# November 22, 1963:

## YOU ARE THE JURY

# DAVID W. BELIN, ESQ.

QUADRANGLE/THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK CO

### CONTENTS

#### Acknowledgments

Introduction

#### PART I OVERVIEW

1	"And My Husband Never Made a Sound"	00	0
2	"Truth Is Our Only Goal"	00	0
3	"It Only Means He Fired a Gun"	- 00	0

#### PART II

TH	E MURDER OF J. D. TIPPIT	
4	"He Just Looked Funny to Me"	000
5	"I Protest This Police Brutality"	000
6	"I Seen Him Throw The Shells"	000
7	"Anything Else You Can Think Of?"	000
8	"Poor Damn Cop"	000
9	"Hey Man, What The Hell Is Going On Here"	000
	"That Was Him Right There"	000
11	"She Said He Was Short, a Little On The Heavy Side"	000
12	"He Was Cutting Across Our Yard"	000
13	"I Saw a Pistol Pointing At Me"	000
14	"Sales Appeal. I Would Say. Is The Main Reason"	000

#### PART III

#### THE MURDER OF JOHN F. KENNEDY "Oh. My God, They Have Shot My Husband" "And This Man That I Saw Previously Was Aiming For His 000 1516 Last Shot" 000 "I Believe It Came From Up Above Us" 000 17 "An Elephant Could Walk By There And You Could Not See 18 Him" 000 "We Started Asking Each Other, Have You Seen Lee Oswald" 000 19VП

Contents VIII "However. The Thought Evidently Never Occurred To Them". 000 000 20"There Is The Gun" "The Wanted Person In This Is a Slender White Male. About 30" 000 21 000 22 "I Saw The Expended Shells' 23000 "May Have Been Used To Carry Gun" 000 "This Bullet Fragment Was Fired In This Rifle. 139" 24000 25"A Spent Cartridge Or Bullet Rolled Out" "Shipped To a Mr. A.-Last Name-H-I-D-E-L-L. Post Office 26000 27Box 2915. Dallas, Tex." "It Was Right Next To The Stairway-Right In The Corner" 000 000 28"And It Had Curtains And Venetian Blinds "They Were Identified As a Fingerprint And a Palm Print Of Lee 29 000 30 Harvey Oswald" "It Was a Little Strange That One Of The Warehouse Boys 000 31 Would Be In The Office' "And We Said. 'Captain. We Will Save You a Trip .... Because 000 32There He Sits" "They Opened The Blanket But There Was No Rifle There". 000 000 33".... To The Exclusion Of All Other Cameras" "He Said He Didn't Have Any Knowledge Of The Picture At 34000 35All" "The Minimum Time For Getting Off Two Successive 000 36 Well-Aimed Shots" "It Is Something Less Than The Weight Of a Postage Stamp" 000 000 37 "I Thought It Was From Back Of Us" "A Straight Affirmative Word Like 'Yes' Is Not Good Relations" 000 38 000 39 "From a Point Above And Behind Him" 000 40 "That Same Bullet Was Capable" 41 PART IV

THE	C POSSIBILITY OF CONSPIRACY	000
	"A Puff Of Smoke" "Such Evidence May Be Sincere But It Is Utterly Ridiculous"	000
43 44	"Such Evidence May Be Sincere But It is Starting "I Kept Thinking About This Man That Had Run Down The	000
11	Hill" "Every Driver Has a Different Punch Mark"	000
45 46	uttic Is The Way I Would Go About It	000 000
47	"You Killed My President. You Rat" "You Killed My President. You Rat" "The First Time That They Asked Me I Said No. I Didn't Know	000
48		000 000
49	"It Must Be a Security Man Guarding The moust	000
50	"The Verdict Is Yours" "Summary And Conclusions" Of The President's Commission On	000
	The Assassination Of President Kennedy	

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### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My primary acknowledgment is not to any single person but rather to our American system of government and justice. There are few places in this world where the investigation of the assassination of a fallen leader would be conducted by an independent commission, just as there are few countries in this world where the combination of a free press and separate judicial and legislative branches of government could lead to the expose of Watergate.

As for individuals, in addition to my wife who acted as both a sounding board and an editor, there are many others: Harrison E. Salisbury, who was the catalyst in my undertaking to write this book; Herbert Nagourney, able President, and Zinaida Alexi, talented Senior Editor, of Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Company, who realized that truth can be stranger and more interesting than fiction and who in this century of sensationalism had the confidence that a book about the truth of the assassination had merit for publishing and would be read by many people; Irving Horowitz of The New York Times, a truly fine copy editor. nearly all of whose suggestions I adopted; Joseph Ball, one of the outstanding lawyers on the West Coast with whom I worked so closely on the Warren Commission; Howard Willens, a brilliant Washington attorney who while serving with the Department of Justice in 1964 as liaison with the Warren Commission was the first person to contact me to see if I would like to submit my name for consideration as one of the lawyers to be selected from across the country to be appointed as counsel with the Commission; Theodore St. Antoine, the superb Dean of the University of Michigan Law School, who encouraged me to write a book about my work with the Warren Commission; my father, Louis Belin (now deceased), and mother, Esther Belin, who inculcated in their two children a standard of absolute integrity; my brother. Daniel, a Los Angeles attorney of tremendous ability, who made many valuable suggestions; Catherine Sheridan, as fine a secretary as any lawyer could have, whose patience and capacity for work enabled me to meet all deadlines; and last, but surely not least, Jon, Jim, Joy, Tom and Laurie Belin, who helped with such enthusiasm in photocopying and assembling the manuscript and copies.

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#### INTRODUCTION

Harrison E. Salisbury

Ten years have passed since that bright Dallas morning when a sniper took the life of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, ten years which have not eased the anguish of the hour, the tragedy, the mystery. Although President Kennedy's death lies a decade behind us the nation has not ceased to mourn the malevolent circumstances which robbed us of a leader so young, so bold, so promising.

No death in our time has so concentrated a nation's emotions as that of John Kennedy. The fact that his was first in a macabre procession which claimed the lives of his brother. Robert, and a pleiad of Americans—Martin Luther King, Malcolm X. George Lincoln Rockwell, Joseph Yablonski and his family, a remarkable succession of Black Panther figures. including Fred Hampton and George Jackson—and came within a hair's breadth of taking the life of another presidential candidate, George Wallace, has only intensified the nation's concern.

To many it has seemed that some mad spirit of the Dark Ages has been unleashed within our technological society, striking at random but seeking its victims, in large measure, among men who have sought to put themselves at the service of their fellow citizens through political leadership. To many it has seemed there must be a dark conspiracy running from death to death, linking them all in a sorcerer's web of evil.

Our logical minds have rejected again and again the tawdry evidence which exposes these crimes as the haphazard acts of random psychotics, the by-products of our computerized electronic society, fallout of a civilization programmed to produce metal-and-plastic rather than fleshand-blood.

In our agony we instinctively clutch for the supernatural. It has seemed too banal to believe that John F. Kennedy could have died less regally than Caesar. Lee Harvey Oswald was a man too trivial to have brought down Camelot. And as the succession of murders thudded across our bulldozed landscape, our minds grasped feverishly at the possibility that there was more in these accidental crimes than met the eye—that behind them all lay some master mind, some sinister power, some ring, some conspiracy of a grandeur to match the stature of the victims.

Particularly in the early months and years after November 22, 1963

XIV Introduction

there were projected into public consciousness theories to suit the taste of all for whom the dismal facts were unpalatable.

But, let us be realistic: In the ten years since John Kennedy's death not one important clue or fact has been added to that mountainous store so painstakingly and, on the whole, carefully inquired into by the Warren Commission. Not one fact. Let us be precise. Theories have been propounded without number. Claim after claim has been advanced—conflicts of evidence, telltale clues overlooked or mininterpreted, and misfeasance and malfeasance by the Warren Commission.

But in all this pawing over the evidence—not one new fact has been turned up. Not one new witness has been ferreted out and brought forward trumpeting: "Yes, I saw the killer!" Not one more bullet than those found immediately after the assassination has been discovered. Not one more weapon which might have been fired at the President. Not one name of a possible co-conspirator of Oswald's. No investigator has produced a link between Oswald and Jack Ruby. Between Ruby and anyone else. Between Oswald and right-wing groups. Between Oswald and left-wing groups. Between Oswald and foreign powers. Or domestic enemies and rivals of the President.

Nothing. Nothing but theory, speculation, sensationalism, juggling and transposition of facts, reordering of what we already knew in order to raise questions (but not to provide answers).

Ten years have passed. It is time to look back to that sunny day in Dallas and, in patience, in quiet, with care and with logic to sum up what we really know. This David W. Belin has done with patience and with eloquence. He has done what no one yet has done (except, of course, for the original Warren report). He has taken all of the evidence and sifted it through. He has concentrated, in particular, on those theses and theories which have been spun by that group which he calls the "assassination sensationalists." He has gone over every one of their contentions, returning to the original testimony, the original evidence, to show how it has been tortured and twisted in order to support cardboard structures. In particular, he has reestablished what has often been overlooked—the primacy of the Tippit killing as demonstrating Oswald's obvious guilt. The evidence here is simply overpowering.

This has been no easy task even for one like Belin, who handled very important segments of the Warren testimony, the processing of evidence and questioning of witnesses. He has had a decade to think and study. He is by no means uncritical of the Commission, of some of its procedures, of some of its methods. But his careful reexamination does not invalidate a single Warren finding. He believes the Commission and Chief Justice Warren, in particular, were too easy in their examination of Marina Oswald. He believes they should have insisted upon the X rays and medical photographs of the slain President's body. Not because this data would have cha sed the findings

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handled very g of evidence .nd study. He procedures, of t invalidate a Chief Justice on of Marina · X rays and ause this data would have changed their conclusion but because it would have buttressed the findings and blocked off avenues for turgid sensationalism.

I believe Belin is right. I do not come to that judgment out of hand or simply on the basis of his work. I, too, have labored over the Kennedy facts—first, directing a remarkable team of *New York Times* reporters who, in the first few days after the President's death, themselves uncovered much important information about Oswald and his background independently and before any official investigators; second, in directing, two years later, a careful restudy of the assassination that was designed to accomplish many of the tasks of this book, that is, to examine every major challenge to the Warren thesis (as well as any which *The Times* team was able to generate on its own). That study, unfortunately, was never carried to completion, having been interrupted by my own assignment to Hanoi from December 1966 to January 1967. It is fair to say, however, that our preliminary findings fully support those of this volume.

I do not believe that the Belin study, meticulous, precise and allembracing as it is, will bring to an end the questions about John Kennedy's death. More than 100 years after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln a new theory of how he met death is periodically advanced. I have found in every part of the world—deep in Soviet Siberia, in the high Himalayas and even in the People's Republic of China—a continuing unwillingness to believe that John Kennedy met his death from a random bullet fired by an insignificant psychopath. In Russia, in China, in France and in England, the theory of the single aberrant assassin is not believed. "There must be more to it." That is the popular belief.

This volume will not crush the mystique of the Kennedy assassination. But for anyone who wishes to know how the crime of this century actually occurred and why it could have occurred in no other way than that which the Warren Commission described, this work tells the story better than it has been told at any time before.