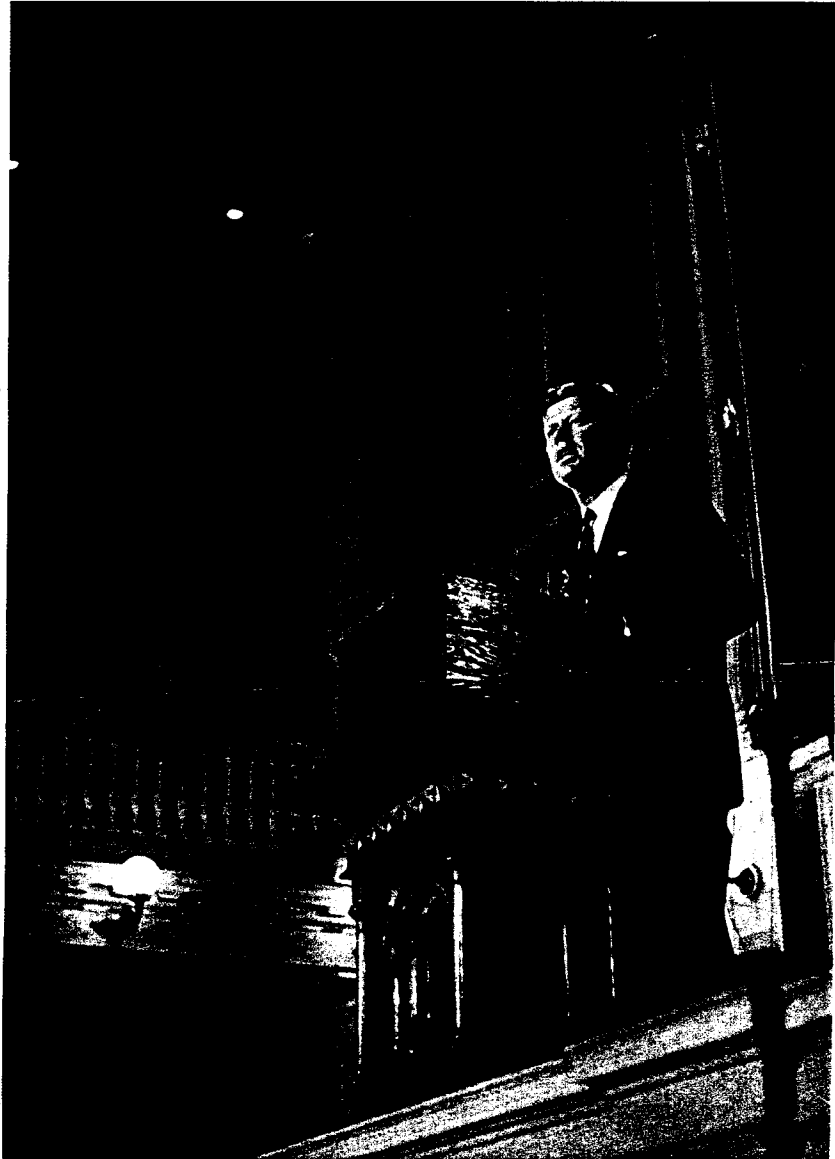


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**Dallas: A Need for the Truth**  
*Story on page 6*

BOSTON **Globe** MAGAZINE

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the truth  
about  
**THAT DAY IN DALLAS**

Wouldn't this be  
the most appropriate monument  
to President Kennedy?

Story by James S. Doyle and Stephen Zorn.  
Photos by A.P. and U.P.I.

**J**OHAN F. KENNEDY is dead three years. There is blood on Elm st., Dallas, and sorrow has not washed its stain. But truth would help.

Dallas was at lunch that day. The establishment was dining, as usual, at the Club Imperial in the Baker Hotel on Commerce st. When the word reached there they turned on the television set, and it was true, and one of the diners winced and turned away from the tube and he said, "This God damned town."

A lot of us agreed with him at the time. In fact a lot of us still do. As Warren Leslie said in his book about Dallas, it is a disturbed city in a disturbed nation.

Dallas has been mocked recently because the city fathers considered erecting a monument by the Triple Underpass, where the assassination happened. Words on tablets would trace the glorious history of the city and maybe in the last line make mention of the event that caused the monument's location. When the truth is ugly, nobody wants to face it. You can't blame the people of Dallas. If the truth involves uncertainty, ugliness and anguish, nobody likes to tell it as it was.

Take the Warren Report.

When in September of 1964 the Warren Commission submitted its answers to the Kennedy assassination, the American psyche, with its deep and inexplicable needs,

BOSTON SUNDAY GLOBE, NOVEMBER 30, 1966



Far left, some of the literature stimulated by the Warren Report. Left, members of the Warren Commission present the report to President Johnson in September, 1964. Below, a Polaroid photo of the incident taken by a woman spectator.

seized the answers and embraced the conclusions; no conspiracies, no plots, no further recriminations needed. One madman, now dead, had caused it all.

The press solemnly nodded approval. There had been no surprises in the report. It was just an expansion of material the papers had settled with 10 months earlier.

The New York Times put out its own edition of the report, with appropriate prefaces. One of these by Harrison Salisbury was an ode to the commission's work. He described it as: "Comprehensive, careful, compendious and competent." He also saluted the newspaper he serves as an editor. "With the uses of history in mind," he wrote, "The New York Times set for itself the task of looking into every possible clue and factor which might concern the case. It was this newspaper's investigation, for example, which first ascertained many vital facts concerning the background of Lee Harvey Oswald . . ."

Now, after two years when other men have carefully culled the 26 volumes of evidence that the Warren Commission collected, it no longer appears so "all inclusive of every possible clue." Nor does the commission's own report, based on its collected evidence, stand any longer to the description "comprehensive, careful, compendious and competent."

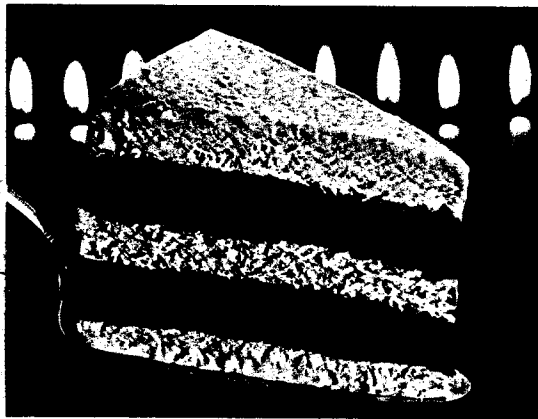
**T**HIS has not yet been admitted in most of the establishments press. The pioneer work critical of the commission has been done by lawyers and professors. It has been fully reported in the news media, but to date there has been no great effort by the most responsible organizations to issue their own investigative critiques. Nor has official Washington reacted with equanimity to the serious challenges to the official explanation of who killed Kennedy.

In preparation for this article, which was by no means meant to break new ground in the controversy, we attempted to interview the seven members of the Warren Commission. We submitted 10 questions to them, to Chief Counsel J. Lee Rankin and to Arlen Specter. The latter is now district attorney of Philadelphia and during the commission investigation was said to be fully responsible for establishing the physical sequence of events leading to the assassination.

Former CIA Chief Allen Dulles was responsive to our request, although he declined to answer specifically the 10 questions and properly begged off our specific questions because his memory could not recall the circumstances totally. Specter referred us to his lengthy and overly defensive interview with U.S. News and World Report, which covered some of the areas we sought to learn about, but none of the broader philosophical questions. John J. McCloy wrote that he could not respond because "I have

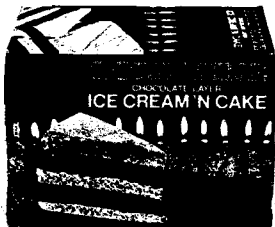
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**Kennedy** *Continued*

been in communication with the Chief Justice in regard to this matter and we are agreed that it would not be appropriate for me to respond in the manner (written) you suggest." Mr. Rankin and the remaining commissioners were too busy to respond, although both Congressman Gerald Ford (R-Michigan) and Sen. Richard Russell (D-Georgia) indicated that they might do so at some future time.

This silence has had a dubious value. With the exception of Specter's interview and a few analytical reviews of the critical books, most recent publicity concerning the Warren Report has been adverse.

Not all of the adverse publicity has been responsible, of course, but the fact that no officials are willing to respond to serious and legitimate criticism tends to add strength to the irresponsible.

Ramparts magazine, which long ago staked out its position among the irresponsible, suggests with neither demonstration nor even direct assertion that a conspiracy among Dallas police and others has caused the mysterious deaths of ten key witnesses to the events surrounding the assassination. This has gained the magazine a good deal of publicity, although at a Washington news conference its writer and editor were unable to defend their article successfully. It is amusing to find in the same issue of that magazine a promotional advertisement entitled "Yes, Teddy, there is a Ramparts!" which quotes Sen. Edward M. Kennedy as saying one day in December of 1964 while he was in a Capitol Hill office, that he had never heard of Ramparts magazine. The point of the ad is little more than to ridicule the senator. It has appeared (as a Ramparts ad) in more serious magazines repeatedly.

We mention the advertisement here to demonstrate the quality of Ramparts reportorial integrity. You will recall that in December of 1964, Edward Kennedy was in a Boston hospital convalescing from his airplane crash. Near the end of the month he was in Florida. But he was not in any Capitol Hill office from mid-June 1964 until 1965. This, of course, would not have been a difficult

**"Not all of the adverse publicity about the Warren Report has been responsible, of course, but the fact that no officials are willing to respond to serious and legitimate criticism tends to add strength to the irresponsible."**

fact for Ramparts to check out. It would have required a simple phone call, or at least some reflection.

IN the same category, but appearing in a much more reputable journal, is the bald statement in the October issue of *Commonweal*, a Catholic weekly: "Hence Oswald certainly did not kill the President alone, and probably not at all. The actual conspirators were certainly deadly serious men, possibly members of a Dallas gun club, certainly magnificent shots..." That appears with no substantiation whatsoever as an aside in a book review by David Cort of "The Right To Bear Arms" by Carl Bakal. It is almost typical of many journals' current opinion concerning the Warren conclusions.

Newspapers across the country have received fantasy-filled letters. One such example was sent by an Oregon couple. "Five members of the organization known as J.F.C.O.T.T. (Justice For the Crew of the Thresher) planned and carried out the Dallas tragedy," the letter begins, and enclosed is a meaningless garble of photostated letters and legal-looking absurdities.

An off-Broadway theater has produced "Macbird," a comedy facetiously presenting characters similar to Lyndon and Lady Bird Johnson, as latter-day Macbeths, who engineer the assassination of a rival for power whose name is John. These are the semi-psychopathic results

of the real doubts, created by the more serious articles and books. The books include "Inquest," written originally as a master's thesis that set out to analyze how a commission like the Warren Commission does its job. The author is Edward Jay Epstein, now at Harvard. Another is "The Second Oswald" by Prof. Richard H. Popkin, which cleverly argues that there was indeed a conspiracy in Dallas. It was originally written for the New York Review of Books. "Rush To Judgment" is a defense attorney's brief that blasts away at almost every commission contention. It was written by Mark Lane, who was asked to represent Lee Oswald by his mother. Another serious book is "The Oswald Affair" by Leo Sauvage, U.S. correspondent for the French newspaper Figaro. This is perhaps the only book by a journalist to date that ranks among the top serious efforts.

Stripped of irrelevant side issues, there are main points that these authors and the authors of several dozen U.S. and English newspaper articles we have ingested as well make against the Warren Report conclusions:

**1.** The weapon. A recently-fired Mannlicher-Carcano rifle was found on the sixth floor of the Book Depository. The evidence linking the rifle to Oswald is overwhelming.

The evidence linking it to the assassination is not. A clean bullet, with remnants neither blood nor tissue, with negligible disfiguration and with a loss of original weight of no more than 2.5 grains, was found by a janitor on a hospital stretcher that may have been used for either Connolly or Kennedy. The bullet had the markings of one fired from Oswald's gun, but experts were unable to reproduce such a clean bullet when they test-fired the gun into any substance firmer than cotton batting. Critics suggest the bullet was planted on the stretcher to frame Oswald. One critic of undetermined reliability, Ulov G. K. Leboeuf of Levittown, N.Y., suggests that the janitor who found this pristine bullet is a cousin-in-law of Jack Ruby, that the janitor's divorced wife is now living with an FBI agent, a munitions expert, who investigated Oswald before Kennedy's trip to Dallas. (Leboeuf, an Austrian educated sociologist, is the author of a four volume book, "Time of Assassins," which he has recently had published at his own expense.) Is all this unmitigated fancy? A new inquiry could easily determine the answer.

But back to the gun and the bullet. The gun was made in Italy in 1940 from an 1891 design. It does not reload automatically. Between each round you have to release a bolt-handle on the breech, pull it back to eject the shell and push it forward to pick up a fresh cartridge from the magazine, then snap down to relock the bolt handle. Experts required at least 2.3 seconds between shots, without aiming. A home movie of the assassination indicated a sequence of 1.8 seconds between Kennedy's hit and Connolly's wound. Two assassins? The commission says no; one bullet wounded both Kennedy and Connolly, the clean bullet found on the stretcher. But one of the autopsy doctors, who found three grains of metal in Connolly's wrist, says that's impossible.

Even if it is possible, Kennedy was hit twice, in the

head and upper torso, by an assassin who, the commission says, fired the two deadly shots and one miss in the time span of 4.8 to 5.6 seconds, at a moving target. There is no evidence that Oswald was an accomplished shot. There is testimony that as a Marine he was a bad shot. Yet none of three expert marksmen was able to squeeze off three shots in that time with anywhere near the Dallas accuracy. This after the Carcano's faulty sights were corrected.

**2.** The wounds. Because of the condition of President Kennedy's body and because an emergency tracheotomy was performed at Parkland Hospital, doctors were unable to say with certainty that the President's throat wound had the distinguishing marks of a "wound of exit" rather than an entrance wound.

The autopsy doctors ascertained, however, that the throat was an exit wound describing a path through the

President's body from the back of his neck to his throat, caused by a downward-traveling bullet.

A controversy arose because a drawing by one of the autopsy doctors appeared to place the posterior wound lower than described in the autopsy report; because holes in the clothing of the President were five inches below the collar and more closely matched the drawing than the report; and because two FBI agents who attended the autopsy filed reports that contradicted the sworn autopsy report.

Critics of the Warren Report took advantage of these discrepancies to suggest that the throat wound was actually a frontal wound indicating a second assassin: suggesting further that the back wound was too low for the bullet to have coursed through the President's body at an angle that would cause it to hit Gov. Connolly; and suggesting finally that the Warren Commission stimulated a false or misleading autopsy report in order to substantiate its preconceived notions.

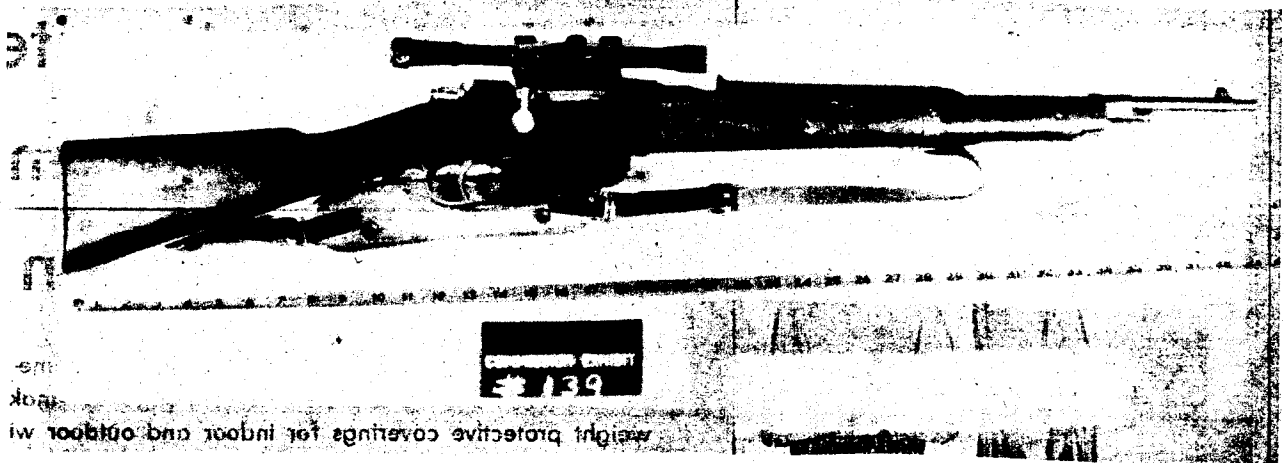
In an otherwise responsible book, Edward Jay Epstein suggests this to fortify his theory that the Warren Commission was seeking not truth but "political truth," which is best defined as falsehood.

To suggest this is to suggest a more grotesque conspiracy than any one between assassins; a conspiracy between distinguished doctors, lawyers, public officials and ordinary citizens to commit perjury, suppress information and remain silent while truth is trampled.

Unfortunately, the commission did not act to dispel such suggestions when it neglected to view the 65 X rays and photographs taken at the autopsy.

Now the Kennedy family has wisely moved to reassure us in this matter by making that evidence available. We have spoken to two of the autopsy doctors, and they say that on re-examination of the pictures the original report stands up. There is indeed a bullet path, downward from rear to front, in the upper torso area of the President's body.

A new inquiry should once and for all time end the autopsy controversy by confronting the conflicting reports with the physical evidence of X rays and pictures. We think that would do much to end suspicions of a "political



The alleged assassin's weapon, a twenty-two year old Mannlicher-Carcano.

"Yet none of the three expert marksmen was able to squeeze off three shots in that time with anywhere near the Dallas accuracy. This after the rifle's faulty sights were corrected."

truth" conspiracy as suggested by Epstein.

Such a conspiracy is unthinkable to us, but obviously, it is not so to others. Recent public opinion polls have shown that many Americans think the Warren Commission did not report the full story of the assassination, and 2 percent think President Johnson was somehow involved, thus implying the worst sort of conspiracy by government officials. It is time to act so that such fears and suspicions can be ended.

*Yet the man who shot at Walker was either not aiming to hit him, or was a poor shot. This sniper had unlimited time to aim and a fence to rest his arm upon. If it was Oswald he also had a telescope sight. Walker was a stationary and well-lighted target.*

The worst example of this kind of discrepancy between the evidence collected and the conclusions in the report concerns the Arlen Specter theory that one bullet coursed through Kennedy's neck, entered Connolly's back, struck a rib, exited through his chest, bounced off his wrist and lodged in his thigh. This bullet is supposed to be the so-called "pristine" bullet that lost no weight or configuration in its remarkable travels.

*Connolly's doctors thought his wounds had indeed been made from one bullet, but not one that also went through Kennedy.* That theory was forwarded to save some of the time sequence puzzles created by the lone assassin postulation.

But the report writers went beyond a simple selection of testimony to support this. In one case they changed testimony. They said of FBI agent Robert A. Frazier's opinion of the bullet's course: "Since it did not hit the automobile, Frazier testified it probably struck Gov. Connolly." What he actually said was, "I would certainly say it was possible, but I don't say it probably occurred because I don't have the evidence on which to base a statement like that."

Some of the critics have used that conflict to show that the commission was intentionally deceitful, but it proves the opposite. For in releasing the 26 volumes the commission was allowing critics to see what its conclusions were based upon. The Frazier distortion became apparent. It proves only that deliberation was sacrificed for speed and that indications supporting the lone assassin theory were not always doubted as quickly as contradictory indications.

*We think the commission has been honest, but not effective.* That is why this article is written, at a time when it would be easier to be quiet, to sit back and listen to the meaningless third anniversary mouthings of complacent public officials.

**N**EW YORK Cong. Theodore Kupferman will ask the next Congress to establish a new committee of inquiry into the assassination; not to shame or refute the Warren Commission, but to make a preliminary analysis of all that has been written and charged, of its truth and its falseness, the defensible and the indefensible.

Kupferman is following closely the procedure that was used when the first investigation of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor came under a cloud of suspicion. He is supported in this endeavor by Richard N. Goodwin, who

was an important aide to President Kennedy and remained a friend and adviser of Robert and Edward Kennedy. Goodwin says that other members of the Kennedy White House staff privately feel the same; that the doubts must be erased, or solutions at least pursued.

Washington has not taken kindly to Kupferman's suggestion. Privately many congressmen have told their New York colleagues that they agree with him. Publicly he has gained little support, and none at all from the congressional leadership, which will decide if the Kupferman proposal is even given a hearing.

*"At some point, some day, this is going to happen," Kupferman told us recently. "We are going to have*

*another investigation. But I'm not at all confident that it will be soon."*

The odds are against it. Four of the seven Warren commissioners are leaders in the Congress, and a new inquiry instigated by their colleagues would almost certainly be taken by them as a rebuff to their early efforts.

Only public opinion can move Congress in this matter. And at present it is highly doubtful that enough Americans are ready to demand that a moment of truth be built for a fallen leader.

*Mr. Doyle is a member of the Globe's Washington bureau and Mr. Zorn is a Globe staff reporter.*

BOSTON SUNDAY GLOBE, NOVEMBER 20, 1966