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Finally, without exaggeration, I would never have undertaken this work if it were not for Harold Weisberg (1913–2002). Harold made available to me, as he did to all who asked, access to his voluminous records on the JFK assassination then located in his home in Frederick, Maryland. This archive is now housed at Hood College; I am currently the co-director, with Clay Ogilvie, of this collection, which contains about one third of a million pages of government documents. Harold encouraged me to undertake this work, and I was the beneficiary of his unique insights into the crime of Dallas and his unmatched knowledge of the documentary sources. Harold was my "Harvard" and "Yale" in preparing me in this attempt to pose new challenges to the official record of the assassination of America's thirty-fifth president.

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# **Preface to the Paperback Edition**

Conspiracy is central to *Breach of Trust*—but it is not a conspiracy tale about who killed President Kennedy. Rather, it is about the ongoing conspiracy by the Warren Commission, the FBI, and other government agencies to hide the fact that Dallas was the work of more than one lone gunman. It was written as a countercheck to the official mythology—the pseudohistoric, fictional, whole-cloth offering of the official account.

In *Breach of Trust* I expose some of the grave flaws in the Warren Commission Report. Most of the 900-page report has little or nothing to do with the evidence in the case. A fair and balanced view of the report is that it deals largely with the life and times of Lee Harvey Oswald, with only superficial and passing reference to the most basic scientific evidence in the case. Here, I review some of the body of evidence that supports Oswald's contention that he was just a "patsy," and I conclude with examples of new evidence that exonerates Oswald and throws more revealing light on the official mythology of the JFK assassination.

For example, forensically critical in any murder is the official death certificate. This was prepared back in Washington by President Kennedy's White House physician, Dr. George G. Burkley, on Saturday, the day after the assassination, before politics took control of the investigation. The report notes that Kennedy sustained a "posterior back wound at about the level of the third thoracic vertebrae."<sup>1</sup> During the course of the Commission's deliberations, it became imperative to reposition JFK's back wound so that it was high enough in the neck region to exit the president's throat and strike Governor John Connally, thus supporting the so-called single-bullet theory, which was necessary to validate the official construction that JFK was the victim of a lone assassin. I argue that the single-bullet theory is one of the prime examples of deception in the Commission's case against Oswald.

Astoundingly, Dr. Burkley's death certificate is not mentioned in the Commission's report and was excluded from the twenty-six volumes of hearings and exhibits! Commission General Counsel J. Lee Rankin, almost certainly with Chief Justice Earl Warren's consent, sent Kennedy's death certificate to the U.S. Government Printing Office with other Commission records that were *not* to be published.

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Afterward, President Johnson urged Burkley to stay on as White House physician and promoted the doctor to vice admiral. (The only other presidential physician to hold that rank served in Teddy Roosevelt's White House.) It would not strain credulity to assume that Burkley's promotion was an example of LBJ's well-documented tactic of keeping his friends close but keeping potentially troublesome witnesses even closer. Burkley was never called as a Commission witness, and no members of the Commission ever made it their business to question him about Kennedy's death certificate. He was finally permitted to make a politically innocuous written statement about the events in Dallas, but only after it was cleared through the FBI and Rankin.<sup>2</sup>

Several years later, in 1967, Burkley agreed to take part in an oral history interview for the John F. Kennedy Library. When asked whether he agreed with the Warren report's description of the shooting, Burkley's terse response was, "I would not care to be quoted on that."<sup>3</sup> The bureaucratic internment of the Kennedy autopsy is just one example of the Commission's habitual misrepresentation, deep denial, and seemingly outright deception when it came to evidence that might undermine confidence in the official verdict. While the White House, the FBI, the Commission, and most of the national press insisted that the investigation into President Kennedy's assassination was a thorough examination, in reality, it was merely an exercise intended to foreclose unwanted conclusions.

This description applies equally to the FBI's Commission Document Number 1 (CD 1), a thirty-nine-page report on the Kennedy assassination. When FBI director Hoover told Walter Jenkins the report would speak for itself, he was being prophetic, but in a manner he never intended. For example, CD 1 describes the assassination in fewer than sixty words. Connally's wounds are not mentioned at all. Moreover, the FBI never requested a copy of Kennedy's Bethesda Naval Hospital autopsy protocol and rejected the Secret Service's initial offer to provide it while the Bureau was preparing its report.<sup>4</sup>

The upshot, which would have been untenable in any routine homicide investigation, was two mutually incompatible versions of the Kennedy assassination. For the Commission, the single-bullet theory—an exercise in magical thinking—served as an evidentiary passport to reach a comfortable conclusion that was essential for the official explanation of the crime. In the Commission's version, two bullets hit Kennedy, and the one that allegedly exited his neck then entered Governor Connally; the third bullet missed the limousine altogether.

In contrast, in the FBI's version of the shooting, all three shots struck a body. Two bullets hit JFK: one was the fatal head shot, and the other bullet exited Kennedy's body, entered Connally's back, exited his chest under the

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right nipple, and then shattered his left wrist. In April 1964 Governor Connally testified before the Warren Commission and insisted that he had been hit directly by the second shot when the president slumped forward after being struck by the first. The third shot was the fatal one to Kennedy's head. On November 21, 1966, the *Washington Post* quoted Connally as saying, "There is my absolute knowledge . . . that one bullet caused the President's first wound and that an entirely separate shot struck me. It is a certainty, I will never change my mind."<sup>5</sup> Director Hoover's marginalia on the FBI document notes: "We don't agree with the Commission as it says one shot missed entirely & we contend all 3 shots hit."<sup>6</sup>

Hoover's acceptance of Connally's version of the shooting was almost certainly based on the report produced by FBI agents James W. Sibert and Francis X. O'Neill, who were assigned to observe the autopsy performed at Bethesda Naval Hospital. Their report states, without equivocation, that a missile entered Kennedy's back about six inches below the shoulder, to the right of the spinal column, at a forty-five- to sixty-degree angle. When one of the prosectors probed the back wound with his finger, he could not find an exit path.<sup>7</sup>

If we can agree that the assassination of a president is the most subversive of all crimes in a political system of popular representation, then the Kennedy assassination was the greatest crime of the American twentieth century. The Warren Commission's eminent members were charged by the Oval Office with reporting to the American people on the crime in Dallas, based almost exclusively, as it turned out, on the evidence gathered and reported by the FBI. Yet, in this most subversive of all crimes, the Commission and the FBI were at loggerheads over the quintessential evidence in the case: the postmortem explanation of how the president met his death.

This unsettling imbroglio did not go unnoticed at the top levels of government—namely, the White House. In October 1966 President Johnson called on an old friend, Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, to approach the FBI director about undertaking a "series of lengthy articles or a book . . . concerning the captioned matter." The request was triggered by the national attention drawn to the contradictory versions of events by the Warren Commission and the FBI. Clyde Tolson, the Bureau's assistant director, paraded out reasons why the director could not oblige the White House. Fortas then advanced a more modest request: Would the director consider writing one brief article "restricted solely to the controversy raised by critics with respect to the differences as shown in the autopsy between FBI reports and the final conclusion of the Warren Commission"?<sup>8</sup> Hoover declined Fortas's request.

A half century after JFK's assassination, the irreconcilable conflict between the two versions of the essential forensic medical facts and their crim-

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inal consequences has yet to be resolved. Neither account of the shooting in Dealey Plaza persuasively explains what happened on that dark day in Dallas on November 22, 1963. In both versions, descriptions of the wounds to Kennedy's body were manipulated to satisfy political needs, and Dr. Burkley's politically unprejudiced findings on the official death certificate were ignored. As mentioned earlier, he noted a *back* wound—*not* a neck wound. This is significant because, during the autopsy at Bethesda Naval Hospital, the navy prosectors could not find an exit wound for this bullet. Therefore, the forensic anatomical evidence did not support the explanation of a bullet exiting Kennedy's body at the level of his neck and entering Governor Connally, which was essential for the official explanation that only three shots were fired.<sup>9</sup>

Over the years, our political leaders and mass media have by default accepted the Warren Commission's deeply flawed and shamelessly politicized version of the assassination. They have displayed an inexhaustible talent for avoiding any potentially dangerous fact, failing to grasp logical errors, and rejecting any train of thought that could lead in a "heretical" direction. This default gives a new meaning to "clear and present danger."

In appendix A of *Breach of Trust*, I include an FBI damage-control "tickler file" (marked "Secret") that was mistakenly released to Mark Allen in April 1985. This four-page internal document reveals the Bureau's thoroughly compromised pseudoinvestigation into the Kennedy assassination and its adversarial relations with the Warren Commission. In this document, Hoover says, "Oswald alone did it. Bureau must convince the public Oswald is real assassin." This was just one day after Hoover had told LBJ that the case against Oswald was "not very, very strong." What had changed was not the discovery of new incriminating evidence; it was Oswald's own murder in the basement of the Dallas Police Department. Now that the alleged assassin of the president was dead, no case needed to be brought before a jury. Alex Rosen, the FBI's assistant director of the General Investigative Division, in a stunning admission, described the Bureau's investigative approach in the case as "standing with pockets open waiting for evidence to drop in."

But even when such evidence was available, the FBI chose to ignore it and hid behind a policy of nonaccountability. For example, the Bureau never bothered to collect Connally's clothes as essential forensic evidence. The governor's bloody clothes found their way back to Mrs. Connally, who kept them for four months before having them dry-cleaned, thereby compromising their forensic value.

The FBI displayed the same kind of Dogberry-like performance when it came to the shooting of Dallas policeman J. D. Tippit. Oswald was his accused killer, but the first slug removed from the officer's body and sent to

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the FBI was so severely mutilated that the Bureau could not determine whether it came from Oswald's handgun. Not until four months later, at the prompting of the Warren Commission, did the FBI collect the other three bullets removed from Tippit by Dr. Earl F. Rose, the Dallas County medical examiner. After examining these .38-caliber hulls, the Bureau's crime lab reported, "No conclusion could be reached as to whether or not they were fired from the same weapon or whether or not they were fired from C15." C15 was alleged to be Oswald's revolver that had been wrested from him in the Texas Theatre by Dallas police.<sup>10</sup>

Pages three and four of the tickler file reveal the FBI's poisonous adversarial relations with the Warren Commission. For example, the Bureau prepared dossiers on Commission members and staff. Hoover's relentless campaign was prompted by the Warren report's evenhanded criticism of the FBI's pivotal shortcomings in preventive intelligence work prior to the assassination.<sup>11</sup> Under "Assistance to the Commission," most of the entries reflect foot-dragging and resistance to any semblance of cooperation. The document concludes with the revelation that despite the FBI's public pledge that the case would remain open "until we have obtained all the evidence we can," in reality, the secret internal files on the case were declared "closed."

On his way to an interrogation session after his capture, Oswald shouted out to the press corps, "I never killed anybody."<sup>12</sup> What follows are a few documented examples that strongly suggest Oswald was telling the truth when he asserted his innocence. If one keeps an open mind, one cannot fail to question how quickly Oswald became the suspect in the assassination of President Kennedy. For example, cabinet members aboard SAM 86972 en route to Tokyo learned of the attempt on Kennedy's life at 12:45 CST from the White House Situation Room. They were told, "Three shots were fired at President Kennedy's motorcade in Downtown Dallas." The State Department's Robert Manning, accompanying Secretary Rusk to Tokyo, recalled that after the initial news of the shooting, there was an interlude before the devastating follow-up that "Lancer" was dead. According to Manning, they then learned that "someone named Oswald was the suspect in the case" and "had been in the Soviet Union... The news caused great alarm."<sup>13</sup>

In Dallas, the president was declared dead just minutes after 1:00 P.M. At 1:40 P.M. the Dallas police had Oswald in custody and were citing him as the lone assassin of the president and the prime suspect in the killing of officer Tippit and the wounding of Governor Connally.<sup>14</sup> Suspicion that Oswald was being railroaded is strengthened by the actions of Assistant Chief Don Stringfellow, of the Dallas Police Department Intelligence Section. Stringfellow notified the 112th Military Intelligence Corps Group in San Antonio that "Oswald confessed to shooting of President Kennedy and Police Officer Tibbets [*sic*]" and that Oswald had "defected to Cuba in 1959" and "was

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a card carrying member of the Communist Party." None of these statements has any basis in fact.<sup>15</sup>

Authorities' burden from the outset was coming up with a credible explanation of how Oswald was identified so quickly as the gunman responsible for this nightmare in Dallas. The official account—still embraced by defenders of the Warren report—is that Oswald became an immediate person of interest because he was the only employee of the Texas School Book Depository (TSBD), the site where the shots allegedly originated, who left the building without first reporting to authorities. The documented reality is that the government's own records reveal that *at least* eighteen employees left the TSBD that day without checking in with the police.<sup>16</sup>

Oswald was in custody for almost forty-five hours before he was the victim of an assassin's bullet. During that time, from Friday until Sunday, he was interrogated for a combined eleven hours by Captain Will J. Fritz. FBI and Secret Service agents sat in on these sessions and asked their own questions. Neither the FBI, the Secret Service, nor the Warren Commission exhibited any incredulity when Fritz announced that there was no record of what transpired during this interrogation. Fritz's explanation was that for two years he had been requesting funds so the department could purchase a tape recorder, only to be denied! Apparently, it never occurred to him to have a court stenographer sit in on these sessions and take notes. So the American people were asked to believe that there was no record of Oswald's explanation of his alleged actions.

Oswald himself was assassinated by Jack Ruby in the basement of the Dallas Police Department surrounded by 98 policemen and 150 reporters. This occurred after the Dallas authorities and the FBI had been alerted early Sunday morning that there would be an attempt on Oswald's life. As soon as news of Oswald's murder broke, the Secret Service swept up Marina Oswald and her children, Oswald's mother, and his brother Robert and took them to the Inn of the Six Flags outside of Arlington, Texas. After dinner, two Secret Service agents grilled Marina for almost eight hours—all of it on tape, which was promptly sent to Secret Service headquarters in Washington, D.C., on Monday morning. It is impossible to believe that the Secret Service, the FBI, and Captain Fritz grilled Oswald, the only suspect in the case, for eleven hours and made no permanent record of the interrogation. But over the past fifty years, these tape recordings have never surfaced. Presumably, they were quietly deposited down the memory hole.<sup>17</sup>

The official assertion that the early evidence against Oswald was irrefutably convincing is so far from reality that it defies caricature. One noteworthy example: In September 1964, just weeks before the Warren Commission Report was made available to the public, Alan Belmont, assistant to the director, told Clyde Tolson, the Bureau's number-two man, that

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Oswald's paraffin tests, which allegedly linked him to the shooting of President Kennedy, were "erroneous as the results were essentially negative . . . and in addition highly technical examinations made by the Atomic Energy Commission and our Laboratory of these paraffin tests could not connect Oswald with the rifle."<sup>18</sup> One wonders how the jury would have reacted to such disclosures, if Oswald had lived to have his day in court.

In light of such contradictions and the government's implicit denial that they exist, conspiracy theories and charges of an official cover-up continue to resonate with the American public. In one poll, some 75 to 80 percent of respondents said they were suspicious about the Warren Commission's conclusions.<sup>19</sup> Even so, the Obama administration has apparently targeted all conspiracy theories, dismissing out of hand any political opinions that do not concur with the status quo and banning them from serious public discourse. According to Cass Sunstein, the White House's former information czar, JFK conspiracy theories fall into that suspect category.<sup>20</sup>

A half century later, we still have two major and starkly different versions of the crime. In January 2013 Robert F. Kennedy Jr. appeared with Charlie Rose at a Friday night event at the Winspear Opera House. During the course of the evening, Kennedy stunned the audience when he announced that his father, Robert Kennedy, had never accepted the Warren Commission's version of the president's assassination and believed that JFK had been the victim of a conspiracy. Kennedy noted that his father considered the Warren report "a shoddy piece of craftsmanship."<sup>21</sup>

Another contemporary major actor in the national tragedy of Dallas was Lyndon B. Johnson. During a November 25, 1963, phone conversation with Hoover, the new president was extremely upset by news that a lawyer in the Justice Department was lobbying the *Washington Post* to come out in support of a presidential commission to investigate the assassination. LBJ was livid. He and Hoover had agreed that, after Oswald's own assassination, the best way to proceed was for the FBI to write its report on the Kennedy assassination, send it over to the Justice Department, and have Attorney General Robert Kennedy release it to the public. Johnson was infuriated by the plot in the Justice Department and snapped at Hoover, "We can't be checking on every shooting scrape in the country." It will be a great disgrace to the nation if Lyndon Johnson ends up having the last word on the most corrosive political event of twentieth-century America.<sup>22</sup>

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The paper used in this publication is recycled and contains 30 percent postconsumer waste. It is acid free and meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials Z39.48-1992. To my wife, Barbara L. McKnight, who, like most Americans her age, remembers where she was and what she was doing when the news of JFK's assassination stunned the world

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## Notes

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1. A copy of the death certificate prepared by Burkley can be found in the Harold Weisberg JFK Collection at Hood College online, under his Subject Index File: Burkley. Burkley's positioning of Kennedy's back wound was later confirmed by Dr. J. Thornton Boswell, one of the prosectors who conducted the autopsy on Kennedy at Bethesda Naval Hospital. See Harold Weisberg, *Post Mortem, JFK Assassination Cover-up Smashed* (self-published, 1969), 310.

2. D. J. Brennan, Jr., to W. C. Sullivan, June 4, 1964, 62-109090, FBI Liaison with the Commission File (not recorded).

3. Weisberg JFK Collection, Hood College online, Subject Index File: Burkley GWCF 03. For Burkley's response, see p. 18 of the oral history document. The weekend after the assassination, Dr. James J. Hume turned in the JFK autopsy holograph to Admiral C. B. Galloway, commander of the Bethesda Naval Hospital medical installations. Accompanying the holograph was this certification: "I have destroyed by burning certain preliminary draft notes relating to" the president's autopsy, which was identified by number A63-272. Even more sinister, and leaving no doubt of its materiality, Humes told Commissioner John J. McCloy that he burned the first draft of the autopsy in his fireplace at home while watching the Washington Redskins on TV after learning that Oswald had been shot! Under Humes's signature is written: "Accepted and approved this date George G. Burkley, Rear Adm MCUSN Physician to the President." Here we have the president's own physician approving the destruction of essential medical evidence in the case. This is a disturbing indication that Burkley had become part of the conspiracy to suppress unwanted evidence. This document can be found in Weisberg's *Post Mortem*, 524; for Humes's admission that he destroyed the first draft of Kennedy's autopsy, see ibid., 145, 261.

4. The FBI received a copy of the JFK autopsy report on December 23, 1963, some eighteen days after it had submitted CD 1 to the Warren Commission. See Rosen to DeLoach, 11/15/1966, FBI HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-NR (Not Recorded).

5. Connally's Warren Commission testimony, April 21, 1964, in vol. 4, p. 129.

6. For Hoover's statement, see Rosen to DeLoach, 11/22/1966, FBI JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-4267.

7. Francis X. O'Neill and James W. Sibert, FBI Report, 11/26/1963, pp. 2–3, JFK 4-1 File, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; SAC, Baltimore, to Director and SAC, Dallas, 11/23/1963, FBI HQ JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-459.

8. C. D. DeLoach to Tolson, October 10, 1966; a copy of document can be accessed at Weisberg JFK Collection, Hood College online, under Civil Action 78-322, folder 76. It should be noted that Senator Richard Russell always believed that although Oswald was involved in the assassination, he did not act alone. Russell also rejected out of hand the single-bullet theory. When he told that to President Johnson after an exhausting and tension-ridden

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executive session on September 18, 1964, Johnson's response—whether patronizing or genuine remains unknown—was, "I don't either." It should be added that the Secret Service weighed in and aligned itself with the FBI version of the shooting. See Secret Service Agent John Joe Howlett statement, 11/29/1963, in FBI report by Robert M. Bassett and Ivan D. Lee, Dallas 89-43 file.

9. As mentioned earlier, the death certificate signed by Dr. Burkley was not published as part of the Warren Commission Report. According to national archivist James B. Rhodes, this is just one example of the Commission's unlawful suppression of critical documents that refuted the official account. See Rhodes's critical comments in *Washington Post*, November 12, 1975, A-1, A-4.

It should be noted that some of the best eyewitnesses to the assassination, the eighteen motorcycle police officers who were assigned to shield the presidential limousine and ensure crowd control, were never questioned by the FBI. Two of these "bike jockeys," James A. Chaney and Douglas L. Jackson, flanked the presidential limousine and were as close as six feet from the car when the shots were fired. It was bruited about Dallas that Chaney claimed he saw the president hit in the face! While that may be open to debate, there is no doubt about what Jackson, an eighteen-year veteran of the Dallas police force, witnessed. That evening Jackson typed a seven-page account of the events, while the images were still fresh in his mind. He saw Governor Connally hit by the second shot, thus confirming what Connally always maintained: Kennedy was struck by the first bullet, and Connally alone was struck by the second. After the first shot, Jackson turned toward the Lincoln Continental in time to see "Connally jerk back to his right and it seemed he looked right at me." Jackson turned to look at the Triple Underpass, and when he looked back at the limo, he saw Kennedy "hit in the head . . . he appeared to have been hit just above the right ear. The top of his head flew off away from me." Jackson made it known that he was willing to give a copy of his account to the FBI, but the Bureau was not interested in speaking with him, Chaney, or any of the other motorcycle police. A copy of Jackson's remarks is available at the Weisberg JFK Collection, Hood College online, under Jackson, D. L., Item 07.pdf. It is attached to a June 9, 1980, letter from former Dallas district attorney Henry Wade; Wade and Weisberg struck up a relationship after Wade retired.

It should be added that the doctors at Parkland Memorial Hospital who attended the moribund president had all worked the emergency room on the weekends and were familiar with gunshot wounds. All of them described the wound in Kennedy's throat as an entrance wound. In particular, Dr. Kemp Clark, professor of neurosurgery at Parkland Memorial Hospital, agreed with Dr. Malcolm Perry, the surgeon who performed the tracheotomy on the president, that Kennedy's neck wound was an entrance wound. See his comments in *New York Times*, November 27, 1963, 2.

10. See FBI Report to Jesse E. Curry, Chief of Police Dallas, Texas, March 31, 1964, Record Group 65, FBI Investigation, FBI, HQers, box 110, folder 33A, NARA.

11. Warren Commission Report, 443-444.

12. On that Friday night, Oswald was taped by KDLD TV, NBC TV, and KLIF TV answering newsmen's questions. See Warren Commission transcripts in vol. 24, p. 817, Commission Exhibit 2166, p. 2; Mae Brussell, http://www.ratical.org/ratville/JFK/LHO.html. Oswald also denied he owned a rifle.

13. Max Holland, *The Kennedy Assassination Tapes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 9; Gerald S. Strober and Deborah Strober, "Let Us Begin Anew," in *An Oral History of the Kennedy Presidency* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 450–451.

14. The Dallas arrest report on Oswald stated that he had "shot and killed President John F. Kennedy and police officer Tippit. He also shot and wounded Governor John Connally." JFK/Dallas PD Collection Records of City of Dallas Municipal Archives, Arrest Report on

Investigative Prisoner, 12/22/1963 at 1:40 P.M.

15. See Main Dallas JFK Assassination File, 89-43-2381C. This report was made at 7:30 P.M. Dallas time on November 22, 1963. Stringfellow was one of half a dozen Dallas police officers from the intelligence branch who were active reservists with the 112th Military Intelligence Group out of San Antonio. It is relevant to add here that certain Cuban anti-Castro elements in the United States with significant ties to the CIA were busy attempting to make a case that Oswald was an agent or asset of Fidel Castro.

16. See FBI Record 62, FBI HQ JFK Assassination File, 109060-2720 EBF (Evidence Behind File).

17. To Director and SAC, Washington Field from SAC, Dallas, FBI Oswald Files, 105-82555-412 and 105-82555-0412 B1. I want to thank Clay Ogilvie for directing me to these documents.

18. Belmont to Tolson, 9/23/1964, 62-109060, Section 91 EBF, serials 3811-3845.

19. See CBS Poll: JFK Conspiracy Lives, http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-215\_162\_23166 .html.

20. See Paul Joseph Watson, "Obama Czar Wants Mandatory Government Propaganda on Political Website," http:// www.Prisonplanet.com/Obama-czar-wants-mandatory-govern ment-propaganda-on-p..., May 22, 2010; "White House Launches New Website to Debunk Conspiracy Theories," http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/science-andtechnology/2010/08 /02/white-house-launches-new-website-to-d ..., August 5, 2010. See also Cyril Wecht, M.D., J.D., "Reply to Cass Sunstein and Adrian Vermele," http://www.ctka.net/2010/wecht-reax.html, for a hard-hitting response to the comparison of conspiracy theories with "crime-think," to borrow from George Orwell's *1984*.

21. Report by reporter Michael Granberry, http://mail.comcast.net/zimbra/h/printmes sage?id=341821&... Bobby Kennedy's rejection of the Warren report as a political coverup was first noted by David Talbot, *Brothers: The Hidden History of the Kennedy Years* (New York: Free Press, 2007), 279–281.

22. Johnson to Hoover, 11/25/1963: 10:42 A.M., FBI HQers JFK Assassination File, 62-109060-52.

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1. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. *Secrecy: The American Experience* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 219–220. Moynihan was not espousing a conspiracy explanation for the assassination. But he did point out that as time passed, the polls revealed that an increasing number of people surveyed believed there was a conspiracy behind the murder of President Kennedy.

2. Edward Jay Epstein, *Inquest: The Warren Commission and the Establishment of Truth* (New York: Viking Press, 1966). For the commissioners' attendance record, see Epstein's chapter 6, "The Commission Hearings."

3. Richard Whalen, "The Kennedy Assassination," Saturday Evening Post (January 4, 1967), 20.

4. Warren Commission, April 30, 1964, executive session transcript, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (hereafter cited as NARA), 42.

5. Lyndon Johnson telephone conversation with Russell, 9/18/1964 (7:54 P.M.), White House Telephone Transcripts, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas. For Judge Griffin's testimony and opinion about the Commission's findings about Oswald's motive, see *Investigation of the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy: Hearings before the Select Committee on Assassination of the U.S. House of Representatives*, 95th Congress, 2d session, Vol. 5 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), 494.