

# The Texas Observer

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25c

## Who Was Lee Harvey Oswald?

SMIT

SMOKE



Photographs by Russell Shaw

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Dallas

Much has been written about Lee Harvey Oswald, 24, of New Orleans, Fort Worth, and, for a time, the Soviet Union, but I have learned the most about him as he was on November 22 in Dallas from two long interviews here, one with a man who had an argument with him less than a month before that day and one with a man who knew him as well as anyone who has spoken up.

His mother, too, has had a part of her say, but she is determined to sell her story; she did not know him well at the end; and he had moved beyond her influence. His brothers kept their own counsel. His wife has yet to talk to reporters, other than a Life team who did not report much from her. And he is dead now.

The argument occurred at a meeting of the Dallas chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union at Selectman Hall on the S.M.U. campus Oct. 25. Michael Paine, Oswald's only close acquaintance, as far as is known, during the last months of his life, had brought him as a guest.

The program for the evening was built around a showing of a film developing the theme that a Washington state legislator had been defeated by right-wing attacks based on previous communist-type associations of the legislator's wife. The discussion was running along the theme that liberals should oppose witch-hunts, but with scrupulous methods.

Oswald rose during the discussion, Paine said, and said he had attended the rally addressed by Gen. Edwin Walker two nights before in Dallas. "He . . . gave some examples of how they were exhibiting anti-Semitism," Paine recalled. A woman said that during a discussion of the Adlai Stevenson affair the night of Oct. 24, she heard Oswald lean forward to Paine and say, "I was there."

Rev. Byrd Helligas, associate minister of the First Unitarian Church of Dallas, remembers having seen Oswald in discussion at a coffee table. Oswald struck Helligas as "erudite," with a good vocabulary and a knowledge of a wide variety of subjects. In discussion about the movie projector, Helligas said, Oswald showed intelligence about mechanical things.

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**T**HE MAN WHO ARGUED with Oswald told the story only on condition that neither he nor his wife, who was present during part of the argument, be identified. The couple are friends of the Paines, and Paine had introduced Oswald to them during the meeting.

This is what happened, as it is remembered by the informant:

Paine had told the couple that his estranged wife Ruth and he had befriended Mrs. Oswald, and that Oswald had visited at Mrs. Paine's house over weekends to see Mrs. Oswald, who was staying there. Paine had told the couple that Oswald had defected to Russia and was a Marxist.

The informant and his wife went to the A.C.L.U. meeting as guests, also. They were rankled by the way Oswald made his point against Gen. Walker during the open discussion.

"It got me that he was sticking in a dirty little comment—needling people. It wasn't a violent sharpness, it seemed like a subtle seed for prejudicial sharpness," the informant said. "It wasn't loud, it was the way he clipped his words. It had a sarcastic undertone," his wife remarked.

This couple, Oswald, Paine, and another man who listened most of the time but put in a few comments, composed the group as the informant and Oswald squared off. Paine, who later said he knew what was going to happen, left the group as the argument began.

"We right quick came to the pros and cons of communism versus capitalism," the informant said. "I said to him, 'I know that you have communistic tendencies.' He interjected, 'I am a Marxist.' It left me with the impression that it was decidedly different.—Of course, Stalinist, communist, Marxist—to me he's a commie. . . ."

"He was arguing the capitalists are guilty of exploiting the worker. He said it was a crime for the capitalists to exploit the workers. . . . It seemed to me at one time I had argued him finally into a corner. . . . I said, 'You mean to tell me that in Russia, they don't exploit the worker?—the state doesn't?' He said, 'Yes, they do. It's worse than here.'"

Oswald said either that in Russia there is not a true communism, or that there is not a perfect communism there.

"I thought possibly I might convert the rascal. But he said, 'But still, what you're doing in your society, it's not a crime to exploit the worker,'" the informant recalled. Oswald alternately referred to Americans or U.S. society as "we" and as "your society."

Oswald's antagonist then offered himself as an example of a capitalist: he said a couple of craftsmen work for him part-time for \$3 an hour, and they work only when they want to and pretty much as they want to; he figures his price for the products they make for him at the rate of \$4 an hour for their labor.

"Oh, you're taking the cream off the

top—you are taking \$1 for nothing," Oswald told him.

"No, I have spent time getting jobs. I pay the bills. I buy their mistakes. I have an investment in my tools," the informant replied.

"Well, you're a petty capitalist," Oswald retorted.

"The way he said it riled me just a bit," the informant said. "It was very contemptuous. . . . I just sputtered for a few minutes. I disliked this man unfairly. He believed this, and it's his right to believe it."

The talk turned to other subjects. Is it not true that Americans have more civil liberties than Russians? the informant asked Oswald. "Very definitely, the man is freer here than in Russia," Oswald responded.

The subject of civil rights and President Kennedy came up. In connection with civil rights, Oswald said, "I think Kennedy is doing a good job." The informant believed this was an exact quote. 10/20/65

"That was the nearest thing to an exclamation in the conversation. When he said 'good,' he had emphasis on the word, 'good,'" the informant continued.

"I thought he was impressive. I feel that he had his mind made up and he had a closed mind and nothing could change the way he thought it was. . . . He was good at argument and debate. He was cool. He had very, very good control of the English language. His expression was good. His control was good. . . . He didn't seem violent to me. He was very calm about expressing himself."

As they left the hall at Southern Methodist University where the meeting had been held, the informant said to his friend Paine, "Michael, we're going to have to set up this boy in business. We might convert him."

Laughing, Oswald tossed back, "The money might corrupt me."

**A**LMOST EVERYONE in the country believes that less than a month later this haughty, dogmatic young man took careful aim and fired three times, until the President lay slain in his car. What kind of man was Oswald?—How did he think? No one can answer better than Michael Paine, who talked about him reflectively for three hours in the Irving home from which Oswald is believed to have taken his Italian rifle to work on the fatal morning.

Paine strikes one as a gentle, intellectual Quaker who responds to others sensitively and takes care to avoid doing anything that would hurt anyone's feelings. He attended,

## A Note on Parentheses

*Once again, I have had the problem of wishing to avoid, in the Observer's coverage of the assassination, any rewrites of the voluminous published accounts. Therefore, a simple stratagem has been adopted, and observed throughout my reports this issue from Dallas: any material that I have not myself obtained is enclosed in parentheses.—Ed.*

but did not finish Harvard and Swarthmore; 35 now, and a research engineer, he is active in folk dancing circles in Texas.

The informant who argued with Oswald said Paine and his wife Ruth "are overly charitable, and they are overly respectful of other people." Until Nov. 22, the informant said, Paine was a high-spirited fellow who played the guitar and sang a lot, folk songs and classical music such as Handel's "Messiah."

Although they have been besieged with callers and questions, the Paines have not fled into privacy since the assassination. "I guess we all have to face the fact," Mrs. Paine says, "that we were associated with the man who killed the President."

After his wife took in Mrs. Oswald and her child, Paine had about four long conversations with Oswald, at dinnertimes and the night after the A.C.L.U. meeting.

"When I first met him, he was very eager to talk," Paine said. "He said no one at work wanted to talk about politics. Further along, he didn't support his arguments very well. . . . I think he really hadn't met people who were keen and who would try to sift evidence and find the truth of the matter."

He had a large vocabulary, but didn't use it properly; he wasn't intellectual, although he might have been potentially. The Paines agree that he did not read books at the Irving house, despite the published reports that he was a reader. He watched TV a lot, football games, for instance; he especially liked shoot-'em-up westerns, Mrs. Paine said.

"His discourse was not logical," Paine said. "When it got down to smaller examples, he didn't enter into it. . . . I don't think he had any expectation to find an explanation that was different from the one that he accepted. . . ."

"He had no program that I was aware of, or no ideas of how to modify the system. . . . into a better one by evolution, or progressive, or small steps. Neither did he describe what his goals would be, what kind of a society or world he would like to have. . . ."

"He had to take everything in a big lump. There were no partial applications of oneself. It's a youthful idea," Paine said.

"It was the simplicity of his thinking, the starkness of his principles, that made me think that somebody who enjoyed eating or enjoyed anything couldn't be so obsessed or wouldn't take such pleasure in empty principles."

**O**SWALD HAD FEW VALUES. "He did feel the injustice of the exploitation of man by man, which I thought he emphasized because it was something he found in Marx, and explained what he felt the world had done to him. . . ."

"When I asked him why the country had to be changed or something, he said that in the capitalistic system it's based on the exploitation of man by man. When I first met him, it was apparent to me that he was aware of his employer exploiting him—that he was making him more money than he was paying him."

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"I wonder if maybe he communicated this to his employer [in his attitude at work]. He apparently counted the goods and value that his employer had—he mentioned the cars or something that his employer had. That was the only time that he seemed to have any personal animosity toward an individual."

Oswald believed that malevolent forces are conspiring against workers. "... I didn't feel so discouraged about the evil of the world and therefore wasn't blaming the evil on intent as much as ignorance. He felt it was malice," Paine said.

"The only place we found agreement was in our condemnation of the far right," Paine said. Oswald attended the meeting addressed by Gen. Walker. Paine thought, to "sort of try to get the pulse of American society."

"I think he was interested in the right wing for its corroboration of what he was reading."

Oswald was not bashful and thought himself able to cope with things well, Paine said. He was "not overly oppressed by the ruling bodies, shall we say—the ruling bodies couldn't really get him down."

Paine could not recall why, but he did feel called upon, responding to Oswald, to argue with him against violence.

"I emphasized that so many of the values which I considered most civilized and most precious were all diminished by a situation of violence. He always fell silent. That was typical of him, if he disagreed."

As to Russia, Mrs. Paine said, "I gathered he'd been lonely there. He mentioned going hunting with some friends. But I suppose it was the paucity of his description of it." Although it was in their first conversation, a possibly relevant circumstance, Paine said, Oswald had cited restrictions of his freedom in Russia, and had resented being assigned a job and assigned a place to live.

Paine believed that Oswald wanted to be active in the U.S. communist movement, but was "out of it."

He received the Daily Worker, the communist paper from New York; the Militant, a Trotskyite paper; "Agitator" and "Agonok," Russian magazines, and the Minsk daily paper, Mrs. Paine said. Of the Daily Worker, Paine said, "He told me that you could tell what they wanted you to do by reading between the lines. That was an indication he wanted to be active in the movement," but had to rely on guesswork as to what to do, Paine thought.

On Oct. 25, Paine said, he took Oswald to the A.C.L.U. meeting "to introduce him to some of the values that were precious to me." On their leaving, Paine said, Oswald told him "that he could never join that organization, that it wasn't a political organization." From conversation afterward in the car, Paine concluded that "it took him by surprise to find that I could care about freedom of speech for its own sake and not for some ulterior purpose."

"He was quite aware of freedom of speech—he was quite aware of all his freedoms and wanted to use them," but they

were not values to him, themselves, Paine said.

On Nov. 4, national A.C.L.U. received Oswald's membership application and \$2 membership fee. It has been presumed here that he picked up the form at the Dallas A.C.L.U. meeting.

Another remark Paine took as an indication Oswald was "out of it" occurred after the A.C.L.U. meeting. Oswald told Paine he thought, on the basis of what a man had said to him in conversation at the meeting, that the man was a communist.

"I dismissed this in my mind as a pretty inadequate description of a communist—and if this is the way he finds his communists, he's still pretty lonely," Paine said.

Paine, too, remembers Oswald speaking well of Kennedy on civil rights—"something to the effect, 'I think he's doing a fairly good job on civil rights.' I had the impression," Paine said, "that of the people on the political scene, he disliked Kennedy the least."

## WHY WOULD HE KILL him then?

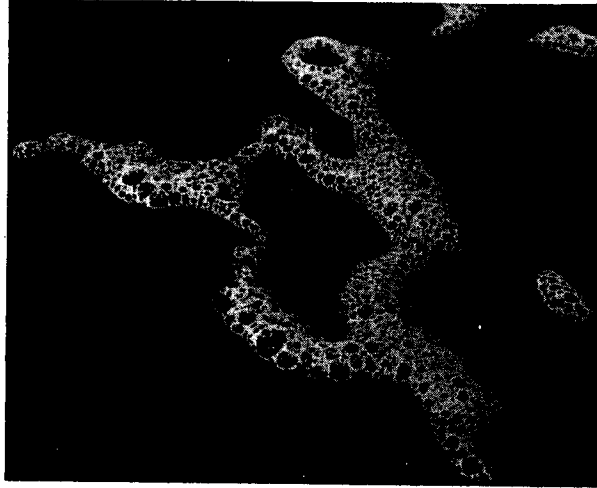
He had told Paine there were only 30 or 35 people in the book depository building. Paine speculated that he didn't like his work, shuffling books around, and he started looking out the window. "Here I really think it was, opportunity presented itself for him to..."

He might not have had a strong motive, Paine said. "He didn't perceive the feelings—all the values that people express in the realm of religion he didn't contemplate, or didn't recognize, and the complexities of life. . . . He didn't recognize shades and degrees and complexities, and if you don't perceive that, I don't see how you can . . ."

Paine did not want to say, not being sure, that Oswald did not have much feeling. But, he said, "The only feeling that was common—he was polite in not showing it to me too much—was contempt for other people. It's a kind of corollary of disrespect. . . . One goes with the other, I guess. . . ."

"He didn't express feelings for music—he liked to bill and coo with Junie," his baby. "When I read a supposed eye witness report about this guy taking his time putting his reportedly well-aimed shots into the President. . . ."

Well, said Paine, "There aren't many strong feelings [in him]. One with stronger feelings would require a stronger impulse. Physically it's a very simple thing to pull a trigger. When you think of a presidential assassin, you think this must have been a very strange person. I've seen many people who looked more inwardly tense than he,"



After early October, Paine said, he had not given Oswald much of his attention. "I had stopped talking to him, because I felt there was no growth."

"Also, he regarded all religions as alike. . . . 'Religions are an apparatus of the state and the opiate of the masses.' . . . On the question of religions, that was offensive to me, because . . . within religions, religious philosophy, there are all kinds of values expressed."

Oswald did not respond when Paine told him he gave several hundred dollars a year to his church, the Unitarian, not because he was forced to by the state, but because he wanted to.

"He was always trying to put me in a category," Paine said. Oswald would say to him that "I wasn't a Marxist, I wasn't a socialist, I wasn't a liberal, I wasn't a conservative, I wasn't a Bircher, or a churchgoer, or a non-churchgoer. He finally said, 'Well, you just don't belong to any category.'"

"... it just meant [to him] that he didn't have to bother with me. . . . I thought perhaps he didn't like to be harassed with questions. After Oct. 1 I was polite to him only for the sake of Marina," Oswald's wife.

"LATER had a pang of sorrow," said Paine. When he heard that Oswald had joined A.C.L.U. and had indicated he wanted A.C.L.U. to defend him if the defense lawyer for communists, John Abt, would not, Paine wondered.

"He just really hadn't had much experience, and if I'd had longer and had persisted, he might have found an avenue for constructive activity where he would join with others," Paine said.

"If he had had more of that in his youth, some place where he'd had a chance for people to listen to him, some place where he wouldn't have been rejected out of hand. Of course, I didn't think of that—I didn't think of saving someone. . . ."

"That takes a big person—there, I wasn't big enough, I rejected him on my own."

Then Michael Paine concluded: "I don't know him well. Few people do, so it's only relative to zero that it amounts to anything."

# Was He a Loner or a Conspirator?

Where did Lee Oswald get the money for his reported trip to Mexico? How did he plan to finance the trips he has been reported contemplating to Europe and Russia, and then to Russia via Cuba, possibly with an excursion through Europe?

Accounts in Dallas of his work history and income the last year and a half of his life indicate that he bounced from one job to the next and led the life of a harried, penny-pinching common laborer of uncommon mind.

He may have been exigent to the point of desperation six weeks or so before the assassination, when he found himself out of a job, his Texas unemployment compensation exhausted, and his wife about to give birth to their second baby.

His wife's benefactress, Mrs. Ruth Paine, says that Oswald told her he was a Marxist, but never said he was a communist. Such a disposition toward radical disaffection from the society, combined with his doing so poorly in jobs and finances, could have coalesced into a motive for his shooting of the President.

Of course, there are many questions, and much more evidence that can bear on this question. But the financial evidence does not now appear, on the basis of what I've found here, to sustain a conspiracy theory.

Mrs. Paine said Oswald didn't tell her or his wife about his reported trip to Mexico this fall, but she speculated, on the basis of his habits as they are known to her, that he would have hitch-hiked to Laredo from New Orleans and then traveled to Mexico City by bus, which is a notoriously cheap mode of transportation.

(Thereupon the Mexican government announced in Mexico City that contrary to earlier reports, Oswald did not drive to Mexico City, but took a bus into the interior, and lived so frugally, he could have made the whole inside Mexico, food and all, for \$30.)

"He was a person to save money," Mrs. Paine said. If, as reported, but not confirmed, he had \$150 stashed at Mrs. Paine's in Irving, it might be relevant that Mrs. Paine said the Oswalds had planned to move Mrs. Oswald out of Mrs. Paine's, and take an apartment of their own, after Christmas.

"He tipped only five cents to that cab driver [after the assassination]. A man trying to leave a trail wouldn't usually do that, but I think he couldn't stand to pay any more," she said.

"I thought he felt insecure in jobs. He lost jobs, and he wanted to save money, for fear of being out of work." He felt that his having been to Russia and having a Rus-

sian-speaking wife worked against him. Mrs. Paine said.

**T**HERE ARE documents that may implicate the communist and pro-Castro left in Oswald's activities. On the face of them, as they are described in Dallas, none of them implicates anyone but Oswald in the shooting of the President.

Bill Alexander of the district attorney's office says that when he accompanied officers to Oswald's Dallas room about 3 o'clock or 3:30 the afternoon of the assassination, he saw letters among Oswald's papers on letterheads of the Communist Party of America, the Worker in New York City, and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

The same man signed the letter from the Communist Party and the one from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, as an official in both instances, Alexander said. The "big letter"—three pages, typed and single-spaced—was the one from the Cuba committee, telling Oswald how to organize a local Cuba committee and "conduct activities to avoid 'nosy neighbors,'" Alexander said. The contents of the other letters were not significant, he said.

Justice of the Peace David Johnston, who arraigned Oswald, accompanied the officers on this search, too. He saw an American-made address book that he said contained quite a few writings in Russian and English and some other languages, possibly including Spanish. A map of Dallas showing the trajectory of the bullet that killed the president was also found on this search, Johnston said.

Alexander said that on the fly page of the address book, Red Square in Moscow appeared to have been drawn in; but he was not sure that was what it was. Lt. E. L. Cunningham of the forgery bureau saw John B. Connally's name in the book. Detectives B. L. Senkel and F. L. Turner said they saw Fair Play for Cuba handbills among the papers; Senkel reported seeing a large picture of Castro, enclosed in clear plastic.

Other information would indicate that papers of Oswald's found in the Irving home of Mrs. Paine included a letter on Communist Party of America stationery thanking Oswald for "photographic work." It can be reported from Irving that his effects there included letters and photographic negatives. Officers could not read some of the letters because of the language they were in.

(New York newspapers have reported that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee admits having received five letters from Oswald, recounting his activities for the com-

mittee in New Orleans. Obviously relevant also in this general connection are the facts of Oswald's defection to Russia and the published accounts about his application for documents to travel to Russia through Cuba in Mexico City at the end of September.)

**O**SWALD was reported to be in Russia from late in 1959 through mid-1962. The financial record pieced together here begins around the first of June, 1962, when the Oswalds' landlord in Fort Worth remembers them moving into a one-bedroom duplex there. The rent was about \$60 a month; while the apartment was small, it was clean. The Oswalds stayed there through September of last year.

On a job application in Dallas this year, Oswald said he had worked before at a Fort Worth firm. (This company has since merged with another one; its business has to do with welding. A division manager says Oswald worked there about 12 weeks, probably from July to September as a sheet metal helper for less than \$1.50 an hour.)

A man named Ernest C. Koerner, who is presently very upset about all this, and speaks of finding out who this nation's enemies are, and taking up our guns again, lived in a duplex behind the Oswalds and worked at a large retail store in Fort Worth.

Koerner said that the Oswalds had no visitors that he saw, and frequently argued loudly in a foreign tongue. Occasionally they went walking, with Oswald walking far to the front of his wife; they had no car, Koerner said.

Koerner related an incident that suggests Oswald was what is sometimes called "cheap."

One day Koerner gave Oswald a discount slip that could be credited on the purchase of a TV set in the store where Koerner worked. Oswald was curt about this at first, but when he understood what the slip was, he told Koerner he had just bought a TV that day, but it wasn't working well, so he would take it back the next day and buy another one on the discount slip.

Koerner said that the next day he saw Oswald carrying the boxed-up TV he had bought out of his house, presumably to turn it in and buy another one on discount.

The Oswalds' landlord told a newsman that on occasion Oswald was late paying his rent, and that the Oswalds left without giving notice and with about \$30 rent and some utility bills unpaid.

Moving from Fort Worth to Dallas, Os-

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wald went to work late in October, 1962, for a Dallas printing firm, which hired him on referral from the Texas Employment Commission.

He was paid \$1.50 an hour, the secretary-treasurer of the firm thinks he remembers. This official did not ask him his previous work experience, because "he said he was let out of the Marines. We put lots of boys on who are just out of the service."

"The Texas Employment Commission sent him as a young veteran with a wife and child, eager to go work and make a place for himself in the world. That's all we knew," says the president of this company.

Samuel Ballen of Dallas, a Republican petroleum economist, interviewed Oswald for a job for about an hour and a half at a time Ballen places at around last December or January. Apparently Oswald was looking for another job while he was working at the printing firm, perhaps knowing that he was not being well received there.

"I would have had the feeling that he was at the stage of destitution," Ballen said of Oswald at the time. "He was dressed very, very modestly, not dirty, but very modestly.

"I would have the impression that this would be a guy who could travel from place to place with very few funds. He could travel from one end of the country to the other, and people would be buying his meals. I had the feeling . . . that he had no money."

Meanwhile, the printing firm decided to let him go. "We tried to teach him to make camera prints . . . he didn't take any pride in his work, or he didn't care," the company's financial officer said. He was given notice at the end of last March and fired April 5 or 6, 1963, the president stated.

Mrs. Paine met the Oswalds at a party late in February, 1963, she said. She had the impression that Oswald became eligible for unemployment compensation under Texas law about last May.

Mrs. Paine now suspects that Oswald received jobless comp checks from Texas authorities throughout his twenty weeks in New Orleans last summer, although he worked there during that period.

His Russian-speaking wife was several months pregnant and suggested to him that he go to New Orleans, his birthplace, to look for work, Mrs. Paine says. She relates details of his setting out that seem to be symptomatic of a penuriousness:

Mrs. Paine called on the Oswalds about April 24 and found them packed for New Orleans. She took them to the bus station, where Oswald bought tickets for himself and his wife; but Mrs. Paine volunteered that Mrs. Oswald could stay with her at her home in Irving until he found a job and sent for his wife.

The Oswalds accepted her offer, and Oswald cashed in the ticket he had bought for his wife. He also gave Mrs. Oswald about \$10 for her living expenses, and did not send any more, Mrs. Paine said. "It lasted a little while," Mrs. Paine said mildly.

A slender woman with good features. Mrs. Paine speaks rapidly and with perception and decision, and answers questions headlong. She is sensitive against words like "charity" and "indigent," preferring kinder terms.

Her home the morning I interviewed her about Oswald's money was still a shambles from two searches and a week's neglect. Books were strewn about a bedroom table (I noticed *War and Peace*), and statues of Mercury and one she thought was Jason were in evidence. Saturday Review and Harper's . . . pastoral scenes on the walls . . . two golden eagles with stars around their bases . . . a doll on the couch and the daughter watching the TV western . . . wash on the line out back, a rusted toy car, a skiff upended . . . dishes in the sink and Wheaties on the drainboard.

ON MAY 8, Oswald telephoned from New Orleans and told the women he had landed a job, with a photoengraving establishment near the French Quarter and the Mississippi River and that his pay was \$1.50 an hour, Mrs. Paine said. Mrs. Paine drove Mrs. Oswald to New Orleans and was their guest for a few days in what she describes as their very modest, \$60 or \$70 a month apartment.

During the summer the women exchanged letters; in one of them at the end of August, Mrs. Oswald said her husband was out of work again. Mrs. Paine relates that after vacationing in the East, she returned to Texas through New Orleans, visiting the Oswalds approximately from Sept. 20 through 23.

"I think they were definitely feeling the pinch of not having an income," Mrs. Paine said. "I did feel charged by him to get the cheapest medical care" for his wife's childbirth. He gave Mrs. Paine a check he had saved from his printing firm job, but as it worked out, Mrs. Oswald was eligible for free Dallas County care, and Mrs. Paine returned it to him, she recalled.

Last Oct. 4 Oswald applied for a job at a second printing firm in Dallas, located on Industrial Boulevard, which might have been regarded as a possible route for the President's motorcade. The president of the firm where Oswald had worked five and a half months starting a year earlier recalled:

"This application that this fella made to this other company listed us as a previous employer. Their superintendent called me. I checked and found out that the reason he was discharged was that he was not competent in his work.

"Nobody had had any real liking or disliking for him. Somebody mentioned he had heard he had a Daily Worker. So, just shooting off at the mouth, as I think of it now, I said, 'Hell, for all I know, he may be a Communist.' Damn if it doesn't look like he was."

"He indicated he might be a Communist on the back of the application," said the executive who had made the remark. Oswald wasn't hired.

That very day, Oct. 4, Mrs. Paine said, Oswald telephoned his wife at Mrs. Paine's in Irving and related that upon leaving

New Orleans, he had scouted around Houston for a job without success and had been looking around in Dallas the last few days.

As for his trip to Mexico—which reports published here state occurred between the time he left New Orleans and the time he arrived in Dallas—"he never breathed a word of that to me or to his wife," Mrs. Paine said.

BECAUSE of a question of time, Mrs. Paine doubts a report from Alice, that Oswald was trying to get a job there on Oct. 4. Alice could be on a route from Mexico to Dallas.

On the phone from Dallas that day, Oswald asked that Mrs. Paine pick him up and drive him to Irving, but his wife refused him this, explaining that Mrs. Paine was still weak from having given blood to the county hospital, an act having to do with Mrs. Oswald's care there.

Mrs. Paine said Oswald therefore hitchhiked to Irving. This "indicates his use of money," she said.

The Dallas Time-Herald has reported that Oswald received small sums of money "ranging up to \$10 or possibly \$20 at a time" through Western Union from an unknown party during several months before the assassination. The paper also said Oswald sent a telegram a few days before the President's murder.

Such facts could certainly qualify or contravene other indications of his financial situation.

An official in charge of the Western Union here denied knowledge of such messages. "I absolutely know nothing about anything like this in this office," said A. I. English, assistant operations director.

"I would say that their story is without foundation, because our people wouldn't give 'em the information," the Saturday manager, George Warren, also said. The paper's city editor, Ken Smart, said, "We're standing by our story."

Mrs. Paine continued that Oswald first took a \$7-a-week room in Dallas for a week or so, but wanted TV and kitchen privileges and moved to his room on Beckley, where the rent was \$8 a week. He visited in Mrs. Paine's home weekends.

Mrs. Paine remembers that Oswald's last unemployment comp check arrived the weekend before he went to work Oct. 15 for the Texas School Book Depository in Dallas, from the building of which the President was shot. The terminal check was smaller than usual, apparently because Oswald was entitled only to part of a full period's benefits at the end, and this "disappointed him," she said.

Oswald wanted "any kind of job, I think quite sincerely. He was very definitely disturbed that last week [of his unemployment benefits] . . . no job, no prospects, baby due any minute. He was relieved that at least his wife had a place to stay."

When he got the job, he did not offer to contribute to his wife's support, and "she was living as my guest," Mrs. Paine said. "I felt he was very pleased to receive my generosity, it was another way of saving money."

The depository paid Oswald \$1.25 an hour, \$50 a week, which worked out to just more than \$108 each half-month, or a little more than \$100 after deductions. Roy Truly, an official of the firm, said. Oswald received such paychecks Oct. 31 and Nov. 15. Truly said there was overtime work to be done, but Oswald did not ask to be let do any of it, nor did he ask for wage advances, as some of the other workers did.

**A** COUPLE OF TIMES after a weekend in Irving, Oswald went to work at the depository Monday with a packed

lunch. "He had very little money," Mrs. Paine said.

He asked her, she said, not to tell hospital authorities he had gotten a job, apparently fearing there would be a charge for the child's birth if authorities knew, but when they asked her if he had, she told them yes, and the fact did not affect Mrs. Oswald's eligibility for free care.

The baby, the Oswalds' second girl, was born Oct. 20 at Parkland hospital, where the President and his accused assassin died the next month.

"I still feel like he was just hunting a job," Truly said. "When he did come to

work, he may have known the President was coming, but he couldn't have known the route.

"He impressed me all along that he was just anxious to go to work for his family."

He was not a neat dresser, but he wasn't sloppy. "He was that type of fella, if he didn't have any money, he could hitch-hike across the country," Truly said.

According to Will Fritz, captain of the homicide and robbery bureau of the Dallas police, Oswald had just \$13 in his pocket when he was cornered and captured in the Texas Theater.

## The Killer of the Accused Killer

The way Jack Ruby seemed to people who knew him in Dallas depended on what kind of people they were, and which way they knew him, it seems.

Ruby was a member of the large conservative Jewish congregation in Dallas, and he ran a strip tease joint, the Carousel, across the street from the Adolphus.

He was always befriending and trying to be favor policemen and newspapermen, and a lawyer told me that one day he saw him beating another man until blood flowed and the lawyer stepped between them.

And according to one of the men who will prosecute him for killing Lee Oswald, which nobody can doubt that he did, Ruby tried to create a tough-guy atmosphere around his burlesque place and his night club, the Vegas, at the same time he was tipping off the police about questionable characters who might float into them.

No one I talked to (or read about, for that matter,) as to Ruby alleged that he had any politics except patriotic fervor about presidents. (The Dallas News and the Fort Worth Star-Telegram rode for a while with the happenstance that a man named Jack Rubinstein, Ruby's name before he had it legally changed, was identified as a communist in some old Washington files, but the suspicion they were the same man was blown out of the tub by statements from investigators in Washington who said they knew.)

**R**UBY AS A SAYER of prayers was well known to his rabbi, although not as well known as he would have been if he had gone to church more than two or three times a year.

When Rabbi Hillel E. Silverman of Shearith Israel visited Ruby in his cell here, Ruby broke down crying "every three minutes," and at one point, when the question of his psychiatric examination came up, he looked to Dr. Silverman and said, "Tell me, am I insane?"

Silverman has visited with him twice since he was locked up.

"All he remembers is seeing a crowd of people, and Oswald; and Oswald was just leering, there was a smirk on his face, and

he just lost his head—as an American he just had to shoot the man that shot the President," Silverman said.

"I'm convinced it was not premeditated," the rabbi said. "He saw crowds, he saw people around, he saw this man, this assassin, the man had a smirk on his face, as if he was proud of what he did."

Ruby told him, the rabbi said, "'I kept thinking of Mrs. Kennedy coming back for the trial, and the poor children.'" Ruby never mentioned to Silverman, as an element in his motivation, indignation against communists, to which Ruby's defense lawyer, Tom Howard, has been quoted alluding.

"It would be awfully convenient if he (Ruby) represented the right wing, but I'm afraid it just wasn't that way," Silverman said.

"To me, he was very shallow intellectually. I don't think he knew the difference between a Republican and a Democratic platform. All he knew was he loved Kennedy, he loved Eisenhower, he loved every president—it was a symbol of his America," Silverman said.

"It's incredible that there could be any connection between Ruby and the communists, Ruby and Oswald, or Ruby and the right wing," Silverman said.

A related conclusion is stated here also by the first trial assistant in the district attorney's office, Bill Alexander, to whom a large role in Ruby's prosecution will be assigned, if Ruby is tried. "As of this point, I don't know of anything to connect the guy with Oswald," Alexander said.

Ruby was not deeply religious, but was sentimentally so, Silverman said. He did not attend Sunday services, but came to church on two or three religious holidays a year. When, four or five years ago, his father died, he attended 20-minute memorial services at the synagogue every morning and evening for eleven straight months; this is when Silverman came to know him.

"He's a member of this congregation. I'm not proud of that fact," Silverman said. "It's a dastardly crime by a person who was obviously deranged."

A bachelor, Ruby had a "morbid attrac-

tion" for dogs and once drove by Silverman's house with six little dachshunds in the back of his car. Apparently he wished he had children; he suffered "a tremendous emotional instability," Silverman contended, illustrating this with this story:

On Jewish New Year's, one of the high holy days, about two months ago, Ruby called the rabbi, "crying on the telephone," because he and his sister had had a spat, and asked the rabbi to intervene for him with her. He did, and the next day they had made up.

Ruby is, not exactly a status-seeker, but a seeker of "the plaudits of the crowd," Silverman said. Raised in abject poverty in a tough part of Chicago, and failing to finish high school, he lusted after notoriety, and "he wanted to be a martyr," Silverman said.

People have been writing him, congratulating him on his deed and even sending him money for his legal defense. "His mind is not working," Silverman said, citing, as an example, his request that the rabbi see that instead of sending money to help in his defense, his admirers buy advertisements in their local newspapers saying "that they approve of what he's done and that he's done the American thing."

Silverman saw Ruby at services Friday night after the assassination. "You could see tears. He was very disturbed, you could see," he said. Ruby told him he had been very upset in conversations with his sister and by watching TV about the assassination: that he had closed his own two clubs and asked other operators why they did not close theirs.

Ruby was most concerned what people, and what the rabbi, particularly, thought of him. "I tried to comfort him, first of all," Silverman said.

He told Ruby he had deprived the government of an opportunity to bring Oswald to trial, and this was not right. "It didn't occur to him. It wouldn't occur to a man like him," Silverman said.

Speculation was abroad, too, Silverman told Ruby, that he had some tie-up with

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Oswald or Communists. He quoted Ruby: "I don't know these people. I have no Communist background. I'll swear on this Bible that you gave me."

"He was in a terrible emotional state," Dr. Silverman said. "Every three minutes he would start to cry, and then he would say that he did the patriotic thing. He thought he was doing the American thing . . . this guy has a kind of a . . . hero complex."

He had read a column about him by Victor Reisel in which Reisel discussed some Chicago underground characters. "He said 'It's fantastic. I don't know these people,'" Silverman said.

**RUBY'S RECORD** with the Dallas police has been spotty. According to police information, he was accused in 1949 of disturbing the peace; in 1953, of carrying a concealed weapon; and in 1954, of a technical liquor offense, permitting consumption of beer after hours.

No disposition is shown of the 1949 case; Texas law permits a businessman to carry a gun if he is going home from his place of business with money on him; the liquor case should not have been filed in the first place, because no one saw anyone consuming the unfinished bottle of Schlitz in question, according to information here.

This year he was arrested in connection with a case of simple assault; nothing came of the matter.

"Jack blew in here in 1947," Alexander says. He ran a couple of lounges "wide open" for a while, but then decided to cooperate with the police while maintaining a tough-guy atmosphere to attract customers, Alexander continued.

"You can't exactly say he was a stool pigeon, but if a character drifted into his place, he would call the police," Alexander said. Nightly one or two police cars would stop by his place. Alexander thought Ruby had probably "avoided some problems" because of his cooperativeness.

Ruby would make a grand entrance at the boxing matches after the preliminaries, when the lights were up, and would invite police and newspapermen to his place for free beer, Alexander said.

Alexander confirmed that Ruby was in the hall Friday at a time when Oswald was brought through it. "I saw him," Alexander said. Thus, had he been of a mind, Ruby could have tried to shoot Oswald Friday instead of Sunday, when he did shoot him.

How did he get in? "He's got a pocketful of credentials," Alexander speculated. As to Ruby's motive in shooting Oswald, Alexander, one of his prosecutors, said, "I think he thought he was gonna be a national hero." The contention Ruby was temporarily insane is "pure baloney" in the judgment of the Dallas prosecutor, who had just spent \$25 for two books on psychology.

A club operator who has known Ruby for years adopts an attitude as skeptical as Alexander's toward the construction, of which Dr. Silverman is convinced, that Ruby acted in temporary insanity. The club man asked why, if Ruby so loved Kennedy,

was he placing an ad in the Dallas Morning News at the time of the President's motorcade in Dallas.

This old associate of Ruby's jeered the interpretation that Ruby could have been actuated by distress about the assassination. "Jack Ruby is for Jack Ruby," he said.

John Wilson, an attorney, said he witnessed Ruby beating up another man in a bar in downtown Dallas about a year ago.

"A guy ran in and started for the phone. He was followed in by Ruby, who took a couple of pokes at him. . . . Nobody did anything, and I saw blood begin to splatter, so I went in between them. He had cut him up pretty badly."

Wilson identified the man he said Ruby was hitting as Frank Ferraro, and said Ferraro told him he had been staying with Ruby, and Ruby had been good to him, so he did not want to cause him any trouble.

The police who came, Wilson said, gave Ferraro, not Ruby, the hard time, "because they knew Ruby, I guess."

Later Ferraro wrote Wilson from Milwaukee, asking him to help him find counsel in connection with the matter, but Wilson told him this would be difficult with him so far away, and the matter was dropped.

**BARNEY WEINSTEIN**, proprietor of the Theater Lounge, said Ruby feverishly sought publicity.

"He does everything he can to get known. He has no limits to just what he would do to get known," Weinstein said. Once Ruby complained to the top editor of a Dallas daily, wanting to know "why he couldn't get more publicity," according to Weinstein.

"He'd beat up people, thinking that would make him a name," and on one occasion a patron bit a piece of his little finger off, Weinstein said.

"I don't speak to him. I haven't spoken a word to him in two years," Weinstein said. He's "very arrogant, very quick tempered," and "not my caliber of person."

Weinstein agreed with Alexander's opinion that Ruby was open-handed with policemen in the hope of getting favors from them, and also out of a genuine liking for policemen.

"He did know a lot of police. He knew 'em all. He curried their favor all the time," said the club operator.

Abe Weinstein, proprietor of the Colony Club, where Candy Barr used to write, says he does not know Ruby, other than that he ran a club next door to his.

Several Dallas people who met Ruby casually said he had made a fairly good impression on them. One said he was not ostentatious; another, that he was almost shy. Yet a third saw him as "a typical Chicago fella down here to run a night club."

In his two clubs here now, the waitresses and bartenders keep a look-out for disguised photographers trying to sneak pictures from under their suit coats, and assure the reporters who make themselves known that Jack Ruby was all broken up over the assassination and had no connection with Oswald. (Except there was one entertainer who said he saw Oswald in one of the clubs, he thought). At the Carousel, in between tedious and tiresomely long delays caused by an emcee who makes wisecracks and operates a puppet, stripper ladies display their flesh, except for two bangles and a creeping G-string.

## Some Questions

There is reason to believe, it can be reported from here, that the federal report on the assassination is to state, (or will have stated, if it has come out by the time this is published,) that all the bullet fragments recovered after the shooting came from the rifle that was presumed to be Oswald's. (Published leaks say it will report that Oswald acted alone.)

Nevertheless, three questions, why Sen. Ralph Yarborough, D-Tex., smelled gunpowder nearly all the way to Parkland Hospital after the President was shot; how to make allowances for, or discount, certain other things witnesses have told some of us reporters; and where Jack Ruby, Oswald's killer, was at the time of the shooting of the President, had been causing a little, but not much concern here at the Observer's press time.

Four witnesses who were close by during the shooting, for instance, indicate that they all thought at the time that the first shot came, not from the book depository building where Oswald was, but from someplace closer to the Triple Underpass. Two of them contend that the first shot missed,

and that Kennedy looked around after it, before he was hit by a second shot and began to slump.

There has been speculation how the President could have been shot in the front of the neck by a sniper behind his car. However, Dr. Malcolm Perry, the physician who treated the President's neck wound, says here that the small puncture wound he saw on a midline below the Adam's apple could have been caused by a bullet entering or by the fragment of a bullet exiting.

Dr. Robert Shaw, the physician who treated Gov. Connally, said that the doctors here really cannot say for sure how many bullets were fired. For instance, in Gov. Connally, no metal was found in his most serious wound, only part of a bullet was found in his wrist, and his thigh wound was caused by a sliver of bullet metal.

"We can explain all of his wounds by the trajectory of one bullet," but need to use other information to conclude that all three of his wounds were caused by one bullet, Dr. Shaw said.

Dr. Perry mentioned the possibility, not



precluded by his own examination, that there was a wound in the back of the President's neck, and Dr. Shaw said he had heard that there was. Such a fact would ease the befuddlement caused by the difficulty of imagining Mr. Kennedy being shot in the front of the neck by a sniper behind him.

**B**UT THE SUSPICION there just might have been a second sniper was difficult entirely to allay.

Some officials knowledgeable about guns agree here that gunpowder smells emanate from a weapon, not from its fired bullets' place of impact. Sen. Yarborough, who said at Parkland hospital, while waiting for confirmation of the President's death, that "You could smell powder on our car nearly all the way here," is a hunter and ran with a gun as a boy in the East Texas woods.

Oswald and his rifle were reportedly six stories high and perhaps 75 yards behind the President's car at the time of the shooting. Yarborough was in the third car of the motorcade, with then Vice President and Mrs. Johnson. Some officials questioned here could not explain why Sen. Yarborough would smell gunpowder.

Dr. Perry said, "I'm inclined to discount olfactory sensations at a time when something like this is happening. As well as illusions of sight, there are olfactory illusions which occur."

Other details suggest either the confusions, in senses and in emotions, which prevailed at that assassination scene, or the possibility that the first shot came from nearer the underpass, and not from the building where Oswald was.

Three Dallas officers, traffic patrolmen J. M. Smith and W. E. Barnett and accident investigator E. L. Smith, were stationed at the bend from Houston onto Elm near the depository building, Patrolman Smith said. There were no other officers between them and the underpass, but were two officers patrolling the trestle over the underpass, according to Barnett.

Patrolman Smith, interviewed while he was standing traffic duty on a downtown street corner, recalled that he could not figure out where the shots were coming from.

"A woman came up to me in hysterics. She said 'They're shooting at the President from the bushes.' I just took off," he said.

A cement arch stands between the depository building and the underpass. On the underpass side of the arch, there is a fence that lets through almost no light, and is neck-high; an oak tree behind the fence makes a little arbor there. A man standing behind the fence, further shielded by cars in the parking lot behind him, might have had a clear shot at the President as his car began the run downhill on Elm Street toward the underpass.

Patrolman Smith ran into this area. "I found a lot of Secret Service men—I suppose they were Secret Service men—and deputy sheriffs and plainclothes men," he said. He was so put off by what the woman had said—he didn't get her name—that he

spent some time checking cars on the lot, he said.

He caught the smell of gunpowder there, he said: "a faint smell of it—I could tell it was in the air . . . a faint odor of it." The wind was blowing toward him from the building 350 or 400 yards away, and he guessed that the gunpowder smell had been blown down into the area from the window.

**F**OUR WORKERS in the society section of the Dallas Morning News were standing about mid-way between the depository and the cement arch. They were therefore in an excellent position to see what happened. Although one of them wrote what she saw in the Dallas News of Nov. 23, naming her three co-workers, they agreed late last week that none of them had been interviewed by the F.B.I.

They are Ann Donaldson, 26, News society editor; Mary O. Woodward, 24, the paper's food consultant; Maggie Brown, 22, a society copy editor; and Aurelia Alonzo, 24, a society reporter. All are single. They had decided to use their lunch hour to watch the President pass by.

Where they were standing is important to the accounts they gave. They were just about midway between the depository building and the arch. The building was on their left and the arch on their right; behind them, as they were of course facing the street.

The first shot, Miss Woodward wrote in the News, was "a horrible, ear-shattering noise coming from behind us and a little to the right." This would mean it came from the arch or from behind the fence beside it, under the oak tree; not from the depository.

Miss Woodward stood by her account. The President's car had passed them when the first shot sounded out, said Miss Brown. The sound, she said, "came to my right. It was, you know, down by the President. The sound was down there. That's what I heard, right down there around him. That's where we first thought it was."

Officer Barnett said two officers were patrolling the trestle, and no one could have shot down onto the President's party from behind the railing on the trestle without being seen by the officers.

"He had just passed by and smiled at us," Miss Alonzo said. "The sound seemed to be coming from above our heads. I wasn't sure.—We looked up behind us. There are some trees, there are some cement structures. . . . I don't know whether I was just confused," she said.

Miss Donaldson said the four girls were standing next to a lamp post, right in front of the man who took the 8mm films of the President's car during the shooting. She had seen her own group's picture in Life Magazine, she said.

Standing below the tree in front of the depository, and 50 or 70 yards from the car when it was hit, she said, the sound came from "somewhere behind me and then it sort of echoed all around."

Misses Donaldson and Woodward attest that the first shot seemed not to hit anyone in the President's car.

**W**HERE was Jack Ruby at this time?

He has given as his main motive for shooting Oswald, his intense indignation about Kennedy's death. He is not represented as having gone to the motorcade to watch the President pass by.

He could have easily done so if he had wanted to, because he was just four blocks away, in the advertising offices of the Dallas News, during the noon hour when the President was shot.

At 12:10 p.m. the News reported, Ruby walked into the paper's display advertising office to place an ad. According to Donald Campbell, an advertising representative, "he (Ruby) was all wound up. He remarked what a 'lousy business' he was in, but said, 'if I'd get in some other business I'd have the same headaches, or maybe more of them.'"

Campbell confirmed that he left the office about 12:20 p.m. leaving Ruby there. Campbell said no one in the office had come forward as to Ruby's whereabouts between 12:20 and 12:30 or so p.m.; but of course there could have been some who saw Ruby then that Campbell did not know about.

Georgia Mayor, a secretary in the advertising department, said, "I saw him at 12:30 or 12:35. I came back from lunch between 12:30 and 12:35. He was sitting there in that chair," by her desk.

The exact time of the President's shooting may not be known. One source here says it was perhaps 12:25 or 12:27; some reports say 12:30. Based on a remark that is reported to have been made over the motorcade intercom just before the shooting, the time was 12:31.

**T**HE FACTS, of course, have been promised to a candid world, and should, but may never, answer all the questions.

For instance, the two women's belief they saw Mr. Kennedy look around after the first shot suggests not merely the possibility there was a second sniper, about which great skepticism is justified; it suggests much more plausibly another and more plausible possibility, that the first shot missed.

An officer is known to have examined, twenty minutes after the shooting, a chipped place on the Main Street curb near the Triple Underpass, on a line from the fatal window toward where the car passed. He saw that it was a fresh chipping, and perceived clear traces of lead.

The most reliable information in Dallas as we left to put out this issue—a phrase that protects sources and glosses over a necessary indefiniteness, with the facts still officially secret—is that the President was hit only once, and his neck injury was an exit, not an entry wound.

How, then, can Sen. Yarborough's, and Officer Smith's, smelling gunpowder be explained? The gases ejected from the rifle muzzle could have carried that far, one wise old hand in Dallas law enforcement asserts.

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