have been attempts on the lives of one of every four Presidents and the successful assassination of one of every five. During the last three decades, three attacks were made.

It was only after William McKinley was shot that systematic and continuous protection of the President was instituted. Protection before McKinley was intermittent and spasmodic. The problem had existed from the days of the early Presidents, but no action was taken until three tragic events had occurred. In considering the effectiveness of present day protection arrangements, it is worthwhile to examine the development of Presidential protection over the years, to understand both the high degree of continuing danger and the anomalous reluctance to take the necessary precautions.

Warren Report: Appendix VII - Before the Civil War

In the early days of the Republic, there was remarkably little concern about the safety of Presidents and few measures were taken to protect them. They were at times the objects of abuse and the recipients of threatening letters as more recent Presidents have been, but they did not take the threats seriously and moved about freely without protective escorts.

On his inauguration day, Thomas Jefferson walked from his boarding house to the Capitol, unaccompanied by any guard, to take the oath of office. There was no police authority in Washington itself until 1805 when the mayor appointed a high constable and 40 deputy constables.

John Quincy Adams received many threatening letters and on one occasion was threatened in person in the White House by a courtmartialed Army sergeant. In spite of this incident, the President asked for no protection and continued to indulge his fondness for solitary walks and early morning swims in the Potomac.

Among pre-Civil War Presidents, Andrew Jackson aroused particularly strong feelings. He received many threatening letters which, with a fine contempt, he would endorse and send to the Washington Globe for publication. On one occasion in May 1833, Jackson was assaulted by a former Navy lieutenant, Robert B. Randolph, but refused to prosecute him. This is not regarded as an attempt at assassination, since Randolph apparently did not intend serious injury.

Less than 2 years later, on the morning of January 10, 1835, as Jackson emerged from the east portico of the Capitol, he was accosted by a would-be assassin, Richard Lawrence, an English-born house painter. Lawrence fired his two pistols at the President, but they both misfired. Lawrence was quickly overpowered and held for trial. A jury found him not guilty by reason of insanity. He was confined in jails and mental hospitals for the rest of his life.

The attack on Jackson did not inspire any action to provide protection for the Chief Executive. Jackson's immediate successor, Martin Van Buren, often walked to church alone and rode horseback alone in the woods not far from the White House. In August 1842, after an intoxicated painter had thrown rocks at President John Tyler, who was walking on the grounds to the south of the White House, Congress passed an act to establish an auxiliary watch for the protection of public and private property in Washington. The force was to consist of a captain and 15 men. This act was apparently aimed more at the protection of the White House, which had been defaced on occasion, than of the President.

Warren Report: Appendix VII - Lincoln

Even before he took the oath of office, Abraham Lincoln was thought to be the object of plots and conspiracies to kidnap or kill him. Extremist opponents apparently contemplated desperate measures to prevent his inauguration, and there is some evidence that they plotted to attack him while he was passing through Baltimore on his way to Washington.

For the inauguration, the Army took precautions unprecedented up to that time and perhaps more elaborate than any precautions taken since. Soldiers occupied strategic points throughout the city, along the procession route, and at the Capitol, while armed men in plain clothes mingled with the crowds. Lincoln himself, in a carriage with President Buchanan, was surrounded on all sides by such dense masses of soldiers that he was almost completely hidden from the view of the crowds. The precautions at the Capitol during the ceremony were almost as thorough and equally successful.

Lincoln lived in peril during all his years in office. The volume of threatening letters remained high throughout the war, but little attention was paid to them. The few letters that were investigated yielded no results. He was reluctant to surround himself with guards and often rejected protection or sought to slip away from it. This has been characteristic of almost all American Presidents. They have regarded protection as a necessary affliction at best and contrary to their normal instincts for either personal privacy or freedom to meet the people. In Lincoln these instincts were especially strong, and he suffered with impatience the efforts of his friends, the police, and the military to safeguard him.

The protection of the President during the war varied greatly, depending on Lincoln's susceptibility to warnings. Frequently, military units were assigned to guard the White House and to accompany the President on his travels. Lincoln's friend, Ward H. Lamon, on becoming marshal of the District of Columbia in 1861, took personal charge of protecting the President and provided guards for the purpose, but he became so exasperated at the President's lack of cooperation that he tendered his resignation. Lincoln did not accept it. Finally, late in the war, in November 1864, four Washington policemen were detailed to the White House to act as personal bodyguards to the President. Lincoln tolerated them reluctantly and insisted they remain as inconspicuous as possible.

In the closing days of the war, rumors of attempts on Lincoln's life persisted. The well-known actor, John Wilkes Booth, a fanatical Confederate sympathizer, plotted with others for months to kidnap the President. The fall of the Confederacy apparently hardened his determination to kill Lincoln. Booth's opportunity came on Good Friday, April 14, 1865, when he learned that the President would be attending a play at Ford's Theater that night. The President's bodyguard for the evening was Patrolman John F. Parker of the Washington Police, a man who proved himself unfit for protective duty. He was supposed to remain on guard in the corridor outside of the Presidential box during the entire performance of the play, but he soon wandered off to watch the play and then even went outside the theater to have a drink at a nearby saloon. Parker's dereliction of duty left the President totally unprotected. Shortly after 10 o'clock on that evening, Booth found his way up to the Presidential box and shot the President in the head. The President's wound was a mortal one; he died the next morning, April 15.

A detachment of troops captured Booth on April 26 at a farm near Bowling Green, Va.; he received a bullet wound and died a few hours later. At a trial in June, a military tribunal sentenced four of Booth's associates to death and four others to terms of imprisonment.

Lincoln's assassination revealed the total inadequacy of Presidential protection. A congressional committee conducted an extensive investigation of the assassination, but with traditional reluctance, called for no action to provide better protection for the President in the future. Nor did requests for protective measures come from the President or from Government departments. This lack of concern for the protection of the President may have derived also from the tendency of the time to regard Lincoln's assassination as part of a unique crisis that was not likely to happen to a future Chief Executive.

Warren Report: Appendix VII - The Need for Protection Further Demonstrated

For a short time after the war, soldiers assigned by the War Department continued to protect the White House and its grounds. Metropolitan Washington policemen assisted on special occasions to maintain order and prevent the congregation of crowds. The permanent Metropolitan Police guard was reduced to three and assigned entirely to protection at the White House. There was no special group of trained officers to protect the person of the President. Presidents after Lincoln continued to move about in Washington virtually unattended, as their predecessors had done before the Civil War, and, as before, such protection as they got at the White House came from the doormen, who were not especially trained for guard duty.

This lack of personal protection for the President came again tragically to the attention of the country with the shooting of President James A. Garfield in 1881. The President's assassin, Charles J. Guiteau, was a self-styled "lawyer, theologian, and politician" who had convinced himself that his unsolicited efforts to help elect Garfield in 1880 entitled him to appointment as a consul in Europe. Bitterly disappointed that the President ignored his repeated written requests for appointment to office and obsessed with a kind of megalomania, he resolved to kill Garfield.

At that time Guiteau was 38 years old and had an unusually checkered career behind him. He had been an itinerant and generally unsuccessful lecturer and evangelist, a lawyer, and a would-be politician. While it is true he resented Garfield's failure to appoint him consul in Paris as a reward for his wholly illusory contribution to the Garfield campaign, and he verbally attacked Garfield for his lack of support for the so-called Stalwart wing of the Republican Party, these may not have supplied the total motivation for his crime. At his trial he testified that the "Deity" had commanded him to remove the President. There is no evidence that he confided his assassination plans to anyone or that he had any close friends or confidants. He made his attack on the President under circumstances where escape after the shooting was inconceivable.

There were some hereditary mental problems in his family and Guiteau apparently believed in divine inspiration. Guiteau later testified that he had three opportunities to attack the President prior to the actual shooting. On all of these occasions, within a brief period of 3 weeks, the President was unguarded. Guiteau finally realized his intent on the morning of July 2, 1881. As Garfield was walking to a train in the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad Station in Washington, Guiteau stepped up and shot him in the back. Garfield did not die from the effects of the wound until September 19, 1881. Although there was evidence of serious abnormality in Guiteau, he was found guilty of murder and sentenced to be hanged. The execution took place on June 30, 1882.

At least one newspaper, the New York Tribune, predicted that the assault on Garfield would lead to the President becoming "the slave of his office, the prisoner of forms and restrictions," in sharp and unwelcome contrast to the splendidly simple life he had been able to live before.

The bullet of the assassin who lurked in the Washington railway station to take the life of President Garfield shattered the simple Republican manner of life which the custom of nearly a century has prescribed for the Chief Magistrate of the United States. Our Presidents have been the first citizens of the Republic nothing more. With a measure of power in their hands far greater than is wielded by the ruler of any limited monarchy in Europe, they have never surrounded themselves with the forms and safeguards of courts. The White House has been a business office to everybody. Its occupant has always been more accessible than the heads of great commercial establishments. When the passions of the war were at fever heat, Mr. Lincoln used to have a small guard of cavalry when he rode out to his summer residence at the Soldier's Home; but at no other time in our history has it been thought needful for a President to have any special protection against violence when inside or outside the White House. Presidents have driven about Washington like other people and traveled over the country as unguarded and unconstrained as any private citizen.

The prediction of the Tribune did not come to pass. Although the Nation was shocked by this deed, its representatives took no steps to provide the President with personal protection. The President continued to move about Washington, sometimes completely alone, and to travel without special protection. There is a story that President Chester A. Arthur, Garfield's successor, once went to a ceremony at the Washington Navy Yard on a public conveyance that he hailed in front of the White House.

During Grover Cleveland's second administration (1893-97) the number of threatening letters addressed to the President increased markedly, and Mrs. Cleveland persuaded the President to increase the number of White House policemen to 27 from the 3 who had constituted the force since the Civil War. In 1894, the Secret Service began to provide protection, on an informal basis.

The Secret Service was organized as a division of the Department of the Treasury in 1865, to deal with counterfeiting. Its jurisdiction was extended to other fiscal crimes against the United States in later appropriations acts, but its early work in assisting in protecting the President was an unofficial, stopgap response to a need for a trained organization, with investigative capabilities, to perform this task. In 1894, while investigating a plot by a group of gamblers in Colorado to assassinate President Cleveland, the Secret Service assigned a small detail of operatives to the White House to help protect him. Secret Service men accompanied the President and his family to their vacation home in Massachusetts; special details protected the President in Washington, on trips, and at special functions. For a time, two agents rode in a buggy behind President Cleveland's carriage, but this practice attracted so much attention in the opposition newspapers that it was soon discontinued at the President's insistence. These initially informal and part-time arrangements eventually led to the organization of permanent systematic protection for the President and his family.

During the Spanish-American War the Secret Service stationed a detail at the White House to provide continuous protection for President McKinley. The special wartime protective measures were relaxed after the war, but Secret Service guards remained on duty at the White House at least part of the time.

Between 1894 and 1900, anarchists murdered the President of France, the Premier of Spain, the Empress of Austria, and the King of Italy. At the turn of the century the Secret Service thought that the strong police action taken against the anarchists in Europe was compelling them to flee and that many were coming to the United States. Concerned about the protection of the President, the Secret Service increased the number of guards and directed that a guard accompany him on all of his trips.

Unlike Lincoln and Garfield, President McKinley was being guarded when he was shot by Leon F. Czolgosz, an American-born 28-year-old factory worker and farmhand. On September 6, 1901, the President was holding a brief reception for the public in the Temple of Music at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo. Long lines of people passed between two rows of policemen and soldiers to reach the President and shake his hand. In the immediate vicinity of the President were four Buffalo detectives, four soldiers, and three Secret Service agents. Two of the Secret Service men were facing the President at a distance of 3 feet. One of them stated later that it was normally his custom to stand at the side of the President on such occasions, but that he had been requested not to do so at this time in order to permit McKinley's secretary and the president of the exposition to stand on either side of McKinley. Czolgosz joined the line concealed a pistol under a handkerchief, and when he stood in front of the President shot twice through the handkerchief. McKinley fell critically wounded.

Czolgosz, a self-styled anarchist, did not believe in rulers of any kind. There is evidence that the organized anarchists in the U.S.A. did not accept or trust him. He was not admitted as a member to any of the secret anarchist societies. No co-plotters were ever discovered, and there is no evidence that he had confided in anyone. A calm inquiry made by two eminent alienists about a year after Czolgosz was executed found that Czolgosz had for some time been suffering from delusions. One was that he was an anarchist; another was that it was his duty to assassinate the President.

The assassin said he had no grudge against the President personally but did not believe in the republican form of government or in rulers of any kind. In his written confession he included the words, "I don't believe one man should have so much service and another man should have none." As he was strapped to the chair to be electrocuted, he said: "I killed the President because he was the enemy of the good people the good working people. I am not sorry for my crime."

McKinley lingered on for 8 days before he died of blood poisoning early on the morning of September 14. Czolgosz, who had been captured immediately, was swiftly tried, convicted, and condemned to death. Although it seemed to some contemporaries that Czolgosz was incompetent, the defense made no effort to plead insanity. Czolgosz was executed 45 days after the President's death. Investigations by the Buffalo police and the Secret Service revealed no accomplices and no plot of any kind.

Warren Report: Appendix VII - Development of Presidential Protection

This third assassination of a President in a little more than a generation it was only 36 years since Lincoln had been killed shook the nation and aroused it to a greater awareness of the uniqueness of the Presidency and the grim hazards that surrounded an incumbent of that Office. The first congressional session after the assassination of McKinley gave more attention to legislation concerning attacks on the President than had any previous Congress but did not pass any measures for the protection of the President. Nevertheless, in the Secret Service, which was then the only Federal general investigative agency of any consequence, assumed full-time responsibility for the safety of the President. Protection of the President now became one of its major permanent functions, and it assigned two men to its original full-time White House detail. Additional agents were provided when the President traveled or went on vacation.

Theodore Roosevelt, who was the first President to experience the extensive system of protection that has surrounded the President ever since, voiced an opinion of Presidential protection that was probably shared in part by most of his successors. In a letter to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in, from his summer home, he wrote:

The Secret Service men are a very small but very necessary thorn in the flesh. Of course, they would not be the least use preventing any assault upon my life. I do not believe there is any danger of such an assault, and if there were, as Lincoln said, "though it would be safer for a President to live in a cage, it would interfere with his business." But it is only the Secret Service men who render life endurable, as you would realize if you saw the procession of carriages that pass through the place, the procession of people on foot who try to get into the place, not to speak of the multitude of cranks and others who are stopped in the village.

Roosevelt, who had succeeded to the Presidency because of an assassin's bullet, himself became the object of an assassination attempt a few years after he left office and when he was no longer under Secret Service protection. During the Presidential campaign of 1900, just as he was about to make a political speech in Milwaukee on October 14, he was shot and wounded in the breast by John N. Schrank, a 36-year-old German-born ex-tavern keeper. A folded manuscript of his long speech and the metal case for his eyeglasses in the breast pocket of Roosevelt's coat were all that prevented the assassination.

Schrank had a vision in 1901, induced possibly by McKinley's assassination, which took on meaning for him after Roosevelt, 11 years later, started to campaign for the Presidency. In this vision the ghost of McKinley appeared to him and told him not to let a murderer (i.e., Roosevelt, who according to the vision had murdered McKinley) become President. It was then that he determined upon the assassination. At the bidding of McKinley's ghost, he felt he had no choice but to kill Theodore Roosevelt. After his attempt on Roosevelt, Schrank was found to be insane and was committed to mental hospitals in Wisconsin for the rest of his life.

The establishment and extension of the Secret Service authority for protection was a prolonged process. Although the Secret Service undertook to provide full-time protection for the President beginning in 1902, it received neither funds for the purpose nor sanction from the Congress until 1906 when the Sundry Civil Expenses Act for 1907 included funds for protection of the President by the Secret Service. Following the election of William Howard Taft in 1908, the Secret Service began providing protection for the President-elect. This practice received statutory authorization in 1913, and in the same year, Congress authorized permanent protection of the President. It remained necessary to renew the authority annually in the Appropriations Acts until 1951.

As in the Civil and Spanish-American Wars, the coming of war in 1917 caused increased concern for the safety of the President. Congress enacted a law, since referred to as the threat statute, making it a crime to threaten the President by mail or in any other manner. In 1917 Congress also authorized protection for the President's immediate family by the Secret Service.

As the scope of the Presidency expanded during the 20th century, the Secret Service found the problems of protection becoming more numerous. In 1906, for the first time in history, a President traveled outside the United States while in office. When Theodore Roosevelt visited Panama in that year, he was accompanied and protected by Secret Service men. In 1918-19 Woodrow Wilson broadened the precedent of Presidential foreign travel when he traveled to Europe with a Secret Service escort of 10 men to attend the Versailles Peace Conference.

The attempt on the life of President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933 further demonstrated the broad scope and complexity of the protection problems facing the Secret Service. Giuseppe Zangara was a bricklayer and stonemason with a professed hatred of capitalists and Presidents. He seemed to be

obsessed with the desire to kill a President. After his arrest he confessed that he had first planned to go to Washington to kill President Herbert Hoover, but as the cold climate of the North was bad for his stomach trouble, he was loath to leave Miami, where he was staying. When he read in the paper that President-elect Roosevelt would be in Miami, he resolved to kill him.

On the night of February 15, 1933, at a political rally in Miami's Bayfront Park, the President-elect sat on the top of the rear seat of his automobile with a small microphone in his hand as he made a short informal talk. Fortunately for him, however, he slid down into the seat just before Zangara could get near enough to take aim. The assassin's arm may have been jugged just as he shot; the five rounds he directed at Roosevelt went awry. However, he mortally wounded Mayor Anton Cermak, of Chicago, and hit four other persons; the President-elect, by a miracle, escaped. Zangara, of course, never had any chance of escaping.

Zangara was electrocuted on March 20, 1933, only 33 days after his attempt on Roosevelt. No evidence of accomplices or conspiracy came to light, but there was some sensational newspaper speculation, wholly undocumented, that Zangara may have been hired by Chicago gangsters to kill Cermak.

The force provided since the Civil War by the Washington Metropolitan Police for the protection of the White House had grown to 54 men by 1922. In that year Congress enacted legislation creating the White House Police Force as a separate organization under the direct control of the President. This force was actually supervised by the President's military aide until 1930, when Congress placed supervision under the Chief of the Secret Service. Although Congress transferred control and supervision of the force to the Secretary of the Treasury in 1962, the Secretary delegated supervision to the Chief of the Secret Service.

The White House detail of the Secret Service grew in size slowly from the original 2 men assigned in 1902. In 1914 it still numbered only 5, but during World War I it was increased to 10 men. Additional men were added when the President traveled. After the war the size of the detail grew until it reached 16 agents and 2 supervisors by 1939. World War II created new and greater protection problems, especially those arising from the President's trips abroad to the Grand Strategy Conferences in such places as Casablanca, Quebec, Tehran, Cairo, and Yalta. To meet the increased demands, the White House detail was increased to 37 men early in the war.

The volume of mail received by the White House had always been large, but it reached huge proportions under Franklin D. Roosevelt. Presidents had always received threatening letters but never in such quantities. To deal with this growing problem, the Secret Service established in 1940 the Protective Research Section to analyze and make available to those charged with protecting the President, information from White House mail and other sources concerning people potentially capable of violence to the President. The Protective Research Section undoubtedly permitted the Secret Service to anticipate and forestall many incidents that might have been embarrassing or harmful to the President.

Although there was no advance warning of the attempt on Harry S. Truman's life on November 1, 1950, the protective measures taken by the Secret Service availed, and the assassins never succeeded in firing directly at the President. The assassins Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola, Puerto Rican Nationalists living in New York tried to force their way into Blair House, at the time the President's residence while the White House was being repaired. Blair House was guarded by White House policemen and Secret Service agents. In the ensuing gun battle, Torresola and one White House policeman were killed, and Collazo and two White House policemen were wounded. Had the assassins succeeded in entering the front door of Blair House, they would probably have been cut down immediately by another Secret Service agent inside who kept the doorway covered with a submachine gun from his vantage point at the foot of the main stairs. In all, some 27 shots were fired in less than 3 minutes.

Collazo was brought to trial in 1951 and sentenced to death, but President Truman commuted the sentence to life imprisonment on July 24, 1952. Although there was a great deal of evidence linking Collazo and Torresola to the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and its leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, the Government could not establish that the attack on the President was part of a larger Nationalist conspiracy.

The attack on President Truman led to the enactment in 1951 of legislation that permanently authorized the Secret Service to protect the President, his immediate family, the President-elect, and the Vice President, the last upon his request. Protection of the Vice President by the Secret Service had begun in January 1945 when Harry S. Truman occupied the office.

In 1962 Congress further enlarged the list of Government officers to be safeguarded, authorizing

protection of the Vice President (or the officer next in order of succession to the Presidency) without requiring his request therefor; of the Vice President-elect; and of a former President, at his request, for a reasonable period after his departure from office. The Secret Service considered this "reasonable period" to be 6 months.

Amendments to the threat statute of 1917, passed in 1955 and 1962, made it a crime to threaten to harm the President-elect, the Vice Presidents or other officers next in succession to either office. The President's immediate family was not included in the threat statute.

Congressional concern regarding the uses to which the President might put the Secret Service first under Theodore Roosevelt and subsequently under Woodrow Wilson caused Congress to place tight restrictions on the functions of the Service and the uses of its funds. The restrictions probably prevented the Secret Service from developing into a general investigative agency, leaving the field open for some other agency when the need arose. The other agency proved to be the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), established within the Department of Justice in 1908.

The FBI grew rapidly in the 1920's, and especially in the 1930's and after, establishing itself as the largest, best equipped, and best known of all US. Government investigative agencies. In the appropriations of the FBI there recurred annually an item for the "protection of the person of the President of the United States," that had first appeared in the appropriation of the Department of Justice in 1910 under the heading "Miscellaneous Objects." But there is no evidence that the Justice Department ever exercised any direct responsibility for the protection of the President. Although it had no prescribed protection functions, according to its Director, J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI did provide protection to Vice President Charles Curtis at his request, when he was serving under Herbert Hoover from 1929 to 1933. Over the years the FBI contribution to Presidential protection was confined chiefly to the referral to the Secret Service of the names of people who might be potentially dangerous to the President.

In recent years the Secret Service has remained a small and specialized bureau, restricted to very limited functions prescribed by Congress. In 1949, a task force of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (Hoover Commission), recommended nonfiscal functions be removed from the Treasury Department. The recommendation called for transfer of the White House detail, White House Police Force, and Treasury Guard Force from the Secret Service to the Department of Justice. The final report of the Commission on the Treasury Department omitted this recommendation, leaving the protective function with the Secret Service. At a meeting of the Commission, ex-President Hoover, in a reference to the proposed transfer, expressed the opinion that "the President will object to having a 'private eye' looking after these fellows and would rather continue with the service."

In 1963 the Secret Service was one of several investigative agencies in the Treasury Department. Its major functions were to combat counterfeiting and to protect the President, his family, and other designated persons. The Chief of the Secret Service administered its activities through four divisions: Investigation, Inspection, Administrative, and Security, and 65 field offices throughout the country, each under a special agent in charge who reported directly to Washington. The Security Division supervised the White House detail, the White House Police, and the Treasury Guard Force. During fiscal year 1963 (July 1, 1962-June 30, 1963) the Secret Service had an average strength of 513, of whom 351 were special agents. Average strength of the White House Police during the year was 179.

Warren Report: Appendix VIII - Medical Reports from Doctors at Parkland Memorial Hospital, Dallas, Texas

Commission Exhibit No. 392

The President arrived in the Emergency Room at exactly 12:43 p.m. in his limousine. He was in the back seat, Gov. Connally was in the front seat of the same car, Gov. Connally was brought out first and was put in room two. President was brought out next and put in room one. Dr. Clark pronounced the President dead at 1 p.m. exactly. All of the President's belongings except his watch were given to the Secret Service. His watch was given to Mr. O. P. Wright. He left the Emergency Room, the President, at about 2 p.m. in an O'Neal ambulance. He was put in a bronze colored plastic casket after being wrapped in a blanket and was taken out of the hospital. He was removed from the hospital. The Gov. was taken from the Emergency Room to the Operating Room.

The President's wife refused to take off her bloody gloves, clothes. She did take a towel and wipe her face. She took her wedding ring off and placed it on one of the President's fingers.

Summary

The President arrived at the Emergency Room at 12:43 P.M., the 22nd of November, 1963. He was in the back seat of his limousine. Governor Connally of Texas was also in this car. The first physician to see the President was Dr. James Carrico, a Resident in General Surgery.

Dr. Carrico noted the President to have slow, agonal respiratory efforts. He could hear a heartbeat but found no pulse or blood pressure to be present. Two external wounds, one in the lower third of the anterior neck, the other in the occipital region of the skull, were noted. Through the head wound, blood and brain were extruding. Dr. Carrico inserted a cuffed endotracheal tube. While doing so, he noted a ragged wound of the trachea immediately below the larynx.

At this time, Dr. Malcolm Perry, Attending Surgeon, Dr. Charles Baxter, Attending Surgeon, and Dr. Ronald Jones, another Resident in General Surgery, arrived. Immediately thereafter, Dr. M.T. Jenkins, Director of the Department of Anesthesia, and Doctors Giesecke and Hunt, two other Staff Anesthesiologists, arrived. The endotracheal tube had been connected to a Bennett respirator to assist the President's breathing. An Anesthesia machine was substituted for this by Dr. Jenkins. Only 100% oxygen was administered.

A cutdown was performed in the right ankle, and a polyethylene catheter inserted in the vein. An infusion of lactated Ringer's solution was begun. Blood was drawn for type and crossmatch, but unmatched type "O" RH negative blood was immediately obtained and begun. Hydrocortisone 300 mgms was added to the intravenous fluids.

Dr. Robert McClelland, Attending Surgeon, arrived to help in the President's care. Doctors Perry, Baxter, and McClelland began a tracheostomy, as considerable quantities of blood were present from the President's oral pharynx. At this time, Dr. Paul Peters, Attending Urological Surgeon, and Dr. Kemp Clark, Director of Neurological Surgery, arrived. Because of the lacerated trachea, anterior chest tubes were placed in both pleural spaces. These were connected to sealed underwater drainage.

Neurological examination revealed the President's pupils to be widely dilated and fixed to light. His eyes were divergent, being deviated outward; a skew deviation from the horizontal was present. No deep tendon reflexes or spontaneous movements were found.

There was a large wound in the right occipito-parietal region, from which profuse bleeding was occurring. 1500 cc. of blood were estimated on the drapes and floor of the Emergency Operating Room. There was considerable loss of scalp and bone tissue. Both cerebral and cerebellar tissue were extruding from the wound.

Further examination was not possible as cardiac arrest occurred at this point. Closed chest cardiac massage was begun by Dr. Clark. A pulse palpable in both the carotid and femoral arteries was obtained. Dr. Perry relieved on the cardiac massage while a cardiostethoscope was connected. Dr. Fouad Bashour, Attending Physician, arrived as this was being connected. There was electrical silence of the President's heart.

President Kennedy was pronounced dead at 1300 hours by Dr. Clark

Kemp Clark, M.D.

Director

Service of Neurological Surgery

KC:aa

cc to Dean's Office, Southwestern Medical School
cc to Medical Records, Parkland Memorial Hospital

Parkland Memorial Hospital Operative Record - John Connally Thoracic Surgery

Date: 11-22-63

Pre-Operative Diagnosis: Gushot wound of the chest with comminuted fracture of the 5th rib.

Post-Operative Diagnosis: Same with laceration right middle lobe, hematoma lower lobe of lung.

Operation: Thoracotomy, removal of rib fragment, debridement of wound

Began: 1335 Ended: 1520

Anesthetic: General Began: 1300 Anesthesiologist: Giesecke

Surgeon: Robert Shaw, M.D.

Assistants: Drs. Boland and Duke

Scrub Nurse: King/Bukett

Circ. Nurse: Johnson

Sponge Counts: 1st - Correct, 2nd - Correct

I.V. Fluids and Blood: 111-500 cc whole blod, 11-1000cc D-5-RL

Complications: None

Condition of Patient: Satisfactory

Notes:

The patient was brought to the OR from the EOR. In the EOR a sucking wound of the right chest was partially controlled by an occlusive dressing supported by manual pressure. A tube had been placed through the second interspace in the midclavicular line connected to a waterseal bottle to evacuated the right pneumothorax and hemathorax. An IV infusion of RL solution had already been started. As soon as the patient was positioned on the OR table the anesthesia was induced by Dr. Giesecke and an endotracheal tube was in place. As soon as it was possible to control respiration with positive pressure the occlusive dressing was taken from the right chest and the extent of the wound more carefully determined. It was found that the wound of entrance was just lateral to the right scapula close to the axilla yet had passed through the latysmus dorsi muscle shattered approximately ten cm of the lateral and anterior portion of the right fifth rib and emerged below the right nipple. The wound of entrance was approximately three cm in its longest diameter and the wound of exit was a ragged wound approximately five cm in its greatest diameter. The skin and subcutaneous tissue over the path of the missile moved in a paradoxical manner with respiration indicating softening of the chest. The skin of the whole area was carefully cleansed with Phisohex and Iodine. The entire area including the wound of entrance and wound of exit was draped partially excluding the wound of entrance fro the first part of the operation. An elliptical incision was made around the wound of exit removing the torn edges of the skin and the damaged subcutaneous tissue. The incision was then carried in a downward curve up toward the right axilla so as to not have the skin incision over the actual path of the missile through the chest wall. This incision was carried down through the subcutaneous tissue to expose the Serratus anterior muscle and the anterior border of the latissimus dorsi muscle. The fragmented and damaged portions of the Serratus anterior muscle were excised. Small rib fragments that were adhering to periosteal tags were carefully removed preserving as much periosteum as possible. The fourth intercostal muscle bundle and fifth intercostal muscle bundle were not appreciably damaged.

The ragged ends of the damaged fifth rib were cleaned out with the rongeur. The plura had been torn open by the secondary missiles created by the fragmented fifth rib. The wound was open widely and exposure was obtained with a self-retaining retractor. The right pleural cavity was then carefully inspected. Approximately 200 cc of clot and liquid blood was removed from the pleural cavity. The middle lobe had a linear rent starting at its peripheral edge going down towards its hilum separating the lobe into two segments. There was an open bronchus in the depth of this wound. Since the vascularity and the bronchial connections to the lobe were intact it was decided to repair the lobe rather than to remove it. The repair was accomplished with a running suture of #000 chromic gut on atraumatic needle closing both pleural surfaces as well as two running sutures approximating the tissue of the central portion of the lobe. This almost completely sealed off the air leaks which were evident in the torn portion of the lobe. The lower lobe was next examined and found to be engorged with blood

and at one point a laceration allowed the oozing of blood. This laceration had undoubtedly been caused by a rib fragment. This laceration was closed with a single suture of #3-0 chromic gut on a traumatic needle. The right pleural cavity was now carefully examined and small ribs fragments were removed, the diaphragm was found to be uninjured. There was no evidence of injury of the mediastinum and its contents. Hemostasis had been accomplished within the pleural cavity with the repair of the middle lobe and the suturing of the laceration in the lower lobe. The upper lobe was found to be uninjured. The drains which had previously been placed in the second interspace in the midclavicular line was found to be longer than necessary so approximately ten cm of it was cut away and the remaining portion was demonstrated with two additional openings. An additional drain was placed through a stab wound in the eight interspace in the posterior axillary line. Both these drains were then connected to a waterseal bottle. The fourth and fifth intercostal muscles were then approximated with interrupted sutures of #0 chromic gut. The remaining portion of the Serratus anterior muscle was then approximated across the closure of the intercostal muscle. The laceration of the latissimus dorsi muscle on its innermost surface was then closed with several interrupted sutures of #0 chromic gut. Before closing the subcutaneous tissue one million units of Penicillin and one gram of Streptomycin in 100 cc normal saline was instilled into the wound. The stab wound was then made in the most dependent portion of the wound coming out near the angle of the scapula. A large Penrose drain was drawn out through this stab wound to allow drainage of the wound of the chest wall. The subcutaneous tissue was then closed with interrupted #0 chromic gut inverting the knots. Skin closed with interrupted vertical mattress sutures of black silk. Attention was next turned to the wound of entrance. It was excised with an elliptical incision. It was found that the latissimus dorsi muscle although lacerated was not badly damaged so that the opening was closed with sutures of #0 chromic gut in the fascia of the muscle. Before closing this incision palpation with the index finger the Penrose drain could be felt immediately below in the space beneath the latissimus dorsi muscle. The skin closed with interrupted vertical mattress sutures of black silk. Drainage tubes were secured with safety pins and adhesive tape and dressings applied. As soon as the operation on the chest had been concluded Dr. Gregory and Dr. Shires started the surgery that was necessary for the wounds of the right wrist and left thigh.

/s/

Dr. Robert Shaw

RS:bl

* There was also a comminuted fracture of the right radius secondary to the same missile and in addition a small flesh wound of the left thigh. The operative notes concerning the management of the right arm and left thigh will be dictated by Dr. Charles Gregory and Dr. Tom Shires.

Parkland Memorial Hospital Operative Record - Governor John Connally Orthopedic Surgery

Date 11-22-63

Pre-Operative Diagnosis: Comminuted fracture of the right distal radius, open secondary to gunshot wound.

Post-Operative Diagnosis: Same

Operation: Debridement of gunshot wound of right wrist, reduction of fracture of the radius.

Began: 1600 Ended: 1650

Anesthetic: General Began: 1300 Anesthesiologist: Giesecke

Surgeon: Dr. Charles Gregory

Assistants: Drs. Osborne and Parker

Scrub Nurse: Rutherford

Circ. Nurse: Schroeder

Complications: None

Condition of patient: Fair

Notes:

While still under general anesthesia and following a thoracotomy and repair of the chest injury by Dr. Robert Shaw, the right upper extremity was thoroughly prepped in the routine fashion after shaving. he was draped in the routine fashion using stockinette, the only addition was the use of a debridement pan. The wound of entry on the dorsal aspect of the right wrist over the junction of the distal fourth of the radius and shaft was approximately two cm in length and rather oblique with the loss of tissue with some considerable contusion at the margins of it. There was a wound of exit along the volar surface of the

wrist about two cm above the flexion crease of the wrist and in the midline. The wound of entrance was carefully excised and developed through the muscles and tendons from the radial side of the bone to the bone itself where the fracture was encountered. It was noted that the tendon of the abductor palmaris was transected, only two small fragments of bone were removed, one approximately one cm in length and consisted of lateral cortex which lay free in the wound and had no soft tissue connections, another much smaller fragment perhaps 3 mm in length was subsequently removed. Small bits of metal were encountered at various levels throughout the wound and these were wherever they were identified and could be picked up were picked up and have been submitted to the Pathology department for identification and examination. Throughout the wound and especially in the superficial layers and to some extent in the tendon and tendon sheaths on the radial side of the arm small fine bits of cloth consistent with fine bits of Mohair. It is our understanding that the patient was wearing a Mohair suit at the time of the injury and this accounts for the deposition of such organic material within the wound. After as careful and complete a debridement as could be carried out and with an apparent integrity of the flexor tendons and the median nerve in the volar side, and after thorough irrigation the wound of exit on the volar surface of the wrist was closed primarily with wire sutures while the wound of entrance on the radial side of the forearm was only partially closed being left open for the purpose of drainage should any make spontaneous appearance.

The presence of Mohair and organic material deep into the wound which is prone to produce tissue reactions and to encourage infection and this precaution of not closing the wound was taken in accordance with our experience in that regard.

In view of the urgency of the Governor's original chest injury it was impossible to definitely ascertain the status of the circulation and the nerve supply to the hand and wrist on the right side. Accordingly, it was determined as best we could at the time of operation and the radial artery was found to be intact and pulsating normally. The integrity of the median nerve and the ulnar nerve is not clearly established but it is presumed to be present. Following closure of the volar wound and partial closure of the radial wound, dry sterile dressings were applied and a long arm cast was then applied with skin tape traction, rubber band variety, attached to the thumb and index finger of the right hand. An attitude of flexion was created at the right elbow, and post operatively the limb suspended from an overhead frame using tape traction. The post operative diagnosis for the right forearm remains the same and again I suggest that you incorporate this particular dictation together with other dictations which will be given to you by the surgeons concerned with this patient.

/s/

Charles Gregory, M.D.

CG:bl

Parkland Memorial Hospital Operative Record - John Connally Left Thigh Surgery

Date: 11-22-63

Pre-Operative Diagnosis: Gunshot Wound, Right Chest, Right Wrist, Left Thigh

Post-Operative Diagnosis: Same

Operation: Exploration and Debridement of Gunshot Wound of Left Thigh. This portion of the operation is involved only with the operation on the left thigh. The chest injury has been dictated by Dr. Shaw, the orthopedic injury to the arm by Dr. Gregory.

Began: 16:00 Ended: 16:20

Anesthetic: General Began: 13:00

Anesthesiologist: Geisecke

Surgeon: Dr. Shires

Assistants: Drs. McClelland, Basxter, and Patmen

Scrub Nurse: Oliver

Circ. Nurse: Deming and Schroeder

Sponge Counts: 1st Correct, PS

Notes:

There was a 1 cm. punctate missile wound over the juncture of the middle and lower third, medial aspect, of the left thigh. X-rays of the thigh and leg revealed a bullet fragment which was imbedded in the body of the femur in the distal third. The leg was prepared with Phisohex and I.O. Prep and was draped in the usual fashion.

Following this the missile wound was excised and the bullet tract was explored. The missile wound was seen to course through the subcutaneous fat and into the vastus medialis. The necrotic fat and muscle were debrided down to the region of the femur. The direction of the missile wound was judged not to be in the course of the femoral vessel, since the wound was distal and anterior to Hunter's canal. Following complete debridement of the wound and irrigation with saline, the wound was felt to be adequately debrided enough so that three simple through-and-through, stainless steel Aoe #28 wire sutures were used encompassing skin, subcutaneous tissue, and muscle fascia on both sides. Following this a sterile dressing was applied. The dorsalis pedis and posterior tibial pulses in both legs were quite good. The thoracic procedure had been completed at this time, the debridement of the compound fracture in the arm was still in progress at the time this soft tissue injury repair was completed.

/s/

Tom Shires, M.D.

Parkland Memorial Hospital Operative Record - Lee Harvey Oswald Surgery

Date: 11-24-63

Pre-Operative Diagnosis: GSW of upper abdomen and chest with massive bleeding.

Post-Operative Diagnosis: Major vascular injury in abdomen and chest.

Operation: Exploratory laparotomy, thoracotomy, efforts to repair aorta.

Began: 1142 Ended: 1307

Anesthetic: General Began: 1142

Anesthesiologist: Dr. M.T. Jenkins, Dr. Gene Akin, Dr. Curtis Spier

Surgeon: Dr. Tom Shires

Assistants: Dr. Perry, Dr. McClelland, Dr. Ron Jones

Scrub Nurse: Schrader, Lunsford

Circ. Nurse: Schrader, Bell, Burkett, Simpson

Sponge Counts: 1st, 2nd 2 counted sponges missing when body closed. Square pack count correct.

Drugs: Ca chloride - 3 vials, Cedilanid - 12, One molar lactate - 6, Isuprel - 24, Adrenalin 1:1000 - 3.

I.V. Fluids and Blood: 3-1000 cc lactated Ringer's solution, 16-500 cc. whole blood, 6-1000 cc. 5% dextrose in lactated Ringer's solution. Measured blood loss - 8,376 cc.

Condition of Patient: Expired at 1307

Notes:

Previous inspection had revealed an entrance wound over the left lower lateral chest cage, and an exit was identified by subcutaneous palpation of the bullet over the right lower lateral chest cage. At the time he was seen preoperatively he was without blood pressure, heart beat was heard infrequently at 130 beats per minute, and preoperatively had endotracheal tube placed and was receiving oxygen by anesthesia at the time he was moved to the operating room.

Under endotracheal oxygen anesthesia, a long mid-line abdominal incision was made. Bleeders were not apparent and none were clamped or tied. Upon opening the peritoneal cavity, approximately 2 to 3 liters of blood, both liquid and in clots, were encountered. These were removed. The bullet pathway was then identified as having shattered the upper medial surface of the spleen, then entered the retroperitoneal area where there was a large retroperitoneal hematoma in the area of the pancreas. Following this, bleeding was seen to be coming from the right side, and upon inspection there was seen to be an exit to the right through the inferior vena cava, thence through the superior pole of the right kidney, the lower portion of the right lobe of the liver, and into the right lateral body wall. First the right kidney, which was bleeding, was identified, dissected free, retracted immediately, and the inferior vena cava hole was clamped with a partial occlusion clamp of the Satinsky type. Following this immobilization, packing controlled the bleeding from the right kidney. Attention was then turned to the left, as bleeding was massive from the left side. The inspection of the retroperitoneal area revealed a huge hematoma in the mid-line. The spleen was then mobilized, as was the left colon, and the retroperitoneal approach was made to the mid-line structures. The pancreas was seen to be shattered in its mid portion, bleeding was seen to be coming from the aorta. This was dissected free. Bleeding was controlled with finger pressure by Dr. Malcolm O. Perry. Upon identification of this injury, the superior mesenteric artery had been sheared off of the aorta, there was back bleeding from the superior mesenteric artery. This was cross-clamped with a small, curved DeBakey clamp. The aorta was then

occluded with a straight DeBakey clamp above and a Potts clamp below. At this point all major bleeding was controlled, blood pressure was reported to be in the neighborhood of 100 systolic. Shortly thereafter, however, the pulse rate, which had been in the 80 to 90 range, was found to be 40 and a few seconds later found to be zero. no pulse was felt in the aorta at this time. Consequently the left chest was opened through an intercostal incision in approximately the fourth intercostal space. A Finochietto retractor was inserted, the heart was seen to be flabby and not beating at all. There was no hemopericardium. There was a hole in the diaphragm but no hemothorax. A left closed chest tube had been introduced in the Emergency Room prior to surgery, so that there was no significant pneumothorax on the left side. The pericardium was opened, cardiac massage was started, and a pulse was obtainable with massage. The heart was flabby, consequently calcium chloride followed by epinephrine-Xylocaine were injected into the left ventricle without success. However, the standstill was converted to fibrillation. Following this, defibrillation was done, using 240, 360, 500, and 750 volts and finally successful defibrillation was accomplished. However, no effective heart beat could be instituted. A pacemaker was then inserted into the wall of the right ventricle and grounded on skin, and pacemaking was started. A very feeble, small, localized muscular response was obtained with the pacemaker but still no effective beat. At this time we were informed by Dr. Jenkins that there were no signs of life in that the pupils were fixed and dilated, there was no retinal blood flow, no respiratory effort, and no effective pulse could be maintained even with cardiac massage. The patient was pronounced dead at 1:07 P.M. Anesthesia consisted entirely of oxygen. No anesthetic agents as such were administered. The patient was never conscious from the time of his arrival in the Emergency Room until his death at 1:07 P.M. The subcutaneous bullet was extracted from the right side during the attempts at defibrillation, which were rotated among the surgeons. The cardiac massage and defibrillation attempts were carried out by Dr. Robert N. McClelland, Dr. Malcolm O. Perry, Dr. Ronald Jones. Assistance was obtained from the cardiologist, Dr. Fouad Bashour.

/s/

Tom Shires, M.D.

Warren Report: Appendix IX - Autopsy Report and Supplemental Report

Clinical Record - Autopsy Protocol

Date 11/22/63 1300 (CST)

Prosecuter: CDR J.J. Humes, MC, USA

Assistant: CDR "J" Thornton Boswell, MC, USN, LCOL, Pierre A. Finck, MC, USA (04 043 322)

Full Autopsy

Ht. - 72 1/2 inches

Wt. - 170 pounds

Eyes - blue

Hair - Reddish brown

Pathological diagnosis: Cause of Death: Gunshot wound, head.

Signature: J.J. Eumes, CDS, MC, USN

Military organization: President, United States

Age: 46

Sex: Male

Race: Caucasian

Autopsy No. A63-272

Patient's Identification: Kennedy, John F., Naval Medical School

Clinical Summary

According to available information the deceased, President John F. Kennedy, was riding in an open car in a motorcade during an official visit to Dallas, Texas on 22 November 1963. The President was sitting in the right rear seat with Mrs. Kennedy seated on the same seat to his left. Sitting directly in front of the President was Governor John B. Connally of Texas and directly in front of Mrs. Kennedy sat Mrs. Connally. The vehicle was moving at a slow rate of speed down an incline into an underpass that leads to a freeway route to the Dallas Trade Mart where the President was to deliver an address.

Three shots were heard and the President fell forward bleeding from the head. (Governor Connally was seriously wounded by the same gunfire.) According to newspaper reports ("Washington Post" November 23, 1963) Bob Jackson, a Dallas "Times Herald" Photographer, said he looked around as he heard the shots and saw a rifle barrel disappearing into a window on an upper floor of the nearby Texas School Book Depository Building.

Shortly following the wounding of the two men the car was driven to Parkland Hospital in Dallas. In the emergency room of that hospital the President was attended by Dr. Malcolm Perry. Telephone communication with Dr. Perry on November 23, 1963 develops the following information relative to the observations made by Dr. Perry and procedures performed there prior to death.

Dr. Perry noted the massive wound of the head and a second much smaller wound of the low anterior neck in approximately the midline. A tracheostomy was performed by extending the latter wound. At this point bloody air was noted bubbling from the wound and an injury to the right lateral wall of the trachea was observed. Incisions were made in the upper anterior chest wall bilaterally to combat possible subcutaneous emphysema. Intravenous infusions of blood and saline were begun and oxygen was administered. Despite these measures cardiac arrest occurred and closed chest cardiac massage failed to re-establish cardiac action. The President was pronounced dead approximately thirty to forty minutes after receiving his wounds.

The remains were transported via the Presidential plane to Washington, D.C. and subsequently to the Naval Medical School, National Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Maryland for postmortem examination.

General Description of the Body

The body is that of a muscular, well-developed and well nourished adult Caucasian male measuring 72 1/2 inches and weighing approximately 170 pounds. There is beginning rigor mortis, minimal dependent livor mortis of the dorsum, and early algor mortis. The hair is reddish brown and abundant, the eyes are blue, the right pupil measuring 8 mm. in diameter, the left 4 mm. There is edema and ecchymosis of the inner canthus region of the left eyelid measuring approximately 1.5 cm. in greatest

diameter. There is edema and ecchymosis diffusely over the right supra-orbital ridge with abnormal mobility of the underlying bone. (The remainder of the scalp will be described with the skull.) There is clotted blood on the external ears but otherwise the ears, nares, and mouth are essentially unremarkable. The teeth are in excellent repair and there is some pallor of the oral mucous membrane.

Situated on the upper right posterior thorax just above the upper border of the scapula there is a 7 x 4 millimeter oval wound. This wound is measured to be 14 cm. from the tip of the right acromion process and 14 cm. below the tip of the right mastoid process.

Situated in the low anterior neck at approximately the level of the third and fourth tracheal rings is a 6.5 cm. long transverse wound with widely gaping irregular edges. (The depth and character of these wounds will be further described below.)

Situated on the anterior chest wall in the nipple line are bilateral 2 cm. long recent transverse surgical incisions into the subcutaneous tissue. The one on the left is situated 11 cm. cephalad to the nipple and the one on the right 8 cm. cephalad to the nipple. There is no hemorrhage or ecchymosis associated with these wounds. A similar clean wound measuring 2 cm. in length is situated on the antero-lateral aspect of the left mid arm. Situated on the antero-lateral aspect of each ankle is a recent 2 cm. transverse incision into the subcutaneous tissue.

There is an old well healed 8 cm. McBurney abdominal incision. Over the lumbar spine in the midline is an old, well healed 15 cm. scar. Situated on the upper antero-lateral aspect of the right thigh is an old, well healed 8 cm. scar.

Missile Wounds

1. There is a large irregular defect of the scalp and skull on the right involving chiefly the parietal bone but extending somewhat into the temporal and occipital regions. In this region there is an actual absence of scalp and bone producing a defect which measures approximately 13 cm. in greatest diameter.

From the irregular margins of the above scalp defect tears extend in stellate fashion into the more or less intact scalp as follows:

- a. From the right inferior temporo-parietal margin anterior to the right ear to a point slightly above the tragus.
- b. From the anterior parietal margin anteriorly on the forehead to approximately 4 cm. above the right orbital ridge.
- c. From the left margin of the main defect across the midline antero-laterally for a distance of approximately 8 cm.
- d. From the same starting point as c. 10 cm. postero-laterally.

Situated in the posterior scalp approximately 2.5 cm. laterally to the right and slightly above the external occipital protuberance is a lacerated wound measuring 15 x 6 mm. In the underlying bone is a corresponding wound through the skull which exhibits beveling of the margins of the bone when viewed from the inner aspect of the skull.

Clearly visible in the above described large skull defect and exuding from it is lacerated brain tissue which on close inspection proves to represent the major portion of the right cerebral hemisphere. At this point it is noted that the falx cerebri is extensively lacerated with disruption of the superior sagittal sinus.

Upon reflecting the scalp multiple complete fracture lines are seen to radiate from both the large defect at the vertex and the smaller wound at the occiput. These vary greatly in length and direction, the longest measuring approximately 19 cm. These result in the production of numerous fragments which vary in size from a few millimeters to 10 cm. in greatest diameter.

The complexity of these fractures and the fragments thus produced tax satisfactory verbal description and are better appreciated in photographs and roentgenograms which are prepared.

The brain is removed and preserved for further study following formalin fixation.

Received as separate specimens from Dallas, Texas are three fragments of skull bone which in aggregate roughly approximate the dimensions of the large defect described above. At one angle of the largest of these fragments is a portion of the perimeter of a roughly circular wound presumably of exit which exhibits beveling of the outer aspect of the bone and is estimated to measure approximately 2.5 to 3.0 cm. in diameter. Roentgenograms of this fragment reveal minute particles of metal in the bone at this margin. Roentgenograms of the skull reveal multiple minute metallic fragments along a line

corresponding with a line joining the above described small occipital wound and the right supra-orbital ridge. From the surface of the disrupted right cerebral cortex two small irregularly shaped fragments of metal are recovered. These measure 7 x 2 mm. and 3 x 1 mm. These are placed in the custody of Agents Francis X. O'Neill, Jr. and James W. Sibert, of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who executed a receipt therefor (attached).

2. The second wound presumably of entry is that described above in the upper right posterior thorax. Beneath the skin there is ecchymosis of subcutaneous tissue and musculature. The missile path through the fascia and musculature cannot be easily proved. The wound presumably of exit was that described by Dr. Malcolm Perry of Dallas in the low anterior cervical region. When observed by Dr. Perry the wound measured "a few millimeters in diameter", however it was extended as a tracheostomy incision and thus its character is distorted at the time of autopsy. However there is considerable ecchymosis of the strap muscles of the right side of the neck and of the fascia about the trachea adjacent to the line of the tracheostomy wound. The third point of reference in connecting these two wounds is in the apex (supra-clavicular portion) of the right pleural cavity. In this region there is contusion of the parietal pleura and of the extreme apical portion of the right upper lobe of the lung. In both instances the diameter of contusion and ecchymosis at the point of maximal involvement measures 5 cm. Both the visceral and parietal pleura are intact overlying these areas of trauma.

Incisions

The scalp wounds are extended in the coronal plane to examine the cranial content and the customary (Y) shaped incision is used to examine the body cavities.

Thoracic Cavity

The bony cage is unremarkable. The thoracic organs are in their normal positions and relationships and there is no increase in free pleural fluid. The above described area of contusion in the apical portion of the right pleural cavity is noted.

Lungs

The lungs are of essentially similar appearance the right weighing 320 Gm., the left 290 Gm. The lungs are well aerated with smooth glistening pleural surfaces and gray-pink color. A 5 cm. diameter area of purplish red discoloration and increased firmness to palpation is situated in the apical portion of the right upper lobe. This corresponds to the similar area described in the overlying parietal pleura. Incision in this region reveals recent hemorrhage into pulmonary parenchyma.

Heart

The pericardial cavity is smooth walled and contains approximately 10 cc. of straw-colored fluid. The heart is of essentially normal external contour and weighs 350 Gm. The pulmonary artery is opened in situ and no abnormalities are noted. The cardiac chambers contain moderate amounts of postmortem clotted blood. There are no gross abnormalities of the leaflets of any of the cardiac valves. The following are the circumferences of the cardiac valves: aortic 7.5 cm., pulmonic 7 cm., tricuspid 12 cm., mitral 11 cm. The myocardium is firm and reddish brown. The left ventricular myocardium averages 1.2 cm. in thickness, the right ventricular myocardium 0.4 cm. The coronary arteries are dissected and are of normal distribution and smooth walled and elastic throughout.

Abdominal Cavity

The abdominal organs are in their normal positions and relationships and there is no increase in free peritoneal fluid. The vermiform appendix is surgically absent and there are a few adhesions joining the region of the cecum to the ventral abdominal wall at the above described old abdominal incisional scar.

Skeletal System

Aside from the above described skull wounds there are no significant gross skeletal abnormalities.

Photography

Black and white and color photographs depicting significant findings are exposed but not developed.

These photographs were placed in the custody of Agent Roy E. Kellerman of the U.S. Secret Service, who executed a receipt therefore (attached).

Roentgenograms

Roentgenograms are made of the entire body and of the separately submitted three fragments of skull bone. These are developed and were placed in the custody of Agent Roy H. Kellerman of the U.S. Secret Service, who executed a receipt therefor (attached).

Summary

Based on the above observations it is our opinion that the deceased died as a result of two perforating gunshot wounds inflicted by high velocity projectiles fired by a person or persons unknown. The projectiles were fired from a point behind and somewhat above the level of the deceased. The observations and available information do not permit a satisfactory estimate as to the sequence of the two wounds.

The fatal missile entered the skull above and to the right of the external occipital protuberance. A portion of the projectile traversed the cranial cavity in a posterior-anterior direction (see lateral skull roentgenograms) depositing minute particles along its path. A portion of the projectile made its exit through the parietal bone on the right carrying with it portions of cerebrum, skull and scalp. The two wounds of the skull combined with the force of the missile produced extensive fragmentation of the skull, laceration of the superior sagittal sinus, and of the right cerebral hemisphere.

The other missile entered the right superior posterior thorax above the scapula and traversed the soft tissues of the supra-scapular and the supra-clavicular portions of the base of the right side of the neck. This missile produced contusions of the right apical parietal pleura and of the apical portion of the right upper lobe of the lung. The missile contused the strap muscles of the right side of the neck, damaged the trachea and made its exit through the anterior surface of the neck. As far as can be ascertained this missile struck no bony structures in its path through the body.

In addition, it is our opinion that the wound of the skull produced such extensive damage to the brain as to preclude the possibility of the deceased surviving this injury.

A supplementary report will be submitted following more detailed examination of the brain and of microscopic sections. However, it is not anticipated that these examinations will materially alter the findings.

/s/

J. J. HUMES

CDR, MC, USN (497831)

/s/

"J" THORNTON BOSWELL

CDR, MC, USN (489878)

/s/

PIERRE A. FINCK

LT COL, MC, USA

(04-043-322)

Supplementary Report of Autopsy Number A63-272 President John F. Kennedy

Pathological Examination Report No. A63-272

Gross Description of the Brain

Following formalin fixation the brain weighs 1500 gms. The right cerebral hemisphere is found to be markedly disrupted. There is a longitudinal laceration of the right hemisphere which is para-sagittal in position approximately 2.5 cm. to the right of the midline which extends from the tip of the occipital lobe posteriorly to the tip of the frontal lobe anteriorly. The base of the laceration is situated approximately 4.5 cm. below the vertex in the white matter. There is considerable loss of cortical substance above the base of the laceration, particularly in the parietal lobe. The margins of this laceration are at all points jagged and irregular, with additional lacerations extending in varying directions and for varying distances from the main laceration. In addition, there is a laceration of the

corpus callosum extending from the genu to the tail. Exposed in this latter laceration are the interiors of the right lateral and third ventricles.

When viewed from the vertex the left cerebral hemisphere is intact. There is marked engorgement of meningeal blood vessels of the left temporal and frontal regions with considerable associated sub-arachnoid hemorrhage. The gyri and sulci over the left hemisphere are of essentially normal size and distribution. Those on the right are too fragmented and distorted for satisfactory description.

When viewed from the basilar aspect the disruption of the right cortex is again obvious. There is a longitudinal laceration of the mid-brain through the floor of the third ventricle just behind the optic chiasm and the mammillary bodies. This laceration partially communicates with an oblique 1.5 cm. tear through the left cerebral peduncle. There are irregular superficial lacerations over the basilar aspects of the left temporal and frontal lobes.

In the interest of preserving the specimen coronal sections are not made. The following sections are taken for microscopic examination:

- a. From the margin of the laceration in the right parietal lobe.
- b. From the margin of the laceration in the corpus callosum.
- c. From the anterior portion of the laceration in the right frontal lobe.
- d. From the contused left fronto-parietal cortex.
- e. From the line of transection of the spinal cord.
- f. From the right cerebellar cortex.
- g. From the superficial laceration of the basilar aspect of the left temporal lobe.

During the course of this examination seven (7) black and white and six (6) color 4x5 inch negatives are exposed but not developed (the cassettes containing these negatives have been delivered by hand to Rear Admiral George W. Burkley, MC, USN, White House Physician).

Microscopic Examination

Brain

Multiple sections from representative areas as noted above are examined. All sections are essentially similar and show extensive disruption of brain tissue with associated hemorrhage. In none of the sections examined are there significant abnormalities other than those directly related to the recent trauma.

Heart

Sections show a moderate amount of sub-epicardial fat. The coronary arteries, myocardial fibers, and endocardium are unremarkable.

Lungs

Sections through the grossly described area of contusion in the right upper lobe exhibit disruption of alveolar walls and recent hemorrhage into alveoli. Sections are otherwise essentially unremarkable.

Liver

Sections show the normal hepatic architecture to be well preserved. The parenchymal cells exhibit markedly granular cytoplasm indicating high glycogen content which is characteristic of the "liver biopsy pattern" of sudden death.

Spleen

Sections show no significant abnormalities.

Kidneys

Sections show no significant abnormalities aside from dilatation and engorgement of blood vessels of all calibers.

Skin Wounds

Sections through the wounds in the occipital and upper right posterior thoracic regions are essentially similar. In each there is loss of continuity of the epidermis with coagulation necrosis of the tissues at

the wound margins. The scalp wound exhibits several small fragments of bone at its margins in the subcutaneous tissue.

Final Summary

This supplementary report covers in more detail the extensive degree of cerebral trauma in this case. However neither this portion of the examination nor the microscopic examinations alter the previously submitted report or add significant details to the cause of death.

/s/

J. J. HUMES

CDR, MC, USN, 497831

Date: 6 December 1963

From: Commanding Officer, U. S. Naval Medical School

To: The White House Physician

Via: Commanding Officer, National Naval Medical Center

Subj: Supplementary report of Naval Medical School autopsy No. A63-272, John F. Kennedy; forwarding of

1. All copies of the above subject final supplementary report are forwarded herewith.

/s/

J. H. STOVER, JR.

6 December 1963

First Endorsement

From: Commanding Officer, National Naval Medical Center

To: The White House Physician

1. Forwarded.

/s/

C. B. GALLOWAY

Warren Report: Appendix X - Expert Testimony

FIREARMS AND FIREARMS IDENTIFICATION

Three experts gave testimony concerning firearms and firearms identification: Robert A. Frazier and Cortlandt Cunningham of the FBI, and Joseph D. Nicol, superintendent of the Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation of the State of Illinois. Frazier has been in the field of firearms identification for 23 years, following a 1 year course of specialized training in the FBI Laboratory. Cunningham has been in the field for 5 years, having also completed the FBI course. Nicol has been in the firearms identification field since 1941, having begun his training in the Chicago police crime laboratory. Each has made many thousands of firearms identification examinations. Frazier testified on the rifle, the rifle cartridge cases, and the rifle bullets; Cunningham on the revolver, the revolver cartridge cases, the revolver bullets, and the paraffin test; and Nicol on all the bullets and cartridge cases and the paraffin test. Nicol's conclusions were identical to those of Frazier and Cunningham, except as noted.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Firearms - General Principles

A cartridge, or round of ammunition, is composed of a primer, a cartridge case, powder, and a bullet. The primer, a metal cup containing a detonable mixture, fits into the base of the cartridge case, which is loaded with the powder. The bullet, which usually consists of lead or of a lead core encased in a higher strength metal jacket, fits into the neck of the cartridge case. To fire the bullet, the cartridge is placed in the chamber of a firearm, immediately behind the firearm's barrel. The base of the cartridge rests against a solid support called the breech face or, in the case of a bolt-operated weapon, the bolt face. When the trigger is pulled, a firing pin strikes a swift, hard blow into the primer, detonating the priming mixture. The flames from the resulting explosion ignite the powder, causing a rapid combustion whose force propels the bullet forward through the barrel.

The barrels of modern firearms are "rifled," that is, several spiral grooves are cut into the barrel from end to end. The purpose of the rifling is to set the bullet spinning around its axis, giving it a stability in flight that it would otherwise lack. The weapons of a given make and model are alike in their rifling characteristics; that is, number of grooves, number of lands (the raised portion of the barrel between the grooves) and twist of the rifling. When a bullet is fired through a barrel, it is engraved with these rifling characteristics. For example, all S. & W. .38/200 British Service Revolvers have five grooves and five lands, which twist to the right, and bullets fired through such a revolver will have five groove and impressions, right twist.

In addition to rifling characteristics, every weapon bears distinctive microscopic characteristics on its components, including its barrel, firing pin, and breech face. While a weapon's rifling characteristics are common to all other weapons of its make and model (and sometimes even to weapons of a different make or model), a weapon's microscopic characteristics are distinctive, and differ from those of every other weapon, regardless of make and model. Such markings are initially caused during manufacture since the action of manufacturing tools differs microscopically from weapon to weapon, and since the tools change microscopically while being operated. As a weapon is used, further distinctive microscopic markings are introduced by the effects of wear, fouling, and cleaning. As Frazier testified:

Q. Can you explain how you are able to come to a conclusion that a cartridge case was fired in a particular weapon to the exclusion of all other weapons?

MR. FRAZIER. Yes, sir; during the manufacture of a weapon, there are certain things done to the mechanism of it, which are by machine or by filing, by grinding, which form the parts of the weapon into their final shape. These machining and grinding and filing operations will mark the metal with very fine scratches or turning marks and grinding marks in such a way that there will be developed on the surface of the metal a characteristic pattern. This pattern, because it is made by these accidental machine-type operations, will be characteristic of that particular weapon, and will not be reproduced on separate weapons. It may be a combination of marks that the face of the bolt may be milled, then it may be in part filed to smooth off the corners, and then, as a final operation, it may be polished, or otherwise adjusted during the hand fitting operation, so that it does have its particular pattern of microscopic marks.

The bolt face of the 139 rifle I have photographed and enlarged in this photograph [Commission Exhibit No. 558] to show the types of marks I was referring to.

* * * * *

The marks produced during manufacture are the marks seen on the bolt face; filing marks, machining marks of the various types, even forging marks or casting marks if the bolt happens to be forged or cast. And then variations which occur in these marks during the life of the weapon are very important in identification, because many of the machining marks can be flattened out, can be changed, by merely a grain of sand between the face of the cartridge case and the bolt at the time a shot is fired, which will itself scratch and dent the bolt face. So the bolt face will pick up a characteristic pattern of marks which are peculiar to it.

* * * * *

* * * [T]he marks which are placed on any bolt face are accidental in nature. That is, they are not placed there intentionally in the first place. They are residual to some machining operation, such as a milling machine, in which each cutter of the milling tool cuts away a portion of the metal; then the next tooth comes along and cuts away a little more, and so on, until the final surface bears the combination of the various teeth of the milling cutter. In following that operation, then, the surface is additionally scratched until you have numerous we call them microscopic characteristics, a characteristic being a mark which is peculiar to a certain place on the bolt face, and of a certain shape, it is of a certain size, it has a certain contour, it may be just a little dimple in the metal, or a spot of rust at, one time on the face of the bolt, or have occurred from some accidental means such

as dropping the bolt, or repeated use having flattened or smoothed off the surface of the metal.

* * * * *

* * * [A]s the blade of a milling machine travels around a surface, it takes off actually a dust it is not actually a piece of metal it scrapes a little steel off in the form of a dust or a very fine powder or chip that tooth leaves a certain pattern of marks that edge. That milling cutter may have a dozen of these edges on its surface, and each one takes a little more. Gradually you wear the metal down, you tear it out actually until you are at the proper depth. Those little pieces of metal, as they are traveling around, can also scratch the face of the bolt unless they are washed away. So that you may have accidental marks from that source, just in the machining operation.

Now, there are two types of marks produced in a cutting operation. One, from the nicks along the cutting edge of the tool, which are produced by a circular operating tool which produce very fine scratches in a circular pattern. Each time the tool goes around, it erases those marks that were there before. And when the tool is finally lifted out, you have a series of marks which go around the surface which has been machined, and you will find that pattern of marks, as this tool goes around, will change. In one area, it will be one set of marks and as you visually examine the surface of the metal, these very fine marks will extend for a short distance, then disappear, and a new mark of a new type will begin and extend for a short distance. The entire surface, then, will have been composed of a series of circles, but the individual marks seen in the microscope will not be circular, will not form complete circles around the face of the bolt.

Q. Have you had occasion to examine two consecutive bolt faces from a factory?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. And what did you find on that examination?

A. There would be no similarity in the individual microscopic characteristics between the two bolt faces.

Q. There actually was none?

A. No there was none.

* * * * *

Q. How are you able to conclude that a given bullet was fired in a given weapon to the exclusion of all other weapons, Mr. Frazier?

A. That is based again upon the microscopic marks left on the fired bullets and those marks in turn are based upon the barrel from which the bullets are fired. The marks in the barrel originate during manufacture. They originate through use of the gun, through accidental marks resulting from cleaning, excessive cleaning, of the weapon, or faulty cleaning.

They result from corrosion in the barrel due to the hot gases and possibly corrosive primer mixtures in the cartridges used, and primarily again they result from wear, that is, an eroding of the barrel through friction due to the firing of cartridges, bullets through it.

In this particular barrel the manufacturer's marks are caused by the drill which drills out the barrel, leaving certain marks from the drilling tool. Then portions of these marks are erased by a rifling tool which cuts the four spiral grooves in the barrel and, in turn, leaves marks themselves, and in connection with those marks of course, the drilling marks, being circular in shape, there is a tearing away of the surface of the metal, so that a microscopically rough surface is left.

Then removing part of those marks with a separate tool causes that barrel to assume an individual characteristic, a character all of its own.

In other words, at that time you could identify a bullet fired from that barrel as having been fired from the barrel to the exclusion of all other barrels, because there is no system whatever to the drilling of the barrel. The only system is in the rifling or in the cutting of the grooves, and in this case of rifle barrels, even the cutters wear down as the barrels are made eventually of course having to be discarded or resharpened.

Q. Have you examined consecutively manufactured barrels to determine whether their microscopic characteristics are identical?

A. Yes, sir; I have three different sets of, you might say, paired barrels, which have been manufactured on the same machine, one after the other, under controlled conditions to make them as nearly alike as possible, and in each case fired bullets from those barrels could not be identified with each other; in fact, they looked nothing at all alike as far as individual microscopic characteristics are concerned. Their rifling impressions of course would be identical, but the individual marks there would be entirely different.

When a cartridge is fired, the microscopic characteristics of the weapon's barrel are engraved into the bullet (along with its rifling characteristics), and the microscopic characteristics of the firing pin and

breech face are engraved into the base of the cartridge case. By virtue of these microscopic markings, an expert can frequently match a bullet or cartridge case to the weapon in which it was fired. To make such an identification, the expert compares the suspect bullet or cartridge case under a comparison microscope, side by side with a test bullet or cartridge case which has been fired in the weapon, to determine whether the pattern of the markings in the test and suspect items are sufficiently similar to show that they were fired in the same weapon. This is exemplified by Frazier's examination of Commission Exhibit No. 543, one of the cartridge cases found in the Texas School Book Depository Building after the assassination:

Q. Mr. Frazier, we were just beginning to discuss, before the recess, Commission Exhibit 559, which is a picture, as you described it, of Exhibit No. 543 and a test cartridge under a microscope * * *?

MR. FRAZIER. Yes, sir.

Q. Could you discuss, by using that picture, some of the markings which you have seen under the microscope and on the basis of which you made your identification?

A. Yes, sir. In the photograph I have drawn some small circles and numbered them, those circles, correspondingly on each side of the photograph. The purpose of the circles is not to point out all the similarities, but to call attention to some of them and to help orient in locating a mark on one with a mark on the opposite side of the photograph. In general the area shown is immediately outside of the firing pin in the bolt of the 139 rifle, on the left side of the photograph, and Commission Exhibit 543 on the right side.

The circles have been drawn around the dents or irregularly shaped ridges, small bumps, and depressions on the surfs of the metal in six places on each side of the photograph. It is an examination of these marks, and all of the marks on the face of the breech, microscopically which permits a conclusion to be reached. The photograph itself actually is a substitute to show only the type of marks found rather than their nature, that is, their height, their width, or their relationship to each other, which is actually a mental, visual, comparison on the two specimens themselves.

Q. Referring for a second to this mental, visual, comparison, Mr. Frazier, would a person without firearms training—fire-arms-identification training—be able to look under a microscope and make a determination for himself concerning whether a given cartridge case had been fired in a given weapon?

A. In that connection that person could look through the microscope. He may or may not see these individual characteristics which are present, because he does not know what to look for in the first place, and, secondly, they are of such a nature that you have to mentally sort them out in your mind going back and forth between one area and the other until you form a mental picture of them in a comparison such as this.

If it was a different type of comparison, of parallel marks or something of that nature, then he could see the marks, but in either instance, without having compared hundreds and hundreds of specimens, he would not be able to make any statement as to whether or not they were fired from the same rifle.

Q. Would you say that this is, then, a matter of expert interpretation rather than a point-for-point comparison which a layman could make?

A. I would say so; yes. I don't think a layman would recognize some of the things on these cartridge cases and some shown in the photographs as actually being significant or not significant, because there will be things present which have nothing whatsoever to do with the firing of the cartridge case in the gun.

There may be a depression in the primer to begin with, and there are no marks registered at that point as a result of the firing. Unless these things are known to occur, someone may actually arrive at a different conclusion, because of the absence of similar marks.

Q. Now having reference to the specific exhibit before you, which is 559

A. Yes.

Q. Are all the marks shown in both photographs identical?

A. No.

Q. And could you go into detail on a mark which is not identical to explain why you would get such a result?

A. Well, for instance, between what I have drawn here as circle 4 and circle 5, there is a slanting line from the upper left to the lower right on C-6. This line shows as a white line in the photograph.

On the other side there is a rough, very rough ridge which runs through there, having an entirely different appearance from the relatively sharp line on C-6. The significant part of that mark is the groove in between, rather than the sharp edge of the mark, because the sharp corner could be affected by the hardness of the metal or the irregular surface of the primer and the amount of pressure exerted against it, pressing it back against the face of the bolt, at the time the cartridges were fired. So that you would never expect all the marks on one cartridge case to be identical with all the marks on the other cartridge case. In fact, you would expect

many differences. But the comparison is made on the overall pattern, contour, and nature of the marks that are present.

* * * * *

Q. Again there are dissimilar marks on these two pictures [of the firing-pin depressions on the cartridge case Commission Exhibit No. 543, and a test cartridge case], Mr. Frazier?

A. Yes; there are, for the same reason, that metal does not flow the same in every instance, and it will not be impressed to the same depth and to the same amount, depending on the type of metal, the blow that is struck, and the pressures involved.

Q. Is your identification made therefore on the basis of the presence of similarities, as opposed to the absence of dissimilarities?

A. No, that is not exactly right. The identification is made on the presence of sufficient individual microscopic characteristics so that a very definite pattern is formed and visualized on the two surfaces.

Dissimilarities may or may not be present, depending on whether there have been changes to the firing pin through use or wear, whether the metal flows are the same, and whether the pressures are the same or not.

So I don't think we can say that it is an absence of dissimilarities, but rather the presence of similarities.

A bullet or cartridge case cannot always be identified with the weapon in which it was fired. In some cases, the bullet or cartridge case is too mutilated. In other cases, the weapon's microscopic characteristics have changed between the time the suspect item was fired and the time the test item was fired microscopic characteristics change drastically in a short period of time, due to wear, or over a longer period of time, due to wear, corrosion, and cleaning. Still again, the weapon may mark bullets inconsistently for example, because the bullets are smaller than the barrel, and travel through it erratically.

The Rifle

The rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository shortly after the assassination was a bolt-action, clip-fed, military rifle, 40.2 inches long and 8 pounds in weight. Inscribed on the rifle were various markings, including the words "CAL. 6.5," "MADE ITALY," "TERNI," and "ROCCA"; the numerals "1940" and "40"; the serial number C2766; the letters "R-E," "PG," and "TNI"; the figure of a crown; and several other barely decipherable letters and numbers. The rifle bore a very inexpensive Japanese four-power sight, stamped "4 x 18 COATED," "ORDNANCE OPTICS INC.," "HOLLYWOOD CALIFORNIA," and "MADE IN JAPAN" and a sling consisting of two leather straps, one of which had a broad patch, which apparently had been inserted on the rifle and cut to length. The sling was not a standard rifle sling, but appeared to be a musical instrument strap or a sling from a carrying case or camera bag. A basic purpose of a rifle sling is to enable the rifleman to steady his grip, by wrapping the arm into the sling in a prescribed manner. The sling on the rifle was too short to use in the normal way, but might have served to provide some additional steadiness.

The rifle was identified as a 6.5-millimeter Mannlicher-Carcano Italian military rifle, Model 91/38. This identification was initially made by comparing the rifle with standard reference works and by the markings inscribed on the rifle. The caliber was independently determined by chambering a Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5 millimeter cartridge in the rifle for fit, and by making a sulfur cast of the inside of the rifle's barrel which was measured with a micrometer. (The caliber of a weapon is the diameter of the interior of the barrel, measured between opposite lands. The caliber of American weapons is expressed in inches; thus a .30-caliber weapon has a barrel which is thirty one-hundredths or three-tenths of an inch in diameter. The caliber of continental European weapons is measured in millimeters. A 6.5-millimeter caliber weapon corresponds to an American .257-caliber weapon, that is, its barrel diameter is about one-fourth inch.) The identification was later confirmed by a communication from SIFAR, the Italian Armed Forces Intelligence Service. This communication also explained the markings on the rifle, as follows: "CAL. 6.5" refers to the rifle's caliber; "MADE ITALY" refers to its origin, and was inscribed at the request of the American importer prior to shipment; "TERNI" means that the rifle was manufactured and tested by the Terni Army Plant of Terni, Italy; the number "C2766" is the serial number of the rifle, and the rifle in question is the only one of its type bearing that serial number; the numerals "1940" and "40" refer to the year of manufacture; and the other figures, numbers, and letters are principally inspector's, designer's, or manufacturer's marks.

The Model 91/38 rifle was one of the 1891 series of Italian military rifles, incorporating features designed by Ritter von Mannlicher and M. Carcano. The series originally consisted of 6.5-millimeter caliber

rifles, but Model 38 of the series, designed shortly before World War II, was a 7.35-millimeter caliber. Early in World War II, however, the Italian Government, which encountered an ammunition supply problem, began producing many of these rifles as 6.5-millimeter caliber rifles, known as the 6.5-millimeter Model 91/38. The 91/38 has been imported into this country as surplus military equipment, has been advertised quite widely, and is now fairly common in this country.

Like most bolt-action military rifles, the 91/38 is operated by turning up the bolt handle, drawing the bolt to the rear, pushing the bolt forward, turning down the bolt handle, and pulling the trigger. Bringing the bolt forward and turning down the bolt handle compresses the spring which drives the firing pin, and locks the bolt into place. When the trigger is pulled, the cocked spring drives the firing pin forward and the cartridge is fired. The face of the bolt boars a lip, called the extractor, around a portion of its circumference. As the bolt is pushed forward, this lip grasps the rim of the cartridge. As the bolt is pulled back, the extractor brings the empty cartridge case with it, and as the cartridge case is being brought back, it strikes a projection in the ejection port called the ejector, which throws it out of the rifle. Meanwhile, a leaf spring beneath the clip has raised the next cartridge into loading position. When the bolt is brought forward, it pushes the fresh cartridge into the chamber. The trigger is pulled, the cartridge is fired, the bolt handle is brought up, the bolt is brought back, and the entire cycle starts again. As long as there is ammunition in the clip, one need only work the bolt and pull the trigger to fire the rifle.

The clip itself is inserted into the rifle by drawing back the bolt, and pushing the clip in from the top. The clip holds one to six cartridges. If six cartridges are inserted into the clip and an additional cartridge is inserted into the chamber, up to seven bullets can be fired before reloading. When the rifle was found in the Texas School Book Depository Building it contained a clip which bore the letters "SMI" (the manufacturer's markings) and the number "952" (possibly a part number or the manufacturer's code number). The rifle probably was sold without a clip; however, the clip is commonly available.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Rifle Cartridge and Cartridge Cases

When the rifle was found, one cartridge was in the chamber. The cartridge was a 6.5-millimeter Mannlicher- Carcano cartridge, manufactured by the Western Cartridge Co., at East Alton, Ill. This type of cartridge is loaded with a full metal-jacketed, military type of bullet, weighing 160-161 grains. The bullet has parallel sides and a round nose. It is just under 1.2 inches long, and just over one-fourth inch in diameter. Its velocity is approximately 2,165 feet per second. The cartridge is very dependable; in tests runs by the FBI and the Infantry Weapons Evaluation Branch of the U.S. Army, the C2766 rifle was fired with this Western Cartridge Co. ammunition over 100 times, with no misfires. (In contrast, some of the other ammunition available on the market for this rifle is undesirable or of very poor quality). The cartridge is readily available for purchase from mail-order houses, as well as a few gunshops; some 2 million rounds have been placed on sale in the United States.

The presence of the cartridge in the chamber did not necessarily mean that the assassin considered firing another bullet, since he may have reloaded merely by reflex.

Apart from the cartridge in the rifle, three expended cartridge cases were found in the southeast portion of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building, lying between the south wall and a high stack of boxes which ran parallel to the wall. The cartridge cases were a short distance to the west of the southeast corner window in that wall.

Based on a comparison with test cartridge cases fired from the C2766 rifle, the three cartridge cases were identified as having been fired from the C2766 rifle. (See Commission Exhibit No. 558, p. 556.) A test was run to determine if the cartridge-case-ejection pattern of the rifle was consistent with the assumption that the assassin had fired from the southeast window. In this test, 11 cartridges were fired from the rifle while it was depressed 45 downward, and 8 cartridges were fired from the rifle while it was held horizontally. The elevation of the ejected cartridge cases above the level of the ejection port, and the points on the floor at which the ejection cartridge cases initially landed, were then plotted. The results of these tests are illustrated by the diagrams, Commission Exhibits Nos. 546 and 547. Briefly, Commission Exhibit No. 547 shows that with the weapon depressed at a 45 angle, the cartridge cases did not rise more than 2 inches above the ejection port; with the weapon held horizontally, they did not rise more than 12 inches above the ejection port.

Commission Exhibit/So. 546 shows that if a circle was drawn around the initial landing points of the cartridge cases which were ejected in the test while the rifle was held depressed at 45, the center of the circle would be located 86 inches and 80 to the right of the rifle's line of sight; if a circle was drawn around the initial landing points of the cartridge cases ejected while the rifle was held horizontally, the center of the circle would be 80 inches and 90 to the right of the line of sight. In other words, the cartridge cases were ejected to the right of and at roughly a right angle to the rifle. The cartridge cases showed considerable ricochet after their initial landing, bouncing from 8 inches to 15 feet. The location of the cartridge cases was therefore consistent with the southeast window having been used by the assassin, since if the assassin fired from that window the ejected cartridge cases would have hit the pile of boxes at his back and ricocheted between the boxes and the wall until they came to rest to the west of the window.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Rifle Bullets

In addition to the three cartridge cases found in the Texas School Book Depository Building, a nearly whole bullet was found on Governor Connally's stretcher and two bullet fragments were found in the front of the President's car. The stretcher bullet weighed 158.6 grains, or several grains less than the average Western Cartridge Co. 6.5-millimeter Mannlicher-Carcano bullet. It was slightly flattened, but otherwise un mutilated. The two bullet fragments weighed 44.6 and 21.0 grains, respectively. The heavier fragment was a portion of a bullet's nose area, as shown by its rounded contour and the character of the markings it bore. The lighter fragment consisted of bullet's base portion, as shown by its shape and by the presence of a cannelure. The two fragments were both mutilated, and it was not possible to determine from the fragments themselves whether they comprised the base and nose of one bullet or of two separate bullets. However, each had sufficient un mutilated area to provide the basis of an identification. Based on a comparison with test bullets fired from the C2766 rifle, the stretcher bullet and both bullet fragments were identified as having been fired from the C2766 rifle.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Revolver

The revolver taken from Oswald at the time of his arrest was a .38 Special S. & W. Victory Model revolver. It bore the serial No. V510210, and is the only such revolver with that serial number, since S. & W. does not repeat, serial numbers. The revolver was originally made in the United States, but was shipped to England, as shown by the English inspection or proof marks on the chambers. The revolver showed definite signs of use but was in good operating condition. The revolver was originally designed to fire a .38 S. & W. cartridge, whose bullet is approximately 12 or 13 grains lighter than the .38 Special, and approximately .12 inches shorter, but has a somewhat larger diameter. In the United States, the .38 Special is considered to be a better bullet than the .38 S. & W., and the revolver was rechambered for a .38 Special prior to being sold in the United States. The weapon was not rebarreled, although the barrel was shortened by cutting off approximately 2 3/4 of its original 5 inches. The shortening of the barrel had no functional value, except to facilitate concealment.

The weapon is a conventional revolver, with a rotating cylinder holding one to six cartridges. It is loaded by swinging out the cylinder and inserting cartridges into the cylinder's chambers. If all six chambers are loaded, the weapon can be fired six consecutive times without reloading. To extract empty cartridge cases, the cylinder is swung out and an ejector rod attached to the cylinder is pushed, simultaneously ejecting all the cartridge cases (and cartridges) in the cylinder. If both live cartridges and expended cartridge cases are in the cylinder, before pushing the ejection rod one can tip the cylinder and dump the live cartridges into his hand. The cartridge cases will not fall out, because they are lighter than the cartridges, and when fired they will have expanded so as to tightly fit the chamber walls.

In a crouched stance a person can fire five shots with the revolver in 3-4 seconds with no trouble, and would need no training to hit a human body four times in four or five shots at a range of 8 feet. A person who had any training with the weapon would not find its recoil noticeable.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Revolver Cartridges and Cartridge Cases

When Oswald was arrested six live cartridges were found in the revolver. Three were Western .38 Specials, loaded with copper-coated lead bullets, and three were Remington-Peters .38 Specials, loaded with lead bullets. Five additional live cartridges were found in Oswald's pocket, all of which were Western .38 Specials, loaded with copper-coated bullets. The Western and Remington-Peters .38 Special cartridges are virtually identical; the copper coating on the Western bullets is not a full jacket, but only a gilding metal, put on principally for sales appeal.

Four expended cartridge cases were found near the site of the Tippit killing. Two of these cartridge cases were Remington-Peters .38 Specials and two were Western .38 Specials. Based on a comparison with test cartridge cases fired in the V510210 revolver, the four cartridge cases were identified as having been fired in the V510210 revolver.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Revolver Bullets

Four bullets were recovered from the body of Officer Tippit. In Nicol's opinion one of the four bullets could be positively identified with test bullets fired from V510210 revolver, and the other three could have been fired from that revolver. In Cunningham's opinion all four bullets could have been fired from the V510210 revolver, but none could be positively identified to the revolver that is, in his opinion the bullets bore the revolver's rifling characteristics, but no conclusion could be drawn on the basis of microscopic characteristics. Cunningham did not conclude that the bullets had not been fired from the revolver, since he found that consecutive bullets fired in the revolver by the FBI could not even be identified with each other under the microscope. The apparent reasons for this was that while the revolver had been rechambered for a .38 Special cartridge, it had not been rebarreled for a .38 Special bullet. The barrel was therefore slightly oversized for a .38 Special bullet, which has a smaller diameter than a .38 S. & W. bullet. This would cause the passage of a .38 Special bullet through the barrel to be erratic, resulting in inconsistent microscopic markings.

Based on the number of grooves, groove widths, groove spacing, and knurling on the four recovered bullets, three were copper-coated lead bullets of Western-Winchester manufacture (Western and Winchester are divisions of the same company), and the fourth was a lead bullet of Remington-Peters manufacture. This contrasts with the four recovered cartridge cases, which consisted of two Remington-Peters and two Westerns. There are several possible explanations for this variance: (1) the killer fired five cartridges, three of which were Western-Winchester and two of which were Remington-Peters; one Remington-Peters bullet missed Tippit; and a Western-Winchester cartridge case and the Remington-Peters bullet that missed were simply not found. (2) The killer fired only four cartridges, three of which were Western-Winchester and one of which was Remington-Peters; prior to the shooting the killer had an expended Remington-Peters cartridge case in his revolver, which was ejected with the three Western-Winchester and one Remington-Peters cases; and one of the Western-Winchester cases was not found. (3) The killer was using hand-loaded ammunition, that is, ammunition which is made with used cartridge cases to save money; thus he might have loaded one make of bullet into another make of cartridge case. This third possibility is extremely unlikely, because when a cartridge is fired the cartridge case expands, and before it can be reused it must be resized. There was, however, no evidence that any of the four recovered cartridge cases had been resized.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Struggle for the Revolver

Officer McDonald of the Dallas police, who arrested Oswald, stated that he had struggled with Oswald for possession of the revolver and that in the course of the struggle, "I heard the snap of the hammer, and the pistol crossed my left cheek * * * the primer of one round was dented on misfire at the time of the struggle. * * *" However, none of the cartridges found in the revolver bore the impression of the revolver's firing pin. In addition, the revolver is so constructed that, the firing pin cannot strike a cartridge unless the hammer (which bears the firing pin) has first been drawn all the way back by a complete trigger pull. Had the hammer gone all the way back and then hit the cartridge, it is unlikely that the cartridge would have misfired. It would be possible for a person to interject his finger between the hammer and the cartridge, but the spring driving the hammer is a very strong one and the impact of the firing pin into a finger would be clearly felt. However, the cylinder and the trigger are interconnected and the trigger cannot be fully pulled back if the cylinder is grasped. Therefore, if Oswald had pulled on the trigger while McDonald was firmly grasping the cylinder, the revolver would not have fired, and if the gun was grabbed away at the same time the trigger would have snapped back with an audible sound.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Paraffin Test

During the course of the interrogation of Lee Harvey Oswald following the assassination a paraffin test was performed by the Dallas police on both of his hands and his right cheek. The paraffin cast of Oswald's hands reacted positively to the test. The cast of the right cheek showed no reaction.

To perform the paraffin test, layers of warm liquid paraffin, interleaved with layers of gauze for reinforcement, are brushed or poured on the suspect's skin. The warm sticky paraffin opens the skin's pores and picks up any dirt and foreign material present at the surface. When the paraffin cools and hardens it forms a cast, which is taken off and processed with diphenylamine or diphenylbenzidine, chemicals which turn blue in the presence of nitrates. Since gunpowder residues contain nitrates, the theory behind the test is that if a cast reacts positively, i.e., if blue dots appear, it provides evidence that the suspect recently fired a weapon. In fact, however, the test is completely unreliable in determining either whether a person has recently fired a weapon or whether he has not. On the one hand, diphenylamine and diphenylbenzidine will react positively not only with nitrates from gunpowder residues, but nitrates from other sources and most oxidizing agents, including dichromates, permanganates, hypochlorates, periodates, and some oxides. Thus, contact with tobacco, Clorox, urine, cosmetics, kitchen matches, pharmaceuticals, fertilizers, or soils, among other things, may result in a positive reaction to the paraffin test. Also, the mere handling of a weapon may leave nitrates on the skin. A positive reaction is, therefore, valueless in determining whether a suspect has recently fired a weapon. Conversely, a person who has recently fired a weapon may not show a positive reaction to the paraffin test, particularly if the weapon was a rifle. A revolver is so constructed that there is a space between the cylinder, which bears the chambers, and the barrel. When a revolver is fired, nitrate-bearing gases escape through this space and may leave residues on the hand. In a rifle, however, there is no gap between the chamber and the barrel, and one would therefore not expect nitrates to be deposited upon a person's hands or cheeks as a result of his firing a rifle. As Cunningham testified:

MR. CUNNINGHAM. * * * I personally wouldn't expect to find any residues on a person's right cheek after firing a rifle due to the fact that by the very principles and the manufacture and the action, the cartridge itself is sealed into the chamber by the bolt being closed behind it, and upon firing the case, the cartridge case expands into the chamber filling it up and sealing it off from the gases, so none will come back in your face, and so by its very nature, I would not expect to find residue on the right cheek of a shooter.

The unreliability of the paraffin test has been demonstrated by experiments run by the FBI. In one experiment, conducted prior to the assassination, paraffin tests were performed on 17 men who had just fired 5 shots with a .38-caliber revolver. Eight men tested negative in both hands, three men tested positive on the idle hand and negative on the firing hand, two men tested positive on the firing hand and negative on the idle hand, and four men tested positive on both their firing and idle hands. In a second experiment, paraffin tests were performed on 29 persons, 9 of whom had just fired a revolver or an automatic, and 20 of whom had not fired a weapon. All 29 persons tested positive on either or both hands.

In a third experiment, performed after the assassination, an agent of the FBI, using the C2766 rifle, fired three rounds of Western 6.5-millimeter Mannlicher-Carcano ammunition in rapid succession. A paraffin test was then performed on both of his hands and his right cheek. Both of his hands and his cheek tested negative.

The paraffin casts of Oswald's hands and right cheek were also examined by neutron-activation analyses at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. Barium and antimony were found to be present on both surfaces of all the casts and also in residues from the rifle cartridge cases and the revolver cartridge cases. Since barium and antimony were present in both the rifle and the revolver cartridge cases, their presence on the casts were not evidence that Oswald had fired the rifle.

Moreover, the presence on the inside surface of the cheek cast of a lesser amount of barium, and only a slightly greater amount of antimony, than was found on the outside surface of the cast rendered it impossible to attach significance to the presence of these elements on the inside surface. Since the outside surface had not been in contact with Oswald's cheek, the barium and antimony found there had come from a source other than Oswald. Furthermore, while there was more barium and antimony present on the casts than would normally be found on the hands of a person who had not fired a weapon or handled a fired weapon, it is also true that barium and antimony may be present in many common items; for example, barium may be present in grease, ceramics, glass, paint, printing ink, paper, rubber, plastics, leather, cloth, pyrotechnics, oilcloth and linoleum, storage batteries, matches and cosmetics; antimony is present in matches, type metal, lead alloys, paints and lacquers, pigments for oil and water colors, flameproof textiles, storage batteries, pyrotechnics, rubber, pharmaceutical

preparations and calico; and both barium and antimony are present in printed paper and cloth, paint, storage batteries, rubber, matches, pyrotechnics, and possibly other items. However, the barium and antimony present in these items are usually not present in a form which would lead to their adhering to the skin of a person who had handled such items.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Walker Bullet

On April 10, 1963, a bullet was recovered from General Walker's home, following an attempt on his life. The bullet, which was severely mutilated, weighed 148.25 grains. This bullet had the rifling characteristics of the C2766 rifle and all its remaining physical characteristics were the same as the Western 6.5 millimeter Mannlicher-Carcano bullet. However, while the bullet could have been fired from the C2766 rifle, it was severely mutilated and in Frazier's opinion could not be identified as having been fired or not fired from that rifle. Nicol agreed that a positive identification could not be made, but concluded there was "a fair probability" that the bullet had been fired from the same rifle as the test bullets.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Fingerprints and Palmprints

Two experts gave testimony concerning fingerprints and palmprints: Sebastian Latona and Arthur Mandella. Latona is the supervisor of the Latent Fingerprint Section of the Identification Division of the FBI. He has been with that Division over 32 years, having begun as a student fingerprint classifier and worked up to his present position. Mandella is a detective and fingerprint instructor with the police department of the city of New York. He has been in the fingerprint field for 19 years. Both have made a vast number of fingerprint examinations and have testified in Federal, State, and military courts. Their conclusions were identical, except as noted.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Fingerprints and Palm prints - General Principles

Fingerprints and palmprints are made by the ridges which cover the surface of the fingers and palms. These ridges first appear 2 or 3 months before birth, and remain unchanged until death. Commission Exhibit No. 634-A (p. 564) illustrates several common characteristics or "points" formed by the ridges; a clear fingerprint impression will contain anywhere from 85 to 125 such points. While many of the common points appear in almost every print, no two prints have the same points in the same relationship to each other.

A print taken by a law-enforcement agency is known as an "inked print," and is carefully taken so that all the characteristics of the print are reproduced on the fingerprint card; a print which is left accidentally, such as a print left at the scene of a crime, is known as a latent print. To make an identification of a latent print, the expert compares the points in the latent print with the points in an inked print. If a point appearing in a latent print does not appear in the inked print, or vice versa, the expert concludes that the two prints were not made by the same finger or palm. An identification is made only if there are no inconsistencies between the inked and latent prints, and the points of similarity and their relative positions are sufficiently distinctive, and sufficient in number, to satisfy the expert that an identity exists.

There is some disagreement concerning whether a minimum number of points is necessary for an identification. Some foreign law enforcement agencies require a minimum number of 16 points. However, in the United States, in which there has been a great deal of experience with fingerprints, expert opinion holds there is no minimum number of points, and that each print must be evaluated on its own merits.

Palmprints are as distinctive as fingerprints, but are not as popularly known. Possibly this is because law enforcement agencies usually record only fingerprints for their identification files, since fingerprints can be much more readily classified and filed than palm-prints. Also, latent fingerprint impressions are probably more common than latent palmprint impressions, because persons generally touch objects with their fingers rather than their palms. However, palmprints will frequently be found on heavy objects, since the palms as well as the fingers are employed in handling such objects.

A latent print is the result of perspiration exuded by the sweat pores in the ridges. This perspiration is composed of water, protein or fatty materials, and sodium chloride (salt). A latent print can be developed in several ways. Sometimes a latent print can be developed merely by the use of correct lighting. A second method is to brush the print very lightly with a powder, which adheres to its outline. Once a print is powdered it can be photographed, lifted, or both. (In lifting, an adhesive substance, such as scotch tape, is placed over a powdered print. When the adhesive is lifted the powder clings to its surface. The adhesive is then mounted.) However, powder is usually effective only on objects which have a hard, smooth, nonabsorbent surface, such as glass, tile, and various types of highly polished metals and is usually not effective on absorbent materials, such as paper or unfinished wood or metal, which absorb perspiration so that there is nothing on the material's surface to which the powder can adhere. Prints on absorbent materials can sometimes be developed by iodine fumes, which may react with fatty or protein materials which have been absorbed into the object, or by a silver nitrate solution, which may react with sodium chloride which has been absorbed into the object.

Not every contact of a finger or palm leaves a latent print. For example, if the surface is not susceptible to a latent print, if the finger or palm had no perspiration, or if the perspiration was mostly water and had evaporated, no print will be found.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Objects in the Texas School Book Depository Building

A number of objects found in the Texas School Book Depository Building following the assassination were processed for latent fingerprints by the FBI in some cases, after they had been processed by the Dallas police. These objects included the homemade wrapping paper bag found near the southeast corner window; the C9766 rifle; three small cartons which were stacked near that window (which were marked "Box A, " "Box B, " and "Box C"), and a fourth carton resting on the floor nearby (marked "Box D"); the three 6.5 millimeter cartridge cases found near the window; and the cartridge found in the rifle. The results were as follows:

The paper bag. The FBI developed a palmprint and a fingerprint on the paper bag by silver nitrate. These were compared with the fingerprints and palmprints of Lee Harvey Oswald taken by the Dallas police, and were found to have been made by the right palm and the left index finger of Lee Harvey Oswald.

The C2766 rifle. The wood and metal of the rifle was absorbent, and not conducive to recording a good print. However, the Dallas police developed by powder some faint ridge formations on the metal magazine housing in front of the trigger and also developed by powder and lifted a latent palmprint from the underside of the barrel. The faint ridge formations were insufficient for purposes of effecting an identification, but the latent palmprint was identified as the right palm of Lee Harvey Oswald.

The cartons. Using the silver nitrate method, the FBI developed nine identifiable latent fingerprints and four identifiable latent palmprints on Box A, seven identifiable fingerprints and two identifiable palmprints on Box B, and two identifiable fingerprints and one identifiable palmprint on Box C. One of the fingerprints on Box A was identified as the right index fingerprint of Lee Harvey Oswald, and one of the palmprints on Box A was identified as the left palmprint of Lee Harvey Oswald. All the remaining prints on Box A were the palmprints of R. L. Studebaker, a Dallas police officer, and Forest L. Lucy, an FBI clerk, who shipped the cartons from Dallas to the FBI Laboratory in Washington, D.C. and fingerprints of Detective Studebaker. All but one of the fingerprints on Box B belonged to Studebaker and Lucy and one palmprint was that of Studebaker. The fingerprints on Box C were those of Studebaker and Lucy and the palmprint was Studebaker's. One palmprint on Box B was unidentified.

The FBI developed two fingerprints on Box D by silver nitrate, and the Dallas police developed a palmprint on Box D by powder. The fingerprints belonged to Lucy. The palmprint was identified as the right palmprint of Lee Harvey Oswald. While the age of a print cannot, be generally determined, this palmprint must have been relatively fresh, because the carton was constructed of cardboard, an absorbent material, and if a long period had elapsed between the time the print was made and the time it was powdered, the perspiration would have been absorbed into the cardboard, and the print could not have been developed by powder. Tests run by the FBI show that usually a latent impression on such cardboard cannot be developed by powder more than 24 hours after it is made. Latona felt that the maximum age of the palmprint on Box D at the time of development (which was shortly after the assassination), would have been 3 days; Mandella felt that the maximum time would have been a day and a half.

The three cartridge cases and the cartridge case found in the rifle. No prints were developed on the cartridge found in the rifle or on the three expended cartridge cases.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Questioned Documents

Two experts gave testimony concerning questioned documents: Alwyn Cole and James C. Cadigan. Cole apprenticed as a questioned document examiner for 6 years, from 1929 to 1935, and has been examiner of questioned documents for the U.S. Treasury Department since then Cadigan has been a questioned document examiner with the FBI for 23.5 years, following a specialized course of training and instruction. Both have testified many times in Federal and States courts. Their conclusions were identical, except as noted. Both experts examined and testified on the following questioned documents: (1) The mail order to Klein's Sporting Goods of Chicago, in response to which Klein's sent the C2766 rifle; the accompanying money order; and the envelope in which the mail order and the money order were sent all of which bore the name "A. Hidell" and the address "P.O. Box 2915, Dallas, Texas"; (2) the mail order to Seaport Traders, Inc., of Los Angeles, bearing the same name and address, in response to which the Seaport Traders sent the V510210 revolver; (3) part of an application for Post Office Box 2915, Dallas, Tex., opened October 9, 1962 and closed May 14, 1963, and two change-of-address orders relating to that box, dated October 10, 1962 and May 12, 1963 all signed "Lee H. Oswald, " and part of an application for Post Office Box 30061, New Orleans, La., naming "A. J. Hidell" as a party entitled to receive mail through the box, signed "L. H. Oswald"; (4) a spurious selective service system notice of classification and a spurious certificate of service in the U.S. Marine Corps, found in Oswald's wallet after his arrest, both in the name "Alek James Hidell"; (5) a spurious smallpox vaccination certificate, found among Oswald's belongings at his room at 1026 North Beckley, purportedly issued to Lee Oswald by "Dr. A. J. Hidell, P.O. Box 30016, New Orleans, La."; and (6) a card, found in Oswald's wallet after his arrest reading "Fair Play for Cuba Committee New Orleans Chapter, " dated June 15, 1963, " bearing the name "L. H. Oswald" and the signature "Lee H. Oswald, " and signed "A. J. Hidell" as chapter president. Cadigan also examined (7) the unsigned note, Commission Exhibit No. 1, written almost entirely in Russian, which Marina testified Oswald had left for her prior to his attempt on the life of General Walker; and (8) the homemade paper bag found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository following the assassination.

General principles. The area of questioned document examination encompasses many types of inquiries, the most familiar of which is the identification of handwriting. Handwriting identification is based upon the principle that every person's handwriting is distinctive. As Cole testified:

Q. Mr. Cole, could you explain the basis on which you were able to make an identification of a questioned writing as being authored by the person who wrote a standard writing?

MR. COLE. This is based upon the principle that every handwriting is distinctive, that since the mental and physical equipment for producing handwriting is different in every individual, each person produces his own distinctive writing habits. Of course, everyone learns to write in the beginning by an endeavor to repeat ideal letter forms but, practically no one is able to reproduce these forms exactly. Even though a person might have some initial success during the active period of instruction, he soon departs from these and develops his own habits. It may be said that habit in handwriting is that which makes handwriting possible. Habit is that which makes handwriting efficient. If it were not for the development of habit, one would be obliged to draw or sketch.

Some habit would be included even in those efforts. But the production of handwriting rapidly and fluently always involves a recording of personal writing habit. This has been confirmed by observation of a very large number of specimens over a long period of time, and it has further been demonstrated by, on my part, having a formal responsibility for rendering decisions about the identification of handwriting based upon an agreement of handwriting habit in situations where there would be a rigorous testing of the correctness of these decision by field investigators, for example, of the law-enforcement agencies, and a demonstration that these results were confirmed by other evidence.

This is the basis for identification of handwriting.

The same principles are generally applicable to hand printing, and in the balance of this section the term "handwriting" will be used to refer to both cursive or script writing and hand printing.

Not every letter in a questioned handwriting can be used as the basis of an identification. Most people learn to write letters in a standard or "copybook" form: a handwriting is distinctive only in so far as it departs significantly from such forms. Correspondingly, not every variation indicates non identification; no two acts are precisely alike and variations may be found within a single document. Like similarities, variations are significant only if they are distinctive. Moreover, since any single distinctive characteristic may not be unique to one person, in order to make an identification the expert must find a sufficient number of corresponding distinctive characteristics and a general absence of distinctive differences.

The possibility that one person could imitate the handwriting of another and successfully deceive an

expert document examiner is very remote. A forger leaves two types of clue. First, he can seldom perfectly simulate the letter forms of the victim; concentrating on the reproduction of one detail, he is likely not to see others. Thus, the forger may successfully imitate the general form of a letter but get proportions or letter connections wrong. In addition, the forger draws rather than writes. Forged writing is therefore distinguished by defects in the quality of its line, such as tremor, waver, patching, retouching, non continuous lines, and pen lifts in awkward and unusual places.

To make a handwriting identification, the handwriting in the document under examination (the questioned document) is compared against the handwriting in documents known to have been prepared by a suspect (the known or standard documents). This is exemplified by Cole's examination of Commission Exhibit No. 773, the photograph of the mail order for the rifle and the envelope in which it was sent:

Q. Now, Mr. Cole, returning to 778, the questioned document, can you tell the Commission how you formed the conclusion that it was prepared by the author of the standards, that is, what steps you followed in your examination and comparison, what things you considered, what instruments or equipment you used, and so forth?

MR. COLE. I made first a careful study of the writing on Commission Exhibit 773 without reference to the standard writing, in an effort to determine whether or not this writing contained what I would regard as a basis for identification, contained a record of writing habit, and as that as a result of that part of my examination, I concluded that this is a natural handwriting. By that I mean that it was made at a fair speed, that it doesn't show any evidence of an unnatural movement, poor line quality, tremor, waver, retouching, or the like. I regard it as being made in a fluent and fairly rapid manner which would record the normal writing habits of the person who made it.

I then made a separate examination of the standards, of all of the standard writings, to determine whether that record gave a record of writing habit which could be used for identification purposes, and I concluded that it, too, was a natural handwriting and gave a good record of writing habit.

I then brought the standard writings together with the questioned writing for a detailed and orderly comparison, considering details of letter forms, proportion, pen pressure, letter connections, and other details of handwriting habit * * *.

The standards used by Cole and Cadigan consisted of a wide variety of documents known to be in the handwriting of Lee Harvey Oswald, including endorsements on his payroll checks, applications for employment, for a passport, for membership in the American Civil Liberties Union, and for a library card, and letters to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Marine Corps, the State Department, and the American Embassy in Russia.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Mail Order for the C2766 Rifle, the Related Envelope, and the Money Order

The mail order and envelope for the C2766 rifle were photographed by Klein's on microfilm, and then destroyed. To identify the handwriting an enlarged photograph was made which showed the handwriting characteristics with sufficient clarity to form the basis of an identification. Based on a comparison with the standards, the handwriting on the purchase order and the envelope were identified as Lee Harvey Oswald's. The money order, which was retained by the post office after having been cashed by Klein's, was also identified as being in Oswald's handwriting. These identifications were made on the basis of numerous characteristics in which the writing in both the questioned and standard documents departed from conventional letter forms. For example, in the return address on the envelope, the left side of the "A" in "A. Hidell" was made by a down stroke followed by an upstroke which almost exactly traced the down-stroke, the "i" showed an elongation of the approach stroke and an exaggerated slant to the right, and the second "i" was somewhat larger than the first; the "B" in "Box" had an upper lobe smaller than the lower lobe; the "D" in "Dallas" exhibited a distinctive construction of the looped form at the top of a letter, and the "s" was flattened and forced over on its side; and the "x" in "Texas" was made in the form of a "u" with a cross bar. These characteristics were also present in the standards. In addition, these items, as well as other questioned documents, resembled the standards in their use of certain erroneous combinations of capital and lowercase letters. For example, in the mail order, "Texas" was printed with a capital "T, " "X, " "A, " and "S, " but a lowercase "e"; a similar mixture of capital and lowercase letters in "Texas" was found in the standards.

The writing on the purchase order and envelope showed no significant evidence of disguise (subject to the qualification that the use of hand printing on the mail order, rather than handwriting, may have been used for that purpose). However, it is not unusual for a person using an alias not to disguise his writing. For example, Cole, who is document examiner for the Treasury Department, has frequently examined forgeries evidencing no attempt at disguise.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Mail Order for the V510210 Revolver

Based on a comparison with the standards, the handwriting on the mail order for the V510210 revolver was also identified as Lee Harvey Oswald's.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Post Office Box Applications and Change-of-Address Card

A post office box application consists of three parts: The first contains directions for use. The second provides applicant's name, address, signature space, box number, date of opening and closing. The third part provides instruction space concerning delivery of mail and names of persons entitled to use the box. Under post office regulations the second part was retained by the Dallas Post Office for box 2915; it destroyed the third part after the box was closed. Based on the standards, the signature "Lee H. Oswald, " and other handwriting on the application, was identified as that of Lee Harvey Oswald. The postal clerk appeared to have filled in the balance.

The Fort Worth and Dallas post offices retained two change-of-address orders signed "Lee H. Oswald": One to "Postmaster, Fort Worth, Tex., " dated October 10, 1962, to send mail to "Oswald, Lee H" at 2703 Mercedes Av., Fort Worth, Texas" and forward to "Box 2915, Dallas, Texas"; the other to "Postmaster, Dallas, Texas" dated May 12, 1963, requested mail for post office box 2915 be forwarded to "Lee Oswald" at "4907 Magazine St., "New Orleans, La."

Based on a comparison with the standards, the handwriting on these orders was identified as that of Lee Harvey Oswald. The New Orleans post office retained the third part of the application for post office box 30061, New Orleans, La., dated June 11, 1963, and signed "L. H. Oswald." Inserted in the space for names of persons entitled to receive mail through the box were written the names "A. J. Hidell" and "Marina Oswald." On the basis of a comparison with the standards, the writing and the signature on the card was identified as the handwriting of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Spurious Selective Service System Notice of Classification and US. Marine Corps

When Oswald was arrested he had in his possession a Selective Service System notice of classification and a certificate of service in the U.S. Marine Corps in the name of "Alek James Hidell," and a Selective Service System notice of classification, a Selective Service System registration certificate, and a certificate of service in the U.S. Marine Corps in his own name. (See Cadigan Exhibits Nos. 19 and 21, p. 573.) The Hidell cards were photographic counterfeits.

After Oswald's arrest a group of retouched negatives were found in Mr. Paine's garage at 2515 West Fifth Street, Irving, Tex., among which were retouched negatives of the Oswald cards. A comparison of these retouched negatives with the Hidell and Oswald cards showed that the Hidell cards had been counterfeited by photographing the Oswald cards, retouching the resulting negatives, and producing photographic prints from the retouched negatives.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Hidell Notice of Classification

Face side. The face of the Hidell notice of classification was produced from the face of the Oswald notice of classification by a two-step process. First, the counterfeiter photographed the Oswald notice, making a basic intermediate negative. He then opaqued out of this intermediate negative all of the information typed or handwritten onto the Oswald notice, including the name "Lee Harvey Oswald," the selective service No., "41-114-39-532," the signature of the official of the local board, and the mailing date. In addition, he made another intermediate negative of the lowermost third of the Oswald notice, which contained a printed legend setting forth various instructions relating to draft board procedures. This negative reproduced the printed material exactly, but reduced it in size. The two intermediate negatives were combined to produce a third negative, substantially identical to the basic intermediate negative except that, by virtue of the reduction in the size of the printed legend, a square space had been created in the lower left-hand corner. The counterfeiter then made a photographic print of this third negative, which contained blanks wherever typed or handwritten material had appeared on the original Oswald notice and a new space in the lower left-hand corner.

Finally new material was inserted into the blanks on the Hidell notice where typed or handwritten material had appeared on the Oswald notice. Thus the name "ALEK JAMES HIDELELL," the selective service No. "42-224-39-532," and the mailing date "Feb. 5, 1962," were typed into the appropriate blanks on the Hidell notice. Two typewriters were used in this typing, as shown by differences in the design of the typed figure "4," and by differences in the strength of the typed impression. Probably the counterfeiter switched typewriters when he discovered that the ribbon of his first typewriter was not inked heavily enough to leave a clear impression (a problem which would have been aggravated by the fact that the glossy photographic paper used to make the Hidell notice did not provide a good surface for typewriting). The face of the notice also bore many unlinked indentations, which could only be made out under strong side lighting. These indentations were apparently made with the typewriter set at stencil that is, set so that the typewriter key struck the notice directly, rather than striking it through the inked typewriter ribbon. This may have been done as a dry-run practice, to enable the counterfeiter to determine how to properly center and align the inserted material. A sidelight photograph showed that the names "ALEK," "JAMES," and "HIDELELL" had each been typed in stencil at least twice before being typed in with the ribbon. A capital letter "O" had been stenciled prior to one of the stenciled "ALEK's." A serial number and a date of mailing had also been typed in stencil.

In addition to the typed material, a signature, "Alek J. Hidell," was written in ink in the blank provided for the registrant's signature, and another, somewhat illegible signature, apparently reading "Good Hoffer," was written in ink in the blank provided for the signature of an official of the local board. This name differed from the name written in ink on the Oswald notice, which appeared to consist of a first name beginning with an "E" or a "G" and the surname "Schiffen." However, the legibility of the name on the Oswald notice was also quite poor, and the counterfeiter might have been attempting to duplicate it. A possible reason for deleting the original name and substituting another is that if the name had not been deleted it would have been reproduced on the Hidell notice as a photographic reproduction, which would look less authentic than a pen-and-ink signature.

Based on a comparison with the handwriting in the standards, the signature "Alek J. Hidell" on the Hidell notice was identified as being in the handwriting of Lee Harvey Oswald. The signature "Good Hoffer" could not be positively identified, being almost illegible; however, it was not inconsistent with Oswald's handwriting.

To complete the face of the Hidell notice a picture of Lee Harvey Oswald was inserted into the space in the lower left-hand corner which had been created by reducing the size of the printed legend at the bottom.

In creating the face of the Hidell notice, the counterfeiter left traces which enabled the experts to link together the Hidell notice, the retouched negatives, and the Oswald notice. To retouch the negatives the counterfeiter simply painted a red opaque substance on one side of the negative over the material he wished to delete. When the negative was printed, the opaquing prevented light from passing through, so that the print showed blanks wherever the negative had been opaqued. However, the original material was still clearly visible on the negative itself. In addition, at several points the typed or handwritten material in the Oswald notice had overlapped the printed material. For example, the signature of the official of the local board overlapped the letters "re" in the printed word "President," "I" and "a" in the printed word "local," and "viola" in the printed word "violation." When this signature was opaqued out, the portions of the printed material which had been overlapped by the signature were either removed or mutilated. The consequent distortions were apparent on both the retouched negative and the Hidell notice itself. Similarly, the selective service number typed on the Oswald notice

overlapped the margins of the boxes into which it was typed. Although the counterfeiter opaqued out the numerals themselves, the margins of the boxes remained thickened at the points where they had been overlapped by the numerals. These thickened margins were apparent on both the retouched negative and the Hidell notice.

Reverse side. The reverse side of the Hidell notice, which was pasted back-to-back to the face, was actually a form of the reverse side of a Selective Service System registration certificate. Essentially, it was counterfeited the same way as the face of the notice: a photograph was made of the reverse side of the Oswald registration certificate, the material which had been typed or stamped on the Oswald registration certificate was opaqued out of the resulting negative, and a photographic print was made from the retouched negative. This is shown by the negative, in which the opaqued-out information is still visible, and by defects in the printed material on the Hidell notice at point where typed-in material had overlapped printed material on the Oswald registration certificate.

As the final step, new information was typed on the print in the blanks which resulted from the retouching operation. Thus "GR" was substituted for "Blue" under color of eyes; "BROWN" was substituted for "Brn" under color of hair; "FAIR" was substituted for "Med." under complexion; "5" [ft.] "9" [in.] was substituted for "5" [ft.] "11" [in.] under height; and "155" was substituted for "150" under weight. The name and address of the local board on the Oswald registration certificate were opaqued out, but substantially the same name and address were typed back onto the Hidell notice. As in the signature of the local board official on the face of the notice, a possible reason for deleting the original draft board name and the address and substituting substantially similar material in its place is that if the original material had not been deleted it would have reproduced as a photographic reproduction, which would look much less authentic than typed-in material.

A limited number of typed uninked indentations are also present. Thus the indented letters "CT" appear before the letter "GR" (under color of eyes) and the indented letters "EY" follow "GR." An indented "9" appears above the visible "9" for the inch figure of height, and an indented "i" appears before the weight, "155." Much of the typed material on the reverse side of the Hidell notice was not very legible under ordinary lighting, since it was typed with a typewriter which left a very weakly inked impression. In fact, it is difficult to tell whether some of the material, particularly the word "Brown" under color of hair, was put in by stencil or by ribbon.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Hidell Certificate of Service

The face and reverse side of the Hidell certificate of service were produced from the face and reverse side of the Oswald certificate of service by photographing the Oswald certificate, retouching the resulting negatives to eliminate typed and handwritten material, and making a photographic print from the retouched negative. As in the case of the notice of classification, this is shown by the negative itself, in which the opaqued-out information is still visible, and by defects in the printed material on the Hidell certificate at points where handwritten material had crossed over printed material on the Oswald certificate. Thus, in the Oswald certificate the upper portion of the name "Lee" in Oswald's signature crosses the letter "u" in the printed word "signature." The consequent mutilation of the printed letter "u" can be seen on the Hidell certificate. Similarly, the ending stroke in the letter "y" in the name "Harvey" in Oswald's signature crosses the letter "n" in the printed word "certifying." This stroke was not removed at all, and can be seen as a stroke across the "n" in the Hidell certificate. As the final step in producing the Hidell certificate, new material was typed into the blanks on the photographic print. On the face, the words "ALEK JAMES HIDELE" were typed into the blank where "LEE HARVEY OSWALD 1653280" had appeared. A sidelight photograph shows that these words had been typed in stencil at least twice before being typed in with the ribbon apparently to determine proper centering and alignment. In producing the reverse side of the Hidell certificate, the signature "Lee Harvey Oswald," and the dates "24 October 1956" and "11 September 1959," showing the beginning and end of the period of active service, had been opaqued out. No signature was inserted into resulting blank signature space. However, just below the word "of" in the printed line "signature of individual," there are two vertical indentations which fill about three-fourths of the height of the signature blank, and a diagonal indentation which slants from approximately the base of the left vertical to approximately the midpoint of the right vertical the total effect being of a printed capital letter "H." Also, just below the second and third "i's" in the printed word "individual" are two more vertical indentations, which could be the vertical strokes of "d's" or "l's" although the circular portion of the letter "d" is not present. These indentations could have been made by any sharp instrument, such as a ball-point pen which was not delivering ink, a stylus of the type used in preparing mimeograph forms, or even a toothpick. The indentations are brought out rather clearly in a sidelight photograph, but can also be seen on the card itself if the card is held so that light strikes it at an angle.

Into the space for the beginning of active service was typed the date "OCT. 13 1958." The space for the end of active service contains several light-impression and stencil typewriting operations. It was apparently intended to read "OCT. 12 1961," but because of the lightness of the impression and the many stenciled characters, the date is barely legible. Interestingly, one of the stenciled impressions in the blank for end of active service reads "24 October 1959," as determined under a microscope, while a stenciled impression in the blank for beginning of active service reads "24 October 1957."

The counterfeiting of the Hidell cards did not require great skill, but probably required an elementary knowledge of photography, particularly of the photographic techniques used in a printing plant. A moderate amount of practice with the technique would be required perhaps half a dozen attempts. Practicing retouching on the balance of the negatives found at the Paine garage would have been sufficient. The retouching of the negatives could have been accomplished without any special equipment. However, the preparation of the negative, apart from retouching, would probably have required a very accurate camera, such as would be found in a photographic laboratory or printing plant.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Vaccination Certificate

A government-printed form entitled "International Certificates of Vaccination or Revaccination against Smallpox" was found among Oswald's belongings at his room at 1026 Beckley Avenue, Dallas. The form purported to certify that "LEE OSWALD" had been vaccinated against smallpox on "JUNE 8, 1963" by "DR. A. J. HIDELL, P.O. BOX 30016, NEW ORLEANS, LA." The card was signed "Lee H. Oswald" and "A. J. Hidell, " and the name and address "Lee H. Oswald, New Orleans, La." were hand printed on the front of the card. All of this material, except the signatures and the hand printing, had been stamped onto the card. The Hidell name and address consisted of a three-line stamp "DR. A. J. HIDELL/P.O. BOX 30016/NEW ORLEANS, LA." A circular, stamped, illegible impression resembling a seal appeared under a column entitled "Approved stamp."

On the basis of a comparison with the standards, Cole identified all of the handwriting on the vaccination certificate, including the signature "A. J. Hidell, " as the writing of Lee Harvey Oswald. Cadigan identified all of the writing as Oswald's except for the "A. J. Hidell" signature, which in his opinion was too distorted to either identify or nonidentify as Oswald's handwriting. The stamped material on the certificate was compared with a rubber stamping kit which belonged to Oswald. In this kit was a rubber stamp with three lines of print assembled : "L. H. OSWALD/4907 MAGAZINE ST/NEW ORLEANS, LA." Cole found a perfect agreement in measurement and design between the letters stamped on the certificate and the letters he examined from Oswald's rubber stamping kit. However, he was unable to determine whether the characteristics of Oswald's rubber stamping kit were distinctive, and therefore, while he concluded that Oswald's rubber stamping kit could have made the rubber stamp impressions on the certificate, he was unable to say that it was the only kit which could have made the impressions. On the basis of the comparison between the words "NEW ORLEANS, LA." set up in the rubber stamp in Oswald's kit, and the words "NEW ORLEANS, LA." on the certificate, Cadigan concluded that these words had been stamped on the certificate with Oswald's rubber stamp. However, he could draw no conclusion as to the remaining stamped material, which was not directly comparable to the remaining lines set up on Oswald's rubber stamp.

On close examination, the circular impression resembling a seal consisted of the words "BRUSH IN CAN, " printed in reverse. Apparently, the impression was made with the top of a container of solvent or cleaning fluid which bore these words in raised lettering. In the center of the impression was a mottled pattern which was similar to the blank areas on a date stamp found in Oswald's rubber stamping kit.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Fair Play for Cuba Committee Card

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee card had two signatures: "L. H. Oswald" and "A. J. Hidell." Based on the standards, both Cole and Cadigan identified "L. H. Oswald" as the signature of Lee Harvey Oswald, but both were unable to identify the "A. J. Hidell" signature. Cadigan noted differences between the Hidell signature and Oswald's handwriting, indicating the possibility that someone other than Oswald had authored the signature. Cole believed that the signature was somewhat beyond Oswald's abilities as a penman. On the basis of a short English interlinear translation written by Marina Oswald, Cole felt that she might have been the author of the signature, but the translation did not present enough of her handwriting to make possible a positive identification. In subsequent testimony before the Commission, Marina stated that she was indeed the author of the Hidell signature on the card. Cadigan confirmed this testimony by obtaining further samples of Marina Oswald's handwriting and comparing these samples with the signature on the card.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Unsigned Russian-Language Note

Cadigan's examination confirmed Marina's testimony that the handwriting in the unsigned note, Commission Exhibit No. 1, was that of Lee Harvey Oswald. Since the note was written almost entirely in the Russian language, which uses the Cyrillic alphabet (as opposed to the Latin alphabet used in the English language), in making his examination Cadigan employed not only Oswald's English language standards, but also letters written by Oswald in the Russian language.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Homemade Wrapping Paper Bag

In the absence of watermarks or other distinctive characteristics, it is impossible to determine whether two samples of paper came from the same manufacturer. The homemade paper bag found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository following the assassination was made out of heavy brown paper and glue-bearing brown paper tape, neither of which contained watermarks or other distinctive characteristics. However, Cadigan compared the questioned paper and tape in the paper bag with known paper and tape samples obtained from the shipping department of the Texas School Book Depository on November 22, 1963, to see if the questioned items could have come from the shipping room. The questioned and known items were examined visually by normal, incidental, and transmitted natural and electric light, and under ultraviolet light; examined microscopically for surface, paper structure, color, and imperfections; examined for their felting pattern, which is the pattern of light and dark areas caused by the manner in which the fibers become felted at the beginning stages of paper manufacture; measured for thickness with a micrometer sensitive to one one-thousandth of an inch, subjected to a fiber analysis to determine the type of fibers of which they were composed, and whether the fibers were bleached or unbleached; and examined spectrographically to determine what metallic ions were present. The questioned and known items were identical in all the properties measured by these tests. (The width of the tape on the paper sack was 3 inches, while the width of the sample tape was 2.975, or twenty-five thousandths of an inch smaller; however, this was not a significant difference). In contrast, a paper sample obtained from the Texas School Book Depository shipping room on December 1, 1963, was readily distinguishable from the questioned paper.

Examination of the tape revealed other significant factors indicating that it could have come from the Texas School Book Depository shipping room. There were several strips of tape on the bag. All but two of the ends of these strips were irregularly torn; the remaining two ends had machine-cut edges. This indicated that the person who made the bag had drawn a long strip of tape from a dispensing machine and had torn it by hand into several smaller strips. Confirmation that the tape had been drawn from a dispensing machine was supplied by the fact that a series of small markings in the form of half-inch lines ran down the center of the tape like ties on a railroad track. Such lines are made by a ridged wheel in a tape dispenser which is constructed so that when a hand lever is pulled, the wheel, which is connected to the lever, pulls the tape from its roll and dispenses it. Such dispensers are usually found only in commercial establishments. A dispenser of this type was located in the Texas School Book Depository shipping room. The length of the lines and the number of lines per inch on the tape from the paper bag was identical to the length of the lines and the number of lines per inch on the tape obtained from the dispenser in the Texas School Book Depository shipping room.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Wound Ballistics Experiments

Purpose of the Tests

During the course of the Commission's inquiry, questions arose as to whether the wounds inflicted on President Kennedy and Governor Connally could have been caused by the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building and Western Cartridge Co. bullets and fragments of the type found on the Governor's stretcher and in the Presidential limousine. In analyzing the trajectory of the bullets after they struck their victims, further questions were posed on the bullet's velocity and penetration power after exiting from the person who was initially struck. To answer these and related questions, the Commission requested that a series of tests be conducted on substances resembling the wounded portions of the bodies of President Kennedy and Governor Connally under conditions which simulated the events of the assassination.

Warren Report: Appendix X - The Testers and Their Qualifications

In response to the Commission's request, an extensive series of tests were conducted by the Wound Ballistics Branch of the U.S. Army Chemical Research and Development Laboratories at Edgewood Arsenal, Md. Scientists working at that branch are engaged in full-time efforts to investigate the wound ballistics of missiles in order to test their effects on substances which simulate live human bodies. The tests for the Commission were performed by Dr. Alfred G. Olivier under the general supervision of Dr. Arthur J. Dziemian with consultation from Dr. Frederick W. Light, Jr. Dr. Olivier received His doctorate in veterinary medicine from the University of Pennsylvania in 1953. Since 1957 he has been engaged in research on wound ballistics at Edgewood Arsenal and is now chief of the Wound Ballistics Branch. His supervisor, Dr. Dziemian, who is chief of the Biophysics Division at Edgewood Arsenal, holds a Ph.D. degree from Princeton in 1939, was a national research fellow in physiology at the University of Pennsylvania and was a fellow in anatomy at Johns Hopkins University Medical School. Since 1947, Dr. Dziemian has been continuously engaged in wound ballistics work at Edgewood Arsenal. In 1930, Dr. Light was awarded an M.D. degree from Johns Hopkins Medical School and in 1948 received his Ph.D. from the same institution. After serving a residency in pathology, he worked as a pathologist until 1940 when he returned to Johns Hopkins University to study mathematics. Since 1951, Dr. Light has been engaged in the study of the pathology of wounding at Edgewood Arsenal. All three of these distinguished scientists testified before the Commission.

Warren Report: Appendix X - General Testing Conditions

The Commission made available to the Edgewood Arsenal scientists all the relevant facts relating to the wounds which were inflicted on President Kennedy and Governor Connally including the autopsy report on the President, and the reports and X-rays from Parkland Hospital. In addition, Drs. Olivier and Light had an opportunity to discuss in detail the Governor's wounds with the Governor's surgeons, Drs. Robert R. Shaw and Charles F. Gregory. The Zapruder films of the assassination were viewed with Governor and Mrs. Connally to give the Edgewood scientists their version. The Commission also provided the Edgewood scientists with all known data on the source of the shots, the rifle and bullets used, and the distances involved. For purposes of the experiments, the Commission turned over to the Edgewood testers the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found on the sixth floor of the Depository Building. From information provided by the Commission, the Edgewood scientists obtained Western bullets of the type used by the assassin.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Tests on Penetration Power and Bullet Stability

Comparisons were made of the penetrating power of Western bullets fired from the assassination rifle with other bullets. From the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, the Western bullet was fired through two gelatin blocks totaling 72 centimeters in length. As evidenced by Commission Exhibit No. 844, which is a photograph from a high-speed motion picture, the Western bullets passed through 1.5 blocks in a straight line before their trajectory curved. After coming out of the second gelatin block, a number of the bullets buried themselves in a mound of earth.

Under similar circumstances, a bullet described as the NATO round M-80 was fired from a M-14 rifle. The penetrating power of the latter is depicted in Commission Exhibit No. 845 which shows that bullet possesses much less penetrating power with a quicker tumbling action. Those characteristics cause an early release of energy which brings the bullet to a stop at shorter distances. A further test was made with a 257 Winchester Roberts soft-nosed hunting bullet as depicted in Commission Exhibit No. 846. That bullet became deformed almost immediately upon entering the block of gelatin and released its energy very rapidly. From these tests, it was concluded that the Western bullet fired from the Mannlicher-Carcano had "terrific penetrating ability" and would retain substantial velocity after passing through objects such as the portions of the human body.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Tests Simulating President Kennedy's Neck Wound

After reviewing the autopsy report on President Kennedy, the Edgewood scientists simulated the portion of the President's neck through which the bullet passed. It was determined that the bullet traveled through 13.5 to 14 centimeters of tissue in the President's neck. That substance was simulated by constructing three blocks: one with a 20-percent gelatin composition, a second from one animal meat and a third from another animal meat. Those substances duplicated as closely as possible the portion of the President's neck through which the bullet passed. At the time the tests were conducted, it was estimated that the President, was struck at a range of approximately 180 feet, and the onsite tests which were conducted later at Dallas established that the President was shot through the neck at a range of 174.9 feet to 190.8 feet. At a range of 180 feet, the Western bullets were fired from the assassination weapon, which has a muzzle velocity of approximately 2,160 feet per second, through those substances which were placed beside a break-type screen for measuring velocity. The average entrance velocity at 180 feet. was 1,904 feet per second.

To reconstruct the assassination situation as closely as possible both sides of the substances were covered with material and clipped animal skin to duplicate human skin. The average exit velocity was 1,779 feet from the gelatin, 1,798 feet from the first animal meat and 1,772 feet from the second animal meat. Commission Exhibit No. 847 depicts one of the animal meats compressed to 13.5 to 14.5 centimeters to approximate the President's neck and Commission Exhibit No. 848 shows the analogous arrangement for the gelatin. The photograph marked Commission Exhibit No. 849 shows the bullet passing through the gelatin in a straight line evidencing very stable characteristics.

Commission Exhibit No. 850 depicts the pieces of clipped animal skin placed on the points of entry and exit showing that the holes of entrance are round while the holes of exit are "a little more elongated." From these tests, it was concluded that the bullet lost little of its velocity in penetrating the President's neck so that there would have been substantial impact on the interior of the Presidential limousine or anyone else struck by the exiting bullet. In addition, these tests indicated that the bullet, had retained most of its stability in penetrating the President's neck so that the exit hole would be only slightly different from the appearance of the entry hole.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Tests Simulating Governor Connally's Chest Wounds

To most closely approximate the Governor's chest injuries, the Edgewood scientists shot an animal with the assassination weapon using the Western bullets at a distance of 210 feet. The onsite tests later determined that the Governor was wounded at a distance of 176.9 feet to 190.8 feet from the sixth-floor window at the southeast corner of the Depository Building. The average striking velocity of 11 shots at 210 feet was 1,929 feet per second and the average exit velocity was 1,664 feet per second.

One of the shots produced an injury on the animal's rib very similar to that inflicted on Governor Connally. For purposes of comparison with the Governor's wound, the Edgewood scientists studied the Parkland Hospital report and X-rays, and they also discussed these wounds with Dr. Shaw, the Governor's chest surgeon. The similar animal injury passed along the animal's eighth left rib causing a fracture which removed a portion of the rib in a manner very similar to the wound sustained by the Governor. The X-ray of that wound on the animal is reproduced as Commission Exhibit No. 852. A comparison with the Governor's chest wound, shown in X-ray marked as Commission Exhibit No. 681, shows the remarkable similarity between those two wounds.

The bullet which produced the wound depicted in Commission Exhibits Nos. 851 and 852 was marked as Commission Exhibit No. 853 and possessed characteristics very similar to the bullet marked as Commission Exhibit No. 399 found on Governor Connally's stretcher and believed to have been the bullet which caused his chest wound. Those bullets, identified as Commission Exhibits Nos. 399 and 853, were flattened in similar fashion. In addition, the lead core was extruded from the rear in the same fashion on both bullets. One noticeable difference was that the bullet identified as Commission Exhibit No. 853, which penetrated the animal, was somewhat more fiat than Commission Exhibit No. 399 which indicated that Commission Exhibit No. 853 was probably traveling at somewhat greater speed than the bullet which penetrated the Governor's chest. After the bullet passed through the animal, it left an imprint on the velocity screen immediately behind the animal which was almost the length of the bullet indicating that the bullet was traveling sideways or end over end. Taking into consideration the extra girth on the Governor, the reduction in the velocity of the bullet passing through his body was estimated at 400 feet 300 The conclusions from the animal shots are significant when taken in conjunction with the experiments performed simulating the injuries to the Governor's wrist.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Tests Simulating Governor Connally's Wrist Wounds

Following procedures identical to those employed in simulating the chest wound, the wound ballistics experts from Edgewood Arsenal reproduced, as closely as possible, the Governor's wrist wound. Again the scientists examined the reports and X-rays from Parkland Hospital and discussed the Governor's wrist wound with the attending orthopedic surgeon, Dr. Charles F. Gregory. Bone structures were then shot with Western bullets fired from the assassination weapon at a distance of 210 feet. The most similar bone-structure shot was analyzed in testimony before the Commission. An X-ray designated as Commission Exhibit No. 854 and a photograph of that X-ray which appears as Commission Exhibit No. 855 show a fracture at a location which is very similar to the Governor's wrist wound depicted in X-rays marked as Commission Exhibits Nos. 690 and 691.

The average striking velocity of the shots was 1,858 feet per second. The average exit velocity was 1,786 feet per second for the 7 out of 10 shots from bone structures which could be measured. These tests demonstrated that Governor Connally's wrist was not struck by a pristine bullet, which is a missile that strikes an object before hitting anything else. This conclusion was based on the following factors: (1) Greater damage was inflicted on the bone structure than that which was suffered by the Governor's wrist; and (2) the bone structure had a smaller entry wound and a larger exit wound which is characteristic of a pristine bullet as distinguished from the Governor's wrist which had a larger wound of entry indicating a bullet which was tumbling with substantial reduction in velocity. In addition, if the bullet found on the Governor's stretcher (Commission Exhibit No. 399) inflicted the wound on the Governor's wrist, then it could not have passed through the Governor's wrist had it been a pristine bullet, for the nose would have been considerably flattened, as was the bullet which struck the bone structure, identified as Commission Exhibit No. 856.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Conclusions From Simulating the Neck, Chest, and Wrist Wounds

Both Drs. Olivier and Dziemian expressed the Opinion that one bullet caused all the wounds on Governor Connally. The wound to the Governor's wrist was explained by circumstances where the bullet passed through the Governor's chest, lost substantial velocity in doing so, tumbled through the wrist, and then slightly penetrated the Governor's left thigh. Thus, the results of the wound ballistics tests support the conclusions of Governor Connally's doctors that all his wounds were caused by one bullet.

In addition, the wound ballistics tests indicated that it was most probable that the same bullet passed through the President's neck and then proceeded to inflict all the wounds on the Governor. That conclusion was reached by Drs. Olivier and Dziemian based on the medical evidence on the wounds of the President and the Governor and the tests they performed. It was their opinion that the wound on the Governor's wrist would have been more extensive had the bullet which inflicted that injury merely passed through the Governor's chest exiting at a velocity of approximately 1,500 feet per second. Thus, the Governor's wrist wound indicated that the bullet passed through the President's neck, began to yaw in the air between the President and the Governor, and then lost substantially more velocity than 400 feet per second in passing through the Governor's chest. A bullet which was yawing on entering into the Governor's back would lose substantially more velocity in passing through his body than a pristine bullet. In addition, the greater flattening of the bullet that struck the animal's rib (Commission Exhibit No. 853) than the bullet which presumably struck the Governor's rib (Commission Exhibit No. 399) indicates that the animal bullet was traveling at a greater velocity. That suggests that the bullet which entered the Governor's chest had already lost velocity by passing through the President's neck. Moreover, the large wound on the Governor's back would be explained by a bullet which was yawing although that type of wound might also be accounted for by a tangential striking.

Dr. Frederick W. Light, Jr., the third of the wound ballistics experts, testified that the anatomical findings alone were insufficient for him to formulate a firm opinion on whether the same bullet did or did not pass through the President's neck first before inflicting all the wounds on Governor Connally. Based on the other circumstances, such as the relative positions in the automobile of the President and the Governor, Dr. Light concluded that it was probable that the same bullet traversed the President's neck and inflicted all the wounds on Governor Connally.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Tests Simulating President Kennedy's Head Wounds

Additional tests were performed on inert skulls filled with a 20 percent gelatin substance and then coated with additional gelatin to approximate the soft tissues overlying the skull. The skull was then draped with simulated hair as depicted in Commission Exhibit No. 860. Using the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle and the Western bullets, 10 shots were fired at the reconstructed skulls from a distance of 270 feet which was the estimated distance at the time those tests were conducted. It was later determined through the onsite tests that President Kennedy was struck in the back of the head at a distance of 265.3 feet from the assassination weapon.

The general results of these tests were illustrated by the findings on one skull which was struck at a point most nearly approximating the wound of entry on President Kennedy's head. The whole skull, depicted in Commission Exhibit No. 860, was struck 2.9 centimeters to the right and almost horizontal to the occipital protuberance or slightly above it, which was virtually the precise point of entry on the President's head as described by the autopsy surgeons. That bullet blew out the right side of the reconstructed skull in a manner very similar to the head wounds of the President. The consequences on that skull are depicted in Commission Exhibits Nos. 861 and 862, which illustrate the testimony of Dr. Alfred G. Olivier, who supervised the experiments. Based on his review of the autopsy report, Dr. Olivier concluded that the damage to the reconstructed skull was very similar to the wound inflicted on the President.

Two fragments from the bullet which struck the test skull closely resembled the two fragments found in the front seat of the Presidential limousine. The fragment designated as Commission Exhibit No. 567 is a mutilated piece of lead and copper very similar to a mutilated piece of copper recovered from the bullet which struck the skull depicted in Commission Exhibit No. 860. The other fragment, designated as Commission Exhibit No. 569 which was found in the front seat of the Presidential limousine, is the copper end of the bullet. Commission Exhibit No. 569 is very similar to a copper fragment of the end of the bullet which struck the test skull. The fragments from the test bullet are designated as Commission Exhibit No. 857 and are depicted in a photograph identified as Commission Exhibit No. 858. A group of small lead particles, recovered from the test bullet, are also very similar to the particles recovered under the left jump seat and in the President's head. The particles from the test bullet are a part of Commission Exhibit No. 857 and are depicted in photograph designated as Commission Exhibit No. 859. That skull was depicted as Commission Exhibit No. 862.

As a result of these tests, Dr. Olivier concluded that the Western bullet fired from the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle at a distance of 270 feet would make the same type of wound found on the President's head. Prior to the tests, Dr. Olivier had some doubt that such a stable bullet would cause a massive head wound like that inflicted on the President. He had thought it more likely that such a striking bullet would make small entrance and exit holes. The tests, however, showed that the bones of the skull were sufficient to deform the end of the bullet causing it to expend a great deal of energy and thereby blow out the side of the skull. These tests further confirmed the autopsy surgeons' opinions that the President's head wound was not caused by a dum-dum bullet. Because of the test results, Dr. Olivier concluded that the fragments found on and under the front seat of the President's car most probably came from the bullet which struck the President's head. It was further concluded that the damage done to Governor Connally's wrist could not have resulted from a fragment from the bullet which struck President Kennedy's head.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Hairs and Fibers

Testimony on hairs and fibers was given by Paul M. Stombaugh of the FBI. Stombaugh has been a specialist in hairs and fibers since 1960, when he began a 1-year period of specialized training in this field. He has made thousands of hair and fiber examinations, and has testified in Federal and State courts in approximately 28 States. Stombaugh examined and gave testimony on the following objects: (1) The green and brown blanket found in the Paine's garage, Commission Exhibit No. 140; (2) the homemade paper bag found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository following the assassination, Commission Exhibit No. 142; (3) the shirt worn by Oswald on November 22, 1963, Commission Exhibit No. 150; and (4) the C2766 rifle, Commission Exhibit No. 139.

Warren Report: Appendix X - Hairs and Fibers - General Principles

Hairs. As shown in Commission Exhibit No. 666 (p. 587), a hair consists of a central shaft of air cells, known as the medulla; a cortex containing pigment granules (which give the hair its color) and cortical fuses (air spaces); and a cuticle and an outer layer of scales. Unlike fingerprints, hairs are not unique. However, human hairs can be distinguished from animal hairs by various characteristics, including color, texture, length, medullary structure and shape, shape of pigment, root size, and scale size. In addition, hairs of the Caucasian, Negroid, and Mongoloid human races can be distinguished from each other by color, texture, size and degree of fluctuation of diameter, thickness of cuticle, shape and distribution of pigment, and shape of cross-section. Moreover, even though individual hairs are not unique, the expert usually can distinguish the hairs of different individuals. Thus, Stombaugh, who had made approximately 1,000 comparison examinations of Caucasian hairs and 500 comparison examinations of Negroid hairs, had never found a case in which he was unable to differentiate the hairs of two different Caucasian individuals, and had found only several cases in which he could not distinguish, with absolute certainty, between the hairs of two different Negroid individuals.

Fibers. Like hairs, the various types of natural and artificial fibers can be distinguished from each other under the microscope. Like hairs too, individual fibers are not unique, but the expert usually can distinguish fibers from different fabrics. A major identifying characteristic of most fibers is color, and under the microscope many different shades of each color can be differentiated for example, 50-100 shades of green or blue, and 25-30 shades of black. The microscopic appearance of three types of fibers—cotton, wool, and viscose—is illustrated in Commission Exhibit No. 665 (p. 589). Two of these, cotton and viscose, were the subject of testimony by Stombaugh. Cotton is a natural fiber. Under the microscope, it resembles a twisted soda straw, and the degree of twist is an additional identifying characteristic of cotton. Cotton may be mercerized or (more commonly) unmercerized. Viscose is an artificial fiber. A delustering agent is usually added to viscose to cut down its luster, and under the microscope this agent appears as millions of tiny spots on the outside of the fiber. The major identifying characteristics of viscose, apart from color, are diameter—hundreds of variations being possible—and size and distribution of delustering agent, if any.

The blanket. Stombaugh received the blanket, Commission Exhibit No. 140, in the FBI Laboratory at 7:30 a.m., on November 23, 1963. Examination showed that it was composed of brown and green fibers, of which approximately 1-2 percent were woolen, 20-35 percent were cotton, and the remainder were delustered viscose. The viscose fibers in the blanket were of 10-15 different diameters, and also varied slightly in shade and in the size and distribution of the delustering agent. (The apparent cause of those variations was that the viscose in the blanket consisted of scrap viscose.) The cotton also varied in shade, about seven to eight different shades of green cotton being present, but was uniform in twist.

When received by Stombaugh, the blanket was folded into approximately the shape of a narrow right triangle. A safety pin was inserted in one end of the blanket, and also at this end, loosely wrapped around the blanket, was a string. On the basis of creases in the blanket in this area it appeared that the string had been tied around the blanket rather tightly at one time while something was inside the blanket. Other creases and folds were also present, as illustrated in Commission Exhibit No. 663. Among these was a crease or hump approximately 10 inches long. This crease must have been caused by a hard protruding object approximately 10 inches long which had been tightly wrapped in the blanket, causing the yarn to stretch so that the hump was present even when the object had been extracted. The hump was approximately the same length and shape as the telescopic sight on the C2766 rifle, and its position with respect to the ends of the blanket was such (based on the manner in which the blanket was folded when Stombaugh received it) that had the rifle been in the blanket the telescopic sight could have made the hump.

The string wrapped around the blanket was made of ordinary white cotton. It had been tied into a granny knot (a very common knot tied right over right, right over right) and the dangling ends had been further tied into a bow knot (the knot used on shoelaces).

After receiving the blanket, Stombaugh scraped it to remove the foreign textile fibers and hairs that were present. He found numerous foreign textile fibers of various types and colors, and a number of limb, pubic, and head hairs, all of which had originated from persons of the Caucasian race, and had fallen out naturally, as was shown by the shape of their roots. Several of the limb and pubic hairs matched samples of Oswald's limb and pubic hairs obtained by the Dallas police in all observable characteristics, including certain relatively unusual characteristics. For example, in both Oswald's pubic hairs and some of the blanket pubic hairs, the color was a medium brown, which remained constant to the tip, where it changed to a very light brown and then became transparent, due to lack of color pigments; the diameters were identical, and rather narrow for pubic hairs; the hairs were very smooth, lacking the

knobbiness characteristic of pubic hairs, and the upper two-thirds were extremely smooth for pubic hairs; the tips of the hairs were sharp, which is unusual for pubic hairs; the cuticle was very thin for pubic hairs; the scales displayed only a very small protrusion; the pigmentation was very fine, equally dispersed, and occasionally chained together, and displayed only very slight gapping; cortical fuse were for the most part absent; the medulla was either fairly continuous or completely absent; and the root area was rather clear of pigment, and contained only a fair amount of cortical fuse, which was unusual. Similarly, in both Oswald's limb hairs and some of the limb hairs from the blanket the color was light brown through its entire length; the diameter was very fine and did not noticeably fluctuate; the tips were very sharp, which is unusual; the scales were of medium size, with very slight protrusion; there was a very slight gapping of the pigmentation near the cuticle; there was an unusual amount of cortical fuse, equally distributed through the hair shaft; and the medulla was discontinuous, granular, very bulbous, and very uneven.

Other limb, pubic, and head hairs on the blanket did not come from Oswald.

The paper bag. Stombaugh received the paper bag, Commission Exhibit No. 142, at 7:30 a.m. on November 23, 1963. No foreign material was found on the outside of the bag except traces of fingerprint powder and several white cotton fibers, which were of no significance, since white cotton is the most common textile, and at any rate the fibers may have come from Stombaugh's white cotton gloves. Inside the bag were a tiny wood fragment which was too minute for comparison purposes, and may have come from the woodpulp from which the paper was made; a particle of a waxy substance, like candle wax; and a single brown delustered viscose fiber and several light-green cotton fibers.

The fibers found inside the bag were compared with brown viscose and green cotton fibers taken from the blanket. The brown viscose fiber found in the bag matched some of the brown viscose fibers from the blanket in all observable characteristics, i.e., shade, diameter, and size and distribution of delustering agent. The green cotton fibers found in the bag were, like those from the blanket, of varying shades, but of a uniform twist. Each green cotton fiber from the bag matched some of the green cotton fibers from the blanket in all observable characteristics, i.e., shade and degree of twist. Like the blanket cotton fibers, the cotton fibers found in the bag were unmercerized.

The shirt. Stombaugh received the shirt, Commission Exhibit No. 150, at 7:30 a.m. on November 23, 1963. Examination showed that it was composed of gray-black, dark blue, and orange-yellow cotton fibers. The orange-yellow and gray-black cotton fibers were of a uniform shade, and the dark-blue fibers were of three different shades. All the fibers were mercerized and of substantially uniform degree of twist.

The C2766 rifle. The rifle, Commission Exhibit No. 139, was received in the FBI Laboratory on the morning of November 1963, and examined for foreign material at that time. Stombaugh noticed immediately that the rifle had been dusted for fingerprints, "and at the time I noted to myself that I doubted very much if there would be any fibers adhering to the outside of this gun! possibly might find some in a crevice some place because when the latent fingerprint man dusted this gun, apparently in Dallas, they use a little brush to dust with they would have dusted any fibers off the gun at the same time * * * " In fact, most of the fibers Stombaugh found were either adhering to greasy, oily deposits or were jammed down into crevices, and were so dirty, old, and fragmented that he could not even determine what type of fibers they were. However, Stombaugh found that a tiny tuft of fibers had caught on a jagged edge on the rifle's metal butt plate where it met the end of the wooden stock, and had adhered to this edge, so that when the rifle had been dusted for fingerprints the brush had folded the tuft into a crevice between the butt plate and the stock, where it remained.

Stombaugh described these fibers as "fresh, " by which he meant that "they were clean, they had good color to them, there was no grease on them and they were not fragmented." However, it was not possible to determine how long the fibers had been on the rifle, in the absence of information as to how frequently the rifle had been used. Examination showed that the tuft was composed of six or seven orange-yellow, gray-black, and dark-blue cotton fibers. These fibers were compared with fibers from the shirt, Commission Exhibit No. 150, which was also composed of orange-yellow, gray-black, and dark-blue cotton fibers. The orange-yellow and gray-black tuft fibers matched the comparable shirt fibers in all observable characteristics, i.e., shade and twist. The three dark-blue fibers matched two of the three shades of the dark-blue shirt fibers, and also matched the dark-blue shirt fibers in degree of twist. Based on these facts, Stombaugh concluded that the tuft of fibers found on the rifle "could easily" have come from the shirt, and that "there is no doubt in my mind that these fibers could have come from this shirt. There is no way, however, to eliminate the possibility of the fibers having come from another identical shirt."

Warren Report: Appendix X - Photographs

Two photographs of Lee Harvey Oswald holding a rifle were found among Oswald's possessions in Mrs. Ruth Paine's garage at 2515 West Fifth Street, Irving, Tex. In one, Commission Exhibit No. 133-A, Oswald is holding the rifle generally in front of his body; in the other, Commission Exhibit No. 133-B, he is holding the rifle to his right. Also found at Mrs. Paine's garage were a negative of 133-B and several photographs of the rear of General Walker's house. An imperial reflex camera, which Marina Oswald testified she used to take 133-A and 133-B, was subsequently produced by Robert Oswald, Lee Harvey Oswald's brother. Testimony concerning the photographs, the negative, and the camera was given by Lyndal D. Shaneyfelt of the FBI. Shaneyfelt has been connected with photographic work since 1937. He has made 100-300 photographic examinations, and has testified frequently on the subject in court.

Photographs 133-A and 133-B. The background and lighting in 133-A and 133-B are virtually identical; the only apparent difference between the two photographs is the pose. However, in 188-A the rifle is held in a position showing many more of its characteristics than are shown in 133-B. In order to bring out the details in the rifle pictured in 133-A, Shaneyfelt rephotographed 133-A and prepared prints of varying densities from the new negative. He also took two new photographs of the C2766 rifle itself: one shows the rifle in approximately the same position as the rifle pictured in 133-A. The other shows a man holding the rifle simulating the pose in 133-A. Shaneyfelt compared the actual rifle, the photograph 133-A, his rephoto-graphs of 133-A, and the two new photographs to determine whether the rifle pictured in 133-A was the C2766 rifle. He found it to be the same in all appearances, noted no differences, and found a notch in the stock of the C2766 which also appeared very faintly in 133-A. However, he did not find enough peculiarities to positively identify the rifle in 133-A as the C2766 rifle, as distinguished from other rifles of the same configuration.

The rifle's position in 133-B is such that less of its characteristics were visible than in 183-A; essentially, 133-B shows only the bottom of the rifle. However, the characteristics of the rifle visible in 133-B are also similar to the observable characteristics of the C2766 rifle, except that while the C2766 rifle was equipped with a homemade leather sling when it was found after the assassination, the rifle in 133-B seems to be equipped with a homemade rope sling. The portion of the sling visible in 133-A is too small to establish whether it is rope or leather, but it has the appearance of rope, and its configuration is consistent with the rope sling pictured in 133-B.

The negative. Shaneyfelt's examination of the negative, Commission Exhibit No. 749, showed that the photograph, 133-B, had been printed directly or indirectly from the negative. It was Shaneyfelt's opinion that 188-B had been directly from the negative, but he could not absolutely eliminate the possibility of an internegative, that is, the possibility that a print had been produced from the negative 749, a photograph had been taken of that print, and 133-B had been produced from the new negative, rather than from the original negative. "I think this is highly unlikely, because if this were the result of a copied negative, there would normally be evidence that I could detect, such as a loss of detail and imperfections that show up due to the added process." In any event, any "intermediate" print would have been virtually indistinguishable from 133-B, so that Shaneyfelt's testimony conclusively established that either 133-B or a virtually indistinguishable print had been produced from the negative 749.

The camera. The Imperial camera, Commission Exhibit No. 750, was a relatively inexpensive, fixed-focus, one-shutter-speed, box-type camera, made in the United States. Shaneyfelt compared this camera with the negative, Commission Exhibit No. 749, to determine whether this negative had been taken with the camera. To make this determination, Shaneyfelt compared the margins of the image on Commission Exhibit No. 749 with the margins of the image on a negative he himself had taken with the camera. Microscopic examination shows that the margins of a negative's image, although apparently straight, are actually irregular. The irregularities usually do not show on a finished print, because they are blocked out to give the print a neat border. The cause of these irregularities can be best understood by examination of Commission Exhibit No. 751 (p. 594), a photograph of the Imperial camera with the back removed to show the camera's film-plane aperture. When the camera's shutter is opened, light exposes that portion of the film which is not blocked off by this aperture. The edges of the aperture, therefore, define the edges of the image which will appear on the developed negative. In effect, the edge of the image is a shadow graph of the edge of the aperture. As Shaneyfelt testified:

* * * the basis of the examination was a close microscopic study of the negative made in the camera to study the shadow graph that is made of the edge of the aperture.

As the film is placed across the aperture of the camera, and the shutter is opened, light comes through and exposes the film only in the opening within the edges. Where the film is out over the edges of the aperture it is not exposed, and your result is an exposed negative with a clear edge, and on the negative then, the edges of

that exposure of the photograph, are actually shadowgraphs of the edges of the aperture.

The basis of the identification is that the microscopic characteristics of every film-plane aperture, like those of a rifle barrel, are distinctive, for much the same reason; that is, when the camera is manufactured, certain handwork is done which differs microscopically from camera to camera, and further differences accrue as the camera is used. As Shaneyfelt testified:

Q. Mr. Shaneyfelt, what is the basis of your statement, the theoretical basis of your statement, that every camera with this type of back aperture arrangement is unique in the characteristics of the shadow graph it makes on the negative?

MR. SHANEYFELT. It is because of the minute variations that even two cameras from the same mold will have. Additional handwork on cameras, or filing the edges where a little bit of plastic or a little bit of metal stays on, make individual characteristics apart from those that would be general characteristics on all of them from the same mold.

In addition, as the film moves across the camera and it is used for a considerable length of time, dirt and debris tend to accumulate a little or if the aperture is painted, little lumps in the paint will make little bumps along that edge that would make that then individually different from every other camera.

Q. Is this similar then to tool mark identification?

MR. SHANEYFELT. Very similar; yes.

Based on his examination of the shadow graph on the negative, Commission Exhibit No. 749, Shaneyfelt determined that it had been taken with the Imperial camera.

Three edges of the shadow graph of the film-plane aperture were also visible on one of the photographs of General Walker's house, not having been blocked out in the making of the print. On the basis of these three margins, Shaneyfelt determined that this photograph had also been taken with Oswald's Imperial Reflex camera. Shaneyfelt could not determine whether 133-A had been photographed with the Imperial camera, because the negative of 133-A had not been found, and the print itself did not show a shadow graph area.

During his interrogations Oswald had been shown 133-A, and had claimed it was a composite that the face in the picture was his, but the body was not. Shaneyfelt examined 133-A and 133-B to determine if they were composite pictures. He concluded that they were not:

* * * it is my opinion that they are not composites. Again with very, very minor reservation, because I cannot entirely eliminate an extremely expert composite. I have examined many composite photographs, and there is always an inconsistency, either in lighting of the portion that is added, or the configuration indicating a different lens used for the part that was added to the original photograph, things many times that you can't point to and say this is a characteristic, or that is a characteristic, but they have definite variations that are not consistent throughout the picture.

I found no such characteristics in this picture.

In addition, with a composite it is always necessary to make a print that you then make a pasteup of. In this instance paste the face in, and rephotograph it, and then retouch out the area where the head was cut out, which would leave a characteristic that would be retouched out on the negative and then that would be printed.

Normally, this retouching can be seen under magnification in the resulting composite points can be seen where the edge of the head had been added and it hadn't been entirely retouched out.

This can nearly always be detected under magnification. I found no such characteristics in these pictures.

Q. Did you use the technique of magnification in your analysis?

A. Yes.

Furthermore, the negative, Commission Exhibit No. 749, showed absolutely no doctoring or composition. Since the negative was made in Oswald's Imperial camera, Commission Exhibit No. 750, a composite of 133-B could have been made only by putting two pictures together and rephotographing them in the Imperial camera all without leaving a discernible trace. This, to Shaneyfelt, was "in the realm of the impossible":

In addition, in this instance regarding 133-B which I have just stated, I have identified as being photographed or exposed in the camera which is Exhibit 750, for this to be a composite, they would have had to make a picture of the background with an individual standing there, and then substitute the face, and retouch it and then possibly rephotograph it and retouch that negative, and make a print, and then photograph it with this camera, which is Commission Exhibit 750, in order to have this negative which we have identified with the camera, and

is Commission Exhibit 749.

This to me is beyond reasonable doubt, it just doesn't seem that it would be at all possible, in this particular photograph.

Q. You have the negative of this? [Referring to Exhibit 133B.]

A. We have the negative of 133B.

Q. You have the negative of 133B. That negative in itself shows no doctoring or composition at all?

A. It shows absolutely no doctoring or composition.

Q. So that the only composition that could have been made would have been in this process which you have described of picture on picture and negative and then photographing?

A. And then finally rephotographing with this camera.

Q. Rephotographing with this camera, this very camera?

A. That is correct, and this then, to me, becomes in the realm of the impossible.

Following the assassination, photographs similar to 133-A appeared in a number of newspapers and magazines. At least some of these photographs, as reproduced, differed both from 133-A and from each other in minor details. Shaneyfelt examined several of these reproductions and concluded that in each case the individual publisher had taken a reproduction of 133-A and retouched it in various ways, apparently for clarifying purposes, thus accounting for the differences between the reproductions and 133-A, and the differences between the reproductions themselves. Subsequently one of the publishers involved submitted the original photographs which it had retouched. Shaneyfelt's examination of this photograph confirmed his original conclusion. The remaining publishers either confirmed that they had retouched the photographs they had used, or failed to contradict Shaneyfelt's testimony after having been given an opportunity to do so.

Warren Report: Appendix XI - Reports Relating to the Interrogation of Lee Harvey Oswald at the Dallas Police Department

As discussed in chapters IV and V, Lee Harvey Oswald was interrogated for a total of approximately 12 hours between 2:30 p.m. on Friday, November 22, 1963, and 11:15 a.m. on Sunday, November 24, 1963. There were no stenographic or tape recordings of these interviews. Several of the investigators present at one or more of the interrogation sessions, prior to testifying before the Commission, had prepared memoranda setting forth their recollections of the questioning of Oswald and his responses. The following are the most important of these reports.

Report of Capt. J. W. Fritz, Dallas Police Department

Interrogation of Lee Harvey Oswald

We conducted the investigation at the Texas School Book Depository Building on November 22, 1963, immediately after the President was shot and after we had found the location where Lee Harvey Oswald had done the shooting from and left three empty cartridge cases on the floor and the rifle had been found partially hidden under some boxes near the back stairway. These pieces of evidence were protected until the Crime Lab. could get pictures and make a search for fingerprints. After Lt. Day, of the Crime Lab. had finished his work with the rifle, I picked it up and found that it had a cartridge in the chamber, which I ejected. About this time some officer came to me and told me that Mr. Roy S. Truly wanted to see me, as one of his men had left the building. I had talked to Mr. Truly previously and at that time he thought everyone was accounted for who worked in the building. Mr. Truly then came with another officer and told me that a Lee Harvey Oswald had left the building. I asked if he had an address where this man lived, and he told me that he did, that it was in Irving at 2515 W. 5th Street. I then left the rest of the search of the building with Chief Lumpkin and other officers who were there and told Dets. R. M. Sims and E.L. Boyd to accompany me to the City Hall where we could make a quick check for police record and any other information of value, and we would then go to Irving, Texas, in an effort to apprehend this man. While I was in the building, I was told that Officer J.D. Tippit had been shot in Oak Cliff. Immediately after I reached my office, I asked the officers who had brought in a prisoner from the Tippit shooting who the man was who shot the officer. They told me his name was Lee Harvey Oswald, and I replied that that was our suspect in the President's killing. I instructed the officers to bring this man into the office after talking to the officers for a few minutes in the presence of Officers R.M. Sims and E.L. Boyd of the Homicide Bureau and possibly some Secret Service men. Just as I had started questioning this man, I received a call from Gordon Shanklin, Agent in Charge of the FBI office here in Dallas, who asked me to let him talk to Jim Bookhout, one of his agents. He told Mr. Bookhout that he would like for James P. Hosty to sit in on this interview as he knew about these people and had been investigating them before. I invited Mr. Bookhout and Mr. Hosty in to help with the interview.

After some questions about this man's full name I asked him if he worked for the Texas School Book Depository, and he told me he did. I asked him which floor he worked on, and he said usually on the second floor but sometimes his work took him to all the different floors. I asked him what part of the building he was in at the time the President was shot, and he said that he was having his lunch about that time on the first floor. Mr. Truly had told me that one of the police officers had stopped this man immediately after the shooting somewhere near the back stairway, so I asked Oswald where he was when the police officer stopped him. He said he was on the second floor drinking a coca cola when the officer came in. I asked him why he left the building, and he said there was so much excitement he didn't think there would be any more work done that day, and that as this company wasn't particular about their hours, that they did not punch a clock, and that he thought it would be just as well that he left for the rest of the afternoon. I asked him if he owned a rifle, and he said that he did not. He said that he had seen one at the building a few days ago, and that Mr. Truly and some of the employees were looking at it. I asked him where he went to when he left work, and he told me that he had a room on 1026 North Beckley, that he went over there and changed his trousers and got his pistol and went to the picture show. I asked him why he carried his pistol, and he remarked, "You know how boys do when they have a gun, they just carry it."

Mr. Hosty asked Oswald if he had been in Russia. He told him, "yes, he had been in Russia three years." He asked him if he had written to the Russian Embassy, and he said he had. This man became very upset and arrogant with Agent Hosty when he questioned him and accused him of accosting his wife two different times. When Agent Hosty attempted to talk to this man, he would hit his fist on the desk. I asked Oswald what he meant by accosting his wife when he was talking to Mr. Hosty.

He said Mr. Hosty mistreated his wife two different times when he talked with her, practically accosted her. Mr. Hosty also asked Oswald if he had been to Mexico City, which he denied. During this interview he told me that he had gone to school in New York and in Fort Worth, Texas, that after going into the Marines, finished his high school education. I asked him if he won any medals for rifle shooting in the Marines. He said he won the usual medals.

I asked him what his political beliefs were, and he said he had none but that he belonged to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and told me that they had headquarters in New York and that he had been Secretary for this organization in New Orleans when he lived there. He also said that he supports the Castro Revolution. One of the officers had told me that he had rented the room on Beckley under the name of O.F. Lee. I asked him why he did this. He said the landlady did it. She didn't understand his name correctly.

Oswald asked if he was allowed an attorney and I told him he could have any attorney he liked, and that the telephone would be available to him up in the jail and he could call anyone he wished. I believe it was during this interview that he first expressed a desire to talk to Mr. Abt, an attorney in New York. Interviews on this day were interrupted by showups where witnesses identified Oswald positively as the man who killed Officer Tippit, and the time that I would have to talk to another witness or to some of the officers. One of these showups was held at 4:35 p.m. and the next one at 6:30 p.m. and at 7:55 p.m. At 7:05 p.m. I signed a complaint before Bill Alexander of the District Attorney's office, charging Oswald with the Tippit murder. At 7:10 p.m. Oswald was arraigned before Judge Johnston. During the second day interview I asked Oswald about a card that he had in his purse showing that he belonged to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, which he admitted was his. I asked him about another identification card in his pocket bearing the name of Alex Hidell. He said he picked up that name in New Orleans while working in the Fair Play for Cuba organization. He said he spoke Russian, that he corresponded with people in Russia, and that he received newspapers from Russia.

I showed the rifle to marine Oswald, and she could not positively identify it, but said that it looked like the rifle that her husband had and that he had been keeping it in the garage at Mrs. Pain's home in Irving. After this, I questioned Oswald further about the rifle, but he denied owning a rifle at all, and said that he did have a small rifle some years past. I asked him if he owned a rifle in Russia, and he said, "You know you can't buy a rifle in Russia, you can only buy shotguns." "I had a shotgun in Russia and hunted some while there." marina Oswald had told me that she thought her husband might have brought the rifle from new Orleans, which he denied. He told me that he had some things stored in a garage at Mrs. Paine's home in Irving and that he had a few personal effects at his room on Beckley. I instructed the officers to make a thorough search of both of these places.

After reviewing all of the evidence pertaining to the killing of President Kennedy before District Attorney Henry Wade and his assistant, Bill Alexander, and Jim Allen, former First Assistant District Attorney of Dallas Count, I signed a complaint before the District Attorney charging Oswald with the murder of President Kennedy. this was at 11:26 p.m. He was arraigned before Judge David Johnston at 1:35 a.m. November 23, 1963.

Oswald was place in jail about 12:00 midnight and brought from jail for arraignment before Judge David Johnston at 1:35 a.m.

On November 23 at 10:25 a.m. Oswald was brought from the jail for an interview. Present at this time was FBI agent Jim Bookhout, Forrest Sorrells, special agent and in charge of Secret Service, United States Marshal Robert Nash, and Homicide officers. During this interview I talked to Oswald about his leaving the building, and he told me he left by bus and rode to a stop near home and walked on to his house. At the time of Oswald's arrest he had a bus transfer in his pocket. He admitted this was given to him by the bus driver when he rode the bus after leaving the building.

One of the officers had told me that a cab driver, William Wayne Whaley, thought he had recognized Oswald's picture as the man who had gotten in his cab near the bus station and rode to Beckley Avenue. I asked Oswald if he had ridden a cab on that day, and he said, "Yes, I did ride in the cab. The bus I got on near where I work got into heavy traffic and was traveling too slow, and I got off and caught a cab." I asked him about his conversation with the cab driver, and he said he remembered that when he got in the cab a lady came up who also wanted a cab, and he told Oswald to tell the lady to "take another cab."

We found from the investigation the day before that when Oswald left home, he was carrying a long package. He usually went to see his wife of week ends, but this time he had gone on Thursday night. I asked him if he had told Buell Wesley Frazier why he had gone home a different night, and if he had told him anything about bringing back some curtain rods. He denied it.

During this conversation he told me he reached his home by cab and changed both his shirt and

trousers before going to the show. He said his cab fare home was 85 cents. When asked what he did with his clothing, he took off when he got home, he said he put them in the dirty clothes. In talking with him further about his location at the time the President was killed, he said he ate lunch with some of the colored boys who worked with him. One of them was called "Junior" and the other one was a little short man whose name he did not know. He said he had a cheese sandwich and some fruit and that was the only package he had brought with him to work and denied that he had brought the long package described by Mr. Frazier and his sister.

I asked him why he lived in a room, while his wife lived in Irving. He said Mrs. Paine, the lady his wife lived with, was learning Russian, that his wife needed help with the young baby, and that I made a nice arrangement for both of them. He said he didn't know Mr. Paine very well, but Mr. Paine and his wife, he thought were separated a great deal of the time. He said he owned no car, but that the Paines have two cars, and told that in the garage at the Paine's home he had some sea bags that had a lot of his personal belongings, that he had left them there after coming back from New Orleans in September.

He said he had a brother, Robert, who lived in Fort Worth. We later found that this brother lived in Denton. He said the Paines were close friends of his.

I asked him if he belonged to the Communist Party, but he said that he had never had a card, but repeated that he belonged to the Fair Play for Cuba organization, and he said that he belonged to the American Civil Liberties Union and paid \$5.00 dues. I asked him again why he carried the pistol to the show. He refused to answer questions about the pistol. He did tell me, however, that he had bought it several months before in Fort Worth, Texas.

I noted that in questioning him that he did answer very quickly and I asked him if he had ever been questioned before, and he told me that he had. He was questioned one time for a long time by the FBI after he had returned from Russia. He said they used different methods, they tried the hard and soft, and the buddy method and said he was very familiar with interrogation. He reminded me that he did not have to answer any questions at all until he talked to his attorney, and I told him again that he could have an attorney any time he wished. He said he didn't have money to pay for a phone call to Mr. Abt. I told him to call "collect," if he liked, to use the jail phone or that he could have another attorney if he wished. He said he didn't want another attorney, he wanted to talk to this attorney first. I believe he made this call later as he thanked me later during one of our interviews for allowing him the use of the telephone. I explained to him that all prisoners were allowed to use the telephone. I asked him why he waited Mr. Abt, instead of some available attorney. He told me he didn't know Mr. Abt personally but that he was familiar with a case where Mr. Abt defended some people for a violation of the Smith Act, and that if he didn't get Mr. Abt, that he felt sure the American Civil Liberties Union would furnish him a lawyer. He explained to me that this organization helped people who needed attorneys and weren't able to get them.

While in New Orleans, he lived at 4907 Magazine Street and at one time worked for the William Riley Company near that address. When asked about any previous arrests he told me that he had had a little trouble while working with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and had a fight with some anti-Castro people. He also told me of a debate on some radio station in New Orleans where he debated with some anti-Castro people.

I asked him what he thought of President Kennedy and his family, and he said he didn't have any view on the President. He said, "I like the President's family very well. I have my own views about national policies." I asked him about a polygraph test. He told me he had refused a polygraph test with the FBI, and he certainly wouldn't take one at this time. Both Mr. Bookhout, of the FBI and Mr. Kelley, and the Marshal asked Oswald some questions during this interview.

Oswald was placed back in jail at 11:33 a.m. At 12:35 p.m. Oswald was brought to the office for another interview with Inspector Kelley and some of the other officers and myself. I talked to Oswald about the different places he had lived in Dallas in an effort to find where he was living when the picture was made of him holding a rifle which looked to be the same rifle we had recovered. This picture showed to be taken near a stairway with many identifying things in the back yard. He told me about one of the places where he had lived.

Mr. Paine had told me about where Oswald lived on Neely Street. Oswald was very evasive about this location. We found later that this was the place where the picture was made. I again asked him about his property and where his things might be kept. and he told me about the things at Mrs. Paine's residence and a few things on Beckley. He was placed back in jail at 1:10 p.m.

At 6:00 p.m. I instructed the officers to bring Oswald back into the office, and in the presence of Jim Bookhout, Homicide officers, and Inspector Kelly, of the Secret Service, I showed Oswald an enlarged

picture of him holding a rifle and wearing a pistol. This picture had been enlarged by our Crime Lab from a picture found in the garage at Mrs. Pain's home. He said the picture was not his, that the face was his face, but that this picture had been made by someone superimposing his face, the other part of the picture was not him at all and that he had never seen the picture before. When I told him that the picture was recovered from Mrs. Pain's garage, he said that picture had never been in his possession, and I explained to him that it was an enlargement of the small picture obtained in the search. At that time I showed him the smaller picture. He denied ever seeing that picture and said that he knew all about photography, that he had done a lot of work in photography himself, that the small picture was a reduced picture of the large picture, and had been made by some person unknown to him. He further stated that since he had been photographed here at the City Hall and that people had been taking his picture while being transferred from my office to the jail door that someone had been able to get a picture of his face and that with that, they had made this picture. He told me that he understood photography real well, and that in time, he would be able to show that it was not his picture, and that it had been made by someone else. At this time he said that he did not want to answer any more question and he was returned to the jail about 7:15 p.m.

At 9:30 on the morning of November 24, I asked that Oswald be brought to the office. At that time I showed him a map of the City of Dallas which had been recovered in the search of his room North Beckley. This map had some markings on it, one of which was about where the President was shot. He said that the map had nothing to do with the President's shooting and again, as he had done in the previous interview, denied knowing anything of the shooting of the President, or of the shooting of officer Tippit. He said the map had been used to locate buildings where he had gone to talk to people about employment.

During this interview Inspector Kelley asked Oswald about his religious view, and he replied that he didn't agree with all the philosophies on religion. He seemed evasive with inspector Kelley about how he felt about religion, and I asked him if he believed in a Deity. He was evasive and didn't answer this question.

Someone of the Federal officers asked Oswald if he thought Cuba would be better off since the President was assassinated. To this he replied that he felt that since the President was killed that someone else would take his place, perhaps Vice-president Johnson, and that his views would probably be largely the same as those of President Kennedy.

I again asked him about the gun and about the picture of him holding a similar rifle, and at that time he again positively denied having any knowledge of the picture or the rifle and denied that he had ever lived on Neely Street, and when I told him that friends who had visited him there said that he had lived there, he said that they were mistaken about visiting him there, because he had never lived there.

During this interview, Oswald said he was a Marxist. He repeated two or three times, "I am a Marxist, but not a Leninist-Marxist." He told me that the station that he had debated on in New Orleans was the one who carried Bill Stakey's program. He denied again knowing Alex Hidell in New Orleans, and again reiterated his belief in Fair Play for Cuba and what the committee stood for.

After some questions, Chief Jesse E. Curry came to the office and asked me if I was ready for the man to be transferred. I told him we were ready as soon as the security was completed in the basement, where we were to place Oswald in a car to transfer him to the County Jail. I had objected to the cameras obstruction the jail door, and the Chief explained to me that these have been moved, and the people were moved back, and the cameramen were well back in the garage. I told the Chief then that we were ready to go. He told us to go ahead with the prisoner, and that he and Chief Stevenson, who was with him, would meet us at the County Jail.

Oswald's shirt, which he was wearing at the time of arrest, had been removed and sent to the crime lab in Washington with all the other evidence for a comparison test. Oswald said he would like to have a shirt from his clothing that had been brought to the office to wear over the T-shirt that he was wearing at the time. We selected the best looking shirt from his things, but he said he would prefer wearing a black Ivy League type shirt, indicating that it might be a little warmer. We made this change and I asked him if he wouldn't like to wear a hat to more or less camouflage his looks in the car while being transferred as all of the people who had been viewing him had seen him bareheaded. He didn't want to do this. Then Officer J.R. Leavell had cuffed his left hand to Oswald's right hand, then we left the office for the transfer.

Inasmuch as this report was made from rough notes and memory, it is entirely possible that one of these questions could be in a separate interview from the one indicated in this report. He was interviewed under the most adverse condition in my office which is 9 feet 6 inches by 14 feet, and has only one front door, which forced us to move this prisoner through hundreds of people each time he was carried from

my office to the jail door, some 20 feet, during each of these transfers. The crowd would attempt to jam around him, shouting questions and many continuing slurs. This office is also surrounded by large glass windows, and there were many officers working next to these windows. I have no recorder in this office and was unable to record the interview. I was interrupted many times during these interviews to step from the office to talk to another witness or secure additional information from officers needed for the interrogation.

Reports of Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

Federal Bureau of Investigation - Report #1

Date: 11/23/63

Lee Harvey Oswald, 1026 North Beckley, Dallas, Texas, was interviewed by Captain Will Fritz of the Homicide Bureau, Dallas Police Department. Special Agents James P. Hosty, Jr. and James W. Bookhout were present during this interview. When the Agents entered the interview room at 3:15 p.m., Captain Fritz had been previously interviewing Lee Harvey Oswald for an undetermined period of time. Both Agents identified themselves to Oswald and advised him they were law enforcement officers and anything he said could be used against him. Oswald at this time adopted a violent attitude toward the FBI and both Agents and made many uncomplimentary remarks about the FBI. Oswald requested that Captain Fritz remove the cuffs from him, it being noted that Oswald was handcuffed with his hands behind him. Captain Fritz had one of his detectives remove the handcuffs and handcuff Oswald with his hands in front of him.

Captain Fritz asked Oswald if he ever owned a rifle and Oswald stated that he had observed a Mr. Truly (phonetic), a supervisor at the Texas Schoolbook Depository on November 20, 1963, display a rifle to some individuals in his office on the first floor of the Texas Schoolbook Depository, but denied ever owning a rifle himself. Oswald stated that he had never been in Mexico except to Tijuana on one occasion. However, he admitted to Captain Fritz to having reside in the Soviet Union for three years where he has many friends and relatives of his wife.

Oswald also admitted that he was the secretary for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New Orleans, Louisiana a few months ago. Oswald stated that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee has its headquarters in New York City. Oswald admitted to having received an award for marksmanship while a member of the U.S. Marine Corps. He further admitted that he was living at 1026 N. Beckley in Dallas, Texas, under the name of O.H. Lee. Oswald admitted that he was present in the Texas Schoolbook Depository on November 22, 1963, where he has been employed since October 15, 1963. Oswald stated that as a laborer, he has access to the entire building which has offices on the first and second floors and storage on the third and fourth, as well as the fifth and sixth floors. Oswald stated that he went to lunch at approximately noon and he claimed he ate his lunch on the first floor in the lunchroom; however he went to the second floor where the Coca-Cola machine was located and obtained a bottle of Coca-Cola for his lunch. Oswald claimed to be on the first floor when President John F. Kennedy passed this building.

After hearing what had happened, he said that because of all the confusion there would be no work performed that afternoon so he decided to go home. Oswald stated he then went home by bus and changed his clothes and sent to a movie. Oswald admitted to carrying a pistol with him to this movie stating he did this because he felt like it, giving no other reason. Oswald further admitted attempting to fight the Dallas police officers who arrested him in this movie theater when he received a cut and a bump.

Oswald frantically denied shooting Dallas police officer Tippit or shooting President John F. Kennedy. The interview was concluded at 4:05 p.m. when Oswald was removed for a lineup.

on 11/22/63 at Dallas, Texas. File# DL89-43 by Special Agents James P. Hosty, Jr. and James W. Bookhout /wvm. Date dictated: 11/23/63

Federal Bureau of Investigation - Report #2

Date: 11/23/63

Lee Harvey Oswald, interviews in offices of the Dallas Police Department, was advised that he did not have to make any statement, any statement he made could be used against him in court and of his right to an attorney. He was requested to furnish descriptive and biographical data concerning himself.

The following was obtained from his responses and examination of contents of his wallet:

Oswald declined to explain his possession of a photograph of a Selective Service card in the name of "Alek James Hidell."

When interview had been substantially completed and Oswald was asked as to his present employment, he stated he thought perhaps interview to obtain descriptive information was too prolonged, that he had declined to be interviewed by any other officers previously, and did not desire to be interviewed by this agent. He remarked "I know your tacticsthere is a similar agency in Russia. you are using the soft touch and, of course, the procedure in Russia would be quite different."

Oswald was advised questions were intended to obtain his complete physical description and background. Upon repetition of the question to his present employment, he furnished same without further discussion.

Race	White
Sex	Male
Date of Birth	October 18, 1939
Place of Birth	New Orleans, Louisiana
height	5'9"
Weight	140
hair	Medium brown, worn medium length, needs haircut
Eyes	Blue-gray
Scars	No tattoos or permanent scars
Relatives	MoverMarguerite Oswald, unknown address, Arlington, Texas, practical nurse (has not seen for about one year) FatherRobert <u>Lee Oswald</u> , deceased, August 31, 1939, New Orleans, Louisiana WifeMarine; tow infant children BrothersJohn Oswald, address unknown, last know at Fort Worth, Texas, five or six years ago, age about 30, works with pharmaceuticals, but not graduate pharmacist; Robert Oswald, 7313 Davenport, Fort Worth, Texas (wifeVADA, two small children), works for brick company (believed Acme)
Dress at Time of interview	Black trousers, brown "salt and pepper," long sleeved shirt, bareheaded
Contents of Wallet	Had card in possession, Lee Harvey Oswald, Social Security No. 433-54-3937 Photo of Selective Service System card with photo of Oswald, "Notice of Classification" and name "Alek James Hidell, SSS 42-224-39-5321." Card shows classification IV(?). Bears date February 5, 1962, reverse side shows card from Texas Local Board, 400 West Vickery, Fort Worth, Texas. Card shows erasures and retyping of the information indicated and bears longhand signature "Alek J. Hidell." Signature of member or clerk of local board (indistinct, may be Good_____.) Local Board 114, Fort Worth, lee Harvey Oswald, SSN 41-114-39-532, address 3124West 5th Street, Fort Worth, Texas, registered September 14, 1959. Date of birth October 18, 1939, New Orleans, 5'11", 150 lbs., blue eyes, brown hair. Mrs. Zola Z. Burger, Clerk. Snapshot photo of woman, apparently wife. Snapshot photo of infant.

White card with longhand, "Embassy USSR, 1609 Decatur, NW, Washington, D.C., Consular REZHUYEHKO" (indistinct)

Department of Defense Identification No N\$,271,617, issued to Lee H. Oswald, expiration date December 7, 1962, Private First Class, E-2, MCR/INAC, Service No. 1653230. Card shows date of birth October 18, 1939, 5'11", 145lbs., brown hair, gray eyes.

Dallas Public Library card, undated, expiration date December 7, 1965, issued to Lee Harvey Oswald, 602 Elsbeth, Dallas, school or businessJaggersChilesStovall, followed by the name Jack L. Bowen, 1916 Stevens Forest Drive, WH 8-8997.

U.S. Forces, Japan Identification card issued to Lee H. Oswald, Private, Service No. 1653230, organization±MACS-1 MAG-11 1st MAW. Identification card #00646, issued, May 8, 1958. Date of birth October 18, 1939, American.

Card, "Compliments GA-JO Enkanko Hotel, telephone number ED 500755 of reverse side.

Certificate of Service in Armed Forces of United States, issued to Lee Harvey Oswald, 1653230, reflected honorably served on active duty, U.S. Marine Corps, October 24, 1956September 11, 1959.

Card of "Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3, New York, telephone Oregon 4-8295," issued to Lee H. Oswald, May 28, 1963, filed by V.T. Lee as Executive Secretary.

Card of "Fair Play for Cuba, New Orleans Chapter," issued to L.H. Oswald, June 15, 1963, files by A.T.(?) Hidell, Chapter President (note name Hidell on fictitious Selective Service card)

Selective Service notice of classification card to Lee Harvey Oswald, Selective Service No. 41-114-39-532, IV-A, dated February 2, 1960, from Local Board 114, Fort Worth, Texas.

\$13.00 in currency, consisting of one \$5.00 bill and eight \$1.00 bills

Residence

2515 West 5th Street, Irving, Texas, phone BL 3-1628 (residence of wife for past five weeks)

Room in rooming house, 1026 North Beckley for about five weeks. Phone number unknown.

Previous Residences

4706 magazine Street, New Orleans, Louisiana, no phone (about three months)

602 Elsbeth, no phone (about seven months), Dallas, Texas

Unrecalled street in Fort Worth, Texas, (a few months), with brother in Fort Worth, Texas, for a few months.

Previously in Soviet Union, until July, 1962.

Occupations

PhotographyJaggersChilesStovall, 522 Browder, Dallas, Texas

Factory worker, William B. Riley Company (Coffee and Coffee Canisters), 644 Magazine Street, New Orleans, Louisiana

Unemployed for several months
Employed with Texas State Book Depository, Dallas,
Texas, September, 1963, stock work, filing orders, etc.

on 11/22/63 at Dallas, Texas. File#89-43 by Special Agent Manning C. Clements / mac. Date dictated 11/23/63.

Federal Bureau of Investigation - Report #3

Date: 11/25/63

Lee Harvey Oswald was interviewed at the homicide and Robbery Bureau, Dallas Police Department, by Captain J. W. Fritz in the presence of Special Agent James W. Bookhout, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Oswald was advised of the identity and official capacity of said agent and the fact that he did not have to make any statement, that any statement he did make could be used in a court of law against him, and that any statement made must be free and voluntary and that he had the right to consult with an attorney.

Oswald stated that he did not own any rifle. He advised that he saw a rifle day before yesterday at the Texas School Book Depository which Mr. Truly and two other gentlemen had in their possession and were looking at.

Oswald stated that on November 22, 1963, at the time of the search of the Texas School Book Depository building by Dallas police officers, he was on the second floor of said building, having just purchased a Coca-cola from the soft-drink machine, at which time a police officer came into the room with pistol drawn and asked him if he worked there. Mr. Truly was present and verified that he was an employee and the police officer thereafter left the room and continued through the building. Oswald stated that he took this Coke down to the first floor and stood around and had lunch in the employees lunch room. He thereafter went outside and stood around for five or ten minutes with foreman Bill Shelly, and thereafter went home. He stated that he left work because, in his opinion, based upon remarks of Bill Shelly, he did not believe that there was going to be anymore work that day due to the confusion in the building. He stated after arriving at his residence, then he went to a movie where he was subsequently apprehended by the Dallas Police Department.

Oswald stated that his hours of work at the Texas School Book Depository are from 8 a.m. to 4:45 p.m., but that he is not required to punch a time clock. His usual place of work in the building is on the first floor; however, he frequently is required to go to the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh floors of the building in order to get books and this was true on November 22, 1963, and he had been on all of the floors in the performance of his duties on November 22, 1963.

on 11/22/63 at Dallas, Texas. File#DL89-43 by Special Agent James W. Bookhout /wvm. Date dictated 11/24/63.

Federal Bureau of Investigation - Report #4

Date 11/25/63

Lee Harvey Oswald was interviewed by Captain J.W. Fritz, Homicide and Robbery Bureau, Dallas Police Department. Oswald was advised of the identity of SA James W. Bookhout, and his capacity as a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He was informed of his right to an attorney, that any statement he might make could be used against him in a court of law, and that any statement which he might make must be free and voluntary. He furnished the following information in the presence of T.J. Nully, U.S. Secret Service; David B. Grant, Secret Service; Robert I. Nash, United States Marshal; and Detectives Billy L. Senkel and Fay M. Turner of the Homicide and Robbery Bureau, Dallas Police Department.

Following his departure from the Texas School Book Depository, he boarded a city bus to his residence and obtained transfer upon departure from the bus. He stated that officers at the time of arresting him took his transfer out of his pocket.

Oswald advised that he had only one post office box which was at Dallas, Texas. He denied bringing any package to work on the morning of November 22, 1963. He stated that he was not in the process of fixing up his apartment and he denied telling Wesley Frazier that the purpose of his visit to Irving, Texas, on the night of November 21, 1963, was to obtain some curtain rods from Mrs. Ruth Paine.

Oswald stated that it was not exactly true as recently stated by him that he rode a bus from his place of employment to his residence on November 22, 1963. He stated actually he did board a city bus at his

place of employment but that after a block or two, due to traffic congestion, he left the bus and rode a city cab to his apartment on North Beckley. He recalled that at the time of getting into the cab, some lady looked in and asked the driver to call her a cab. He stated that he might have made some remarks to the cab driver merely for the purpose of passing the time of day at that time. He recalled that his fare was approximately 85 cents. He stated that after arriving at his apartment, he changed his shirt and trousers because they were dirty. He described his dirty clothes as being a reddish colored long sleeved, shirt with a button-down collar and gray colored trousers. He indicated that he had placed these articles of clothing in the lower drawer of his dresser.

Oswald stated that on November 22, 1963, he had eaten lunch in the lunch room at the Texas School Book Depository, alone, but recalled possibly two Negro employees walking through the room during this period. He stated possibly one of these employees was called "Junior" and the other was short individual whose name he could not recall but whom he would be able to recognize. He stated that his lunch had consisted of a cheese sandwich and an apple which he had obtained at Mrs. Ruth Paine's residence in Irving, Texas, upon his leaving for work that morning.

Oswald stated that Mrs. Paine receives no pay for keeping his wife and children at her residence. He stated that their presence in Mrs. Paine's residence is a good arrangement for her because of her language interest, indicating that his wife speaks Russian and Mrs. Paine is interested in the Russian language.

Oswald denied having kept a rifle in Mrs. Paine's garage at Irving, Texas, but stated that he did have certain articles stored in her garage, consisting of two sea bags, a couple of suitcases, and several boxes of kitchen articles and also kept his clothes at Mrs. Paine's residence. He stated that all of the articles in Mrs. Paine's garage had been brought there about September, 1963, from New Orleans, Louisiana.

Oswald stated that he has had no visitors at his apartment on North Beckley.

Oswald stated that he has no receipts for purchase of any guns and has never ordered any guns and does not own a rifle nor has he ever possessed a rifle.

Oswald denied that he is a member of the Communist Party

Oswald stated that he purchased a pistol, which was taken off him by police officers November 22, 1963, about six month ago. He declined to state where he had purchased it.

Oswald stated that he arrived about July, 1962, from USSR and was interviewed by the FBI at Fort Worth, Texas. He stated that he felt they overstepped their bounds and had used various tactics in interviewing him.

He further complained that on interview of Ruth Paine by the FBI regarding his wife, that he felt that his wife was intimidated.

Oswald stated that he desired to contact Attorney Abt, New York City, indicating that Abt was the attorney who had defended the Smith Act case about 1949-1950. He stated that he does not know Attorney Abt personally. Captain Fritz advised Oswald that arrangement would be immediately made whereby he could call Attorney Abt.

Oswald stated that prior to coming to Dallas from New Orleans he had resided at a furnished apartment at 4706 Magazine Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. While in New Orleans, he had been employed by William B. Riley Company, 640 Magazine Street, New Orleans.

Oswald stated that he has nothing against President John F. Kennedy personally; however in view of the present charges against him, he did not desire to discuss this phase further.

Oswald stated that he would not agree to take a polygraph examination without the advice of counsel. He added that in the past he has refused to take polygraph examinations.

Oswald stated that he is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union and added that Mrs. Ruth Paine was also a member of same.

With regard to Selective Service card in the possession of Oswald bearing photograph of Oswald and the name of Alek James Hidell, Oswald admitted that he carried this Selective Service card but declined to state that he wrote the signature of Alek J. Hidell appearing on same. He further declined to state the purpose of carrying same or any use he has made of same.

Oswald stated that an address book in his possession contains the names of various Russian immigrants residing in Dallas, Texas, whom he has visited with.

Oswald denied shooting President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, and added that he did not know that Governor John Connally had been shot and denied any knowledge concerning this incident.

on 11/23/63 at Dallas, Texas. File#DL89-43 by Special Agent James W. Bookhout /wvb. Date dictated 11/24/63.

Federal Bureau of Investigation - Report #5

Date 11/25/63

Lee Harvey Oswald was interviewed at the Homicide and Robbery Bureau, Dallas Police Department, at 6:35 p.m., by Captain J. W. Fritz in the presence of Special Agent James W. Bookhout, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Oswald was advised of the identity and official capacity of said Agent and the fact that he did not have to make any statement, that any statement he did make could be used in a court of law against him, and that any statement made must be free and voluntary and that he had the right to consult with an attorney.

Captain J. W. Fritz exhibited to Lee Harvey Oswald a photograph which had been obtained by the Dallas Police Department in a search by search warrant, of the garage at the residence of Mrs. Ruth Paine, located at Irving, Texas, which photograph reflects Oswald holding a rifle and wearing a holstered pistol. Oswald was asked if this was a photograph of himself. Oswald stated that he would not discuss the photograph without advice of an attorney. He stated that the head of the individual in the photograph could be his but that it was entirely possible that the Police Department had superimposed this part of the photograph over the body of someone else. He pointed out that numerous news media had snapped his photograph during the day and the possibility existed that the police had doctored up this photograph.

Oswald denied that he had purchased any rifle from Kleins Store in Chicago, Illinois.

Oswald complained of a lineup wherein he had not been granted a request to put on a jacket similar to those worn by some of the other individuals in the lineup.

on 11/23/63 at Dallas, Texas. File#DL89-43 by Special Agent James W. Bookhout /wvm. Date dictated 11/24/63.

Reports of Inspector Thomas J. Kelley, U.S. Secret Service

First Interview of Lee Harvey Oswald

At about 10:30 a.m., November 23, 1963, I attended my first interview with Oswald. Present during the interview at the Homicide Division, Dallas Police Department, were Special Agent Jim Bookhout, FBI; Captain Will Fritz, Homicide Division, Dallas Police Department; U.S. Marshal Robert Nash; SA David Grant and SAIC Sorrels; and Officers Boyd and Hall of Captain Fritz's detail. The interview was not recorded. Mr. Sorrels and my presence was as observers, since Oswald was being held for murder and his custody and interrogation at that time was the responsibility of the Dallas Police Department.

In response to questions put by Captain Fritz, Oswald said that immediately after having left the building where he worked, he went by bus to the theater where he was arrested; that when he got on the bus he secured a transfer and thereafter transferred to other buses to get to his destination. He denied that he brought a package to work on that day and he denied that he had ever had any conversation about curtain rods with the boy named Wesley who drove him to his employment. Fritz asked him if he had ridden a taxi that day and Oswald then changed his story and said that when he got on the bus he found it was going too slow and after two blocks he got off the bus and took a cab to his home; that he passed the time with the cab driver and that the cab driver had told him that the President was shot. He paid a cab fare of \$0.85.

In response to questions, he stated that this was the first time he had ever ridden in a cab since a bus was always available. He said he went home, changed his trousers and shirt, put his shirt in a drawer. This was a red shirt, and he put it with his dirty clothes. He described the shirt as having a button down collar and of reddish color. The trousers were grey colored.

He said he ate his lunch with the colored boys who worked with him. He described one of them as "Junior," a colored boy, and the other was little short negro boy. He said his lunch consisted of cheese, fruit, and apples, and was the only package he had with him when he went to work.

He stated that Mrs. Paine practices Russian by having his wife live with her. He denied that he had ever owned a rifle. He said he does not know Mr. Paine very well but that Paine usually comes by the place where his wife was living with Mrs. Paine on Friday or Wednesday. He stated that Mr. Paine has a car and Mrs. Paine has had two cars. He said in response to questions by Captain Fritz that two sea bags with some other packages containing his personal belongings and that he had brought those back

form New Orleans with him sometime in September. He stated that his brother, Robert, lived at 7313 Davenport Street, Fort Worth, and that the Paines were his closest friends in town. He denied that he had ever joined the Communist party; that he never had a Communist card. He did belong to the American Civil Liberties Union and had paid \$5 a year dues. He stated that he had bought the pistol that was found in his possession when he was arrested about seven months ago. He refused to answer any questions concerning the pistol or a gun until he talked to a lawyer.

Oswald stated that at various other times he had been thoroughly interrogated by the FBI; that they had used all the usual interrogation practices and all their standard operating procedure; that he was very familiar with interrogation, and he had no intention of answering any questions concerning any shooting; that he knew he did not have to answer them and that he would not answer any questions until he had been given counsel. He stated that the FBI had used their hard and soft approach to him, they used the buddy system; that he was familiar with all types of questioning and had no intention of making any statement. He said that in the past three weeks when the FBI had talked to his wife, they were abusive and impolite; that they had frightened his wife and he considered their activities obnoxious. He stated that he wanted to contact a Mr. Abt, a New York lawyer whom he did not know but who had defended the Smith Act "victims" in 1949 or 1950 in connection with a conspiracy against the Government; that Abt would understand what this case was all about and that he would give him an excellent defense. He stated in returning a question about his former addresses that he lived at 4907 magazine Street in New Orleans at one time and worked for the William Riley Company; that he was arrested in New Orleans for disturbing the peace and paid a \$10 fine while he was demonstrating for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee; that he had a fight with some anti-Castro refugees and that they were released while he was fined.

Upon questioning by Captain Fritz, he said, "I have no views on the President." "My wife and I like the President's family. They are interesting people. I have my own views on the President's national policy. I have a right to express my views but because of the charges I do not think I should comment further." Oswald said "I am not a malcontent; nothing irritated me about the President." He said that during 1962 he was interviewed by the FBI and that he at that time refused to take a polygraph and that he did not intend to take a polygraph test for the Dallas police. At this time Captain Fritz showed a Selective Service Card that was taken out of his wallet which bore the name of Alex Hidell. Oswald refused to discuss this after being asked for an explanation of it. both by Fritz and by James Bookhout, the FBI Agent. I asked him if he viewed the parade and he said he had not. I then asked him if he had shot the President and he said he had not. I asked him if he has shot governor Connally and he said he had not. He did not intend to answer further questions without counsel and that if he could not get Abt, then he would hope that the Civil Liberties Union would give him an attorney to represent him. At that point Captain Fritz terminated the interview at about 11:30 a.m., 11-23-63.

/s/

Thomas J. Kelley, Inspector

Interviews with Lee Harvey Oswald on November 23, 1963

At about 12:35 p.m., November 23, 1963, Lee Oswald was interviewed in the office of Captain Will Fritz of the Homicide Division, Dallas Police Department. Among those present at this interview were Inspector Kelley, Captain Fritz, Detectives Senkel and Tiernon of the Homicide Division and SA James Bookhout, FBI. Captain Fritz conducted the interview which was concerned mostly with Oswald's places of residence in Dallas and was an attempt to ascertain where the bulk of Oswald's belongings were located in Dallas. As a result of the interview, Oswald furnished information to Captain Fritz that most of his personal effects, including a sea bag, were in the garage at the address of Mrs. Paine, 2515 West 5th Street, Irving, Texas.

The interview was concluded about 1:10 p.m. and immediately thereafter members of the Homicide Division secured a search warrant and recovered Oswald's effects from the home of Mrs. Paine. Found among the effects were two different poses in snapshot type photographs taken of Oswald holding a rifle in one hand and holding up a copy of a paper called the *Millitant* and "The Worker" in the other hand. Oswald was wearing a revolver in a holster on his right side. this photograph was enlarged by the Dallas Police Laboratories and was used as a basis of additional questioning of Oswald at approximately 6:00 p.m. that same evening.

On November 23, 1963, at 6:00 p.m., in the office of Captain Fritz, Homicide Division, Dallas Police Department, I was present at an interview with Oswald. Also present were Captain Fritz, FBI Agent Jim Bookhout, and four officers from the Homicide Division. This interview was conducted with Oswald for the purpose of displaying to him the blow-ups of photographs showing him holding a rifle and a pistol which were seized as a result of the search warrant for the garage of Mrs. Paine at 2515 West 5th Street, Irving, Texas. When the photographs

were presented to Oswald, he sneered at them saying that they were fake photographs; that he had been photographed a number of times the day before by the police and apparently after they photographed him they superimposed on the photographs a rifle and put a gun in his pocket. he got into a long argument with Captain Fritz about his knowledge of photography and asked Fritz a number of times whether the smaller photograph was made from the larger or whether the larger photograph was made from the smaller. He said at the proper time he would show that the photographs were fakes. Fritz told him that the smaller photograph was taken from his effects at the garage. Oswald became arrogant and refused to answer any further questions concerning the photographs and would not identify the photographs as being a photograph of himself. Captain Fritz displayed great patience and tenacity in attempting to secure from Oswald the location of what apparently is the backyard of an address at which Oswald formerly lived, but it was apparent that Oswald, though slightly shaken by the evidence, had no intention of furnishing any information.

The interview was terminated at about 7:15 p.m.

/s/

Thomas J. Kelley, Inspector

U.S. Secret Service- Preliminary Special Dallas Report #3

November 29, 1963

Chief Inspector Kelley

Covers third interview with Oswald and circumstances immediately following his murder.

This interview started at approximately 9:30 a.m. on Sunday, November 24, 1963. The interview was conducted in the office of Captain Will Fritz of the Homicide Bureau, Dallas Police. Present at the interview in addition to Oswald were Captain Fritz, Postal Inspector Holmes, SAIC Sorrels, Inspector Kelley and four members of the Homicide Squad. The interview had just begun when I arrived and Captain Fritz was again requesting Oswald to identify the place where the photograph of him holding the gun was taken. Captain Fritz indicated that it would save the Police a great deal of time if he would tell them where the place was located. Oswald refused to discuss the matter. Captain Fritz asked, "Are you a Communist?" Oswald answered, "No, I am a Marxist but I am not a Marxist Leninist." Captain Fritz asked him what the difference was and Oswald said it would take too long to explain it to him. Oswald said that he became interested in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee while he was in New Orleans; that he wrote to the Committee's Headquarters in New York and received some Committee literature and a letter signed by Alex Hidell. He stated that he began to distribute that literature in New Orleans and it was at that time that he got into an altercation with a group and he was arrested. He said his opinions concerning Fair Play for Cuba are well known; that he appeared on Bill Stukeley's television program in New Orleans on a number of occasions and was interviewed by the local press often.

He denies knowing or ever seeing Hidell in New Orleans, said he believed in all of the tents of the Fair Play for Cuba and the things which the Fair Play for Cuba Committee stood for, which was free intercourse with Cuba and freedom for tourists of both countries to travel within each other's borders.

Among other things, Oswald said that Cuba should have full diplomatic relationship with the United States. I asked him if he thought that the President's assassination would have any effect on the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He said there would be no change in the attitude of the American people toward Cuba with President Johnson becoming President because they both belonged to the same political party and the one would follow pretty generally the policies of the other. He stated that he is an avid reader of Russian literature whether it is communistic or not; that he subscribes to "The Militant," which, he says, is the weekly of the Socialist party in the United States (it is a copy of "the Militant" that Oswald is shown holding in the photograph taken from his effects at Irving Street). At that time he asked me whether I was an FBI Agent and I said that I was not that I was a member of the Secret Service. He said when he was standing in front of the Textbook Building and about to leave it, a young crew-cut man rushed up to him and said he was from the Secret Service, showed a book of identification, and asked him where the phone was. Oswald said he pointed toward the pay phone in the building and that he saw the man actually go to the phone before he left.

I asked Oswald whether as a Marxist he believed that religion was an opiate of the people and he said very definitely so that all organized religions tend to become monopolistic and are the causes of a great deal of class warfare. I asked him whether he considered the Catholic Church to be an enemy of the Communist philosophy and he said well, there was no Catholicism in Russia; that the closest to it is the Orthodox Churches but he said he would not further attempt to have him say something which could be

construed as being anti-religious or anti-Catholic.

Capt. Fritz displayed an Enco street map of Dallas which had been found among Oswald's effects at the rooming house. Oswald was asked whether the map was his and whether he had put some marks on it. He said it was his and remarked "My God don't tell me there's a mark near where this thing happened." The mark was pointed out to him and he said "What about the other marks on the map? I put a number of marks on it. I was looking for work and marked the places where I went for jobs or where I heard there were jobs."

Since it was obvious to Captain Fritz that Oswald was not going to be cooperative, he terminated the interview at that time.

I approached Oswald then and, out of the hearing of the others except perhaps one Captain Fritz's men, said that as a Secret Service agent, we are anxious to talk with him as soon as he had secured counsel; that we were responsible for the safety of the President; that the Dallas Police had charged him with the assassination of the President but that he had denied it; we were therefore very anxious to talk to him to make certain that the correct story was developing as it related to the assassination. He said that he would be glad to discuss this proposition with his attorney and that after he talked to one, we could either discuss it with him or discuss it with his attorney, if the attorney thought it was the wise thing to do, but that at the present time he had nothing more to say to me. Oswald was then handed some different clothing to put on. The clothing included a sweater. Captain Fritz made a number of telephone calls to ascertain whether the preparations he had placed into effect for transferring the prisoner to the County Jail were ready and upon being so advised, Captain Fritz and member of the Detective Bureau escorted Oswald from the homicide office on the third floor to the basement where Oswald was shot by Jack Ruby.

On the completion of the interview, SAIC Sorrels and I proceeded to the office of the Chief of Police on the third floor and were discussing the interview when we heard that Oswald had been shot. We both ran down the steps to the basement. I arrived in the ante-room where they had dragged Oswald. SAIC Sorrels located and interviewed Ruby. Someone was bending over Oswald with a stethoscope and he appeared to be unconscious in very serious condition at that time. I asked Captain Fritz what had happened and he said Oswald had been shot by one Jack "Rubio" whom the police know as a tavern operator. Shortly thereafter a stretcher arrived and I accompanied the stretcher to the ambulance which had been hastily backed into the garage. I observed that during the transfer that Oswald was unconscious; when the ambulance drove away from the building, I attempted to board a cruiser that apparently was going to follow the ambulance but I was unable to get into the car before it pulled away. Special Agents Warner and Patterson had heard of the shooting on their radio, proceeded to Parkland Hospital where Oswald was being taken and arrived very shortly after Oswald had arrived at the emergency entrance and was being taken into the emergency treatment room. One or the other of these agents was in close proximity to Oswald while he was being treated. When I arrived at the hospital, I rode up on the elevator with Dr. Shaw who had looked at Oswald as he had come in and was being recalled to the operating room where Oswald had been taken. While Oswald was in the operating room, no one other than medical personnel was present but a Dallas policeman who had accompanied Oswald in the ambulance was standing in the doorway of the operating room in operating room scrub clothes. No other investigating personnel were in the vicinity, in the immediate vicinity of the detective was Special Agent Warner. Oswald made no statements from the time he was shot until the time of his death. He was unconscious during the ambulance run to the hospital which I verified through Detective Daugherty, who accompanied him. He did not regain consciousness at any time during the treatment until he died. At the time of his death, myself, Detective Daugherty and Colonel Garrison of the Texas State Police were on the first floor of the hospital arranging a security room in which to take Oswald, in the event he survived the operating room treatment. It was never necessary to use this room and upon learning of his death, I proceeded to the morgue to arrange for his family to view the body. When the family heard of the death they were in the process of being interviewed by Special Agents Kunkel and Howard, and requested to be brought to the hospital. Oswald's brother, Robert, who had also come to the hospital, was being interviewed by Special Agent Howlett. Before the post mortem was performed, Oswald's family, with the exception of Robert, viewed the body. The family was accompanied during the viewing by the hospital chaplain.

After making arrangements through the chaplain and another clergyman for the burial of the body, the family was returned to a secluded spot under the protection of Special Agents Kunkel and Howard, and the Irving Texas police. Precaution was taken to insure their safety in view of the excitement caused by the killing of Oswald. Special Agents Howard and Kunkel did an excellent job in handling the security of this family detail and insuring their safety. Thereafter, I was called by SAIC Bouck who advised me that the President and the Attorney General were concerned about the safety of this family and instructed

that all precautions should be taken to insure that no harm befell them. SAIC Bouck was advised that the family was presently under our protection; we would continue providing protection until further notice. Later that day, I was contacted by SA Robertson of the FBI who asked whether we had someone with the family. He was assured that we had. He requested to be advised where the family had been taken. Since their ultimate destination was unknown to me at the time, I assured him that when I learned of their whereabouts I would relay it to him. He said that they received instructions from the Attorney General and President Johnson that precaution should be taken to insure the family safety.

At 11 p.m. Sunday, November 24th, I was advised of the location of the family and immediately notified Robertson and inquired whether they now wished to take over their protection. He said no they had no such instructions, they merely wished to be assured that someone was looking out for their safety. I assured them that adequate protection was being provided and that they were available for interviews by the FBI. He stated that they did not wish to interview the family at this time; that they merely wanted to make sure they were in safe hands.

TJK:VS

Report of U.S. Postal Inspector H.D. Holmes

Dallas, Texas

December 17, 1963

Memorandum of Interview

Informal memorandum furnished by Postal Inspector H. D. Holmes, Dallas, Texas, of an interview he took part in with Lee H. Oswald on Sunday morning, November 24, 1963, between the approximate hours of 9:25 a.m. to 11:10 a.m. Those present, in addition to Inspector Holmes, were Captain Will Fritz, Dallas Police, Forrest V. Sorrels, Local Agent in Charge, Secret Service, and Thomas J. Kelly, Inspector, Secret Service. In addition, there were three Detectives who were apparently assigned to guarding Oswald as none of them took part in the interrogation.

Oswald at no time appeared confused or in doubt as to whether or not he should answer a question. On the contrary, he was quite alert and showed no hesitancy in answering those questions which he wanted to answer, and was quite skillful in parrying those questions which he did not want to answer. I got the impression that he had disciplined his mind and reflexes to a state where I personally doubted if he would ever have confessed. He dined, emphatically, having taken part in or having had any knowledge of the shooting of the policeman Tippit or of the president, stating that so far as he is concerned the reason he was in custody was because he "popped a policeman in the nose in a theater on Jefferson Avenue."

P.O. Boxes He was questioned separately about the three boxes he had rented, and in each instance his answers were quick, direct and accurate as reflected on the box rental applications. He stated without prompting that he had rented Box 2915 at the Main Post Office for several months prior to his going to New Orleans, that this box was rented in his own name, Lee H. Oswald, and that he had taken out two keys to the box, and that when he had closed the box, he directed that his mail be forwarded to him at his street address in New Orleans.

He stated that no one received mail in this box other than himself, nor did he receive any mail under any other name than his own true name; that no one had access to the box other than himself nor did he permit anyone else to use this box. He stated it was possible that on rare occasions he may have handed one of the keys to his wife to go get his mail but certainly nobody else. He denied emphatically that he ever ordered a rifle under his name or any other name, nor permitted anyone else to order a rifle to be received in this box. Further, he denied that he had ever ordered any rifle by mail order or bought any money order for the purpose of paying for such a rifle. In fact, he claimed he owned no rifle and had not practiced or shot a rifle other than possible a .22, small bore rifle, since his days with the Marine Corp. He stated that "How could I afford to order a rifle on my salary of \$1.25 an hour when I can't hardly feed myself on what I make."

When asked if he had had a post office box in New Orleans he stated that he did, for the reason that he subscribed to several publications, at least two of which were published in Russia, one being the hometown paper published in Minsk where he met and married his wife, and that he moved around so much that it was more practical to simply rent post office boxes and have his mail forwarded from one box to the next rather than going through the process of furnishing changes of address to the publishers. When asked if he permitted anyone other than himself to get mail in box 30061 at New Orleans, he stated that he did not. It will be recalled that on this box rent application he showed that both Marina Oswald and A. J. Hidell were listed under the caption "Persons entitled to receive mail through box".

After denying that anyone else was permitted to get mail in the box, he was reminded that this application showed the name Marine Oswald as being entitled to receive mail in the box and he replied "well so what, she is my wife and I see nothing wrong with that, and it could very well be that I did place her name on the application". He was then reminded that the application also showed the name A. J. Hidell was also entitled to receive mail in the box, at which he simply shrugged his shoulders and stated "I don't recall anything about that".

he stated that when he came back to Dallas and after he had gone to work for the Texas School Book Depository, he had rented a box at the nearby Terminal Annex postal station, this being Box 6225, and that this box was also rented in his name, Lee H. Oswald. He stated he had only checked out one key for this box, which information was found to be accurate, and this key was found on his person at the time of his arrest. He professed not to recall the fact that he showed on the box rental application under name of corporation "Fair Play For Cuba Committee" and "American Civil Liberties Union". When he simply shrugged and said that he didn't recall showing them. When asked if he paid the box rental fee or did the organizations pay it, he stated that he paid it. In answer to another questions, he also stated that no one had any knowledge that he had this box other than himself.

Organizations-Membership inWith respect to American Civil Liberties Union he as a little evasive stating something to the effect that he had made some effort to join but i was never made clear whether he had o had not been accepted. He stated that he first became interested in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, after he went to New Orleans, that it started out as being a group of individuals who, like him, thought and had like political opinions. They did decide to organize, and did organize after a fashion, but denied that they had any president or any elected officers. He stated that he, himself, could probably be considered the secretary since he wrote some letters on their behalf and attempted to collect dues which , if I recall, were \$1.00 per month. He also stated that there was a "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" in New York which was better organized. He denied that he was set to Dallas for the purpose of organizing such a cell in Dallas.

When asked if he was communist, he stated emphatically not, that he was a Marxist. Someone asked the difference and he stated that communist is a Lenin-Marxist, that he himself was a pure Marxist, and when someone asked the difference, he stated that it was a long story and if they didn't know, it would take too long to tell them. He stated further that he had read about everything written by or about Karl Marx.

When asked as to his religion, he stated that Karl Marx was his religion, and in response to further questioning he stated that some people may find the Bible interesting reading, but it was not for him, stating further that even as a philosophy there was not much to the Bible.

Marine Corp. ServiceCaptain Fritz made some mention of his dishonorable discharge form the marine Corp at which point he bristled noticeably, stating that he had been discharged with an "honorable" discharge and that this was later changed due to his having attempted to denounce his American Citizenship while he was living in Russia. He stated further that since his change of citizenship did not come to pass, he had written a letter to Mr. Connally, then Secretary of the Navy, and after considerable delay, received a very respectful reply wherein Connally stated he had resigned to run for Governor of Texas, and that his letter was being referred to the new Secretary, a Mr. Cork, Kurth, or something like that. He showed no particular animosity toward Mr. Connally while discussing this feature.

MapCaptain Fritz advised him that among his effects in his room, there was found a map of the City of Dallas that had some marks on it and asked him to explain this map. Oswald said he presumed he had reference to an old City map which he had on which he had made some X's denoting location of firms that had advertised job vacancies. He stated that he had no transportation and either walked or rode a bus and that as he was constantly looking for work, in fact had registered for employment at the Texas Employment Bureau, and that as he would receive leads either from newspaper ads or from the Bureau or from neighbors, he would chart these places on the map to save time in his traveling. He said to the best of his recollection, most of them were out Industrial, presumably meaning Industrial Blvd. When asked as to why the X at the location of the Texas School Book Depository at Elm and Houston, he stated that "Well, I interviewed there for a job, in fact, got the job, therefore the X".

When asked as to how he learned about this vacancy, he stated that "Oh, it was general information in the neighborhood, I don't recall just who told me about it, but i learned it from people in Mrs. Paines' neighborhood" and that all the people around there were looking out for possible employment for him.

Activity Just Prior To and Immediately Following Assassination AttemptTo an inquiry as to why he went to visit his wife on Thursday night, November 21, whereas he normally visited her over the weekend, he stated that on this particular weekend he had learned that his wife and Mrs. Paine were giving a party for the children and that they were having a "houseful" of neighborhood children and that he just didn't want

to be around at such a time. therefore, he made his weekly visit on Thursday night.

When asked if he didn't bring a sack with him the next morning to work, he stated that he did, and when asked as to the contents of the sack, he stated that it contained his lunch. Then, when asked as to the size or shape of the sack, he said "Oh, I don't recall, it may have a small sack or a large sack, you don't always find one that just fits your sandwiches." When asked as to where he placed the sack when he got in the car, he said in his lap, or possibly the front seat beside him, as he always did because he didn't want to get it crushed. He denied that he placed any package in the back seat.

When advised that the driver stated that he had brought out a long parcel and placed it in the back seat, he stated "Oh, he must be mistaken or else thinking about some other time when he picked me up."

When asked as to his whereabouts at the time of the shooting, he stated that when lunch time came, and he didn't say which floor he was on, he said one of the Negro employees invited him to eat lunch with him and he stated "You go on down and send the elevator back up and I will join you in a few minutes." Before he could finish whatever he was doing, he stated, the commotion surrounding the assassination took place and when he went down stairs, a policeman questioned him as to his identification and his boss stated that "he is one of our employees" whereupon the policeman had him step aside momentarily. Following this, he simply walked out the front door of the building. I don't recall that anyone asked why he left or where or how he went. I just presumed that this had been covered in an earlier questioning.

A.J. Hidell Identification Card Captain Fritz asked him if he knew anyone by the name of A.J. Hidell and he denied that he did. When asked if he had ever used this name as an alias, he also made a denial. In fact, he stated that he had never used the name, didn't know anyone by this name, and never had heard of the name before. Captain Fritz then asked him about the I.D. card he had in his pocket bearing such a name and he flared up and stated "I've told you all I'm going to about that card. you took notes, just read them for yourself, if you want to refresh your memory." He told Captain Fritz that "You have the card. now you know as much about it as I do."

About 11:00 a.m. or a few minutes thereafter, someone handed through the door several hangers on which there were some trousers, shirts, and a couple of sweaters. When asked if he wanted to change any of his clothes before being transferred to the County Jail, he said "Just give me one of these sweaters." He didn't like the one they handed him and insisted on putting on a black slip-over sweater that had some jagged holes in it near the front of the right shoulder. One cuff was released while he slipped this over the head, following which he was again cuffed. During this change of clothing, Chief of Police Curry came into the room and discussed something in an inaudible undertone with Captain Fritz, apparently for the purpose of not letting Oswald hear what was being said. I have no idea what this conversation was, but just presume they were discussing the transfer of the prisoner. I did not go downstairs to witness the further transfer of the prisoner.

/s/

H.D. Holmes

Postal Inspector

Dallas 22, Texas

Warren Report: Appendix XII - Speculation and Rumors

Myths have traditionally surrounded the dramatic assassinations of history. The rumors and theories about the assassination of Abraham Lincoln that are still being publicized were for the most part first bruited within months of his death. Wherever there is any element of mystery in such dramatic events misconceptions often result from sensational speculations.

Lacking the testimony of Lee Harvey Oswald, it has been necessary to reconstruct painstakingly all of the facts that led the Commission to the conclusion that Oswald assassinated President Kennedy, acting alone and without advice or assistance. The Commission has found no credible evidence that he was a member of a foreign or domestic conspiracy of any kind. Nor was there any evidence that he was involved with any criminal or underworld elements or that he had any association with his slayer, Jack Ruby, except as his victim. The evidence on these issues has been set forth in great detail in this report.

In addition the Commission has inquired into the various hypotheses, rumors, and speculations that have arisen from the tragic developments of November 22-24, 1963. It is recognized that the public judgment of these events has been influenced, at least to some extent, by these conjectures.

Many questions have been raised about the facts out of genuine puzzlement or because of misinformation which attended some of the early reporting of the fast-crowding events of these 3 days. Most of the speculation and attempted reconstruction of these events by the public centered on these basic questions: Was Lee Harvey Oswald really the assassin of the President; why did he do it; did he have any accomplices; and why did Ruby shoot Oswald? Many of the theories and hypotheses advanced have rested on premises which the Commission feels deserve critical examination.

Many people who witnessed the assassination and the killing of Oswald or were present in the area were a major source of diverse and often contradictory information. As is easily understood under such circumstances, all of the witnesses did not see and hear the same thing or interpret what they saw and heard the same way and many changed their stories as they repeated them. Moreover, they were interviewed at different times after the event by different people and often under circumstances which made accurate reporting extremely difficult.

Even the occupants of the cars in the Presidential motorcade were not entirely in agreement in their accounts because they, too, saw and heard what happened from different positions. Moreover, those closest to the assassination were subjected to a physical and emotional strain that tended to affect their recollections of what they thought they saw or heard.

Consequently, the presentation of the news from Dallas included much misinformation. This, to some extent, was unavoidable, but the widespread and repetitive dissemination of every scrap of information about the President's assassination and its aftermath has helped to build up a large number of erroneous conclusions. The manner in which local authorities released information about the investigation, sometimes before it could be verified in all detail, has further contributed to the fund of ill-founded theories. Typographical mistakes in the press and failure to transcribe sound accurately from tapes resulted in errors, some of which have remained uncorrected in print at the time of the publication of this report.

Much of the speculation that has persisted in one form or another since November 22-24 came from people who usually spoke in good faith. Some of the errors have resulted simply from a lack of complete knowledge at the time of the event. In this category are the statements attributed to doctors at Parkland Memorial Hospital who attended the dying President and described his wounds to the press afterward. It remained for the autopsy in Washington, completed early the next morning, to ascertain the full facts concerning the wounds. The correction of earlier assertions of fact on the basis of later and fuller analysis or investigation is a normal part of the process of accumulation of evidence. But, it is not often that the process is conducted in such an intense glare of worldwide publicity, and later corrections have difficulty overtaking the original sensational reports.

There is still another category of speculation and rumor that complicated and broadened the work of the Commission. Numerous people claimed to have seen Oswald or Ruby at various times and places in the United States or abroad. Others insisted that during the days following the assassination, they had detected significant actions on television that were witnessed by no one else. Still others assumed from a widely published picture that Oswald was standing on the steps of the entrance to the Texas School Book Depository at the time the President was shot. Throughout the country people reported overheard remarks, conversations, threats, prophecies, and opinions that seemed to them to have a possible bearing on the assassination. More than a few informants initially told their speculations or professed firsthand information to newspaper and television reporters. Later, many of them changed or retracted

their stories in telling them to official investigators.

The U.S. investigative agencies expended much valuable time and effort inquiring into these leads. Investigations of a vast number of rumors and speculations reached into almost every part of the United States and to most of the other continents of the world.

The Commission's work was also handicapped by those witnesses and other persons connected with the investigation who sold for publication evidence pertinent to the investigation. These persons sold pictures and documents and even recollections, sometimes before the Commission had an opportunity to receive their evidence. Some of the evidence thus published was changed from its original form and gave misleading impressions to the public. The piecemeal release of this evidence, sometimes in distorted or exaggerated form, and often out of context, provided the basis for new speculations and rumors or served to reinforce already current ones. The practice was frequently harmful to the work of the Commission and a disservice to the public.

This appendix is intended to clarify the most widespread factual misunderstandings. False or inaccurate speculations concerning the assassination and related events are set forth below together with brief summary statements of what the Commission has found to be the true facts. The citation following each Commission finding is either to that portion of the report in which the subject is discussed more fully, to the evidence in the record supporting the finding, or to both. For complete answers to these speculations, the sources cited in the footnotes should be consulted. The speculations are considered under the following headings:

1. The source of the shots.
2. The identity of the assassin.
3. Oswald's movements between 12:33 and 1:15 p.m. on November 22, 1963.
4. The murder of Patrolman Tippit.
5. Oswald after his arrest.
6. Oswald in the Soviet Union.
7. Oswald's trip to Mexico City.
8. Oswald and U.S. Government agencies.
9. Conspiratorial relationships.
10. Miscellaneous charges.

Warren Report: Appendix XII - The Source of the Shots

There have been speculations that some or all of the shots aimed at President Kennedy and Governor Connally came from the railroad overpass as the Presidential automobile approached it, or from somewhere other than the Texas School Book Depository Building. Related speculations maintain that the shots came from both the railroad overpass and the Texas School Book Depository Building. These are supported by a number of assertions that have been carefully examined by the Commission in the course of its investigation and rejected as being without foundation. They are set forth below, together with the results of the Commission's investigation.

Speculation. The shots that killed the President came from the railroad overpass above the triple underpass.

Commission finding. The shots that entered the neck and head of the President and wounded Governor Connally came from behind and above. There is no evidence that any shots were fired at the President from anywhere other than the Texas School Book Depository Building.

Speculation The railroad overpass was left unguarded on November 22.

Commission finding. On November 22 the railroad overpass was guarded by two Dallas policemen, Patrolmen J. W. Foster and J. C. White, who have testified that they permitted only railroad personnel on the overpass.

Speculation. There are witnesses who alleged that the shots came from the overpass.

Commission finding. The Commission does not have knowledge of any witnesses who saw shots fired from the overpass. Statements or depositions from the 2 policemen and 13 railroad employees who were on the overpass all affirm that no shots were fired from the overpass. Most of these witnesses who discussed the source of the shots stated that they came from the direction of Elm and Houston Streets.

Speculation. A rifle cartridge was recovered on the overpass.

Commission finding. No cartridge of any kind was found on the overpass nor has any witness come forward to claim having found one.

Speculation. A witness to the assassination said that she saw a man run behind the concrete wall of the overpass and disappear.

Commission finding. Mrs. Jean L. Hill stated that after the firing stopped she saw a white man wearing a brown overcoat and a hat running west away from the Depository Building in the direction of the railroad tracks. There are no other witnesses who claim to have seen a man running toward the railroad tracks. Examination of all available films of the area following the shooting, reexamination of interviews with individuals in the vicinity of the shooting, and interviews with members of the Dallas Police Department and the Dallas County sheriff's office failed to corroborate Mrs. Hill's recollection or to reveal the identity of the man described by Mrs. Hill.

Speculation. Immediately after the shooting a motorcycle policeman was seen racing up the grassy embankment to the right of the shooting scene pursuing a couple seeking to flee from the overpass.

Commission finding. There are no witnesses who have ever stated this and there is no evidence to support the claim. A motorcycle policeman, Clyde A. Haygood, dismounted in the street and ran up the incline. He stated that he saw no one running from the railroad yards adjacent to the overpass. Subsequently, at 12:37 p.m., Haygood reported that the shots had come from the Texas School Book Depository Building.

Speculation. More than three shots, perhaps as many as five or six, were fired at the President and Governor Connally.

Commission finding. The weight of the evidence indicates that three shots were fired, of which two struck President Kennedy. There is persuasive evidence from the experts that one of these two bullets also struck Governor Connally. Some witnesses claimed that they heard more than three shots but, as fully described in chapter III, the great majority heard only three shots.

Speculation. At least four or five bullets have been found.

Commission finding. After the assassination, metal remains of bullets were recovered. These included an almost whole bullet of 158.6 grains, fragments weighing 44.6 grains and 21.0 grains, and other fragments too small to be identified. These metal remains indicate that at least two shots were fired. The Commission believes that three shots were fired.

Speculation. A bullet was found on the stretcher used for President Kennedy at Parkland Hospital.

Commission finding. No bullet was found on the stretcher used by President Kennedy. An almost whole bullet was found when it rolled off the stretcher used by Governor Connally.

Speculation. A bullet was found in the grass near the scene of the assassination shortly afterward by a deputy sheriff of Dallas County, E. R. Walthers.

Commission finding. Walthers has denied that he found a bullet at any time or that he told anyone that he had found one. With another deputy sheriff he made a diligent search for such a bullet 2 or 3 days after the assassination.

Speculation. The Presidential car stopped momentarily or almost came to a complete halt after the first shot. This is evidence that the driver had the impression that the first shot came from the front and therefore hesitated to drive closer to the overpass.

Commission finding. The Presidential car did not stop or almost come to a complete halt after the firing of the first shot or any other shots. The driver, Special Agent William R. Greer, has testified that he accelerated the car after what was probably the second shot. Motion pictures of the scene show that the car slowed down momentarily after the shot that struck the President in the head and then speeded up rapidly.

Speculation. The Presidential car had a small round bullet hole in the front windshield. This is evidence that a shot or shots were fired at the President from the front of the car.

Commission finding. The windshield was not penetrated by any bullet. A small residue of lead was found on the inside surface of the windshield; on the outside of the windshield was a very small pattern of cracks immediately in front of the lead residue on the inside. The bullet from which this lead residue came was probably one of those that struck the President and therefore came from overhead and to the rear. Experts established that the abrasion in the windshield came from impact on the inside of the glass.

Speculation. The throat wound sustained by the President was the result of a shot fired from the front according to doctors at Parkland Hospital.

Commission finding. Doctors at Parkland Hospital originally believed that the throat wound could have been either an entry or exit wound, but they made no examination to determine entry and exit wounds. Subsequently, when the evidence of the autopsy became available, the doctors at Parkland agreed that it was an exit wound.

Speculation. It is inconceivable that the doctors at Parkland Hospital did not turn the President over on his face and notice the bullet hole in the back of his neck.

Commission finding. Doctors at Parkland Hospital have testified that the President remained on his back while he was at Parkland Hospital for treatment and that they did not turn him over at any time; they were busy trying to save his life. Consequently, they were never aware of the hole in the back of his neck until they were notified of it later.

Speculation. The first shot struck the President in the throat as the car was proceeding along Houston Street toward the Texas School Book Depository. The car then made a left turn on to Elm Street and proceeded for some distance before additional shots were fired at the President.

Commission finding. Before the autopsy findings made it clear that the shots were fired from the rear, there was speculation that the first shot may have been fired before the Presidential car turned on to Elm Street. As this report demonstrates, all of the shots that struck the President were fired from the rear and in a time period inconsistent with the theory that the first shot struck him while his car was coming down Houston Street. Motion pictures taken at the time show that the first shot struck the President after the car had turned onto Elm Street and was proceeding away from the Depository.

Warren Report: Appendix XII - The Assassin

Speculations tending to support the theory that Oswald could not have assassinated President Kennedy are based on a wide variety of assertions. Among these are statements that Oswald could not have been acquainted with the motorcade route before he came to work on November 22, that he may well have carried curtain rods rather than a rifle in a brown paper package he brought with him, that there may have been other people in the building who could have fired the rifle, that Oswald could not have fired the shots in the time available to him, that he was not a good enough marksman to have scored the hits with the rifle, that there were other people in the lunchroom of the Depository Building when he was confronted by Patrolman M. L. Baker, and that there are no eyewitnesses who could identify Oswald as having been in the window. Each of these speculations is dealt with below in the light of the testimony and evidence considered by the Commission.

Speculation. Oswald could not have known the motorcade route before he arrived at work on November 22.

Commission finding. The motorcade route was published in both Dallas papers on November 19 and was therefore available at least 72 hours before Oswald reported for work on November 22.

Speculation. The route as shown in the newspaper took the motorcade through the Triple Underpass via Main Street, a block away from the Depository. Therefore, Oswald could not have known that the motorcade would pass directly by the Texas School Book Depository Building.

Commission finding. The motorcade route as published showed the motorcade turning right off Main Street onto Houston for one block and then left on Elm to the access road to the Stemmons Freeway. This route was clearly indicated in published descriptions and maps of the motorcade route. There was no mention of continuing on Main Street through the Triple Underpass.

Speculation. The motorcade route was changed on November 22 after the map had been printed. The motorcade was shifted from Main Street over to Elm Street to bring it by the Texas School Book Depository Building.

Commission finding. The motorcade route was decided upon on November 18 and published in the Dallas newspapers on November 19. It was not changed in any way thereafter. The route called for the motorcade to turn off Main Street at Houston, go up to Elm, and then turn left on Elm Street.

Speculation. The normal and logical route would have been straight down Main Street through the Triple Underpass to the Stemmons Freeway. It is possible to drive from Main onto the access road to the Stemmons Freeway from a point beyond the underpass.

Commission finding. The normal, direct, and only permissible route to the Stemmons Freeway from Main Street is via Houston and Elm Streets. Any attempt to turn onto the access road to the Stemmons Freeway from Main Street beyond the Triple Underpass would have been extremely difficult because of a concrete strip dividing Elm and Main Streets. Such an attempt would have required making an S-turn beyond the strip at a very tight angle, thereby slowing the Presidential car almost to a stop.

Speculation. Oswald may well have carried curtain rods to work on November 22 in the brown paper package he was observed to bring into the building because he lived in a room where he needed them.

Commission finding. According to Oswald's landlady at 1026 North Beckley Avenue, Mrs. A. C. Johnson, the room had venetian blinds, curtain rods, and curtains while Oswald was living there. The curtain rods in the Paine garage that belonged to Mrs. Paine were still there after Oswald went to work on November 22. Mrs. Paine and Marina Oswald testified that Oswald had not spoken to them about curtain rods. After the assassination the empty package was found near the window from which the shots were fired, but no curtain rods were found.

Speculation. Oswald spent the morning of November 22 in the company of other workers in the building and remained with them until they went downstairs to watch the President go by, no later probably than 12:15.

Commission finding. Oswald did not spend the morning in the company of other workers in the building, and before the assassination he was last seen in the building on the sixth floor at about 11:55 a.m. by Charles Givens, another employee.

Speculation. It is probable that the chicken lunch, remains of which were found on the sixth floor, was eaten by an accomplice of Oswald who had hidden on the sixth floor overnight.

Commission finding. The chicken lunch had been eaten shortly after noon on November 22 by Bonnie Ray Williams, an employee of the Texas School Book Depository, who after eating his lunch went to the fifth floor where he was when the shots were fired. Oswald did not eat the chicken lunch, nor did he

drink from the soft drink bottle found near the chicken lunch.

Speculation. Laboratory tests showed remains of the chicken lunch found on the sixth floor were 2 days old.

Commission finding. The chicken lunch remains had been left there shortly after noon on November 22 by Bonnie Ray Williams.

Speculation. An amateur 8-millimeter photograph taken at 12:20 p.m., 10 minutes before the assassination of President Kennedy, showed two silhouettes at the sixth-floor window of the Depository.

Commission finding. A film taken by an amateur photographer, Robert J. E. Hughes, just before the assassination, shows a shadow in the southeast corner window of the sixth floor. This has been determined after examination by the FBI and the U.S. Navy Photographic Interpretation Center to be the shadow from the curtains near the window.

Speculation. A picture published widely in newspapers and magazines after the assassination showed Lee Harvey Oswald standing on the front steps of the Texas School Book Depository Building shortly before the President's motorcade passed by.

Commission finding. The man on the front steps of the building, thought or alleged by some to be Lee Harvey Oswald, is actually Billy Lovelady, an employee of the Texas School Book Depository, who somewhat resembles Oswald. Lovelady has identified himself in the picture, and other employees of the Depository standing with him, as shown in the picture, have verified that he was the man in the picture and that Oswald was not there.

Speculation. The post office box in Dallas to which Oswald had the rifle mailed was kept under both his name and that of A. Hidell.

Commission finding. It is not known whether Oswald's application listed the name A. Hidell as one entitled to receive mail at the box. In accordance with U.S. Post Office regulations, the portion of the application listing the names of persons other than the applicant entitled to receive mail was discarded after the box was closed on May 14, 1963. During the summer of 1963, Oswald rented a post office box in New Orleans, listing the name "Hidell" in addition to his own name and that of his wife. Hidell was a favorite alias used by Oswald on a number of occasions. Diligent search has failed to reveal any person in Dallas or New Orleans by that name. It was merely a creation for his own purposes.

Speculation. The President's car was going at a speed estimated at from 12 to 20 miles per hour, thus presenting a target comparable to the most difficult that a soldier would encounter under battlefield conditions.

Commission finding. During the period between the time that the first and second shots struck the President, the Presidential car was traveling at an average speed of approximately 11.2 miles per hour. Expert witnesses testified that the target is regarded as a favorable one because the car was going away from the marksman in a straight line.

Speculation. Oswald could not have fired three shots from the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle in 5.5 seconds.

Commission finding. According to expert witnesses, exacting tests conducted for the Commission demonstrated that it was possible to fire three shots from the rifle within 5.5 seconds. It should be noted that the first loaded shell was already in the chamber ready for firing; Oswald had only to pull the trigger to fire the first shot and to work the bolt twice in order to fire the second and third shots. They testified that if the second shot missed, Oswald had between 4.8 and 5.6 seconds to fire the three shots. If either the first or third shot missed, Oswald had in excess of 7 seconds to fire the three shots.

Speculation. Oswald did not have the marksmanship ability demonstrated by the rifleman who fired the shots.

Commission finding. Oswald qualified as a sharpshooter and a marksman with the M-1 rifle in the Marine Corps. Marina Oswald testified that in New Orleans her husband practiced operating the belt of the rifle. Moreover, experts stated that the scope was a substantial aid for rapid, accurate firing. The Commission concluded that Oswald had the capability with a rifle to commit assassination.

Speculation. The name of the rifle used in the assassination appeared on the rifle. Therefore, the searchers who found the rifle on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository should have been able to identify it correctly by name.

Commission finding. An examination of the rifle does not reveal any manufacturer's name. An inscription on the rifle shows that it was made in Italy. The rifle was identified by Captain Fritz and Lieutenant Day, who were the first to actually handle it.

Speculation. The rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository was identified as a

7.65 Mauser by the man who found it, Deputy Constable Seymour Weitzman.

Commission finding. Weitzman, the original source of the speculation that the rifle was a Mauser, and Deputy Sheriff Eugene Boone found the weapon. Weitzman did not handle the rifle and did not examine it at close range. He had little more than a glimpse of it and thought it was a Mauser, a German bolt-type rifle similar in appearance to the Mannlicher-Carcano. Police laboratory technicians subsequently arrived and correctly identified the weapon as a 6.5 Italian rifle.

Speculation. There is evidence that a second rifle was discovered on the roof of the Texas School Book Depository or on the overpass.

Commission finding. No second rifle was found in either of these places or in any other place. The shots that struck President Kennedy and Governor Connally came from the rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository.

Speculation. It is possible that there was a second Mannlicher-Carcano rifle involved in the assassination. The Irving Sports Shop mounted a scope on a rifle 3 weeks before the assassination.

Commission finding. Dial D. Ryder, an employee of the Irving Sports Shop, has stated that he found on his workbench on November 23 an undated work tag with the name "Oswald" on it, indicating that sometime during the first 2 weeks of November three holes had been bored in a rifle and a telescopic sight mounted on it and bore-sighted. However, Ryder and his employer, Charles W. Greener, had no recollection of Oswald, of his Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, of the transaction allegedly represented by the repair tag, or of any person for whom such a repair was supposedly made. The rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository had two holes in it bored for the installation of a scope prior to shipment to Oswald in March 1968. The Commission concluded that it is doubtful whether the tag produced by Ryder was authentic. All of the evidence developed proves that Oswald owned only the one rifle the Mannlicher-Carcano and that he did not bring it or a second rifle to the Irving Sports Shop.

Speculation. Ammunition for the rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository had not been manufactured since the end of World War II. The ammunition used by Oswald must, therefore, have been at least 90 years old, making it extremely unreliable.

Commission finding. The ammunition used in the rifle was American ammunition recently made by the Western Cartridge Co., which manufactures such ammunition currently. In tests with the same kind of ammunition, experts fired Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano rifle more than 100 times without any misfires.

Speculation. The assertion that Oswald's palmsprint appeared on the rifle is false. The FBI told newsmen in an off-the-record briefing session that there was no palmsprint on the rifle.

Commission finding. The FBI confirmed that the palmsprint lifted by the Dallas police from the rifle found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building was Oswald's palmsprint. The FBI informed the Commission that no FBI agent made statements of any type to the press concerning the existence or nonexistence of this print.

Speculation. If Oswald had been gloveless, he would have left fingerprints on the rifle because he would not have had time to wipe the prints off the rifle after he had fired it.

Commission finding. An FBI fingerprint expert testified that the poor quality of the metal and wooden parts would cause them to absorb moisture from the skin, thereby making a clear print unlikely. There is no evidence that Oswald wore gloves or that he wiped prints off the rifle. Latent fingerprints were found on the rifle but they were too incomplete to be identified.

Speculation. Gordon Shanklin, the special agent in charge of the Dallas office of the FBI, stated that the paraffin test of Oswald's face and hands was positive and proved that he had fired a rifle.

Commission finding. The paraffin tests were conducted by members of the Dallas Police Department and the technical examinations by members of the Dallas City-County Criminal Investigation Laboratory. The FBI has notified the Commission that neither Shanklin nor any other representative of the FBI ever made such a statement. The Commission has found no evidence that Special Agent Shanklin ever made this statement publicly.

Speculation. Marina Oswald stated that she did not know that her husband owned a rifle nor did she know that he owned a pistol.

Commission finding. There is no evidence that Marina Oswald ever told this to any authorities. On the afternoon of November 22, she told the police that her husband owned a rifle and that he kept it in the garage of the Paine house in Irving. Later, at Dallas police headquarters, she said that she could not identify as her husband's the rifle shown her by policemen. When Marina Oswald appeared before the Commission she was shown the Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5 rifle found on the sixth floor of the Depository and identified it as the "fateful rifle of Lee Oswald."

Speculation. The picture of Oswald taken by his wife in March or April 1963 and showing him with a rifle and a pistol was "doctored" when it appeared in magazines and newspapers in February 1964. The rifle held by Oswald in these pictures is not the same rifle that was found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository Building.

Commission finding. Life magazine, Newsweek, and the New York Times notified the Commission that they had retouched this picture. In doing so, they inadvertently altered details of the configuration of the rifle. The original prints of this picture have been examined by the Commission and by photographic experts who have identified the rifle as a Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5, the same kind as the one found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository. FBI experts testified that the picture was taken with Oswald's camera.

Speculation. The rifle picture of Oswald was a composite one with Oswald's face pasted on somebody else's body.

Commission finding. Marina Oswald has testified that she took this picture with a camera owned by her husband and subsequently identified as Oswald's Imperial Reflex camera. She identified the man in the picture as her husband. Experts also state the picture was not a composite.

Speculation. After firing the shots, Oswald could not have disposed of the rifle and descended the stairs to the lunchroom in time to get a drink from a soft drink machine and be there when Patrolman Baker came in.

Commission finding. A series of time tests made by investigators and by Roy S. Truly and Patrolman M. L. Baker at the request of the Commission, show that it was possible for Oswald to have placed the rifle behind a box and descended to the lunchroom on the second floor before Patrolman Baker and Truly got up there. Oswald did not have a soft drink bottle in his hand at the time he was confronted by Baker and he was not standing by the soft, drink machine. He was just entering the lunchroom; Baker caught a glimpse of him through the glass panel in the door leading to the lunchroom vestibule.

Speculation. There were other people present in the lunchroom at the time that Baker and Truly saw Oswald there.

Commission finding. Baker and Truly have both stated that there was no one in the lunchroom other than Oswald at the time that they entered. No other witness to this incident has been found.

Speculation. Police were sealing off all exits from the building by the time Oswald got to the second floor.

Commission finding. Police may have begun to take up positions at the exits to the building as early as 12:33, but it is unlikely that they had blocked them off completely until 12:37 p.m. at the earliest.

Oswald was seen in an office, walking toward an exit leading to the front stairway, at about 12:33 p.m. Oswald probably had at least 7 minutes in which to get out of the building without being stopped.

Warren Report: Appendix XII - Oswald's Movements Between 12:33 and 1:15 p.m.

One of the major theses urged in support of the theory that Oswald did not murder Patrolman Tippit was that his known movements after he left the Texas School Book Depository would not have permitted him to have arrived at 10th Street and Patton Avenue in time to encounter Tippit by 1:16 p.m. Careful reenactments by investigative agencies and by members of the Commission staff of Oswald's movements from the time he left the Texas School Book Depository until he encountered Tippit verified that Oswald could reach his rooming house at 1026 North Beckley Avenue at approximately 1 p.m. or earlier. The housekeeper at the rooming house testified that Oswald spent only a few minutes at the house, leaving as hurriedly as he had arrived. During police interrogation after his arrest, Oswald admitted to riding both bus and taxi in returning to his rooming house after the assassination of the President. From 1026 North Beckley Avenue, Oswald could easily have walked the nine tenths of a mile to 10th Street and Patton Avenue where he encountered Tippit.

Speculation. A detailed and remarkably clear description of Oswald was sent over the police radio in Dallas at 12:36 p.m., November 22, 1963.

Commission finding. The radio logs of the Dallas Police Department and the Dallas County Sheriff's Office show that no description of a suspect in the assassination of the President was broadcast before 12:45 p.m. on that day. No reference to Oswald by name was broadcast before he was arrested. The description of the suspect that was broadcast was similar to that of Oswald, but it lacked some important specific details such as color of hair and eyes. The information for the initial broadcasts most probably came from Howard Brennan, who saw Oswald in the window when he was firing the rifle.

Speculation. Oswald did not have time for all of the movements imputed to him between his departure from the Texas School Book Depository and his encounter with Tippit.

Commission finding. Time tests of all of Oswald's movements establish that these movements could have been accomplished in the time available to him.

Speculation. Oswald was stopped by police as he left the building and was permitted to pass after he told them he worked in the building.

Commission finding. The Commission has found no witness who saw Oswald leave the building. This speculation is probably a misinterpretation of the fact that he was stopped in the lunchroom by Patrolman Baker before he left the building and was allowed to proceed after Truly, the Depository superintendent, identified him as an employee there. Police did not seal off the building until at least several minutes after Oswald could have left.

Speculation. The log of the cabdriver who took Oswald to North Beckley Avenue, William W. Whaley, shows that Oswald entered his cab at 12:30 p.m. Since this occurred at some distance from the point of the President's assassination, Oswald could not have shot the President.

Commission finding. Whaley's log does show 12:30 p.m., but he has testified that he was not accurate in logging the time that passengers entered his cab, that he usually logged them at 15-minute intervals, and that it was undoubtedly some time later than 12:30 when Oswald entered his cab. Sometimes he did not make entries in his logbook until three or four trips later. The bus transfer in Oswald's possession was issued after 12:36 p.m. The Commission has determined that Oswald probably entered Whaley's cab at about 12:47 or 12:48 p.m.

Speculation. The distance from the Greyhound terminal in Dallas, where Oswald entered the cab, to North Beckley Avenue, where he probably left the cab, is something over 3 miles normally a 10-minute cab drive. Given the traffic jam that existed at the time, it is doubtful that Whaley could have made the trip in less than 15 minutes. One estimate has placed the time at 24 minutes from the Greyhound terminal to Oswald's rooming house.

Commission finding. The distance from the Greyhound bus terminal at Jackson and Lamar Streets to the 500 block of North Beckley is 2.5 miles. Oswald actually got out in the 700 block of North Beckley. The distance was, therefore, less than 2.5 miles. Whaley has testified to the Commission that the trip took 6 minutes. Test runs made by members of the Commission staff under traffic conditions somewhat similar to those that existed on November 22, took approximately 5 minutes and 30 seconds. To walk from Beckley and Neely, which is the 700 block of Beckley, where Oswald probably left the cab, to 1026 North Beckley, took Commission staff members 5 minutes and 45 seconds.

Speculation. Oswald was on his way to Jack Ruby's apartment when he was stopped by Patrolman Tippit.

Commission finding. There is no evidence that Oswald and Ruby knew each other or had any relationship through a third party or parties. There is no evidence that Oswald knew where Ruby lived. Accordingly, there is neither evidence nor reason to believe that Oswald was on his way to Ruby's

apartment when he was stopped by Tippit.

Warren Report: Appendix XII - Murder of Tippit

Speculations on the murder of Tippit centered about assertions that he was elsewhere than he was supposed to be when he was shot, that he knew the man who shot him, and that the description of the murderer given by one of the eyewitnesses did not fit Oswald's description.

The Commission found that Tippit was unquestionably patrolling in an area to which he had been directed by police headquarters. There was no evidence to support the speculation that Tippit and Oswald knew each other or had ever seen each other before. The description of the murderer imputed to one of the witnesses was denied by her and had no support from any other eyewitness.

Speculation. Tippit was driving alone in his police car even though standing orders for police in Dallas were that radio cars of the type Tippit was driving must have two policemen in them.

Commission finding. Dallas police officials stated that department policy required about 80 percent of the patrolmen on the day shift, 7 a.m. to 3 p.m., to work alone. Tippit was one of the patrolmen assigned to work alone that day.

Speculation. Tippit was violating an order he had received the day before not to leave the sector to which he had been assigned. This sector was supposed to be in downtown Dallas at the time he stopped Oswald.

Commission finding. A review of Tippit's file in the Dallas Police Department and the department's radio log revealed that following the shooting of the President, Tippit was directed to move into and remain in the central Oak Cliff area available for any emergency.

Speculation. The police had been withdrawn from the area in which Tippit found Oswald.

Commission finding. Other police cars were operating in the Oak Cliff area at the same time as Tippit. They participated in the subsequent search for and apprehension of Tippit's slayer.

Speculation. Tippit violated a procedure governing radio cars when he failed to notify headquarters that he was stopping to question a suspect.

Commission finding. The Dallas Police Department had no requirement or regulation for police officers to notify headquarters when stopping to question a suspect. Therefore, Tippit did not violate any police radio procedure in failing to notify the radio dispatcher that he was stopping Oswald.

Speculation. Tippit could not have recognized Oswald from the description sent out over the police radio.

Commission finding. There is no certain way of knowing whether Tippit recognized Oswald from the description put out by the police radio. The Dallas Police Department radio log shows that the police radio dispatcher at 1:29 p.m. noted a similarity between the broadcast descriptions of the President's assassin and Tippit's slayer. It is conceivable, even probable, that Tippit stopped Oswald because of the description broadcast by the police radio.

Speculation. Tippit and his killer knew each other.

Commission finding. Investigation has revealed no evidence that Oswald and Tippit were acquainted, had ever seen each other, or had any mutual acquaintances. Witnesses to the shooting observed no signs of recognition between the two men.

Speculation. Mrs. Helen Markham, a witness to the slaying of Tippit, put the time at just after 1:06 p.m. This would have made it impossible for Oswald to have committed the killing since he would not have had time to arrive at the shooting scene by that time.

Commission finding. The shooting of Tippit has been established at approximately 1:15 or 1:16 p.m. on the basis of a call to police headquarters on Tippit's car radio by another witness to the assassination, Domingo Benavides. In her various statements and in her testimony, Mrs. Markham was uncertain and inconsistent in her recollection of the exact time of the slaying.

Speculation. Mrs. Helen Markham is the only witness to the killing of Tippit.

Commission finding. Other witnesses to the killing of Tippit include Domingo Benavides, who used Tippit's car radio to notify the police dispatcher of the killing at 1:16 p.m., and William Scoggins, a cabdriver parked at the corner of 10th Street and Patton Avenue. Barbara Jeanette Davis and Virginia Davis saw a man with a pistol in his hand walk across their lawn immediately after they heard the sound of the shots that killed Tippit. The man emptied the shells from his pistol and turned the corner from 10th Street onto Patton Avenue. All of these witnesses, except Benavides, subsequently picked Oswald out of a lineup as the slayer. Benavides did not feel that he could make a positive identification and never attended a lineup for the purpose.

Speculation. Mrs. Markham said that the man she saw shooting Tippit was about 30, short, with bushy

hair, and wearing a white coat. Since Oswald does not fit this description he could not be the killer.

Commission finding. In evaluating Helen Markham's testimony the Commission is aware of allegations that she described the killer of Patrolman Tippit as short, stocky, and with bushy hair, which would not be a correct description of Oswald. It has also been alleged that Mrs. Markham identified Oswald in the lineup because of his clothing rather than his appearance. When Oswald appeared in the lineup at which Mrs. Markham was present, he was not wearing the jacket which he wore at the time of the shooting, and Mrs. Markham has testified that her identification was based "mostly from his face." Moreover, Mrs. Markham has denied that she ever described the man who killed Tippit as short, stocky, and with bushy hair. The Commission reviewed the transcript of a telephone conversation in which Mrs. Markham was alleged to have made such a description. In the transcription Mrs. Markham reaffirmed her positive identification of Oswald and denied having described the killer as short, stocky, and bushy haired.

Speculation. Another witness to the slaying of Patrolman Tippit, an unidentified woman, was interviewed by the FBI but was never called as a witness by the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy. This witness is alleged to have stated that she saw two men involved in the shooting and that they ran off in opposite directions afterward.

Commission finding. The only woman among the witnesses to the slaying of Tippit known to the Commission is Helen Markham. The FBI never interviewed any other woman who claimed to have seen the shooting and never received any information concerning the existence of such a witness. Two women, Barbara Jeanette Davis and Virginia Davis, saw the killer immediately after the shooting as he crossed the lawn at the corner of Patton Avenue and 10th Street, but they did not witness the shooting itself. They were both interviewed by the FBI and appeared before the Commission. The Commission has no evidence that there was any witness to the slaying other than those identified in chapter IV.

Speculation. No witness saw Oswald between the time he was supposed to have reloaded his gun near the scene of the slaying and his appearance at the shoestore on Jefferson Boulevard.

Commission finding. Six witnesses identified Oswald as the man they saw in flight after the murder of Tippit. The killer was seen, gun in hand, by Ted Callaway and Sam Guinyard in the block of Patton Avenue between 10th Street and Jefferson Boulevard after the shooting of Tippit. They saw him run to Jefferson and turn right. On the evening of November 22, Callaway and Guinyard picked Oswald out of a police lineup as the man they saw with the gun. Two other men, Warren Reynolds and Pat Patterson, saw a man with a pistol in his hand running south on Patton Avenue. They followed him for a block on Jefferson Boulevard and then lost sight of him. Both men subsequently identified pictures of Oswald as the man they saw with the gun. Harold Russell also saw a man with a gun running south on Patton Avenue and later identified him from pictures as Oswald. Mrs. Mary Brock saw a man she later identified as Oswald walk at a fast pace into the parking lot behind the service station at the corner of Jefferson and Crawford, where Oswald's jacket was found shortly after.

Speculation. When Oswald left his rooming house at about 1 p.m. on November 22 he had on a zipper-type tan plaid jacket.

Commission finding. The jacket that Oswald was wearing at the time of the slaying of Tippit was a light-gray jacket. According to Marina Oswald, her husband owned only two jackets one blue and the other light gray. The housekeeper at 1026 North Beckley Avenue, Mrs. Earlene Roberts, was not certain about the color of the jacket that Oswald was wearing when he left the house.

Speculation. Oswald wore an olive-brown plain jacket which is visible in all the pictures of him after his arrest.

Commission finding. At the time of his arrest, Oswald was not wearing a jacket. The jacket that was subsequently recovered in a parking lot and identified as Oswald's was a light-gray one. There are no witnesses who have stated that Oswald was wearing an olive-brown jacket immediately before or after his arrest. The Commission has seen no pictures of Oswald taken subsequent to his arrest that show him in such a jacket. Pictures taken shortly after his arrest show him in the shirt that Mrs. Bledsoe described him as wearing when she saw him on the bus at approximately 1:40 p.m.

Speculation. Oswald's landlady, Mrs. A. C. Johnson, said that Oswald never had a gun in the room.

Commission finding. In her testimony before the Commission, Mrs. Johnson said that he "never brought that rifle in my house. * * * He could have had this pistol, I don't know, because they found the scabbard." As shown in chapter IV, Oswald kept his rifle in the Paine garage in Irving while he was living in Dallas during October and November. The pistol was small and easily concealed.

Speculation. There was absolutely no place to hide a gun in Oswald's room at 1026 North Beckley Avenue.

*Commission finding.*In the search of Oswald's room after his apprehension police found a pistol holster. Oswald's landlady, Mrs. A. C. Johnson, stated that she had not seen the holster before. There is no reason to believe that Oswald could not have had both a pistol and the holster hidden in the room. Oswald's pistol was a small one with the barrel cut down to 2.25 inches. It could have been concealed in a pocket of his clothes.

*Speculation.*Oswald did not pick up the revolver from his room at 1 p.m.

*Commission finding.*There is reason to believe that Oswald did pick up the revolver from his room, probably concealing it beneath his jacket. This likelihood is reinforced by the finding of the pistol holster in the room after the assassination, since this indicates that Oswald did not store the pistol at the home of Mrs. Paine where he spent the night before the assassination.

*Speculation.*No one saw Oswald enter the Texas Theatre.

*Commission finding.*A nearby shoe store manager, Johnny C. Brewer, and the Theatre cashier, Julia Postal, saw Oswald enter the lobby of the Theatre from where he went on into the theater proper.

*Speculation.*Not a single one of the people in the Texas Theatre at the time of Oswald's arrest has come forward or been brought forward to give an eyewitness account of the arrest.

*Commission finding.*Johnny C. Brewer, the shoe store manager, and two patrons of the theater John Gibson and George Jefferson Applin, Jr.were present in the theater and testified before the Commission on the circumstances of Oswald's arrest at the Texas Theatre. Only 6 or 7 people were seated on the main floor of the theater.

*Speculation.*There is no independent witness aside from the police who testified that Oswald was carrying a gun when arrested by the police.

*Commission finding.*Johnny Brewer testified before the Commission that he saw Oswald pull a gun and that he saw it taken away from him by a policeman.

Warren Report: Appendix XII - Oswald After His Arrest

The Commission found that assertions that the Dallas police treated Oswald brutally and denied him his constitutional rights to legal counsel had no foundation in fact. Insinuations that Dallas police officials and District Attorney Henry M. Wade fabricated or altered evidence to establish the guilt of Oswald were baseless. It is true that police officials and the district attorney made errors in giving evidential information to the press, but these were dearly the result of misapprehensions or ignorance rather than intent, and at the worst represent bad judgment. At least one imputed fabrication of fact, further embellished by repetition, never really occurred. Sinister connotations were evoked by the attribution to the district attorney of the statement that a taxicab driver named Darryl Click drove Oswald from downtown Dallas to the area of his rooming house in Oak Cliff. It has been correctly ascertained that no such taxicab driver existed in Dallas. On the other hand, the district attorney, who was quoted in a newspaper transcript as making the statement, never made the statement nor did any one else. Audio tapes of the district attorney's press conference make clear that the person who transcribed the conference rendered a reference to the "Oak Cliff" area of Dallas as a person, "Darryl Click". This error in transcription is the sole source for the existence of a "Darryl Click" as a taxicab driver.

Speculation. Oswald was the victim of police brutality.

Commission finding. Oswald resisted arrest in the Texas Theatre and drew a gun. He received a slight cut over his right eye and a bruise under his left eye in the course of his struggles. During the time he was in police custody, he was neither ill-treated nor abused.

Speculation. Oswald was never formally charged with the assassination of the President; he was charged only with the shooting of Patrolman J. D. Tippit.

Commission finding. Oswald was arraigned for the murder of President Kennedy before Justice of the Peace David Johnston on the fourth floor of the Police Department building at 1:35 a.m., November 23. Previously, he had been arraigned before Johnston for the murder of Tippit at 7:10 p.m., November 22.

Speculation. The police questioned Oswald extensively about the Tippit murder on the first day of his detention. They did not question him about the assassination of President Kennedy.

Commission finding. Dallas police officials stated that they questioned Oswald repeatedly on November 22 about the assassination of President Kennedy and his relationship to it. At the first interrogation, Captain Fritz asked Oswald to account for himself at the time the President was shot. FBI agents who were present also stated that he was questioned about the assassination of the President.

Speculation. Oswald's attempts to get legal counsel were deliberately thwarted by the police and he was cut off from outside calls that would have permitted him to obtain a lawyer.

Commission finding. On November 23, Oswald was visited by the president of the Dallas Bar Association, H. Louis Nichols, who offered him help in getting a lawyer; Oswald refused the offer. Oswald was told by the police that he could use the telephone when he wished, and he did make telephone calls. He attempted to call attorney John Abt in New York but was unsuccessful in reaching him. Mrs. Paine testified that at Oswald's request she tried without success to reach Abt. Oswald was also visited by his wife, mother, and brother, to any of whom he could have turned for help in getting counsel.

Warren Report: Appendix XII - Oswald in the Soviet Union

Oswald's residence in the Soviet Union for more than 2.5 years aroused speculation after his arrest that he was an agent of the Soviet Union or in some way affiliated with it. This speculation was supported by assertions that he had received exceptionally favored treatment from the Soviet Government in securing permission to enter and leave the country, especially the latter, because his Russian wife and child were permitted to leave with him. The careful analysis of these speculations in chapter VI of this report led to the Commission's conclusion that there is no credible evidence that Oswald was an agent of the Soviet Government and that he did not receive unusually favorable treatment in entering or leaving the Soviet Union or in returning to the United States.

Speculation. A young private in the Marine Corps in the 1950's could not study Marxism, learn Russian, and read Soviet newspapers without any adverse repercussions in his unit.

Commission finding. Although Oswald's interest in the Soviet Union was well known, his interest in Marxism was apparently known to only a few of his fellow marines. While stationed in California he studied Russian. In February 1959, while still in the Marines, he took an official test on his proficiency in Russian and was rated "Poor." In California at about this time he probably read a Russian-language newspaper. The reactions of his fellow Marines who were aware of his interests in Marxism and the Soviet Union were apparently not antagonistic and did not deter him from pursuing these interests.

Speculation. Oswald learned Russian during his service in the Marines as part of his military training.

Commission finding. Oswald never received any training from the Marine Corps in the Russian language. His studies of Russian were entirely on his own time and at his own initiative.

Speculation. Oswald could not have saved \$1,600 from his Marine pay for his trip to Russia in 1959.

Commission finding. In November 1959, Oswald told an American reporter in Moscow, Aline Mosby, that he had saved \$1,500 (not \$1,600) while in the Marines. It is entirely consistent with Oswald's known frugality that he could have saved the money from the \$3,452.20 in pay he received while he was in the Marines. Moreover, despite his statement to Aline Mosby, he may not actually have saved \$1,500, for it was possible for him to have made the trip to Russia in 1959 for considerably less than that amount.

Speculation. It is probable that Oswald had prior contacts with Soviet agents before he entered Russia in 1959 because his application for a visa was processed and approved immediately on receipt.

Commission finding. There is no evidence that Oswald was in touch with Soviet agents before his visit to Russia. The time that it took for him to receive his visa in Helsinki for entrance to the Soviet Union was shorter than the average but not beyond the normal range for the granting of such visas. Had Oswald been recruited as a Russian agent while he was still in the Marines, it is most improbable that he would have been encouraged to defect. He would have been of greater value to Russian intelligence as a Marine radar operator than as a defector.

Speculation. Soviet suspicion of Oswald is indicated by the fact that he was sent off to work in a radio plant in Minsk as an unskilled hand at the lowest rate of pay although he qualified as a trained radar and electronics technician.

Commission finding. The Soviet Government probably was suspicious of Oswald, as it would be of any American who appeared in Moscow and said he wanted to live in the Soviet Union. Under the circumstances it is to be expected that he would be placed in a position that would not involve national security. Moreover, Oswald had been a radar operator, not a technician, in the Marines. His total income in Russia was higher than normal because his pay was supplemented for about a year by payments from the Soviet "Red Cross," an official agency of the Soviet Government. Oswald believed that these payments really came from the MVD. It is a policy of the Soviet Government to subsidize defectors from Western nations who settle in the Soviet Union, in order that their standard of living may not be too much lower than their previous standard in their own country.

Speculation. Oswald was trained by the Russians in a special school for assassins at Minsk.

Commission finding. Commission investigations revealed no evidence to support this claim or the existence of such a school in Minsk during the time Oswald was there. Oswald belonged to a hunting club near Minsk, but there is no evidence that this was other than an ordinary hunting club.

Speculation. Marina Oswald's father was an important part of the Soviet intelligence apparatus.

Commission finding. Marina Oswald's father died while she was still an infant. This reference is presumably to her uncle, Ilya Prusakov, who was an executive in the lumber industry, which position carried with it the rank of lieutenant colonel or colonel in the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD). Since 1953 the MVD has not been concerned with internal security or other police functions.

Speculation. It was most exceptional that Oswald was able to bring his wife and child out of the Soviet Union with him.

Commission finding. There is no reason to believe that the Oswalds received unusually favorable treatment in being permitted or assisted to leave the Soviet Union together. Other American citizens have brought their Russian wives out of the Soviet Union, both before and after Oswald.

Speculation. Oswald never would have been permitted to return to the United States if Soviet intelligence had not planned to use him in some way against the United States.

Commission finding. There is no evidence that Oswald had any working relationship with the Soviet Government or Soviet intelligence. The Russians have permitted other American defectors to return to the United States.

Speculation. Since the exit visa for Marina Oswald was granted so promptly the Soviet authorities must have wanted Marina to accompany her husband.

Commission finding. Marina Oswald's exit visa application was not acted upon with unusual rapidity. It took at least 5.5 months from the time the Oswalds applied until they were notified of permission in December 1961. There have been many instances where visas were granted more quickly to other Soviet wives of American citizens.

Speculation. Soviet authorities gave Oswald notice a month and a half in advance that they had granted him an exit visa, an unprecedented act for the Soviet Government.

Commission finding. The Oswalds were notified on December 25, 1961, that their requests for exit visas had been granted by Soviet authorities. Marina Oswald picked up her visa, valid until December 1, 1962, on January 11, 1962, 17 days after receiving notice that it was available. Oswald did not pick up his visa until May 22. The Soviets did not give the Oswalds any advance notice; the visas could have been picked up immediately had the Oswalds so desired. Because his exit visa had a 45-day expiration time after date of issuance, Lee Oswald delayed picking it up until he knew when he was leaving. He could not arrange a departure date until he received permission from the Department of State in May to return to the United States.

Warren Report: Appendix XII - Oswald's Trip to Mexico City

Oswald's trip to Mexico City in late September and early October 1963, less than 2 months before he assassinated President Kennedy, has provoked speculation that it was related in some way to a conspiracy to murder the President. Rumors include assertions that he made a clandestine flight from Mexico to Cuba and back and that he received a large sum of money usually estimated at \$5,000 which he brought back to Dallas with him. The Commission has no credible evidence that Oswald went to Mexico pursuant to a plan to assassinate President Kennedy, that he received any instructions related to such an action while there, or that he received large sums of money from any source in Mexico.

Speculation. Oswald could not have received an American passport in June 1963 within 24 hours without special intervention on his behalf.

Commission finding. Oswald's passport application was processed routinely by the Department of State. No person or agency intervened specially on his behalf to speed the issuance of the passport. The passports of 24 other persons, on the same list sent to Washington from New Orleans, were authorized at the same time. The Passport Office of the Department of State had no instructions to delay issuance of or to deny a passport to Oswald.

Speculation. The Walter-McCarran Act specifically requires anyone who has attempted to renounce his U.S. citizenship to file an affidavit stating why he should receive a U.S. passport. Therefore, Oswald should have been required to file such an affidavit before receiving his passport in June 1963.

Commission finding. The Internal Security Act of 1950 (Walter-McCarran Act) contains no reference to an affidavit being required of a U.S. citizen who has attempted to expatriate himself.

Speculation. Oswald did not have money for his trip to Mexico in September 1963.

Commission finding. An analysis of Oswald's finances by the Commission indicates that he had sufficient money to make the trip to and from Mexico City. There is no evidence that he received any assistance in financing his trip to Mexico. The total cost of his 7-day trip has been reliably estimated at less than \$85.

Speculation. Oswald was accompanied on his trip to Mexico City by a man and two women.

Commission finding. Investigation has revealed that Oswald traveled alone on the bus. Fellow passengers on the bus between Houston and Mexico City have stated that he appeared to be traveling alone and that they had not previously known him.

Speculation. While in Mexico, Oswald made a clandestine flight to Havana and back.

Commission finding. The Commission has found no evidence that Oswald made any flight to Cuba while he was in Mexico. He never received permission from the Cuban Government to enter Cuba nor from the Mexican Government to leave Mexico bound for Cuba. A confidential check of the Cuban airline in Mexico City indicates that Oswald never appeared at its office there.

Speculation. Oswald came back from Mexico City with \$5,000.

Commission finding. No evidence has ever been supplied or obtained to support this allegation. Oswald's actions in Mexico City and after his return to Dallas lend no support to this speculation.

Speculation. On November 27, 1963, in a speech at the University of Havana, Fidel Castro, under the influence of liquor, said "The first time that Oswald was in Cuba * * *" Castro therefore had knowledge that Oswald had made surreptitious visits to Cuba.

Commission finding. Castro's speeches are monitored directly by the U.S. Information Agency as he delivers them. A tape of this speech reveals that it did not contain the alleged slip of the tongue. Castro did refer to Oswald's visit to the "Cuban Embassy" in Mexico which he immediately corrected to "Cuban consulate." The Commission has found no evidence that Oswald had made surreptitious visits to Cuba.

Warren Report: Appendix XII - Oswald and U.S. Government Agencies

Rumors and speculations that Oswald was in some way associated with or used by agencies of the U.S. Government grew out of his Russian period and his investigation by the FBI after his return to the United States. Insinuations were made that Oswald had been a CIA agent or had some relationship with the CIA and that this explained the supposed ease with which he received passports and visas. Speculation that he had some working relationship with the FBI was based on an entry in Oswald's notebook giving the name and telephone number of an agent from the FBI office in Dallas. The Directors of the CIA and the FBI have testified before the Commission that Oswald was never in the employ of their agencies in any capacity. The Commission has concluded on the basis of its own investigations of the files of Federal agencies that Oswald was not and had never been an agent of any agency of the U.S. Government (aside from his service in the Marines) and was not and had never been used by any U.S. Government agency for any purpose. The FBI was interested in him as a former defector and it maintained a file on him.

Speculation. Oswald was an informant of either the FBI or the CIA. He was recruited by an agency of the U.S. Government and sent to Russia in 1959.

Commission finding. Mrs. Marquerite Oswald frequently expressed the opinion that her son was such an agent, but she stated before the Commission that "I cannot prove Lee is an agent." The Directors of the CIA and of the FBI testified before the Commission that Oswald was never employed by either agency or used by either agency in any capacity. Investigation by the Commission has revealed no evidence that Oswald was ever employed by either the FBI or CIA in any capacity.

Speculation. Oswald told Pauline Bates, a public stenographer in Fort Worth, Tex., in June 1962, that he had become a "secret agent" of the U.S. Government and that he was soon going back to Russia "for Washington."

Commission finding. Miss Bates denied a newspaper story reporting that Oswald had told her that he was working for the U.S. Department of State. She stated that she had assumed incorrectly that he was working with the Department of State when he told her that the State Department had told him in 1959 that he would be on his own while in the Soviet Union.

Speculation. The FBI tried to recruit Oswald. An FBI agent's name, telephone number, and automobile license number were found among Oswald's papers.

Commission finding. FBI officials have testified that they had never tried to recruit Oswald to act on behalf of the FBI in any capacity. The Commission's investigation corroborates this testimony. An FBI agent, James P. Hosty, Jr., had given his name and telephone number to Mrs. Ruth Paine so that she could call and give him Oswald's address in Dallas when she learned it. Mrs. Paine and Marina Oswald have stated that Mrs. Paine gave Oswald a slip of paper with the agent's name and telephone number on it. Marina Oswald had taken down the license number of Hosty's car on one of his visits and given it to her husband.

Speculation. Dallas police must have known where Oswald was living in the city because Mrs. Paine had given the address of Oswald's room on North Beckley Avenue to the FBI some time before the assassination.

Commission finding. Mrs. Paine had never given the address of Oswald's rooming house to the FBI, nor had she known the address prior to the assassination. Therefore, the Dallas police could not have learned the address from the FBI which did not know the address before the assassination. The Dallas Police did not know that Oswald was in the city before the assassination.

Speculation. It has been FBI policy for 20 years to inform employers of Communists or suspected Communists employed by them. It is a mystery, therefore, how Oswald retained his job at the Texas School Book Depository.

Commission finding. The FBI advised the Commission that it has never been its policy to inform employers that they have Communists or suspected Communists working for them and that the FBI does not disseminate internal security information to anyone outside the executive branch of the U.S. Government. FBI agents had no contacts with Texas School Book Depository officials until after the assassination.

Speculation. Municipal and Federal police had observed Oswald closely for some time but had not regarded him as a potential killer.

Commission finding. The Dallas police had not been aware of Oswald's presence in the city before the assassination. The FBI knew the Oswald was in Dallas from an interview with Mrs. Paine, but no FBI agents had interviewed him there before the assassination. The FBI had not regarded him as a

potential killer.

Speculation. The FBI probably knew that Oswald had the rifle before the President's murder because it was most unlikely that it could have traced the ownership of the rifle within 1 day if it had not already had information on the rifle.

Commission finding. The FBI successfully traced the purchase of the rifle by Oswald within 24 hours of the assassination. It had no previous information about the rifle.

Speculation. The FBI interviewed Oswald 10 days before the assassination.

Commission finding. The last FBI interview with Oswald, before the assassination, took place in New Orleans in August 1963, when he asked to see an FBI agent after his arrest by police for disturbing the peace, the outcome of his distribution of Fair Play for Cuba handbills. Neither Special Agent Hosty nor any other FBI agent saw or talked with Oswald between his return to Dallas, on October 3, and November 22. Hosty did interview Mrs. Paine at her home about Oswald on November 1 and 5, 1963. He also saw Marina Oswald briefly on November 1 at Mrs. Paine's house, but he did not interview her.

Warren Report: Appendix XII - Conspiratorial Relationships

Rumors concerning accomplices and plots linked Oswald and Ruby with each other, or with others, including Patrolman J. D. Tippit, Gen. Edwin A. Walker, and Bernard Weissman of the nonexistent American Fact-finding Committee, in a conspiratorial relationship. The Commission made intensive inquiry into the backgrounds and relationships of Oswald and Ruby to determine whether they knew each other or were involved in a plot of any kind with each other or others. It was unable to find any credible evidence to support the rumors linking Oswald and Ruby directly or through others. The Commission concluded that they were not involved in a conspiratorial relationship with each other or with any third parties.

Speculation. Lee Harvey Oswald, Jack Ruby, and Patrolman J. D. Tippit lived within a few blocks of each other.

Commission finding. Oswald's room was 1.3 miles from Ruby's apartment and Tippit lived 7 miles away from Ruby. Tippit's residence was about 7 miles from Oswald's room.

Speculation. Since Oswald did not have the money to repay the \$435.61 he had received from the Department of State to cover part of the expenses of his return from Russia, he must have received help from some other source. Ruby lent Oswald money to pay back the loan and lent him small amounts of money thereafter.

Commission finding. The Commission has no credible evidence that Oswald received any money from Ruby or anyone else to repay his State Department loan, nor that he received small amounts of money from Ruby at any time. An exhaustive analysis of Oswald's income and expenditures, made for the Commission by an Internal Revenue Service expert, reveals that Oswald had sufficient funds to make the State Department repayments from his earnings.

Speculation. Just before Oswald was shot by Ruby, he looked directly at Ruby in apparent recognition of him.

Commission finding. The Commission has been unable to establish as a fact any kind of relationship between Ruby and Oswald other than that Oswald was Ruby's victim. The Commission has examined television tapes and motion picture films of the shooting and has been unable to discern any facial expression that could be interpreted to signify recognition of Ruby or anyone else in the basement of the building.

Speculation. The Dallas police suspected Oswald and Ruby of being involved in an attack on General Walker and planned to arrest the two when the FBI intervened, at the request of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and asked the police not to do so for reasons of state.

Commission finding. This allegation appeared in the November 29, 1963, issue (actually printed on November 25 or 26) of a German weekly newspaper, Deutsche National Zeitung und Soldaten Zeitung, published in Munich. The allegation later appeared in the National Enquirer of May 17, 1964. The Commission has been reliably informed that the statement was fabricated by an editor of the newspaper. No evidence in support of this statement has ever been advanced or uncovered. In their investigation of the attack on General Walker, the Dallas police uncovered no suspects and planned no arrests. The FBI had no knowledge that Oswald was responsible for the attack until Marina Oswald revealed the information on December 3, 1963.

Speculation. Ruby and Oswald were seen together at the Carousel Club.

Commission finding. All assertions that Oswald was seen in the company of Ruby or of anyone else at the Carousel Club have been investigated. None of them merits any credence.

Speculation. Oswald and General Walker were probably acquainted with each other since Oswald's notebook contained Walker's name and telephone number.

Commission finding. Although Oswald's notebook contained Walker's name and telephone number there was no evidence that the two knew each other. It is probable that this information was inserted at the time that Oswald was planning his attack on Walker. General Walker stated that he did not know of Oswald before the assassination.

Speculation. Patrolman J. D. Tippit, Bernard Weissman, and Jack Ruby met by prearrangement on November 14, 1963, at the Carousel Club.

Commission finding. Investigation has revealed no evidence to support this assertion. Nor is there credible evidence that any of the three men knew each other.

Speculation. Ruby's sister, Mrs. Eva Grant, said that Ruby and Tippit were "like two brothers."

Commission finding. Mrs. Grant has denied ever making this state-merit or any statement like it, saying it

was untrue and without foundation. Ruby was acquainted with another Dallas policeman named Tippit, but this was O. M. Tippit of the special services bureau of the department, not the Tippit who was killed.

Speculation. Jack Ruby was one of the most notorious of Dallas gangsters.

Commission finding. There is no credible evidence that Jack Ruby was active in the criminal underworld. Investigation disclosed no one in either Chicago or Dallas who had any knowledge that Ruby was associated with organized criminal activity.

Speculation. The shooting in Dallas on January 23, 1964, of Warren A. Reynolds, who witnessed the flight of Patrolman Tippit's slayer on November 22 and followed him for a short distance, may have been connected in some way with the assassination of President Kennedy and the slaying of Patrolman Tippit. A man arrested for the attempt on Reynolds, Darrell Wayne Garner, was released as a result, in part, of testimony by Betty (Nancy Jane Mooney) MacDonald, who had allegedly worked at one time as a stripper at Jack Ruby's Carousel Club.

Commission finding. This rumor, originally publicized by a newspaper columnist on February 23, 1964, was apparently based on the alleged connection between Betty MacDonald and the Carousel Club. Investigation revealed no evidence that she had ever worked at the Carousel Club. Employees of the club had no recollection that she had ever worked there. Betty MacDonald was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace on February 13, 1964. After being placed in a cell at the Dallas city jail, she hanged herself. The Commission has found no evidence that the shooting of Warren Reynolds was in any way related to the assassination of President Kennedy or the murder of Patrolman Tippit.

Warren Report: Appendix XII - Other Rumors and Speculations

Many rumors and speculations difficult to place in the categories treated above also required consideration or investigation by the Commission. In some way or other, much of his miscellany was related to theories of conspiracy involving Oswald. The rest pertained to peripheral aspects that were of sufficient import to merit attention. The Commission's findings are set forth below.

Speculation. Oswald was responsible in some way for the death of Marine Pvt. Martin D. Schrand.

Commission finding. This rumor was mentioned by at least one of Oswald's fellow Marines. Private Schrand was fatally wounded by a discharge from a riot-type shotgun while he was on guard duty on January 5, 1958, near the carrier pier, U.S. Naval Air Station, Cubi Point, Republic of the Philippines. The official Marine investigation in 1958 found that Schrand's death was the result of an accidental discharge of his gun and that no other person or persons were involved in the incident. The rumor that Oswald was involved in Schrand's death in some way may have had its origin in two circumstances: (1) Oswald was stationed at Cubi Point at the time of Schrand's death; (2) on October 27, 1957, while stationed in Japan, Oswald accidentally shot himself in the left elbow with a .22 derringer that he owned. The Commission has found no evidence that Oswald had any connection with the fatal shooting of Private Schrand.

Speculation. The Texas School Book Depository is owned and operated by the city of Dallas, and Oswald was therefore a municipal employee. Accordingly, he could have secured his job at the Depository only if someone in an official capacity vouched for him.

Commission finding. The Texas School Book Depository is a private corporation unconnected with the city of Dallas. Oswald therefore was not a municipal employee. He obtained his position at the Depository with the assistance of Mrs. Ruth Paine, who learned of a possible opening from a neighbor and arranged an interview for him with Superintendent Roy S. Truly at the Depository.

Speculation. Prior to the assassination Dallas police searched other buildings in the area of the Texas School Book Depository but not the School Book Depository itself.

Commission finding. The Dallas police and the Secret Service both notified the Commission that, other than the Trade Mart, they had searched no buildings along the route of the President's motorcade or elsewhere in Dallas in connection with the President's visit. It was not Secret Service practice to search buildings along the routes of motorcades.

Speculation. Sheriff E. J. Decker of Dallas County came on the police radio at 12:25 p.m. with orders to calm trouble at the Texas School Book Depository.

Commission finding. The final edition of the Dallas Times-Herald of November 22 (p. 1, col. 1) reported that "Sheriff Decker came on the air at 12:25 p.m." and stated: "I don't know what's happened. Take every available man from the jail and the office and go to the railroad yards off Elm near the triple underpass?" The article in the Times-Herald did not mention the time that the President was shot. The radio log of the Dallas County Sheriff's Office shows that Sheriff Decker came on the air at 40 seconds after 12:30 p.m. and stated: "Stand by me. All units and officers vicinity of station report to the railroad track area, just north of Elm. Report to the railroad track area, just north of Elm." The radio log does not show any messages by Sheriff Decker between 12:20 p.m. and 40 seconds after 12:30 p.m.

Speculation. Police precautions in Dallas on November 22 included surveillance of many people, among them some who did no more than speak in favor of school integration.

Commission finding. The Dallas Police Department notified the Commission that on November 22 it had no one raider surveillance as a precaution in connection with President Kennedy's visit except at the Trade Mart. The Commission received no evidence that the Dallas police had under surveillance people who spoke in favor of school integration.

Speculation. Oswald was seen at shooting ranges in the Dallas area practicing firing with a rifle.

Commission finding. Marina Oswald stated that on one occasion in March or April 1963, her husband told her that he was going to practice firing with the rifle. Witnesses have testified that they saw Oswald at shooting ranges in the Dallas area during October and November 1963. Investigation has failed to confirm that the man seen by these witnesses was Oswald.

Speculation. Oswald could drive a car and was seen in cars at various places.

Commission finding. Oswald did not have a driver's license. Marina Oswald and Ruth Paine have testified that he could not drive a car, and there is no confirmed evidence to establish his presence at any location as the driver of a car. Mrs. Paine did give Oswald some driving lessons and he did drive short distances on these occasions.

Speculation. Oswald received money by Western Union telegraph from time to time for several months before the assassination of President Kennedy.

Commission finding. An employee in the Western Union main office in Dallas, C. A. Hamblen, made statements that he remembered seeing Oswald there on some occasions collecting money that had been telegraphed to him. In his testimony before the Commission, Hamblen was unable to state whether or not the person he had seen was Lee Harvey Oswald. Western Union officials searched their records in Dallas and other cities for the period from June through November 1963 but found no money orders payable to Lee Oswald or to any of his known aliases. A Western Union official concluded that the allegation was "a figment of Mr. Hamblen's imagination." The Commission has found no evidence to contradict this conclusion.

Speculation. On his way back from Mexico City in October 1963, Oswald stopped in Alice, Tex., to apply for a job at the local radio station.

Commission finding. This rumor apparently originated with the manager of radio station KOPY, Alice, who stated that Oswald visited his office on the afternoon of October 4 for about 25 minutes. According to the manager, Oswald was driving a battered 1953 model car and had his wife and a small child in the car with him. Oswald traveled from Mexico City to Dallas by bus, arriving in Dallas on the afternoon of October 3. The bus did not pass through Alice. On October 4, Oswald applied for two jobs in Dallas and then spent the afternoon and night with his wife and child at the Paine residence in Irving. Investigation has revealed that Oswald did not own a car and there is no convincing evidence that he could drive a car. Accordingly, Oswald could not have been in Alice on October 4. There is no evidence that he stopped in Alice to look for a job on any occasion.

Speculation. Oswald or accomplices had made arrangements for his getaway by airplane from an airfield in the Dallas area.

Commission finding. Investigation of such claims revealed that they had not the slightest substance. The Commission found no evidence that Oswald had any prearranged plan for escape after the assassination.

Speculation. One hundred and fifty dollars was found in the dresser of Oswald's room at 1026 North Beckley Avenue after the assassination.

Commission finding. No money was found in Oswald's room after the assassination. Oswald left \$170 in the room occupied by his wife at the Paine residence in Irving. At the time of his arrest Oswald had \$13.87 on his person.

Speculation. After Oswald's arrest, the police found in his room seven metal file boxes filled with the names of Castro sympathizers.

Commission finding. The Dallas police inventories of Oswald's property taken from his room at 1026 North Beckley Avenue do not include any file boxes. A number of small file boxes listed in the inventory as having been taken from the Paine residence in Irving contained letters, pictures, books and literature, most of which belonged to Ruth Paine, not to Oswald. No lists of names of Castro sympathizers were found among these effects.

Speculation. Oswald's letters vary so greatly in quality (spelling, grammar, sentence structure) that he must have had help in preparing the better constructed letters or someone else wrote them for him.

Commission finding. There is no evidence that anyone in the United States helped Oswald with his better written letters or that anyone else wrote his letters for him. His wife stated that he would write many drafts of his more important letters. His mother indicated that he would work hard over the drafts of some of his letters. It is clear that he did take greater pains with some of his letters than with others and that the contrasts in quality were accordingly substantial. It is also clear that even his better written letters contained some distinctive elements of spelling, grammar, and punctuation that were common to his poorer efforts. Oswald wrote in his diary that he received help from his Intourist Guide, Rima Shirokova, in the preparation of his letter of October 16, 1959, to the Supreme Soviet.

Speculation. A Negro janitor who was a witness to the shooting and was supposed to be able to identify Oswald as the killer was held in protective custody by the Dallas police until he could appear before the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy.

Commission finding. Investigation revealed that this story had no foundation in fact. No such witness was kept in protective custody by the Dallas police for appearance before the Commission. The story had its origin in a newspaper account based on hearsay.

Speculation. The Secret Service incarcerated Marina Oswald immediately after the assassination.

Commission finding. Marina Oswald was given protection by the Secret Service for a period of time after

the assassination. She had freedom to communicate with others at anytime she desired, to go where she pleased, or to terminate the protection at any time.

Speculation. Mrs. Marguerite Oswald was shown a photograph of Jack Ruby by an FBI agent the night before Ruby killed her son.

Commission finding. On the night of November 23, 1963, Special Agent Bardwell D. Odum of the FBI showed Mrs. Marguerite Oswald a picture of a man to determine whether the man was known to her. Mrs. Oswald stated subsequently that the picture was of Jack Ruby. The Commission has examined a copy of the photograph and determined that it was not a picture of Jack Ruby.

Speculation. The son of the only witness to the Tippit slaying was arrested after talking to some private investigators and soon plunged to his death from an unbarred jail window.

Commission finding. According to Mrs. Helen Markham, one of the witnesses to the Tippit slaying, Mrs. Marguerite Oswald and two men who claimed to be reporters from Philadelphia sought to interview her on June 27, 1964. Mrs. Markham did not wish to be interviewed and put them off. Afterward, Mrs. Markham's son, William Edward Markham, talked with Mrs. Oswald and the men about the Oswald matter and the shooting of Patrolman Tippit. William Edward Markham had been in Norfolk, Va., at the time of the assassination and had not returned to Dallas until May 7, 1964. He had no personal knowledge of the shooting of Patrolman Tippit. On June 30, 1964, another of Mrs. Markham's sons, James Alfred Markham, was arrested at Mrs. Markham's apartment by Dallas Police on a charge of burglary. While trying to escape, he fell from the bathroom of the apartment to a concrete driveway about 20 feet below. He was taken to Parkland Memorial Hospital, treated for injuries, and after 6 hours was taken to jail. As of July 31, 1964, he was in Dallas County Jail awaiting trial. There was also a warrant outstanding against him for parole violation's.

Speculation. The headquarters detachment of the U.S. Army, under orders from [Secretary of Defense Robert S.] McNamara's office, began to rehearse for the funeral more than a week before the assassination.

Commission finding. This assertion is based on an interview with U.S. Army Capt. Richard C. Cloy that appeared in the Jackson, Miss., Clarion-Ledger of February 21, 1964. The newspaper quotes Captain Cloy, who was a member of the Army unit charged with conducting funeral-ceremonials in honor of deceased Chiefs of State, as having said that, "we were in a state of readiness and had just finished a funeral rehearsal because there was grave concern for President Hoover's health. But we never expected that our practice was preparing us for President Kennedy."

Speculation. The ship in which Oswald went to Europe in 1959 stopped in Havana on the way.

Commission finding. Oswald boarded the SS Marion Lykes in New Orleans and it sailed on September 20, 1959. It docked in Le Havre France, on October 8 with only one previous stop at another French port, La Pallice.

Warren Report: Appendix XIII - Biography of Lee Harvey Oswald

Early Years

Marguerite Claverie, the mother of Lee Harvey Oswald, was born in New Orleans in 1907, into a family of French and German extraction. Her mother died a few years after Marguerite was born leaving her and five other young children in the care of their father, a streetcar conductor. Although Marguerite describes herself as "a child of one parent," she recalls being the of the most popular young ladies in the [grammar] school," and thinks of her childhood as a "very full happy" one. Her older sister, Mrs. Lillian Murret, remembers Marguerite as "a very pretty child, a very beautiful girl," as does a former acquaintance, Clem H. Sehrt, who knew the Claveries. The family was poor but, according to Mrs. Murret, was a "happy family * * * singing all the time." Marguerite had 1 year of high school. Shortly before she was 17, she went to work as a receptionist for a law firm in New Orleans

In August 1929, while she was still working at the law firm, Marguerite married Edward John Pic, Jr., 10 a quiet man of her own age, who worked as a clerk for T. Smith & Son a New Orleans stevedoring company. The marriage was not a success, and by the summer of 1931 she and Pic were separated. Marguerite was then 3 months pregnant; she told her family that Pic did not want any children and refused to support her. Pic ascribed the separation simply to their inability to get along together. A boy was born on January 17, 1932, whom Marguerite named John Edward Pic. Pic saw his son occasionally until he was about 1 year old; after that, he did not see the boy again but contributed to his support until he was 18 years old.

During her separation from her first husband, Marguerite saw a great deal of Robert Edward Lee Oswald, an insurance premium collector, who also was married but was separated from his wife. In 1933, Marguerite was divorced from Pic and, Oswald's wife also having obtained a divorce, they were married in a Lutheran church on July 20. Marguerite has described the period of her marriage to Oswald as "the only happy part" of her life. A son was born on April 7, 1934, who was named for his father; Oswald wanted to adopt John Pic, but his mother objected on the ground that John's father might cut off the support payments. In 1938, the Oswalds purchased a new house on Alvar Street for \$3,900, in what John remembered as "a rather nice neighborhood." The house was across the street from the William Frantz School, which first John and later both he and Robert, Jr., attended. On August 19, 1939, little more than a year after the Oswalds bought the Alvar Street house, Robert Oswald died suddenly of a heart attack.

Two months later, on October 18, 1939, a second son was born. He was named Lee after his father; Harvey was his paternal grandmother's maiden name. For a while after her husband's death, Mrs. Oswald remained in the Alvar Street house without working; she probably lived on life insurance proceeds. Sometime in 1940, she rented the house to Dr. Bruno F. Mancuso the doctor who had delivered Lee. (Dr. Mancuso continued to rent the house until 1944, when Marguerite obtained a judgment of possession against him. She sold the house for \$6,500 to the First Homestead and Savings Association, which resold it to Dr. Mancuso.) She herself moved to a rented house at 1242 Congress Street, where she lived for about half a year. For part of this period after Oswald's death, the two older boys were placed in the Infant Jesus College, a Catholic boarding school in Algiers, La., a suburb of New Orleans. Neither they nor their mother liked this arrangement, which John thought was intended to save money; it lasted for less than a year, after which the boys returned to the school Frantz and then transferred to the George Washington Elementary School.

On March 5, 1941, Mrs. Oswald purchased a frame house at 1010 Bartholomew Street, for \$1,300. According to John's recollection, the neighborhood was not as pleasant as Alvar Street; the house had a backyard, and the family kept a dog named "Sunshine." A neighbor, Mrs. Viola Peterman, recalls that Mrs. Oswald kept to herself but appeared to be "a good mother to her children." She opened a shop in the front room, where she sold things like sewing"supplies and small groceries. Oswald's Notion Shop, as it was called, failed to make money, and on January 16, 1942, Mrs. Oswald sold the house back to the Third District Home Association, from which she had purchased it, for a profit of \$800.

Probably in contemplation of the sale of the house, Mrs. Oswald applied in December 1941 to the Evangelical Lutheran Bethlehem Orphan Asylum Association for the admission of her two older sons to the orphan asylum, known as the Bethlehem Children's Home; she stated on the application that she could contribute \$20 per month to their maintenance and would supply shoes and clothing. She had inquired also about Lee, who was too young to be admitted. John and Robert were accepted and entered the home on January 3, 1942.

Mrs. Oswald moved to an apartment at 831 Pauline Street, and returned to work. In December 1942, she listed her occupation as "telephone operator"; this may be the job she held at the Pittsburgh Plate

Glass Co., a company for which she worked at some point during this period. She left Lee for much of this time with his aunt, Mrs. Murret, who thought him a good looking, friendly child, but could not devote a great deal of attention to him because she had five children of her own. In the late spring of 1942, Lee was watched for several weeks by Mrs. Thomas Roach, who lived with her husband in the same house as the Oswalds. Lee evidently did not get along with Mrs. Roach who told the next occupant of the house that Lee was a bad, unmanageable child who threw his toy gun at her. Apparently referring to the Roaches, Mrs. Oswald testified that she had once hired a couple to care for Lee; the couple neglected him, so she "put them out" and cared for Lee herself until Mrs. Murret was able to help her again. Soon after the incident with the Roaches, Mrs. Oswald moved again, this time to 111 Sherwood Forest Drive, near the Murrets.

Mrs. Murret took care of Lee for several months longer. Near Lee's third birthday, Mrs. Oswald again inquired about his admission into the Bethlehem Children's Home, perhaps because a disagreement with her sister made it impossible to leave him with her any longer. He was admitted on December 26. On his application, Mrs. Oswald agreed to contribute \$10 per month and to supply shoes and clothing, as for the other boys.

Lee remained in the home for about 13 months, but according to John's testimony, left on several occasions to spend short periods of time with his mother or the Murrets. John and Robert have pleasant memories of the home, which apparently gave the children a good deal of freedom. Robert described it as nondenominational but having "a Christian atmosphere"; "it might have been just a Protestant home." Mrs. Oswald visited them regularly, and they occasionally left the home to visit her or the Murrets.

In July 1943, Mrs. Oswald was hired to manage a small hosiery store. This is probably the store to which she referred in her testimony as the "Princess Hosiery Shop on Canal Street," at which, she testified, she was left by herself and "in 6 days' time * * * hired four girls." Her employer remembers her as a neat, attractive, and hardworking woman, an aggressive person who would make a good manager. She was not good with figures, however, and after several months he discharged her. At about this same time, she met Edwin A. Ekdahl, an electrical engineer older than herself, who was originally from Boston but was then working in the area. They saw each other often. Ekdahl met the boys and, according to John's testimony, on at least one occasion, they all spent a weekend at a summer resort area in Covington, La.

By January 1944, Mrs. Oswald and Ekdahl had decided to marry. She withdrew Lee from the Children's Home and moved with him to Dallas, where Ekdahl expected to be located. They planned to postpone the marriage until the end of the school year so that the older boys could complete the year at the home before they left it. In the meantime, she would care for Ekdahl, who was recovering from a serious illness, probably a heart attack. Mrs. Oswald has testified that when she arrived in Dallas, she decided that she did not want to marry Ekdahl after all. Using part of the proceeds from the sale of the Alvar Street house, she purchased a house at 4801 Victor Street, a portion of which she rented. In June, John and Robert left the Children's Home and joined their mother in Dallas. They entered the nearby Davy Crockett Elementary School the following September.

Ekdahl visited Mrs. Oswald on weekends and stayed at Victor Street. By the following year she had resolved her doubts about marrying him, influenced in part by his substantial income and perhaps by the visit some time earlier of his sister, who favored the marriage because of his ill health. Explaining that she expected to travel a great deal, Mrs. Oswald tried unsuccessfully to return the older boys to the home in February 1945. She and Ekdahl were married in May. After a brief honeymoon, they returned to Victor Street.

Ekdahl got along well with the boys, on whom he lavished much attention. John testified that Ekdahl treated them as if they were his own children and that Lee seemed to find in Ekdahl "the father he never had"; John recalled that on one occasion he told Lee that Ekdahl and his mother had become reconciled after a separation, and that "this seemed to really elate Lee, this made him really happy that they were getting back together."

Because Ekdahl's business required him to make frequent trips, in September, John and Robert were placed in the Chamberlain-Hunt Military Academy at Port Gibson, Miss.; their mother paid the tuition herself, using the proceeds from the sale of the Alvar Street property. They remained at the academy for the next 3 years, returning home only for or vacations. Lee accompanied his parents on their travels. Mrs. Myrtle Evans, who had known both Marguerite and Ekdahl before their marriage, testified that Marguerite insisted on keeping Lee with her; Mrs. Evans thought that Marguerite was "too close" to Lee and "spoiled him to death," which hurt her marriage to Ekdahl.

Sometime in the fall after John and Robert were at boarding school, the Ekdahls moved to Benbrook, a

suburb of Fort Worth, where they lived on Granbury Road, in a house of stone or brick, set on a large plot of land. Records of the Benbrook Common School show Lee's admission into the first grade on October 31; his birth date is incorrectly given as July 9, 1939, his mother presumably having given that requirement. On February 8, 1946, he was admitted to the Harris Hospital in Fort Worth with "acute mastoiditis." A mastoidectomy was performed without complications, and Lee left the hospital in 4 days. (In 1955, Lee indicated on a school form that he had an "abnormal ear drum in left ear," presumably a reference to the mastoidectomy; but when he entered the Marines year later, physical examination disclosed no physical defects.) The Ekdahls' marriage quickly broke down. Before they had been married a year, Marguerite suspected Ekdahl of infidelity. She thought him stingy, and there were frequent arguments about his insistence that she account for her expenditures and his refusal to share his money with her. In the summer of 1946, she left Ekdahl, picked up John and Robert at Chamberlain-Hunt, and moved with the boys to Covington, La., where they lived for at least part of the time at 311 Vermont Street. Mrs. Evans described them at Covington, possibly during this summer, as "really a happy family"; Lee seemed like a normal boy but "kept to himself" and seemed not "to want to be with any other children."

The separation continued after the two boys returned to boarding school, and in September Lee was enrolled in the Covington Elementary School. His record at Benbrook had been satisfactory he was present on 82 school days and absent on 15, and received all A's and B's but he had not completed the work of the first grade, in which he was enrolled for a second time.

Lee received no grades at the Covington School, from which he was withdrawn on January 23, 1947, because his parents, now reconciled, were moving to Fort Worth, where they lived at 1505 Eighth Avenue. Four days later, he enrolled in the Clayton Public School; he was still in the first grade, which he completed in May with B's in every subject except physical education and health, in which he received A's. In the fall, he entered the second grade in the same school but, relations between his parents having deteriorated again, was withdrawn before any grades were recorded.

After the move to Fort Worth, the Ekdahls continued to argue frequently; according to John, "they would have a fight about every other day and he would leave and come back." That summer, Marguerite obtained what she regarded as proof that Ekdahl was having some sort of affair. According to her testimony, a neighbor told her that Ekdahl had been living on Eighth Avenue with another woman while she was in Covington. Then, at a time when Ekdahl was supposed to be out of town, she went with John and several of his friends to an apartment in Fort Worth; one of the boys posed as a telegram carrier, and when the door opened she pushed her way into the apartment and found Ekdahl in his shirt sleeves in the company of a woman in a negligee.

Despite this apparent confirmation of her suspicions, Marguerite continued to live with Ekdahl until January 1948. In January, according to Ekdahl's allegations in the subsequent divorce proceedings, she "directed * * * [him] to leave the home immediately and never to return," which he did. Ekdahl filed suit for divorce in March. The complaint alleged that Marguerite constantly nagged Ekdahl and argued "with reference to money matters," accused him of infidelity, threw things at him, and finally ordered him out of the house; that these acts were unprovoked by Ekdahl's conduct toward her; that her acts endangered his already impaired health; and that her "excesses, harsh and cruel treatment and outrages" toward him made it impossible for them to live together. She denied all these allegations. After a trial, at which John testified and, he thought, Lee was called to the stand but was excused without testifying, the jury found on special issues that Marguerite was "guilty of excesses, cruel treatment, or outrages" unprovoked by Ekdahl's conduct. On June 24, the court granted the divorce and approved an agreement between the parties disposing of their property between them and awarding Marguerite \$1,500; at her request, the divorce restored to Marguerite her former name, Marguerite C. Oswald.

While the divorce suit was pending, Marguerite moved from Eighth Avenue to a house on 3300 Willing Street, next to railroad tracks. The boys found her there in May when they returned from the military academy; for John, the move signified that they "were back down in the lower class again." Lee's withdrawal from the Clayton School on March 18, 1948, probably coincided with the move to Willing Street. He entered the Clark Elementary School on the following day, and in June completed the second grade with a record mostly of B's and A's. Philip Vinson, a classmate at the Clayton School has described Lee at that time as "a quiet type of kid" who "didn't make a lot of noise." Lee was "stocky and well built," which made other boys look up to him and regard him as the leader of one of their schoolyard "gangs." Vinson thought that Lee was not a bully and got along with his classmates, but had the impression that he rarely played with them or brought them home after school.

Shortly after the divorce, Mrs. Oswald purchased a small house in Benbrook, on what is now San Saba

Street; John has testified that it had a single bedroom, in which Lee slept with his mother, and a screened porch where John and Robert slept. Mrs. Oswald worked at a department store in Fort Worth, and left the three boys home alone. A neighbor, Mrs. W. H. Bell, has stated that Lee seemed to enjoy being by himself and to resent discipline; another neighbor, Otis R. Carlton, stated that he once saw Lee chase John with a knife and throw it at him, an incident which, Carlton said, their mother passed off as a "little scuffle." At the end of the summer, Carlton purchased the property. He stated that he appraised it at \$2,750 at Mrs. Oswald's request; she then insisted that he had made an offer to purchase at that price, which he finally agreed to do.

After the house was sold, the family returned to Fort Worth, a move necessitated by Mrs. Oswald's, and now John's, employment. Mrs. Oswald bought a two-bedroom, frame house at 7408 Ewing, from which Robert and Lee could walk to school. John, who was then 16, obtained a job as a shoe stockboy at Everybody's Department Store; he testified that he wanted to finish high school at the military academy, but that his mother advised him to leave school and help to support the family. He gave her \$15 per week out of his salary of \$25. Robert returned to school.

Lee entered the third grade at the Arlington Heights Elementary School. He remained at Arlington Heights for the entire school year, completing the third grade with a satisfactory record, which included A's in social studies, citizenship, elementary science, art, and music, and a D in spelling. In September 1949, he transferred to the Ridglea West Elementary School, where he remained for the next 3 years. Lee's record at Ridglea is not remarkable in any respect. In the fourth and fifth grades, he received mostly B's; in the sixth grade, B's and C's predominate. He received D's in both the fifth and sixth grades in spelling and arithmetic; in the fourth and sixth grades, C's are recorded for Spanish, which may account for his rudimentary familiarity with that language later on. In the fourth grade his IQ was recorded at 103; on achievement tests in each of the 3 years, he twice did best in reading and twice did worst in spelling.

Lee is generally characterized as an unexceptional but rather solitary boy during these years. His mother worked in a variety of jobs, and, according to her own testimony, told Lee not to contact her at work except in an emergency. He ordinarily returned home alone directly after school, in obedience to his mother's instructions. A fourth grade teacher, Mrs. Clyde I. Livingston, described him as a lonely boy, quiet and shy, who did not easily form friendships with other students. But Richard W. Garrett has stated that he was a classmate of Lee in the fourth or fifth grade and found him easy to get along with; he recalled playing with Lee often at school and sometimes walking home together with him. Mrs. Livingston recalled that at Christmas 1949, Lee gave her a puppy and afterward came to her home to see the puppy and talk to her and her family.

Lee's relationship with his brothers was good but limited by the difference in their ages. He still had a dog, but there were few children of his age in the neighborhood, and he appears to have been by himself after school most of the time. He read a lot, had a stamp collection, and played chess and Monopoly with his brothers. Mrs. Murret remembered that on a visit to her home in New Orleans, Lee refused to play with other children or even to leave the house; he preferred to stay indoors and read (mostly "funnybooks") or listen to the radio. After several weeks with the Murrets, Lee wrote to his mother and asked her to come for him. Hiram Conway, a neighbor on Ewing Street, thought Lee was an intelligent child, who picked things up easily; although he did not recall many specific incidents to support his impressions, Conway regarded Lee as "a bad kid," who was "quick to anger" and "mean when he was angry, just ornery." John's general picture of Lee in these years is that of "a normal healthy robust boy who would get in fights and still have his serious moments."

John returned to high school in January 1949, but continued to work part time. Early in 1950, he entered the Coast Guard. Robert left school soon after John's departure and went to work full time, contributing most of his earnings to the support of his family. He returned to school in 1951-52, and after completing his junior year in high school, joined the Marines in July 1952. In August, Mrs. Oswald and Lee moved to New York, where John was living with his wife and a very young baby in an apartment at 325 East 92d Street; the apartment- belonged to John's mother-in-law, who was temporarily away. Mrs. Oswald has explained that with Robert gone she did not want Lee to be alone while she worked and that she went to New York City "not as a venture," but because she "had family" there. The visit began well. John testified of his meeting with Lee: "We met in the street and I was real glad to see him and he was real glad to see me. We were real good friends." He took about a week of leave and showed Lee the city; he remembered trips to the Museum of Natural History and Polk's Hobby Shop, and a ride on the Staten Island ferry. But when it became obvious that his mother intended to stay, the atmosphere changed. Mrs. Oswald did not get along with John's wife, with whom she quarreled frequently. There was difficulty about her failure to contribute anything towards her own and Lee's support. According to John, his wife liked Lee and would have been glad to have him alone stay with

them but felt that his mother set Lee against her; they never suggested that Lee remain with them since they knew that it would not work out. The visit ended when Lee threatened Mrs. Pic with a pocket knife during a quarrel, and she asked Mrs. Oswald to leave. John testified that during this same quarrel Lee hit his mother, who appeared to have lost all control over him. The incident permanently destroyed the good relationship between Lee and his brother.

Mrs. Oswald and Lee moved uptown to a one-room basement apartment in the Bronx, at 1455 Sheridan Avenue. While they were still at the Pica, he had been enrolled at the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran School on Watson Avenue. He was withdrawn on September 26, after several weeks of irregular attendance, and 4 days later enrolled in the seventh grade of Public School 117, a junior high school. Mrs. Oswald found a job at one of the Lerner Shops, a chain of dress shops for which she had worked briefly in Fort Worth several years before. In January, they moved again, to 825 East 179th Street, and a few weeks later, she left the employ of Lerner Shops. In April, she was working at Martin's Department Store in Brooklyn, where she earned \$45 per week; in May, she went to work for a chain of hosiery shops, with which she remained until December. Lee was registered at Public School 117 until January 16, 1953, although the move to 179th Street, which took him out of that school district, probably took place before that date. He had been at Public School 117 for 64 schooldays, out of which he had been present on 15 full and 2 half days; he had received failing grades in most of his courses.

Lee's truancy increased after he moved; he was now located in the school district of Public School but refused to go to school there. On one occasion that spring, an attendance officer located Lee at the Bronx Zoo; the officer testified that Lee was clean and well dressed, but was surly and referred to the officer as a "damned Yankee." Several truancy hearings were held in January, at the first of which at least, both Mrs. Oswald and Lee evidently failed to appear. At a hearing on January 27, by which time it was known that Lee was living in the Public School district, it was decided to commence judicial proceedings if his truancy continued. Meanwhile, on January 16, his mother called the Community Service Society, to which she had been referred by the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, and asked for an appointment to discuss the problem. She mentioned that a truancy hearing had been held and said that Lee would not attend school despite the threat of official action; she thought that his behavior was due to difficulty in adjusting to his new environment. An appointment was scheduled for January 30, but she failed to appear, and the case was closed. Sometime in February, the Pica's visited the Oswalds. John testified that his mother told him about Lee's truancy and asked how she could get Lee to accept psychiatric aid. Nothing came of these discussions.

On March 12, the attendance officer in charge of Lee's case filed a petition in court which alleged that Lee had been "excessively absent from school" between October and January, that he had refused to register at Public School or to attend school there, and that he was "beyond the control of his mother insofar as school attendance is concerned? On the same day, Mrs. Oswald appeared in court alone and informed the presiding judge that Lee refused to appear in court. Evidently impressed by the proceedings, however, Lee did register at Public School on March 23. Nevertheless, on April 16, Justice Delany declared him a truant, and remanded him to Youth House until May 7 for psychiatric study.

In accordance with the regular procedures at Youth House, Lee took a series of tests and was interviewed by a staff social worker and a probation officer, both of whom interviewed Mrs. Oswald as well. Their findings, discussed more fully in chapter VII of the Commission's report, indicated that Lee was a withdrawn, socially maladjusted boy, whose mother did not interest herself sufficiently in his welfare and had failed to establish a close relationship with him. Mrs. Oswald visited Lee at Youth House and came away with a highly unfavorable impression; she regarded it as unfit for her son. On the basis of all the test results and reports and his own interview with Lee, Dr. Renatus Hartogs, the chief staff psychiatrist, recommended that Lee be placed on probation with a requirement that he seek help from a child guidance clinic, and that his mother be urged to contact a family agency for help; he recommended that Lee not be placed in an institution unless treatment during probation was unsuccessful.

Lee returned to court on May 7. He and his mother appeared before Justice McClancy, who discussed the Youth House reports with them. He released Lee on parole until September 24, and requested that a referral be made to the Community Service Society for treatment. The probation officer called the society on the same day but was told that it would probably not be able to take the case because of its already full case load and the intensive treatment which Lee was likely to require; it confirmed this position 1 week later and dosed the case on May 31. An application was made to the Salvation Army also, which turned it down because it could not provide the needed services.

During the few weeks of school which remained, Lee attended school regularly, and completed the

seventh grade with low but passing marks in all his academic subjects. (He received a failing mark in a home economics course.) His conduct was generally satisfactory and he was rated outstanding in "Social-Participation"; the record indicates that he belonged to a model airplane club and had a special interest in horseback riding. Robert Oswald visited New York that summer, while he was on leave from the Marines. Lee did not appear to him to be unhappy or to be acting abnormally, nor did Robert observe that relations between Lee and his mother were strained. Lee's truancy the previous fall and winter was apparently discussed only in passing, when Mrs. Oswald mentioned that Lee had to appear before a judge.

On September 14, Lee entered the eighth grade at Public School 44. His parole was due to end 10 days later. On September 24, however, Mrs. Oswald telephoned the probation officer and advised that she could not appear in court; she added that there was no need for her to do so, since Lee was attending school regularly and was now well adjusted. The parole was extended until October 29, before which date the school was to submit a progress report. The report was highly unfavorable. Although Lee was attending school regularly, his conduct was unsatisfactory; teachers reported that he refused to salute the flag, did little work, and seemed to spend most of his time "sailing paper planes around the room." On October 29, Mrs. Oswald again telephoned to say that she would be unable to appear. Justice Sicher continued Lee's parole until November 19 and directed the probation officer to make a referral to the Berkshire Industrial Farm or Children's Village.

Before the next hearing, Mrs. Oswald discussed Lee's behavior with the school authorities, who indicated to the probation officer that Lee's behavior improved considerably after her visit to the school. He did, in fact, receive passing grades in most of his subjects in the first marking period. His report also contains notations by his teacher that he was "quick-tempered," "constantly losing control," and "getting into battles with others." Both Lee and his mother appeared in court on November 19. Despite Mrs. Oswald's request that Lee be discharged, Justice Sicher stated his belief that Lee needed treatment, and continued his parole until January 28, 1954; the probation officer was directed to contact the Big Brothers counseling service in the meantime.

At the request of the probation officer, the Big Brothers office contacted Mrs. Oswald in December, and on January 4 a caseworker visited her and Lee at home. The caseworker reported that he was cordially received but was told by Mrs. Oswald that continued counseling was unnecessary; she pointed out to him that Lee now belonged to the West Side YMCA, which he attended every Saturday. The caseworker reported, however, that Lee was plainly "displeased with the idea of being forced to join various 'Y' organizations about which he cared little." Mrs. Oswald declared her intention to return to New Orleans and was advised to obtain Lee's release from the court's jurisdiction before she left. On the following day, she called the probation officer, who was away on vacation, and was advised by his office again not to take Lee out of the jurisdiction without the court's consent. The same advice was repeated to her by the Big Brothers caseworker on January 6. Through all these contacts, Mrs. Oswald had evidenced reluctance to bring Lee into court, prompted probably by fear that he would be retained in some sort of custody as he had been at the time of the commitment to Youth House. Without further communication to the court, Mrs. Oswald and Lee returned to New Orleans sometime before January 10. On March 11, the court dismissed the case.

In New Orleans, Lee and his mother stayed with the Murrets at 757 French Street while they looked for an apartment. Lee enrolled in the eighth grade at Beauregard Junior High School on January 13 and completed the school year without apparent difficulty. He entered the ninth grade in September and again received mediocre but acceptable marks. In October 1954, Lee took a series of achievement tests, on which he did well in reading and vocabulary, badly in mathematics. At the end of the school year, on June 2, 1955, he filled out a "personal history." He indicated that the subjects which he liked best were civics, science, and mathematics; those he liked least were English and art. His vocational preferences were listed as biology and mechanical drawing; his plans after high school, however, were noted as "military service" and "undecided." He said that reading and outdoor sports were his recreational activities and that he liked football in particular. In response to the question whether he had "any close friends in this school," he wrote, "no."

Lee is remembered by those who knew him in New Orleans as a quiet, solitary boy who made few friends. He was briefly a member of the Civil Air Patrol, and considered joining an organization of high school students interested in astronomy; occasionally, he played pool or darts with his friend, Edward Voebel. Beyond this, he seems to have had few contacts with other people. He read a lot, starting at some point to read Communist literature which he found at the public library; he walked or rode a bicycle, sometimes visiting a museum. Except in his relations with his mother, he was not unusually argumentative or belligerent, but he seems not to have avoided fights if they came; they did come fairly frequently, perhaps in part because of his aloofness from his fellows and the traces of a northern accent

in his speech. His only close friendship, with Voebel, arose when Voebel helped him tend his wounds after a fight. Friends of Mrs. Oswald thought that he was demanding and insolent toward her and that she had no control over him.

While Lee was in the eighth and ninth grades, Mrs. Oswald worked first at Burt's Shoestore and then at the Dolly Shoe Co. One of her employers at Dolly, where she worked as a cashier and salesclerk, remembered her as a pleasant person and a good worker. At her request, the company hired Lee to work part time; he worked there, mostly on Saturdays, for about 10 weeks in 1955. On the "personal history" record which he filled out in school, he stated that he had been, a "retail shoeseaman"; but his employer recalled that they had tried to train him as a salesman without success and that he had in fact, been a stockboy.

After a short period with the Murrets, Mrs. Oswald and Lee had moved to an apartment. owned by Myrtle Evans at 1454 Saint Mary Street, which she and Mrs. Murret helped to furnish; later they moved to a less expensive apartment in the same building, the address of which was 1452 Saint Mary Street. Relations between Mrs. Oswald and Mrs. Evans became strained, and in the spring of 1955 the Oswalds moved to a new apartment at 126 Exchange Place in the French Quarter. Although Lee gave the Exchange Place address on a school form at the end of the ninth grade, the school authorities had apparently not been advised of these moves earlier, because Mrs. Oswald did not want Lee to be transferred from Beauregard, which she considered a good school. During the summer of 1955, Robert left the Marine Corps and spent a week with his mother and Lee in New Orleans before moving to Fort Worth; he found Lee unchanged.

That fall, Lee entered the 10th grade at Warren Easton High School. He had been there for about a month when he presented to the school authorities a note written by himself to which he had signed his mother's name. It was dated October 7, 1955, and read:

To whom it may concern,

Because we are moving to San Diego in the middle of this month Lee must quit school now. Also, please send by him any papers such as his birth certificate that you may have. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. Oswald

He dropped out of school a few days later, shortly before his 16th birthday. After his birthday, he tried to enlist in the Marines, using a false affidavit from his mother that he was 17. (Some years before, John Pic had joined the Marine Corps Reserve by means of his mother's false affidavit that he was 17.) The attempt failed, and, according to his mother's testimony, Lee spent the next year reading and memorizing the "Marine Manual," which he had obtained from Robert and "living to when he is age 17 to join the Marines." He worked for the rest of the school year. Between November 10 and January 14, he was a messenger boy for Gerald F. Tujague, Inc., a shipping company, where he earned \$130 per month. His employer remembers him as a quiet, withdrawn person. In January he worked briefly as an office boy for J. R. Michels, Inc. For several months thereafter, he was a messenger for the Pfisterer Dental Laboratory. His military record subsequently described his prior civilian jobs as follows:

Performed various clerical duties such as distributing mail, delivering messages & answering telephone.

Helped file records & operated ditto, letter opening & sealing machines.

Anticipating that Lee would join the Marines as soon as he was 17, Mrs. Oswald moved in July 1956 to Fort Worth, where she took an apartment at 4936 Collinswood for herself, Lee, and Robert. In September, Lee enrolled in the 10th grade at the Arlington Heights High School but attended classes for only a few weeks. He dropped out of school on September 28. A few days later, he wrote the following letter to the Socialist Party of America:

October 3, 1956

Dear Sirs;

I am sixteen years of age and would like more information about your youth League, I would like to know if there is a branch in my area, how to join, etc., I am a Marxist, and have been studying socialist principles for well over fifteen months I am very interested in your Y.P.S.L.

Sincerely

/s/ Lee Oswald

Accompanying the letter was an advertisement coupon, on which he had checked the box requesting information about the Socialist Party.

Lee became 17 on October 18. He enlisted in the Marines on October 24.

Warren Report: Appendix XIII - Marines

On October 26, 1956, Lee Harvey Oswald reported for duty at the Marine Corps Recruit Depot in San Diego, Calif., where he was assigned to the Second Recruit Training Battalion. He Was 68 inches tall and weighed 135 pounds; he had no physical defects. On October 30, he took a series of aptitude tests, on which he scored significantly above the Marine Corps average in reading and vocabulary and significantly below the average in tests in arithmetic and pattern analysis. His composite general classification score was 105, 2 points below the Corps average. He scored near the bottom of the lowest group in a radio code test. His preference of duty was recorded as Aircraft Maintenance and Repair, the duty assignment for which he was recommended.

While he was at San Diego, Oswald was trained in the use of the M-1 rifle. His practice scores were not very good, but when his company fired for record on December 21, he scored 212, 2 points above the score necessary to qualify as a "sharpshooter" on a marksman/sharpshooter/expert scale. He did not do nearly as well when he fired for record again shortly before he left the Marines. He practiced also with a riot gun and a .45-caliber pistol when he was in the Marines but no scores were recorded.

Oswald was given a 4.4 rating in both "conduct" and "proficiency" at the Recruit Depot, the highest possible rating being 5.0 and an average rating of 4.0 being required for an honorable discharge. On January 18, 1957, he reported to Camp Pendleton, Calif., for further training and was assigned to "A" Company of the First Battalion, Second Infantry Training Regiment. He was at Pendleton for a little more than 5 weeks, at the end of which he was rated 4.2 in conduct and 4.0 in proficiency. Allen R. Felde, a fellow recruit who was with Oswald at San Diego and Pendleton, has stated that Oswald was generally unpopular and that his company was avoided by the other men. When his squad was given its first weekend leave from Pendleton, all eight men took a cab to Tijuana, Mexico. Oswald left the others and did not rejoin them until it was time to return to camp. Felde said that this practice was repeated on other trips to Los Angeles; Oswald accompanied the men on the bus to and from camp but did not stay with them in the city. On February 27, he went on leave for 2 weeks, during which he may have visited his mother in Fort Worth.

On March 18, he reported to the Naval Air Technical Training Center at the Naval Air Station in Jacksonville, Fla. For the next 6 weeks he attended an Aviation Fundamental School, in which he received basic instruction in his specialty, including such subjects as basic radar theory, map reading, and air traffic control procedures. This course, as well as his next training assignment at Keesler Air Force Base, required Oswald to deal with confidential material. He was granted final clearance up to the "confidential" level on May 3, "after [a] careful check of local records had disclosed no derogatory data." He completed the course on the same day, ranking 46th in a class of 54 students. On the previous day, he had been promoted to private, first class, effective May 1. At Jacksonville, he received ratings of 4.7 in conduct and 4.5 in proficiency, the highest ratings he ever attained.

Oswald left for Keesler Air Force Base in Biloxi, Miss., on the day his course was completed; he traveled, probably by overnight train, in a group of six marines led by Pfc. Daniel P. Powers, the senior marine in charge. At Keesler, he attended the Aircraft Control and Warning Operator Course, which included instruction in aircraft surveillance and the use of radar. Powers was not sure whether he had met Oswald before the trip to Biloxi but remembers him there as "a somewhat younger individual less matured than the other boys," who "was normally outside the particular group of marines that were in this attachment to Keesler." (Oswald was in fact 3 years younger than Powers.) Powers testified that Oswald had the nickname "Ozzie Rabbit." Oswald generally stayed to himself, often reading; he did not play cards or work out in the gym with the others. He spent his weekends alone, away from the base; Powers thought he left Biloxi and perhaps went "home" to New Orleans, less than 100 miles away. He finished the course seventh in a class of 30 marines on June 17, and on June 25, was given an MOS (military occupational specialty) of Aviation Electronics Operator. On June 20, he went on leave, possibly visiting his mother. His ratings at Keesler were 4.2 in conduct and 4.5 in proficiency, which Powers thought was "pretty good."

On July 9, Oswald reported at the Marine Corps Air Station at El Toro, Calif., near Santa Ana. He was classified as a replacement trainee and attached to the Fourth Replacement Battalion. Six weeks later, on August 22, he departed from San Diego for Yokosuka, Japan, on board the U.S.S. *Bexar*. Powers testified that while on board, Oswald taught him to play chess, which they played frequently, sometimes for more than 4 hours a day. Like most of the men on board, Oswald read a lot from the books which were available. Powers thought he read "a good type of literature," remembering in particular Whitman's "Leaves of Grass."

The *Bexar* docked at Yokosuka on September 12. Oswald was assigned to Marine Air Control

Squadron No. (MACS-1), Marine Air Group 11, 1st Marine Aircraft Wing, based at Atsugi, about 20 miles west of Tokyo. Oswald was a radar operator in MACS-1, which had less than 100 men. Its function was to direct aircraft to their targets by radar, communicating with the pilots by radio. The squadron had also the duty of scouting for incoming foreign aircraft, such as straying Russian or Chinese planes, which would be intercepted by American planes.

On October 27, when Oswald opened his locker to remove some gear, a derringer .22 caliber pistol fell to the floor and discharged; the bullet hit him in the left elbow. Paul Edward Murphy, a fellow marine who was in the next cubicle, heard the shot, rushed in, and found Oswald sitting on the locker looking at his arm; without emotion, Oswald said to Murphy, "I believe I shot myself." He was in the naval hospital at Yokosuka until November 15.

The Judge Advocate General concluded that Oswald had "displayed a certain degree of carelessness or negligence" by storing a loaded revolver in his locker, but that his injury was incurred "in the line of duty" and was not the result of his own misconduct." He was, however, charged with possession of an unregistered privately owned weapon in violation of general orders. A court-martial followed on April 11, 1958, when Oswald's unit returned from maneuvers, and on April 29 he was sentenced to be confined at hard labor for 20 days, to forfeit \$25 per month for 2 months, and to be reduced to the grade of private. The confinement was suspended for 6 months, after which that portion of the sentence was to be remitted.

Five days after Oswald left the hospital, MACS-1 embarked aboard the *Terrell County*, LST 1157, for maneuvers in the Philippine Islands area. According to Powers' recollection, the squadron was expected to return to Atsugi after maneuvers were completed, but an international crisis developed; since another operation was scheduled for a few months later, the squadron debarked at Cubi Point (Subic Bay) in the Philippines and set up a temporary installation. While he was in the Philippines, Oswald passed a test of eligibility for the rank of corporal; in a semiannual evaluation, however, he was given his lowest ratings thus far: 4.0 in conduct and 3.9 in proficiency. The unit participated in exercises at Corregidor, from which it sailed for Atsugi on March 7, 1958, aboard the U.S.S. *Wexford County*, LST 1168. The *Wexford County* reached Atsugi 11 days later.

Oswald was court-martialed a second time on June 27, for using "provoking words" to a noncommissioned officer (a sergeant) on June 20, at the Bluebird Cafe in Yamato, and assaulting the officer by pouring a drink on him. The findings were that Oswald spilled the drink accidentally, but when the sergeant shoved him away, Oswald invited the sergeant outside in insulting language. Oswald admitted that he was rather drunk and had invited the sergeant outside but did not recall insulting him. He was sentenced to be confined at hard labor for 28 days and to forfeit \$55; in addition, suspension of the previous sentence of confinement was withdrawn. He was in confinement until August 13. Meanwhile, a previously granted extension of overseas duty was canceled, and he was given ratings of 1.9 in conduct and 3.4 in proficiency.

On September 14, Oswald sailed with his unit for the South China Sea area; the unit was at Ping Tung, North Taiwan on September 30, and returned to Atsugi on October 5. On October 6, he was transferred out of MACS-1 and put on general duty, in anticipation of his return to the United States. He spent several days thereafter in the Atsugi Station Hospital. On October 31, he received his last overseas ratings: 4.0 in both conduct and proficiency.

Oswald appears generally to have been regarded by his fellows overseas as an intelligent person who followed orders and did his work well, but who complained frequently. He did not associate much with other marines and continued to read a great deal. Paul Murphy testified that Oswald could speak "a little Russian" while he was overseas. Powers believed that Oswald became more assertive in Japan and thought that he might have had a Japanese girl friend. He departed from Yokosuka on board the USNS Barrett on November 2, and arrived in San Francisco 13 days later. On November 19, he took 30 days' leave.

On December 22, Oswald was assigned to Marine Air Control Squadron No. 9 (MACS-9) at the Marine Corps Air Station at El Toro, where he had been briefly before he went overseas. He was one of about seven enlisted men and three officers who formed a "radar crew," engaged primarily in aircraft surveillance. This work probably gave him access to certain kinds of classified material, some of which, such as aircraft call signs and radio frequencies, was changed after his defection to Russia. For part of his time at El Toro, Oswald may have been assigned to clerical or janitorial tasks on the base. Some of his associates believed rumors, incorrect according to official records, that he had lost his clearance to work on radar crews; one recalled hearing that Oswald had once had clearance above the "confidential" level and had lost it because he "had poured beer over a staff NCO's head in an enlisted club in Japan, and had been put in the brig."

The officer in command of the radar crew, Lt. John E. Donovan, found him "competent in all functions," and observed that he handled himself calmly and well in emergency situations. Donovan thought Oswald was not a leader but that he performed competently on occasions when, as the senior man present, he served as crew chief. This estimate was generally shared by his fellows, most of whom thought that he performed his assigned duties adequately but was deficient in disciplinary matters and such things as barracks inspection. One of them recalled that after a number of bad inspections, the other members of Oswald's Quonset hut complained about him and secured his transfer to another hut. He was thought to be an intelligent person, somewhat better educated and more intellectually oriented than other men on the base. A few of the men thought it more accurate to describe him as someone who wanted to appear intelligent. He had a pronounced interest in world affairs, in which he appears to have been better informed than some of the officers, whose lack of knowledge amused and sometimes irritated him; he evidently enjoyed drawing others, especially officers, into conversations in which he could display his own superior knowledge.

It seems clear from the various recollections of those who knew him at El Toro that by the time Oswald returned to the United States, he no longer had any spirit for the Marines; the attitudes which had prompted his enlistment as soon as he was eligible were entirely gone, and his attention had turned away from the Marines to what he might do after his discharge. While no one was able to predict his attempt to defect to Russia within a month after he left the Marines, the testimony of those who knew him at El Toro in contrast to that of his associates in Japan, leaves no doubt that his thoughts were occupied increasingly with Russia and the Russian way of life. He had studied the Russian language enough by February 25, 1959, to request that he be given a foreign language qualification test; his rating was "poor" in all parts of the test. Most of the marines who knew him were aware that he was studying Russian; one of them, Henry J. Roussel, Jr., arranged a date between Lee and his aunt, Rosaleen Quinn, an airline stewardess who was also studying Russian. (Miss Quinn thought that Oswald spoke Russian well in view of his lack of formal training; she found the evening uninteresting. Donovan, with whom she had a date later, testified that she told him that Oswald was "kind of an oddball.") He read, and perhaps subscribed to, a newspaper, possibly printed in Russian, which his associates connected with his Russian bent.

Most of those who knew him were able to recount anecdotes which suggest that he was anxious to publicize his liking for things Russian, sometimes in good humor and sometimes seriously. Some of his fellows called him "Oswaldskovich," apparently to his pleasure. He is said to have had his name written in Russian on one of his jackets; to have played records of Russian songs "so loud that one could hear them outside the barracks"; frequently to have made remarks in Russian or used expressions like "da" or "nyet," or addressed others (and been addressed) as "Comrade"; to have come over and said jokingly, "You called?" when one of the marines played a particular record of Russian music.

Connected with this Russophilia was an interest in and acceptance of Russian political views and, to a lesser extent, Communist ideology. Less obvious to his fellows generally, it nevertheless led him into serious discussions with some of them. Donovan, who was a graduate of the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, thought Oswald was "truly interested in international affairs" and "very well versed, at least on the superficial facts of a given foreign situation." He recalled that Oswald had a particular interest in Latin America and had a good deal of information about Cuba in particular. Oswald expressed sympathy for Castro but, according to Donovan, "what he said about Castro was not an unpopular belief at that time." Donovan believed that Oswald subscribed to the Russian newspaper which Donovan thought was a Communist newspaper not only in order to read Russian but also because he thought it "presented a very different and perhaps equally just side of the international affairs in comparison with the United States newspapers." Donovan was clear, on the other hand, that he never heard Oswald "in any way, shape or form confess that he was a Communist, or that he ever thought about being a Communist."

Private Kerry Thornley described himself as a close acquaintance, but not a good friend, of Oswald, whom he met in the spring of 1959; he later wrote an unpublished novel in which he drew heavily on his impressions of Oswald. Thornley generally corroborates Donovan's testimony but thought Oswald definitely believed that "the Marxist morality was the most rational morality to follow" and communism, "the best system in the world." Thornley thought this belief was "theoretical," a "dispassionate appraisal" which did not indicate "any active commitment to the Communist ends"; he described Oswald as "idle in his admiration for communism." He recalled discussions about Marxism in which Oswald criticized capitalism and praised the Soviet economic system. Thornley testified that his association with Oswald ended when, in response to Oswald's criticism of a parade in which they both had to march, he said "Well, comes the revolution you will damage all that." Oswald, he said, looked at him "like a betrayed Caesar" and walked away. Thornley attributed Oswald's decision to go to Russia to a growing

disillusionment with the United States, especially its role in the Far East, and a conviction that communism would eventually prevail. He was surprised by the decision but expected Oswald to adjust to Russian life and remain in Russia permanently.

Another marine, Nelson Delgado, met Oswald soon after the latter arrived at El Toro. They were about the same age and had similar interests; Oswald enjoyed trying to speak Spanish with Delgado, who spoke it fluently. Delgado regarded him as a "complete believer that our way of government was not quite right," but did not think he was a Communist. Their discussions were concerned more with Cuba than Russia. They both favored the Castro government and talked "dreaming," Delgado said about joining the Cuban Army or Government and perhaps leading expeditions to other Caribbean islands to "free them too." Oswald told Delgado that he was in touch with Cuban diplomatic officials in this count; which Delgado at first, took to be "one of his * * * lies," but later believed.

Oswald's interest in Russia and developing ideological attachment to theoretical communism apparently dominated his stay at El Toro. He was still withdrawn from most of his fellows, although his special interests appear to have made him stand out more there than he had at other posts and to have given him a source for conversation which he had hitherto lacked. According to several of the witnesses, names like "Ozzie Rabbit" still clung to him; others recalled no nickname or only shortened versions of his real name. His reading acquired direction; books like "Das Kapital" and Orwell's "Animal Farm" and "1984" are mentioned in the testimony concerning this period. He played chess; according to one of his opponents he chose the red pieces, expressing a preference for the "Red Army." He listened to classical music. For a short time, he played on the squadron football team. According to Donovan, who coached the team, Oswald was not very good; he lacked team spirit and often tried to call the plays, which was not his job. Delgado thought Oswald was a mediocre player. Donovan did not know whether Oswald quit or was thrown off the team. He spent most of his weekends alone, as he had at Keesler, and did not leave the post as often as the other men. Delgado once rode with him on the train to Los Angeles but separated from him there; Oswald returned to the base after one night. Delgado recalls that on another weekend Oswald accepted his invitation to go to Tijuana; they stayed there for one night.

At the end of January 1959 and at the end of July, Oswald was given his semiannual ratings, scoring 4.0 in conduct both times, and 4.0 and 4.2 in proficiency. (The July ratings were repeated in September, when he was transferred from MACS-9 in preparation for his discharge.) On March 9, he was promoted as of March 1, to the rank of private, first class, for the second time. He took a series of high school level general educational development tests on March 23 and received an overall rating of "satisfactory." His best scores, in the 76th and 79th U.S. percentiles, were in English composition and physical sciences; his worst was English literature, in which he placed in the 34th percentile. In the spring, Oswald applied to Albert Schweitzer College in Churwalden, Switzerland, for admission to the spring term in 1960; the application is dated March 19. Schweitzer is a small school, which specializes in courses in religion, ethics, science, and literature. He claimed a proficiency in Russian equal to 1 year of schooling and that he had completed high school by correspondence with an average grade of 85 percent. He listed philosophy, psychology, ideology, football, baseball, tennis and stamp-collecting as special interests, and writing short stories "on contemporary American life" as his vocational interest. Jack London, Charles Darwin, and Norman Vincent Peale were listed as favorite authors. He claimed membership in the YMCA and the "A.Y.H. Association," and said that he had participated in a "student body movement in school" for the control of juvenile delinquency. Asked to give a general statement of his reasons for wanting to attend the college, he wrote:

In order to acquire a fuller understanding of that subject which interest me most, Philosophy. To meet with Europeans who can broaden my scope of understanding. To receive formal Education by instructors of high standing and character. To broaden my knowledge of German and to live in a healthy climate and Good moral atmosphere.

On the basis of these representations, Oswald's application was approved by the college. He enclosed a registration fee of \$25 in a letter dated June 19, in which he said that he was "looking forward to a fine stay." Few of the other marines seem to have known about this application. He told Delgado, however, that he planned to attend a Swiss school to study psychology, and Delgado knew that some application had been made. Another marine, Richard Call, also knew something of his plans.

Oswald was obligated to serve on active duty until December 7, 1959 (the date having been adjusted to compensate for the period of confinement). On August 17, he submitted a request for a dependency discharge, on the ground that his mother needed his support. The request was accompanied by an affidavit of Mrs. Oswald and corroborating affidavits from an attorney, a doctor, and two friends, attesting that she had been injured at work in December 1958, and was unable to support herself. Oswald had

previously made a voluntary allotment of part of his salary to his mother, under which arrangement she received \$40 in August, and had submitted an application for a "Q" allotment (dependency allowance) in her behalf of \$91.30; one payment of the "Q" allotment, for the month of August, was made in September. On August 28, the Wing Hardship or Dependency Discharge Board recommended that Oswald's request for a discharge be approved; approval followed shortly. On September 4, he was transferred from MACS-9 to the H. & H. Squadron, and on September 11, he was released from active duty and transferred to the Marine Corps Reserve, in which he was expected to serve until December 8, 1962. He was assigned to the Marine Air Reserve Training Command at the Naval Air Station in Glenview, Ill.

Almost exactly 1 year later, on September 13, 1960, Oswald was given an "undesirable discharge" from the Marine Corps Reserve, based on:

reliable information which indicated that he had renounced his U.S. citizenship with the intentions of becoming a permanent citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Further, that petitioner brought discredit to the Marine Corps through adverse newspaper publicity, which was generated by the foregoing action, and had thereby, in the opinion of his commanding officer, proved himself unfit for retention in the naval service.

Warren Report: Appendix XIII - Soviet Union

On September 4, the day on which he was transferred out of MACS-9 in preparation for his discharge, Oswald had applied for a passport, at the Superior Court of Santa Ana, Calif. His application stated that he planned to leave the United States on September 21 to attend the Albert Schweitzer College and the University of Turku in Finland, and to travel in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, England, France Germany, and Russia. The passport was routinely issued 6 days later.

Oswald went directly home after his discharge, and arrived in Fort Worth by September 14. He told his mother that he intended to get a job on a ship or possibly in the "export-import business." If he stayed in Fort Worth, he said, he would be able to earn only about \$30 per week; on a ship, he would earn "big money" and be able to send substantial amounts home. Three days after he arrived in Fort Worth, he left for New Orleans. While he was in Fort Worth he had registered his dependency discharge and entry into the Marine Reserve at the Fort Worth Selective Service Board, and visited his brother Robert and his family. He also gave his mother \$100.

On September 17, Oswald spoke with a representative of Travel Consultants, Inc., a New Orleans travel bureau; he filled out a "Passenger Immigration Questionnaire," on which he gave his occupation as "shipping export agent" and said that he would be abroad for 2 months on a pleasure trip. He booked passage from New Orleans to Le Havre, France, on a freighter, the SS *Marion Lykes*, scheduled to sail on September 18, for which he paid \$220.75. On the evening of September 17, he registered at the Liberty Hotel.

The *Marion Lykes* did not sail until the early morning of September 20. Before its departure, Oswald wrote his mother a letter, which was her last news of him until she read stories of his defection in Fort Worth newspapers:

Dear Mother:

Well, I 'have booked passage on a ship to Europe, I would of had to sooner or later and I think it's best I go now. Just remember above all else that my values are very different from Robert's or yours. It is difficult to tell you how I feel, Just remember this is what I must do. I did not tell you about my plans because you could hardly be expected to understand.

I did not see aunt Lilian while I was here. I will write again as soon as I land.

Lee

The *Marion Lykes* carried only four passengers. Oswald shared his cabin with Billy Joe Lord, a young man who had just graduated from high school and was going to France to continue his education. Lord testified that he and Oswald did not discuss politics but did have a few amicable religious arguments, in which Oswald defended atheism. Oswald was "standoffish," but told Lord generally about his background, mentioning that his mother worked in a drug-store in Fort Worth and that he was bitter about the low wages which she received. He told Lord that he intended to travel in Europe and possibly to attend school in Sweden or Switzerland if he had sufficient funds. The other two passengers were Lt. Col. and Mrs. George B. Church, Jr., who also found Oswald unfriendly and had little contact with him. Oswald told them that he had not liked the Marine Corps and that he planned to study in Switzerland; they observed some "bitterness" about his mother's difficulties, but did not discuss this with him. No one on board suspected that he intended to defect to Russia.

Oswald disembarked at Le Havre on October 8. He left for England that same day, and arrived on October 9. He told English customs officials in Southampton that he had \$700 and planned to remain in the United Kingdom for 1 week before proceeding to a school in Switzerland. But on the same day, he flew to Helsinki, Finland, where he registered at the Tornio Hotel; on the following day, he moved to the Klaus Kurki Hotel.

Oswald probably applied for a visa at the Russian consulate on October 12, his first business day in Helsinki. The visa was issued on October 14. It was valid until October 20 and permitted him to take one trip of not more than 6 days to the Soviet Union. He also purchased 10 Soviet "tourist vouchers" which cost \$30 apiece. He left Helsinki by train on the following day, crossed the Finnish-Russian border at Vainikkala, and arrived in Moscow on October 16.

He was met at the Moscow railroad station by a representative of "Intourist," the state tourist agency, and taken to the Hotel Berlin, where he registered as a student. On the same day he met the Intourist guide assigned to him during his stay in Russia, a young woman named Rima Shirokova. They went sightseeing the next day. Almost immediately he told her that he wanted to leave the United States and become a citizen of the Soviet Union. According to Oswald's "Historic Diary," she later told him that she

had reported his statement to Intourist headquarters, which in turn had notified the "Passport and Visa Office" (probably the Visa and Registration Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the MVD 485). She was instructed to help Oswald prepare a letter to the Supreme Soviet requesting that he be granted citizenship. Oswald mailed such a letter that same day. (The "Historic Diary" is Oswald's handwritten account of his life in Russia. The earlier entries were written after the events which they describe; later, in Minsk, he probably kept a contemporaneous record of his experiences. The Commission has used the diary, which Oswald may have written with future readers in mind, only as Oswald's record of his private life and personal impressions as he sought to present them and has relied wherever possible on official documents, correspondence, and the testimony of witnesses.) The diary records that when Oswald told Rima Shirokova that he intended to defect she was "flabbergasted," but agreed to help. She was "politely sympathetic but uneasy" when he told her that he wanted to defect because he was "a Communist, etc." As an Intourist guide, Rima toured parts of Moscow with Oswald in the next few days. His primary concern, however, appeared to be his effort to become a Soviet citizen, and she also aided him in his dealings with the Soviet Government. He thought that Rima felt sorry for him and tried to be a friend because he was "something new." On his 20th birthday, 2 days after he arrived in Russia, she gave him Dostoevski's "The Idiot," in which she had written: "Dear Lee, Great congratulations! Let all your dreams come true! 18.X.1959"

On October 19, Oswald was probably interviewed in his hotel room by a man named Lev Setyayev, who said that he was a reporter for Radio Moscow seeking statements from American tourists about their impressions of Moscow, but who was probably also acting for the KGB. Two years later, Oswald told officials at the American Embassy that he had made a few routine comments to Setyayev of no political significance. The interview with Setyayev may, however, have been the occasion for an attempt by the KGB, in accordance with regular practice, to assess Oswald or even to elicit compromising statements from him; the interview was apparently never broadcast. (As discussed in ch. VI of this report, the Commission is aware that many of the Soviet officials with whom Oswald came into contact were employees of the KGB, the agency which has primary jurisdiction for the treatment of defectors.) On the following day, Rima Shirokova told him that the "Pass. and Visa Dept." wanted to see him, and on the morning of October 21, he was interviewed by an official concerning his application for citizenship. The official offered little information and no encouragement; he told Oswald only that he would check to see if the visa could be extended. Oswald returned to the Hotel Berlin. That afternoon, he was notified that his visa had expired and that he had to leave Moscow within 2 hours.

Oswald responded to the unfavorable decision by cutting himself above his left wrist, in an apparent suicide attempt. Rima Shirokova found him unconscious in his hotel room and had him taken to the Botkinskaya Hospital. His diary states: "Poor Rimmea stays by my side as interpreter (my Russian is still very bad) far into the night, I tell her 'Go home' (my mood is bad) but she stays, she is 'my friend.'" For 8 days Oswald was confined in the psychiatric ward of the hospital. He was examined by a psychiatrist, who concluded that he was not dangerous to other people and could be transferred to the "somatic" department. Hospital records containing the results of the examination state that Oswald came to Russia in order to apply for citizenship, and that "in order to postpone his departure he inflicted the injury upon himself." They note that Oswald understood some Russian and, presumably based on information which he provided, that he had "graduated from a technical high school in radio technology and radio electronics." The record states: "He claims he regrets his action. After recovering he intends to return to his homeland."

Oswald resented being in the psychiatric ward and told Rima Shirokova that he wanted a transfer. She visited him at the hospital frequently and his diary records that "only at this moment" did he "notice [that] she is pretty." Another entry for the hospital period says: "Afternoon I am visited by Roza Agafonova of the hotel tourist office, who asks about my health, very beautiful, excellent Eng., very merry and kind, she makes me very glad to be alive." These entries reflect an attitude gentler and friendlier than his attitude before the suicide attempt, when he seemed to be coldly concerned only with his status in Russia. Once Oswald was out of the psychiatric ward, he found the hospital more pleasant. The new ward, which he shared with 11 other patients, was "airy," and the food was good. His only complaint, according to his diary, was that an "elderly American" patient was distrustful of him because he had not registered at the American Embassy and because he was evasive about the reasons for his presence in Moscow and confinement in the hospital.

He was released from the hospital on October 28, and, accompanied by Rima Shirokova, was driven to the Hotel Berlin in an Intourist car. After he said good-bye to Lyudmila Dmitrieva, head of the In-tourist office at the Berlin, and to Roza Agafonova, another Intourist employee at the hotel, he checked out of the Berlin and registered at the Metropole, a large hotel under the same administration as the Berlin. The Government had undoubtedly directed him to make the change. His visa had expired while he was

in the hospital, and his presence in Russia was technically illegal; he had received no word that the decision that he must leave had been reversed. Later that day, however, Rima told him that the "Pass and Registration Office" wished to talk to him about his future. According to the diary, when Oswald appeared at the office he was asked whether he still wanted to become a Soviet citizen and he replied that he did; he provided his Marine Corps discharge papers for identification. He was told that he could not expect a decision soon, and was dismissed. During this interview, Oswald was apparently questioned about the interview which preceded his hospitalization, which led him to conclude that there had been no communication between the two sets of officials. That evening he met Rima, on whom he vented his frustration at being put off by the authorities.

Oswald ate only once on the following day; he stayed near the telephone, fully dressed and ready to leave immediately if he were summoned. He remained in his room for 3 days, which seemed to him "like three years," until October 31, when he decided to act. He met Rima Shirokova at noon and told her that he was impatient, but did not say what he planned to do; she cautioned him to stay in his room "and eat well." She left him after a short while and, a few minutes later, he took a taxi to the American Embassy, where he asked to see the consul. (See Commission Exhibits Nos. 24, 912, 913, pp. 264, 263, 261.) When the receptionist asked him first to sign the tourist register, he laid his passport on the desk and said that he had come to "dissolve his American citizenship." Richard E. Snyder, the Second Secretary and senior consular official, was summoned, and he invited Oswald into his office.

Oswald's meeting with Snyder, at which Snyder's assistant, John A. McVickar, was also present, is more fully discussed in appendix XV to the Commission's report. Oswald declared that he wanted to renounce his American citizenship; he denounced the United States and praised the Government of the Soviet Union. Over Oswald's objections, Snyder sought to learn something of Oswald's motives and background and to forestall immediate action. Oswald told him that he had already offered to tell a Soviet official what he had learned as a radar operator in the Marines. The interview ended when Snyder told Oswald that he could renounce his citizenship on the following Monday, 2 days later, if he would appear personally to do so. During the interview, Oswald handed to Snyder a note which suggests that he had studied and sought to comply with section of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which provides for loss of American citizenship. The note contains paragraphs which read like inartistic attempts to cast off citizenship in three of the ways specified by the statute. The attempts failed but there is no reason to doubt that they were sincere. Snyder has testified that he believed that Oswald would immediately have formally renounced his citizenship had he been permitted to do so.

The interview lasted for less than an hour. Oswald returned to his hotel angry about the delay but "elated" by the "showdown" and sure that he would be permitted to remain after his "sign of * * * faith" in the Russians. Soon after he returned to the hotel, he was approached by A. I. Goldberg, a reporter for the Associated Press, whom the Embassy had told about Oswald's actions. Oswald refused to speak to him. He answered a few questions for two other reporters, R. J. Korengold and Miss Aline Mosby, but again refused to be interviewed. Thereafter, the news services made repeated unsuccessful attempts to interview him, which he thought was an indirect form of pressure from the Embassy to return to the United States.

On the day after Oswald's meeting with Snyder, his family read in the newspapers about his appearance at the Embassy and tried to contact him. Mrs. Oswald testified that she was shocked at her son's decision to defect but, respected his motives for doing so; later she suspected that he had been forcibly removed to Russia. She placed a telephone call to him, but he either refused to speak to her or cut her off very quickly. So too, on November 2, he rejected the Embassy's efforts to deliver or read on the telephone a telegram from his brother Robert. A call from Robert was either canceled before it was completed or was refused. Robert's telegram, along with a message asking Oswald to contact, him immediately, which Robert had asked the State Department to deliver, was finally sent to Oswald from the Embassy by registered mail.

A few days later, the Embassy received a letter from Oswald dated November 3 which requested that his citizenship be revoked. The letter stated that he had appeared at the Embassy "for the purpose of signing the formal papers to this effect" and protested against the "conduct of the official" who had refused him "this legal right." Oswald noted that his application for Soviet citizenship was pending and said that if it were granted he would ask the Soviet Government "to lodge a formal protest" on his behalf. The Embassy replied on November 9 that Oswald could renounce his citizenship by appearing at the Embassy and executing the necessary papers.

Oswald's diary describes the period from November 2 to November 15, during which he continued to isolate himself, as "days of utter loneliness." On November 8, he wrote to his brother:

Dear Robert

Well, what shall we talk about, the weather perhaps? Certainly you do not wish me to speak of my decision to remain in the Soviet Union and apply for citizenship here, since I'm afraid you would not be able to comprehend my reasons. You really don't know anything about me. Do you know for instance that I have waited to do this for well over a year, do you know that I * * * [phrase in Russian] speak a fair amount of Russian which I have been studying for many months.

I have been told that I will *not have* to leave the Soviet Union if I do not care to. This then is my decision. I will not leave this country, the Soviet Union, under any conditions, I will never return to the United States which is a country I hate.

Someday, perhaps soon, and then again perhaps in a few years, I will become a citizen of the Soviet Union, but it is a very legal process, in any event, I will not have to leave the Soviet Union and I will never * * * [word missing].

I received your telegram and was glad to hear from you, only one word bothered me, the word "mistake." I assume you mean that I have made a "mistake" it is not for you to tell me that you cannot understand my reasons for this very action.

I will not speak to anyone from the United States over the telephone since it may be taped by the Americans.

If you wish to correspond with me you can write to the below address, but I really don't, see what we could take about if you want to send me money, that I can use, but I do not expect to be able to send it back.

Lee

Oswald's statement that he had been told that he could remain in Russia was not true. According to his diary, he was not told until later that he could remain even temporarily in Russia, and only in January was he told that he could remain indefinitely. The Embassy tried to deliver a typed copy of a telegram from his brother John on November 9; Oswald refused to answer the knock on his door, and the message was then sent to him by registered mail.

Toward the end of this waiting period, probably on November 13, Aline Mosby succeeded in interviewing Oswald. A reporter for United Press International, she had called him on the telephone and was told to come right over, Oswald's explanation being that he thought she might "understand and be friendly" because she was a woman. She was the first person who was not a Soviet citizen to whom he granted an interview since his meeting with Snyder at the Embassy on October 31. Miss Mosby found him polite but stiff; she said that he seemed full of confidence, often showing a "small smile, more like a smirk," and that he talked almost "non-stop." Oswald said to her that he had been told that he could remain in the Soviet Union and that job possibilities were being explored; they thought it probably would be best, he said, to continue his education. He admitted that his Russian was bad but was confident that it would improve rapidly. He based his dislike for the United States on his observations of racial prejudice and the contrast between "the luxuries of Park Avenue and workers' lives on the East Side," and mentioned his mother's poverty; he said that if he had remained in the United States he too would have become either a capitalist or a worker. "One way or another," he said, "I'd lose in the United States. In my own mind, even if I'd be exploiting other workers. That's why I chose Marxist ideology."

Oswald told his interviewer that he had been interested in Communist theory since he was 15, when "an old lady" in New York handed him "a pamphlet about saving the Rosenbergs." But when Mosby asked if he were a member of the Communist Party he said that he had never met a Communist and that he "might have seen" one only once, when he saw that "old lady." He told her that while he was in the Marine Corps he had seen American imperialism in action, and had saved \$1,500 in secret preparation for his defection to Russia. His only apparent regrets concerned his family: his mother, whom he had not told of his plans, and his brother, who might lose his job as a result of the publicity.

The interview lasted for about 2 hours. According to Oswald's own account, he exacted a promise from Miss Mosby that she would show him the story before publication but she broke the promise; he found the published story to contain distortions of his words. Miss Mosby's notes indicate that he called her to complain of the distortions, saying in particular that his family had not been "poverty-stricken" and that his defection was not prompted by personal hardship but that was "a matter only of ideology."

According to the diary, Oswald was told in mid-November that he could remain temporarily in Russia "until some solution was found with what to do" with him. Armed with this "comforting news," he granted a second interview, again to a woman, on November 16. Miss Priscilla Johnson of the North American Newspaper Alliance knocked on the door of his room at the Metropole, and Oswald agreed to come to her room at the hotel that evening. This interview lasted about 5 hours, from 9 p.m. until about 2 in the morning. During the interview he frequently mentioned the fact that he would be able to remain in Russia, which gave him great pleasure, but he also showed disappointment about the difficulties standing in the way of his request for Soviet citizenship. He repeated most of the information

he had given Aline Mosby and again denied having been a member of the Communist Party or even ever having seen a Communist in the United States. When Miss Johnson asked him to specify some of the socialist writers whose works he had read during the past 5 years, he could name only Marx and Engels; the only title he could recall was "Das Kapital." They talked for a long while about Communist economic theory, which Miss Johnson thought was "his language"; she became convinced that his knowledge of the subject was very superficial. He commented that the Russians treated his defection as a "legal formality," neither encouraging nor discouraging it. When she suggested that if he really wished to renounce his American citizenship he could do so by returning to the Embassy, he said that he would "never set foot in the Embassy again," since he was sure that he would be given the "same run-around" as before. He seemed to Miss Johnson to be avoiding effective renunciation, consciously or unconsciously, in order to preserve his right to reenter the United States.

For the rest of the year, Oswald seldom left his hotel room where he had arranged to take his meals, except perhaps for a few trips to museums. He spent most of his time studying Russian, "8 hours a day" his diary records. The routine was broken only by another interview at the passport office; occasional visits from Rima Shirokova; lessons in Russian from her and other Intourist guides; and a New Year's visit from Roza Agafonova, who gave him a small "Boratin" clown as a New Year's present. He replied to a letter from Robert in a letter quoted at length in chapter VII of this report which contains his most bitter statements against the United States. Robert received a third letter on December 17, in which Oswald said that he would not write again and did not wish Robert to write to him. The letter concluded:

I am starting a new life and I do not wish to have anything to do with the old life.

I hope you and your family will always be in good health.

Lee

His mother mailed him a personal check for \$20 dated December 18. It was returned to her on January 5 with the notation that he could not "use this check, of course"; he asked her to send him \$20 in cash and added that he had little money and needed "the rest," presumably a reference to the \$100 he had given her in September. Mrs. Oswald later sent him a money order for about \$25.

On January 4, Oswald was summoned to the Soviet Passport Office and given Identity Document for Stateless Persons No. 811479. He was told that he was being sent to Minsk, an industrial city located about 450 miles southwest of Moscow and with a population in 1959 of about 510,000. His disappointment that he had not been granted Soviet citizenship was balanced by relief that the uncertainty was ended; he told Rima Shirokova that he was happy. On the following day, he went to a Government agency which the Russians call the "Red Cross"; it gave him 5,000 rubles (about 500 new rubles, or \$500 at the official exchange rate). He used 2,200 rubles to pay his hotel bill and 150 rubles to purchase a railroad ticket to Minsk.

Oswald arrived in Minsk on January 7. He was met at the station by two "Red Cross" workers who took him to the Hotel Minsk. Two Intourist employees, both of whom spoke excellent English, were waiting for him. One of them, a young woman named Roza Kuznetsova, became his close friend and attended his 21st birthday party in October 1960. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2609, p. 271.) On the following day, Oswald met the "Mayor," who welcomed him to Minsk, promised him a rent-free apartment, and warned him against "uncultured persons" who sometimes insulted foreigners.

Oswald reported for work at the Belorussian Radio and Television Factory on January 13. Two days earlier he had visited the factory and met Alexander Ziger, a Polish Jew who had emigrated to Argentina in 1938 and went to Russia in 1955. Ziger was a department head at the factory; he spoke English, and he and his family became good friends of Oswald and corresponded with him after his return to the United States. The factory, a major producer of electronic parts and systems, employed about 5,000 persons. Oswald's union card described him as a "metal worker"; Marina testified that he fashioned parts on a lathe. As Oswald later described it, the shop in which he worked, called the "experimental shop," employed 58 workers and 5 foremen. It was located in the middle part of the factory area in a 2-story building made of red brick. The workday began at 8 o'clock sharp. Work was assigned according to "pay levels," which were numbered from one to five plus a top "master" level. A worker could ask to be tested for a higher level at any time.

Oswald had hoped to continue his education in Russia, and was disappointed by his assignment to a factory. His salary varied from 700 to perhaps as high as 900 rubles per month (\$70-\$90) Although high compared with the salaries of certain professional groups in Russia, which in some areas have not grown proportionately with the wages of factory workers, his salary was normal for his type of work. It was supplemented, however, by 700 rubles per month, which he received from the "Red Cross," and,

according to Oswald, his total income was about equal to that of the director of the factory. In August he applied for membership in the union; he became a dues-paying member in September.

Undoubtedly more noteworthy to most Russians than his extra income was the attractive apartment which Oswald was given in March 1959. It was a small flat with a balcony overlooking the river, for which he paid only 60 rubles a month. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2606, p. 271.) Oswald describes it in his diary as "a Russian-dream." Had Oswald been a Russian worker, he would probably have had to wait for several years for a comparable apartment, and would have been given one even then only if he had a family. The "Red Cross" subsidy and the apartment were typical of the favorable treatment which the Soviet Union has given defectors.

Oswald's diary records that he enjoyed his first months in Minsk. His work at the factory was easy and his coworkers were friendly and curious about life in the United States; he declined an invitation to speak at a mass meeting. He took Roza Kuznetsova, his interpreter and language teacher, to the theater, a movie, or an opera almost every night, until he moved into his apartment and temporarily lost contact with her. He wrote in his diary, "I'm living big and am very satisfied." In March or April, he met Pavel Golovachev, a co-worker at the factory, whom Oswald described as intelligent and friendly and an excellent radio technician. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2609, p. 271.) Oswald helped Golovachev with English. They became friends, and corresponded after Oswald returned to the United States until at least as late as September 1963.

The spring and summer passed easily and uneventfully. There were picnics and drives in the country, which Oswald described as "green beauty." On June 18, he obtained a hunting license and soon afterward purchased a 16-gage single-barrel shotgun. His hunting license identifies him as "Aleksy Harvey Oswald." (He was called "Alec" by his Russian friends, because "Lee" sounded foreign to them and was difficult for them to pronounce.) He joined a local chapter of the Belorussian Society of Hunters and Fishermen, a hunting club sponsored by his factory, and hunted for small game in the farm regions around Minsk about half a dozen times in the summer and fall. The hunters spent the night in small villages and often left their bag with the villagers; Oswald described the peasant life which he saw as crude and poor. Sometime in June, he met Ella German, a worker at the factory, of whom he later said he "perhaps fell in love with her the first minute" he saw her. (See Commission Exhibit No. 2609, p. 271.)

At the same time, however, the first signs of disillusionment with his Russian life appeared. He noted in his diary that he felt "uneasy inside" after a friend took him aside at a party and advised him to return to the United States. Another entry compared life in Minsk with military life:

I have become habituated to a small cafe which is where I dine in the evening. The food is generally poor and always exactly the same, menu in any cafe, at any point in the city. The food is cheap and I don't really care about quality after three years in the U.S.M.C.

In an entry for August-September, he wrote that he was becoming "increasingly conscious of just what sort of a society" he lived in.

He spent New Year's Day at the home of Ella German and her family. They ate and drank in a friendly atmosphere, and he was "drunk and happy" when he returned home. During the walk back to his apartment he decided to ask Ella to marry him. On the following night, after he had brought her home from the movies, he proposed on her doorstep. She rejected him, saying that she did not love him and that she was afraid to marry an American. She said that the Polish intervention in the 1920's had led to the arrest of all people in the Soviet Union of Polish origin and she feared that something similar might happen to Americans some day. Oswald was "too stunned to think," and concluded that she had gone out with him only because she was envied by the other girls for having an American as an escort. But in one of the entries in the diary he appears to have attributed her failure to love him to "a state of fear which was always in the Soviet Union." His affection for Ella German apparently continued for some time; he had his last formal date with her in February and remained on friendly terms with her as long as he was in Russia.

After he returned to the United States, Oswald often commented on Russian life. He discussed the Soviet systems of public education and medical care. He observed to one acquaintance that everyone in Russia was trained to do something, and discussed with another the system of regular wage and salary increases. His most frequent criticisms concerned the contrast between the lives of ordinary workers and the lives of Communist Party members. He told an acquaintance in Dallas that the working class in the Soviet Union made just about enough to buy clothing and food and that only party members could afford luxuries. On another occasion, he remarked that if he had as much money as some of the "managers," he could have visited the Black Sea resorts. He complained about the lack of

freedom in Russia; so is the lack of opportunity to travel ; inadequate housing; and the chronic scarcity of food products. To one acquaintance, he observed that the party members were all "opportunists," who "shouted the loudest and made the most noise," but who were interested only in their own welfare.

He expressed similar views in a manuscript which he worked on in Russia and probably intended to publish; soon after he returned to the United States, he hired a stenographer to prepare a typed draft from his notes. Oswald described the manuscript, which amounted to 50 typed pages, as "a look into the lives of work-a-day average Russians."

The manuscript describes the factory in which Oswald worked and suggests that political considerations of which Oswald disapproved dominated its operation. He attributed the lack of unemployment to the shortage of labor-saving machinery and the heavy load of bureaucracy, which kept "tons of paper work" flowing in and out of the factory and required a high foreman-worker ratio. In addition, he wrote, there was "a small army of examiners, committees, and supply checkers and the quality-control board."

He described life in Russia, including life at the factory, as centered around the "Kollective." The head of the Kollective in his shop, Comrade Lebizen, saw to it that everyone maintained shop discipline, attended party meetings, and received all the new propaganda as it came out. He hung the walls of the shop with signs and slogans of the Communist Party. Meetings of the Kollective were "so numerous as to be staggering." In a single month, there were scheduled one meeting of the professional union, four political information meetings, two young Communist meetings, one meeting of the production committee to discuss ways of improving work, two Communist Party meetings, four meetings of the "School of Communist Labor," and one sports meeting. All but one of them were compulsory for Communist Party members and all but three were compulsory for everyone. (Marina Oswald testified that her husband did not attend the courses in Marxism and Leninism given in the factory for party members and those who wished to become party members.) They were scheduled so as not to interfere with work, and lasted anywhere from 10 minutes to 2 hours. Oswald said that no one liked the meetings, which were accepted "philosophically"; at the political meetings especially, everyone paid strict attention, and party members were posted in the audience to watch for the slightest sign that one's attention might relax, even for a moment.

Oswald wrote that the "spontaneous" demonstrations on Soviet holidays or for distinguished visitors were almost as well organized as the Kollectivist meetings at the factory. He noted that elections were supervised to ensure that everyone voted, and that they voted for the candidates of the Communist Party. The manuscript touches on other aspects of Soviet life as the housing shortage and the corruption which it evoked, the "rest-homes" where workers had their vacations, television and the omnipresent radio, and Russian reading habits. This writing also may include only what Oswald thought might be acceptable.

On January 4, 1961, a year after he had been issued his "stateless" residence permit, Oswald was summoned to the passport office in Minsk and asked if he still wanted to become a Soviet citizen. He replied that he did not, but asked that his residence permit be extended for another year. The entry in his diary for January 4-31 reads: "I am starting to reconsider my desire about staying. The work is drab. The money I get has nowhere to be spent. No nightclubs or bowling alleys, no places of recreation except the trade union dances. I have had enough."

The American Embassy in Moscow had not heard from Oswald after it received his letter of November 3, 1959. On February 13, 1961, it received an undated letter from him which had been mailed in Minsk about a week earlier. He asked for the return of his passport and stated that he wanted to return to the United States if he could "come to some agreement [with the American Government] concerning the dropping of any legal proceedings" against him. He noted that he had not become a Soviet citizen and was living in Russia with "non permanent type papers for a foreigner," and said that he did not appear personally because he could not leave Minsk without permission. The letter concluded: "I hope that in recalling the responsibility I have to America that you remember yours in doing everything you can to help me, since I am an American citizen." In this letter, Oswald referred to a previous letter which he said had gone unanswered; there is evidence that such a letter was never sent.

The Second Secretary, Richard Snyder, answered on February 28 that Oswald would have to appear at the Embassy personally to discuss his return to the United States. In the meantime, Oswald's mother, who in January had inquired at the Department of State about his whereabouts, had been notified of his letter. A second letter from Oswald, posted on March 5, reached the Embassy on March 20; it reiterated that he was unable to leave Minsk without permission and asked that "preliminary inquiries * * * be put in the form of questionnaire" and sent to him. His diary entry for this period records his "state of expectation about going back to the U.S.," and adds that a friend had approved his plans but warned him not to discuss them with others. (The Soviet authorities had undoubtedly intercepted and read the

correspondence between Oswald and the Embassy and knew of his plans. Soon after the correspondence began, his monthly payments from the "Red Cross" were cut off.) Having informed Washington, the Embassy wrote to Oswald on March 24, stating again that he would have to come to Moscow. Later, the Department of State decided that Oswald's passport should be returned to him only if he appeared at the Embassy for it and the Embassy was satisfied, after exploring the matter with him, that he had not renounced his citizenship.

Sometime in the second week of March, Miss Katherine Mallory, who was on tour in Minsk with the University of Michigan symphonic band, found herself surrounded by curious Russian citizens. A young man who identified himself as a Texan and former marine stepped out of the crowd and asked if she needed an interpreter; he interpreted for her for the next 15 or 20 minutes. Later he told her that he despised the United States and hoped to stay in Minsk for the rest of his life. Miss Mallory is unable to swear that her interpreter was Oswald, but is personally convinced that it was he.

A few days later, probably on March 17, Oswald attended a trade union dance with a friend, Erik Titovyets, at the Palace of Culture for Professional Workers in Minsk. The dance followed a lecture by a Russian woman who had recently returned from a trip to the United States. Marina Nikolayevna Prusakova arrived too late to hear the lecture but was at the dance. Oswald noticed her and asked Yuriy Merezhinskiy, the son of the lecturer and a friend of both Oswald and Marina, to introduce him to her. Oswald asked her to dance. According to the diary, they liked each other immediately and he obtained her telephone number before she left. Marina testified that she told Oswald that she might see him at another dance, but did not give him her telephone number. Oswald was smitten.

Marina Prusakova was 19 years old when she met Oswald. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1395, p. 270.) She was born on July 17, 1941, at Severodvinsk (formerly Molotovsk), Arkhangel Oblast', Russia. A few years later, her mother, Klavdiya Vasilievna Prusakova, married Aleksandr Ivanovich Medvedev, who became the only father Marina knew. While she was still a young girl, Marina went to Arkhangel'sk, Arkhangel Oblast', to live with her maternal grandparents, Tatyana Yakovlevna Prusakova and Vasiliy Prusakov. Her grandfather died when Marina was about 4 years old; she continued to live with her grandmother for some time. When she was not more than 7, she moved to Zguritva, Moldavian SSR (formerly called Bessarabia) to live with her mother and stepfather, who was an electrical worker. In 1952, the family moved to Leningrad, where her stepfather obtained a job in a power station. Marina testified that neither he nor her mother was a member of the Communist Party. In Leningrad, Marina attended the Three Hundred and seventy-fourth Women's School. After she had completed the seventh grade at the school in 1955, she entered the Pharmacy Teknikum for special training, which she had requested on the ground that her mother was ill and Marina might need to have a specialty in order to support herself. While she was the Teknikum, she joined the Trade Union for Medical Workers and, in her last year there, worked part time in the Central Pharmacy in Leningrad. She graduated from the Teknikum with a diploma in pharmacy in June 1959.

Marina's mother had died in 1957, during Marina's second year at the Teknikum; she continued to live with her stepfather, but had little contact with him. She testified that she did not get along with her stepfather, whom she displeased by her fresh conduct; she said that she was not easily disciplined and was a source of concern to him. Because of the friction between them, Marina regarded her childhood as an unhappy one.

After her graduation, Marina was assigned to a job preparing and packing orders in a pharmaceutical warehouse in Leningrad; as a new employee she had the right to leave this job within 3 days after the assignment, and she did so after the first day. She took no job for the next 2 months, at the end of which she went to live in Minsk with an aunt and uncle, the Prusakova, who had no children. She had known them since she was a child and there was a mutual affection between her and them. Her uncle, a member of the Communist Party, was assigned to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and headed the local bureau concerned with lumber. The Prusakova had one of the best apartments in a building reserved for MVD employees.

Marina was 18 when she arrived in Minsk. She had boyfriends in Leningrad but was not interested in marriage. In October 1960 she started work in the drug section of the Third Clinical Hospital where she earned about 450 rubles per month; at about the same time she became a member of the local Komsomol, the Communist youth organization.

Her friends were mostly students, whose social life consisted of meeting in cafes to sip coffee, read newspapers, gossip, and carry on discussions. The group of friends "ran together," and Marina did not attach herself to a particular boyfriend. She enjoyed this life, which she had been leading for about 7

months when she met Oswald at the dance at the Palace of Culture in March 1961.

When Marina met Oswald, she thought he was from one of the Russian-speaking Baltic countries because he spoke with an accent; later that same evening she learned that he was an American. She met him again at another dance a week later. They danced together most of the evening, at the end of which he walked home with her. They arranged to meet again the following week. Before the scheduled time, Oswald called to say that he was in the hospital and that Marina should visit him there. Medical records furnished to the Commission by the Russian Government show that Oswald was admitted to the Clinical Hospital Ear, Nose, and Throat Division, on Thursday, March 30, 1961. Marina visited him often, taking advantage of her uniform to visit him outside regular visiting hours, which were only on Sunday. On Easter Sunday, the first Sunday after his admission to the hospital, she brought him an Easter egg. On a subsequent visit, he asked her to be his fiancée, and she agreed to consider it. He left the hospital on April 11.

During these visits, Marina apparently discussed with Oswald his reasons for coming to Russia and his current status. According to her later account, he told her that he had surrendered his American documents to the Embassy in Moscow and had told American officials that he did not intend to return to the United States. He did not say definitely that he was no longer an American citizen, but said in answer to a question about his citizenship that he could not return to the United States.

Oswald visited Marina regularly at her aunt and uncle's apartment; they were apparently not disturbed by the fact that he was an American and did not disapprove of her seeing him. He continued to ask her to marry him and, according to her recollection, she accepted his proposal on April 20; Oswald's diary puts the date 5 days earlier. Marina testified that she believed that Oswald could not return to the United States when she agreed to marry him, and that she had not married him in hope of going to the United States.

After filing notice of their intent to marry at the registrar, obtaining the special consent necessary for an alien to marry a citizen, and waiting the usual 10 days, they were married on April 30. The diary entry for the wedding day reads:

two of Marina's girl friends act as bridesmaids. We are married. At her aunt's home we have a dinner reception for about 20 friends and neighbors who wish us happiness (in spite of my origin and accent [accent?]) which was in general rather disquieting to any Russian since for are very rare in the Soviet Union even tourist. After an evening of eating and drinking in which * * * [Marina's uncle] started a fight [fight?] and the fuse blew on an overloaded circuit we take our leave and walk the 1-5 minutes to our home. We lived near each other, at midnight we were home.

They both took 3 days off from their jobs, which they spent in Minsk.

Oswald wrote in his diary for May 1, 1 day after the wedding: "In spite of fact I married Marina to hurt Ella I found myself in love with Marina." The next entry, marked simply "May," reads

The transition of changing full love from Ella to Marina was very painful esp. as I saw Ella almost every day at the factory but as the days & weeks went by I adjusted more and more [to] my wife mentally * * * She is madly in love with me from the very start. Boat rides on Lake Minsk walks through the parks evening at home or at Aunt Valia's place mark May."

And in June: "A continuance of May, except that; we draw closer and closer, and I think very little now of Ella."

Sometime within the first month or two after they were married Oswald told his wife that he was anxious to return to the United States. The diary says that he told her "in the last days" of June and that she was "slightly startled" but encouraged him to do as he wished. Marina's recollection is that she learned of his plan between May and July. Embassy records show that Oswald notified the Embassy in a letter received on May 25 that he was married and his wife would seek to accompany him to the United States. At about this time, the Oswalds began to make inquiries in Soviet offices about exit visas.

While these preparations were being made, the Oswalds apparently enjoyed their new life. They ate most of their meals in cafes or at restaurants where they worked. For amusement, they went boating, attended the opera, concerts, the circus, and films; occasionally, they gathered with a group of friends for a cooperative meal at someone's apartment. His Russian improved, but he retained an accent and never learned to speak grammatically or to write well. He read the English language edition of the Daily Worker and books, also in English, on Marxism and Leninism; he also read some Russian newspapers. Before he married Marina (and presumably before February, when he had begun his efforts to return to

the United States) Oswald had applied for admission to the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow. He received a letter dated May 3 apologizing for the delay in responding to his application and turning it down on the ground that the university had been established exclusively for students from the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Oswald expressed his disappointment at having been turned down to Marina.

Oswald reopened his correspondence with his family on May 5, with a friendly letter to his brother Robert. He said nothing about his contacts with the American Embassy, but mentioned that he had married, and that he had a job as a "metal-smith" and was living well. He asked his brother for their mother's address, and encouraged him to come to Minsk for a visit. Robert answered the letter quickly. On May 31, Oswald wrote again and expressed his pleasure at having heard from Robert after so long. Apparently in response to an offer to send him whatever he needed, Oswald wrote that he needed nothing and thanked Robert for the thought; he suggested, however, that Marina might like a small wedding present. At the end of the letter he said that he did not know whether he would ever return to the United States; he said that before he could return he would have to obtain the permission of the Soviet Union for him and Marina to leave and insure that no charges would be lodged against him in the United States. In this letter, he mentioned that he was in touch with the Embassy in Moscow. At about this time, Oswald wrote also to his mother.

On May 25, the Embassy received a letter mailed in Minsk about 10 days before, in which Oswald asked for assurances that he would not be prosecuted if he returned to the United States, and informed the Embassy that he had married a Russian woman who would want to accompany him. The Embassy communicated this development to Washington and did not answer Oswald immediately. In addition, he had no word since March concerning the return of his passport. Impatient for action, he appeared without warning at the Embassy on July 8; it was a Saturday and the offices were closed. He used the house telephone to reach Snyder, who came to the office, talked with him briefly, and suggested that he return on the following Monday. Oswald called Marina and asked her join him in Moscow. She arrived on Sunday, July 9, a room at the Hotel Berlin, where he had stayed when he first arrived in Russia.

Oswald returned to the Embassy on Monday. Marina waited outside during his interview with Snyder, who asked to see Oswald's Soviet papers and questioned him closely about his life in Russia and possible expatriating acts. Oswald stated that he was not a citizen of the Soviet Union and had never formally applied for citizenship, that he had never taken an oath of allegiance to the Soviet Union, and that he was not a member of the factory trade union organization. He said that he had never given Soviet officials any confidential information that he had learned in the Marines, had never been asked to give such information, and "doubted" that he would have done so had he been asked. Some of Oswald's statements during this interview were undoubtedly false. He had almost certainly applied for citizenship in the Soviet Union and, at least for a time, been disappointed when it was denied. He possessed a membership card in the union organization. In addition, his assertion to Snyder that he had never been questioned by Soviet authorities concerning his life in the United States is simply unbelievable.

Oswald showed anxiety, already displayed in his letters, that he might be prosecuted and imprisoned if he returned to the United States. Snyder told him informally that he did not know any grounds on which he would be prosecuted but that he could give no assurances in this regard. Snyder testified that Oswald seemed to have matured while he was in Russia and did not show the bravado and arrogance which characterized his first contacts with the Embassy. Oswald told him that he had "learned a hard lesson the hard way" and had acquired a new appreciation of the United States and the meaning of freedom.

Since Oswald's passport would expire on September 10, 1961, before which date he probably would not be able to obtain Russian exit papers, he filled out an application for its renewal. On a questionnaire attached to the application, he reiterated his oral statements that he had obtained only a residence permit in the Soviet Union and was still an American national. On the basis of Oswald's written and oral statements, Snyder concluded that he had not expatriated himself and returned his passport, stamped valid only for direct travel to the United States, to him. Accompanied by his wife, Oswald came to the Embassy again on the following day, to initiate procedures for her admission to the United States as an immigrant; they had a routine interview with McVickar, Snyder's assistant. Three days later, they returned to Minsk.

On the same day, Oswald wrote to his brother. He told Robert that he had his passport again and that he and Marina were doing everything possible to leave the Soviet Union. Apparently referring to his initial reappearance at the Embassy in quest of his passport, he wrote: "I could write a book about how many feelings have come and gone since that day." The letter closed with an affectionate greeting to his

brother and his family. The letter's tone of firm purpose to return to the United States in the face of heavy odds reflected Oswald's attitude thereafter.

As soon as they returned to Minsk, the Oswalds began to work with local authorities for permission to leave the country. His diary entry for July 16 through August 20 reads,

We have found out which blanks and certificates are necessary to apply for a exit visa. They number about 20 papers; birth certificates, affidavit, photos, etc. On August 20th we give the papers out they say it will be 3.5 months before we know whether they let us go or not. In the meantime Marina has had to stude 4 different meeting at the place of work held by her boss's at the direction of "someone" by phone. The Young Comm. league headquarters also called about her and she had to go see them for 1 1/2 hours. The purpose (expressed) is to dissuade her from going to the U.S.A. Net effect: Make her more stubborn about wanting to go. Marina is pregnant. We only hope that the visas come through soon.

In a letter dated July 15, he reported their efforts to the Embassy, and said that he would keep it informed "as to the overall picture." The letter mentioned that Marina was having difficulties at work because of her decision to leave but added that such "tactics" were "quite useless" and that Marina had "stood up well, without getting into trouble." For August 21 through September 1, the diary reads:

I make repeated trips to the passport & visa office, also to Ministry of For. Affairs in Minsk, also Min. of Internal Affairs, all of which have a say in the granting of a visa. I extracted promises of quick attention to U.S.

For September through October 18, "No word from Min. ('They'll call us.')."

Marina testified that when the news of her visit to the American Embassy in July reached Minsk, she was dropped from membership in "Komsomol," the Communist Youth Organization, and that "meetings were arranged" at which "members of the various organizations" attempted to dissuade her from leaving the Soviet Union. Her aunt and uncle did not speak to her for "a long time." Paul Gregory, to whom Marina taught Russian in the United States, testified that she once referred to this period of her life in Minsk as "a very horrible time."

Oswald wrote to the Embassy again on October 4, to request that the U.S. Government officially intervene to facilitate his and his wife's applications for exit visas. He stated that there had been "systematic and concerted attempts to intimidate [Marina] * * * into withdrawing her application for a visa" which had resulted in her being hospitalized for a 5-day period on September 22 for "nervous exhaustion." Marina has denied that she was hospitalized for a nervous disorder and he made no mention of it in his diary or letters to his family; he probably lied to the Embassy. The Embassy replied to his letter on October 12, saying that it had no way of influencing Soviet conduct on such matters and that its experience had been that action on applications for exit visas was "seldom taken rapidly."

In October 1961 Marina took her annual vacation. She and Oswald agreed that she should get a "change of scenery," and she spent about 3 weeks with an aunt in Khar'kov. It is possible that they were not getting along well together during this period. A dairy entry after her return indicates that they were having some quarrels and that she was wavering in her decision to go to the United States, which Oswald attributed to anxiety about their applications for visas and the fact that she was pregnant; he in turn dreaded the approach of the "hard Russian winter." He noted in his dairy that he was lonely while she was gone, but that he and his friend "Erich," presumably Erik Titovyets, went to some dances and other public amusements. On his 22nd birthday he went alone to see his favorite opera, "The Queen of Spades." Marina sent him a gold and silver cup, inscribed "To my dear husband on his birthday, 18/x/61" and other gifts, for which he wrote to thank her. She returned on November 12, in Oswald's words, "radiant, with several jars of preserves for me from her aunt."

Sometime after Marina's return Oswald applied for an interview with Col. Nicolay Aksenov, an official in the local MVD, in an effort to expedite their application for exit visas; he was told by the colonel's subordinates that they were competent to handle the matter. Oswald then insisted that Marina seek an interview; she agreed reluctantly. The interview was granted; Marina thought that this might have been due to the fact that her uncle was also a high-ranking official in the Minsk MVD, but she did not believe that he would personally have presumed on his official position to obtain special treatment. Colonel Aksenov questioned her about her reasons for wanting to go to the United States and, noticing that she was pregnant, suggested that she at least delay her departure so that her child could be born in Russia, but did not otherwise try to discourage her. He finally told her that there were many others seeking visas and that she and her husband would have to wait their turn.

Throughout this period, Oswald continued to correspond with his mother and brother. His letters contained the usual chatter among members of a family and occasional references to the progress of the visa applications. He wrote to the Embassy on November 1, saying that if, as he anticipated, his

residence permit were renewed in January for another year, it would be over his protest. On November 13 the Embassy replied, telling Oswald that retention of his Soviet passport, which was of the kind issued to persons considered to be stateless, or an extension of it, would not prejudice his claim to American citizenship. The letter added that he could discuss the renewal of his American passport whenever he appeared in person at the Embassy to do so.

Late in December, Oswald wrote a letter to Senator John G. Tower of Texas, which was received in Washington near the end of January. He stated that he was an American citizen and that the Soviet Government refused to permit him and his wife to leave the Soviet Union. He asked Senator Tower to raise "the question of holding by the Soviet Union of a citizen of the U.S., against his will and expressed desires." The letter was referred to the State Department and no further action concerning it was taken. On December 25, Marina was called to the Soviet Passport Office and told that exit visas would be granted to her and her husband; she was surprised, having doubted that she would ever be permitted to leave. Oswald wrote to the Embassy on December 27 that they would be given visas and asked that his passport be extended without another trip to Moscow; he added, however, that he would come to Moscow if this would expedite the processing of his application. In his diary, he wrote, "It's great (I think?)." Before the year ended, Marina went on maternity leave from her job. They spent New Year's Eve at a dinner party given by the Zigers.

Oswald wrote to his mother on January 2, 1962, and told her that he and his wife expected to arrive in the United States sometime around March. He asked her to contact the local Red Cross and request that it put his case before the International Rescue Committee or some other group which aids immigrants to the United States. He told her that he would need about \$800 and that she should insist on a gift rather than a loan; he told her not to send any of her own money. Despite his instructions, she requested a loan from the Red Cross. On January 13, Oswald wrote to the International Rescue Committee himself; he asked for \$800 with which to purchase two tickets from Moscow to Texas. He wrote to the Committee again on January 26, this time asking for \$1,000.

In the meantime, letters of Oswald and the American Embassy, both dated January 5, crossed in the mail. The Embassy's letter suggested that since there might be difficulties in obtaining an American visa for Marina, he consider returning alone and bringing her over later. He replied on the 16th that he would not leave Russia without her. In his letter, Oswald requested that the U.S. Government loan him the money for his and Marina's airplane tickets or arrange a loan from another source. The Embassy replied on January 15 that Marina had not yet obtained an American visa. and that no evidence had yet been submitted that she would not become a public charge in the United States. It suggested that Oswald's mother or some other close relative file an affidavit of support in Marina's behalf. Before receiving this letter, Oswald wrote out such a document himself and mailed it to the Embassy.

On January 23, after receiving the Embassy's letter, he wrote that his own affidavit should be sufficient, since he had been away from the United States for more than 2 years and could not be expected to obtain an affidavit from someone else. But on the same day, he wrote to his mother asking that she file an affidavit of support with the Immigration and Naturalization Service. On January 24, the Embassy acknowledged receipt of his affidavit, but again suggested that he obtain one from someone else.

Late in January, Oswald received a letter from his mother telling him that he had been given a dishonorable discharge from the Marines. (The discharge had actually been "undesirable," a less derogatory characterization.) This apparently revived his fear of prosecution, and on January 30, he wrote to his brother for more information. On the same day he wrote also to John B. Connally, Jr., then Governor of Texas, who Oswald believed was still Secretary of Navy. The letter read:

I wish to call your attention to a case about which you may have personal knowledge since you are a resident of Ft. Worth as I am.

In November 1959 an event was well publicized in the Ft. Worth newspapers concerning a person who had gone to the Soviet Union to reside for a short time, (much in the same way E. Hemingway resided in Paris.) This person in answers to questions put to him by reporters in Moscow criticized certain facets of American life. The story was blown up into another "turncoat" sensation, with the result that the Navy department gave this person a belated dishonorable discharge, although he had received an honorable discharge after three years service on Sept. 11, 1959 at El Toro, Marine corps base in California.

These are the basic facts of my case.

I have and always had the full sanction of the U.S. Embassy, Moscow USSR and hence the U.S. government. In as much as I am returning to the U.S.A. in this year with the aid of the U.S. Embassy, bring with me my family (since I married in the USSR) I shall employ all means to right this gross mistake or injustice to a bonified U.S. citizen and ex-service man. The U.S. government has no charges or complaints against me. I ask you to look

into this case and take the necessary steps to repair the damage done to me and my family. For information I would direct you to consult the American Embassy, Chikovski St. 19/21, Moscow, USSR.

Connally referred the letter to the Department of the Navy, which sent Oswald a letter stating that the Department contemplated no change in the undesirable discharge. On March 22, Oswald wrote to the Department insisting that his discharge be given a further, full review. The Department promptly replied that it had no authority to hear and review petitions of this sort and referred Oswald to the Navy Discharge Review Board. Oswald filled out the enclosed application for review in Minsk but did not mail it until he returned to the United States.

The Department of State had notified Oswald's mother that it would need \$900 to make the travel arrangements for her son and daughter-in-law. On February 1, Oswald sent his mother a brief letter rejecting her suggestion that she try to raise money by telling the newspapers about his financial plight. Five days later, the Embassy wrote to Oswald and asked him to make formal application for a loan. Oswald wrote to his mother again on February 9, reminding her to file an affidavit of support and asking that she send him clippings from the Fort Worth newspapers about his defection to Russia, a request which he later repeated to his brother. He told her that he wanted to know what had been written about him, so that he could be "forewarned."

Oswald took Marina to the hospital on the morning of February 15. A baby girl was born at about 10 a.m. He had gone on to the factory where news of the birth awaited him on his arrival. In accordance with regular hospital practice, he did not see the baby until Marina left the hospital. He was excited by the child, who was named "June Lee" in accordance with the Russian custom and law that a child's second name must be the father's first name or a variation of it. He had wanted to name his child "June Marina," and protested the application of the law to her, since he had a United States passport. His diary contains the wry comment, "Po-Russki." His coworkers at the factory gave the Oswalds "one summer blanket, 6 light diapers, 4 warm diapers, 2 chemises, 3 very good warm chemises, 4 very nice suits and two toys" for the baby. Marina came home on February 23. There was less urgency about the departure for the United States after June Lee was born. Oswald wrote to his mother, and brother, that he would probably not arrive for several months. The Embassy received a letter on March 3, in which Oswald applied for a loan of \$800; the Embassy replied that it was authorized to loan him only \$500. It had in the meantime decided that his own affidavit of support for Marina would be sufficient under the circumstances.

On March 15, he received notification from the Immigration and Naturalization Service that Marina's application for a visa had been approved. By March 28, he had received an affidavit of support in Marina's behalf from his mother's employer, Byron K. Phillips, which he filed although it was no longer necessary to do so. A few days before, Marina, still on maternity leave, had quit her job. Discussions with the Embassy to complete financial and travel arrangements continued in April and May. In a letter to Robert on April 12, Oswald wrote that only "the American side" was holding up their departure, but added that the winter being over, he didn't "really * * * want to leave until the beginning of fall, since the spring and summer * * * [in Russia] are so nice." On May 10, the Embassy wrote that everything was in order and suggested that Oswald come to the Embassy with his family to sign the final papers. At his request, he was discharged from the factory on about May 18. His work had apparently never been very good. Marina testified that he was rather lazy and resented having to take orders. This estimate is confirmed by a report of the plant director and personnel department chief, filed on December 11, 1961, which was apparently a routine assessment of his work. The report noted that he did not, "display the initiative for increasing his skill" in his job, that he was "over-sensitive * * * to remarks from the foremen, and * * * careless in his work"; Oswald took "no part in the social life of the shop" and kept "very much to himself."

Oswald picked up his Soviet, exit visa on May 22; at about this time, he also had an interview with an official of the MVD to obtain final clearance for his departure. He wrote to Robert that he and his family would leave for Moscow on the following day and depart for England 10 to 14 days later. He expected to cross the Atlantic by ship, probably docking in New Orleans. Returning to a point which he had made in an earlier letter to his mother, he commented that he knew from the newspaper clippings what Robert had said about him when he left for Russia; he thought that Robert had talked too much at that time, and asked that Robert say nothing to the newspapers now.

The Oswalds arrived in Moscow by May 24 and on that date filled out various documents at the American Embassy; Marina was given her American visa. Final arrangements for their emigration were made with Soviet officials. On June 1, Oswald signed a promissory note at the Embassy for a repatriation loan of \$435.71. He and his family boarded a train for Holland, which passed through Minsk that night. They crossed the Soviet frontier at Brest on June 2. Two days later, they departed

from Holland on the SS *Maasdam*. Onboard ship, the Oswalds stayed by themselves; Marina testified that she did not often go on deck because she was poorly dressed and Oswald was ashamed of her.

Probably while he was on board the *Maasdam* Oswald wrote some notes on ship stationery, which appear to be a summary of what he thought he had learned by living under both the capitalist and Communist systems. The notes reflect his unhappy and deepening feeling of disillusionment with both the Soviet Union and the United States. Oswald observed that although reform groups may oppose the government in power, they always declare that they are for their people and their country, and he asked what "would happen if somebody was to stand up and say he was utterly opposed not, only to the governments, but to the people, too the entire land and complete foundations" of his society. He condemned existing political groups and proposed the formation of a third choice between communism and capitalism neither of which was acceptable to him. "I have lived," he said, "under both systems, I have *sought* the answers and although it would be very easy to dupe myself into believing one system is better than the other, I know they are not." In these notes, he acknowledged that his "Red Cross" subsidy had been paid by the Soviet Government rather than the international organization, and said, "I shall never sell myself intentionally, or unintentionally to anyone again. (Commission Exhibit No. 25, p. 273.) It was probably also onboard ship that Oswald wrote two sets of answers to questions which he anticipated about his decision to go to Russia and later to return to the United States. Although the sets of answers are somewhat similar, but the tone of one is apologetic, while the other suggests that Oswald went to Russia to study the Soviet system, but remained a loyal American and owed no apologies.

The *Maasdam* landed at Hoboken, N.J., on June 13. The Oswalds were met by Spas T. Raikin, a representative of the Traveler's Aid Society, which had been contacted by the Department of State; Raikin had the impression that Oswald was trying to avoid meeting anyone. He told Raikin that he had only \$63 and had no plans either for that night or for travel to Fort Worth, and accepted the society's help, according to Raikin, "with confidence and appreciation." They passed through the immigration office without incident, and Raikin helped them through customs.

The society referred the Oswalds to the New York City Department of Welfare, which helped them find a room at the Times Square Hotel. Oswald told both Raikin and representatives of the welfare department that he had been a marine stationed at the American Embassy in Moscow, had married a Russian girl, renounced his citizenship, and worked in Minsk; he soon found out, he said, that the Russian propaganda was inaccurate but had not been able to obtain an exit visa for his wife and child for more than 2 years. He said also that he had paid the travel expenses himself.

The welfare department called Robert Oswald's home in Fort Worth. His wife answered and said that they would help. She contacted her husband who sent \$200 immediately. Oswald refused to accept the money and insisted that the department itself should pay the fare to Texas; he threatened that they would go as far as they could on \$63 and rely on local authorities to get them the rest of the way. In the end he accepted the money. On the afternoon of June 14, the Oswalds left New York by plane for Fort Worth.

Warren Report: Appendix XIII - Fort Worth, Dallas, New Orleans

Oswald had originally indicated that he and his family would stay with his mother in Vernon, Tex. His decision to stay with Robert Oswald in Fort Worth apparently had been prompted by his brother's invitation in a letter to him in Russia. Oswald listed only his brother as a relative on an "Intake Interview" form which he prepared for the New York Department of Welfare. Robert took his wife and children to Love Field, the Dallas airport, to meet Lee and Marina and their baby, June Lee. He testified that the most noticeable change in his brother's appearance was that he had become rather bald; he seemed also to be somewhat thinner than he had been in 1959. Robert thought that his brother had picked up "something of an accent" but, except for these changes was "'the same boy" whom he had known before. Lee commented on the absence of newspaper reporters and seemed to Robert to be disappointed that none had appeared. Later on, Lee was anxious to avoid publicity.

Robert drove the Oswalds to his home at 7313 Davenport Street. For a few days, Lee seemed tense, but the brothers got along well, and to Robert it was "more or less * * * [as if Lee] had not been to Russia"; they were "just together again." They did not discuss politics, according to Robert because of a "tacit agreement" between them. Lee indicated to his brother that he hoped to have his undesirable discharge from the Marines corrected. Robert and his wife "took to Marina and June," and enjoyed showing Marina "things that she had never seen before." Marina rested and took care of her baby, and when she could, helped in the household. She testified that, apart from a trip to the library, Lee spent about a week "merely talking."

On June 18, 4 days after he arrived in Fort Worth, Oswald went to the office of Mrs. Pauline Virginia Bates, a public stenographer whose name he had found in the telephone directory, and asked her to type a manuscript from the "scraps of paper," on which he had recorded his impressions of the Soviet Union. Intrigued by his tale that he had just returned from the Soviet Union and had smuggled his notes out of that country, she agreed to type the notes for \$1 per page or \$2 an hour, 50 cents less than her usual hourly rate. On that day and the succeeding 2 days, Mrs. Bates spent 8 hours typing for Oswald while he remained in her office helping her with the notes and translating portions of them which were in Russian. At the end of each session he collected his notes and as much of the manuscript as she had done and took them away with him. On June 20, he gave Mrs. Bates \$10 for the 10 completed pages; he told her that he had no more money and refused to accept her offer to postpone payment or continue the work for nothing.

Oswald told Mrs. Bates that there was an engineer in Fort Worth who wanted to help him publish his notes. On June 19, he had called Peter Gregory, a petroleum engineer who was born in Siberia and taught Russian at the Fort Worth Public Library as a "civic enterprise." He asked if Gregory could give him a letter testifying to his ability to read and speak Russian, so that he could obtain work as an interpreter or translator. Gregory suggested that Oswald come to his office, where Gregory opened a Russian book at random and asked Oswald to read from it. Oswald read well, and Gregory gave him the letter he wanted. Gregory and Oswald had lunch together and discussed Oswald's life in the Soviet Union, but, according to Gregory's testimony, nothing was said about publishing Oswald's manuscript. About a week later, Gregory and his son Paul, a college student, visited the Oswalds at Robert Oswald's home and arranged for Marina to give Paul lessons in Russian during the Summer.

On June 26, Oswald was interviewed by FBI agents in Fort Worth. One of the agents who interviewed him described him as tense and "drawn up"; he said that Oswald "exhibited an arrogant attitude * * * and [was] inclined to be just a little insolent." Oswald declined to say why he had gone to Russia, saying that he refused to "relive the past." He said that he had not attempted to obtain Soviet citizenship, had not been approached by Soviet officials for information about his experiences in the Marines, and had not offered them such information. Marina's Soviet passport required her to notify the Soviet Embassy in Washington of her address in this country, and Oswald told the agents that he planned to contact the Embassy for this purpose within a few days. He promised to notify the FBI if he were contacted by Soviet agents "under suspicious circumstances or otherwise." Oswald told his brother about the interview, saying that it had been "just fine."

Oswald and his family remained with Robert for about a month. While they were there his mother moved to Fort Worth from Crowell, Tex., and sometime in July they moved into her apartment at 1501 West Seventh Street. Mrs. Oswald testified that she had visited them at Robert's house in June and moved to Fort Worth because she thought that the house was too crowded and wanted to help them. Mrs. Oswald described the period when her son and his family lived with her as "a very happy month"; according to her testimony, she and her son and daughter-in-law got along well. She mentioned that she not only helped Marina keep house and care for the baby but also aided her son in his efforts to find employment. Marina testified, however, that Lee did not get along well with his mother and that he

decided after several weeks that they should move to their own apartment. He did not file a change-of-address card at the post office when the family moved to West Seventh Street, as he did when they made their next move, so he may have contemplated from the beginning that they would stay with his mother for only a short while. Around the middle of August, the Oswalds moved to a one-bedroom furnished apartment at 2703 Mercedes Street, for which they paid \$59.50 in advance for 1 month's rent. In the third week in July, Oswald had obtained a job as a sheet metal worker with the Louv-R-Pak Division of the Leslie Welding Co., a manufacturer of louvers and ventilators, to which he had been referred by the Texas Employment Commission. On his application for employment, filled out several days before, he wrote falsely that he had experience as a sheet metal worker and machinist in the Marines and had been honorably discharged. He usually worked 8 or 9 hours a day, for which he was paid \$1.25 an hour. Marina testified that Oswald did not like his work, but he was regarded as a good employee and remained with the company until October, when he quit. On the job, he kept to himself and was considered uncommunicative.

Mrs. Oswald visited her son and his family at their apartment and tried to help them get settled; she testified that she bought some clothes for Marina and a highchair for the baby but that Oswald told her that he did not want her to buy "things for his wife that he himself could not buy." Finally, Oswald apparently decided that he did not want his mother to visit the apartment anymore and he became incensed when his wife permitted her to visit despite his instructions. After he moved to Dallas in October, Oswald did not see his mother or communicate with her in any way until she came to see him after the assassination. Witnesses have described the Mercedes Street apartment as "decrepit" and very poorly furnished; there was no telephone service. Acquaintances observed that Marina and the baby were poorly clothed, that the Oswalds had little food, and that at first there was not a bed for the baby.

On August 16, the FBI again interviewed Oswald. This interview took place in the back seat of a car in front of his home and covered substantially the same material as the previous interview. Oswald again denied having made any deal with representatives of the Soviet Union. He protested his undesirable discharge from the Marines, and stated that his wife was registered at the Soviet Embassy. He still refused to discuss why he had gone to the Soviet Union, but he was less hostile than he had been during the previous interview. According to his wife, however, he was very upset by the interest the FBI showed in him.

The Oswalds became acquainted with a growing number of people of the Russian-speaking community in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, who were tied together socially by a common origin, language, and religion. The group was not restricted to people from Russia but was composed primarily of people from Eastern European countries. The Oswalds' initial contact with this group was through Peter Gregory. Marina gave conversational Russian lessons to Paul Gregory 2 days a week during August and early September, for which she was paid \$35. Most of the lessons took place at the Mercedes Street apartment and Oswald was generally present. In addition, Paul Gregory occasionally took the Oswalds shopping; after they became friendly, he had a number of discussions with Oswald, some of them politically oriented.

Sometime around August 25, Peter Gregory invited the Oswalds and several members of the Russian community to his house for dinner. One of the guests was George Bouhe, a Dallas accountant, and a leader of the Russian community. He was very interested in meeting and conversing with Marina, because she had spent much of her life in Leningrad, which was his birthplace. Also present was Mrs. Anna Meller, the Russian-born wife of a Dallas department store employee. Near the end of August, the Oswalds met Declan Ford, a consulting geologist in the Dallas area, and his Russian-born wife at Mrs. Meller's home. The Oswalds were also introduced to Mrs. Elena Hall, who was born in Tehran, Iran, of Russian parentage. She worked in a dental laboratory and at this time was divorced from her former husband John Hall, whom she subsequently remarried. In order to obtain dental aid for Marina, George Bouhe had brought her to Mrs. Hall's house. In early September, the Oswalds met Alexander Kleinlerer, another member of the Russian group, who was then courting Mrs. Hall. Mrs. Max Clark was introduced to Marina during this period by George Bouhe and Anna Meller. Max Clark met the Oswalds at a later time. At about the same time, they were visited by George De Mohrenschildt, a petroleum engineer born in Russia, who had heard of them from one of the Russian-speaking group. Later on, the Oswalds met his wife, Jeanne, and his daughter and son-in-law, Gary and Alexandra Taylor.

Most of the members of the Russian community were interested in the Oswalds not only because they needed help, but also because they could provide the latest information about what was happening in Russia. Some members of the group were at first apprehensive about them because the apparent

ease with which they had left Russia seemed suspicious. Nevertheless, many of the group provided small amounts of money, groceries, clothing, and furniture for the Oswalds; George Bouhe, Anna Meller, and Elena Hall were the primary contributors, although others provided help in the form of transportation and groceries. These acquaintances occasionally visited the Oswalds, and the Oswalds in turn visited some of them in Dallas.

It was evident that Oswald did not appreciate the help of the Russian community. At least once he flew into a rage and shouted that he did not need any of the things that people were giving to him. Some felt that he resented the gifts because he could not give his wife what the others were providing; he apparently was critical of them also because he felt that they were overly concerned with improving themselves economically.

Oswald became increasingly unpopular with his Russian-speaking acquaintances, partly because of his resentment of their assistance. Alexander Kleinlerer stated that none of them cared for Oswald "because of his political philosophy, his criticism of the United States, his apparent lack of interest in anyone but himself and because of his treatment of Marina." Some of them believed that Oswald was mentally disturbed. However, they felt sorry for Marina and the child and continued to help.

On a weekend afternoon early in October, the Oswalds were visited by his mother and a number of people from the Russian community, including George Bouhe, Anna Meller, the Halls, the De Mohrenschildts, and the Taylors. Oswald had apparently decided to look for a new job, and discussed his lack of job prospects and the fact that his rent was overdue. He was advised to seek employment in the Dallas area. Elena Hall invited Marina to move into her house in Fort Worth until Oswald found a job in Dallas. She accepted the proposal, and Mrs. Hall moved Marina, her daughter June, and the Oswalds' few household goods in a pickup truck belonging to the dental laboratory where she was employed.

Oswald worked at the Leslie Welding Co. on Monday, October 8, but failed to appear on the following day. He was already in Dallas. He falsely told his wife that he had been discharged, and told George Bouhe that the job had been a temporary one. Sometime later, the company received an undated letter from him stating that he had "moved permanently to Dallas," and asking that the wages due him be forwarded to him at box 2915 in Dallas. He did not tell his mother that he was leaving Fort Worth.

While they were in Fort Worth, the Oswalds were having marital problems. Several people noted that Marina had a blackened eye when they visited her at the Mercedes Street apartment. She told her mother-in-law and George Bouhe that her husband had struck her, but said to Anna Meller that she had walked into a door. It seems clear that Oswald had in fact hit her. People observed friction between the Oswalds on various occasions, although their disputes became more apparent later. Marina has written that this was a difficult period for them and that her husband was "very irritable" and sometimes some completely trivial thing would "drive him into a rage."

She testified that:

* * * immediately after coming to the United States Lee changed. I did not know him as such a man in Russia.
* * * He helped me as before, but he became a little more of a recluse * * * He was very irritable, sometimes for a trifle * * *

She has denied, however, that their separation was the result of quarrels between them.

Marina spent the first few weeks after Oswald's departure at Elena Hall's house in Fort Worth, except for a brief stay at Gary Taylor's house in Dallas after one of her appointments at the Baylor Dental Clinic. While she was in Dallas, Mrs. De Mohrenschildt brought her to the clinic on October 8, October 10, and October 15; George Bouhe had given Mrs. De Mohrenschildt the money to cover the expense of Marina's dental care.

Even before Oswald went to Dallas, some of his acquaintances were helping him in his effort to find a job there. George De Mohrenschildt directed him to Samuel B. Ballen, a Dallas financial consultant, but no employment resulted. George Bouhe recommended that Oswald go to the Texas Employment Commission in Dallas; and Anna Meller had her husband ask Mrs. Helen Cunningham, a counselor in the clerical and sales division of the Dallas office of the employment commission, to help Oswald find a job. Oswald first came into the office of the employment commission on October 9. He was reluctant to accept industrial employment, and was placed in the clerical category and turned over to Mrs. Cunningham for counseling. He indicated that he had an interest in writing. The results of general aptitude tests which he had taken at the Fort Worth employment office had been transmitted to the Dallas office, and indicated that he had some aptitude in this direction and for clerical work. It was

noted on his application form that he had "outstanding verbal-clerical potential." He demonstrated ability to perform many skilled and semi-skilled jobs, and there was some indication that he could do college work. Mrs. Cunningham gave him three special tests: for general clerical work, work as an insurance claims examiner, and drafting work. He scored high on all three. His application form indicated that he did not have a driver's license, and noted: "well-groomed and spoken, business suit, alert replies expresses self extremely well." He told Mrs. Cunningham that he hoped to develop qualifications for responsible junior executive employment by a work-study program at a local college but that this must be delayed because of his immediate financial needs and responsibilities.

Mrs. Cunningham concluded that although Oswald would be classified for clerical work, she should try to get him any available job, since he badly needed money. He was referred to an architect for an opening as a messenger but was not hired. On October 11, he was referred to Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall Co., a graphic arts company, in response to a call from John Graef, head of the photographic department of the company, who had told the employment commission that he needed a photoprint trainee. Oswald was enthusiastic about his prospects and apparently made a good impression; Graef picked him over several other applicants. On the following day he began working in his new position as a trainee making prints of advertising material. He worked a 40-hour week at approximately \$1.35 per hour; his take-home pay varied from \$49 to \$74 a week. According to his wife, "he liked his work very much."

Oswald moved into the YMCA on October 15, and stayed there until October 19, paying \$2.25 a night. He had used the Taylors' address and telephone number as a place where he could be reached, but on October 9 had also rented post office box 2915 under his own name at the main post office on Ervay Street. On October 10, he filed a change-of-address form indicating that mail for 2703 Mercedes Street should be forwarded to the box. Marina has written that Oswald wrote her letters and telephoned her during the separation.

On October 16, Mrs. Hall brought Marina and June to Dallas to have June baptized. Marina apparently did this surreptitiously, because her husband opposed baptism; they did not contact him in Dallas, but left birthday gifts for him at the Taylors. Oswald did not appear very disturbed when he found out about the baptism.

Two days later, Mrs. Hall had an automobile accident and went to the hospital, where she remained until October 26; Marina remained in the Hall house. Mrs. Max Clark and Alexander Kleinlerer, a friend of Mrs. Hall, checked up to make sure that she was getting along without too much trouble. After Oswald left the YMCA on October 19, he moved to a room or apartment somewhere in Dallas, which has not been located. It seems likely, however, that during that time he spent several weekends with Marina at the Hall house.

Four days after Mrs. Hall returned from the hospital, she left for New York to visit friends. By the time she returned, Marina had moved to a three-room apartment at 604 Elsbeth Street in Dallas, which Oswald had rented on Saturday, November 3; the landlady stated that he had looked at the apartment about a week before. The monthly rent was \$68, in addition to which he had to pay several dollars a month for utilities. He paid the rent plus a \$5 deposit on November 3, but probably spent that night with Marina at the Hall house. On Sunday the Taylors helped the Oswalds move their belongings to the Elsbeth Street apartment with a rented trailer. Oswald had asked Kleinlerer to help them move, and Kleinlerer also was present when they departed.

Soon after the Oswalds were reunited, their marital difficulties started again. While they were moving to Elsbeth Street, Kleinlerer noticed that Oswald slapped his wife for not having the zipper on her dress completely closed. They argued over his refusal to allow her to smoke. There was a quarrel also when he told the landlady that Marina was from Czechoslovakia; he was angered when Marina, who disapproved of this deception, told the landlady the truth.

Although several people tried to help Marina improve her scanty knowledge of English, Oswald discouraged this, perhaps because he wanted to keep up his Russian. Some witnesses testified that she commented about his sexual abilities. He apparently continued to beat her, and once she suggested to George De Mohrenschildt that she should "get away" from Oswald. When De Mohrenschildt criticized Oswald's conduct, Oswald replied, "It is my business." Marina testified that when they moved into the Elsbeth Street apartment, her husband became "nervous and irritable" and was very angry over "trifles." She said that it was sometimes her fault that he beat her, for example when she wrote to an old boyfriend in Russia that she wished she had married him; the letter was returned for postage due, and Oswald read it.

Because of this quarreling, a few of their acquaintances felt that Marina would be better off alone. George Bouhe offered to help her if she promised to leave Oswald permanently. Finally, in early

November, Marina, helped by the De Mohrenschildts, moved into Anna Meller's house with the intention not to return to Oswald. He was apparently quite upset and did not want Marina to leave him.

Oswald did not visit his wife at Anna Meller's house, and for a short time did not even know where she was. According to Marina, he called her after she moved and they met at De Mohrenschildt's house. He asked her to return home. She insisted that he stop quarreling and that he change his ways. He said that he could not change. Marina would not agree to return home with him and he left. Marina was uncomfortable at the Meller house, where there was very little room. She moved to Katherine Ford's house where she apparently stayed from November 11 to 17. She indicated that she had decided never to return to her husband; it was Mrs. Ford's impression that Marina was going to stay at other people's houses until a permanent place could be found for her. When Mr. Ford returned from a business trip on November 17, Marina and June moved to the home of Mrs. Frank Ray, where they spent the day. Mrs. Ray, the wife of a Dallas advertising man, was also of Russian origin. Since Mrs. Ray had no baby bed, Marina returned to the Fords that evening. On the next day, however, Marina moved her belongings to the Rays' house. That same day, Oswald called and asked to visit his wife, whom he had called and written. Mr. Ray picked him up and took him to Marina.

Marina testified that at this meeting Oswald professed his love for her. She stated: "I saw him cry * * * [he] begged me to come back, asked my forgiveness, and promised that he would try to improve, if only I would come back." On another occasion she said: "* * * he cried and you know a woman's heart went back to him. He said he didn't care to live if I did not return? That same day she decided to return to him. Mr. Ray packed her belongings and took her back to the Elsbeth Street apartment.

Members of the Russian community who had taken care of Marina so that she would not have to live with Oswald felt that their efforts had been in vain. George Bouhe was so irritated that he never again tried to help either of the Oswalds. Contacts between them and members of the Russian community diminished markedly. Oswald did not care for most of these people and made his feelings apparent. Even the De Mohrenschildts, whom he liked most, saw much less of them. Lydia Dymitruk, another Russian born woman in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, testified that she saw the Oswalds on only one occasion, and did not care to see them again. She drove Marina and June, who had a high fever, to the hospital; Oswald told the hospital that he was unemployed in order to avoid paying for June's treatment and later left Mrs. Dymitruk without thanking her. Mrs. Ford testified that Marina had told her that she contemplated suicide during this period because Oswald was treating her badly and she had no friends; she felt that she had "no way out." Marina acknowledged to the Commission that she had such thoughts.

In an effort to renew family ties, Robert Oswald wrote to Lee and John Pic on November 17, inviting them and their families to Thanksgiving dinner. Lee accepted the invitation. He and Marina traveled to Fort Worth by bus on Thanksgiving Day, and John Pic and Robert met them at the station. Pic had not seen his half-brother for 10 years. He observed, as many others have also attested, that Lee seemed to be a good father and to take an active interest in June. After dinner, Marina phoned Paul Gregory, who later drove the Oswalds to his house for sandwiches and then took them to the bus station for the return trip to Dallas. Thereafter, Robert spoke to his brother once by telephone and received a post card and a letter from him, but he eventually lost contact with Lee and did not see him again until after the assassination.

Despite his disillusionment with Soviet life, Oswald kept up his interest in Russia. He wrote to the Soviet Embassy in Washington for information on how to subscribe to Russian periodicals and for "any periodicals or bulletins which you may put out for the benefit of your citizens living, for a time, in the U.S.A." He subsequently subscribed to several Russian journals. In December 1962, the Soviet Embassy received a card in Russian, signed "Marina and Lee Oswald," which conveyed New Year's greetings and wishes for "health, success and all of the best" to the employees at the Embassy. The Oswalds continued to correspond with acquaintances in Russia.

Soon after his return to this country, Oswald had started to correspond with the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the Socialist Workers Party. He subscribed to the Worker in August 1962. He wrote for additional literature from these organizations, and attempted to join the Socialist Workers Party, which, however, had no branch in Texas. He sent samples of his photographic work to the Socialist Workers Party, the Worker, and the Hall-Davis Defense Committee, and offered to aid them in printing and photographic work in connection with posters; these offers were not accepted.

He continued to read a great deal on a variety of subjects. George Bouhe testified that Oswald's fare consisted of books by Marx, Lenin, "and similar things." Marina said that he read books of a historical nature, including H. G. Wells' two volume "Outline of History," and biographies of Hitler, Kennedy, and Khrushchev.

Despite the Oswalds' break with the Russian community, De Mohrenschildt, knowing that they would be alone during the Christmas season, asked the Fords whether he could bring the Oswalds to a party celebrating the Russian Christmas at the Fords' home; the Fords assented. The party was attended by many members of the Russian community. Oswald spoke at length with Yaeko Okui, a Japanese woman who had been brought to the party by Lev Aronson, first cellist of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra; she told Federal investigators that she never saw Oswald again. The Oswalds were not invited to three other Russian Christmas season gatherings which occurred during the next few days.

Marina visited the De Mohrenschildts several times after Christmas. They invited both Lee and Marina to a small dinner party in February 1963; also present were Everett Glover, a chemist employed in Dallas, and his roommate Volkmar Schmidt. On February 22, Glover had a gathering at his house, one of the purposes of which was to permit his friends, many of whom were studying Russian, to meet the Oswalds. They were the objects of much attention. Marina conversed at length with another guest named Ruth Paine, who had recently separated from her husband, Michael Paine, a research engineer at the Bell Helicopter plant in Fort Worth. Mrs. Paine, who was studying Russian, obtained Marina's address and shortly thereafter wrote Marina asking to see her. Marina responded by inviting Mrs. Paine to visit her.

The Oswalds moved out of their Elsbeth Street apartment on March 3, 1963, to an upstairs apartment several blocks away at 214 West Neely Street. Oswald inquired about the apartment in response to a "For Rent" sign; the rent was \$60 per month, not including utilities. They moved without assistance, carrying their belongings in their hands and in a baby stroller. Marina preferred the Neely Street apartment because it had a porch and was, she felt, more suitable for June.

Aware of Oswald's difficulties in obtaining employment, George Bouhe had advised him as early as October 1962 to attend a night school in Dallas. On January 14, Oswald enrolled in a typing course in the night school of Crozier Technical High School, and started attending on January 28. The class ran from 6:15 to 7:15 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesday, and Thursdays. Although Oswald reviewed a typing textbook at home, he attended the course irregularly and stopped going altogether on about March 28.

Ruth Paine and Marina started to exchange visits in March. Mrs. Paine invited the Oswalds for dinner, and on April 20 she took them on a picnic. When Oswald was not present, the two women frequently discussed their respective marital problems, and Marina disclosed to Mrs. Paine that she was pregnant. Marina wrote of these meetings:

One day we were invited to a friend's house, where I met Ruth Paine, who was studying Russian here in America and wanted to improve her conversational knowledge. We began to see each other. Ruth would come to see me with her children. This was very good for both me and for June. She was growing up alone and becoming terribly wild, so the company of other children was good for her. Sometimes we went out on picnics at a nearby lake. Lee loved to fish, and we would look and rejoice if he caught a little fish. Several times we went to visit Ruth who lived in Irving.

Using the name of A. J. Hidell, Oswald had ordered a Smith & Wesson .38 revolver from Los Angeles on a form which he dated January 27. On March 12, he ordered a rifle from Klein's Sporting Goods in Chicago under the name of A. Hidell. Oswald used the name "Alek James Hidell" on identification cards which he probably produced at Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall. One of his fellow employees taught him various photographic techniques, which he could have used to prepare not only these cards, but also the samples of his work which he sent to various organizations.

Both weapons were shipped on March 20. Oswald kept the rifle in a small storeroom at the Neely Street apartment. He spent long periods of time in the storeroom, which he told Marina she was not to enter. He told her that he intended to use the rifle for hunting and that he practiced with it. She saw him leave with it once, and clean it several times.

He also posed for two pictures, taken by Marina in the backyard of the Neely apartment, in which he held his rifle and copies of the Worker and the Militant and the revolver was strapped to his belt. He gave one of the pictures to his wife and asked her to keep it for June.

Over the weekend of March 9-10, Oswald photographed the alley which runs behind the home of Gen. Edwin Walker, and probably at about the same time he photographed the rear of Walker's home and a nearby railroad track and right-of-way. He prepared and studied a notebook in which he outlined a plan to shoot General Walker, and he looked at bus schedules. He went to the Walker residence on the evening of April 6 or 7, planning to make his attack. However, he changed his plans, hid his rifle nearby, and determined to act on the following Wednesday, April 10, when a nearby church was planning a meeting which, Oswald reasoned, would create a diversion that would help him escape. On Wednesday, Oswald left a note for Marina telling her what to do if he were apprehended. He retrieved

his rifle and fired at Walker, but the bullet narrowly missed Walker's head. Oswald secreted his rifle again and took the bus home.

When Oswald told Marina what he had done, she became angry and made him promise never to repeat such an act. She testified that she kept his letter, intending to give it to the authorities if he repeated his attempt. He told Marina that he was sorry he had missed Walker and said that the shooting of Walker would have been analogous to an assassination of Hitler. Several days later, the De Mohrenschildts visited the Oswalds, bringing an Easter present for June. During the visit, Jeanne De Mohrenschildt saw the rifle and told her husband about it. Without any knowledge of the truth, De Mohrenschildt jokingly intimated that Oswald was the one who had shot at Walker. Oswald apparently concluded that Marina had told De Mohrenschildt of his role in the attempt and was visibly shaken.

On April 6, Oswald was dropped by Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall because, in his supervisor's opinion, he could not do the work, although he was trying; in addition, he did not get along with his fellow employees. The fact that he brought a Russian newspaper to work may also have been of some significance. Marina testified that her husband, who had always worried about his job security at Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall, was quite upset by the loss of his job since he had liked the work.

Oswald again resorted to the Texas Employment Commission. On April 8, he informed the Commission that he was seeking employment but was referred to no employers. He stated that he had been laid off at Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall due to lack of work." On April 12, he made a claim for unemployment benefits; 4 days later the commission mailed him a determination disapproving his claim because of insufficient wage credits.

For a while after the Oswalds moved into the Neely Street apartment they got along well, but they soon began to quarrel. Oswald was apparently still preventing Marina from learning English, and there is some indication that he continued to beat her. Since February, he had been urging her to return to Russia. Marina wrote several letters to the Russian Embassy requesting a visa to return to Russia.; she testified, however, that Oswald forced her to write them, and that she never wanted to return to Russia.

When Ruth Paine visited the Oswalds at their apartment on April 24, she was surprised to learn that Oswald was packed and ready to leave for New Orleans by bus. He explained that he had been unable to find employment in or around Dallas, and that Marina had suggested that he go to New Orleans since he had been born there. Marina has testified that the real reason behind her suggestion was that she wanted to get him out of town because of the Walker incident.

Mrs. Paine offered to drive Marina to New Orleans at a later date, and also to have Marina and June stay with her rather than at the apartment in the meantime. Oswald helped the women pack Mrs. Paine's car, and the two women moved everything from the Neely Street apartment to the Paine house in Irving.

When he arrived at the bus station in New Orleans, Oswald telephoned his aunt, Lillian Murret, to ask if he could stay at her home at 757 French Street while he looked for employment. She had been unaware that he had returned from Russia or that he was married and had a child and was surprised to hear from him. She said that she did not have room to accommodate three guests, but that since he was alone he was welcome.

Oswald had been born in New Orleans, and on his return showed great interest in finding out what had happened to the other members of his father's family. He visited the cemetery where his father was buried and called all the Oswalds in the telephone book. By this method he located one relative, Mrs. Hazel Oswald of Metairie, La., the widow of William Stout Oswald, his father's brother. He visited her at her home; she gave him a picture of his father and told him that as far as she knew the rest of the family was dead.

On April 26, Oswald began his search for employment. He went to the employment office of the Louisiana Department of Labor and stated that he was qualified as a commercial photographer, shipping clerk, or "darkroom man." The interviewer noted on Oswald's application card: "Will travel on limited basis. Will relocate. Min. \$1.25 hr. Neat. Suit. Tie. Polite." Although the employment commission made a few referrals, Oswald relied primarily upon newspaper advertisements, and applied for a number of positions. Mrs. Murret testified that he would spend the day job hunting, return to her home for supper, watch television, and go to bed.

On April 29, he filed a request for reconsideration of the employment commission's disapproval of his unemployment compensation claim. His complaint that he had not been credited for his employment at Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall was ruled valid on May 8, and he was granted maximum benefits of \$369, payable at the rate of \$33 per week. He filed interstate claims on May 7 and 15, and received \$33 in

response to the latter; the former claim was filed before the expiration of the prescribed waiting period. Not only had Oswald in fact been working since May 10, but he included on his claim sheet, as concerns with which he had sought work, fictitious employers and employers whom he apparently had not contacted.

Oswald wrote to Marina: "All is well. I am living with Aunt Lillian. She has very kindly taken us in. I am now looking for work. When I find it I will write you." And on May 3, he wrote to Marina and Ruth Paine: "Girls, I still have not found work, but receive money from the unemployment office in the amount 15 to 20 dollars. They were mistaken in the Dallas office when they refused, but I straightened everything out. Uncle 'Dyes' offered me a loan of \$200.00 if needed. Great, eh?!" On May 9, responding to a newspaper advertisement, Oswald completed an application for employment with William B. Reily Co., Inc., at 640 Magazine Street, an enterprise engaged in the roasting, grinding, canning, bagging, and sale of coffee. On his application form, Oswald listed as references in addition to John Murret, "Sgt. Robert Hidell" and "Lieut. J. Evans," both apparently fictitious names. His application was approved and he began work on May 10, at the rate of \$1.50 per hour. His task was the lubrication of the company's machinery. Oswald did not enjoy this work, and told his wife and Mrs. Paine that he was working in commercial photography.

Also on May 9, Oswald obtained an apartment at 4905 Magazine Street with the help of Myrtle Evans, who had known him when he was a child. The rent was \$65 a month. Oswald moved in on May 10, after telephoning Marina on the ninth and asking her to come to New Orleans. Ruth Paine testified that the invitation dated: "Papa nas lubet""Daddy loves us," she repeated again and again. Mrs. Paine drove Marina and June to New Orleans; they left Dallas on May 10, spent the night in Shreveport, and arrived on the 11th. Mrs. Paine stayed with the Oswalds for 8 days; the three of them, with June and Mrs. Paine's children, toured the French Quarter. On May 14, Mrs. Paine left New Orleans to return to her home.

The Murrets and the Oswalds exchanged visits from time to time; Marina testified that the Murrets were very good to them. Mrs. Murret's daughter, Marilyn, took the Oswalds on an outing. But, according to Marina's testimony, aside from Ruth Paine and Ruth Kloepfer and her daughters, the Murrets were the only social visitors the Oswalds had.

Ruth Kloepfer was a clerk of the Quaker Meeting in New Orleans whom Ruth Paine had written in the hope that she might know some Russian-speaking people who could visit Marina. Mrs. Kloepfer herself visited the Oswalds but made no attempt to direct any Russian-speaking people to them.

On July 19, Oswald was dismissed by Reily because of inefficiency and inattention to his work. He had spent many of his working hours next door at the Crescent City Garage, where he read gun magazines and discussed guns with one of the owners, Adrian Alba. On the following Monday, July 22, Oswald again visited the Louisiana employment office to seek new employment and file a claim for unemployment compensation. Thereafter, he collected unemployment compensation weekly and, although apparently making some effort to obtain another job, again listed a number of fictitious job applications on his unemployment compensation claim forms. He soon gave up his search for employment, and began to spend his days at home reading. He received another setback on July 25, when he was notified that in response to the request for review which he had made in 1962, his undesirable discharge from the Marine Corps had been affirmed.

During this period, Oswald began to evidence thoughts of returning to the Soviet Union or going to Cuba. On June 24 he applied for a new passport., which he received on the following day. Apparently at Oswald's request, Marina wrote to the Russian Embassy, expressing a desire to return to Russia and indicating that she would be accompanied by her husband. She explained that she wanted to return because of family problems, including the impending birth of her second child. Accompanying her letter was a letter written by Oswald dated July 1, in which he asked the Embassy to rush an entrance visa for his wife and requested that his visa be considered separately. Marina believed that Oswald was really planning to go only to Cuba. She testified that "his basic desire was to get to Cuba by any means, and that all the rest of it was window dressing for that purpose."

During the early days of the New Orleans period, the Oswalds' marriage was more harmonious than it had been previously. Marina wrote:

* * * our family life in New Orleans was more peaceful. Lee took great satisfaction in showing me the city where he was born. We often went to the beach, the zoo, and the park. Lee liked to go and hunt crabs. It is true, that he was not very pleased with his job * * * We did not have very much money, and the birth of a new child involved new expenses * * * As before, Lee spent a great deal of time reading.

Marina testified, however, that after they had been in New Orleans for a while, Oswald became

depressed and that she once found him alone in the dark crying. She wrote to Ruth Paine that his "love" had ceased soon after Mrs. Paine had left New Orleans. Mrs. Paine testified, however, that she had noticed friction between the Oswalds before she left. On July 11, Mrs. Paine wrote Marina that if Oswald did not wish to live with her any more and preferred that she return to the Soviet Union, she could live at the Paines' house. Although Mrs. Paine had long entertained this idea, this was the first time she explicitly made the invitation. She renewed the invitation on July 12, and again on July 14; she attempted to overcome any feeling which Marina might have that she would be a burden by stating that Marina could help with the housework and help her learn Russian, and that she would also provide a tax advantage.

Marina replied that she had previously raised the subject of a separation and that it had led to arguments. She stated that she was happy and that for a considerable period of time Oswald had been good to her. She attributed this improved attitude to the fact that he was anticipating their second child. Marina turned down Mrs. Paine's invitation but said that she would take advantage of it if things became worse. Mrs. Paine replied that she was taking a trip north to visit her parents and would visit Marina in New Orleans about September 18. She also suggested that Marina come to her house for the birth of the baby.

On July 6, Eugene Murret, a cousin of Oswald who was studying to be a Jesuit Priest in Mobile, Ala., wrote and asked if Oswald could come to Mobile and speak at the Jesuit House of Studies about "contemporary Russia and the practice of Communism there." Oswald accepted, and on July 27 he and his family, joined by some of the Murrets, traveled to Mobile; Charles Murret paid the expenses. Oswald spoke concerning his observations in Russia and conducted a question and answer period; he impressed his listeners as articulate. He indicated that he had become disillusioned during his stay in Russia, and that in his opinion the best political system would be one which combined the best points of capitalism and communism. While he left his listeners with the impression that he was an atheist, he avoided a direct discussion of religion. The group returned to New Orleans on July 28.

In late May and early June, Oswald had apparently begun to formulate plans for creating a New Orleans branch of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Using the name "Lee Osborne" he ordered a number of printed circulars demanding "Hands off Cuba" in large letters, and application forms and membership cards for the proposed chapter. On August 5, he visited a store managed by Carlos Bringuier, a Cuban refugee and avid opponent of Castro and the New Orleans delegate of the Cuban student directorate. Oswald indicated an interest in joining the struggle against Castro. He told Bringuier that he had been a marine and was trained in guerrilla warfare, and that he was willing not only to train Cubans to fight Castro but also to join the fight himself. The next day Oswald returned to the store and left his "Guidebook for Marines" for Bringuier.

On August 9, Bringuier saw Oswald passing out Fair Play for Cuba leaflets. Bringuier and his companions became angry and a dispute resulted. Oswald and the three Cuban exiles were arrested for disturbing the peace. Oswald spent the night in jail and was interviewed the next day by a lieutenant of the New Orleans Police Department. At Oswald's request, an FBI agent also interviewed him. Oswald maintained that he was a member of the New Orleans branch of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee which, he claimed, had 35 members. He stated also that he had been in touch with the president of that organization, A. J. Hidell. Oswald was in fact the only member of the "New Orleans branch," which had never been chartered by the National Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Later that day Oswald was released on bail, and 2 days later he pleaded guilty to the charges against him and paid a \$10 fine. The charges against the Cuban exiles were dismissed. Marina testified that the arrest upset Lee and that he "became less active, he cooled off a little" after it.

On August 16, Oswald, assisted by at least one other person who was a hired helper, again passed out Fair Play for Cuba literature, this time in front of the International Trade Mart. That night, television newscasts ran pictures of Oswald's activities. (This hindered Oswald's subsequent attempts to obtain employment in New Orleans.) Bringuier sent one of his friends to Oswald's home to pose as a Castro sympathizer and attempt to obtain information about Oswald, but Oswald apparently saw through the ruse.

William Stuckey, a radio broadcaster with a program called "Latin Listening Post," had long been looking for a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee to appear on his program. He learned about Oswald from Bringuier, and visited Oswald on August 17. Later that day, Stuckey recorded an interview with Oswald which was cut to about 5 minutes and played back on the show that evening. Two days later, Stuckey asked the news director of the station if he could run the entire tape, but the director felt that a debate with a local opponent of Castro would be of greater public interest. Consequently, Stuckey arranged for a debate between Oswald and Bringuier on a 25-minute daily public affairs program called

"Conversation Carte Blanche," which took place on August 21. Oswald defended the Castro regime and discussed Marxism. He was put on the defensive when his defection to Russia was brought up, and Stuckey later testified that he thought that the program had finished the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New Orleans. However, Stuckey also testified that Oswald seemed to be a clean-cut and intelligent person who conducted himself very well during the interviews and debates.

Oswald wrote several times to V. T. Lee, then national director of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, telling him, sometimes in exaggerated terms, of his activities. He wrote also to the Communist Party and asked whether, in view of his prior defection, he should "continue to fight, handicapped as it were, by * * * [his] past record, [and] compete with anti- progressive forces, above-ground or * * should always remain in the background, i.e., underground." The Party replied that "often it is advisable for some people to remain in the background, not underground." And although Oswald wrote four letters to V. T. Lee during the summer, there is no evidence that Oswald heard from him after May 29.

Ruth Paine arrived in New Orleans on September 20, and spent three nights with the Oswalds. During this stay, Mrs. Paine found relations between them much improved. Nonetheless, it was decided that Marina would go back with her to Irving for the birth of the baby. Marina and Mrs. Paine toured Bourbon Street while Oswald stayed home and did some packing for Marina's return to Texas. On Sunday, September 22, Oswald and Mrs. Paine finished loading the station wagon with the Oswalds' household belongings.

Warren Report: Appendix XIII - Mexico City

Marina Oswald testified that sometime in August her husband first told her of his plan to go to Mexico and from there to Cuba, where he planned to stay; he had given up a plan to hijack an airplane and fly directly to Cuba, which plan Marina consistently opposed. On September 17, he obtained from the Mexican consulate general in New Orleans a "Tourist Card," FM-8 No. 24085, good for one journey into Mexico for no longer than 15 days. Typed in the blank, "Appellidos y nombre" was "Lee, Harvey Oswald," "Fotografo"; the intended destination was shown as Mexico City. (The comma between "Lee" and "Harvey" seems to have been an error.) On the application Oswald stated that he was employed at "640 Rampart"; he was in fact unemployed. (See Commission Exhibits Nos. 2478, 2481, p. 300.) Marina and June departed with Mrs. Ruth Paine for Irving on the morning of September 23. Before she left, Oswald told Marina that she should not tell anyone about his impending trip to Mexico. Marina kept this secret until after the assassination. On the previous day, Oswald's landlord had seen Mrs. Paine's car being packed and had asked Oswald whose rent was about 15 days overdue, whether he was leaving. Oswald told him that Marina was leaving temporarily but that he would remain. A neighbor testified that on the evening of September 24, he saw Oswald, carrying two pieces of luggage, hurriedly leave the Magazine Street apartment and board a bus. Though uncertain of the exact date, a city bus driver recalls that at the same time of day and at the same location he picked up a man who was carrying two suitcases of different sizes and helped him place them so that they would not disturb the other passengers. The driver remembers that the man asked directions to the Greyhound bus station. He discharged the passenger at an intersection where he could board a Canal Street car and transfer to another bus which would go past the Greyhound and Continental Trailways stations. The landlord found Oswald's apartment vacant on September 25.

Oswald appears to have taken with him a Spanish-English dictionary; his address book; his 1963 passport and old passport; his correspondence with the Communist Party and with the Soviet Embassy in Washington, some of which was in Russian; proof of his marriage; newspaper clippings concerning his arrest and his interest in the activities of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (activities which, Marina testified, he had undertaken-because he thought that they would help him when he got to Cuba); evidence that he was the "Director" of the New Orleans chapter of the Committee; and various other cards, such as a work card, which he had obtained in Russia. He took also several sheets of note paper on which he had written a summary of important events in his life which he presumably intended to call to the attention of Cuban and Soviet officials in Mexico City to convince them to let him enter Cuba.

On these sheets he had recorded facts about his Marine service, including the dates of his enlistment and discharge, the places where he had served, and the diplomas that he had received from military school. Recorded also were notes on his stay in the Soviet Union, his early interest in Communist literature, his ability to speak Russian, his organization of the New Orleans chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, his contact with police authorities in connection with his work for the Committee, and his experience in "street agitation," as a "radio speaker and lecturer," and as a photographer. The two pieces of luggage which Oswald took with him were a small, blue, zipper bag and a large, olive-colored bag, both made of cloth. He carried the smaller bag with him throughout the trip, but, at least from Nuevo Laredo to Mexico City, checked the larger one through to his destination.

Oswald remained in New Orleans until September 25. His precise whereabouts on the night of September 24 are uncertain, but in view of his limited finances, he probably returned to the apartment to sleep after checking his luggage at a bus station or spent the night at an inexpensive hotel or rooming house. Some time after 5 a.m. on September 25, he collected a Texas unemployment compensation check for \$33 at his New Orleans post office box. He cashed the check between 8 a.m. and noon at a store about six blocks from his apartment on Magazine Street. This gave him about \$200 for the trip to Mexico.

He left New Orleans by bus, probably on Continental Trailways Bus No. 5121, departing New Orleans at 12:20 p.m. on September 25, and scheduled to arrive in Houston at 10:50 p.m.; that bus is the only one on which Oswald could have left New Orleans after noon on September 25 and arrived in Houston before midnight. Sometime in the evening he called the home of Horace Elroy Twiford, a member of the Socialist Labor Party who had received Oswald's name from the party's headquarters in New York and sent him a copy of its official publication, the "Weekly People."

Mrs. Twiford, who answered the telephone, believes that the call was made locally, before 10 p.m. It may have been made from Beaumont or some other stop on the route; however, in view of the bus schedule, it probably was made in Houston later than Mrs. Twiford remembered. Oswald told Mrs. Twiford that he was a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and that he hoped to see her

husband for a few hours that evening before he flew to Mexico. He wanted also to find out how Twiford had obtained his name and address. Mrs. Twiford told Oswald that her husband, a merchant seaman, was at sea but would be happy to see him at some other time; she offered to take a message. Oswald said that he could not await her husband's return because he was flying to Mexico. The Twifords have stated that they had no other contact with Oswald.

An employee of the U.S. Selective Service System has stated that an individual calling himself "Harvey Oswald" appeared at her office in Austin, Tex., immediately after lunch on September 25, and discussed with her the possibility of rectifying his undesirable discharge from the Marine Corps. Despite the employee's reputability and apparent sincerity, all of the information which she furnished with respect to Oswald's appearance and conversation could have been derived from news media, consciously or unconsciously, by the time she told the FBI her story. Other persons in Austin who, according to the employee's testimony, should also have observed Oswald failed to corroborate her testimony. No other evidence tending to show that Oswald was in Austin at this time has been discovered.

The telephone call which Oswald made to the Twifords on the evening of September 25, indicates that he was either in Houston or on his way there when he made it, since the purpose of the call was to make an appointment to see Twiford in Houston that evening. Oswald could not have left New Orleans on September 25, been in Austin 521 miles away by early afternoon, and returned 162 miles to Houston by night unless he traveled by air; airline records contain no indication that Oswald was on such flights. It is very unlikely that he had with him enough money beyond what he needed for the trip to Mexico City to take such flights, and the poor state of his finances at this time plus his well-established frugality make it extremely unlikely that he would have considered it worthwhile to do so even if he could. There is no evidence that Oswald was in such a hurry to reach Mexico that he would have felt it necessary to travel by airplane rather than a less expensive means of travel. He took a bus from Houston to Mexico City, lived very inexpensively there, and took a bus back to Dallas; there is no apparent reason why he would have interrupted such an inexpensive trip to fly to Austin and then to Houston. He told a passenger whom he met on the next leg of his trip that he had come from New Orleans, and made no reference to Austin.

On September 26, Oswald boarded Continental Trailways bus No. 5133 in Houston and departed at 2:35 a.m. for Laredo, Tex., via Corpus Christi and Alice. Two British tourists, Dr. and Mrs. John B. McFarland, who boarded No. 5133 in Houston, noticed Oswald when they awoke at about 6 a.m. Oswald told them that he was going to Cuba via Mexico City, and they inferred from conversation with him that he had left New Orleans early in the afternoon of September 25 and that he was going to Cuba via Mexico City. He said also that he was secretary of the New Orleans branch of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and that he hoped to see Fidel Castro in Cuba. The bus was scheduled to arrive in Laredo at approximately 1:20 p.m. Oswald crossed the border from Laredo to Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, between 1:30 and 2 p.m. From Nuevo Laredo, he traveled to Mexico City aboard bus No. 516 of the Flecha Roja Bus Line, which departed at 2:15 p.m. and was scheduled to arrive in Mexico City at 9:45 a.m. on the following day; he held baggage claim check No. 320435. He was seen on the bus by the McFarlands and by two Australian girls who boarded the bus on the evening of September 26 at Monterrey. He occupied the seat next to an elderly Englishman, who told the girls that the young man sitting next to him apparently had been to Mexico before. The man next to Oswald was probably Albert Osborne, a native of the British Isles who has worked as an itinerant preacher in the Southern United States and Mexico for many years. Osborne denied that he sat beside Oswald; but in view of his inconsistent and untrue responses to Federal investigators concerning matters not directly related to Oswald, the Commission believes that his denial cannot be credited. It appeared to the other passengers on the bus that Osborne and Oswald had not previously met; extensive investigation has revealed no other contact between them.

In the course of the 20-hour bus trip, Oswald initiated two conversations with the Australian girls, during which he mentioned his visit to Russia and recommended the Hotel Cuba in Mexico City as a "clean and cheap" hotel; he told them, apparently falsely, that he had stayed there on previous occasions. He said that when he had seen them board the bus with their heavy suitcases, he had been under the impression that they were Mexican and had therefore asked the man next to him how to say "How can I help you?" in Spanish. From this they inferred that Oswald did not speak Spanish, an impression which is shared by every witness who met Oswald on his trip and is supported by notations which he made on documents that he carried. He got off the bus at every stop and ate large meals, always eating by himself; the girls thought he ate so much because he could not make himself understood in Spanish and had to order by pointing at the menu. The bus arrived in Mexico City 15 minutes late, at 10 a.m. Oswald left the bus station by himself and had no known further contact with any of the people with whom he had spoken on the bus.

Oswald registered at the Hotel del Comercio within an hour of his arrival in Mexico City. He stayed there throughout his visit. The hotel, located not far from the commercial heart of the city and within four blocks of the bus station, is one of a group of hotels located near the intercity bus terminals and has perhaps the best appearance of the group. It is known by personnel in other hotels that the owner of the Hotel del Comercio can understand and speak a little English. Oswald registered as "Lee, Harvey Oswald," and gave his occupation as "photo." He had room 18 which cost \$1 per day.

After he had registered, Oswald turned promptly to the task of obtaining permission to enter Cuba. Mexican officials would not permit a U.S. citizen without a Cuban visa to board a plane for Cuba even if he had an American passport, but would permit passage if he had a visa even though the passport proscribed travel to Cuba. Oswald had a 1963 American passport (stamped invalid for travel to Cuba) but had neither a regular Cuban visa nor an intransit visa which would permit a short stay in Cuba on his way to Russia or some other country. His address book contained the telephone number and address of a Cuban airline, but there is evidence that he never visited its office.

He visited the Cuban Embassy on Friday, September 27 and spoke with Senora Silvia Tirado de Duran, a Mexican citizen employed there. Senora Duran later made a signed statement to the Mexican police that Oswald:

* * * applied for a visa to Cuba in transit to Russia and based his application on his presentation of his passport in which it was recorded that, he had been living in the latter country for a period of three years, his work permit from that same country written in the Russian language and letters in the same language, as well as proof of his being married to a woman of Russian nationality and being the apparent Director in the city of New Orleans of the organization called "Fair Play for Cuba" with the desire that he should be accepted as a "friend" of the Cuban Revolution * * *

He apparently also stated that he was a member of the Communist Party and displayed documents which he claimed to be evidence of his membership. He said that he intended to go to Cuba on September 30 and to remain there for 2 weeks, or longer if possible, and then go on to Russia. Senora Duran took down the relevant date and filled out the appropriate application. Oswald left the Embassy but was to return in the afternoon.

Then, or possibly even before his initial visit to the Cuban Embassy Oswald went to the Soviet Embassy where he spoke with either Pavel Antonovich Yatskov or Valeriy Vladimirovich Kostikov. They are both consular officials serving also as agents of the KGB. Oswald later said that he had dealt with "Kostin," undoubtedly a reference to Kostikov. He was unable to obtain a Soviet visa then. Marina said that the officials at the Soviet Embassy "refused to have anything to do with him."

Oswald returned to the Cuban Embassy later that afternoon, this time bringing with him passport photographs which he may have obtained in the United States. Senora Duran telephoned the Soviet Embassy to inquire about the status of Oswald's Russian visa and was told that there would be a delay of about 4 months. Oswald became "highly agitated and angry," particularly when he learned that he could not obtain an intransit visa to Cuba before he acquired a Russian visa. Senora Duran called the Cuban consul, then Eusibio Azque, to speak to him. The discussion between Oswald and Azque developed into a heated argument, which ended when Azque told Oswald that in his opinion people like Oswald were harming the Cuban Revolution and that so far as Azque was concerned, he would not give Oswald a visa. Senora Duran wrote her name and the phone number of the Embassy on a piece of paper which she gave to Oswald in case he wished to contact her again. He copied this information into his address book. Senora Duran forwarded the Cuban visa application to Havana; the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs replied on October 15 that the visa could be issued only after Oswald had obtained a Russian visa. (See Commission Exhibit, No. 2564, p. 303.) Oswald contacted the Russian and Cuba Embassies again during his stay in Mexico. He had no greater success than he had before. Marina testified that when he returned to Texas, he was convinced that his trip had been a failure and disappointed at having been unable to go to Cuba. A month later, in a painstakingly composed letter to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, Oswald ascribed his failure to "a gross breach of regulations" on the part of the Cuban Embassy. "Of course," he wrote, "the Soviet Embassy was not at fault, they were, as I say unprepared."

The hotel maid said that Oswald generally was gone by the time she arrived at 9 a.m. The night watchman said he usually returned at about midnight, which is not unusual, in view of the late hour at which Mexico City's evening activities begin. He ate several lunches at a small restaurant immediately adjacent to the hotel, coming to the restaurant shortly after 2 p.m., and ordering food by pointing to the menu, apparently with some consideration of cost; he spent between 40 and 48 cents for each meal. He ate the soup of the day, rice, and either meat or eggs, but refused dessert and coffee; the waitress

concluded that Oswald did not realize that the items which he refused were included in the price of the lunch. He was seen with no other person either at his hotel or at the restaurant. A hotel guest stated that on one occasion he sat down at a table with Oswald because there was no empty table in the restaurant, but that neither spoke to the other because of the language barrier.

Although the Soviet and Cuban Embassies are within two blocks of each other, they are some distance from Oswald's hotel. He must, therefore, have traversed a substantial portion of the city on more than one occasion. Marina testified that he told her that he had seen a bullfight, which would normally have been on Sunday afternoon, and that he had visited museums and done some sightseeing. He apparently also saw one or more motion pictures, either American with Spanish subtitles or Mexican with English subtitles. From notations in his Spanish-English dictionary and on his guide map of Mexico City, it appears that Oswald intended to attend a jai alai game but he almost certainly did not do so.

He purchased several postcards depicting bullfights and tourist attraction's, which he brought back to Marina. She had told him before he left that she would like Mexican silver bracelets as a souvenir, and he brought her a silver bracelet inscribed with her name. Marina suspected, almost certainly correctly, that the bracelet, of Japanese origin, did not come from Mexico. No such jewelry is known to be sold in or around Mexico City, because of a high duty but the bracelet is of a type commonly sold in 5-and-10-cent stores in Dallas. Oswald did not buy the Mexican phonograph records which Marina had requested, despite the notation, "records," which he had placed in his dictionary.

On Monday, September 30, Oswald began to prepare for his return to the United States. He appeared at the Agencia de Viages, Transportes Chihuahuenses, and purchased international exchange orders costing \$20.30 for travel on a Transportes del Norte bus from Mexico City to Laredo and by Greyhound bus directly from Laredo to Dallas. The travel agency made a reservation for him on Transportes del Norte bus No. 332, departing Mexico City at 8:30 a.m. on October 2. The seat, No. 12, was reserved in the name of the travel agency, which recorded the reservation in the name of "H. O. Lee." The employee who made the reservation testified that he probably wrote the name that way because he was copying from Oswald's tourist card, which read "Lee, Harvey Oswald." (The manifest for Transportes Frontera bus No. 340, leaving Mexico City for Monterrey and Nuevo Laredo at 1 p.m. on Wednesday, October 2, 1963, contains the name "Oswld" [sic], which apparently was added to the manifest after the trip; in any event, Oswald did not take bus 340.) On October 1, Oswald paid his hotel bill through that night. The hotel night watchman remembers helping Oswald obtain a taxicab at about 6:30 or 7 on the following morning. Transportes del Norte bus No. 332 left as scheduled at about 8:30 a.m.; at Monterrey the passengers were shifted to a relief bus, No. 373, scheduled to depart for Laredo at 10 p.m. that evening. Fellow passengers recall that Oswald was pulled off the bus by Mexican officials at the border, because of some alleged irregularity in his Mexican tourist papers; one passenger overheard him mumbling complaints about the Mexican immigration officials when he returned to the bus. They remember also that Oswald was hurriedly "gulping" down a banana after the bus reached customs, perhaps because he believed that he could not take fruit into the United States. (Marina has testified that her husband liked bananas and frequently ate them.) One of the passengers testified that Oswald annoyed him by keeping his overhead light on to read after 10 p.m. He may have conversed with an elderly woman on the bus, but he was not traveling with her.

At about 1:35 a.m. on October 3, Oswald crossed the International Bridge from Nuevo Laredo into Texas. He traveled from Laredo to Dallas via San Antonio, on Greyhound bus No. 1265, substantially following Interstate Route 35 for the entire trip leaving Laredo at 3 a.m. and arriving in Dallas at about 2:20 p.m. on the same day.

Warren Report: Appendix XIII - Dallas

Oswald did not contact his wife immediately when he returned to Dallas. He went to the office of the employment commission, where he filed an unemployment compensation claim and announced that he was again looking for work. He spent the night at the YMCA, where he registered as a serviceman in order to avoid paying the membership fee. On the following day, he applied for a job as a typesetter trainee at the Padgett Printing Co. He made a favorable impression on the department foreman, but the plant superintendent called Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall and decided not to hire Oswald because of the unfavorable responses which his inquiries produced. Later that day, Oswald telephoned Marina and asked her to have Mrs. Paine pick him up in Dallas. Marina refused, and he hitchhiked out to the Paine home, where he spent part or all of the weekend. Marina testified that although her husband "changed for the better" and treated her better after his Mexican trip, she did not want to live with him because she was pregnant and thought it would be better "to be with a woman who spoke English and Russian." On Monday, October 7, Mrs. Paine drove Oswald to the bus station, and he returned to Dallas to look for a job and a place to live.

Oswald thought that the YMCA was too expensive for him, and intended to rent a room. He inquired about a room at North Beckley, where he lived later, but on October 7 there were no vacancies. He next responded to a "For Rent" sign at a rooming house at 621 Marsalis Street. He obtained a room, for which he paid the weekly rent of \$7 in advance, and moved in on the same day. He immediately resumed his job-hunting, relying partially on referrals by the employment commission. He spent much of the time when he was not looking for work in his room. He telephoned his wife daily. She wrote: "Lee called twice a day, was worried about my health and about June." On Friday, Oswald told his landlady, Mrs. Mary Bledsoe, that he was going to Irving for the weekend but would return the following week. She refused to rent the room to him for another week because she didn't like him.

Oswald spent the weekend of October 12-13 at Mrs. Paine's home, during which time she gave him a driving lesson. He told her that he had received the last of the unemployment checks due him, and that it had been smaller than the previous ones. Mrs. Paine testified that Oswald was extremely discouraged because his wife was expecting a baby, he had no job prospects in sight, and he no longer had any source of income.

On Monday, Mrs. Paine drove Oswald into Dallas, since she had other business there. He picked up his bag from Mrs. Bledsoe's rooming house and later that day rented a room at North Beckley Avenue from Mrs. A. C. Johnson for \$8 a week. He registered as O. H. Lee and moved in immediately. Oswald felt that this room was more comfortable than the previous one, particularly because he had television and refrigerator privileges. He apparently continued to spend most of his evenings in his room. He borrowed books from the library and had subscriptions to various periodicals, including Time, the Worker, the Militant, and some Russian periodicals.

On that Monday, Mrs. Paine mentioned the Oswalds' financial and employment problems to neighbors whom she was visiting. Mrs. Linnie Mac Randle, who was also present, remarked that she thought that her younger brother, Buell Wesley Frazier, who worked at the Texas School Book Depository, had said that there was a job opening there. When Marina heard of this, she asked Mrs. Paine to call the Depository to see if there was an opening. Mrs. Paine called Roy S. Truly, superintendent of the Depository, who indicated that he would talk to Oswald if he would apply in person. When Oswald telephoned the Paine house on Monday evening, Mrs. Paine told him about this possibility. On the next day, Oswald was interviewed by Truly and hired in a temporary capacity. He began work on Wednesday, October 16. His duties were to fill book orders; his hours were 8 a.m. to 4:45 p.m., for which he received \$1.25 an hour.

Both the Oswalds were elated with the new job, although it apparently required little skill or experience and he indicated that he still hoped to obtain a better job. He did a satisfactory job at the Depository, but he kept to himself and very few of his fellow employees got to know him.

During his first week at work, Oswald became acquainted with Frazier, with whom he arranged to ride to Irving on weekends. On Friday, October 18, Frazier drove him from work to the Paine home; since it was his birthday, Marina and Ruth Paine had arranged a small celebration. On Sunday, he stayed with June and the Paine children, while Mrs. Paine drove Marina to Parkland Hospital where she gave birth to a second daughter, Rachel. He went to work on Monday, but that evening visited Marina in the hospital and spent the night in Irving. Marina wrote:

Monday evening Lee visited me in the hospital. He was very happy at the birth of another daughter and even wept a little. He said that two daughters were better for each other two sisters. He stayed with me about two hours.

Oswald returned to Dallas the next morning. Oswald wrote to Arnold Johnson of the Communist Party, U.S.A., that on the evening of October 23, he had attended an "ultra right" meeting headed by Gen. Edwin A. Walker. Two evenings later, he accompanied Michael Paine to a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union, held at Southern Methodist University. At this meeting, a statement was made to the effect that members of the John Birch Society should not be considered anti-Semitic; Oswald rose and stated that at the meeting which he had attended 2 days earlier, he had heard a number of anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic statements. Later in the evening, Oswald became involved in a discussion with several people, including Frank Krystinik, who was employed with Paine at the Bell Helicopter plant. During this conversation, Oswald expressed Marxist views and declared that he was a Marxist, although denying that he was a Communist. He admitted that the United States was superior to the Soviet Union in the area of civil liberties and praised President Kennedy for his work in that connection. Krystinik testified that he got the impression that Oswald did not fully understand the views he was expounding. Throughout that week Oswald telephoned his wife to inquire about her health and that of the baby. He spent the weekend at the Paine home, to which Marina and Rachel had returned during the week. On Friday, November 1, he obtained post office box No. 6225 at the Terminal Annex Post Office Station. He indicated that the box would also be used to receive mail for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union. Once again he spent the weekend in Irving.

Throughout this period, the FBI had been aware of the whereabouts of the Oswalds. There was a record in the Dallas office of the FBI that Oswald subscribed to the Worker, engaged in Fair Play for Cuba Committee activities and had traveled to Mexico. An FBI agent visited the Paine home on November 1 and, accompanied by another agent, again on November 5, and spoke briefly with Mrs. Paine. On neither occasion was Oswald present. Ruth Paine noted the agent's name and telephone number and, in accordance with her husband's instructions, Marina noted the license number of the agent's automobile, all of which was subsequently reported to Oswald. Both Mrs. Paine and Marina testified that Oswald was troubled by the FBI's interest in him. He declared that the FBI was "trying to inhibit" his activities, and wrote the Soviet Embassy in Washington:

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is not now interested in my activities in the progressive organization "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" of which I was secretary in New Orleans (state Louisiana) since I no longer reside in that state.

However, the F.B.I. has visited us here in Dallas, Texas, on November 1st. Agent James P. Hasty warned me that if I engaged in F.P.C.C. activities in Texas the F.B.I. will again take an "interest" in me.

This agent also 'suggested' to Marina Nichilayeva that she could remain in the United States under F.B.I. 'protection', that is, she could defect from the Soviet Union, of course, I and my wife strongly protested these tactics by the notorious F.B.I.

Please inform us of the arrival of our Soviet entrance visa's as soon as they come. (See Commission Exhibit 15, p. 311.)

Marina testified that the statements, both by and to the FBI agents, to which her husband referred in this letter, were in fact never made.

The following Friday, November 8, Oswald as usual drove to the Paine house with Frazier. On Saturday Mrs. Paine took him to the Texas Drivers' License Examining Station, but because it was election day the station was closed. Oswald stayed at the Paines through Monday, November 11, which was Veterans Day. During the weekend, Mrs. Paine gave Oswald a second driving lesson. Oswald did not go to Irving on the next weekend. His wife had asked him not to come because Michael Paine, with whom Oswald did not get along, would be there to celebrate his daughter's birthday. Also, she felt that because he had stayed for 3 days the preceding weekend, he would abuse Mrs. Paine's hospitality if he returned so soon. Oswald telephoned Marina on Saturday afternoon and said that he had returned to the drivers' license examining station that morning but had not waited because there was a long line.

On Sunday, November 17, at Marina's request, Ruth Paine telephoned Oswald at the Beckley Avenue number, which he had given to Marina. When she asked for him, she was told that no one by that name lived at the address, which greatly surprised her. On the next day, Oswald telephoned his wife. When she indicated that she had been upset by the fact that there had been no Lee Oswald at the number which she had asked Mrs. Paine to call, Oswald became angry; he said that he was using a fictitious name and that she should not have called the Beckley Avenue number. He did not telephone on the following day, which was unusual.

On the morning of Thursday, November 21, Oswald asked Frazier to take him to Irving when he went home that evening, saying that he wanted to pick up some curtain rods. His arrival was a surprise because he generally asked Mrs. Paine's permission before arriving for a visit. The women thought that he had come to Irving because he felt badly about arguing with his wife about the use of the fictitious name. He said that he was lonely, because he had not come the preceding weekend, and told Marina that he "wanted to make his peace" with her. He spent the time before dinner on the lawn playing with his daughter. However, when he attempted to talk to his wife she would not answer, which upset him. He asked her to live with him in Dallas, and she refused. After supper, Oswald watched television while the women cleaned the house and prepared their children for bed. He retired early in the evening at about 9.

Warren Report: Appendix XIV - Analysis of Lee Harvey Oswald's Finances from June 13, 1962, through November 22, 1963

The following analysis of Lee Harvey Oswald's receipts and expenditures for the period June 13, 1962, through November 22, 1963, contains a complete record of all funds that he and his wife are reported to have received and disbursed from all known sources. It also contains an estimate for food, clothing, and incidental expenses, which include telephone calls, money order and check cashing fees, postage, local transportation costs, personal care goods and services, local newspapers, and similar small items. Oswald's expenditures for food, cloth rag, and incidentals were estimated at \$100 per month, except for those months in which his wife and children resided with relatives or acquaintances. The estimate reflects Oswald's frugal living habits during this period, as described in chapter VI of this report. The Commission has been advised by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the US. Department of Labor that this estimate is a little higher than would be normal for a family in Oswald's income class residing in the southern region of the United States. (See Commission Exhibit No. 1169.)

Warren Report: Appendix XV - Transactions between Lee Harvey oswald and Marina Oswald, and the U.S. Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the U.S. Department of Justice

From September 4, 1959, when he applied for his first passport, until shortly before the assassination, Lee Harvey Oswald had numerous dealings with the U.S. Department of State in Washington and with the American Embassy in Moscow. In connection with Marina Oswald's entry into the United States, the dealings also extended to the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice. During the course of these dealings, the Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service were called upon to decide a series of legal and administrative questions which arose under the laws of this country. In order to determine whether Lee Harvey Oswald or his wife received any treatment not accorded others in similar positions, the Commission has examined the manner in which the transactions with the Oswalds were handled and the manner in which the relevant legal questions were resolved. In light of the facts then available and the applicable statutes, regulations, and practices in force at the time, the Commission has found no indication that the treatment accorded the Oswalds was illegal or different in any respect from the treatment that other persons similarly situated would have received.

Warren Report: Appendix XV - Issuance of Passport in 1959

On September 4, 1959, while on active duty with the U.S. Marine Corps, Oswald applied for a passport before a clerk of the superior court at Santa Ana, Calif. On the application Oswald stated that he intended to leave the United States for 4 months on approximately September 21, 1959, by ship from New Orleans, La., and that the purposes of his trip would be to attend the Albert Schweitzer College in Switzerland and the University of Turku in Finland, and to visit Cuba, the Dominican Republic, England, France, Switzerland, Germany, Finland and Russia as a tourist. With the application, Oswald submitted a statement signed by a Marine officer that he was to be discharged from the Corps on September 11, 1959. The passport, No. 1733242, was routinely issued on September 10, 1959. At the time, the United States proscribed travel to none of the countries named in Oswald's application.

Warren Report: Appendix XV - Oswald's Attempts To Renounce His U.S. Citizenship

American officials in Moscow had no knowledge that Oswald was in Russia until October 81, 1959, more than 2 weeks after he had arrived, since he failed to register at the U.S. Embassy, as Americans traveling through Russia normally did. However, on October 31, 1959, a Saturday, Oswald presented himself at the American Embassy in Moscow. He placed his passport on the receptionist's desk and informed her that he had come to "dissolve his American citizenship." She immediately summoned the consul, Richard E. Snyder, who invited Oswald into his office. In the room with Snyder was his assistant, John A. McVickar, who observed what ensued. Snyder recalled Oswald as "neatly and very presentably dressed," but he also remembered his arrogance. Oswald seemed to "know what his mission was. He took charge, in a sense, of the conversation right from the beginning."

Oswald stated at once that he was there to renounce his citizenship and that "his allegiance was to the Soviet Union." He said he had already applied for Soviet citizenship. He said he knew the provisions of American law on loss of citizenship and did not want to hear them reviewed by Snyder. Having taken his passport back from the receptionist, Oswald put it on Snyder's desk. Snyder noticed that Oswald had inked out the portion which would have shown his address in the United States. Oswald also presented Snyder with a note which he had prepared in advance, which reads:

I Lee Harvey Oswald do hereby request that my present citizenship in the United States of America, be revoked.

I have entered the Soviet Union for the express purpose of applying for citizenship in the Soviet Union, through the means of naturalization.

My request for citizenship is now pending before Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

I take these steps for political reasons. My request for the revoking of my American citizenship is made only after the longest and most serious considerations.

I affirm that my allegiance is to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Oswald told Snyder that he had not mentioned his intent to remain in the Soviet Union to the Soviet Embassy in Helsinki at the time he had applied for his tourist visa. Oswald's passport, upon which his Soviet visa was stamped, shows that by the 31st of October he had already overstayed his visa, despite a 1-day extension which he had received.

Oswald gave as his "principal reason" for wanting to renounce his citizenship, "I am a Marxist." He stated that he admired the system and policies of the Soviet Union and desired to serve the Soviet State, and that his intent to defect to the Soviet Union had been formed long before he was discharged from the Marine Corps. Shortly after the interview, Snyder observed that Oswald had "displayed all the airs of a new sophomore party liner." At one point, Oswald alluded to hardships endured by his mother as a "worker" and said he did not intend to let this happen to him. He stated that his Marine service in Okinawa and elsewhere had given him a chance "to observe American imperialism," and he displayed some resentment at not having been given a higher rank in the Marine Corps. Oswald stated to Snyder that he had voluntarily told Soviet officials that he would make known to them all information concerning the Marine Corps and his specialty therein, radar operation, as he possessed.

Snyder did not permit Oswald to renounce his citizenship at that time. He told Oswald that his renunciation could not be effected on a Saturday, but that if he would return on a day when the Embassy was open for business, the transaction could then be completed. Snyder testified that his real reason for delaying Oswald was that he believed, as a matter of sound professional practice, that no one should be permitted to renounce his American citizenship precipitously; such an act has extremely serious consequences, and, once accomplished, it is irrevocable. Snyder noticed that Oswald was young, apparently not well educated and obviously in a highly emotional state. Snyder testified: "particularly in the case of a minor, I could not imagine myself writing out the renunciation form, and having him sign it, on the spot, without making him leave my office and come back at some other time, even if it is only a few hours intervening." Snyder's decision was also influenced by his familiarity with a recent unfavorable incident in which an American citizen by the name of Petrulli had been allowed to renounce his citizenship hastily, without awareness that Petrulli was mentally ill at the time. Snyder was able to persuade Oswald to tell him his home address and the name of his mother, however, by saying that no progress on his renunciation could be made without this information. The State Department has advised that Snyder's treatment of Oswald "was in line * * * with the general policy of the Department to discourage expatriation of American citizens."

The same day, the Embassy sent a telegram to the Department of State, advising that Oswald had appeared there in an attempt to renounce his American citizenship, and setting out most of the details of

the interview with Snyder. Copies were immediately furnished to the FBI and the CIA. The telegram was followed on November 2, 1959, by an Embassy report addressed to the Department of State, which concluded:

*** in view of the Petrulli case and other considerations, the Embassy proposes to delay action on Oswald's request to execute an oath of renunciation to the extent dictated by developments and subject to the Department's advice.

Copies of this memorandum were also furnished both Federal security agencies.

After having received the telegram of October 31, 1959, but not the Embassy Despatch of November 2, 1959, the State Department on November 2, 1959, sent a telegram to the Moscow Embassy which read in part:

If Oswald insists on renouncing U.S. citizenship, Section 1999 Revised Statutes precludes Embassy withholding right to do so regardless status his application pending Soviet Government and final action taken Petrulli case.

This telegram, like most of the communications from the Department regarding Oswald, was prepared in the Passport Office and cleared by the Office of Eastern European Affairs and the Office of Soviet Union Affairs.

Oswald never returned to the Embassy. On November 6, 1959, the Embassy received a handwritten letter from Oswald on the stationery of the Metropole Hotel, dated November 8, 1959, which read:

I, Lee Harvey Oswald, do hereby request that my present United States citizenship be revoked.

I appeared in person, at the consulate office of the United States Embassy, Moscow, on Oct. 31st, for the purpose of signing the formal papers to this effect. This legal right I was refused at that time.

I wish to protest against this action, and against the conduct of the official of the United States consular service who acted on behalf of the United States government.

My application, requesting that I be considered for citizenship in the Soviet Union is now pending before the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. In the event of acceptance, I will request my government to lodge a formal protest regarding this incident.

The Embassy immediately informed the Department of the receipt of this letter and advised that it intended to reply to Oswald by letter telling him that, if he wished, he could appear at the Embassy on any normal business day and request that the necessary expatriation documents be prepared. On the same day, November 6, the Embassy sent Oswald a letter so advising him. From then until November 30 the Embassy attempted to communicate with Oswald on several occasions to deliver messages from his relatives in the United States urging him to reconsider, but he refused to receive the messages or talk to anyone from the Embassy. The messages were therefore sent to him by registered mail.

On November 16, 1959, Priscilla Johnson, an American newspaper-woman stationed in Moscow, interviewed Oswald at the Metropole Hotel. On November 17, 1959, she informed the Embassy of her interviews and the information was recorded in a file memorandum. Oswald told Miss Johnson that he was scheduled to leave Moscow within a few days. She thought that Oswald "may have purposely not carried through his original intent to renounce [citizenship] in order to leave a crack open." The Embassy accordingly informed the Department of State about 2 weeks later that Oswald had departed from the Hotel Metropole within the last few days. According to his "Historic Diary" and other records available to the Commission, however, Oswald probably did not in fact leave Moscow for Minsk until about January 4, 1960. Miss Johnson's report of her interview with Oswald was the last information about him which the U.S. Government was to receive until February 13, 1961.

On March 6, 1960, Oswald's mother asked Representative James C. Wright, Jr., of Texas to help her locate her son. The Congressman forwarded her inquiry to the Department of States which in turn sent it to the Embassy. In response, the Embassy in Moscow informed the Department on March 28, 1960, that they had no contact with Oswald since November 9, 1959. The Embassy went on to say that it had no evidence that Oswald had expatriated himself "other than his announced intention to do so." It believed, therefore, that since Oswald was presumably still an American citizen, the American Government could properly make inquiry concerning him through a note to the Soviet Foreign Office. The Embassy went on to suggest, however, that it would be preferable if Oswald's mother wrote a letter to her son which could then be forwarded by the Department to the Soviet Government.

The Department replied on May 10, 1960, that no action should be taken in the case other than on a request voluntarily submitted by member of Oswald's family. On June 22, a second communication

was dispatched, asking whether the Embassy had been able to contact Oswald. On July 6, 1960, the Embassy replied that it had received no further communication with anyone on the subject of Oswald and that in view of the Department's memorandum of May 10, 1960, intended to take no further action in the matter. Mrs. Oswald apparently took no steps to follow up on her original inquiry.

Under the procedures in effect in 1960, a "refusal sheet" was prepared in the Department of State Passport Office whenever circumstances created the possibility that a prospective applicant would not be entitled to receive an American passport. The records section of the Passport Office, on the basis of the refusal sheets would prepare what was known as a lookout card and file it in the lookout file in the Passport Office. Whenever anyone applied for a passport from any city in the world, his application was immediately forwarded to this office, and his name and date of birth checked against the lookout. If a lookout card was found, appropriate action, including the possible refusal of a passport, was taken. Passport Office procedures also provided that the lookout card would be removed from a prospective applicant's file whenever facts warranted an unquestioned passport, grant.

On March 25, 1960, the Passport Office had made up a "refusal sheet" on Lee Harvey Oswald, typed across which was the explanation that Oswald "may have been naturalized in the Soviet Union or otherwise * * * expatriated himself." An Operations Memorandum stating the reasons for which the card had been prepared was drawn up on March 28 and also put on file and a copy sent to the Embassy. It advised the Embassy to take no further action on the Oswald case unless it came into possession of evidence upon which to base the preparation of a certificate of loss of nationality. Included in the operations memorandum was the following:

An appropriate notice has been placed in the lookout card section of the Passport Office in the event that Mr. Oswald should apply for documentation at a post outside the Soviet Union.

Despite these indications that a lookout card was prepared, the Department of State on May 18, 1964, informed the Commission that "investigations, to date, failed to reveal any other indication or evidence that a lookout card was ever prepared, modified or removed." No such card was ever located, and certain file entries indicate that such a card was never prepared.

The State Department has advised the Commission that as of October 1959 the Department had "developed information which might reasonably have caused it to prepare * * * a lookout card for Lee Harvey Oswald." The Passport Office employee who prepared the refusal sheet, for Oswald has suggested as a possible explanation of the failure to prepare a lookout card that between the day she prepared the refusal sheet and the time the records section would normally have prepared the lookout card, Oswald's file was temporarily pulled from its place because the Department received some additional correspondence from the Embassy. When the file was returned, she suggested, it may have been assumed that the card had already been prepared.

Had a lookout card been prepared on the ground of possible expatriation, it would have been removed and destroyed after the decision was made in 1961 that Oswald had not expatriated himself and thus prior to the time that he applied for a second passport in June 1963. Hence, the Department's apparent failure to prepare a lookout, card on Oswald had no effect on its future actions. As of February 20, 1964, the Department issued additional regulations regarding the manner in which the lookout file is to be handled. On March 14, 1964, a category was established for returned defectors, so that these persons automatically have lookout cards in their files, and on July 27, 1964, the Office of Security of the Department of State issued a procedural study of the lookout-card system, with recommendations.

Warren Report: Appendix XV - Return and Renewal of Oswald's 1959 Passport

Negotiations Between Oswald and the Embassy

On February 1, 1961, as a result of a visit by Oswald's mother to the Department of State on January 25, 1961, the Department sent a request to the Moscow Embassy as follows:

The Embassy is requested to inform the [Soviet] Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Mr. Oswald's mother is worried as to his present safety, and is anxious to hear from him.

The inquiry went to the Embassy by diplomatic pouch and was received in Moscow on February 10 or 11. On February 13, before the Embassy had acted on the Department's request, 81 the Embassy received an undated letter from Oswald postmarked Minsk, February 5. The letter stated:

Since I have not received a reply to my letter of December 1960, I am writing again asking that you consider my request for the return of my American passport.

I desire to return to the United States, that is if we could come to some agreement concerning the dropping of any legal proceedings against me. If so, than I would be free to ask the Russian authorities to allow me to leave. If I could show them my American passport, I am of the opinion they would give me an exit.

They have at no time insisted that I take Russian citizenship. I am living here with non-permanent type papers for a foreigner.

I cannot leave Minsk without permission, therefore I am writing rather than calling in person.

I hope that in recalling the responsibility I have to America that you remember yours in doing everything you can to help me since I am an American citizen.

Despite Oswald's reference to his letter of December 1960, there is no indication that he had written to the Embassy previously. Furthermore, his diary refers to his February 1 letter as his "first request" concerning his return to the United States.

On February 28, 1961, the Embassy wrote Oswald that he would have to come to Moscow to discuss the passport and expatriation matters. Then on March 20, 1961, a second letter from Oswald, dated March 12, was received by the Embassy. It read:

In reply to your recent letter. I find it inconvenient to come to Moscow for the sole purpose of an interview.

In my last letter I believe I stated that I cannot leave the city of Minsk without permission.

I believe there exist in the United States also a law in regards to resident foreigners from Socialist countries, traveling between cities.

I do not think it would be appropriate for me to request to leave Minsk in order to visit the American Embassy. In any event, the granting of permission is a long drawn out affair, and I find that there is a hesitation on the part of local officials to even start the process.

I have no intention of abusing my position here, and I am sure you would not want me to.

I see no reasons for any preliminary inquires not to be put in the form of a questionnaire and sent to me.

I understand that personal interviews undoubtedly make to work of the Embassy staff lighter, than written correspondence, however, in some cases other means must be employed.

After receiving the first letter postmarked February 5, the Embassy on February 28 forwarded a despatch to the Department informing it of Oswald's letter and its reply to Oswald. At that time, the Embassy also inquired of the Department whether Oswald would be subject to prosecution on any grounds if he should return to the United States and, if so, whether Oswald should be so informed. The Department was also asked whether there was any objection to returning Oswald's 1959 passport to him by mail, since that might facilitate his application for a Soviet exit visa. Upon receiving Oswald's March 20 letter, the Embassy again consulted with Washington. The Embassy proposed that it write Oswald repeating that he must come to Moscow if he wanted to discuss reentering the United States and pointing out that the Soviet government did not object to such visits by American citizens. Such a letter was mailed to Oswald on March 24.

In the meantime, the State Department was considering the Embassy despatch of February 28, 1961. Although a different, response was originally recommended by a staff member in the Passport Office, the Department instructed the Embassy on April 13 that for security reasons Oswald's passport should be given to him only if he personally appeared at the Embassy and that even then he was to receive the document only after a full investigation had been made and the Embassy was satisfied that he had not, renounced his American citizenship. Also, he was to present evidence that he had made arrangements

to depart from the Soviet Union to travel to the United States, and his passport was to be stamped valid for direct return to the United States only. The Department also told the Embassy that Oswald could not be advised whether or not he would be prosecuted for any possible offenses should he return to the United States. Matters remained in this posture for over a month. During the interim, Oswald met and married Marina Nikolaevna Prusakova.

On May 26, 1961, the Embassy sent a despatch to the Department advising that on May 25, 1961, it had received a letter from Oswald postmarked Moscow, May 16, 1961. In his latest letter Oswald said he wanted "to make it clear" that he was asking for full guarantees that he would not be prosecuted "under any circumstances" should he return to the United States. Oswald went on to say that if the Embassy could not give him these assurances, he would "endeavor to use my relatives in the United States, to see about getting something done in Washington." He also informed the Embassy that he was married to a Russian woman who would want to accompany him back to his native country, and he once again repeated his reluctance to come to Moscow. The Embassy suggested that it reply to Oswald by repeating that the question of citizenship could only be made on the basis of a personal interview, and by advising Oswald of the requirements and procedures pertaining to his wife's immigration. The despatch noted that Oswald's letter referred to his present Soviet internal passport in which he claimed to be designated as "without citizenship," and observed: "It would appear on this basis that Oswald has not yet expatriated himself under Section 349(a)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act." The Embassy inquired whether the Department considered Oswald entitled "to the protection of the United States Government while he continues to reside abroad under present circumstances in the absence of reasonable evidence that he has committed an expatriating act?" The Department answered the despatch under date of July 11, 1961. It said that it was not entirely clear what the description "without citizenship" means, i.e., "whether he is without Soviet citizenship or without any citizenship." The instructions continued:

In any event in the absence of evidence showing that Mr. Oswald has definitely lost United States citizenship he apparently maintains that technical status. Whether he is entitled to the protection of the United States pending any further developments concerning his precise status is a matter which will be left to the Embassy's discretion in the event an emergency situation should arise. In a situation of this kind, not of an emergency nature, the facts should be submitted to the Department.

It is noted that the Embassy intends to seek the Department's prior advice before granting Mr. Oswald documentation as a United States citizen upon any application he may submit.

The Embassy's careful attention to the involved ease of Mr. Oswald is appreciated * * *

However, on Saturday, July 8, 1961, before the Embassy had received the response from Washington, Oswald appeared without warning at the Embassy in Moscow. Snyder came down to meet Oswald after Oswald called him on the house telephone, and after a brief talk, asked Oswald to return on Monday, July 10. Later that day Oswald telephoned his wife and told her to come to Moscow, which she did the next day. Oswald returned alone to the American Embassy on Monday, where Snyder questioned him about his life in Russia. According to a memorandum which Snyder prepared shortly afterwards:

Twenty months of the realities of life in the Soviet Union have clearly had a maturing effect on Oswald. He stated frankly that he learned a hard lesson the hard way and that he had been completely relieved about his illusions about the Soviet Union * * * Much of the arrogance and bravado which characterized him on his first visit to the Embassy appears to have left him.

Oswald told Snyder that despite the statement he had given him in October 1959, he had never applied for Soviet citizenship, but only for permission to reside in the Soviet Union. He presented his Soviet internal passport, which described him as without citizenship of any kind. Oswald said that he had been employed since January 13, 1960, as a metal worker in the research shop in the Byelorussian Radio and Television Factory in Minsk. He claimed that he had taken no oath of allegiance of any kind, and that he had not been required to sign any papers in connection with this employment. He added that he was not a member of the factory trade union organization. Oswald said that he was earning 90 rubles (\$90) a month and that he had saved about 200 rubles (\$200) toward travel expenses to the United States. He denied that he had made any derogatory statements concerning the United States to radio, press, or TV in the Soviet Union, and he denied that he had turned over any information to the Russians as he had threatened to do in the 1959 interview with Snyder.

During the course of the interview Oswald filled out an application for renewal of his American passport. The renewal application was required since Oswald's existing passport would expire on September 10,

1961, and it was extremely unlikely that he would be able to obtain the requisite Soviet departure documents before that time. The renewal application contained a printed statement which set forth, in the disjunctive, a series of acts which, if committed by the applicant, would either automatically disqualify him from receiving a passport on the ground that he had lost his American citizenship, or would raise a question whether he might be so disqualified. The printed statement was preceded by two phrases, "have," and, "have not," the first phrase being printed directly above the second. One carbon copy of the application indicates Oswald signed the document after the second phrase, "have not," had been typed over, thereby apparently admitting that he had committed one or more of the acts which would at least raise a question as to whether he had expatriated himself. Snyder was not able to remember with certainty to which of the acts listed on the statement Oswald's mark was intended to refer, but believed it may have been to "swearing allegiance to a foreign state." He points out that the strikeout of "have not" may also have been a clerical error. On the actual signed copy of the application kept in the files of the Moscow Embassy, which is not a carbon copy of the copy sent to the Department, the strikeout is slightly above the "have;" therefore, since the "have" is itself printed above the "have not," the strikeout may have been intended to obliterate the "have."

In any event, Oswald filled out the supplementary questionnaire which was required to be completed if the applicant admitted he had performed one or more of the possibly expatriating acts. He signed the questionnaire under oath. Snyder testified that it was routine for any kind of "problem ease" to fill out the supplementary questionnaire. The Passport Office employee who processed the Oswald case in Washington testified that she routinely regarded the questionnaire rather than the application itself as the controlling document for expatriation purposes, so that she probably paid no attention to the strikeout.

The pertinent questions included on the questionnaire, with Oswald's answers, read as follows:

2. (a) Are you known or considered in your community to be a national of the country in which you are residing? *No.* (Yes or No)
(b) If your answer to 2(a) is "No," explain why not.
On my document for residence in the USSR my nationality is American.
3. (a) Have you ever sought or obtained registration as a national of a foreign country, applied for or obtained a passport, certificate, card document or other benefit therefrom in which you were described as a national of a country other than the United States? *No.* (Yes or No)
(b) If your answer to 3(a) is "Yes," did you voluntarily seek or claim such benefits? (Yes or No) If "No," please explain.
I received a document for residence in the USSR but I am described as being "Without citizenship."
4. (a) Have you ever informed any local or national official of a foreign state that you are a national of the United States? *No. * * **
(b) If your answer to 4(a) is "No," explain why not.
On my document for residence in the USSR, my nationality is American.
6. (a) Have you ever taken an oath or made an affirmation or other formal declaration of allegiance to a foreign state? *No. * * **
8. Have you ever accepted, served in, or performed the duties of any office, post or employment under the government of a foreign state or political subdivision thereof? *No. * * **
I do not regard factory employment as state employment, as is meant in the question above.

On the basis of these answers, and on the basis of the statements Oswald made orally during the interview, Snyder concluded that Oswald had not lost his citizenship. Snyder therefore handed him back his passport. Pursuant to the instructions from Washington, it was stamped, "This passport is valid only for direct travel to the United States."

In a despatch dated July 11, 1961, the Embassy informed the Department of State of its conclusion that Oswald had not lost his American citizenship and requested that, if Washington agreed with the conclusion, "the Embassy be authorized to renew Oswald's passport at its discretion." The despatch, with which Oswald's application and supplemental questionnaire were enclosed, informed the Department that Oswald was questioned at length at the Embassy and that no evidence was revealed of any act which might be considered as having caused the loss of his American citizenship.

The Embassy added in the despatch

It is our intention not to renew it [the passport] without the Department's prior approval of the enclosed renewal

application, and then only upon evidence of a present need for the renewal in connection with his efforts to return to the United States.

Oswald appeared at the Embassy once again on July 11, 1961, this time accompanied by Marina, in order to complete the papers necessary to obtain permission for his wife to enter the United States. In a letter dated July 16, 1961, Oswald informed the American Embassy about his and Marina's application to the Soviet officials for permission to leave Russia, and described the harassment which Marina was allegedly undergoing because of her attempts to leave the country.

Based upon Snyder's recommendation and the information in its files, the Passport Office on August 18, 1961, concluded that Oswald had not expatriated himself. Therefore, on that date, the Department of State sent a despatch to the Embassy in Moscow stating that they concurred in the Embassy's recommendation of July 11, 1961, with respect to Oswald's citizenship:

We concur in the conclusion of the Embassy that there is available no information and/or evidence to show that Mr. Oswald has expatriated himself under the pertinent laws of the United States.

The renewal of Mr. Oswald's passport, issued on September 10, 1959, is authorized upon his referenced application if no adverse reason is known, to take place upon his presentation of evidence that he needs such renewal in connection with his efforts to return to the United States as indicated in the final sentence on page 2 of Despatch 29. As requested in the final paragraph of the Despatch the Embassy may perform this citizenship function for Mr. Oswald at its discretion.

Any passport renewal granted to Mr. Oswald should be limited to his passport needs and, as stated in the second paragraph of the Department's A-173, April 13, 1961 his passport should be made valid for direct return to the United States. The additional precaution set forth in the same paragraph should be observed and his passport should be delivered to him on a personal basis only. When available, a report of his travel data should be submitted, as well as a report of any intervening developments.

On October 12, 1961, the Embassy wrote the Department to inform it of four letters it had received from Oswald dated July 15, August 8, and October 4, and an undated letter received in August. With reference to these letters, the despatch noted:

* * * that Oswald is having difficulty in obtaining exit visas for himself and his Soviet wife, and that they are subject to increasing harassment in Minsk. In replying to Oswald's latest letter, the Embassy pointed out that it has no way of influencing Soviet action on exit visas. It informed him that the question of his passport renewal could be discussed with him personally at the Embassy. In answer to Oswald's question, the Embassy notified him that the petition to classify his wife's status had not yet been approved.

The Department on December 28, 1961, informed the Embassy that the Passport Office approved the manner of the Embassy's reply to Mr. Oswald with respect "to his receiving further passport facilities." After a further exchange of correspondence between Oswald and the Embassy, dealing primarily with Oswald's difficulties in obtaining the necessary Soviet clearance, his impatience in receiving American approval for Marina's entry into the United States, and his efforts to obtain a repatriation loan, the passport problem was finally concluded on May 24, 1962, when the Embassy renewed Oswald's passport for 30 days, stamped it valid for direct return to the United States only and handed it to him. A week later he used it to return to the United States.

The decision that Oswald was entitled to a new passport because he had not expatriated himself was made for the Embassy by the consul, Richard E. Snyder. For the Department it was made initially by Miss Bernice L. Waterman, a worker in the Passport Office for 36 years, and was then approved by her area chief, by the head of the Foreign Operations Division, and by the Legal Division of the Passport Office. Snyder and Miss Waterman have both testified that they reached their decisions independently and without influence from any other person. The Director of the Passport Office and the Legal Adviser to the State Department both stated that after a review of the record they concluded that Oswald had not expatriated himself and that Snyder and Waterman, therefore, acted correctly.

Warren Report: Appendix XV - Legal Justification for the Return and Reissue of Oswald's Passport

Since he was born in the United States, Oswald was an American citizen. However, Congress has provided that by performing certain acts, a person may forfeit his American citizenship. Thus Oswald would have become expatriated while in Russia if he obtained naturalization in the Soviet Union, renounced U.S. nationality, took an oath of allegiance to the Soviet Union, or voluntarily worked for the Soviet Government in a post requiring that the employee take an oath of allegiance.

Naturalization in a foreign state. Section 349 (a) (1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 provides that a U.S. citizen shall lose his nationality by "obtaining naturalization in a foreign state upon his own application * * * ." Although Oswald applied for Soviet citizenship, he never received it. Thus, Oswald did not expatriate himself under section 349 (a) (1).

Formal renunciation of U.S. nationality. Section 349 (a) (6) of the act provides that a U.S. citizen shall lose his citizenship by:

* * * making a formal renunciation of nationality before a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States in a foreign state, in such form as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State.

In accordance with this statute, the Secretary has promulgated regulations prescribing the manner in which renunciation is to be effected. The regulations provide, among other things, that 4 copies of the renunciation form are to be executed and the original and one copy sent to the Department. The Department must then approve the form and advise the appropriate consular official, who may then furnish a copy of the form to the person to whom it relates. The form itself requires the person to subscribe it in the presence of a consular official, and it must also be signed by this official.

Though in 1959 Oswald clearly stated to officials at the American Embassy, both orally and in writing, that he desired to renounce his U.S. citizenship, he at no time took the steps required by the statute and regulations to effect his renunciation. Oswald did not execute the proper forms, he did not sign his letter of October 31 or November 3, 1959, in the presence of a consular official, and neither letter was signed by such an official. Because section 349 (a) (6) in terms requires compliance with the form prescribed by the Secretary of State, Oswald did not expatriate himself under that section.

Oath of allegiance to a foreign state. Section 349 (a) (2) of the act provides that a U.S. citizen shall lose his nationality by:

* * * taking an oath or making an affirmation or other formal declaration of allegiance to a foreign state or a political subdivision thereof.

In his letter of October 31, 1959, Oswald wrote: "I affirm that my allegiance is to the union of Soviet Socialist Republics." Both in this letter and in his letter of November 3, 1959, he stated that his application for citizenship in the Soviet Union was pending before the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Oswald's letters no doubt were intended to express allegiance to the Soviet Union in a manner inconsistent with continued allegiance to the United States, as the statute has been held to require. However, since 1940, it has been well established that in order for an oath of allegiance to a foreign state to work an expatriation from the United States, it must, be given to an official of the foreign state, and not to a party unconnected with the foreign state. This requirement can be viewed as a necessary corollary of the broader, but less clearly established, principle that the oath must be taken in accord with the requirements of the foreign state. Although Lee Harvey Oswald wrote that his allegiance was to the Soviet Union, there is no indication that he had ever actually taken an oath or declaration or that any such oath was taken before an official of the Soviet Government. He, therefore, did not expatriate himself under section 349 (a) (2).

Employment under the government of a foreign state. Section 349 (a) (4) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 provides that a U.S. citizen shall lose his nationality by:

(a) accepting, serving in, or performing the duties of any office, post, or employment under the government of a foreign state or a political subdivision thereof, if he has or acquires the nationality of such foreign state; or (b) accepting, serving in, or performing the duties of any office, post of employment under the government of a foreign state or a political subdivision thereof, for which office, post, or employment an oath, affirmation, or declaration of allegiance is required. * * *

While Oswald was employed in a state-owned factory in Minsk, he did not acquire Russian nationality, and there is no indication that he had to take any oath when he obtained this employment. Furthermore, prior judicial decisions indicate that merely working in a government-owned factory does

not result in expatriation even if an oath was required to be taken in connection with such employment. Several cases decided under an earlier but similar statutory provision held that where a person took a government job in order to subsist, such employment, was considered involuntary since it was based on economic duress, and thus it did not result in expatriation. Thus, Oswald did not expatriate himself under section 349 (a) (4).

The Commission therefore concludes that Lee Harvey Oswald had not expatriated himself by any acts performed between October 16, 1959, and May 1962, and concurs in the opinion of the State Department that his passport was properly returned to him in July 1961 and properly reissued in May 1962.

Warren Report: Appendix AXV - Authorizations for Marina Oswald to Enter the United States

Negotiations Between Oswald and the Embassy

On July 11, 1961, Oswald and his wife appeared at the Embassy in Moscow before John A. McVickar. Together they executed papers to set in motion the procedures for her admittance to the United States as a non quota immigrant under the provisions applicable to the wife of an American citizen. The interview was routine. McVickar asked Marina whether she was a member of any Communist organization and she replied that she was a member of the Trade Union of Medical Workers but she denied she was or ever had been a member of the Komsomol, the Communist youth organization, or any other Communist organization. Marina Oswald has since admitted to the Commission that at one time she was a member of The Komsomol, but was expelled, according to her testimony, when it was learned that she intended to accompany her husband to the United States. The Embassy forwarded the papers pertaining to her application to the State Department on August 28, 1961.

Marina Oswald's ability to obtain a non quota immigrant visa depended on the favorable resolution of 3 questions. First, it had to be determined that she was the wife of an American citizen, which depended on whether her husband had expatriated himself. Second, it was necessary to determine that she was not and had not been affiliated with a Communist organization on other than an involuntary basis. Third, it had to be determined that she was not likely to become a public charge after she was admitted to the United States. Section 243 (g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act presented a fourth issue. This section of the act prohibits the issuance of immigrant visas by American Consuls stationed in countries which have refused to accept or have unduly delayed accepting the return of persons sought to be deported from the United States. The Soviet Union had been designated as such a country in 1953. However, the sanctions of section 243 (g) are often waived; and even if they were not waived in Marina's case, she could obtain her visa at an American Embassy in some other country on her way from the Soviet Union to the United States, if she were otherwise entitled to the visa.

In a despatch dated August 28, 1961, the Embassy requested from the Department a security advisory opinion on Marina Oswald's application to enter the United States. The Embassy wrote:

A favorable advisory opinion and approval of * * * [Mrs. Oswald's] petition is recommended together with a waiver of the sanctions imposed by section 243 (g) of the Act. * * * In connection with her employment and her professional training, she has been a member of the Soviet Trade Union for Medical Workers since 1957. Such membership is routinely considered to be involuntary. * * *

The Department initiated a check on Marina Oswald with the CIA, the FBI, the Department's own Office of Security, and Passport Office. The security check turned up no derogatory information on her, so that in early October 1961 the Department cabled Moscow that the available information concerning the applicant established her eligibility to enter the country as a non quota immigrant.

The Department's decision assumed that prior to obtaining her visa to enter the United States, Marina Oswald would provide some reasonable assurance that she was not likely to become a public charge after she had arrived there. The Department later encountered some difficulty in deciding that she had met this requirement. She knew no one in the United States other than the members of her husband's family, and they lacked the means to furnish any substantial financial guarantees. After considerable correspondence on the matter with Oswald and with the Department, the Embassy decided to accept Oswald's own affidavit to support his wife as sufficient assurance that she would not become a public charge. The Embassy's reasons were set forth in a memorandum dated March 16, 1962:

It appears that * * * [Oswald] can find no one in the United States who is able and willing to execute an affidavit of support for his wife. Furthermore, Oswald has been able to obtain no concrete offer of employment in the United States. On the other hand, he is trained in a trade which should make him readily employable and he and his family will be able to live with his mother in Texas until he has found work and become otherwise settled. Taking into consideration the latter factors, Oswald's legal obligation to support his wife, and the unusual circumstances of the case which make it difficult for Oswald to provide the usual financial evidence, the responsible consular officer * * * [is] willing to accept Oswald's unsubstantiated affidavit as sufficient to overcome the public charge provisions of the law.

The necessity of relying solely upon Oswald's own affidavit, however, was eliminated somewhat later when the Department received an affidavit of support from the employer of Oswald's mother in Vernon, Texas. By law the Attorney General must also pass upon an applicant's eligibility, and this responsibility has been delegated to the District Directors of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The

machinery to get approval of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for Marina Oswald's admission to the United States was set in motion on October 6, 1961. On that date the Visa Office of the Department of State sent a letter to the District Director of The Immigration and Naturalization Service in Dallas, Tex., requesting the Service to take action on her immigrant visa. The letter transmitted her marriage certificate, a check for \$10 from Lee Harvey Oswald, and a "Petition to Classify Status of Alien For Issuance of Immigrant Visa." The petition was signed by Oswald and was on behalf of Marina, asking that she be classified in "the status of the alien beneficiary for issuance of an immigrant visa as * * the spouse of a United States citizen." The letter from the Visa Office stated:

Mrs. Oswald has been the object of an investigation by the Department and has been found, in the Department's opinion, not ineligible to secure a visa.

On the basis of this communication, the Immigration and Naturalization Service at its Dallas, Tex., office instituted a field investigation on Lee Harvey Oswald. Routine checks with the Federal security agencies and with local law enforcement authorities turned up no new derogatory information, and no evidence was uncovered that Oswald was ever a member of the Communist Party or other subversive groups. A record check was made in New Orleans, La., and a birth certificate was found for Lee Harvey Oswald, proving that he was an American citizen by birth. On October 17, 1961, an investigator from the Dallas office interviewed Oswald's brother, Robert, who expressed the view that Lee was just a "mixed up kid" who had emigrated to Russia because he had become embittered, possibly over something that had happened while he was in the Marine Corps.

On January 25, 1962, the results of the field investigation in Dallas were consolidated in a report which, with a covering memorandum, was sent to the District Director of the Service in San Antonio the next day. The accompanying memorandum noted that the immigrant inspector who processed the case had endorsed it "approved," but the author of the memorandum overruled the decision of the inspector on the grounds that the sanctions under section 243 (g) should not be waived. The reasons for denying the waiver were stated as follows:

OI [Operations Instructions] 205.3, as you know, provides that the District Director may waive sanctions in an individual meritorious case for a beneficiary of a petition filed by a reputable relative where no substantial derogatory security information is developed. I am of the opinion that both of these restrictions are present in this case.

On January 30, 1962, the District Director at San Antonio affirmed the decision of the Dallas office, including the decision that the sanctions imposed under section 243 (g) not be waived. He concluded that Oswald's recent statements to the American Embassy in Moscow to the effect that he had learned from his experiences in Russia were not sufficient to relieve the doubts which were raised regarding his loyalty to the United States by the arrogant, anti-American statements he made when he entered Russia in 1959.

San Antonio forwarded its decision to Washington in a letter dated January 31, 1962, in which Marina Oswald's petition and all the aforementioned memoranda and reports were included. However, because Washington had previously indicated its impatience at not yet having received anything on the Oswald case, the San Antonio office also telegraphed its decision to Washington about a week later, the telegram presumably being received by Washington before the letter of January 31. The Washington copy of this telegram has a handwritten note on the lower portion which indicates that on February 12 an officer in the Visa Office of the State Department informed the Immigration and Naturalization Service by telephone: "Political desk of opinion, we're better off with subject in U.S. than in Russia."

Nonetheless, the Washington office of the Service concurred in the field decision that the provisions of section 243 (g) should not be waived. However, the Washington office pointed out that the correct disposition should be not to deny the visa petition as the field offices had proposed, but to grant the petition and indorse it to read, "Waiver of sanctions imposed under section 243 (g) of the Act is not authorized."

On February 28, 1962, the Dallas office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service notified the Department of State in Washington and the American Embassy in Moscow of this disposition. The communication from the Dallas office noted that Oswald "has been notified at his Minsk, Russia, address of the approval of the petition in his wife's behalf." Oswald later told the Embassy that he had received the notice on March 15. On March 9, 1962, the Department of State also notified the Embassy in Moscow that Oswald's wife was entitled to non quota status but that the Immigration and Naturalization Service would not waive section 243 (g) of the Act. The Embassy was told to inform Oswald of this fact if he asked about it. The memorandum indicated that the Embassy might suggest

that Marina could proceed to some other country to file her visa application and thus avoid the sanction. The Moscow Embassy on March 16, 1962, asked the Embassy at Brussels if Mrs. Oswald could obtain her visa in Brussels. The Brussels Embassy replied affirmatively and said a visa could be issued to Marina within 2 or 3 days of her arrival. The Marina Oswald file accordingly was sent to the Embassy at Brussels.

The plan to obtain the visa in Belgium was rendered unnecessary, however, when the Immigration and Naturalization Service reversed its position regarding the waiver of section 243 (g). On March 16, the Soviet desk at the Department of State took initial action to attempt to secure such a change by sending a memorandum to the Visa Office within the Department, urging that the Immigration and Naturalization Service be asked to reconsider its decision. According to this memorandum:

SOV believes it is in the interest of the U.S. to get Lee Harvey Oswald and his family out of the Soviet Union and on their way to this country as soon as possible. An unstable character, whose actions are entirely unpredictable, Oswald may well refuse to leave the USSR or subsequently attempt to return there if we should make it impossible for him to be accompanied from Moscow by his wife and child.

Such action on our part also would permit the Soviet Government to argue that, although it had issued an exit visa to Mrs. Oswald to prevent the separation of a family, the United States Government had imposed a forced separation by refusing to issue her a visa. Obviously, this would weaken our Embassy's position in encouraging positive Soviet action in other cases involving Soviet citizen relatives of U.S. citizens.

Soon thereafter, however, the Department of State notified its Moscow Embassy that the decision was under review and instructed it to withhold action pending the outcome of the reconsideration.

The Visa Office first contacted the Washington office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service informally, and was advised, according to a contemporaneous notation:

*** that case had been carefully considered and decision made at Assistant or Deputy Associate Commissioner level. Therefore, although not wishing to comment on likelihood of reversal, [INS officer] felt that any letter requesting a review of the case should come from the Director or Acting Administrator.

On March 27, 1962, such a letter was written from an acting administrator in the Department of State to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization. The letter read in part:

I appreciate the difficulty this case presents for your Service, because of Mr. Oswald's background, and the fact that granting a waiver of the sanction makes it appear that this Government is assisting a person who is not altogether entitled to such assistance. However, if the Embassy at Moscow is unable to issue Mrs. Oswald a visa, it would appear that she and indirectly the Oswalds' newborn child are being punished for Mr. Oswald's earlier indiscretions. I might also point out that this Government has advanced Mr. Oswald a loan of \$500.00 for repatriation.

More important, however, is the possibility that if Mrs. Oswald is not issued a visa by the Embassy, the Soviet Government will be in a position to claim that it has done all it can to prevent the separation of the family by issuing Mrs. Oswald the required exit permission, but that this Government has refused to issue her a visa, thus preventing her from accompanying her husband and child. This would weaken the Embassy's attempts to encourage positive action by the Soviet authorities in other cases involving Soviet relatives of United States citizens.

Because of these considerations and because I believe it is in the best interests of the United States to have Mr. Oswald depart from the Soviet Union as soon as possible, I request that the section 243 (g) sanction be waived in Mrs. Oswald's case.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service ultimately reversed its original position and granted the waiver on May 9, 1962. The letter reversing its initial decision states that the matter has been "carefully reviewed in this office" and that "in view of the strong representations" made in the letter of March 27, the sanctions imposed pursuant to section 243 (g) were thereby waived in behalf of Mrs. Oswald.

Actually, the Office of Soviet Affairs had informally learned on May 8 that the May 9 letter would be signed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. On the strength of the assurance that a written reversal would be forthcoming immediately, the State Department quickly telegraphed the Moscow Embassy reporting that the waiver had been granted. Marina Oswald completed her processing when she, her husband, and daughter came to Moscow in May 1962 on their way from Minsk to the United States.

Warren Report: Appendix XV - Legal Justification for the Decisions Affecting Marina Oswald

Wife of a citizen of the United States. Section 205 of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 provides for the admission into the United States of persons married to American citizens. Once it was determined that Lee Harvey Oswald was born in the United States and had not expatriated himself, his American citizenship was established. Marina Oswald submitted a marriage certificate to show that she was his wife. This requirement was, therefore, satisfied.

Assurance that Marina Oswald would not become a public charge. Section 212 (a) (15) of the act provides that aliens will not be admitted to the United States if, in the opinion of the responsible Government official, they "are likely at any time to become public charges." The pertinent Department of State regulations provide that a determination to exclude an alien for this reason must be "predicated upon circumstances which indicate that the alien will probably become a charge upon the public after entry into the United States."

In 1962, Oswald was 22 years old and in good health. He had lived in the United States for 17 years before joining the Marine Corps and was, therefore, familiar with its language and customs. He had gained job experience by working 2 years in a factory which produced electronic equipment. Under these circumstances the Department was not unreasonable in concluding that Oswald's own affidavit that he would support his wife was sufficient assurance that she was not likely to become a charge upon the public after her entry into the United States. The receipt of the affidavit from Marguerite Oswald's employer provided a possible alternative basis for reaching this decision, but since a favorable ruling had already been made on the basis of Oswald's affidavit, the Embassy had no reason to consider the sufficiency of the second affidavit.

Membership in a Communist organization. Under section 212(a) (28) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, an alien will not be admitted to the United States if he is or was a member of, or affiliated with, a Communist organization unless:

*** such an alien establishes to the satisfaction of the consular officer when applying for a visa and the consular officer finds that (i) such membership or application is or was involuntary, or is or was solely when under sixteen years of age, by operation of law, or for purposes of obtaining employment, food rations, or other essentials of living and where necessary for such purposes *** "

At the time Marina Oswald applied for a visa she was a member of the Soviet Trade Union for Medical Workers. According to the Department of State, the

*** long-standing interpretation [of the statute] concurred in by the State and Justice Departments [is] that membership in a professional organization or trade union behind the Iron Curtain is considered involuntary unless the membership is accompanied by some indication of voluntaries, such as active participation in the organization's activities or holding an office in the organization.

Since there was no evidence that Marina Oswald actively participated in the union's activities or held an office in the organization, her union membership was properly held not to bar her admission to this country.

Although Marina Oswald declared that she was not a member of the Komsomol or any other Communist organization, she was in fact a member of the Komsomol, the Communist youth organization. If this fact had been known to the State Department, Marina Oswald would not necessarily have been denied a visa, although a careful investigation into the nature of the membership would have been required. However, had her membership in the Komsomol become known to the Department after her denial of such membership, it is possible that she would have been excluded from the United States on the ground of having willfully misrepresented a material fact.

Judicial decisions are not in agreement as to what constitutes a "material fact" such that its intentional misrepresentation warrants exclusion of the alien. Some cases indicate that a misrepresentation in an application for a visa involves a material fact even if the alien would not definitely have been excluded on the true facts; others hold that a misstatement is material only if it referred to such facts as would have justified refusing the visa had they been disclosed. The Visa Office of the Department of State has announced that it applies a "rule of probability" under which a misstatement will be deemed material only if it concealed facts which probably would have resulted in a denial of a visa.

Waiver of the provisions of section 243 (g). Section 243 (g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, by its terms, prevented issuance of a visa to Marina Oswald by the Moscow Embassy. The section provides that upon notification of the Secretary of State by the Attorney General that a country

has refused or unduly delayed the acceptance of a deportable alien from the United States who is a subject or was a resident of that country, consular officers in such country are not to issue visas to citizens of the country. The section had been invoked against Russia on May 26, 1953. Nonetheless, although section 243 (g) does not contain an express provision for waiver, the Justice Department has concluded that the Attorney General possesses such waiver powers. Pursuant to this decision, the Department has granted waivers in over 600 cases from the Soviet Union since 1953. The waiver procedures followed in 1962 were prescribed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The relevant provision reads:

Before adjudicating a petition for an eligible beneficiary residing in the USSR, Czechoslovakia or Hungary, against which sanctions have been imposed, the district director shall obtain a report of investigation regarding the petitioner which shall include an affiliation of a subversive nature disclosed by a neighborhood investigation, local agency records and responses to Form G-135a. * * * If no substantial derogatory security information is developed, the district director may waive the sanctions in an individual meritorious case for a beneficiary of a petition filed by a reputable relative to accord status under Section 101 (a) (27) (A) or Section 203 (a) (2), (3) or (4). * * * If substantial adverse security information relating to the petitioner is developed, the visa petition shall be processed on its merits and certified to the regional commissioner for determination whether the sanctions should be waived. The assistant commissioner shall endorse the petition to show whether the Waiver is granted or denied, and forward it and notify the appropriate field office of the action taken. * * *

State Department regulations are much less explicit. The State Department's visa instructions for the guidance of consular officers provide, "The sanctions will be waived only in individual meritorious cases in behalf of a beneficiary of a petition filed by a reputable relative pursuant to [sections] of the act."

Because Lee Harvey Oswald signed the petition on Marina's behalf, his character was relevant to whether the sanctions of section 243 (g) could be waived for her. The file on Lee Harvey Oswald which was maintained by the Department of State and made available to the Department of Justice for purposes of passing on his wife's application contained the facts relating to Oswald's attempted expatriation. However, despite the derogatory material in the Oswald file, the Immigration and Naturalization Service regulations did not require automatic denial of the waiver; they provided only that if adverse security information were developed, "the visa petition shall be processed on its merits and certified to the regional commissioner for determination whether the sanctions should be waived." This procedure was followed in Marina's case and the factors considered in reaching the decision do not appear to be inappropriate. The State Department successfully urged that the original decision of the Immigration and Naturalization Service be reversed because this would be in the best interests of future United States dealings with the Soviet Union on behalf of American citizens, and because it seemed unfair to punish Lee Harvey Oswald's wife and baby for his own earlier errors. Prevention of the separation of families is among the most common reasons underlying the frequent waivers of section 243 (g).

Warren Report: Appendix XV - Oswald's Letter to Senator Tower

Sometime shortly before January 26, 1962, an undated letter from Lee Harvey Oswald was received in the office of the U.S. Senator from Texas, John G. Tower. The letter reads as follows:

My name is Lee Harvey Oswald, 22, of Fort Worth up till October 1959, when I came to the Soviet Union for a residual stay. I took a residential document for a non-Soviet person living for a time in the USSR. The American Embassy in Moscow is familiar with my case. Since July 20th 1960, I have unsuccessfully applied for a Soviet Exit Visa to leave this country, the Soviets refuse to permit me and my Soviet wife, (who applied at the U.S. Embassy Moscow, July 8, 1960 for immigration status to the U.S.A.) to leave the Soviet Union. I am a citizen of the United States of America (passport No. 1733242, 1959) and I beseech you, Senator Tower, to rise the question of holding by the Soviet Union of a citizen of the U.S., against his will and expressed desires.

The letter was read in Senator Tower's office by a caseworker on his staff. According to the caseworker and the Senator's press secretary, the letter was forwarded as a matter of routine on January 26 to the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State. The letter was forwarded with a cover letter, machine signed by the Senator, stating that he did "not know Oswald, or any of the facts concerning his reasons for visiting the Soviet Union; nor what action, if any, this Government can or should take on his behalf." The cover letter pointed out that Oswald's inquiry should have gone to the executive branch of the Government and that for this reason the Senator was forwarding it "for whatever action the Department may consider appropriate." On February 1 an officer at the Department of State telephoned the Senator's office and spoke briefly with the caseworker on the Oswald case. She made a memorandum of the call which notes, "Senator should not become involved in such case therefore State will report to us the course which they follow regarding Lee Harvey Oswald [sic]." About a week later the Department of State forwarded to Senator Tower copies of some of the correspondence which the Department had with Oswald and informed the Senator that if he wished to be kept informed on further developments regarding Oswald he could contact the Department of State. Neither the Senator nor any member of his staff contacted the Department again nor did they take any other action in respect to the matter.

Warren Report: Appendix XV - The Loan From the State Department

In a letter dated January 5, 1962, Oswald said that he would like to make arrangements for a loan from the Embassy or some private organization for part of the airplane fares. The Embassy on February 6, 1962, replied that he would have to supply certain personal financial data. The letter also said that after repatriation he would not be furnished a passport for travel abroad until he had repaid the money. Between February 6, 1962, and May 1, 1962, Oswald attempted to secure a loan from the Red Cross and the International Rescue Committee in the United States. The State Department on February 1 wrote Oswald's mother a letter asking whether she could advance the money. Oswald later wrote both his mother and the Department advising each that his mother should not be bothered in reference to the loan. Ultimately, after an exchange of communications between the Embassy and Washington, the Department approved a loan to Oswald for passage to New York only, directing the Embassy to "Keep cost minimum." On June 1 Oswald signed a promissory note for \$435.71.

Statutory authority for making such a loan was conferred by title 5, section 170 (a), of the U.S. Code, which authorizes the Secretary of State to "make expenditures, from such amounts as may be specifically appropriated therefor, for unforeseen emergencies arising in the diplomatic and consular service." Since 1947, the Department of State's annual appropriation act has included a sum for expenses necessary "to enable the Secretary of State to meet unforeseen emergencies arising in the Diplomatic and Consular Service. * * * " In recent years, the accompanying reports submitted by the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives have stated, "These funds are used for relief and repatriation loans to the U.S. citizens abroad and for other emergencies of the Department." Out of the amount appropriated to meet unforeseen emergencies arising in the Diplomatic and Consular Service, the Secretary of State has annually allotted approximately \$100,000 to meet the expenses of indigent U.S. nationals, including those in the Soviet Union, who request repatriation loans. From 1959 to 1963, 2,343 such loans were granted.

Section 423.2-1 of the Department's regulations provides that repatriation loans may be granted only to destitute U.S. nationals:

- a. Who are in complete and unquestioned possession of their citizenship rights;
- b. Who are entitled to receive United States passports;
- c. Whose loyalty to the United States Government is beyond question, or to whom the provisions of Section 423.1- 2(b) apply.

Oswald undoubtedly satisfied the requirements of paragraphs (a) and (b), since he was determined to have been a U.S. citizen at the time the loan was granted and he had been issued a passport to return to the United States. There is a serious question whether he could have qualified under the first clause of paragraph (c). The Commission is of the opinion that in its application of this clause the Department should exercise great care in determining whether an applicant's loyalty to the U.S. Government is beyond question, particularly in the case of a defector like Oswald who has expressed hostility and disloyalty to our government and manifested a desire to renounce his citizenship. The Department chose instead to exercise its judgment under the second clause of paragraph (e), which refers to section 423.1-2 (b). This section provides that loans to destitute nationals are authorized when:

- b. The United States national is in or the cause of a situation which is damaging to the prestige of the United States Government or which constitutes a compelling reason for extending assistance to effect his return.

The Department decided that the provisions of section (b) were applicable to Oswald because his "unstable character and prior criticism of the United States" would make his continued presence in the Soviet Union damaging to the prestige of the United States. In acting under this section, the Department was acting within its competence and the law. As required by another section of the regulations, the Department sought to obtain funds for the Oswalds' repatriation from private sources his mother and the International Rescue Committee before using Government funds.

Regulations further provide that repatriation loans are authorized for the alien, wife, and children of the U.S. national receiving a repatriation loan in order to avoid the division of families. However, loans are limited

To the minimum amount required to cover transportation and subsistence while enroute to the nearest continental United States port. * * * When necessary, loans may include: expenses incident to embarkation, such as fees for documentation and minimum subsistence from the date of application for a loan to the date of

departure by the first available ship. * * * The cost of transportation shall be limited to third-class passage by ship.

Oswald's loan was sufficient to cover no more than the least expensive transportation from Moscow to New York. His passport was stamped as valid only for return to the United States. Oswald completed all necessary forms and affidavits to obtain the loan.

According to its own procedures the Department of State should have prepared a lookout card for Oswald in June 1962 when he received the proceeds of the loan. The promissory note which he signed contained a provision stating,

I further understand and agree that after my repatriation I will not be furnished a passport for travel abroad until my obligation to reimburse the Treasurer of the United States is liquidated.

However, a lookout card was never in fact prepared. With respect to this failure the State Department has informed the Commission as follows:

On receipt of notice of the loan from the Embassy in Moscow, the Department's procedures provided that Miss Leola B. Burkhead of the Revenues and Receipts Branch of the Office of Finance should have notified the Clearance Section in the Passport Office of Oswald's name, date, and place of birth. If the Passport Office received only the name and not the date and place of birth of a borrower, it would not have prepared a lookout card under its established procedures because of lack of positive identification. (Among the Passport Office's file of millions of passport applicants, there are, of course, many thousands of identical names.) Mr. Richmond C. Reeley was the Chief of the Revenues and Receipts Branch of the Office of Finance and Mr. Alexander W. Maxwell was Chief of the Clearance Section. If the notice was received in the Clearance Section it would have been delivered to the Carding Desk for preparation of a lookout card on Oswald. It appears, however, that such a lookout card was not prepared. It may have been that the Finance Office did not notify the Clearance Section of Oswald's loan. One reason for this might have been the Finance Office's lack of information concerning Oswald's date and place of birth. On the other hand, the Finance Office may have notified the Clearance Section of Oswald's name only, in which case this Section would not have prepared a lookout card under its procedures. Since Oswald began repaying the loan in installments immediately after his return to the United States, it is also possible that the Office of Finance decided that it was unnecessary to pursue the matter further. In any event, Oswald's loan was repaid in full on January 29, 1963, five months prior to his application for a new passport.

Warren Report: Appendix XV - Oswald's Return to the United States and Repayment of His Loan

On June 1, 1962, the same day that Oswald received his loan from the State Department, he and his family left Moscow by train destined for Rotterdam, The Netherlands. They boarded the SS *Maasdam* at Rotterdam on June 4 and arrived in New York on June 13, 1962. The Embassy sent word of the Oswalds' departure to the Department of State in Washington on May 31. Consistent with its prior practice of keeping the Federal security agencies informed of Oswald's activity, the Department notified the FBI.

Frederick J. Wiedersheim, an officer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in New York, interviewed the Oswalds upon their entry into the United States at Hoboken, N.J., on June 13, 1962, but made no written report. Mr. Wiedersheim recalled that he asked the Oswalds various questions which would determine the eligibility of both Oswald and Marina to enter the United States. The questions included whether Oswald had expatriated himself and whether Marina belonged to any Communist organization which would bar her entry. These questions were answered in ways which did not appear to raise any problems and therefore the Oswalds were admitted.

After his reentry, Oswald repaid his loan without having to be reminded by the Department to do so. The early payments were very small because he first repaid the approximately \$200 he had borrowed from his brother Robert to apply against the expenses of his travel from New York to Fort Worth, Tex.

The schedule of payments is as follows:

Aug. 13, 1962	-----	\$10.00
Sept. 5, 1962	-----	9.71
Oct. 10, 1962	-----	10.00
Nov. 19, 1962	-----	10.00
Dec. 11, 1962	-----	190.00
Jan. 9, 1962	-----	100.00
Jan. 29, 1962	-----	106.00
Total	-----	435.71

Warren Report: Issuance of a Passport in June 1963

On June 24, 1963, Oswald applied for a U.S. passport at the Passport Office in New Orleans, La. He said he was planning to visit England, France, Holland, U.S.S.R., Finland, Italy, and Poland, and that he intended to leave the country sometime during November or December 1963 by ship from New Orleans. He stated further that he was married to a person born in Russia who was not an American citizen. For occupation, the word "Photographer" was inserted on the application.

On the same day a teletype was sent to Washington containing the names of 25 of the persons who applied for passports on that date in New Orleans, Oswald's name among them. On the right side of the Washington Passport Office copy of the teletype message, approximately parallel to his name, are the letters, "NO," written in red pencil. Oswald was issued a passport on June 25, 1963.

Since there was no lookout card on Oswald, the passport was processed routinely. Twenty-four hours is the usual time for routinely granted passports to be issued. The handwritten notation, "NO," which appeared beside Oswald's name on the list of applicants from New Orleans, is a symbol for the New Orleans Passport Office that is routinely placed on incoming teletype messages by anyone of a group of persons in the teletype section of the Passport Office. No one looked at Oswald's file previously established with the Department. The Department, however, has informed the Commission that at the time the passport was issued there was no information in its passport or security files which would have permitted it to deny a passport to Oswald. No lookout card should have been in the file based upon the Moscow Embassy's memorandum of March 28, 1960, which drew attention to Oswald's intention to expatriate himself, because the subsequent determination that Oswald had not expatriated himself would remove expatriation as a possible ground for denying him a passport. And by January 29, 1963, the repatriation loan had been repaid, so a lookout card should not have been in the file on that basis.

Oswald was entitled to receive a passport in 1963 unless he came within one of the two statutory provisions authorizing the Secretary of State to refuse to issue it. Section 6 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, which has recently been declared unconstitutional, then provided:

*** it shall be unlawful for any member of [an organization required to register], with knowledge or notice that such organization is so registered and that such order has become final(1) to make application for passport, or the renewal of a passport, to be issued or renewed by or under the authority of the United States; or (2) to use or attempt to use any such passport.

Pursuant to section 6, the State Department promulgated a regulation which denied passports to

*** any individual who the issuing officer knows or has reason to believe is a member of a Communist Organization registered or required to be registered under Section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 as amended.

Since there is no evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald was a member of the American Communist Party or any other organization which had been required to register under section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act, a passport could not have been denied him under section 6.

Section 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act provides that, while a Presidential proclamation of national emergency is in force,

*** it shall, except as otherwise provided by the President, *** be unlawful for any citizen of the United States to depart from or enter *** the United States unless he bears a valid passport.

Because a proclamation of national emergency issued by President Truman during the Korean war had not been revoked by 1963, the Government has taken the position that the statute remains in force. Pursuant to section 215, the State Department has issued regulations setting forth the circumstances under which it will refuse a passport:

In order to promote and safeguard the interests of the United States, passport facilities, except for direct and immediate return to the United States, shall be refused to a person when it appears to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State that the person's activity abroad would: (a) violate the laws of the United States; (b) be prejudicial to the orderly conduct of foreign relations; or (c) otherwise be prejudicial to the interests of the United States.

The State Department takes the position that its authority under this regulation is severely limited. In a report submitted to the Commission, the Department concluded that "there were no grounds consonant with the passport regulations to take adverse passport action against Oswald prior to November 22, 1963." Although Oswald's statement in 1959 that he would furnish the Russians with information he

had obtained in the Marine Corps may have indicated that he would disclose classified information if he possessed any such information, there was no indication in 1963 that he had any valuable information. Moreover, Oswald's 1959 statement had been brought to the attention of the Department of the Navy and the FBI and neither organization had initiated criminal proceedings. The Department therefore had no basis for concluding that Oswald's 1959 statement was anything more than rash talk. And the State Department's files contained no other information which might reasonably have led it to expect that Oswald would violate the laws of the United States when he went abroad.

The most likely ground for denying Oswald a passport in 1963, however, was provided by subsection (c) of the regulation quoted above, which requires the denial of a passport when the Secretary of State is satisfied that the applicant's "activity abroad would * * * otherwise be prejudicial to the interests of the United States." In 1957 the State Department described to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee one category of persons to whom it denied passports under this provision:

Persons whose previous conduct abroad has been such as to bring discredit on the United States and cause difficulty for other Americans (gave bad checks, left unpaid debts, had difficulties with police, etc.)

In light of the adverse publicity caused the United States by Oswald's prior defection to the Soviet Union, he could have been considered a person "whose previous conduct abroad had been such as to bring discredit on the United States." Indeed, the State Department itself had previously been of the opinion that Oswald's continued presence in Russia was damaging to the prestige of the United States because of his unstable character and prior criticisms of the United States.

However, in 1958 the Supreme Court had decided two cases which restricted the Secretary of State's authority to deny passports. In *Kent v. Dulles* and *Dayton v. Dulles*, the Supreme Court invalidated a State Department regulation permitting the denial of passports to Communists and to those "who are going abroad to engage in activities which will advance the Communist movement for the purpose, knowingly and willfully of advancing that movement," on the ground that the regulation exceeded the authority Congress had granted the Secretary. The *Kent* opinion stressed the importance to be attached to an individual's ability to travel beyond the borders of the United States:

The right to travel is a part of the "liberty" of which the citizen cannot be deprived without due process of law under the Fifth Amendment * * * Freedom of movement across frontiers in either direction, and inside frontiers as well, was a part of our heritage. Travel abroad, like travel within the country, may be necessary for a livelihood. It may be as close to the heart of the individual as the choice of what he eats, or wears, or reads. Freedom of movement is basic in our scheme of values.

The *Kent* opinion also suggested that grounds relating to citizenship and allegiance to illegal conduct might be the only two upon which the Department could validly deny a passport application.

The Department, though publicly declaring that these decisions had little effect upon its broadly worded regulation, in practice denied passports only in limited situations. In 1963 the Department denied passports only to those who violated the Department's travel restrictions, to fugitives from justice, to those involved in using passports fraudulently, and to those engaged in illegal activity abroad or in conduct directly affecting our relations with a particular country. Passports were granted to people who the Department might have anticipated would go abroad to denounce the United States, and to a prior defector. State Department officials believed that in view of the Supreme Court decisions, the Department was not empowered to deny anyone a passport on grounds related to freedom of speech or to political association and beliefs.

Since Oswald's citizenship was not in question and since there was no indication that he would be involved in illegal activity abroad, the only grounds upon which a passport might have been denied Oswald would have fallen within the area of speech or political belief and association. The Commission therefore concludes that the Department was justified in granting a passport to Oswald on June 25, 1963.

Warren Report: Appendix XV - Visit to the Russian Embassy in Mexico City

In October 1963, the Passport Office of the State Department received a report from the Central Intelligence Agency that Oswald had visited the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City. The report said nothing about Oswald's having visited the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City, a fact which was not known until after the assassination. Upon receipt of the information the passport file on Lee Harvey Oswald was reviewed by the Passport Office. The CIA communication and the passport file were read by an attorney and a supervisory attorney in that office who found no basis for revoking Oswald's passport or for notifying the FBI or CIA that Oswald had been issued a new passport in June 1963. The Department has informed the Commission that, "since the report indicated no grounds for determining Oswald was ineligible for a passport, a determination was made that no action by the passport office was required." Travel to Russia was not proscribed in 1963. Moreover, the Soviet Union was one of the countries Oswald had listed on his passport application. Hence, the Commission agrees that Oswald's taking steps to enter the Soviet Union in 1963 was not a sufficient reason to revoke his passport.

Later, on November 14, 1963, the FBI sent the Department a report on Oswald's arrest in New Orleans, La. during August in connection with a fist fight in which he became engaged when passing out pamphlets entitled "Hands Off Cuba." No action was taken on the basis of the Bureau's report. The Commission agrees that this incident was not grounds for revoking Oswald's passport.

Warren Report: Appendix XV - Transactions between Lee Harvey Oswald and Marina Oswald, and the U.S. Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the U.S. Department of Justice Conclusion

Investigation of Oswald's complete dealings with the Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service reveals no irregularity suggesting any illegal actions or impropriety on the part of government officials. The Commission believes, however, that in applying its own regulations the Department should in all cases exercise great care in the return to this country of defectors such as Oswald who have evidenced disloyalty or hostility to this country or who have expressed a desire to renounce their U.S. citizenship and that, when such persons are returned, procedures should be adopted for the better dissemination of information concerning them to the intelligence agencies of the Government. The operation of the "lookout card" system in the Department of State was obviously deficient, but since these deficiencies did not affect Oswald or reflect any favoritism or impropriety, the Commission considers them beyond the scope of its inquiry.

Especially while he was in the Soviet Union, Oswald's manner to Government personnel was frequently insulting and offensive. As one 1962 communication between the Embassy and the Department of State observed, "It is not that our hearts are breaking for Oswald. His impertinence knows no bounds." Nonetheless, the officials of the U.S. Government respected Oswald as a troubled American citizen and extended to him the services and assistance for which the agencies of government have been created. Though Oswald was known to be "an unstable character, whose actions are highly unpredictable," there was no reasonable basis in 1961 and 1962 for suspecting that upon his readmittance to the country he would resort to violence against its public officials. The officers of the Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, acting within the proper limits of their discretion, concluded that Oswald's return to the United States was in the best interests of the country; it is only from the vantage of the present that the tragic irony of their conclusion emerges.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - A Biography of Jack Ruby

In this appendix the Commission presents a biography of Jack Ruby. Although criminal proceedings involving its subject are pending in the State of Texas, the Commission has decided to include this rather detailed account of Ruby's life and activities for several reasons. Most importantly, the Commission believes it will permit a better evaluation of the evidence on the question whether Ruby was involved in any conspiracy. Furthermore, the Commission believes that in view of the many rumors concerning Ruby the public interest will be served by an account, which attempts to give sufficient material to provide an impression of his character and background. The Commission's desire not to interfere in the pending proceedings involving Ruby necessarily limits the scope of this appendix, which does not purport to discuss the legal issues raised during Ruby's trial or his possible motive for shooting Oswald.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Family Background

Jack Ruby, born Jacob Rubenstein, was the fifth of his parents' eight living children. There is much confusion about his exact birth date. School records report it as June 23, April 25, March 13, and, possibly, March 3, 1911. Other early official records list his date of birth as April 21 and April 26, 1911. During his adult life the date Ruby used most frequently was March 25, 1911. His driver's license, seized following his arrest, and his statements to the FBI on November 24, 1963, listed this date. However, the police arrest report for November 24 gave his birth date as March 19, 1911.

Since the recording of births was not required in Chicago prior to 1915, Ruby's birth may never have been officially recorded. No substantial conflict exists, however, about whether Jack Ruby was born in 1911.

Ruby has one older brother and three older sisters. The oldest children, Hyman and Ann, were born shortly after the turn of the century, before their parents arrived in the United States. The other children were born in Chicago. Ruby's sister Marion was born in June 1906 and his sister Eva in March 1909. Ruby also has two younger brothers and a younger sister. Sam was born in December 1912, Earl in April 1915. The youngest child, Eileen, was born in July 1917. At least one and possibly two other children died during infancy.

Jack Ruby's father, Joseph Rubenstein, was born in 1871 in Sokolov, a small town near Warsaw, Poland, then under the rule of Czarist Russia. He entered the Russian artillery in 1893. There he learned the carpentry trade, which had been practiced by his father and at least one brother and he picked up the habit of excessive drinking that was to plague him for the rest of his life. While in the army, he married Jack's mother, Fannie Turek Rutkowski; the marriage was arranged, as was customary, by a professional matchmaker. According to his oldest son, Joseph Rubenstein served in China, Korea, and Siberia, detesting these places and army life. Eventually, in 1898, he simply "walked away" from it and about 4 years later he went to England and Canada, entering the United States in 1903.

Settling in Chicago Joseph Rubenstein joined the carpenters union in 1904 and remained a member until his death in 1958. Although he worked fairly steadily until 1928, he was unemployed during the last 30 years of his life. The only other group which Joseph Rubenstein joined consisted of fellow immigrants from Sokolov. His daughter Eva described this group as purely social and completely nonpolitical.

Jack Ruby's mother, Fannie Rubenstein, was probably born in 1875 near Warsaw, Poland. She followed her husband to the United States in 1904 or 1905, accompanied by her children Hyman and Ann. An illiterate woman, she went to night school in about 1920 to learn how to sign her name. She apparently failed in this endeavor, however, for an alien registration form, filed after about 35 years in the United States, was signed by an "X". Although she apparently learned some English, her speech was predominantly Yiddish, the primary language of the Rubenstein household. Still, Mrs. Rubenstein felt strongly that her children required an education in order to better themselves. She frequently argued about this with her husband, who had received little, if any, formal education and firmly believed that grammar school training was sufficient for his children.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Childhood and Youth (1911-33)

In 1911, when Jack Ruby was born, his family resided near 14th and Newberry Streets in Chicago, the first in a series of Jewish neighborhoods in which the Rubensteins lived during his childhood. In 1916, the Rubensteins lived at 1232 Morgan Street, where they apparently remained until 1921. This was the fourth residence in the first 5 years of Jack Ruby's life. Earl Ruby described one typical neighborhood in which the family lived as a "ghetto" with "pushcarts on the sirens." His sister Eva characterized it as "below the middle class but yet it wasn't the poorest class." The family generally lived near Italian sections, where there were frequent fights along ethnic lines.

The Rubenstein home was marked by constant strife and the parents were reported to have occasionally struck each other. Between 1915 and 1921, Joseph Rubenstein was frequently arrested because of disorderly conduct and assault and battery charges, some filed by his wife. In the spring of 1921, Jack Ruby's parents separated. In 1937 Mrs. Rubenstein reported that she had desired a divorce 15 years earlier, but her husband had been opposed to it. The predominant causes of the separation were apparently Joseph Rubenstein's excessive drinking and Fannie Rubenstein's uncontrollable temper. She resented her numerous pregnancies, believed her husband to be unfaithful, and nagged him because he failed to make enough money.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Psychiatric Report

Young Jack soon showed the effects of parental discord. On June 6, 1922, at the age of 11, he was referred to the Institute for Juvenile Research by the Jewish Social Service Bureau. The reason for the referral was "truancy and incorrigible at home." On July 10, 1922, the institute recommended to the bureau that Jack be placed in a new environment where his characteristics might be understood and where he might be afforded the supervision and recreation that would end his interest in street gangs. In March 1923, the institute advised the bureau that "placement in a home, where intelligent supervision and discipline can be given" was appropriate.

The institute's psychiatric examination, which served as a basis for these recommendations, took place in 1922, prior to the advent of many techniques and theories of modern psychiatry, but it is the most objective evidence of Jack Ruby's childhood character. According to the psychiatric report, Jack was "quick tempered" and "disobedient." He frequently disagreed openly with his mother, whom he considered an inferior person with whose rules he did not have to comply. Jack told the institute's interviewer that he ran away from home because his mother lied to him and beat him. Although Mrs. Rubenstein was severe with her children, she was described as totally incapable of coping with them "because of their delinquencies, i.e., principally their destructive tendencies and disregard for other people's property." His mother's "extreme temperament" and quarrelsomeness were cited as possible causes of Jack's "bad behavior."

Self-administered questionnaires revealed that Jack felt his classmates were "picking" on him and that he could not get along with his friends. They also indicated that, although Jack described himself as a good ballplayer, he did not belong to any clubs and was not a member of any athletic teams. Jack's psychiatric interviewer reported:

He could give no other good reason for running away from school except that he went to amusement parks.

He has some sex knowledge and is greatly interested in sex matters. He stated that the boys in the street tell him about these things. He also claims that he can lick everyone and anybody in anything he wants to do.

The interviewer noted that during "mental tests" he reacted quickly, often carelessly, and his attention was apt to wander so that he had to be reprimanded.

A letter recommending the boy's placement in a more wholesome environment stated:

He is egocentric and expects much attention, but is unable to get it as there are many children at home. His behavior is further colored by his early sex experiences, his great interest [in sex] and the gang situation in the street. From a superficial examination of his mother who was here with him, it is apparent that she has no insight into his problem, and she is thoroughly inadequate in the further training of this boy.

Recognizing that the sketchiness of the case record precluded complete diagnosis, Dr. Raymond E. Robertson, currently the superintendent of the institute, reported nonetheless that it seems "firmly established * * * [that] his unstable and disorganized home could not provide Jack with the necessary controls and discipline."

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Placement in Foster Homes

On July 10, 1923, a dependency hearing involving Jack, his younger brothers Sam and Earl, and his sister Eileen, was held in Chicago's juvenile court. The petition alleged that the children were not receiving proper parental care. They had, until then, been in their mother's custody, living on Roosevelt Road, the border between Jewish and Italian districts. The juvenile court made a finding of dependency. It appointed the Jewish Home Finding Society guardian with the right to place the children in foster homes, and it ordered Joseph Rubenstein to pay the court clerk \$4 per week for the support of each child. On November 24, 1924, this order was vacated, which apparently signified the termination of the guardianship and the return of the children to their mother. On April 8, 1925, the case was continued "generally," meaning that it was inactive but could be reactivated if the court so desired.

Despite court records, the exact circumstances and length of time that, Jack Ruby lived away from home are not entirely clear. Records indicate that Jack, Sam, Earl, and Eileen Rubenstein were wards of the Jewish Home Finding Society "for a short time in 1922-23." However, Jack and Eileen stated they spent about 4 or 5 years in foster homes. Earl testified that he and Sam were originally sent to a private foster home and then lived on a farm for a little more than a year, while Jack was on a different farm "some distance away." Subsequently the three brothers lived together in another foster home.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Subsequent Home Life

When Jack Ruby returned to his family, the unit was still disordered. His father remained apart from the children at least until 1936 and perhaps until a few years later. Mrs. Rubenstein's inability to manage her home, which had been reported by the Institute for Juvenile Research in 1922, apparently continued. For example, in 1937 Marion Rubenstein observed that her mother "has never been any kind of a housekeeper, was careless with money, and never took much interest in the children's welfare * * * she was selfish, jealous, disagreeable, and never cared to do anything in the home but lie around and sleep." Dr. Hyman I. Rubenstein, the son of Joseph Rubenstein's brother, recalled that Jack Ruby's mother ran "an irregular household" and appeared to be "a rather disturbed person of poor personal appearance with no incentive for cleaning or cooking."

Mrs. Rubenstein's domestic shortcomings were accompanied by symptoms of mental disease. In about 1913, 2 years after Jack was born, Mrs. Rubenstein began to develop a delusion that a sticking sensation in her throat was caused by a lodged fishbone. Each month Hyman, her oldest child, took her to a clinic. And each month the examining doctor, finding no organic cause for discomfort, informed her that there was nothing in her throat and that the sensation was but a figment of her imagination. According to Hyman, this practice continued for a number of years until Mrs. Rubenstein tired of it.

In 1927, Mrs. Rubenstein once again began to visit clinics in connection with her fishbone delusion. Three years later, a thyroidectomy was performed, but she subsequently said it did nothing to relieve her discomfort. According to the Michael Reese Hospital, whose clinic she had visited since 1927, Mrs. Rubenstein was suffering from psychoneurosis with marked anxiety state.

By order of the county court of Cook County, Mrs. Rubenstein was committed to Elgin State Hospital on July 16, 1937. She was paroled on October 17, 1937, 3 months after her commitment. On January 3, 1938, the Chicago State Hospital informed Elgin State that the family desired that she be readmitted to the mental hospital. The family reported that she was uncooperative, caused constant discord, was very noisy, and used obscene language. A State social worker observed that Mrs. Rubenstein refused ever to leave the house, explaining that her children would have thrown her things out had she left. Mrs. Rubenstein rebuffed a suggestion by the social worker that she help with the dishes by stating that she would do nothing as long as her "worthless" husband was in the house. She was readmitted on January 14, 1938.

Mrs. Rubenstein was again paroled on May 27, 1938, and was discharged as "improved" on August 25, 1938. She stayed in an apartment with Marion, and her separation from the rest of the family apparently ended most of the difficulties. Subsequently, Jack Ruby's parents were apparently reconciled, since their alien registration forms, filed in late 1940, indicated that they both resided at Marion's address.

Fannie Rubenstein was admitted to Michael Reese Hospital on April 4, 1944, as a result of a heart ailment. Her condition was complicated by an attack of pneumonia and she died at the hospital on April 11, 1944. Hyman testified that, perhaps because she favored the education of her children and they recognized her difficulties in rearing them during a turbulent marriage, they all remembered Mrs. Rubenstein with warmth and affection. The evidence also indicates that Jack, notwithstanding his earlier attitudes, became especially fond of his mother. Following his wife's death, Joseph Rubenstein stayed with the children in Chicago, where he died at the age of 87, on December 24, 1958.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Education

Records provided by the Chicago Board of Education revealed that Jack Ruby attended Smyth Grammar School from October 24, 1916, through the 1920-21 term, completing kindergarten to grade 4B. He repeated the third grade. During the 1921-22 school year Jack finished the fourth grade at the Clarke School; he attended Schley School for the 1924-25 term, when he completed the sixth grade. Ruby's relationship with the Institute for Juvenile Research and the Jewish Home Finding Society may explain the lack of academic records for the 1922-23 and 1923-24 school years. While there is some uncertainty about Ruby's education subsequent to September 1925, it seems likely that he completed the eighth grade in 1927, when he was 16. Although Jack Ruby and others have stated that he attended at least 1 year of high school, the Chicago Board of Education could not locate any record of Ruby's attending Chicago high schools. Considering the absence of academic records and Jack's apathetic attitude toward school, the Commission deems it unlikely that his education extended into high school.

Records of the Institute for Juvenile Research revealed that, as of June 1922, Ruby had no religious education outside the public school system. However, according to their children, Jack's parents made some effort to inculcate in them a desire to adhere to the tenets of Orthodox Judaism. Jewish dietary and festival laws were observed and several of the children accompanied Joseph Rubenstein to the synagogue. Earl Ruby stated that all the boys received some Hebrew school training until the breakup of the Rubenstein home in 1921. However, Hyman Rubenstein testified that the instability and economic necessities of the household and the children's relationships outside the home frustrated the religious efforts of Ruby's parents.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Activities

Born in a home that disintegrated when he was 10 and boasting no substantial educational background, Jack Ruby early found himself on Chicago streets attempting to provide for himself and other members of his family. An avid sports fan, he, together with many of his friends, "scalped" tickets to various sporting events. He also sold numerous novelty items and knickknacks, particularly those connected with professional and collegiate athletics. Even in his youth, Ruby declined to work on a steady basis for someone else.

According to his brother Hyman, Jack Ruby's only legal difficulty as a youth resulted from an altercation with a policeman about ticket scalping. Hyman, then active in local politics, was able to have charges arising out of the incident dropped. Ruby has indicated that during the depression he served a short jail sentence for the unauthorized sale of copyrighted sheet music.

The only other member of the Rubenstein family who appears to have had any difficulty with the law while a youth was Hyman. On May 1, 1916, Chicago's juvenile court declared Hyman incorrigible, a term covering a wide range of misbehavior. Because of the absence of informative court records and the lapse of time, the misconduct that occasioned this proceeding could not be ascertained, but Hyman is not known to have encountered subsequent difficulty. Some of Ruby's childhood friends eventually became criminals; however, Hyman Rubenstein, his sister Mrs. Eva Grant, and virtually all of Ruby's friends and acquaintances who were questioned reported that he was not involved with Chicago's criminal element.

The evidence indicates that young Jack was not interested in political affairs. Hyman was the only Rubenstein to participate actively in politics. Sponsored by various political officials, he became a sidewalk inspector and warehouse investigator for 8 years. On one occasion, he obtained a permit for Jack to sell novelties from a pushcart located in a business district during the pre-Christmas buying rush. Eventually the complaints of enraged businessmen led licensing authorities to declare that a mistake had been made and to revoke Ruby's permit.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Temperament

The evidence reveals striking differences of opinion among childhood friends and acquaintances of Jack Ruby about whether he possessed violent tendencies. Many persons stated that he was mild mannered, quiet, and even tempered. Former welterweight champion Barney Ross, whom Jack Ruby idolized from the inception of his boxing career, stated that Ruby was "well behaved," was never a troublemaker, and was never involved with law-enforcement agencies. Another friend, who became a successful businessman on the west coast, said that, as a youth, Ruby never started fights even though he was adept with his fists. Other friends declared that he would, if at all possible, avoid clashes.

But many other friends and acquaintances recalled that he had a hot temper and was quickly moved to violent acts or words. One friend explained that in the "tough" Chicago neighborhood where they lived, self-defense was vitally important and added that Ruby was fully capable of defending himself. Another friend described Ruby as quick tempered and, though unlikely to pick fights, willing to accept any challenge without regard to the odds against him. Young Jack also interfered in fights, particularly when the person he was aiding appeared to be taking a severe beating or in a disadvantageous position. Others reported that he had the reputation of being a good street brawler. One school friend recalled that when Jack argued vehemently about sports, he occasionally used a stick or other available weapon. He reported, however, that after Ruby's anger subsided, he reverted to his normal, likable character.

From early childhood, Jack Ruby was called "Sparky" by those who knew him. According to his sister Eva Grant, the nickname derived from the way Jack wobbled when he walked. He was thought to resemble the slow-moving horse called "Sparky" or "Sparkplug" depicted in a contemporary comic strip. Mrs. Grant testified that her brother became incensed when called "Sparky" and that from the time he was about 8 years old he would strike anyone calling him by that name. A childhood friend also recalled that Jack hated the nickname and would fight when called by it. Mrs. Grant was unsure whether the nickname "Sparky" did not also result from his quick reaction to the taunts of young friends. Hyman Rubenstein thought that the nickname derived from Jack's speed, aggressiveness, and quick thinking. The many accounts of Ruby's lightning like temper lend credence to the theory, widely held, that his nickname was connected with his volatility.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Young Manhood (1933-43)

San Francisco (1933-37)

Jack Ruby reported that in about 1933, he and several Chicago friends went to Los Angeles and, shortly thereafter, to San Francisco. Although there is evidence that he stayed there until 1938, 1939, or 1940, Ruby stated that he returned to Chicago in about 1937, and this appears to have been the case. Eva Grant testified that Ruby went to the west coast because he believed employment would be available there.

Eva, who married Hyman Magid in Chicago in 1930, was divorced in early 1934, and in about June of that year joined her brother Jack in San Francisco. She and her son, Ronald, shared an apartment with him. In 1936, Eva married Frank Granovsky, also known as Frank Grant, in San Francisco, and Ruby shared a four-room apartment with them and Ronald for a short while.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Occupations and Activities

Ruby stated that when he and his friends arrived in Los Angeles, they sold a handicapper's tip sheet for horse races at Santa Anita racetrack which had just opened. Eva Grant testified that Ruby also worked as a singing waiter in Los Angeles, but made very little money.

When the group moved to San Francisco, Ruby continued to sell "tip" sheets at Bay Meadows racetrack. Subsequently, he became a door-to-door salesman of subscriptions to San Francisco newspapers. Although there is some evidence that he ultimately became chief of his crew and had several people working under him, other reports indicate that this is unlikely. Eva Grant testified that she also sold newspaper subscriptions but was less proficient than her brother and relied upon him for advice and support.

Although virtually all his San Francisco acquaintances knew Jack Ruby as "Sparky," there is no evidence that he engaged in violent activities in San Francisco or was reputed to possess a vicious temper. One friend, who stated that he resided with Ruby and Eva for about a year, described him as a "well-mannered, likable individual who was soft spoken and meticulous in his dress and appearance." Another friend described him as a "clean-cut, honest kid," and the manager of a crew with which Ruby worked stated that he had a good reputation and appeared to be an "honest, forthright person." The crew manager reported that Ruby associated with a sports crowd, some of whose members were involved with professional boxing, but not with criminals. He added that Ruby had a personal liking for law enforcement and would have wanted to become a police officer had he been larger physically.

One friend reported that although Ruby always associated with Jewish people, he never exhibited great interest in religion. Ruby met Virginia Belasco, granddaughter of the prominent playwright and actor, David Belasco, in about 1936 at a dance at the Jewish community center in San Francisco. Miss Belasco stated that while a teenager she saw Ruby socially on several occasions between 1936 and 1941. The only other evidence concerning Ruby's social activities while in San Francisco is his statement to his long-time girl friend, Alice Nichols of Dallas, that while in San Francisco he met the only other woman, Virginia Fitzgerald or Fitzsimmons, that he ever considered marrying.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Chicago (1937-43)

Jack Ruby stated that following his return to Chicago, he was unemployed for a considerable period. However, when his mother was admitted to Elgin State Hospital in 1937, she reported that he was employed as a "traveling salesman" apparently living away from home. Although there is conflicting evidence about his ability to earn a comfortable living, he apparently was able to maintain a normal existence and required no financial assistance from his family or friends. He continued to be a so-called "hustler," scalping tickets and buying watches and other small items for resale at discount prices. One of his closest Chicago friends stated that Ruby's sales and promotions were "shady" but "legitimate."

Labor union activities. Ruby reported that in "about 1937" he became active in Local 20467 of the Scrap Iron and Junk Handlers Union. At this time, his friend, attorney Leon Cooke, was the local's financial secretary. Records provided by the Social Security Administration indicate that Ruby was employed by the union from late 1937 until early 1940; he worked as a union organizer and negotiated with employers on its behalf.

On December 8, 1939, the union's president, John Martin, shot Cooke, who died of gunshot wounds on January 5, 1940; Martin was subsequently acquitted on the ground of self-defense. Although a Jack Rubenstein is mentioned in the minutes of a union meeting on February 2, 1940, and Ruby is reported to have said after Cooke's death that he wanted to "take over" the union, the evidence indicates that Ruby was so upset by Cooke's death that he was unable to devote himself further to union activities and left its employ. Ruby reported that after Cooke's death he adopted the middle name "Leon," which he used only infrequently, in memory of his friend.

Since Ruby was the ultimate source of all but one of these accounts, other descriptions of Ruby's separation from the union cannot with certainty be deemed inaccurate. These reports indicated that Ruby might have been forced out of the union by a criminal group, or might have left because he lacked the emotional stability necessary for successful labor negotiations or because he felt he was not earning enough money with the union.

Although the AFL-CIO investigated the ethical practices of local 20467 in 1956, placed the local in trusteeship, and suspended Paul Dorfman, who succeeded Martin and Cooke, there is no evidence that Ruby's union activities were connected with Chicago's criminal element. Several longtime members of the union reported that it had a good reputation when Ruby was affiliated with it and employers who negotiated with it have given no indication that it had criminal connections.

Subsequent employment. In 1941, Ruby and Harry Epstein organized the Spartan Novelty Co., a small firm that sold in various northeastern States small cedar chests containing candy and gambling devices known as punchboards. Earl Ruby and two of Jack Ruby's friends, Martin Gimpel and Martin Shargol, were also associated in this venture. The group had no fixed addresses, living in hotels.

Late in 1941, Jack Ruby returned to Chicago, where he continued his punch board business through the mails. Following the December 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor, he and several friends decided to design and sell plaques commemorating the Day of Infamy. However, the venture was impeded by Ruby's perfectionist approach to details of design which resulted in numerous production delays. By the time Ruby's copyrighted plaque was finally ready for sale, the market was flooded with similar items. At about this time, Ruby also sold busts of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In late 1942 and 1943, Ruby was employed by the Globe Auto Glass Co. and Universal Sales Co.

Although one of Ruby's acquaintances at this time described him as a cuckoo nut on the subject of patriotism, the evidence does not indicate that Ruby's promotion of "Remember Pearl Harbor" plaques and Roosevelt busts was motivated by patriotic or political considerations. Rather, the sale of these items was, to Ruby, just another commercial venture, but he might also have considered these sales "a good thing." Numerous friends reported that, Ruby had no interest in political affairs during this period, although he greatly admired President Roosevelt.

Other activities. The evidence indicates that Ruby led a normal social life during these years. Virginia Belasco stated that while Ruby was selling punch boards in New York during November 1941, he entertained her each weekend. Other reports indicate that Ruby fancied himself a "ladies' man," enjoyed dancing, almost always had female accompaniment and was "very gentlemanly" with women. Ruby, with several friends, frequently attempted to disrupt rallies of the German-American Bund. One acquaintance reported that Ruby was responsible for "cracking a few heads" of Bund members. Apparently he joined in this activity for ethnic rather than political reasons. The young men in the group were not organized adherents of any particular political creed, but were pool hall and tavern companions from Ruby's Jewish neighborhood who gathered on the spur of the moment to present opposition when

they learned that the pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic Bund movement was planning a meeting. Hyman Rubenstein testified that Ruby would fight with any person making derogatory comments about his ethnic origins, and others have stated that Ruby would fight with anyone he suspected of pro-Nazi or anti-Semitic tendencies.

During this period Ruby, though temperamental, apparently engaged in no unusual acts of violence. However, he did interfere on several occasions when he thought someone was treated unfairly. A friend who described Ruby as "somewhat overbearing regarding the rights and feelings of others," reported that Ruby fought two college students who insulted a Negro piano player. Another friend reported that Ruby had a "bitter" fight with a man who was abusing an older woman.

Maintaining his friendship with Barney Ross, and still an ardent sports fan, Ruby associated with various figures in the boxing world and regularly attended the fights at Marigold Gardens. He frequented the Lawndale Poolroom and Restaurant, a rallying point for the anti-Bundists and chief "hangout" of many of Ruby's friends. In addition, Ruby, described as a "health nut" who earnestly contended that he could hit harder than Joe Louis, exercised at several athletic clubs.

Despite Ruby's participation in "shady" financial enterprises, his association with a labor union subsequently disciplined by the AFL-CIO his participation in violent anti-Bund activities, and his connection with a poolroom, the evidence falls short of demonstrating that Ruby was significantly affiliated with organized crime in Chicago. Virtually all of Ruby's Chicago friends stated he had no close connection with organized crime. In addition, unreliable as their reports may be, several known Chicago criminals have denied any such liaison. The Commission finds it difficult to attach credence to a newspaper reporter's contrary statement that his undisclosed "syndicate sources" revealed Ruby was connected with organized crime and confidence games. Ruby was unquestionably familiar, if not friendly, with some Chicago criminals, but there is no evidence that he ever participated in organized criminal activity.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Military Activities (1943-46)

In September 1941, Jack Ruby was apparently classified 1-A and declared eligible for the draft. Subsequently he appeared before a local board and was reclassified 1-H or 3-A. Between August 31, 1941, and November 19, 1942, when it was abolished, the 1-H classification applied to registrants who had reached their 28th birthday and were, therefore, no longer liable for service. The 3-A deferment applies to persons whose entry into military service presents financial hardship to dependents. Because of the length of time involved and the destruction of local draft board records, Ruby's precise status or the reason for his deferment could not be ascertained. According to one somewhat unreliable report, Ruby, immediately prior to his physical examination, feigned a hearing disability and occasionally wore a hearing aid. Hyman Rubenstein, who testified that Jack was deferred because of economic hardship since he "the only one home," specifically denied the truthfulness of this allegation. Early in 1943, Ruby was again classified I-A, and, following an unsuccessful appearance before his appeal board, he was inducted into the US. Army Air Forces on May 21, 1943. Jack was the last of the Rubenstein brothers to enter the service. Previously, Earl had enlisted in the Navy, Sam was in Army Air Force Intelligence and Hyman was in the field artillery.

Except for 5 weeks in Farmingdale, N.Y., Ruby spent his military days at various airbases in the South. He received the basic training given all recruits and advanced training as an aircraft mechanic. On August 2, 1943, he passed marksmanship tests with the .30 caliber carbine and the .45 caliber submachine gun, but failed with the .30 caliber rifle. On February 10, 1944, he earned a sharpshooter's rating for his firing of an M1 .30 caliber carbine. His character and efficiency ratings, when determined, were excellent. After attaining the rank of private first class and receiving the good conduct medal, Ruby was honorably discharged on February 21, 1946.

Two persons who recalled Ruby while he was in the Army Air Forces asserted that he was extremely sensitive to insulting remarks about Jews. When, during an argument, a sergeant called Ruby a "Jew bastard," Ruby reportedly attacked him and beat him with his fists.

There is conflicting evidence about the zeal with which Ruby performed his military duties. One associate indicated that Ruby, who at 34 was the oldest in his group, always worked harder than the others to prove that he could keep up with them. Another recalled by contrast, that Ruby had "no liking for work" and carefully avoided situations requiring him to dirty his hands. However, there is no basis in the record for the inference that Ruby was in any way anti-American.

Ruby frequently expressed to some fellow soldiers his high regard for Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Two independent sources reported that he cried openly when informed of Roosevelt's death in April 1945. This did not indicate any sudden political interest, however, since none of his known military associates reported such an interest, and Ruby's admiration for President Roosevelt interceded his military days.

While in service, Ruby is reported to have continued his promotional ventures. One person recalled that in 1944, Jack received punch boards and chocolates from someone in Chicago and peddled these items through the base to make extra money. This person also indicated that Ruby enjoyed card and dice games in or near the barracks.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Postwar Chicago (1946-47)

Following his discharge from the Army Air Forces in February 1946, Jack Ruby returned to Chicago. He joined his three brothers, who had previously been discharged from the service, in the Earl Products Co. Earl Ruby testified that he was the sole investor in the enterprise, but each brother received an equal ownership interest on his return from the service. The company manufactured and sold small cedar chests and distributed punch boards. In addition, it made aluminum salt and pepper shakers, key chains, bottle openers, screwdrivers, and small hammers. Sam supervised the manufacturing end of the business, while Earl managed the office and advertising. Jack was in charge of sales, but the company was small and he had no subordinates.

Because insufficient profits led to frequent arguments, Hyman soon left Earl Products. Jack, who stayed with the company through most of 1947, had many disputes with his brothers because he insisted on selling the products of other companies, such as costume jewelry, and he did not like traveling outside the Chicago area. Earl and Sam finally purchased Jack's interest, paying him more than \$14, 000 in cash.

Although there is some evidence to the contrary, it is unlikely that Ruby was in the nightclub business in Chicago during the postwar period. Many who have reported this may have mistaken him for Harry Rubenstein, who was convicted of manslaughter and operated several such establishments. None of Jack Ruby's close friends or relatives indicated that he was in the nightclub business.

Following his return from the Army, Ruby was described as ready to fight with any person who insulted Jews or the military. Earl Ruby testified that on one occasion in 1946, Jack returned from downtown Chicago with his suit covered with blood. He explained at that time that he had fought with a person who had called him a "dirty Jew or something like that."

Other evidence indicates that Ruby's personality was not substantially changed by his military experience. One person who met him in 1947, reported that Ruby was a "fashionable" dresser. He continued to be described as soft spoken, although he was also known as hot-tempered. Ruby worked out regularly at an athletic club, and one friend regarded him as a "Romeo," who was quite successful in attracting young women.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Dallas (1947-63)

The Move to Dallas

During World War II, Ruby's sister, Eva Grant, visited Dallas. Having operated a restaurant on the west coast, and considering it a lucrative business, she arranged, near the end of 1945, to lease a building under construction in Dallas, which she ran as a night-club. Part of the financing for this establishment, the Singapore Supper Club, was provided by her brothers. Jack Ruby, who apparently obtained the money from Earl Products, sent \$1,100 as a down-payment on the lease, Earl contributed about \$1,500, and Hyman paid for more than \$2,000 worth of equipment.

Before she opened the Singapore in 1947, Eva Grant engaged in the sale of metal products. In that year she met Paul Roland Jones, who allegedly was seeking customers for iron pipe and whom she referred to Hyman Rubenstein. Jones had, at about that time, been convicted of attempting to bribe the newly elected sheriff of Dallas. On October 24, 1947, he was arrested for violating Federal narcotics statutes. Jack Ruby had visited Dallas early in 1947 to help Eva Grant manage the Singapore, and 5 days after Jones' arrest, Jack and Hyman Rubenstein were interrogated in Chicago by agents of the Bureau of Narcotics. The brothers admitted knowing Jones but denied awareness of his connection with narcotics. During the 2 years in which Jones was appealing his conviction he and other criminals frequented the Singapore Club, then operated by Jack Ruby.

Intensive investigation to determine whether Jack Ruby was criminally or otherwise connected with Jones' narcotics violation leads the Commission to conclude Ruby probably was not involved. A search of the files of the Bureau of Narcotics disclosed no record that either Hyman or Jack had been prosecuted by Federal authorities in 1947. Jack, Hyman, and Eva denied participating in any narcotics activities. Jones and his coconspirators also denied that Jack was a participant. One of Jones' confederates reported after the shooting of Oswald that although Jones "propositioned" the two brothers concerning narcotics, they refused to participate. Moreover, when one of the conspirators was arrested with 48 pounds of raw opium in his possession, he implicated Jones and another person, both of whom were convicted, but he did not implicate Jack Ruby or his brother.

Late in 1947, Ruby established permanent residence in Dallas. Shortly after shooting Oswald, Ruby stated that he returned to Dallas at Eva Grant's request, to help her operate the Singapore Supper Club. However, on December 21, 1963, he reported that although association with his sister had been the purport of his initial visit to Dallas, he returned there because of the failure of his "merchandising deals" in Chicago. These factors, in conjunction with his separation from Earl Products, probably motivated Ruby's move to Dallas.

A different reason has been given by Steve Guthrie, former sheriff of Dallas. Guthrie reported that shortly after his election as sheriff in July 1946, Paul Roland Jones, representing other Chicago criminals, offered him a substantial amount of money to permit them to move in and manage illegal activities in Dallas. Although he never met Ruby, Guthrie asserted that these criminals frequently mentioned that Ruby would operate a "fabulous" restaurant as a front for gambling activities.

Despite its source, the Commission finds it difficult to accept this report. A member of the Dallas Police Department, Lt. George E. Butler, who was present during virtually all the conversations between Guthrie and Jones and who performed considerable investigative work on the case, stated that Ruby was not involved in the bribery attempt and that he had not heard of Ruby until the investigation and trial of Jones had been completed. He explained that Ruby's connection with the case stemmed from the fact that, as mentioned previously, Jones and other criminals frequented the Singapore Supper Club. And 22 recordings of the conversations between Guthrie, Butler, and Jones not only fail to mention Ruby, but indicate that Jones was to bring from outside the Dallas area only one confederate, who was not to be Jewish.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - The Change of Name

Sometime in 1947, Jack Ruby's brothers Earl and Sam, pursuant to a joint understanding, legally changed their names from Rubenstein to Ruby. Earl testified that he changed his name because everyone called him Ruby and because a former employer advised him that it was preferable not to use a "Jewish name" on mail orders for Earl Products.

On December 30, 1947, Jack changed his name to Jack L. Ruby by securing a decree from the 68th Judicial District Court of Dallas. His petition alleged that he sought the change because the name Rubenstein was misunderstood and too long and because he was "well known" as Jack L. Ruby. The Bureau of Narcotics report of his relationship with Paul Roland Jones indicates that as of October 29, 1947, Jack was known as Ruby; however, several persons in Dallas knew him as Rubenstein.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Nightclub Operations

Except for a brief period in about 1953, when Ruby managed the Ervay Theater, a motion picture house, the operation of nightclubs and dance halls was his primary source of income, and his basic interest in life during the 16 years he spent in Dallas prior to shooting Lee Oswald. When Ruby first arrived in Dallas in 1947, he and Eva Grant jointly managed The Singapore Supper Club. Shortly thereafter, she returned to the west coast. Except for sporadic trips to Dallas, she remained there until 1959, leaving Ruby a power of attorney. Ruby, who had received \$14,000 from the sale of his interest in Earl Products, invested a substantial amount in the club, which Mrs. Grant described as "too nice a club for that part of town." Ruby changed the Singapore's name to the Silver Spur Club. It was operated primarily as a dancehall, serving beer to its patrons. In about 1952, Ruby borrowed \$3,700 from a friend, Ralph Paul, to purchase the Bob Wills Ranch House with Martin Gimpel, a former associate in the Spartan Novelty Co. The Ranch House was run as a western-type nightclub.

With two establishments to run, Ruby experienced substantial financial reversals in 1952. He abandoned his interest in the Ranch House and, on July 1, 1952, transferred The Silver Spur to Gimpel and Willie Epstein, who assumed some of its debts. Disappointed by these setbacks, Ruby stated that he had a "mental breakdown," and "hibernated" in the Cotton Bowl Hotel in Dallas for 3 or 4 months, declining to see his friends. Still depressed, he then returned to Chicago, apparently intending to remain there permanently. However, he stayed only 6 weeks. Gimpel and Epstein were anxious to be rid of the Silver Spur and Ruby once again became its owner.

In 1953, Ruby obtained an interest in the Vegas Club, which he operated with Joe Bonds until September 1953. At that time he informed Irving Alkana, who had retained a prior ownership interest, that he was unable to meet his obligations with respect to the club. Alkana then assumed management of the Vegas until June 19, 1954, when, following numerous disagreements with him, he sold Ruby his interest.

Ruby still owned the Vegas Club at the time of his arrest on November 24, 1963. However, when Eva Grant returned from San Francisco in 1959, she assumed management of the club, receiving a salary but no ownership interest. The Vegas, which occasionally featured striptease acts, employed a dance band and served beer, wine, soft drinks, and some prepared foods.

In 1954, Ruby's Vegas associate, Joe Bonds, was convicted of sodomy and sent to a Texas penitentiary to serve an 8-year sentence. In 1955, Ruby sold the Silver Spur to Roscoe "Rocky" Robinson; however, Robinson could not obtain a license to operate the club and it was subsequently closed. For a few months during this period, Ruby also operated Hernando's Hideaway, but this venture proved unsuccessful.

Sam Ruby testified that shortly after he sold his interest in Earl Products in mid-1955 and moved to Dallas, he loaned Jack \$5,500 to enable him to pay Federal excise taxes on the Vegas. As security for the loan, Sam required Jack to execute a bill of sale of the Vegas. Upon Jack's default in payment, Sam instituted suit, claiming that he owned the Vegas and that Jack had breached his promise to repurchase it. The case was ultimately settled, with Jack retaining his ownership interest in the club.

In late 1959, Jack Ruby became a partner of Joe Slatin in establishing the Sovereign Club, a private club that was apparently permitted by Texas law to sell liquor to members. Since Slatin was troubled about Dallas news stories describing police raids on a private club that permitted gambling, he felt he needed more capital. Ruby invested about \$6,000 which he borrowed from his brother Earl and perhaps some of his own money.

The Sovereign was described as a "plush" and exclusive club, and Ruby was apparently very anxious to attract a wealthy "carriage" trade. The venture was not successful, however. The two men could not work together, and Slatin withdrew in early 1960. Ruby turned for new capital to Ralph Paul, who had operated a Dallas club with Joe Bonds. Ruby still owed Paul \$1,200 of the \$3,700 loan made in connection with the Bob Wills Ranch House, but Paul advanced him another \$2,200, which allowed him to pay the Sovereign's rent for 4 months. Subsequently, Ruby spontaneously gave Paul a stock certificate representing 50 percent of the equity of the corporation owning the club. Ruby told Paul that if the venture failed, the Sovereign's fixtures and other physical property would belong to Paul.

Experiencing difficulty in recruiting sufficient members, Ruby soon found himself again unable to pay the Sovereign's monthly rent of \$550. Again he turned to Paul, who loaned him \$1,650 on the condition that he change the club's method of operation. Paul insisted that Ruby discontinue club memberships, even though this would prevent the sale of liquor, and offer striptease shows as a substitute attraction. Ruby agreed, and the Sovereign's name was changed to the Carousel Club. It became one of three downtown Dallas burlesque clubs and served champagne, beer, "setups" and pizza, its only food. The

Carousel generally employed four strippers, a master of ceremonies, an assistant manager, a band, three or four waitresses, and a porter or handyman. Net receipts averaged about \$5, 000 per month most of which was allocated to the club's payroll. Late in 1963, Ruby began to distribute "permanent passes" to the Carousel; however, the cards were apparently designed solely for publicity and did not affect the club's legal status.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Employee Relationships

Ruby's employees displayed a wide range of personal reactions to him. Those associated with Ruby long enough to grow accustomed to his violent temper and constant threats of discharge generally portray him sympathetically. They reported he was genuinely interested in their welfare and happiness. In addition, many former employees stated that he was a pleasant or unobjectionable employer.

There is also considerable evidence that Ruby tended to dominate his employees, frequently resorted to violence in dealing with them, publicly embarrassed them, sometimes attempted to cheat them of their pay, and delayed paying their salaries. Other employees reported Ruby continually harassed his help, and used obscene language in their presence. However he frequently apologized, sought to atone for his many temper tantrums, and completely forgot others.

One of the many violent incidents that were reported took place in 1950, when Ruby struck an employee over the head with a blackjack. In 1951, after his guitarist, Willis Dickerson, told Ruby to "go to hell," Ruby knocked Dickerson to the ground, then pinned him to a wall and kicked him in the groin. During the scuffle, Dickerson bit Ruby's finger so badly that the top half of Ruby's left index finger was amputated. In approximately 1955, Ruby beat one of his musicians with brass knuckles; the musician's mouth required numerous stitches.

During 1960, Ruby and two entertainers, Breck Wall and Joe Peterson, entered into an agreement that the performers would produce and star in a revue at the Sovereign in exchange for a 50-percent interest in the club. After performing for 2 months, the entertainers complained that they had received neither a share of the profits nor evidence of their proprietary interest. Ruby responded by hitting Peterson in the mouth, knocking out a tooth. The two men left the Sovereign's employ, but they subsequently accepted Ruby's apology and resumed their friendship with him.

In September 1969 Frank Ferraro, the Carousel's handyman, became involved in a dispute at a nearby bar. Ruby told him not to get into a fight, and Ferraro told Ruby to mind his own business. Ruby then followed Ferraro to another club and beat him severely. Ferraro required emergency hospital treatment for his eye, but he decided not to press charges since Ruby paid for his hospital care. In March 1963, during an argument about wages, Ruby threatened to throw a cigarette girl down the stairs of the Carousel.

Ruby's relationship with his employees commanded much of his attention during the months preceding the assassination. The Carousel's comparatively high turnover rate and Ruby's intense desire to succeed required him to meet numerous prospective employees, patrons, and other persons who might help improve his business.

Ruby frequently encountered difficulties with The American Guild of Variety Artists (AGVA), the union which represented Carousel entertainers. For several years, starting in about 1961, he unsuccessfully sought modification of AGVA's policy permitting "amateur" strippers, inexperienced girls paid less than union-scale wages, to perform at union houses. Ruby apparently believed his two competitors, the Weinstein brothers, were scheduling amateur shows in a manner calculated to destroy his business. Ruby's discontent with AGVA grew particularly acute during the late summer and early fall of 1963 when, in addition to meeting with AGVA officials, he called upon several acquaintances, including known criminals, who, he thought, could influence AGVA on his behalf. Other problems with AGVA arose because of his policy of continuous shows, which did not give masters of ceremonies enough time off, and his alleged use of AGVA members to mingle with patrons to promote the consumption of liquor.

In June 1963, Ruby visited New Orleans, where he obtained the services of a stripper known as "Jada," who became his featured performer. Jada and Ruby had numerous contract disputes and he was concerned about her high salary, recurrent absenteeism, and diminishing drawing power. Moreover, he thought that Jada had deliberately exceeded even the Carousel's liberal standards of decency in order to cause him to lose his license or to obtain publicity for herself. On several occasions Ruby excitedly turned off the spotlights during her act, and at the end of October 1963, he fired her. However, after Jada sued out a peace bond, she apparently recovered a week's salary from Ruby.

In addition to problems with its star stripper, the Carousel was required to employ three masters of ceremonies in rapid succession following the departure in about September 1963, of Wally Weston, who worked there about 15 months. And in early November, the band that had played at the Vegas Club for about 8 years left the Vegas to accept the offer of another Dallas club.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Financial Data and Tax Problems

Jack Ruby's pockets and the trunk of his car served as his bank. With a few exceptions, Ruby and his clubs rarely employed bank accounts. Instead, Ruby carried his cash with him, paying the bulk of his expenses and debts directly out of club receipts.

During the latter half of 1963, the Carousel, the Vegas, and Ruby each maintained checking accounts at the Merchants State Bank in Dallas. Balances of the latter two accounts never exceeded \$275. In July 1963, the Carousel's account had more than \$500; after August 8, its maximum balance was less than \$800. Between May 31 and November 24, 1963, 53 checks were drawn on the three accounts; with the exception of one check for \$129.47, all were for less than \$100. He generally purchased cashier's checks at the Merchants State Bank to pay his monthly rental of \$550 for the Carousel and \$500 for the Vegas. He also purchased cashier's checks during the 3 months prior to the assassination to pay about \$1,500 to the Texas State treasurer, \$110 to Temple Shearith Israel, apparently for Jewish holy day tickets, and \$60 to the American Society of Authors and Publishers.

Records of the more than 50 banking institutions checked during the investigation of Ruby's financial affairs revealed that he had three other dormant accounts, all with small balances. Two safety deposit boxes belonging to Ruby, opened by Texas officials pursuant to search warrants, were empty and unused for more than a year prior to the assassination. Although Ruby negotiated several loans at the Merchants State Bank, there is no evidence that he was the maker or co-maker of other loans, and, after investigation, the Dallas Police Department found no record that Ruby cosigned the note of any policeman at any time.

Ruby's financial records were chaotic. One accountant abandoned efforts to prepare income tax returns and other financial statements because of the hopeless disarray of Ruby's data. The record indicates that Ruby was frequently weeks, if not months, late in filing Federal tax forms and that he held numerous conferences with Internal Revenue agents who attempted to obtain the delinquent statements.

Ruby encountered serious difficulties with respect to State franchise and Federal excise and income taxes. The Texas charter of the corporation controlling the Sovereign and Carousel clubs was canceled in 1961, because Ruby failed to pay Texas franchise taxes. And, only after numerous conferences, did Ruby and representatives of the Internal Revenue Service reach agreements on installment payments of various Federal tax liabilities, to which Ruby more or less adhered.

Ruby's primary difficulty concerned Federal excise taxes. Advised by an attorney that the Vegas Club, a dance hall providing food, was not subject to Federal excise taxes because it was not a "cabaret," Ruby charged Vegas patrons on the assumption that no excise taxes were due. However, his attorney reported, when Federal courts ruled that dance halls providing "incidental" food were subject to excise taxes as "cabarets," Ruby became liable to the Federal Government for more than 6 years of taxes, amounting, with interest, to almost exactly \$40,000.

Ruby also fell behind on his personal income tax payments. At the time of his arrest he owed more than \$4,400 for 1959 and 1960. Remittances accompanied his 1961 and 1962 tax forms, the latter received by the office of the Dallas District Director on September 18, 1963. The following table summarizes amounts which Ruby reported as gross and net income from the Vegas Club from 1956 to 1962; and the taxes due:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Gross income</i>	<i>Net income</i>	<i>Tax</i>
1962_____	\$41,462.77	\$5,619.65	\$1,217.75
1961_____	40,411.00	6,255.29	1,200.00
1960_____	44,482.41	9,703.90	2,221.39
1959_____	50,981.95	14,060.86	3,778.17
1958_____	37,755.65	3,274.64	586.52
1957_____	33,671.60	2,619.52	438.41
1956_____	30,695.27	7,437.01	1,527.10

On his income tax forms, Ruby did not itemize personal deductions and claimed only his own exemption. For 1962, Ruby reported salary income of \$650 from the corporation controlling the Carousel, and \$900 for 1961.

Ruby and officers of the Internal Revenue Service frequently discussed methods of satisfying his large excise and income tax liability. In 1960, the Government filed tax liens for more than \$20,000. In

November 1962, the Government rejected Ruby's offer to pay \$8,000 to compromise the assessed taxes of more than \$20,000 because he had not filed returns for other Federal taxes and had not paid these taxes as they became due. These other taxes, for the period September 1959 through June 1962, amounted to an additional \$20,000. In June 1963, Ruby submitted an offer of \$3,000 to compromise all past assessments; the offer was not acted upon prior to November 24, 1963.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Other Business Ventures

In addition to nightclub management and ownership, Ruby participated in numerous other commercial ventures. He was able to do so primarily because work at the clubs consumed few of his daytime hours. Many of Ruby's ventures related to show business, others were somewhat speculative promotions; almost all ended unsuccessfully. While operating the Silver Spur Club, Ruby sold costume jewelry at discount rates, and, in about 1951, he sold sewing machine attachments at the Texas State Fair. Approximately a year later, he managed a talented young Negro boy, "Little Daddy" Nelson. The boy appeared at the Silver Spur, the Vegas Club, and the Bob Wills Ranch House. In about 1953 or 1954, Ruby took "Little Daddy" and his parents to Chicago to obtain a television appearance for him. However, shortly after their arrival, Ruby was confronted by a second woman claiming to be "Little Daddy's" mother. Upon advice of counsel, Ruby decided to abandon the venture.

In 1954, Ruby became interested in the sale of pizza crusts to Dallas restaurants. He is also reported to have sold an arthritic preparation and to have manufactured and sold "Miniron," a liquid vitamin formula. In about 1958 or 1959, Ruby attempted to build and sell log cabins at a Texas lake resort. In early 1959, he investigated the possibility of selling jeeps to Cuba. He is also reported to have furnished entertainment for a Dallas hotel, to have promoted records for musicians and to have sold English stainless steel razor blades.

In October 1963 Ruby assisted the producers of a carnival show, "How Hollywood Makes Movies," appearing at the Texas State Fair. At about this time Ruby also sought to open a new club in Dallas. He conferred with numerous persons and placed advertisements in Dallas newspapers in an attempt to obtain financial backing. Assuming that he would be occupied by the new club, Ruby offered his oldest brother, Hyman, a managerial post at the Carousel. However, Hyman, who had recently lost his sales territory, declined the offer because he felt he was too old for the nightclub business.

Ruby unsuccessfully attempted to sell "twist boards," an exercising device consisting of two square fiberboard's separated by ball bearings. Despite the contrary advice of his brother Earl, Jack ordered several dozen twist boards and had 2,000 promotional flyers published. He had one of his strippers demonstrate the twist boards at the Texas Products Show during the first week of November 1963.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Arrests and Violations

Between 1949 and November 24, 1963, Ruby was arrested eight times by the Dallas Police Department. The dates, charges, and dispositions of these arrests are as follows: February 4, 1949, Ruby paid a \$10 fine for disturbing the peace. July 26, 1953, Ruby was suspected of carrying a concealed weapon; however, no charges were filed and Ruby was released on the same day. May 1, 1954, Ruby was arrested for allegedly carrying a concealed weapon and violating a peace bond; again no charges were filed and Ruby was released on the same day. December 5, 1954, Ruby was arrested for allegedly violating State liquor laws by selling liquor after hours; the complaint was dismissed on February 8, 1955. June 21, 1959, Ruby was arrested for allegedly permitting dancing after hours; the complaint was dismissed on July 8, 1959. August 21, 1960, Ruby was again arrested for allegedly permitting dancing after hours; Ruby posted \$25 bond and was released on that date. February 12, 1963, Ruby was arrested on a charge of simple assault; he was found not guilty February 27, 1963. Finally, on March 14, 1963, Ruby was arrested for allegedly ignoring traffic summonses; a \$35 bond was posted.

When Ruby applied for a beer license in March 1961, he reported that he had been arrested "about four or five times" between 1947 and 1953. Between 1950 and 1963, he received 20 tickets for motor vehicle violations, paying four \$10 fines and three of \$3. In 1956 and 1959, Ruby was placed on 6 months' probation as a traffic violator.

Ruby was also frequently suspended by the Texas Liquor Control Board. In August 1949, when he was operating the Silver Spur, he was suspended for 5 days on a charge of "Agents Moral Turpitude." In 1953 Ruby received a 5-day suspension because of an obscene show, and, in 1954, a 10-day suspension for allowing a drunkard on his premises. On February 18, 1954, he was suspended for 5 days because of an obscene striptease act at the Silver Spur and for the consumption of alcoholic beverages during prohibited hours. On March 26, 1956, Ruby was suspended by the liquor board for 3 days because several of his checks were dishonored. On October 23, 1961, he received another 3-day suspension because an agent solicited the sale of alcoholic beverages for consumption on licensed premises.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Police Associations

Although the precise nature of his relationship to members of the Dallas Police Department is not susceptible of conclusive evaluation, the evidence indicates that Ruby was keenly interested in policemen and their work. Jesse Curry, chief of the Dallas Police Department, testified that no more than 25 to 50 of Dallas' almost 1,200 policemen were acquainted with Ruby. However, the reports of present and past members of the Dallas Police Department as well as Ruby's employees and acquaintances indicate that Ruby's police friendships were far more widespread than those of the average citizen.

There is no credible evidence that Ruby sought special favors from police officers or attempted to bribe them. Although there is considerable evidence that Ruby gave policemen reduced rates, declined to exact any cover charge from them, and gave them free coffee and soft drinks, this hospitality was not unusual for a Dallas night-club operator. Ruby's personal attachment to police officers is demonstrated by reports that he attended the funeral of at least one policeman killed in action and staged a benefit performance for the widow of another. Ruby regarded several officers as personal friends, and others had worked for him. Finally, at least one policeman regularly dated, and eventually married, one of the Carousel's strippers.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Underworld Ties

From the time that Ruby arrived in Dallas in 1947, he was friendly with numerous underworld figures. One of his earliest Dallas acquaintances was Paul Roland Jones, who was convicted of attempting to bribe the sheriff of Dallas and engaging in the sale of narcotics. Joe Bonds, one of Ruby's partners in the Vegas Club, had a criminal record.

Ruby, who enjoyed card playing and horse racing, was friendly with several professional gamblers. In 1959, he visited Cuba at the invitation and expense of Lewis McWillie, a professional gambler. Alice Nichols reported that Ruby's refusal to give up gambling was one reason why she never seriously considered marrying him. When Sidney Seidband, a Dallas gambler, was arrested in Oklahoma City, his list of gambling acquaintances included Jack Ruby. And other friends of Ruby have been identified as gamblers. Finally, two persons of questionable reliability have reported that Ruby's consent was necessary before gambling or narcotics operations could be launched in Dallas.

Based on its evaluation of the record, however, the Commission believes that the evidence does not establish a significant link between Ruby and organized crime. Both State and Federal officials have indicated that Ruby was not affiliated with organized criminal activity. And numerous persons have reported that Ruby was not connected with such activity.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Travels

Despite reports that Ruby visited Havana, Las Vegas, New York, Chicago, Honolulu, and Mexican border towns, most of his time subsequent to 1947 was spent in Dallas. Some of his travels, including, his efforts in behalf of "Little Daddy" Nelson and his visit to New Orleans in June 1963 have been discussed. Ruby stated that he went to Chicago in 1952, in 1958 when his father died, and in August 1963 when he met members of his family at O'Hare International Airport while en route from New York to Dallas. His August trip to New York motivated by his difficulties with the American Guild of Variety Artists and his desire to obtain talent, has been completely established by hotel records. Early in 1963 Ruby also traveled to Wichita, Kans., because of his interest in stripper Gall Raven, and on May 25, 1968, he apparently registered in an Oklahoma motel.

Although Ruby denies being in Las Vegas after 1937, there are unsupported rumors that he was in that city in late 1962, and the early part of November 1963. Reports that he was in Las Vegas during the weekend prior to the assassination appear similarly unfounded.

There is some uncertainty about Ruby's trip to Havana, Cuba, in 1959. The evidence indicates that he accepted an invitation from gambler Lewis J. McWillie, who subsequently became a violent anti-Castroite, to visit Havana at McWillie's expense. Ruby apparently met McWillie in about 1950, when McWillie operated a Dallas night-club. McWillie, whom Ruby said he idolized, supervised gambling activities at Havana's Tropicana Hotel in 1959 and later was employed in a managerial capacity in a Las Vegas gambling establishment. Ruby testified that he went to Havana for 8 days in August 1959 and left because he was not interested in its gambling activities. McWillie corroborated this story except that he stated only that Ruby visited Havana "sometime in 1959." Three Chicagoans reported seeing Ruby in Havana during the Labor Day weekend in 1959. Meyer Panitz, an acquaintance of McWillie, reported that when he met Ruby in Miami during the "summer of 1959" Ruby stated that he was returning from a pleasure trip to Cuba. The theory that the trip to Havana had conspiratorial implications is discussed in chapter VI. There is no reliable evidence that Ruby went to Havana subsequent to September 1959.

Although Ruby denied ever being in Hawaii, there is some evidence that during the summer of 1961 he was in Honolulu seeking dancing talent. While it is unlikely that Ruby would forget a trip to Honolulu in 1961, there is no other indication that such a trip, if it occurred, had any sinister motives.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Character and Interests

Family Relationships

As mentioned previously, Eva Grant was the only member of the family living in Dallas when Ruby returned to that city in late 1947. In 1948, she returned to the west coast, visiting Dallas sporadically until 1959, when she assumed management of the Vegas. Despite their recurring arguments, during which they sometimes came to blows, Ruby was closer to Eva than any of his brothers or sisters. In the summer of 1963, Eva complained bitterly to Ruby because he gave a friend about \$800 instead of paying Vegas Club bills. Eva, citing her poor health, stated that she should be hospitalized. Ruby rejoined that he had provided her money to enter a hospital. He then shoved her, causing her to fall back about 8 feet and hurt her arm and shoulder. At this point Ruby insisted he wanted her to leave the Vegas Club.

Ruby frequently told Eva to submit to an operation and in early November 1963 she consented. She was hospitalized for a week, leaving about November 13. While she was in the hospital, Jack called Earl and Sam, requesting them to convey their concern to Eva. According to Eva, Jack visited her at the hospital two or three times a day. He kept in constant touch with her throughout the weekend of November 22.

Sam Ruby moved to Dallas from Chicago in July 1955, after selling his interest in the Earl Products Co. His son's asthma and Eva's suggestion that he work as a builder in Dallas prompted the move. Apparently as a result of difficulties in collecting the \$5,500 Sam loaned Jack in 1955 to pay Federal excise taxes, Jack and Sam were never particularly close to each other. However, Sam entered into a partnership in an unsuccessful ice cream business with Jack's close friend, Ralph Paul. Jack visited Sam and his family occasionally, especially on Jewish holidays, and from time to time they spoke to each other by telephone.

Jack had sporadic contacts with his brother Earl, who remained in Chicago until about 1960, when he moved to Detroit. The most successful of the brothers, Earl often gave Jack business advice and capital. He estimated, perhaps conservatively, that, when arrested, Jack owed him \$15,000. The evidence also indicates that Jack borrowed at least \$1,000, and probably more, from his sister Marion in Chicago.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Social Relationships

There have been statements that Ruby was a homosexual. The available evidence does not support the allegation. There is no evidence of homosexuality on his part; Ruby did not frequent known gathering places for homosexuals, many of the reports were inherently suspect or based upon questionable or inaccurate premises, and Ruby and most of his associates and employees denied the charge. All the allegations were based on hearsay or derive from Ruby's lisp or a "feeling" that Ruby was a "sissy," seemed "weird," acted effeminately, and sometimes spoke in a high-pitched voice when angry. Some proceeded upon the erroneous theory that Ruby did not date women.

For the better part of 11 years, Ruby dated Mrs. Alice Reaves Nichols, a blonde divorcee, 4 years younger than he. Mrs. Nichols, secretary to a Dallas life insurance company executive, testified that she saw Ruby twice a week between 1948 and 1956, and once a week from then until about 1959. Ruby discussed marriage with Mrs. Nichols, but Mrs. Nichols stated that while dating Ruby she was seeing other men and he was taking out other women. Although there are sharply conflicting reports about whether Ruby dated women who worked for him, the record indicates that Ruby sought and enjoyed feminine company.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Affection for Dogs

Ruby was extremely fond of dogs. Numerous persons stated that he was constantly accompanied by several of the dogs he owned. Testimony at Ruby's trial in March 1964 indicated that he referred to his dogs as his "children." He also became extremely incensed when he witnessed the maltreatment of any of his dogs.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Religious Interests

Reared in the Jewish faith, Jack Ruby was not especially devout. Rabbi Hillel Silverman, whose conservative temple Ruby favored, reported that when Ruby's father died in 1958, Ruby came to services twice daily for the prescribed period of 11 months to recite the traditional memorial prayer. Ruby normally attended services only on the Jewish high holy days and he was quite unfamiliar with the Hebrew language.

Ruby was apparently somewhat sensitive to his identity as a Jew. He forbade his comedians to tell stories directed at Jews or Jewish practices and, on several occasions after 1947, he fought with persons making derogatory remarks about his ethnic origins. The evidence also indicates that he was deeply upset that an advertisement insulting President Kennedy appeared above a Jewish-sounding name.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Physical Activities and Violence

While in Dallas, Ruby continued attempts to keep in excellent physical condition. He frequently exercised at the YMCA, the Carousel, and his apartment, where he maintained a set of weights. Ruby was extremely concerned about his weight and health, including his baldness, and about his appearance in general.

Ruby's concern for his physical well-being was partially motivated by practical considerations, for he was his own unofficial club bouncer. On about 15 occasions since 1950, he beat with his fists, pistol whipped, or blackjacked patrons who became unruly. At other times, he ejected troublesome customers without a beating, in many instances, justifiably. However, many people stated that he employed more force than necessary, particularly because he often ended a fracas by throwing his victim down the stairs of the Carousel.

Besides acting as a bouncer, Ruby on numerous other occasions severely beat people who were not club patrons, usually employing only his fists. Several of these episodes have been discussed in connection with Ruby's relationship with his employees. In 1951, Ruby attacked a man who had called him a "kike Jew" and knocked out a tooth. At about that time Ruby is also reported to have knocked a man down from behind and then to have kicked him in the face. In about 1958, Ruby disarmed a man who had drawn a gun on him at the Vegas, beat him almost to death, put the gun back in the man's pocket, and threw him down the stairs. In 1958, Ruby reportedly knocked down a man at the Vegas who was 6'3" tall and weighed 230 pounds. Ruby was approximately 5'9" tall and weighed about 175 pounds. Ruby then made the man, who had slapped his date, crawl out of the club. In a fight at the Vegas, reportedly witnessed by policemen, Ruby severely beat a heavyweight boxer who had threatened him.

During 1962, several violent episodes occurred. Ruby beat a man who refused to pay admission or leave and then shoved him down the stairs. He "jostled" a woman down the stairs of the Carousel and struck her escort, who was "much smaller" than he. On one occasion, Ruby picked up a man who was arguing with his date, knocked him to the floor, cursed him, and then removed him from the Vegas. When a cabdriver entered the Carousel and inquired about a patron who had neglected to pay his fare, Ruby struck the cabdriver.

In February 1963, Ruby badly beat Don Tabon, who had made some remarks about Ruby's lady companion, injuring Tabon's eye. Ruby was acquitted of a charge of assault and Tabon sought no monetary relief because he believed Ruby financially incapable of satisfying any resulting judgment. A doctor who went to the Carousel several times between August and November 1963, stated that on each occasion Ruby ejected someone from the club.

Buddy Turman, a prizefighter and Ruby's friend, stated that Ruby "picked his shots." According to Turman, a bouncer at the Vegas for about a year, Ruby's victim was frequently drunk, female, or otherwise incapable of successfully resisting Ruby's attack. The evidence indicates that, unlike his youthful escapades, Ruby was often malicious. He frequently felt contrite, however, when his anger had passed or when his victim was an old acquaintance, and he would seek to make amends for his violent temper.

With two exceptions, there is no evidence that Ruby settled disputes with firearms. Shortly before Joe Bonds' conviction in 1954, Ruby is reported to have chased Bonds with a pistol. And, Larry Crafard reported that about a week before the assassination, Ruby told him to get Ruby's gun so that an AGVA official and former employee, Earl Norman, could be ejected. Although Ruby did not often use his gun, it was frequently accessible when he was carrying large amounts of money.

Warren Report: Appendix XVI - Generosity to Friends and the Need for Recognition

While Ruby often flared up and acted aggressively, he seemed to calm down or forget his anger quickly, and there is also a great deal of evidence that he was extremely generous to his friends. He loaned money to them and apparently cared little whether the loans would be repaid. He was quick to offer employment to persons desperately in need of a job and he lent considerable aid to persons seeking work elsewhere. Moreover, when friends or new acquaintances had no roof over their heads, Ruby's apartment was frequently theirs to share.

Ruby's unusual generosity may be explained in part by his extremely emotional reaction to persons in distress, which may have resulted from his firsthand familiarity with poverty, and by his unusual craving to be recognized and relied upon. Many of Ruby's acquaintances described him as a "publicity hound," "glad hander," and "name dropper," one always seeking to be the center of attention. Apparently the "egocentrism" of his youth never left Ruby. Yet, frequently he sought reassurance from persons he admired.

Warren Report: Appendix XVII - Polygraph Examination of Jack Ruby

Preliminary Arrangements

As early as December of 1963, Jack Ruby expressed his desire to be examined with a polygraph, truth serum, or any other scientific device which would test his veracity. The attorneys who defended Ruby in the State criminal proceedings in Texas agreed that he should take a polygraph examination to test any conspiratorial connection between Ruby and Oswald. To obtain such a test, Ruby's defense counsel filed motions in court and also requested that the FBI administer such an examination to Ruby. During the course of a psychiatric examination on May 11, 1964, Ruby is quoted as saying: "I want to tell the truth. I want a polygraph * * *." In addition, numerous letters were written to the President's Commission on behalf of Ruby requesting a polygraph examination.

When Ruby testified before the Commission in Dallas County Jail on June 7, 1964, his first words were a request for a lie detector test. The Commission hearing commenced with the following exchanges:

MR. JACK RUBY. Without a lie detector test on my testimony, my verbal statements to you, how do you know if I am telling the truth?

MR. TONAHILL [Defense Counsel]. Don't worry about that, Jack.

MR. RUBY. Just a minute, gentlemen.

CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN. You wanted to ask something, did you, Mr. Ruby?

MR. RUBY. I would like to be able to get a lie detector test or truth serum of what motivated me to do what I did at that particular time, and it seems as you get further into something, even though you know what you did, it operates against you somehow, brain washes you, that you are weak in what you want to tell the truth about and what you want to say which is the truth.

Now Mr. Warren, I don't know if you got any confidence in the lie detector test and the truth serum, and so on.

CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN. I can't tell you just how much confidence I have in it, because it depends so much on who is taking it, and so forth.

But I will say this to you, that if you and your counsel want any kind of test, I will arrange it for you. I would be glad to do that, if you want it. I wouldn't suggest a lie detector test to testify the truth.

We will treat you just the same as we do any other witness, but if you want such a test, I will arrange for it.

MR. RUBY. I do want it. Will you agree to that, Joe?

MR. TONAHILL. I sure do, Jack.

Throughout Ruby's testimony before the Commission, he repeated his request on numerous occasions that he be given an opportunity to take a lie detector test. Ruby's insistence on taking a polygraph examination is reflected right to the end of the proceedings where in the very last portion of the transcribed hearings Ruby states:

MR. RUBY. All I want to do is to tell the truth, and the only way you can know it is by the polygraph, as that is the only way you can know it.

CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN. That we will do for you.

Following Ruby's insistence on a polygraph test, the Commission initiated arrangements to have the FBI conduct such an examination. A detailed set of questions was prepared for the polygraph examination, which was set for July 16, 1964. A few days before the scheduled test, the Commission was informed that Ruby's sister, Eva Grant, and his counsel, Joe H. Tonahill, opposed the polygraph on the ground that psychiatric examinations showed that his mental state was such that the test would be meaningless.

The Commission was advised that Sol Dann, a Detroit attorney representing the Ruby family, had informed the Dallas office of the FBI on July 15, 1964, that a polygraph examination would affect Ruby's health and would be of questionable value according to Dr. Emanuel Tanay, a Detroit psychiatrist. On that same date, Assistant Counsel Arlen Specter discussed by telephone the polygraph examination with Defense Counsel Joe H. Tonahill, who expressed Iris personal opinion that a polygraph examination should be administered to Ruby. By letter dated July 15, 1964, Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade requested that the polygraph examination cover the issue of premeditation as well as the defensive theories in the case.

Against this background, it was decided that a representative of the Commission would travel to Dallas to determine whether Jack Ruby wanted to take the polygraph test. Since Ruby had frequent changes in attorneys and because he was presumed to be sane, the final decision on the examination was his, especially in view of his prior personal insistence on the test. In the jury conference room at the Dallas

jail on July 18, Assistant Counsel Arlen Specter, representing the Commission, informed Chief Defense Counsel Clayton Fowler, co-Counsel Tonahill and Assistant District Attorney William F. Alexander that the Commission was not insisting on or even requesting that the test be taken, but was merely fulfilling its commitment to make the examination available. In the event Ruby had changed his mind and would so state for the record, that would conclude the issue as far as the Commission was concerned.

Chief Defense Counsel Fowler had objected to the test. He conferred with Jack Ruby in his cell and then returned stating that Ruby insisted on taking the examination. Mr. Fowler requested that (1) Dr. Tanay, the Detroit psychiatrist, be present; (2) the results of the test not be disclosed other than to the Commission; (3) the questions to be asked not be disclosed to the District Attorney's office; and (4) the results of the test be made available to defense counsel. Sheriff William Decker announced his intention to have Allan L. Sweatt, his chief criminal deputy who was also a polygraph operator, present to maintain custody of Jack Ruby while the examination was being administered. Assistant District Attorney Alexander requested a list of questions, a copy of the recording made by the polygraph machine and a copy of the report interpreting the test. In response to the numerous requests, the procedure was determined that the questions to be asked of Ruby would be discussed in a preliminary session in the presence of defense counsel, the assistant district attorney and Chief Jailer E. L. Holman, who was to replace Sweatt. The assistant district attorney would not be present when Ruby answered the questions, but Jailer Holman was allowed to remain to retain custody of Ruby. No commitment was made on behalf of the Commission as to what disclosure would be made of the results of the examination. Since Dr. Tanay was not in Dallas and therefore could not be present, arrangements were made to have in attendance Dr. William R. Beavers, a psychiatrist who had previously examined and evaluated Ruby's mental state.

At the conclusion of the lengthy preliminary proceedings, Ruby entered the jury conference room at 2:23 p.m. and was informed that the Commission was prepared to fulfill its commitment to offer him a polygraph examination, but was not requesting the test. On behalf of the Commission, Assistant Counsel Specter warned Ruby that anything he said could be used against him. Chief Defense Counsel Fowler advised Ruby of his objections to the examination. Ruby then stated that he wanted the polygraph examination conducted and that he wanted the results released to the public as promptly as possible. Special Agent Bell P. Herndon, polygraph operator of the FBI, obtained a written "consent to interview with polygraph" signed by Jack Ruby. Herndon then proceeded to administer the polygraph examination by breaking the questions up into series which were ordinarily nine questions in length and consisted of relevant interrogatories and control questions.

Warren Report: Appendix XVII - Administration of the Test

During the course of the polygraph examination Jack Ruby answered the relevant, questions as follows:

Q. Did you know Oswald before November 22, 1963?

A. No.

Q. Did you assist Oswald in the assassination?

A. No.

Q. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. No.

Q. Are you now a member of any group that advocates the violent overthrow of the United States Government?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever been a member of any group that advocates violent overthrow of the United States Government?

A. No.

Q. Between the assassination and the shooting, did anybody you know tell you they knew Oswald?

A. No.

Q. Aside from anything you said to George Senator on Sunday morning, did you ever tell anyone else that you intended to shoot Oswald?

A. No.

Q. Did you shoot Oswald in order to silence him?

A. No.

Q. Did you first decide to shoot Oswald on Friday night?

A. No.

Q. Did you first decide to shoot Oswald on Saturday morning?

A. No.

Q. Did you first decide to shoot Oswald on Saturday night?

A. No.

Q. Did you first decide to shoot Oswald on Sunday Morning?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you on the sidewalk at the time Lieutenant Pierce's car stopped on the ramp exit?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you enter the jail by walking through an alleyway?

A. No.

Q. Did you walk past the guard at the time Lieutenant Pierce's car was parked on the ramp exit?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you talk with any Dallas police officers on Sunday, November 24, prior to the shooting of Oswald?

A. No.

Q. Did you see the armored car before it entered the basement?

A. No.

Q. Did you enter the police department through a door at the rear of the east side of the jail?

A. No.

Q. After talking to Little Lynn did you hear any announcement that Oswald was about to be moved?

A. No.

Q. Before you left your apartment Sunday morning, did anyone tell you the armored car was on the way to the police department?

A. No.

Q. Did you get a Wall Street Journal at the Southwestern Drug Store during the week before the assassination?

A. No.

Q. Do you have any knowledge of a Wall Street Journal addressed to Mr. J. E. Bradshaw?

A. No.

Q. To your knowledge, did any of your friends or did you telephone the FBI in Dallas between 2 or 3 a.m. Sunday morning?

A. No.

Q. Did you or any of your friends to your knowledge telephone the sheriff's office between 2 or 8 a.m. Sunday morning?

A. No.

Q. Did you go to the Dallas police station at any time on Friday, November 22, 1963, before you went to the synagogue?

A. No.

Q. Did you go to the synagogue that Friday night?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Oswald in the Dallas jail on Friday night?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you have a gun with you when you went to the Friday midnight press conference at the jail?

A. No.

Q. Is everything you told the Warren Commission the entire truth?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever knowingly attended any meetings of the Communist Party or any other group that advocates violent overthrow of the Government?

A. No.

Q. Is any member of your immediate family or any close friend, a member of the Communist Party?

A. No.

Q. Is any member of your immediate family or any close friend a member of any group that advocates the violent overthrow of the Government?

A. No.

Q. Did any close friend or any member of your immediate family ever attend a meeting of the Communist Party?

A. No.

Q. Did any close friend or any member of your immediate family ever attend a meeting of any group that advocates the violent, overthrow of the Government?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever meet Oswald at your post office box?

A. No.

Q. Did you use your post office mailbox to do any business with Mexico or Cuba?

A. No.

Q. Did you do business with Castro-Cuba?

A. No.

Q. Was your trip to Cuba solely for pleasure?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you now told us the truth concerning why you carried \$2, 200 in cash on you?

A. Yes.

Q. Did any foreign influence cause you to shoot Oswald?

A. No.

Q. Did you shoot Oswald because of any influence of the underworld?

A. No.

Q. Did you shoot Oswald because of a labor union influence?

A. No.

Q. Did any long-distance telephone calls which you made before the assassination of the President have anything to do with the assassination?

A. No.

Q. Did any of your long-distance telephone calls concern the shooting of Oswald?

A. No.

Q. Did you shoot Oswald in order to save Mrs. Kennedy the ordeal of a trial?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know the Tippit that was killed?

A. No.

Q. Did you tell the truth about relaying the message to Ray Brantley to get McWillie a few guns?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you go to the assembly room on Friday night to get the telephone number of KLIF?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever meet with Oswald and Officer Tippit at your club?

A. No.

Q. Were you at the Parkland Hospital at any time on Friday?

A. No.

Q. Did you say anything when you shot Oswald other than what you've testified about?

A. No.

Q. Have members of your family been physically harmed because of what you did?

A. No.

Q. Do you think members of your family are now in danger because of what you did? (No response.)

Q. Is Mr. Fowler in danger because he is defending you?
(No response.)

Q. Did "Blackie" Hanson speak to you just before you shot Oswald?

A. No.

Warren Report: Appendix XVII - Interpretation of the Test

A polygraph examination is designed to detect physiological responses to stimuli in a carefully controlled interrogation. Such responses may accompany and indicate deception. The polygraph instrument derives its name from the Greek derivative "poly" meaning many and the word "graph" meaning writings. The polygraph chart writings consist of three separate markings placed on a graph reflecting three separate physiological reactions. A rubber tube is placed around the subject's chest to record his breathing pattern on a pneumograph. That device records the respiratory ratio of inhalation and exhalation strokes. The second component is called a galvanic skin response which consists of electrodes placed on the examinee's fingers, through which a small amount of electrical current is passed to the skin. The galvanometer records the minute changes in electrical skin response. The third component consists of a cardiograph which is a tracing obtained by attaching a pneumatic cuff around the left arm in a manner very similar to an apparatus which takes blood pressure. When the cuff is inflated, that device records relative blood pressures or change in the heart rate.

From those testing devices, it is possible to measure psychological or emotional stress. This testing device is the product of observation by psychologists and physiologists who noted certain physiological responses when people lie. In about 1920 law enforcement officials with psychological and physiological training initiated the development of the instrument to serve as an investigative aid.

The polygraph may record responses indicative of deception, but it must be carefully interpreted. The relevant questions, as to which the interrogator is seeking to determine whether the subject is falsifying, are compared with control questions where the examiner obtains a known indication of deception or some expected emotional response. In evaluating the polygraph, due consideration must be given to the fact that a physiological response may be caused by factors other than deception, such as fear, anxiety, nervousness, dislike, and other emotions. There are no valid statistics as to the reliability of the polygraph. FBI Agent Herndon testified that, notwithstanding the absence of percentage indicators of reliability, an informed judgment may be obtained from a well-qualified examiner on the indications of deception in a normal person under appropriate standards of administration.

Ordinarily during a polygraph examination only the examiner and the examinee are present. It is the practice of the FBI, however, to have a second agent present to take notes. It is normally undesirable to have other people present during the polygraph examination because the examinee may react emotionally to them. Because of the numerous interested parties involved in Ruby's polygraph examination, there were present individuals representing the Commission and the Dallas district attorney, as well as two defense counsel, two FBI agents, the chief jailer, the psychiatrist, and the court reporter, although the assistant district attorney and one defense counsel left when Ruby was actually responding to questions while the instrument was activated. Ruby was placed in a position where there was a minimum of distraction for him during the test. He faced a wall and could not see anyone except possibly through secondary vision from the side. Agent Herndon expressed the opinion that Ruby was not affected by the presence of the people in the room.

Answer by Ruby to certain irrelevant control questions suggested an attempt to deceive on those questions. For example, Ruby answered "No" to the question "While in the service did you receive any disciplinary action?" His reaction suggested deception in his answer. Similarly, Ruby's negative answer to the query "Did you ever overcharge a customer?" was suggestive of deception. Ruby further showed an emotional response to other control questions such as "Have you ever been known by another name" "Are you married?" "Have you ever served time in jails?" "Are your parents alive?" "Other than what you told me, did you ever hit anyone with any kind of a weapon?" Herndon concluded that the absence of any physiological response on the relevant questions indicated that there was no deception.

An accurate evaluation of Ruby's polygraph examination depends on whether he was psychotic. Since a psychotic is divorced from reality, the polygraph tracings could not be logically interpreted on such an individual. A psychotic person might believe a false answer was true so he would not register an emotional response characteristic of deception as a normal person would. If a person is so mentally disturbed that he does not understand the nature of the questions or the substance of his answers, then no validity can be attached to the polygraph examination. Herndon stated that if a person, on the other hand, was in touch with reality, then the polygraph examination could be interpreted like any other such test.

Based on his previous contacts with Ruby and from observing him during the entire polygraph proceeding, Dr. William R. Beavers testified as follows:

In the greater proportion of the time that he answered the questions, I felt that he was aware of the questions and that he understood them, and that he was giving answers based on an appreciation of reality.

Dr. Beavers further stated that he had previously diagnosed Ruby a "psychotic depressive."
Based on the assumption that Ruby was a "psychotic depressive, " Herndon testified:

There would be no validity to the polygraph examination, and no significance should be placed upon the polygraph charts.

Considering other phases of Dr. Beavers' testimony, Herndon stated:

Well, based on the hypothesis that Ruby was mentally competent and sound, the charts could be interpreted, and if those conditions are fact, the charts could be interpreted to indicate that there was no area of deception present with regard to his response to the relevant questions during the polygraph examination.

In stating his opinion that Ruby was in touch with reality and understood the questions and answers, Dr. Beavers excepted two questions where he concluded that Ruby's underlying delusional state took hold. Those questions related to the safety of Ruby's family and his defense counsel. While in the preliminary session Ruby had answered those questions by stating that he felt his family and defense counsel were in danger, he did not answer either question when the polygraph was activated. Dr. Beavers interpreted Ruby's failure to answer as a reflection of "internal struggle as to just what was reality." In addition, Dr. Beavers testified that the test was not injurious to Ruby's mental or physical condition.

Because Ruby not only volunteered but insisted upon taking a polygraph examination, the Commission agreed to the examination. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover commented on the examination as follows:

It should be pointed out that the polygraph, often referred to as "lie detector" is not in fact such a device. The instrument is designed to record under proper stimuli emotional responses in the form of physiological variations which may indicate and accompany deception. The FBI feels that the polygraph technique is not sufficiently precise to permit absolute judgments of deception or truth without qualifications. The polygraph technique has a number of limitations, one of which relates to the mental fitness and condition of the examinee to be tested.

During the proceedings at Dallas, Texas, on July 18, 1964, Dr. William R. Beavers, a psychiatrist, testified that he would generally describe Jack Ruby as a "psychotic depressive." In view of the serious question raised as to Ruby's mental condition, no significance should be placed on the polygraph examination and it should be considered non conclusive as the charts cannot be relied upon.

Having granted Ruby's request for the examination, the Commission is publishing the transcript of the hearing at which the test was conducted and the transcript of the deposition of the FBI polygraph operator who administered the test. The Commission did not rely on the results of this examination in reaching the conclusions stated in this report.

APPENDIX XVIII

Footnotes

For references to the testimony of witnesses before the Commission, the following citation form is used: number of volume, "H" (for "Hearings before the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy"), page number, and the name of the witness in parentheses, e.g., 7 H 441 (O'Donnell). Commission exhibits are referred to by the capital letters "CE" and number; deposition exhibits by the name of the witness, the capital letters "DE, " and the number or letter of his exhibit, e.g., CE 705; Sorrels I)E 1. References to audiovisual sources for one Dallas broadcasting station (WFAA) are cited as follows: PKT for video tapes, PKF for films, and PKA for audio tapes. The video and audio reels and tapes of other stations are cited by number, e.g., WFAA_TV reel PKT 10; KRLD_TV reel 13.

FOREWORD

1. Executive Order No. 11130 is set forth as app. 1.
2. The White House press release is set forth as app. II.
3. Senate Joint Resolution 137 (Public Law 88_202) is set forth as app. III,
4. The names of all witnesses are set forth in app. V.
5. The procedures of the Commission are set forth as app, VI.

Buttons

Main	Main: Returns to the Main Menu
Back	Back: Returns to the last topic viewed. Convenient for returning to your previous location after a jump (to the Book of Facts for example).
Index	Index: Allows searching by keywords ("Photograph", for example).
Search	Search: Searches the entire text for any word or phrase.
<<	Previous: Jumps back to the previous screen within a section. (Back returns to the last screen viewed; Previous jumps to the previous screen within a section even if it has not been viewed yet.)
>>	Next: Takes you to the next screen within a section.
Path	Path: Lists previously viewed topics, making it easy to retrace steps.
Go Xfire	Go Xfire: Many Overview sections are summaries of detailed sections within Crossfire . Click Go Xfire to jump from the Overview to the more detailed section within Crossfire .

Menus

File	Print Topic	Prints the current topic. Note that animations and films cannot be printed.
	Print Setup	Configures the printer.
	Exit	Exits the JFK Assassination: A Visual Investigation
Edit	Copy	Copies text to the Windows Clipboard so that it can be pasted into other Windows applications.
	Annotate	Adds an annotation to the current topic. These can be read later by clicking on the paper clip icon appearing at the top of the topic.
	Search	The same as the Search button. (Searches the entire text for any word or phrase.)
Bookmark Options	Define	Inserts a place marker that makes it easy to go back to particular topics.
	Narration On Narration	Narration can be turned on or off within the Dealey Plaza screens. These options are not available in

Off

other screens.

Within a film or animation, click the button on the left side of the control bar and select **Mute** to toggle narration on and off.

Pop-Ups

Video, Animations and Dealey Plaza information are handled by Pop-Ups.

These are small windows which pop up, displaying a video, or text and a picture. Click anywhere outside the Pop-Up to close it.

TeelaBuscariniWyman

