

# **THE ASSASSINATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY**

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORICAL  
AND LEGAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1963-1979

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Compiled by Delloyd J. Guth and David R. Wrone



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# Contents

<i>Preface</i>	vii
<i>Introduction</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xli
<i>Chronologies and Maps</i>	
Chronology of Assassination	xliii
Chronology of Lee Harvey Oswald	xlv
Map 1. General Assassination Scene	xlix
Map 2. Dealey Plaza	1
Map 3. Oswald and Oak Cliff, Dallas	iii
Map 4. Places Associated with Oswald in New Orleans	liv
<b>Section I: The Evidence and the Litigants</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>PART I: Unpublished Sources</b>	<b>3</b>
(1) Archives and Libraries	3
(2) Private Collections	9
<b>PART II: Published Sources, Excluding the Warren Report</b>	<b>12</b>
(1) Federal	12
(2) Non-Federal	32
<b>PART III: Local Judicial Records</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>PART IV: Federal Judicial Records</b>	<b>36</b>
(1) Suits Involving Publication of Evidence	36
(2) Suits Concerning Oswald's Possessions	37
(3) Federal Litigation Associated With the Garrison Inquiry	40
(4) "Freedom of Information Act" Litigation	45

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PART V: Photographic Evidence	67
(1) Oswald in New Orleans	67
(2) The Assassination Scene in Dallas	68
Section II: Published Books and Periodicals	79
PART I: Bibliographies and Research	81
PART II: The Action	84
(1) Dallas Before and After	84
(2) Oswald the Suspect	88
(3) Executive Investigations: The Warren Commission in Progress	97
(4) The Warren Report	107
(5) Critics and Defenders of the Warren Report	109
(6) Guns and the JFK Autopsy	127
(7) Audio-Visual Materials: Tapes, Photos, Films, Records	133
PART III: The Reaction	140
(1) President Lyndon B. Johnson's Transition to Office	140
(2) Immediate Reactions: Popular and Official	143
(3) Memorials and Eulogies	154
(4) News Media	163
(5) Studies of Public Reactions	174
(6) Assassinations in General: Political and Psychological Studies	177
PART IV: Later Inquiries	181
(1) Executive Investigations: The Rockefeller Commission, the CIA and Cuba	181
(2) Congressional Investigations: Schweiker, Abzug, Pike-Edwards, and Downing-Gonzalez-Stokes Committees	184
(3) The New Orleans Investigation: Jim Garrison	188
(4) Manchester-Kennedy Book	197
(5) Other Secondary Research	205
PART V: Related Topics	221
(1) Police Officer Tippit and His Family	221
(2) Oswald the Family Man: Marina and Marguerite	222
(3) Oswald's Murder: The Ruby Trial	226
(4) Fiction Related to Events in Dallas: A Selection of Novels, Plays and Films	233
(5) TV Special Programs: A Selection	238
(6) The Surviving Kennedys	240
Section III: <i>The New York Times</i> Daily Reports, 1963-1978 Supplemented by <i>The Washington Post</i> , 1978	243
	394
<i>Index of Names</i> (Sections I, II, and III)	399
<i>Index of Correspondents: The New York Times</i>	435
<i>Index of Correspondents: The Washington Post</i>	443

## Preface

Try as hard as we can to remember him living, the world best knows President John F. Kennedy dead. Try to recall that vivaciously bareheaded President-elect, braving Washington's wintry Inauguration Day. Instead, one's own head cannot rid itself of those skull-shattering bullets fired a thousand days later.

Knowing the end makes it impossible to remember accurately what preceded and followed it. Haunted, shamed by that killing in Dallas, Americans carry the further burden of knowing that his murder was only the first. After Malcolm X came Martin Luther King, Jr., and then Senator Robert F. Kennedy, and then attempts against Governor George C. Wallace and President Gerald R. Ford. Who could still say that U.S. politics gave the world a model for reasoned debate and peaceful transfer of political power? Who in the world, after Vietnam and Kent State, after the Lockheed and Watergate scandals, after history's first humiliating resignations of a vice-president and then a president, who would not see this in the shadow of that sunset of 22 November 1963?

To the public it remains the number-one murder mystery. To politicians it has meant a crisis turned into a universal skepticism about public institutions. And now, sixteen years later, a generation of new Americans enters adulthood and politics without the blighted, disjointed memories that America's most notorious homicide carved onto older minds. But what unites newer and older minds is the fact that neither knows with any certitude how this president came to be killed. For the young, this question can be either a matter of idle indifference or a fascinating historical puzzle that recedes into

the past to join mysterious deaths, like the princes in Richard III's Tower. For the older, however, it remains a historical enigma, as much for the fact as for its impact on one's own American faith and values.

What about Oswald, Ruby, the Warren Commission, the FBI, the CIA, Manchester, Garrison, and numerous congressional investigations?

Taken as a whole, they have reduced the issues, without anyone's intending it, to the common denominator of credibility, to faith or doubt in government, to distrust for police investigations, rather than to matters of *evidence*. After sixteen years, all have been found wanting. Could this killing have been executed by one unstable gunman? If Oswald was not alone, who . . . ? how . . . ? why . . . ?

What, if anything can one securely believe?

It is with this problem, and in the context of what's been done and undone during the first sixteen years, that we offer this comprehensive bibliography, particularly for the newer generation of students. We want this work to organize and promote truly public, serious investigations into the murder itself and into the multiplicity of reactions to it. Because lawyers and journalists virtually controlled the JFK killing, as an issue and a story, the extant literature dictated our focus on law, litigation, and especially the media.

The first section, therefore, opens to the reader the abundance of historical evidence, some still classified but much now available. In the JFK murder case, questions of governmental obstruction and incompetence since 1963 have forced a series of lawsuits against officials and their agencies, mainly under the Freedom of Information Act. The threat and the courtroom reality of private litigation against public officials has now become the sole avenue to evidentiary truth. In this area, the U.S. Justice Department has inverted normal adversary procedures, converting its mandated role as federal prosecutor into that of the defender of police secrecy and ineptitude. Investigation of this murder, therefore, has been left to private citizens such as Harold Weisberg and his legal counsellor, James H. Lesar. We have taken full cognizance of all such efforts in Section I because such litigation remains the major instrument for establishing the evidence.

We wish to lift the subject out of a quagmire of often bizarre speculations, official disinformation, and exploitation by the likes of Mark Lane. To be reminded of how bizarre and shameless a literature has developed, one need only glance through the titles listed in Section II. They abundantly exemplify a secondary literature that has been out of control since 1963, with only a scattering of serious, even scholarly, contributions. We agree with those who will see "rubbish" in many entries, with some of it written by the crazy or the crazy. Much of this is the product of the disjointed times that have followed the killing, but all document the diversity of perspectives on that event.

Because this material is organized by subject, which can disrupt the mind's focus on the flow of events, we have supplied a chronological corrective with Section III. Here we give every news story by its precise headline as it appeared in *The New York Times*, in the order of publication. We have added all entries from *The Washington Post* for 1978 for two reasons: (1) that was the year of a serious printers' strike that disrupted *The New York Times*, with only a "Strike Supplement" produced between August and November for the microfilmed record, and (2) we have the impression that *The Washington Post* during the past few years increasingly provided the broader and deeper coverage for this particular subject.

This project began in February 1978 with the support of a six-month Federal CETA assignment in the Area Research Center at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point. Subsequently, DeLloyd J. Guth continued to compile the bibliographical materials that comprise Sections II and III. Section I has been the work primarily of David R. Wrone, whose scholarly research into the subject began over a decade ago. The Introduction is a joint effort, and the indexes were compiled by Guth. We retain equal responsibility for the structure, layout, selection, and arguments contained in this book.

No work of this scale and depth could be executed from start to publication in under two years without outside help. Our primary debts are to our wives, Katherine Ratliff Guth and Elaine Alley Wrone. Both arranged much released time for us from normal domestic tasks. Katie drew all four maps, while Elaine proofread much of the final copy.

We have been blessed with excellent typists, thanks mainly to the University of Missouri-St. Louis's History Department, where DeLloyd J. Guth taught in 1978-1979. Their chairman, James D. Norris, now Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at Northern Illinois University, provided us with a departmental secretary, Julie Andrew, to type the primary draft for Sections II and III. She typed from the innumerable 3" x 5" cards that required painstaking organization. The final professional version, which is here published by photolithographic process, was typed expertly by Barbara Harrington, also resident in St. Louis.

Within the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, we have also had important support. Arthur M. Fish, Curator in the UW-SP's Area Research Center, provided a home base for compiling the bibliography, amid his huge collection of state and federal documents. We gratefully acknowledge the general hospitality extended to us by Burdette W. Eagon, Acting Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs, and by Allen F. Barrows, Director of Public Services in the UW-SP's Learning Resources Center. Also, the UW-SP's History Department provided funding for telephone expenses and the costs of photocopying the final typescript.

Finally, we have had consistent support from Greenwood Press. In particular we would like to thank Arthur H. Stickney and Margaret Brezicki for their invaluable assistance.

Throughout we have designed this reference work to serve teachers, students, researchers, and the concerned public. We welcome all comments, corrections, and addenda from our readers.

Delloyd J. Guth and  
David R. Wrone

1 October 1979  
Stevens Point, Wisconsin

## Introduction

*Novus ordo saeculorum*, a new order of the ages, reads the motto on the Great Seal of the United States. It captures what three centuries emblazoned before the world's eyes: America, located where Europe's western and Asia's eastern frontiers converged, where generations of hopeless, hapless, landless poor sought to redeem their misfortunes. From Thomas Jefferson's day through the early 1960s, American political rhetoric has sustained such hopes, emphasizing human renewal and the frontier spirit. With the arrival of "The New Frontier" in 1961, such rhetorical expressions of collective idealism found their culminating enthusiasm.

The murder of President John F. Kennedy jolted that image and reality, inside and outside the United States. Subsequent if unrelated assassinations, then Vietnam and Watergate have seemed sounding bells that many heard as heralding the end for that *pax Americana* forged by World War II. America's forefathers had celebrated its distance from the Old World's order, seen as tainted by monarchy, class, conspiracies, and cynicism about the capabilities of common humanity. Even more, America had traditionally defined its destiny as ruled by a written constitution and the impartial enforcement of law.

But that act of 22 November 1963, jeopardized this New World's self-perception and challenged its very commitment to pluralism, publicity, law, and competitive democracy. Agonizing self-appraisal continued despite the 1964 presidential Warren Commission's *Report*, and probably because of it. The Commission had acted as a hasty substitute for due process of law,

offering little more than an official quietus manufactured for domestic consciences and foreign skeptics. Four years later, Garrison's bungled investigation and the Kennedy-Manchester imbroglio became mere publicity-seeking interludes before new killings and new questions. In retrospect, American idealism began to die on the streets of Dallas. Sixteen years later, for most people the question "who killed Kennedy?" remains open and confused.

As part of a November 1963 political fence-mending effort, President Kennedy had taken his full entourage into Texas, making various appearances and speeches. Late in the morning of 22 November, Air Force One landed at Love Field on the outskirts of Dallas, where a motorcade waited to take him through the city's center for lunch at the Trade Mart. There he planned to deliver a moderating speech against political extremism, racialism, and the mood for witch-hunting and scapegoating. He rode openly in the rear seat with Mrs. Kennedy; Governor and Mrs. John B. Connally sat forward in the jump seats; two Secret Service men occupied the front seat, one driving. Moving down Main Street the limousine entered Dealey Plaza, where it immediately turned hard right onto Houston Street, went one short block, slowed almost to a stop, turned very sharply left onto the curving Elm Street, where it passed beneath the seven-story Texas School Book Depository. Shots rang out. It was 12:30 P.M., Central Standard Time.

President Kennedy was clearly struck as he clutched for his throat, then the top of his head exploded as he slammed down into his wife's lap. Directly in front of him Governor Connally received five wounds and spun into his wife's arms. Several score feet away, standing near the triple underpass, citizen James T. Tague was sprayed by fragments created by a bullet that smashed into the curbstone at his feet. At 1:00 P.M. President Kennedy was pronounced dead at Parkland Hospital.

At 1:50 P.M., Lee Harvey Oswald, an employee at the Texas School Book Depository, was arrested in the Texas Theater, a cinema in another section of Dallas. Hours later Captain J. Will Fritz, Dallas's chief homicide inspector, charged Oswald with murdering Police Officer J. D. Tippit, who had been shot dead between the Texas Theater and the Texas School Book Depository sometime before 1:10 P.M. That night, at about 1:30 A.M. on the 23rd, Dallas police formally accused Oswald of the murder of President Kennedy. One day later, the operator of a Dallas striptease club, Jack Ruby, shot and killed Oswald while police tried to transfer Oswald from the city to the county jail, under a blaze of media publicity and live television lighting.

In the prevailing law, murder of a United States president remained ordinary homicide limited to state and local jurisdiction. Dallas's chaos and the manifest incompetence of all law officers in the circumstances, whether local or federal, translated instantly into a national anxiety about

the rule of law. A magisterial funeral in Washington, followed with macabre irony by the traditional Thanksgiving holiday, restored order without confidence. President Lyndon B. Johnson hastened to appoint a special presidential, blue-ribbon commission headed by the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court to inquire into the events and the law.

Knowledge of the origin, operation, and conclusions of the Warren Commission must precede any understanding of the swirls of controversy that still surround President Kennedy's murder. Its twenty-seven published volumes<sup>1</sup> effectively preempted the subject, shifting investigations away from the act itself over to Warren Commission data and its inadequacies. Its influence remains today a silent hand from the past, actively shaping perimeters of public belief and exerting intense pressure upon politicians and government attorneys. Every federal inquiry, both executive and legislative, into the murder and its attendant questions has accepted the Warren Commission's conclusions as the premise upon which to launch its probe. Senator Richard Schweiker, for example, specifically acknowledged the validity of the Commission's findings, then said that his inquiry would search out how a foreign conspiracy had actually operated through the person of Oswald.<sup>2</sup> The latest inquiry, by the House Select Committee on Assassinations, initially stated that one of its tasks would be to make the Warren Commission's findings "persuasive."<sup>3</sup> Only on the last day of public hearings, during the Christmas season of 1978, did it openly stumble upon audio evidence of conspiracy that could not be refuted. The House Committee still accepted the mass of Warren Commission data, without challenge to specific items or comprehension of the circumstances in which all of it was compiled.<sup>4</sup>

Few realize even today that during the first days following the murder the world came close to nuclear war, at least according to the latest expert on the subject. American forces entered a "red alert" phase, the highest state of readiness for a preemptive nuclear strike.<sup>5</sup> Vital federal intelligence channels clogged under the sheer mass of data being frantically transmitted. The new president, known for occasional impetuosity, proceeded with a commendable caution in his first hours and days, fearful of every international implication. In the midst of a constantly deteriorating situation, tension mounted as numerous bits of wrong or trivial information reached the White House. The CIA's Mexican substation immediately reported Oswald as Castro's hireling,<sup>6</sup> while the FBI could produce *five volumes* of "facts" less than three weeks after the murder, on behalf of the Warren Commission.<sup>6</sup> Opinions became truths, fiction achieved factuality, prejudices became official insights, and blame began to stick to everyone and everything.

Domestic conditions heightened the potential for rash reactions. Under the glare of camera lights and before several hundred reporters, Dallas

officials announced their capture of a "communist" who had killed the president. The media saturated the public with "facts" of Oswald's "communist" activities and Marxist beliefs. In Congress, several members moved for investigations, vying with each other for the chairmanship of proposed committees. Anticommunist hysteria in the United States, which predated the Russian Revolution, had cyclically reared its fevered head against presidents elected from the Democratic party. But cultivating it daily in the wake of Kennedy's murder, as many editors, reporters and politicians did, only exalted the conspiracy-minded and exacerbated the conduct of foreign policy. Added to perils of revived witch-hunting, no one knew with any certainty, despite unprecedented coverage by newsmen, what precisely had transpired in Dallas and why.

To allay fears and restore public confidence in law and elected officials, the executive branch directed that the murdered Oswald be identified as the sole killer. Oswald was dead; there could be no trial. In a 26 November 1963 memorandum to Presidential Assistant Bill Moyers, the Deputy Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach defined the prosecution's position: "The public must be satisfied that Oswald was the assassin; that he did not have confederates who are still at large; and that the evidence was such that he would have been convicted at trial." This day, then, while President Kennedy's requiem mass and burial were taking place, his own presidential appointees had begun the policy of burying the issues of fact, of guilt, and of law.

President Johnson implored Earl Warren, the Chief Justice, to head the presidential commission, arguing that only men with highest public respect could still the nation and abate any domestic military threat. In his memoirs, Chief Justice Warren stated that he took this chairmanship with extreme reluctance, only after President Johnson made an emotional appeal to his love of country. To refuse, it was suggested, could mean "40,000,000 lives lost" in a nuclear war.<sup>8</sup>

Johnson appointed six other members to his commission. Two Senators: John Sherman Cooper, Republican from Kentucky, and Richard Russell, Democrat from Georgia; two Congressmen: Gerald R. Ford, Republican from Michigan, and Hale Boggs, Democrat from Louisiana; the former head of the CIA, Allen Dulles; and a New York banker, John J. McCloy, completed the blue-ribbon panel. It remains a monument to Johnson's masterly political skills. Cooper, Ford, and Dulles neutralized the opposition Republican party; McCloy and Dulles reassured the financial-governmental nexus; and Southerners Boggs and Russell blocked any attack from the political right. Warren's acceptance immediately quieted the nation's liberals, especially the Eastern base of Kennedy supporters and university academicians, thereby eliminating from later controversies the single most effective potential sector of dissent to commission procedures and results. Silence

and apathy have greeted the entire subject of President Kennedy's murder ever since, among serious scholars generally and with U.S. historians in particular. Even that contemporary critic of federal policy and bureaucracy, I. F. Stone, placed himself well inside lines drawn by Johnson's choice of Warren. The Chief Justice's record for civil liberties and race relations was enough for Stone to "letter-whip" mercilessly the critics of the commission, facts notwithstanding.<sup>9</sup>

Like most federal committees, the Warren Commission worked through its own staff. The seven members, being busy public officials with full-time interests elsewhere, had little time and expertise for the exacting research requisite to a criminal case. They selected a staff of eighty-four and named as chief legal counsel J. Lee Rankin, a former Solicitor General of the United States. The commission did not, however, assemble a body of criminal law specialists, inspectors, and field investigators, choosing instead to rely entirely on several federal agencies, mainly the FBI. This decision to farm out the entire investigation doomed the Warren Commission inquiry from the start. No one at the time dared suggest that an objective inquiry ought, at some point, to include scrutiny of Hoover's FBI. *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*<sup>10</sup>

Thus, on 9 December 1963, the Warren Commission laid its inquiry upon the Procrustean bed of the FBI's five-volume report. So anxious was the commission to adhere to the FBI's hasty hodge-podge of data that Hoover's eyes and ears inside the Commission, Congressman Gerald Ford, soon promised a final *Report* for that winter.<sup>11</sup> In fact, those five FBI volumes contained less than 500 words on the murder itself, being almost entirely a psychological profile of Oswald with much biographical detail about his pre-Marine Corps youth. Then the FBI departed from its usual investigatory practice and drew, in effect, a judicious conclusion: Oswald alone and unaided, for his own political and psychological motives, killed President Kennedy. Such a bold departure from set procedure shocked Rankin, the commission's chief counsel,<sup>12</sup> but his reaction did not prevent him from countenancing this and other revealing prejudgments.

The list of these deliberate official manipulations of evidence is long and has been exposed elsewhere, but several examples urge at least passing notice. The FBI's immediate Oswald fixation extended to the absurdly different ways with which they, and the commission's agents, treated the two widows. Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy, an eye-and-ear witness to murder if there ever was one, was interviewed for about ten minutes six months afterwards. Marina Oswald, who was diapering daughters in Irving, Texas, when Kennedy died, was put under FBI "house arrest," interrogated for weeks, and then made into a star witness, testifying before news cameras and *in camera*, to the Warren Commission and later congressional committees. Then there were such FBI omissions as one of the bullet wounds on Presi-

dent Kennedy's body, as well as any mention of Tague's wound, both excluded either through incompetence or by fear that such wounds might require more than one assassin. In such ways did Hoover fulfill the Katzenbach-Moyers directive, leaving the Warren Commission to orchestrate it fully and publicly.

The commission clearly knew of continuing FBI attempts to monopolize all assassination inquiries. Dallas police and the Texas Attorney General's office had been firmly, immediately squelched by the FBI, aided by Warren's personal intervention.<sup>13</sup> Even the Secret Service were left to watch from the sidelines. Hoover's FBI obsessively sought control, not only occasionally through Gerald Ford but also in a general climate of trepidation that is now known to have developed among the commissioners. On 22 January 1964, the Warren panel held a secret executive session that would surface only later in a stenotypist's notes:

Dulles: . . . *Why would it be in their [FBI] interest to say he [Oswald] is clearly the only guilty one? . . .*  
[Rankin]: *They would like to have us fold up and quit.*  
Boggs: *This closes the case, you see. Don't you see?*  
Rankin: *They found the man. There is nothing more to do. The commission supports their conclusions, and we can go on home and that is the end of it. . . .*  
Boggs: *I don't even like to see this being taken down.*  
Dulles: *Yes. I think this record ought to be destroyed.*<sup>14</sup>

The commission's control over its own record, defeated by accidental survival in this instance, did lead to other deliberate suppressions. For one notorious example, two pages of Senator and Commissioner Russell's dissent from the lone-assassin theory were expunged, which utterly enraged the terminally ill Russell when he discovered it.<sup>15</sup>

The Warren Commission's *Report*, then, remains of lingering paradoxical value. Although its conclusions bear little conviction and less credibility, it remains an invaluable catalogue for much of the murder case's data, provided that its users see it for what it is: the product of "an investigation which has satisfied the Commission that it has ascertained the truth concerning the assassination of President Kennedy. . . ."<sup>16</sup> Sadly for the commission's historical status and even more so for the truth itself, such satisfaction has proven contrivedly premature.

What, then, can a citizen know about the murder of President John F. Kennedy, nearly two decades later?

The past is always knowable only by present evidence, and we now have much more evidence than the Warren Commission sought, selected, or considered.<sup>17</sup> For one thing, the sheer quantity of information and opinion available has created a pressing problem, which this bibliography addresses

in Sections II and III. But this measures only the literary responses during the first sixteen years. Even the most astute inquirer can become lost on the mountain of books, articles, and journalists' reports, all shouting their explanations for the murder into valleys empty of evidence. Unfortunately, most of this has created a cacophony of competing, often contradictory, echoes. Ultimate answers, when available, can be obtained only from the primary evidence, patiently and persistently accumulated. It is for this reason that all readers must first realize, by way of Section I, where most of the documents currently reside and how difficult it has often been, by recourse to federal law courts, to extract that evidence from governmental agencies.<sup>18</sup>

Among academic professionals in our society, historians ought to be the best trained for work with the evidence. They ought to combine reason and skepticism in their comprehensive perspective, in their attempt to put a past man or a past event back together after dissection into parts by economists, lawyers, journalists, psychologists, scientists, litterateurs, moralists, and so on. But scholars generally, and our fellow historians particularly, have remained aloof from problems created by the JFK murder and subsequent investigations. Only the Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University, Hugh Trevor-Roper, offered professional scrutiny of Warren Commission documents.<sup>19</sup> Since then, most historians have avoided the entire problem of evidence, accepting the published Warren *Hearings* as the sum total of obtainable data, while reasoned skepticism has been developed mainly by an ex-poultry farmer, several Washington lawyers, a Texas newspaper editor, two university philosophers, and several ex-graduate students.

One reason that serious scholars have absented themselves from the assassination's literature is the Warren *Report's* preemption of the subject, with its simple verdict against one man "perpetually discontented with the world around him."<sup>20</sup> Rather than closing the case, this verdict openly invited theories of conspiracy. Oswald having been found guilty, the burden of proof shifted so that doubters must first prove Oswald "not guilty." To suggest this would raise the question "if not Oswald, then who did it?" Thus far, the best answer is that audio, ballistics, photographic, and eye-witness evidence gathered by and since the Warren Commission strongly suggests more than one gunman, which is all that the U.S. House Select Committee asserted in December 1978.<sup>21</sup>

Although it takes two or more individuals to make a conspiracy, at least in the eyes of the law, this does not necessarily mean that "more than one gunman" equals a conspiracy in fact. It has been argued that Dealey Plaza that day attracted two or more individuals armed and motivated independently for the same act.<sup>22</sup> Unlikely as this may be, the record of bitter political hatred enveloping places like Dallas in 1963 raises two immediate points: the fact of this violent climate is neutral to the question of conspiracy, but the entire matter remains the unknown, unresearched context for the murder itself. Numerous murder threats against President Kennedy came in



the weeks preceding 22 November from groups active in that vicinity: the National States' Rights party, the Minutemen, anti-Castro militants, religious bigots, and other radical paramilitary, racist organizations. Anti-Kennedy hysteria was hardly limited to Dallas. The president's 2 November visit to Chicago was dropped because of local threats, and then his 18 November motorcade through Miami had to be cancelled at the very last moment for similar reasons.<sup>21</sup> Neither the FBI nor the Warren Commission investigators showed more than routine interest in such coincidences of fact: they were too busy reconstructing a left-wing psychological profile, focused on Oswald.<sup>22</sup>

The specter of some prearranged conspiracy easily haunts the case and its researchers, and it takes only the mere hint of conspiracy to drive most scholars away, into other topics. The word itself connotes a sort of intellectual bankruptcy, at least in the academic world and especially in this murder case, because other suspects have never been named. Explanations based on conspiracy are usually associated with irrational, prejudiced reactions, in sharp contrast to a prosecutor's clear, scientific, dispassionate reconstruction of homicidal fact. But after revelations about the workings of the Ku Klux Klan, American corporations courting Nazi Germany's cartels, Watergate, organized crime, CIA vs. KGB, or effective fabrications like the *Protocols of Zion*, conspiracies seem to strain the modern credibility less.

We are convinced that, in the JFK case, two conspiracies did exist. The first killed Kennedy and the second, conducted by essentially honorable men, has served to subvert and obscure this truth. The first was a conspiracy among individuals as yet unidentified. The second, an institutional conspiracy, grew from that mutually inclusive self-protective, group-protective identity that individuals can be expected to develop as members of any company or bureau. The White House, the FBI, the Justice Department, the Department of State, congressional committees, and even the National Archives, all under siege from public shock and skepticism after 22 November 1963, quietly closed ranks within and among their agencies in order to restore confidence at home and abroad. Such a motive may laudably justify members conspiring to reinforce national institutions, but the result has hardly served the muse Clio's search for truth. We at no time wish to suggest that individuals in any and all agencies conspired among themselves. That would constitute individual conspiracy prosecutable at law. What we do conclude is that members of governmental institutions worked primarily to protect their own agencies and secondarily to sustain confidence in the federal government generally, with only a tertiary concern for solving this murder case.

The literature since Dallas, on the other hand, possesses a uniform impulse to resolve the crime and its attendant mysteries. Yet certain facts may never be known, thanks in large part to the institutional conspiracy begun by

FBI and Warren Commission agents. Why did Oswald go to Mexico City that September? Why did Oswald go to the Texas Theater? Why was no transcript made and preserved from Oswald's twelve and more hours of police interrogation? How did President Kennedy's brain disappear after the Washington autopsy? Did law enforcement officers ever entertain explanations and suspects other than Oswald? We simply have no hard answers, to these and hundreds of other questions, although we now know that witnesses available at the time, who might have aided investigators, were either ignored or rudely rebuffed and a large amount of physical evidence was similarly treated. The impulse to resolve the crime continues in many often over-eager authors and despite so much culpable ignorance of actual evidence.

The assassination's literature can be divided into six categories: (1) works sustaining the official conclusions, (2) works entirely irrational, (3) works riddled with subjectivity and unsubstantiated theory, (4) the exploitative literature, (5) sinister publications, and (6) works focused on evidence about the murder that strive for objectivity.

The first category includes both conventional and psychological works sustaining official conclusions in the *Warren Report*. Conventional accounts, premised on Oswald's guilt from start to finish, include David Belin's *November 22, 1963*,<sup>23</sup> Jim Bishop's *The Day Kennedy Was Shot*,<sup>24</sup> William Manchester's *The Death of a President*,<sup>25</sup> Priscilla McMillan Johnson's *Marina and Lee*,<sup>26</sup> and diverse biographies of the Oswald family, memoirs of leading figures, and several minor studies on physical evidence from the crime. Typical of such articles are those by Dr. John K. Lattimer, a New York urologist,<sup>27</sup> and Professor Luis Alvarez, a California Nobel Laureate in physics.<sup>28</sup> The former, asserting authority in ballistics, proclaimed after studying the Warren Commission autopsy materials that they proved Oswald killed President Kennedy. From X-rays and photographs alone no one can determine who pulled any particular trigger. Lattimer conveniently ignored the bullet(s) associated with the wounding of citizen James T. Tague, evidence which in itself shatters the official findings.<sup>29</sup> Alvarez studied the Zapruder film and asserted that that evidence affirmed official findings of Oswald's sole guilt. He too isolated the object of his study from contextual evidence, ignoring the trees that blocked the first shot, occurring around frame 190, he claimed, and also ignoring Tague.

In psychological studies the authors flee from the world of fact into the mental interstices of figures associated with the murder, mainly the dead Lee Harvey Oswald. These accounts are found mainly in articles, but Renatus Hartogs' and Lucy Freeman's *The Two Assassins*<sup>30</sup> and Robert Thompson's *The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald*,<sup>31</sup> a screenplay for the American Broadcasting Company, are representative book titles. The former claimed to have "studied" Oswald's fifth-grade report card, which indicated his mental instability and predisposition to kill Kennedy; but they did not present

a single fact in critical context to link Oswald to the murder. Thompson converted Jack Ruby into an All-American hero driven by noble motives. The truth, conveniently excised by Thompson and ABC for the illusion, instead shows Ruby to be a "punk pining to be a hood,"<sup>31</sup> consumed by sensuality and crudity.

The titles in the irrational category embrace every conceivable explanation that unbridled imaginations can conjure up. The more outrageous examples include Pat Matteo, *This Captive Land*,<sup>35</sup> in which Kennedy is killed to prevent his escape from a miniature atomic bomb; Thothnu Tastmona, *It Is As If* . . . ,<sup>36</sup> connects the case to origins with the nineteenth-century Mormon leader Brigham Young; and Bernard M. Bane, *Is John F. Kennedy Alive* . . . ,<sup>37</sup> ponders that very question. Sybil Leek, whose credentials include being "a certified witch," wrote with Bert Sugar, *The Assassination Chain*,<sup>38</sup> in which an evil link is found among various political murders. Robert Shea and Robert Anton Wilson, *Illuminatus* . . . ,<sup>39</sup> seek an explanation in ancient Egypt. Neal Wilgus, *The Illuminoids*,<sup>40</sup> finds the Order of the Illuminati, or masonic conspiracy, behind the murder.

The irrational literature typically assumes the conclusions of the Warren Commission to be valid in terms of Oswald's participation, but it seeks larger motives and devices that manipulated his lonesome act. Oswald's guilt is constantly reaffirmed, when it should be questioned as rigorously as any other fact. The irrational publications often appeal to some pseudo-scientific fad in popular thought, like necromancy or astrology, and can usually be found in the supermarket newspapers. Lincoln Lawrence's *Were We Controlled?*<sup>41</sup> even argues that a posthypnotic suggestion triggered radio transmissions operating through a neurological implant in the robot Oswald, causing him to kill Kennedy. William Smith's *Assassination by Consensus*<sup>42</sup> sinks in the same water, arguing that "psychic displacement" operated by a mastermind worked its design through more inferior minds. All of this, of course, drifts well beyond James Bond's world of evil conspiracies into some sort of certifiable madness.

The subjective category includes the literature of those who dissent from the Warren Commission's findings and have tried, at least, to wrestle with problems of evidence pertinent to the murder itself. Such writers do not blindly accept the official version and do show some critical analysis, but their literature remains saddled by theoretical assumptions and their fundamental question puts the who before the what. The prime question, we insist, is still: *what* happened on Dealey Plaza on 22 November 1963? After that factual base comes the question "who shot Kennedy?" We must reluctantly concede that we may never know the answer with reasonable certitude.

This third category, the subjective, can be broken into several subgroups. One theorizes that the murder was the work of the international Communist

movement, although proponents often differ as to the methods employed. In Carlos Bringuier's *Red Friday*<sup>43</sup> and in Revilo P. Oliver's series of articles,<sup>44</sup> Oswald is simply a Communist agent. Michael Eddowes, *The Oswald File*,<sup>45</sup> changes the emphasis and baldly asserts that his exhaustive search of all documents proves that JFK's killer was a Soviet fake sent into America to fulfill diabolical ends. All such works beg the two questions that ought to be put first: What is the evidence implicating Oswald? Does any of it connect *any* Oswald to the murder?

Edward Jay Epstein's *Legend*<sup>46</sup> continues to exploit the Oswald theme, modifying it to make him a Soviet agent converted to spying while stationed in Japan. To carry forward this thesis, Epstein ignores his critics as well as nonconforming court records. For example, to make Oswald a defector to his new Soviet masters, Epstein reports that he left London on 9 October 1959 to reach Finland on the 10th. But according to the passport stamps, he actually left London on the 10th and arrived in Finland on the 10th, a feat impossible according to all contemporary commercial airline schedules but not beyond the fertile machinations of American intelligence agencies. Like Bringuier, Oliver, Eddowes, and others, Epstein attempts to hammer into the public mind the assertion without proof that Oswald killed Kennedy.

There is a substantial subgroup of theorists who try to prove, from the other side of the political spectrum, that the CIA killed Kennedy. Michael Canfield and Alan Webberman's *Coup d'Etat*,<sup>47</sup> Fletcher Prouty's *The Secret Team*,<sup>48</sup> and Sid Blumenthal and Harvey Yazjian's *Government by Gunplay*<sup>49</sup> represent this evidence-stretching effort. Aside from numerous factual errors and repeated distortions of evidence, the characteristic feature of this subgroup is their avoidance of the actual murder and of its bungled police investigation. Their hot chase after the CIA chimera is often connected with another subgroup of subjective writers.

Did organized crime kill Kennedy? This theory always had its followers, but beginning in the mid-1970s a series of volumes appeared that purported to find proofs, including those connected to Judith Campbell Exner. Typical expressions are Peter Noyes, *Legacy of Doubt*,<sup>50</sup> Seth Kantor's *Who Was Jack Ruby?*,<sup>51</sup> the Assassination Information Bureau's *Clandestine America*,<sup>52</sup> and Peter Dale Scott's *Crime and Cover-Up*.<sup>53</sup> Organized crime has become America's "diabolus ex machina," released in times of heightened public awareness to explain major crimes and minor social ailments. Elusive, without structure, and without a single body of facts, the accusation nevertheless finds most recent, albeit partial, endorsement in the U.S. House Select Committee on Assassination's *Final Report*.<sup>54</sup>

Still another subgroup in subjectivity makes Chief Justice Earl Warren the malefactor, distorting all evidence to make this wish come true. The two best examples are Edward Jay Epstein's *Inquest*<sup>55</sup> and Mark Lane's *Rush to Judgment*.<sup>56</sup> Presented to the uninformed as a work of dispassionate

scholarly dissent, *Inquest* actually upholds the basic findings of the Warren Commission by dismissing its failures as the fault of its chairman, who allegedly went against the findings of his own staff and the FBI. Epstein used FBI reports as well as the files of some staff members in his attack. This brief and fierce polemic actually excupates Hoover's Bureau, although that may not have been Epstein's intent.

Lane's *Rush to Judgment* provides a classic example of subjective gimmickry, with its scholarly cosmetic of 4,500 footnotes, containing hundreds of substantial errors and repetitions. Quotations within the text have been quietly changed in over two hundred instances from original documentary versions; important material has been excised from the evidence in order to highlight the trivial or to mislead. Ultimately the book charges Warren with the crime of cover-up, while exonerating the FBI. For example, one entire chapter, based on the testimony of Nancy Perrin Rich, who worked in Ruby's night club, pretends proof of an Oswald-Ruby link. Lane never noted that Rich gave three entirely different sets of testimony to investigators, that she suffered several mental breakdowns, and that she had habitually appeared at famous trials offering to testify.<sup>57</sup>

One further subgroup has sifted the facts through a left-wing sieve to conclude that Kennedy died as a result of a right-wing conspiracy. Excellent illustrations of this subjectivity imposed upon reality are: Jim Garrison's *Heritage of Stone*,<sup>58</sup> Mort Sahl's *Heartland*,<sup>59</sup> Carl Oglesby's *Cowboy and Yankee War*,<sup>60</sup> and the later writings of Joachim Joesten.<sup>61</sup> Hugh McDonald, *Appointment in Dallas*,<sup>62</sup> posits a mysterious person lurking in another building who actually shot Kennedy and then framed Oswald as the "patsy"; Oswald claimed to be when interrogated. Richard Popkin's *The Second Oswald*<sup>63</sup> plausibly assumes that a man posing as Oswald laid a track of damaging evidence around Dallas in the weeks before the murder. The evidence in no way precludes such an Oswald counterfeit, but Popkin's explanation still rests on acceptance of the Warren Commission's assertion of the real Oswald's role. Popkin more accurately might have entitled his valuable book "The Fake Oswald."

The fourth category, the exploiters, identifies a phenomenon extant since the week of the murder, ranging from the greedy merchants of grief, peddling JFK memorabilia, to the publishing financiers making ceaseless propositions of the official findings. The Warren Commission orchestrated five private publishers for versions of its *Report*,<sup>64</sup> coordinating the official lease to make maximum impact and profits. The first exploiters, however, were Kennedy hagiographers who flooded the nation with special-edition newspapers, tabloids, trinkets, commemorative books, and memorial volumes. Reprints, collector's specials, and glossy inserts fall in scores from the national journals and local newspapers, none at reduced prices. *Four Days in November*,<sup>65</sup> assembled by the editors of United Press International

and American Heritage Publishing Company, contained lavish color photographs and an inaccurate text. Its sales copies reached into the hundreds of thousands, with additional income derived from their record promotion and a movie spin-off. The entire success story bore the marks of a necrophiliac sell by an advertising agency: a garish, tasteless celebration of sacrificial death. Similar ventures served publishers well in packaging and selling the "martyred" president to the public.

From a long list of the publishing industry's promotional books, *The Death of a President* by William Manchester exemplifies best their impact and the sheer gall of their commercialism.<sup>66</sup> The book is perhaps what Norman Mailer means by "faction," because it certainly is not history based on evidence and professionalism. One promotional lease after another, with a stream of prepublication press releases, was coupled with regular television news coverage once the Kennedy's intervened. Despite reviewers and critics who treated it mercilessly, media magic transformed this error-laden volume into a sort of popular truth. In fact, it was little more than a narrative skeleton of the Warren *Report*, fleshed out with numerous insider interviews.

Like wolves among ewes, major publishing houses have indiscriminately worked the entire fold, lavishly also promoting various books by Warren *Report* dissenters. The books by Anson, McDonald, and O'Toole exemplify this, with regional radio and newspaper saturation promising new discoveries and proofs. Hugh McDonald, in *Appointment in Dallas*, claimed to have interviewed the real assassin. His original manuscript had this real assassin hiding in a judge's chambers overlooking Dealey Plaza, but the published book put him at a window in a women's restroom.<sup>67</sup> Similar wizardry reached its most sophisticated exploitation with George O'Toole's *The Assassination Tapes*.<sup>68</sup> The book was actively marketed by the company manufacturing an "evaluator machine," which supposedly measured voice patterns for covert stress to prove that a conspiracy killed Kennedy. With numerous major errors O'Toole employed the faulty machine to test old video and audio tapes of witnesses to conclude that Oswald was framed. Police and sheriffs' departments across the land received advertisements for the instrument that had allegedly solved the crime of the century. But even this is child's play compared with the antics of Mark Lane.

Two books, two films, lectures, records, and articles have kept pace with sixteen years of changing fads in popular consciousness. When initial public skepticism focused on Chief Justice Warren, Lane's *Rush to Judgment* crudely misquoted documents, gave inaccurate footnotes, and skillfully selected facts literally to frame Warren.<sup>69</sup> When Garrison's investigation in New Orleans captured national headlines, Lane adjusted his writings and lectures with broad assertions that he was the district attorney's confidant.<sup>70</sup> At the height of student unrest, Lane staffed a booth at collegiate fairs,

pushing his literature and his lecturing services to youthful minds seeking a better world.<sup>71</sup> When exposés of the CIA began piling up in the late 1960s, Lane's articles and speeches discovered that Kennedy had really been killed by the CIA.<sup>72</sup> When political and media winds shifted in the early 1970s against the late J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, Lane found proofs of FBI guilt.<sup>73</sup> This only begins to document Lane as the leading opportunist in the sorry literary history of this murder mystery.

In *A Citizen's Dissent*, Lane alleged that the British Broadcasting Company did not pay him a "single farthing" when, in fact, he had received one of their largest fees, over \$40,000.<sup>74</sup> When he co-produced, with Emile de Antonio, the film version of *Rush to Judgment*, he pirated its sound track, provoking litigation by his irate co-producer.<sup>75</sup> When Lane put Donald Freed to work on a jointly written novel, *Executive Action*,<sup>76</sup> he knew they were exploiting an excellent plot line. Lane had been in New Orleans when the typescript for the James Hepburn book *Farewell America* had been delivered to District Attorney Garrison by Herve Lamarre, a person associated with French intelligence.<sup>77</sup> As of 1975, the filmed version of *Executive Action* had earned \$15,000,000.<sup>78</sup>

Only Lane's initial article, published in December 1963 in the *National Guardian*, written with that weekly's editorial aid, contributed substantially to data publicly available immediately after the murder.<sup>79</sup> But his credibility began to collapse soon after, as he offered himself to any bidder as the instant JFK expert, whether on campus or in Congress. Perhaps in this case the CIA got it right when their secret study of Warren *Report* critics concluded that Lane instinctively went for the capillaries, not the jugular.<sup>80</sup> The CIA obviously saw no adversarial threat from Lane's limited vision and faulty scholarship, but he has served governmental agencies well by obscuring basic evidence, upstaging serious researchers, publicizing tangential issues, and generally avoiding anything that required hard work for no profit and little publicity.<sup>81</sup>

Our fifth category, labeled sinister, includes those publications about the murder that focus on intelligence-gathering agencies and, in some cases, were written under their surreptitious sponsorship. These include Camille Gilles' *400,000* . . . , but the foremost example is James Hepburn's *Farewell America*, published in Liechtenstein in 1968, printed in Belgium, and distributed in Canada,<sup>82</sup> but not in the United States, by individuals associated with SDECE, France's CIA. With potential libels on every other page, the author (or authors?) allege collaboration between right-wing oilmen and rogue CIA elements for the Kennedy kill. Commentaries on the book demonstrate little critical awareness and no comprehensive knowledge of the evidence and usually end up embracing the book's assumptions. Warren Hinckle's articles and one chapter in his *If You Have a Lemon* . . . display an intimate knowledge of the book, but the chronology as well as essential facts are in fundamental error.<sup>83</sup>

The works of critics responsible to the evidence and to the truth comprise our final category of Kennedy murder-literature. These authors show knowledge of the complex factual base, the duty to treat the murder objective and without distraction, and the need to stay free from theoretical distractions. This category can be subdivided between those early authors writing before the official published findings of the Warren Commission and those later researchers who started from the findings and evidence of the commission in launching their studies.

The early writers published a few articles, including the Mark Lane effort noted earlier, and three books: Thomas Buchanan's *Who Killed Kennedy?* Joachim Joesten's *Oswald: Assassin or Fall Guy*,<sup>84</sup> and Leo Sauvage's *T. Oswald Affair*.<sup>85</sup> They remain substantially sound within the context pre-Warren *Report* materials, and each is based on painstaking research and analytical argument; but all bear the subconscious marks of a press controversy and the murder of an uncommon man. They are essential reading for anyone interested in the mystery itself or in the mystery's late history.

After publication of the Warren *Report*, critics produced various article short studies and books, the most valuable being the works of Sylvia Meagher, Harold Weisberg, and Howard Roffman. There are also many valuable articles and book reviews in the monthly journal *The Minority of On Raymond Marcus* published a short monograph *The Bastard Bullet*, which carefully analyzed the Zapruder film and remains a minor classic for objectivity.<sup>87</sup> Sylvia Meagher's *Subject Index* to the Warren Commission volumes has given students their essential tool for mastering that wilderness of published evidence.<sup>88</sup> It was her *Accessories after the Fact*, though, that provided a model for scholarly method.<sup>89</sup> It carefully scrutinized the *Report* and the twenty-six volumes, making orderly sense of the chaotic official evidence and providing intelligent, critical commentaries.

Weisberg's *Whitewash*, addressed to the general public, demonstrated that the Warren Commission failed because it accepted unquestioningly the theory, largely manufactured by the FBI, that Oswald killed the president. Weisberg had served in the 1930s as an investigator for a Senate committee uncovering American fascist penetration of the government and Nazi influence in the Americas. During World War II he had been with the Office of Strategic Services and had also worked as an analyst for the State Department. Weisberg coupled this experience with his firm belief that original documents ought to serve as the base upon which to build account of the murder.

Weisberg has persisted in his attack, publishing *Whitewash II, Photographic Whitewash, Whitewash IV, Oswald in New Orleans*, and *P. Morlem*.<sup>91</sup> This last volume, published privately as were all but two, gives an unparalleled examination of the evidence relating to the JFK autopsy with hundreds of pages of documents photographically reproduced. All

this, plus his score of FOIA suits, makes Weisberg the premier authority, and even governmental agents who are most annoyed by him must consult his work.

Roffman's *Presumed Guilty* defined the autopsy and ballistic evidence to show that the commission could not link Oswald to the crime with such evidence, given the questions asked and the techniques that they employed. The metallic fragments inside the president and the fragments of bullets outside his body were not matched, despite the existence of several scientific tests that could have done so conclusively.<sup>92</sup>

The single most important characteristic making these critics responsible is their common goal to define, secure, and expose documentary evidence in this murder case, most of which governmental agencies choose to keep controlled and secret. Much has been accomplished by lawsuits brought under the Freedom of Information Act, mostly by Harold Weisberg and his legal counsel, James H. Lesar. These suits, at the very least, force agencies out of their ordinary cocoons of self-regulating, hence publicly irresponsible, bureaucracy into open legal and judicial accountability. This process has also blocked the destruction or dispersal of countless files and preserved hundreds of cubic feet of basic evidence, to be placed before the public. Section I of our bibliography provides detailed briefs of the sort of litigation required, showing the extraordinary difficulties that federal agencies and bureaucratically supportive federal judges can create for ordinary citizens. One important published example of such documents is David R. Wrona's *Legal Proceedings* . . . , based on evidence that Federal Civil Action 2052-73 forced from federal files.<sup>93</sup>

In this context of misplaced bureaucratic self-preservation, no one ought to be surprised to learn that the latest congressional reopening of the JFK murder case ignored much of the mass of materials compiled outside of Warren Commission evidence. The House Select Committee on Assassinations paid virtually no attention to evidence brought into the public domain by Freedom of Information Act litigation and shunned contact with responsible critics. Their entire investigation showed a marked preference for a selection of highly visible witnesses rather than for the documentary evidence and those few experts who know it best. We therefore must conclude our remarks with a brief analysis of this most recent official report on President Kennedy's death.

On 22 July 1979, after a six-month delay, the House Select Committee on Assassinations issued the *Final Report* of its two-year investigation into the murders of President John F. Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The 686-page paperback official printing is divided into five parts: Part I contains 261 pages on the murder of Kennedy; Part II has 250 pages on the murder of King; Part III is twenty pages of recommendations; Part IV is thirty pages of separate remarks by committee members, including the

important dissent by Rep. Christopher Dodd; and Part V is 171 pages appendices and references.<sup>94</sup>

One week prior to official publication, G. Robert Blakey, chief counsel for the HSCA, gave the Bantam Publishing Company an exclusive advance copy and received \$3,000 from them to write a fifteen-page introduction for their printing of the *Final Report*.<sup>95</sup> In July, the government complete their publication of the remaining twenty-seven volume appendix to HSCA *Final Report*. Twelve volumes concern the Kennedy murder, thirteen volumes pertain to the killing of King, and two volumes focus on legislative and administrative reforms. None of the volumes is indexed, and only biword-clues on the face of each suggest the contents to the reader.

The HSCA's *Final Report* and its twelve volumes of Kennedy documentation are blatantly, yet curiously, inconsistent with the final conclusion endorsing a conspiracy in Dallas. If anything, the bulk of their testimony and evidence remains true to the HSCA's originally stated purpose, to make the Warren *Report* "persuasive."<sup>96</sup> But then, as if in a mere afterthought, to several sections of the *Final Report*, the reader is urged to reject Warren *Report*'s cornerstone: Oswald, the lone assassin.

Obviously, the HSCA had gone public at the last moment over the audio evidence confirming a front gunman facing Kennedy. In fact, it was Warren *Report* critics Mary Ferrell, Gary Mack, and Penn Jones, Jr., who brought the tape and other data to the attention of the HSCA.<sup>97</sup> Another critic Robert Groden, painstakingly located a key witness for the HSCA staff. This not only exemplifies the level of the HSCA's competence as research but also its refusal to follow its congressional mandate to investigate performance of earlier federal investigators. In 1964 the FBI claimed have studied certain audio tapes and to have found no pertinent evidence on them.<sup>98</sup> The Warren Commission even printed versions of them. Apparently no HSCA member or staff investigators thought to question the FBI on this fundament for conspiracy.

Instead, the *Final Report* reassured its readers that "*the Warren Commission conducted a thorough and professional investigation into the responsibility of Lee Harvey Oswald for the assassination.*"<sup>99</sup> It then proceeded to knock down several "strawmen" theories left and right, at rather tiresome length, most of which we have noted in our categories of irrational, subjective, exploitative, and sinister literature. So it was that sideshow dramas about "the umbrella man" and the Soviet-substitute Oswald look-alike were demolished in a fanfare of media publicity from Capitol Hill. Yet, at crucial points in the *Final Report*, the HSCA would have us turned halfway around from the Warren *Report* to embrace the suggestion of "more than one gunman!"

In such bewildering circumstances, it is appropriate for us to examine briefly some key elements in the official explanations, now mainly updated

from the Warren *Report* by the HSCA for 1979. We must limit attention to several vital parts of this official case and the ways it uses and abuses evidence. We are not in the business of exculpating anyone, including Oswald. Rather, we wish only to measure the present HSCA's case by the total evidence available. We will examine seven points here.

First, with regard to the JFK autopsy report, the HSCA's *Final Report* states:

The secrecy that surrounds the autopsy proceedings, therefore, has led to considerable skepticism toward the Commission's findings. Concern has been expressed that authorities were less than candid, since the Navy doctor in charge of the autopsy conducted at Bethesda Naval Hospital destroyed his notes. . . .<sup>102</sup>

This is not true. The problem began with the fact that the Warren Commission used a second draft, not the original autopsy report. The Navy doctor, J. J. Humes, burned the first autopsy protocol immediately after Oswald's murder by Ruby. That death eliminated the need for a trial, his testimony and cross-examination. The second draft was later changed, then modified again in the offices of a Navy admiral. The Warren Commission then masked the destruction of this original document by asserting that Humes' notes had been burned. In fact, the doctor destroyed his holographic draft, but he turned in his second draft, along with his notes, to federal agencies. These notes then disappeared, but the actual chain of evidence remains for anyone desiring to see it.

On Sunday, 24 November 1963, Humes executed two certificates. One stated that he had burned preliminary draft notes. The other, addressed to Captain J. H. Stover, his Commanding Officer, stated in part: "Autopsy notes and the holograph draft (i.e., the second one) of the final report were handed to Commanding Officer . . . at 1700, 24 November 1963."<sup>103</sup> The next day, Admiral Galloway, Commanding Officer, National Naval Medical Center, transmitted by hand to Admiral George C. Burkley, Physician to the President, the protocol and "the work papers in the case of John F. Kennedy," recording this transaction with a memorandum.<sup>104</sup> On 26 November, Robert Bouck of the Secret Service accepted this from Burkley, signing a receipt for the "autopsy report and notes of the examining doctor which is described in a letter of transmittal Nov. 25, 1963, by Dr. Galloway /sic/."<sup>105</sup> Here the record of the chain of possession ends, and these vital notes disappear from history. Humes however testified in 1964 before the Warren Commission that: "In the privacy of my own home, early in the morning of Sunday, November 24, I made a draft of this report. . . . That draft I personally burned. . . ." <sup>106</sup> The commission ignored the destruction and preferred to cover up the disappearance; HSCA did the same.

This leads to the related matter of the HSCA's false assertion that ". . . neither the members of the Warren Commission, nor its staff, nor the doctors who

performed the autopsy, took advantage of the X-rays and photographs of the president that were taken during the course of the autopsy."<sup>107</sup> This claim goes back to the Warren Commission's lone-assassin theory, which requires that the alleged three bullets all came from behind and high to the right; one of them missing, one passing through Kennedy and Connally inflicting seven wounds, and the last shattering Kennedy's skull.<sup>108</sup> The single bullet that inflicted so many wounds had to have penetrated the president's body at a steep-enough angle to exit at his necktie knot and continue downward to hit Connally near his armpit. The commission had put the entry hole at the back of Kennedy's neck; but the HSCA found that the bullet hole in the autopsy was actually where various critics, particularly Weisberg and Roffman, had said it was: in the back.<sup>109</sup> To reconcile their contradiction of the Warren Commission's version, the HSCA concocted the tale of ignorance just quoted.

Again, the chain of evidence puts the lie to all of this. The Warren Commission and its staff did have access to the X-rays, photographs, and other documentary evidence that placed the bullet entry hole on the back and too low to enable the single bullet to transit two bodies and cause seven wounds. In the minutes of the executive session of 27 January 1964, Chief Counsel J. Lee Rankin informed the members of the commission: ". . . it seems quite apparent now, since we have the picture of where the bullet entered in the back, that the bullet entered below the shoulder blade to the right of the backbone. . . ." <sup>110</sup> On 21 June 1966, the Secret Service issued an untitled press release that stated in part: "The X-ray films were used for the briefing of the Warren Commission's staff on the autopsy procedure and results."<sup>111</sup> Secret Service Chief Tom Kelley, then an Inspector, told Harold Weisberg that he had shown the films to the staff.<sup>112</sup> Staff member Arlen Specter stated, in an interview with *U.S. News & World Report* on 10 October 1966 that: "I was shown one picture of the back. . . ." <sup>113</sup> In another interview, this time with Joseph Whalen, the biographer of President Kennedy's father, Specter admitted that he had seen the autopsy films at the time.<sup>114</sup> Why should the HSCA try to bury all of this?

The third, and related, illustration is the falsification of the description of President Kennedy's shirt collar. The "slits" on his shirt collar may appear to be of minor significance, but in fact they are a major part of the simple and concrete evidence. In order to embrace the single-bullet theory, the Warren Commission as well as the HSCA had to prove that the bullet that transited the president's neck proceeded on a steep-enough downward angle to line up with the governor's back wound. Only by lowering the exit wound to the level of the necktie knot could that downward angle fit their preconceived solution for the transit. The slightest variation in angle will completely negate the commission's attempt to tie the lone assassin and his hardworking single bullet to the murder. The HSCA, too, put all of its argument on this line.

The HSCA's team of medical specialists described the president's shirt collar through which the bullet had to pass, in order to hit the governor's back, in this manner:

Examination of the shirt reveals a slit-like defect in the upper left front portion, 1.4 centimeters below the topmost buttonhole. This defect measures 1.4 centimeters in length, with its long axis parallel to the long axis of the body. There is a corresponding slit-like defect 1.5 centimeters below the center of the button on the right. This defect measures 1.5 centimeters in length and is also parallel to the long axis of the body (See fig. 3, a photograph of the shirt)<sup>115</sup>

All of this will, of course, sustain the single-bullet theory and its requisite transit, as intended. The photograph of the shirt collar, however, was taken from fifteen feet away, rendering it indistinct, perhaps also as intended.

That slit below the buttonhole is indeed parallel to the long axis of the body, but it also extends halfway into the neckband. The slit on the button side is perpendicular to the body axis and below the seam of the neckband and shirt, much closer to the edge than the other. The primary problem is that the slits do not coincide when the shirt is buttoned! Moreover, these slits were devoid of any traces of metal typically found when a bullet passes through cloth.<sup>116</sup> In fact, these slits were made by the Parkland Hospital emergency room staff in Dallas following surgical procedures by which they hurriedly but deftly cut away the shirt with scalpels. The attending physician, Dr. Charles James Carrico, and the duty nurse verified that this is precisely what they did.<sup>117</sup> Carrico testified to the Warren Commission that the bullet hole in the throat was above the shirt collar. When asked by Commission member Dulles to demonstrate where, precisely, the wound was, Carrico pointed it out on his own body, and Dulles responded: "I see. And you put your hand right above where your tie is?"<sup>118</sup> Needless to say, the resultant angle renders the single-bullet theory inoperable and demolishes the official case on this point.

Fourth, the HSCA *Final Report* reasserted the Warren *Report's* claim that Oswald's palm print was found on the stock of the rifle discovered on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository building.<sup>119</sup> But the HSCA omitted the fact that the print had been mailed into FBI headquarters by the Dallas police days after the rifle had left Dallas for laboratory testing; the Dallas officer who lifted the print from the stock refused point-blank to execute an affidavit for the Warren Commission stating where the print had originated.<sup>120</sup>

Fifth, the Warren Commission had claimed that Oswald carried the disassembled rifle into the building in a paper sack found on the sixth floor near the alleged scene of the crime.<sup>121</sup> An array of scientific data was then mustered to prove that "several" fibers discovered on the sack came from a blanket found among Oswald's possessions in a garage where the rifle was

allegedly stored. The rifle "could have picked up the fibers from the blanket and transmitted them to the paper bag" but the commission, as well as HSCA's clear assertion of its findings, did not report the fact that the Dallas police took no precautions at all to keep the several articles of evidence from coming into contact with each other prior to examination.<sup>122</sup> Likewise, the HSCA simply eliminated the testimony of Book Depository employee Dougherty, who waited just inside the building's entrance that morning and emphatically swore that Oswald entered empty-handed.<sup>123</sup> Furthermore, to assert that the sack could accommodate the disassembled rifle parts is to contravene the sack's linear measurement.<sup>124</sup> To charge that Oswald's fingerprints were on the empty sack proves nothing. Oswald worked on the sixth floor during preceding weeks; his prints ought to be there and elsewhere. What the HSCA did not report is the fact that the fingerprints of police officers who picked up the sack and carelessly handled it did not appear when it was tested,<sup>125</sup> which surely suggests something about their testing procedures.

Sixth, the HSCA *Final Report* repeated the Warren *Report's* conclusion that Oswald fired three shots, two of which had to occur prior to the movement of the presidential limousine behind the Stemmons' Street sign in the Zapruder film, at frame 210. The shot that they state was fired "at about frames 188-191" is the bullet that is said to have caused seven wounds on two men.<sup>126</sup> No mention is made of the live oak trees in front of the Book Depository that blocked the vision of any sniper from that alleged lair between Zapruder frames 170 and 210.<sup>127</sup> Frames 188-191, then, could arguably even eliminate Oswald, or anyone else, firing from that particular location at that particular point in time. Obviously this would require the presence of another assassin, or other assassins, firing from another location, or other locations, at that very same time. Once again, we are forced to wonder at the methods and purposes of the recent HSCA investigation.

Seventh, the omission of James T. Tague from the *Final Report*, as well as from the twelve volumes and the entire investigation, sufficiently discredits the HSCA's commitment to truth. Incredibly, such an extensive congressional probe did not call as a witness, nor even investigate, one of the victims of the crime. The *Final Report* does not even mention his name.<sup>128</sup> Just thirty minutes from HSCA's staff offices, on Judiciary Square, there are innumerable legal records from the FBI's testing of the material dug from the curbstone hit that caused citizen Tague to bleed that day.<sup>129</sup> Did it not seem important to official investigators, in 1964<sup>130</sup> and 1978, to know where exactly Tague stood, the location of his wound, and the whereabouts of later photographs that he took of all of this? That curbstone, apparently struck by one of the bullets, is now in the National Archives, with the shattered area neatly plastered over.<sup>131</sup> After someone had tidied up that bit of primary evidence, the FBI subsequently cleaned its files of key analytical reports on the curbstone itself.<sup>132</sup>

As if these seven points are not enough to undermine confidence in the HSCA's recent investigation, several additional and more general observations must be made. The most obvious failure is the congressional refusal to make an honest inquiry into the FBI's role in the original probe, which is all the more serious if we recall the Warren Commission's own misgivings about FBI pressures. It is compounded by the fact that the FBI controlled all security clearances for Warren Commission and HSCA staff and consultants. Perhaps a few more examples of the FBI's curious ways with the evidence will suffice.

Mrs. R. E. Arnold, in a handwritten statement for the FBI, stated that she saw Oswald on the first floor at about 12:25 P.M., which is five minutes before the gunshots and over ten minutes after an armed figure was seen on the upper floors by outside witnesses. When the FBI typed her original statement, the time changed to 12:15.<sup>133</sup>

Several score prisoners crowded the windows of the top floor of the Dallas Criminal Courts Building to view the motorcade. What they saw, from perhaps the best vantage point in the entire Dealey Plaza, had urgent value to any investigation of the murder, but their attempts to submit testimony to what they saw were firmly turned away. When at least one prisoner pressed the matter through his attorney, the FBI returned his request to testify that he saw two men in the alleged sniper's lair, none of them fitting the description of Oswald, with the annotation "not pertinent."<sup>134</sup>

Akin to this is the example of Charles Bronson, who took slides and motion pictures of the assassination. He made his film and slides available to the FBI on Monday, 25 November 1963. The FBI viewed them promptly, after the Eastman Kodak Company finished processing them in Dallas, and evaluated them. The FBI Special Agents said the pictures were "not sufficiently clear" for identification purposes and "these films failed to show the building from which the shots were fired." In 1978 Earl Golz of the *Dallas Morning News* and Gary Mack of Ft. Worth radio station KFFJZ located Bronson, who made the pictures available to photographic experts and to a reluctant HSCA. The film clearly shows the Texas School Book Depository and what appears to be two figures in the windows of the alleged sniper's lair.<sup>135</sup>

This leads us to a final observation about the FBI in the context of the HSCA's recent investigation, specifically with regard to the case against Oswald. Some relationship clearly existed between the two in New Orleans between May and September 1963. For example, the FBI never at any point told anyone associated with the official investigation of Kennedy's killing that the address Oswald stamped on his New Orleans literature<sup>136</sup> was the same address used by an anti-Castro group and coincidentally as well by a close associate of the FBI. Oswald used 544 Camp, which was one side of the same corner building having the dual address of 531 LaFayette.<sup>137</sup> The

anti-Castro Cubans worked out of offices at 544 Camp, while a certain Guy Banister kept an office at 531 LaFayette. By May 1963, Banister was a freelance detective and former FBI agent, maintaining close contact with local FBI ex-colleagues. The unpublished record, which was muddled by Garrison's grand inquisition, did establish the meetings held in Banister's office with the anti-Castro groups. David Ferrie, a shadowy figure in right-wing fringe groups around New Orleans, also met with such groups and had a "close" relationship with Banister.<sup>138</sup> These anti-Castro groups operated as paramilitary units, no doubt waiting for the next invasion call. Whether connected specifically to them or not, Banister also acted in certain gun-smuggling projects in and outside New Orleans.<sup>139</sup> The FBI reported none of the Banister associations to the Warren investigators, and the HSCA discounted the entire topic by invoking a sort of devil theory that made "organized crime" the culprit.<sup>140</sup>

The FBI also never reported or explained the appearance in Oswald's address book of three nonexistent addresses.<sup>141</sup> Some have suggested that these may possibly relate to intelligence connections, as coded locations. In addition, the FBI never identified the person associated with Oswald at several handbill operations in New Orleans, when the two openly circulated pro-Castro literature. These Oswald activities were recorded on the films by Martin, Doyle, WVL, and WDSU-TV.<sup>142</sup> The FBI privately examined all of the films but managed, for some inexplicable reason, to excise, blur, and modify those portions that showed Oswald's associate.<sup>143</sup> Finally, the FBI never identified the "other" person's fingerprint, only Oswald's, on the handbill or flyer they passed around on the Dumaine Wharf.<sup>144</sup> Obviously the entire tale remains to be told, but we believe that Oswald's New Orleans adventures will provide keys to future doors. For that reason, we have supplied a map that identifies some of Oswald's known locations in New Orleans during the four months prior to his fatal move to Dallas.

While much of this account remains circumstantial, coincidental, and covert, there are also some substantial links between Oswald and the CIA still overlooked in the latest official study by the HSCA. The ex-Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach testified before the HSCA, with regard to political assassinations generally, that "whenever they [CIA] wanted a book suppressed they came to me and I told them not to do it."<sup>145</sup> Tenuous as this undoubtedly is, it at least suggests a CIA working-interest, an exerted control in the unfolding tragedy of U.S. political assassinations that began anew in 1963. Their desire to control aspects of such stories within domestic news media and publishing houses at that time is now so well exposed as to require no further comment. With specific reference to the case against Oswald, the former CIA Director Allen Dulles, a Warren Commission member, secretly met with the CIA officials to help them prepare for the commission's questions and to suggest to them how they could limit responses



concerning Oswald.<sup>146</sup> The CIA also withheld crucial photographic intelligence from the commission in 1964, after secretly obtaining a print of the Zapruder film and submitting it quietly to the National Photographic Interpretation Center for technical analysis. That study found that shots occurred at times which excluded Oswald as a lone assassin.<sup>147</sup> None of this critical information ever came before the Warren Commission but although it surfaced in the Rockefeller Commission's investigation of the CIA, reported in 1975, the point conveniently sank without trace and remained submerged for the HSCA's study.<sup>148</sup>

We remain painfully aware of the ignorance that still surrounds this murder case. We reluctantly must assert, after a careful study of the HSCA's *Final Report*, that this most recent official version does not satisfy the need for a thorough inquiry into *what* happened that day in Dallas. It does, however, mark a major erosion in this case among federal agencies. Perhaps in time the HSCA's halting endorsement of a probable conspiracy will be seen as excessive scrupulosity rather than political timidity. Their *Report* takes a first official step away from the Warren *Report*, and we hope that the next step will be into the context of the case, to explain how every major institution, except for the federal judiciary, has failed to meet its subsequent obligation to the American public in this case.

While the media became mainly docile mouthpieces for officialdom, our legislative and executive branches were showing themselves manifestly unable to investigate themselves, much less the killing of a president. Only our federal law courts, with their adversary procedure and the Freedom of Information Act, have permitted the citizenry to break through deliberate clouds of official obfuscation. No one dares gainsay the special role that their decisions have played, in most cases, for the freeing of this murder mystery from bureaucratic bondage. Future scholars will owe their first debt to the access to the evidence that federal judges and private litigants have forced.

We are confident that more affirmative answers will some day emerge to the questions of what happened and who did it. Only the full primary evidence, once it emerges into the light of day, will provide a systematic map for the road back from Dallas. When that happens, the United States can again realize the meaning in its motto on the reverse side of its Great Seal: *Annuit Coepit*.<sup>149</sup>

## NOTES

1. See [102, 684].
2. See [85], p. 1.
3. See [79, 80], and especially [80], p. 329, "The Warren Commission conducted a thorough and professional investigation into the responsibility of Lee Harvey Oswald for the assassination."

4. William R. Corson, *The Arnie's of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire* (New York: Dial, 1977).

5. See [2].
6. See [91].
7. See [85], p. 23.
8. See [531], p. 358.
9. See [745, 877].
10. Who will investigate the investigators?
11. See *The New York Times* [3392].
12. See [110], p. 234.
13. See [571] and the Dallas documents reproduced in [109], pp. 13, 141-65.
14. See [110], p. 236, and also in [973], pp. 486-87.
15. See [109], pp. 131-32, where the faked pages are photographically reproduced, and [110], pp. 109-10.
16. See [684], p. 18.
17. The Warren Commission's nine months and fifteen million dollar budget produced 300 cubic feet of paper, now in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. Secondary writers such as David Belin [699], Priscilla Johnson McMillan [2423], Jim Bishop [2160], and Alfred Newman [726] do not stray from official explanations because they rely entirely and credulously on Warren Commission evidence.
18. For example, beyond Warren Commission evidence, 500 cubic feet of FBI files are relevant, especially from its Dallas and New Orleans offices, along with hundreds of cubic feet each from other official agencies, private investigators, FOIA litigants, and state or local records.
19. See [389, 719, 882-84].
20. See [684], p. 423.
21. See [80], pp. 104-9; [735], pp. 333-39.
22. See [880], where Thompson posits three: Congressmen Samuel Devine and Robert Edgar of the HSCA raised this possibility in their separate views [80], p. 651.
23. See the Thomas Vallee file in CD 149, especially the 10 December 1964 report; the Joseph Adams Milreer documents, NA, are partially reproduced in Weisberg, *Frame Up* (New York: Outbridge & Dienstfrey, 1971), pp. 468-88.
24. See the letter of 23 July 1964 from J. Lee Rankin, General Counsel W.C. 'CD No. 1286, which in part states: "Regarding your request concerning the John Birch Society and 'Minutemen,' this is to advise this Bureau did not conduct any investigation of those organizations or its members in the State of Texas during 1963." This is disingenuous, to say the least, because the FBI had many research reports on file for John Birch Society members and Minutemen members threatening the life of Kennedy; for example, file 1107, pp. 105-56 and file CR 301, p. 315.
25. See [699].
26. See [2160].
27. See [2026].
28. See [418].
29. See [936-92].
30. See [1081].
31. See the background to Lattimer's articles as well as additional critique in [973], pp. 386-402, and [993, 999].
32. See [382].
33. See Robert E. Thompson, *The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald* (New York: Ace Books, 1977).
34. Interview with Harold Weisberg, June 1978, based on his extensive interviews and documentary research.

35. See [2194].
36. See [2220].
37. See [2157].
38. See [1725]. Columnist Jack Anderson praised the volume for its objectivity and insights *[sic]* and wrote a blurb for the introduction.
39. See [2628].
40. See [2636].
41. See [1723].
42. See [2218].
43. See [1890].
44. See [1488, 1490, 1496, 3498].
45. See [2168]. The HSCA's treatment of this book from several scientific perspectives is sound; see [79], vol. 8.
46. See [381]: 18 H 162, 26 H 32.
47. See [1774].
48. See [1780].
49. See [1717].
50. See [2202].
51. See [2480].
52. See [307].
53. See [1781].
54. See [80], p. 222.
55. See [703].
56. See [719].
57. See [2485] and Garry Willis, "A Word for the Warren Commission," *The Washington Star*, 1 May 1975, p. A-5.
58. See [1894].
59. See [1899].
60. See [1732].
61. See [2182-83].
62. See [2188].
63. See [727].
64. See [688-95] and *The New York Times* [3739-94].
65. See [1539].
66. See [2026].
67. See [2188]: copy of original manuscript in Harold Weisberg "McDonald" files; see [30].
68. See [2203]. An example of his factual errors is his reference on page 35 to the original and final autopsy reports. Actually there were not two but five different versions; see [973].
69. See [719].
70. See [1915, 1931, 1800].
71. Interviews with student leaders, Madison, Wisconsin, by David R. Wrone.
72. See [1800].
73. Merrill Perlman, *The Southern Illinoisian*, "Lane . . .," January 1976, is representative of many reports of his campus speeches. Lane said: "Oswald and Jack Ruby, the man who killed Oswald, were both FBI agents."
74. See [718]. See "Television Hired Film Agreement No. HF 9981," 23 November 1966, BBC, correspondence in [23], *The New York Times* [4102]. Another example of the numerous errors is found in footnote 19, page 14. The footnote reads: "See index to Basic Source Materials in possession of Commission, National Archives." This is false. The greatest single impediment to JFK research in the National Archives is the total lack of any index. The cited material actually appears in facsimile reproduction in [532], p. 39, which obviates the use of a finding note.

75. See [23] and the folders on the film contained there.
76. See [2607].
77. See [1899]. Interviews with Bernard Fensterwald, Jim Garrison and Harold Weisberg was in Garrison's office the day Lamarre first called on the district attorney.
78. *The New York Post*, 8 December 1977.
79. See [421].
80. See [2].
81. A basic article is: Bob Katz, "Mark Lane: The Left's Leading Hearse-Chaser," *Mother Jones* 4 (August 1979): 22-32.
82. See [2172]: several critics have received copies of untitled typewritten and letters that appear to have intelligence origins; see [1776], interviews with critics, including one who views the film version and spoke with the person called Lamarre at SDECE offices in Paris, conducted by David R. Wrone.
83. See [1797, 1895].
84. See [527].
85. See [383].
86. See [728, 729].
87. See [972].
88. See [697].
89. See [722].
90. See [735].
91. See [532, 1075, 736, 1901, 973].
92. See [389].
93. See [110].
94. See [80]: Assistant Public Printer, C. A. Labarre, in letter of 23 October 1979, 1 David R. Wrone, states 12,333 copies were printed; of [79], JFK appendix volumes, the following numbers were printed: 1:5099; 2:5380; 3:5299; 4:5349; 5:5808; 6:5513; 7:5411; 8:5435; 9:5210; 10:5692; 11:5340; 12:5262.
95. *The Washington Post*, 19 July 1979.
96. See [70, 71] and the interview with Congressman Richardson Preyer, chairman of the subcommittee on the assassination of John F. Kennedy, appearing in *The New York Times* [5062].
97. In Penn Jones, Jr., *The Continuing Inquiry* [308], 22 August 1977, Mack summarizes his study of Ferrell's original discovery. The HSCA hired the prestigious scientific testing firm of Bolt, Beranek & Newman to analyze the audio tape. This firm reported that their study of the tape proved inconclusive. In March 1978 the original, badly worn dictabelt plus a good copy of it surfaced in Dallas. The HSCA decided to restrict the location and number of test performed in Dealey Plaza to the north grassy knoll and the Texas School Book Depository On 11 September, Bolt, Beranek & Newman reported a fifty-fifty chance of a grassy knoll gunshot. On 28 December, Mark Weiss and Ernest Aschenkasy, acoustic experts using more refined techniques, appeared before the HSCA and demonstrated a 95 percent probability for the north grassy knoll gunshot. But they had not been permitted to perform their test at locations on Dealey Plaza other than with respect to the north grassy knoll. A majority of the HSCA accepted their findings and ignored the implications of the unfinished task.
98. Interview with Robert Groden, by David R. Wrone.
99. See CE 1974, 23 H 832-940, with no reference to other versions.
100. There were three different versions of the tapes introduced into evidence: CE 1974 23 H 832-940; Sawyer Exhibits A and B, 21 H 388-400; CE 705, 17 H 361-494.
101. See [80], p. 329.
102. See [80], p. 32.
103. J. J. Humes, CERTIFICATE, 24 November 1963, to Captain J. H. Slover, WC Records NA, reproduced in [975], p. 525; 17 H 47.

104. Admiral Galloway, Commanding Officer, National Naval Medical Center, to George C. Burkley, White House Physician, Memorandum 25 November 1963, WC Records NA, reproduced in [973], p. 526.
105. Receipt, Robert I. Bouck, Secret Service, 26 November 1963, WC Records NA, reproduced in [973], p. 527.
106. 2 H 373; confirmed by J. J. Humes, CERTIFICATE, 24 November 1963, 17 H 48, and in WC Records NA, holograph approval on certificate by Admiral George Burkley, Physician to the President, reproduced in [973], p. 524. Five versions of the autopsy existed: the burned original; the holograph second with "GGB" initials on the margin in two places in WC Records NA and reproduced in [973]; pp. 509-23; the holograph copy sans initials in WC volumes as CE 397, 17 H 30-44; the holographic alterations of the second draft, CE 397; and the final printed copy which differs slightly, CE 387, 16 H 979-983.
107. See [80], p. 41.
108. See [80], pp. 34-38.
109. See [79], vol. 7.
110. See [110], p. 212.
111. See [973], p. 555.
112. "Kelley" file, Weisberg Archives.
113. See [447].
114. "Whalen" file, Weisberg Archives.
115. See [79], p. 89.
116. See [973], p. 353.
117. 6 H 136, 139, 21 H 203-204; interview of Weisberg with Carrico, [973], pp. 358, 375-76, 118, 3 H 361-362.
119. See [80], p. 49.
120. See [735], pp. 73, 79-84; [332], pp. 38-39.
121. See [389], pp. 151-174.
122. See [389], p. 171; CE 738; Warren *Report*, p. 137.
123. 6 H 376-377.
124. See [389], p. 173.
125. See [735], p. 62.
126. See [801], p. 87.
127. See [735], pp. 97-109.
128. See [80], p. 71.
129. See [165, 168].
130. The WC paid no attention to the curbstone until 7 July 1964; testimony and depositions from eyewitnesses and Tague appear in the 26 volumes, e.g., 21 H 474, 17 H 547, and 15 H 699, and in its *Report*, p. 116. The staff and the FBI took extreme care to obfuscate the *Report*-destroying implications of the evidence. The FBI did not mention the Tague shot in its five-volume report to the commission on 9 December 1963, CD 1 [91].
131. One of the pictures, snapped by professional journalist Tom Dillard on 22 November 1963 appears in Shaneyfelt Exhibit 29, 21 H 479; the patched curb is in the NA available for public viewing.
132. See [168].
133. See the discussion in [389], pp. 184-87. As Roffman notes, p. 276, even the FBI modification removes Oswald from the scene of the crime and demolishes the official findings. "The Warren Commission stated in its Report that it knew of no Book Depository employee who claimed to have seen Oswald between 11:55 and 12:30 on the day of the assassination. This was false, as . . . the FBI report [on Mrs. Arnold] from the commission's files reveals. The [Warren] Report never mentions Mrs. Arnold. . . ."
134. Earl Goltz, *Dallas Morning News*, 26 November 1978.
135. *Ibid.*, DFO 89-43-493.

136. According to Secret Service Agent A. E. Gerrets, 22 H 828.
137. See the photograph of the now demolished building in [1893] and the discussions of the organizations frequenting it in [1901]; see map 4.
138. See [1901] for discussion, particularly at pp. 327-48. Haynes Johnson of *The Washington Star*, a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter with many informants among the Cuban leaders, is the source for the Banister intimacy with the anti-Castro associate, Ferrer; see [1901], pp. 329-30.
139. See [1901], especially pp. 329, 351; Haynes Johnson, *The Washington Star*, 26 February 1967, front page.
140. An illustration of the deception practiced by the FBI is found in WC file 75, folio 683, where FBI Agent Ernest C. Wall, Jr., reported on 25 November 1963:
- GUY BANISTER, Guy Banister Associates, Inc., 531 Lafayette Street, New Orleans, was telephonically contacted on November 25, 1963, and advised that SERGIO ARCACHA SMITH of the Cuban Revolutionary Council, who was the head of that organization in New Orleans, Louisiana, some time ago, had told him on one occasion that he, SMITH, had an office in the building located at 544 Camp Street. Mr. BANISTER stated that he had seen a young Cuban man with SMITH on a number of occasions in the vicinity of 544 Camp Street, but could not recall the name of this young man.
- See [1901], p. 331.
141. The book is found in 16 H 67; the addresses are partially discussed in [1901], p. 79; see map of New Orleans; research in New Orleans by David R. Wrono.
142. Based on files assembled by Weisberg as well as his affidavits submitted in FOIA Civil Action No. 78-420 [181].
143. Tourists who filmed the Canal Street operation informed Harold Weisberg of this, as did persons associated with the filming of the Trade Mart operation. Their interviews, e.g., Patrick Doyle's, are in his files. His research was utilized in his affidavits in Civil Action No. 78-420 [181]. These references, plus the film itself, plus the viewing of the film by journalist Earl Goltz, demonstrate a change was made. For example, the Doyle film was returned with many frames missing and on a different commercial film base than used by Doyle; the edges of the film depicting the associate which appeared originally as clear and distinct are now blurred, and so forth. See [181].
144. Document released to Weisberg as a result of his Privacy Act request. The FBI processing blurred the finding number, but the serial number is NO 100 16601 and the report is dated 10/19/70.
145. See [79], vol. 3, p. 663.
146. CIA Document No. 657-831. See [2]. Reproduced with discussion in [1075], pp. 304-10, 312.
147. See [1075], pp. 295-304, where the few pages of the study released are reproduced. The Warren Commission clearly knew of the National Photographic Interpretation Center and its reputation for excellence, but the commission did not seek their aid. Had it done so, and if the CIA's commissioned project can be trusted, then the single-assassin theory would have suffered serious damage.
148. It never appeared in the report submitted by the Rockefeller Commission [101] but was the subject of a staff inquiry; see [1075], p. 295.
149. He has favored our undertakings: from Virgil, *Aeneid*, 9, 625.