

RUSH TO JUDGMENT

A Conversation with Mark Lane and Emile De Antonio,
Producers of RUSH TO JUDGMENT



Mark Lane, left, and Emile de Antonio in the cutting room at Movielab, New York.

Captions by Emile de Antonio

Seymour Linden gave special assistance to
FILM COMMENT in preparing photographs for
this RUSH TO JUDGMENT section.

Photo Nell Cox

RUSH TO JUDGMENT is:

- A) The first time a film specifically attacks and confronts a major government position: The Warren Commission and its *Report*.
- B) Not only a court-room drama and a detective story but also the first time in which an actor in history becomes an actor in film: Mark Lane.
- C) The first time a film is a plea for the defense: Lee Harvey Oswald.
- D) A film with a precise activist goal. That goal is: by exposing filmically the errors, omissions and distortions of the Warren Commission, to press for the re-opening of the case, with Mark Lane as counsel for Lee Harvey Oswald.

Emile de Antonio, Director, *RUSH TO JUDGMENT*

De Antonio: This is the first time in the history of film, to my knowledge, that a documentary has addressed itself to a frontal attack on a major report by an existing government. This is one of the major importances of the film.

Lane: I have loved and I have served this country, for example, in World War II. But I hate America when it's wrong, as with the Warren *Report*. It's a responsibility of a good American to support America when it's right and to oppose it when it's wrong. As for Kennedy, he endorsed me in 1960 when I ran in New York City for Assemblyman, and because of that I was elected to the State Legislature. As a Reform Democrat, I was an active Kennedy supporter before he was nominated in Los Angeles.

De Antonio: We have a picture that Mark and I both intentionally wanted to be spare, unsparring, didactic. It's a kind of Brechtian cinema, it's the theatre of fact, it's the theatre of argumentation, it's the theatre of judicial investigation, the theatre of attack on the Establishment and government. This is a very hot potato.

We might go to England and have a winner with this picture, and we will go to France and Italy, where we will have winners. But we face distribution problems here. I find this personally disturbing, and Mark does, too, because we are Americans and this is an American experience, an American film, an American issue—this is where *RUSH TO JUDGMENT* belongs. I would like to have the film run simultaneously in Dallas, Washington and New York. Mark and I would be happy to go to Dallas for the opening.

This movie in a sense concerns how Lee Harvey Oswald was executed, and then tried, and without a defense attorney. In a real sense, this film is his defense. And so we are not impartial. A defense attorney does not have to provide a second theory; he simply has to indicate that the facts leveled against his client are not consistent.

Lane: I never felt in any case that I have tried that it was necessary to bring in the real culprit by the scruff of his neck and say here's the man who really did it—now, acquit my client. We don't really know who killed President John F. Kennedy. We all have our own guesses, but they are not in my book and they are not in the film. We leave conjectures and speculations to the Warren Commission. They have pre-empted the field. Our position is merely to present the testimony of the witnesses—those who testified before the Commission and others whom the Commission did not call but who were there with something to see and something to say. When one hears what they have to say, one cannot believe the Warren *Report*.

I do believe that when the time comes for the American people to reject the Warren *Report*—which I hope will be in the near future—then there will be sufficient pressure to say, well, if Oswald was not the lone assassin, possibly not involved at all, as I believe, but certainly not the lone assassin, then who killed Kennedy? This question remains open, and let's find out about that. Let's open up the archives, find out what the government has suppressed, which they say they have suppressed for reasons of relevancy or reasons of

taste. Open up the archives for all to see. They have a picture of the sixth floor window as the shots were fired. The government has that. There are pictures of that window taken by Mary Moorman. They've never been published. The Commission has them, seized them, and kept them. What's in the picture we don't know. If it shows Oswald firing alone that would be on the cover of the Warren *Report*. Obviously, it doesn't show that. And what does it show? Nobody up there? Two people up there? I don't know. But I think there is sufficient dissatisfaction with the Warren *Report*. There is a just demand to find out what the government really has in this case. When they publish those pictures and release the evidence, we'll have some ideas of who killed the President and why he was killed.

De Antonio: We have twenty-eight hours of negative right now, and if we had another \$100,000 we could produce a twenty-four hour film. We could match the Warren *Report*. We could at least produce a typescript document which could be as detailed. But in this kind of production you simply have a terrible time getting money, and we were operating on very little. The money came from extraordinary sources, really—from private individuals and friends of Mark's, and from people in England—Oscar Lewenstein, the producer of TOM JONES and MADEMOISELLE, who is now doing a film with Truffaut. And John Osborne and John Arden, the playwrights. And Tony Richardson, the director. And some well-to-do young people in England.

It's a very low-budget picture,

about \$60,000. One reason it's low-budget is that, like everything that Mark and I have been involved in recently, we don't pay ourselves. We have a theoretical salary of \$120 a week, but it's pure theory. We've been having a hard time getting the money.

Lane: What we are going to do when we've completed the film is to write a letter to every member of the Warren Commission, send them a print of the film and say—

This is the film we've made, and we will add ten minutes to the film of your answers to any point in the film, each of you, and we'll run that unedited, exactly as you present it to us. And if you'd be willing to do it, we'd be happy to come and film you.

De Antonio: We uncovered whole worlds down there in Dallas that the Warren Commission with its vast apparatus missed. It had access, after all, to the whole majesty and power of the federal government.

We uncovered people in the underworld there who had connections, who knew about Ruby and Tippit and who testified on film. We had to go out and dig stuff.

In the beginning we weren't even sure that we could shoot down there in Dallas. So we aimed at stock footage, plus whatever shooting we could get. But our shooting in Dallas was so successful, and we acquired such massive material, that I would say now that the picture is 80% original material and 20% stock footage. It's black and white, 16mm, and will be blown up to 35mm.

When I say we had a West Coast crew, don't misunderstand—it wasn't a Hollywood crew. They were young people who had done commercials—a company called Cosmopolitan Films, but operating as individuals. With Mark and myself and an assistant, it was essentially a six-man crew.

One approach we used was that most people think all this belongs to history. The *Report* came out in September 1964. We said—*Well, it's history now. It's no longer controversial.* The lack of money—it turned out to be a break for us. If we had gone down there a year ago we simply wouldn't have got-

ten it. But because enough time had gone by . . . I think that this is the earliest that anybody could have done this in depth, frankly.

Lane: I'd been to Dallas before. I saw some people—but I never filmed an interview in Dallas before De and I went there. We had many members of our citizens committee—amateur investigators who had gone to Dallas and had interviewed people we subsequently saw. But by then I was so well known in reference to this matter—in Dallas anyway—that it seemed fruitless to approach witnesses who would know who I was. I had two telephone tape-recorded interviews with two important witnesses, and that material appeared in the book. Most of the witnesses were reluctant to talk.

The first two times I went to Dallas quietly to talk to people. The third time I went there, I chose American Airlines, and when I arrived in Dallas someone boarded the plane and said—"Mr. Lane, would you mind being the last passenger to leave? There is a press conference being held for you." Of course, I was hoping rather quietly

to talk to witnesses. I said—"How would anyone know that I am here?" "American Airlines . . ." he said this very proudly ". . . has a celebrity service and we've notified them all." That was the last time I went by American Airlines. There was a press conference—there were a couple of TV stations and reporters that destroyed any work that I could have done.

This time we drove to Dallas—not to avoid publicity but primarily because our budget was so low. We drove rather quickly, thirty-two hours. We never stopped. In Dallas we went to the Tower Motel. I registered in the name of Robert Blake. I talked to Domingo Benavides, who was the witness of the Tippit killing, who probably called the Dallas police—the two homicide fellows told De that Benavides had called. The Police were interested obviously in De and Robert Blake. I don't think they knew that I was Mark Lane at that time. The next night we checked out of that motel on the advice of Penn Jones, editor of the *Midlothian Mirror*, a newspaper in the little town twenty-five miles outside of Dallas, probably the most consistent on-the-spot in-

vestigator who has great doubts about the Warren *Report*. He said—"You just have to be insane to remain in Dallas. I'll find a motel for you outside, and you'll get into Dallas in twenty minutes anyway, and you're outside of the jurisdiction of the Dallas police." He did find a very nice motel for us in Arlington, nineteen miles outside of Dallas, and we moved there the next night. If the Dallas police had wanted to talk to us, they would not have had the jurisdiction. But they never did bother us again. We remained in Arlington until we left, and all contacts, all phone calls were always made either by De or by Robert Blake. We never told any of the witnesses who I was. It was merely a question of doing a documentary film on the assassination.

De Antonio: People respond to film more than they do to ordinary types of interrogation. You'd think that they'd resist the idea of invading their houses, but in fact . . .

Actually, in making the film, we uncovered witnesses who weren't available to Mark in writing the book, or witnesses who the Warren Commission had said did not exist, as in the case of one of the witnesses of the Tippit killing, a woman called Acquilla Clemons. The Warren Commission said this woman does not exist—and we have her on film telling exactly what she saw.

Lane: Her testimony was very uncomfortable for the Commission because it would indicate that two people were involved in killing Officer Tippit. The one who actually had the pistol in his hand was short and heavy and had bushy hair. Oswald, of course, was medium height, almost painfully thin, and had thin hair which was receding. And she said that this man—the short man with somewhat bushy hair—was the one who had the pistol in his hand just after the shots were fired, and he waved to another man who ran in a different direction from that in which the gunman ran. The Commission stated that one man did it, Oswald did it. Her testimony would have been extremely inconvenient for that conclusion. So the Commission concluded that she didn't exist. But as De said, she's on film.

De Antonio: We filmed in Dallas about a month. We kept very much undercover except when we actually had to go to a person. The witnesses

had been intimidated. One of the main witnesses to the actual assassination—I don't know if we should put this in print because of her—

Lane: It's in my book so—

De Antonio: All right, Mrs. Jean Hill, a school teacher in Dallas. A friend of hers was probably as close to the Presidential car as anybody. Her friend, Mary Moorman, was actually taking a still photo at the precise time the President was shot, and she angled in such a way that the Book Depository Building was in the rear of the photo. The FBI seized that photo on the site and never returned it to her. Now, Jean Hill maintains an absolutely different story than the Commission's version, and yet when we went to see her it was like some bad mystery story. A kid answered the door and said—"My mother doesn't want to talk to you—she's asleep." And we said—"Okay, thank you very much, tell your mother." And we started off and suddenly she came to the door and said—"Okay, I'll talk with you." So we sat down and talked to her for a hell of a long time. And she said—"I'm a liberal," the only liberal we talked to down there. But she said—"The principal of my school said the next time I am in the papers or anything is written about me, my job is finished." So we can understand why she was leery to do it. Her testimony before the Commission was completely contrary to the Commission's conclusion in two respects—number one, the shots came from behind the fence, she said there was no question about that.

And number two, there were at least four or five shots. The Commission said there were only three because with the antiquated rifle they said they found on the sixth floor of the Book Depository Building, tested by the FBI, only three shots could be fired in the period of time which elapsed. Here was a witness right close to the President who said that the shots came from behind the wooden fence, *not* from the Book Depository, and that there were at least four shots, maybe as many as five or six. She said—"I told the truth for two years. This country doesn't want to hear the truth. I know the Warren *Report* is a lie, but I've two small children to support. I'm a public school teacher in Dallas, and I just can't do any more."

Lane: She said—"You know, Mark Lane called me." I was then Robert Blake in this interview. I had called her very early when I heard of her name. This was one of the tape-recorded interviews I conducted by phone. "After Mark Lane called me the FBI was here all the time, practically lived in my house. I could not get rid of them, and so I can't do it any more. It's just that simple, I don't want to be involved any more."

De Antonio: A lot of these people have extraordinary guts. They knew what they were doing. They were being filmed by us, and we were very clear about what we were doing—we were not hoodwinking anybody. They did it, having been told by the FBI or the local police, or by relatives, or by a combination

of all of these, not to go into this.

We thought about how it was possible to spend a month in Dallas without great trouble, and my conclusion is that anything they did to try to stop us would be helpful. Publicity would be helpful, and killing us was out—that would be almost an admission of guilt.

Penn Jones of the *Midlothian Mirror*—somebody threw a fire bomb into his office and blew it up. He's promised a long series of articles about the Warren Commission. He raises the point that a number of people have died who were connected in a major way or peripherally to the events around the assassination.

After the police visited me in Dallas, one of the crew from San Francisco wanted to go home. He was sure there'd be trouble. Every day the crew waited for me to open the door of the car, and I'm not kidding. They were waiting for me to turn the key in the car. I like to drive, and they were very careful to hang back.

Lane: We had to get this other witness, Williams, back to where he lived in the Negro community in Dallas. We were in Arlington. And we called upon our assistant cameraman, a very strong. . . .

De Antonio: I played basketball with him the day before, and he slaughtered me.

Lane: The assistant cameraman said—"I am afraid to go. I won't be seen with this man." Our assistant producer, whatever he's called, said—"No, I won't go. My wife is here and she's from Denmark, and



Mrs. Aquilla Clemons, witness to Tippit slaying. The Commission claimed she didn't exist. In our film, she said she saw two men at Tippit slaying.



Penn Jones, Jr., editor/publisher of *The Midlothian Mirror*, published a book attacking the Commission. His newspaper was bombed and Jones threatened. He is an expert on what happens to witnesses.

she doesn't know about problems like this in America." I said to her—"Would you drive him back?" And she said—"Sure" She drove him to Dallas and that really did create a problem, because she's blond and they had to stop for gas and she was riding alongside this Negro and people stared in a threatening fashion.

I have been in Dallas seven times. No one ever shot at me. I don't think anyone ever will, frankly, no matter what I do in Dallas. I think no one will ever arrest me. The administration in Dallas has already taken a position that the worst thing would be for anything to happen to me while I am down there. But I feel safer in Dallas than I do in New York. I feel still safer in London or in Copenhagen. But I think that De and I certainly both underplay any terror or problems which might befall us in Dallas. **De Antonio:** I talked to General Walker five times. In fact, one of the people we filmed is the man called Warren Reynolds who was, I think, a right-wing sympathizer, an extraordinary person. His story didn't quite jibe with the Commission's and with that of the Dallas police.

Lane: He was in court because he saw a man leave the scene of the Tippit killing, saw him at rather close range. He did not identify that man as Oswald.

De Antonio: He does now.

Lane: Yes, he does, but earlier he had told the FBI that he could not say it was Oswald and he doubted it was Oswald.

De Antonio: The Commission assumed on rather flimsy evidence that it was Oswald who made the attempt on General Walker's life. The only actual witness to the event is a young boy who lived next to Walker who saw two people, neither one of them was Oswald. General Walker said that he didn't believe that it was Oswald who did the shooting.

Lane: He did it beautifully—Walker used the language you would have expected Warren to have used, and the Commission used the language you might have expected someone like Walker to have used. The Commission said that although there's no evidence, in essence, we conclude that Oswald shot at Walker. Walker said—"I be-

lieve in the presumption of innocence, I believe that it's a cornerstone to American criminal jurisprudence, and I have no evidence to show that Oswald shot at me."

Walker said that he was sure that Oswald was the assassin and that Kennedy was part of an international Communist conspiracy. But he said—"As far as I can see, in reference to the attack on me, there is nothing to show that Oswald shot at me, and so I must rest upon the basic American presumption that a man is innocent unless proven guilty, and so I presume that he didn't do it." But the Commission took the position that an extremist would take.

But Warren Reynolds told the FBI that the man that he saw flee from the scene did not meet Oswald's description. Sometime thereafter, Reynolds was shot through the head, was on the critical list for a long time—the bullet went into his temple and came out his jaw, and he finally testified before the Commission. He said he had his house ringed with lights, he was given a big dog, and said he was living in absolute terror. He then went before the Commission and said—"Well, yes, I believe it was Oswald I saw flee from the scene." At that point the Commission reported merely that at first Reynolds did not believe it was Oswald but upon reflection he believed it was Oswald, leaving out the fact of the attack upon his life, that fact that he was in the hospital, etc.

We found one witness, a Negro active in the Negro Community Free Movement in Dallas, who was arrested by Officer Tippit because he was the chef in an after-hours place where there were white and Negro girls.

De Antonio: Of course, he provided the girls. And when this fellow was arrested, he sat in the front of the car driving into the jail with Officer Tippit, and to his right, sitting with him, going along for a joy ride, was Jack Ruby. And the Commission's entire investigation called upon the FBI, CIA, and the Secret Service and they could show no relationship between Ruby and Tippit. Yet here was a guy who told us on film that he saw Ruby and Tippit together, and they were close and friendly.

And then we had another witness,

Tague, the only other person indeed who was wounded on November 22nd. Kennedy was killed, Connolly was wounded, and a bullet hit the concrete and sprayed up and caused blood to flow from the face of an observer, Tague. This is very embarrassing to the three shots theory. **Lane:** It was an absolute miss. Either fragments of the concrete or the fragments of the bullet struck him to the face and caused him to go to the hospital. He reported this to a Deputy Sheriff Walters right on the scene.

Interestingly enough, the Commission had it examined in August—this section of the curb. It remained in Dallas from November 22nd to August 1964, the following year, when it was then taken to the FBI laboratory. They said that while it looked like a bullet-hole, it was missing copper and zinc. Now—because the Commission concluded that Oswald was a lone assassin, plus the fact that there was no copper in this bullet-hole, meant that Oswald could not have fired that particular bullet. If Oswald didn't fire it nobody could have fired it, therefore it had no role to play.

Lane: I talked to Ronnie Dugger, the editor of the *Texas Observer*, a weekly liberal paper. He is a very decent guy—in fact he had practically announced his candidacy for the Senate, I think, some months ago, and then some weeks later withdrew. He expressed great interest in all this. In my book I rely upon some of the interviews he conducted on the scene. When I saw him, he played it very much close to the chest. He was writing a whole series of articles, he said, to prove that the *Warren Report* was a fraudulent document. That was a year and a half ago, and the articles never appeared, they just never appeared. So, I don't know what happened, but I just did not call him during my last visit. We had very little time there, and we used it almost exclusively for witnesses. Dugger is a very decent guy, and it's a very tough state to live in for a liberal, of course, and I am sure he's had his problems there.

We thought we'd finished with every witness when we had this police officer, this Negro named Napoleon Daniels. Daniels had seen Jack Ruby enter the police building basement, walk right past the police

officer beside a sign to keep people out. Daniels said—"The police officer must have seen me look right at him, and Ruby had his hand in his pocket. I thought he had a gun there quite frankly, then he went down and he shot Oswald." De Antonio: It's rather consistent among people who knew Ruby that Ruby knew hundreds of police officers. And the Commission accommodated itself to Chief Curry's guess that it was twenty-five to fifty—they accepted that statement

although the FBI questioned perhaps 25% of the Dallas police officers in reference to other matters, who said—"Yes, I know Jack Ruby, I've known him for years." The Commission published in its twenty-six volumes the statements of seventy-six Dallas police officers who said that they knew Ruby well—seventy-six—yet the Commission itself said that Ruby knew no more than twenty-five to fifty, like paying no attention to the FBI report that had been submitted to

them. And so the terrible thing I think is the way the Commission functioned, seeking to fasten itself upon a theory.

We had one witness, the woman Mark interviewed in Maine when we were all up there. She was a stripper who worked with Ruby and was now married to somebody up there. Actually, she was not a stripper at that time but the manager at Ruby's Carousel Club, and she really gave me an extraordinary story somewhat at odds with the one



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Rush to Judgment, has been extremely valuable to me. It played a large part in convincing me to begin the investigation of the conspiracy which led to the assassination of President Kennedy.

All America is indebted to Mark Lane. He held the door open until the rest of us decided to examine the Warren Commission Report critically.

JIM GARRISON

**THE FILM RUSH TO JUDGMENT
NOW AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC.**

A film by Emile de Antonio and Mark Lane

Impact Films, Inc., 144 Bleecker St., New York, headed by film maker Lionel Rogosin, distributes RUSH TO JUDGMENT. This is the advertisement used in New York City newspapers in announcing the opening of the film.

she gave the Commission.

And then we also interviewed Delgado, Oswald's friend in the Marine Corps. If you read the *Report* about Delgado, it says, "off the record," and he put it back on the record as far as we're concerned. He gave us on film what he said he told the Commission off the record. The reason we got all this was due to Mark's research. No one had ever gone through this with such thoroughness. Most people who worked on this thing don't even know who the hell these witnesses are. This includes the books which share our point of view.

Let's face it, even the books that share our point of view were not done properly. If you mention the name of Nancy Perrin Rich to the average person who regards himself as a specialist in this field it would be meaningless, and yet Perrin was hired by Ruby the day she arrived in Dallas because the Dallas police took her there and said give this girl a job.

Lane: You're not allowed to serve liquor anywhere in Dallas. You can buy liquor and bring it to the restaurant, but you can't buy a mixed drink because they don't believe in anything in moderation. Obviously. But she served free liquor illegally to the Dallas police upon the order of Jack Ruby. Henry Wade, the Dallas District Attorney who was going to prosecute Oswald but who instead prosecuted Ruby, was in the club, according to her, and also had free liquor there. Everybody from the Dallas leadership was there.

The Commission said that Ruby knew only twenty-five to fifty Dallas police officers, based upon the estimate of the Chief of the Dallas police force, who is hardly someone whose opinion one should accept. So the Commission took this guess, escalated it into a certainty and said Ruby did not know more than twenty-five to fifty. But we have Nancy Perrin saying that Ruby knew half of the Dallas police force well.

I said—"Well, you know, there are about 1,200 police officers," and she said—"Yes, that's right, about 600."

We have Joe Johnson—who was Ruby's band-leader for seven years at the Vegas, his other club. We interviewed him and he laughed about it and said—"Oh, Jack's a

fine guy, I like him very much." I said—"How many police officers did he know?" and he said—"Oh, they're here all the time, always came in and Ruby treated them royally. Oh, I'd say he knew at least half of the police force." I said—"Well, Mr. Johnson, you know there are about 1,200 police officers here?" and he said—"That's right, I'd say about 600 or 700."

De Antonio: About the errors of the Warren Commission—the FBI, the Secret Service and the Dallas Police were the only groups to supply facts to it, as the Commission had no fact-finding body by itself. It had seven lawyers and some advisers but the basic material fed to the Commission was incestuous. It came from the very agencies who might come under attack, where as an impartial body wouldn't. If there was no conspiracy, if Lee Oswald alone killed the President of the United States, then goddammit at least the FBI was negligent, because the FBI had Oswald on its list as potentially dangerous.

Lane: After I testified before the Warren Commission I called Henry Gonzalez, a liberal congressman from Texas, and he said—"Oh yes, come up and see me."

He was just great. We talked for four hours. He said "I don't believe a word about what the government says about this case. I flew down on the same plane with President Kennedy and I said to him—'President Kennedy, don't go to Dallas. Please. I ran for state-wide office a little while ago and I had to go through Dallas and I was almost killed myself down there. It's dangerous. I'd be afraid to ride in the same car with you.'" And he said the President turned and said "Henry, the Secret Service told me that they had taken care of everything—there's nothing to worry about." Gonzalez said—"I was in the motorcade a few cars away, and after the assassination I came back to Washington. I was so upset I just couldn't sleep that night, and I dictated into my machine that night, five hours, all the doubts and questions I had. I asked my secretary to type it up, and you know, it's all *disappeared*. I don't know what happened to it." And then about a week later his car was broken into and the film he took that day was stolen and he said—"I'm really terribly disturbed, I don't under-

stand the whole thing."

We have no conclusion, and I have no conclusion in my book, and the film has none except that we present what the witnesses told the Warren Commission, what they saw, and what they said they saw. We show how the Commission has ignored that which the witnesses told them if it did not conform to the Commission's preconceived conclusions that Oswald did it and did it alone from the sixth floor Book Depository Building. Of if they did not ignore it, they distorted it.

Let me give you one example. There's a man, Lee Bowers, who died in August 1966, whose testimony I read two years ago when the twenty-six volumes were released. He was in a railway tower behind a wooden fence—the fence was just to the right of the Presidential limousine when the third shot was fired. There's a great wealth of testimony from most of those on the railroad overpass just above the President's car, a little bit in front of it, that when that shot was fired it came from behind that wooden fence. Not from the Book Depository Building, but from behind the wooden fence just to the right of the President's limousine. They heard the sound come from there, they looked there, and they saw a puff of smoke come from over the wooden fence.

Lee Bowers was the railroad employee who ran the tower, which was set perhaps seventy-five yards behind the wooden fence. He had a view of the fence and he testified that—"At the time the shots were fired something attracted my attention to that fence, something that . . ." and then there's a dash in the record, and the Counsel for the Commission then asked a question about another matter entirely and never permitted him to tell what it was that attracted his attention to that wooden fence. And for two years I've been wondering what the rest of that sentence would have been. When we went to Dallas we found Mr. Bowers, who was an extremely articulate gentleman with a great sense of humor, who has no vested interest at all regarding one thing or another that happened November 22nd, and he strikes me as being a perfectly honest and credible witness. I told him that it seemed to me that he was interrupted at that point, and he said to

me—"Yes, I was interrupted by the Commission Counsel. They had invited me to come there and answer whatever questions they wanted, and I assumed they didn't want that answer to that particular question, and so they interrupted me and so I couldn't persist, of course." I asked Bowers—"What would you have said?" and he replied—"Well, I would have told them that something attracted my attention to that fence at that time the shot was fired—a flash, a flame, a puff of smoke, something like that—and that's why I centered my attention on the fence."

De Antonio: You know the clichés about Texans. There was S. M. Holland, a lean, taciturn type. He seemed such a decent citizen, a beautiful man. He said—"I love this country. If we can't tell the truth here, let's give it back to the Indians."

Lane: Holland was a railroad employee who had worked in that area for some forty-one years—in fact, he was a deputy sheriff under Sheriff Bill Decker for some seventeen years. He was a great witness, he'll be great in the film—a Gary Cooper type Texan, kind of tall, slim, lines in his face, and he wears a Texas hat, a very attractive witness. He was the employee chosen by the Dallas police that day to be on the overpass and to see that no one other than railroad employees got on the overpass. The overpass is maybe sixty yards from the fence—the fence is to the left of those who are on the overpass as they look at the Presidential car approaching. Holland said this is what he told the Commission—"I heard the shots, I looked up, I saw the puff of smoke coming off of that wooden fence, and I ran behind the fence—" The Commission Counsel cut him off, never allowed him to develop the matter further as to how long it took him to get there, etc. The Commission Report used his testimony in this fashion: they said that there could have been no shots fired from anywhere other than the Book Depository Building, in fact, the testimony of S. M. Holland provides proof for this because immediately after the shots were fired Holland ran behind the wooden fence and saw no one there; obviously, therefore, no one could have fired from there.

We read this portion of the Warren Commission Report to Holland—the only place his name appears in the Report—and it is quite plain that his testimony is used as proof of the fact that no shots came from behind the fence. And he said—"Well, that's impossible, the whole force of my testimony is that shots came from behind the fence. I know there were shots from behind the fence. I heard them, I looked up, I saw smoke come from behind the fence. I know that at least one shot came from back there, but it took me about two minutes to get behind the fence because of the sea of cars that were parked there. Most of them were Dallas deputy sheriff cars parked in that area illegally, and I had to climb over hoods, around cars, under cars, and by the time I got there whoever had done the firing had left. It was the easiest thing in the world for him to just walk to his left around the fence and mingle with the crowd, or jump in the trunk of one of the cars parked there." The Dallas police or the FBI never looked into the trunks of the cars.

Here we have a witness, Holland, whose whole statement would indicate that the shots came from behind the fence but whose partial and distorted statement was used by the Commission to show that no shots could have come from there. And that's basically what the film does—it takes the Commission's evaluation of the witnesses' statements, and contrasts them with what the witnesses themselves said to us. In some cases we were fortunate enough to have witnesses who would read the Warren Report and comment on it and say—"Well, it's completely contrary."

There is no shortage of photographs of the sixth floor of the Book Depository Building. In fact, here's a story. We were there behind the wooden fence after we interviewed Holland. He said he liked us very much, and he would do anything he could to help us. He was on the overpass and showed us exactly the various areas where he heard shots and saw the smoke. He led us behind the wooden fence, and all this on film. As I've said, this area is used illegally by the Dallas Sheriff's Department for parking the vehicles of the individual deputy sheriffs, instead of paying a quarter



Warren Reynolds, Jr., saw a man escaping from Tippit slaying. Reynolds is a right-winger and friend of General Walker. He refused to identify man running as Oswald. He was later shot through the head and survived only because he was wearing horn rim glasses. After he was shot, he identified running man as Oswald.



Nancy Perrin Rich Hamilton, former waitress at Ruby club, the Carousel, testified that Ruby gave Dallas Police free drinks, that he knew over 600 Dallas policemen. Chief Curry testified Ruby knew under fifty.



Lee Bowers, Jr., occupied a unique position in the railroad tower overlooking the assassination site. He was killed in an accident three months after being interviewed by Mark Lane and Emile de Antonio.

in the municipal parking lot where they are supposed to park. One of these sheriffs came up to us in a ten-gallon hat, a tall fellow with a gun in his holster, and he walked over and said—"What are you filming back here for? I've seen 50 or 100 cameramen in this area, but they are all taking pictures of the sixth floor Book Depository Building—the window is there. What are you back here for?" And I was thinking of some lies to tell him about the sun glare on the window or something, but Holland said—"I'll tell you why—they want the facts. They know the shots came from back here." And the sheriff said—"Well, OK, I see. Would you mind moving your camera so I can get my car out of here?" That's all.

De Antonio: Holland said—"you are the first people who ever asked me all these things, including the Warren Commission. There were five people who worked for me who were on the overpass with me, Dodd, etc., etc., and the Warren Commission never introduced any of these people." These weren't bankers or anything, but they were ordinary Texas people who had no ax to grind, who weren't for or against any vested interests—the conspiracy theory or the single-guilt theory. The fact that they were omitted, as if they had never lived, is implausible. Mark and I went out to interview this Dodd, the guy with a small ranch—nobody ever talked to this guy.

Lane: I had to exclude them except for Mrs. Clemons. But the Commission Counsel never questioned them, and in many cases, although their names are in the twenty-six volumes later published as the evidence upon which the Commission relied, the Commission never mentioned their names, never mentioned their testimony. Mrs. Clemons was never interviewed by anyone. A police officer came to her house and said—"You'd better not talk about what you saw," and so she said—"I have never talked."

De got a phone call from a Dallas *Times-Herald* reporter who wanted to talk with Mark Lane. He called De in Arlington, two days before we left Texas altogether. De said, playing it rather cool—"He's not here," and this reporter said—"We know that he has been posing as Robert Blake, and we plan to run a story, an expose, saying he's really

Mark Lane." I called the *Times-Herald* back, and I said—"Yes, this is Mark Lane," and he said—"Why are you using the name Robert Blake?" I said—"Well, there are reasons to use a name not your own when you are in Dallas. Earl Warren, when he came down to question Ruby, registered in a hotel under a different name. And secondly, we're asking witnesses for their honest statements. In some cases, we're making small payments for the time that they lose from work, etc., and I don't want them to know what our position is. If they know my name they would certainly know what my position is, and we certainly don't want them to be induced by my record to make a statement to please us, and then later be told that we paid the witnesses to say something. This way witnesses have not the faintest idea of what we want them to say, and we always start out by saying—"Just tell us the facts, what did you see? What did you hear?" That seemed to take the wind out of his sails, and the great expose of the next morning never appeared. We remained two more days, and there never was any story.

De Antonio: When Mark and I arrived in Dallas, at first they weren't going to allow us to do the film. In fact, on the third day two Dallas policemen came to see me, members of the Homicide Squad. I have their names and their phone numbers. Mark had uncovered a great witness, Benavides, and that was their excuse. And since the witness was a Mexican, they kept referring to him as "boy." They said—"I hear you're going to interview this boy." Both very good-looking boys in civilian clothes. I had them identify themselves, and they produced both identification and a calling card—it said Dallas Homicide Squad. They said—"We're just protecting Benavides. You know, he was worried that there might be fraud," and I said—"Well, if you're worried about fraud why are you here?—you're the homicide squad." And they said—"Anything that has to do with the murder of Tippit has to do with us." And then Benavides disappeared—well, he disappeared as far as we were concerned. We were never able to film him. He was one of the few people we lost.

Lane: There was absolutely *no* ten-

sion at all on the scene of the assassination. We were there three hours. All the tension is where Tippit was killed.

De Antonio: That's right, and this is the key to it, this is the only witness we could not really get, Benavides. Benavides was one of the witnesses to the death of Tippit. He's a Mexican auto-repair worker, just a bystander. He was driving a pick-up truck. He was fifteen feet from the guy who killed Tippit. He was never brought to the police line-up to see Oswald, and the Commission explained that he was never brought there because he told the police that he could not identify the man. That's not a very good explanation, because the purpose of a lineup is to see if you can identify a man. There is no determination made in advance of looking at him.

Lane: When I saw him—my wife and I and one other person went to find him that afternoon, to Lancaster, Texas—I said—"Could you identify the man who killed Tippit?" He said—"Of course, I was ten or fifteen feet away. Of course I could. I told that to the Dallas police but they did not bring me to the lineup." All this is completely contrary to what the Commission said.

De Antonio: And he disappeared.

Lane: He never made a statement for us on film or on tape, because when the Dallas Homicide Squad visited De, they said that they had seen Benavides already. He was then due to see us the next morning. But he never showed up.

De Antonio: If you were to ask me—"What would you do if you had \$100,000?"—my answer would be that we would go back to Dallas and we would break our asses to get Benavides.

And we would also try to get this other thing, which I find the most mysterious part of this whole business, about which I knew very little before. This is what I call the "shadow-Oswald." There is a "shadow-Oswald" mentioned in the *Report* which would be fantastic in film and which in part we have. And part of it we were about to take up with CBS, then they withdrew the stock footage.

It really hinges on three things. There is first the shooting-range incident. A man who looked like Oswald on three different occasions turned up at a newly opened shoot-

ing-range just outside of Dallas; once he put three bullets in at 100 yards; on another occasion he put a bullet right in the center of somebody else's target, drawing attention to himself and mentioning his name. He also had this rifle bore-sighted and a scope put on it by a boy who works there. It turns out this was Oswald, allegedly.

Lane: They said that he was driven here by Fraser. That's the guy who drove Oswald to work.

De Antonio: And the Warren Commission confirmed this. It is mentioned in the *Report*, but mentioned as something which is not accurate, that it was not Oswald. But then the question arises—"Who in the hell was it?"

And there's the incident of a young man around the first of November 1963, who went to the Lincoln-Ford Agency and said—"My name is Lee Oswald. I want to buy a car and if I can't get it I'm going back to the Soviet Union where I can get one." He said—"I'll have a lot of money in two or three weeks but I would like the car now." And then he test-drove the car and obviously drew attention to himself as he drove the car 70 to 100 miles an hour down the Freeway. So the salesman came back frightened and said—"I'm going to quit this job!" The government then proved that Oswald wasn't even around at that particular day. So again we ask—"Who in the hell was it? And why?"

And now there's a third "shadow-Oswald." We'd like to find this lady named Sylvia Odio, who lived in New Orleans and Dallas. Her father is a prominent anti-Castro, democratic-liberal type, who is now in a Cuban jail. She said that when she was living in New Orleans three men came to see her one night. One announced that he was Leon Oswald. The others didn't announce themselves. The Leon Oswald type said—"You know, someone has got to kill Kennedy, because he is supporting Castro." And she also said that he said he was an expert rifleman.

Now the FBI submitted a report in Hoover's name to the Commission on September 20, 1964, just before the *Report* is released on the 24th. The FBI said—"We have interviewed a man called Loran Eugene Hall of California. He said that he and two colleagues, Sey-

mour and Howard, went to see Mrs. Odio in September of 1963 and that very likely she has confused us with Oswald and two others." Hoover stated—"You will note the phonetic resemblance between Loran Eugene Hall and Leon Oswald."

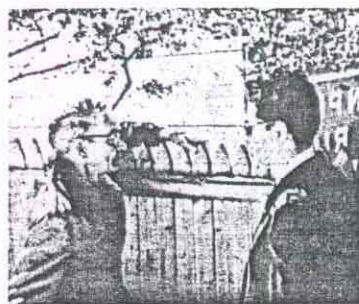
The Commission said—"While the FBI has not yet completed its investigation, we have concluded that Oswald was not in Mrs. Odio's apartment." And that's the way they published the *Report*.

Recently I learned that the FBI had earlier found Hall's two colleagues. Seymour said it was a complete lie, that he had never seen anyone named Mrs. Odio and was never in Dallas during that time. Howard said, "I was never there with Seymour, and I never saw Mrs. Odio." The FBI then went back to Hall, and Hall said, "I made it all up, it wasn't true. I've never seen any Mrs. Odio now that my two friends refresh my recollection."

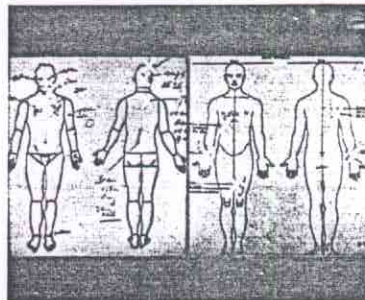
All this was in the hands of the FBI on September 18th, but yet they sent only the *original* Hall report to the Commission on the 20th. So they had all the information—they had Hall's recantation and the denial from the other two—but they just selectively sent the original story. So now the whole thing is out of the window, obviously now those three guys are not the three who saw Mrs. Odio.

Mrs. Odio said something else when she testified. "They had such detail about my father that I knew they must have seen a report or they got it from some governmental source, because they had fantastic tales about this jail in Cuba." The lawyer said—"Well, what did you do about this?" She said, "I wrote to my father, and he wrote back to me saying—I don't know those three men, if they say they are friends of mine they are impostors." Of course, the Commission thought they really scored here because the Counsel said, "You mean to tell us that you can get letters from jail from Cuba today?" She said yes and she takes out the letters and shows them to him.

So we now end up with someone going to see Sylvia Odio in September of 1963, two months before the assassination, saying his name is Leon Oswald. Miss Odio saw a picture of him and said it looked very much like that man, and the Com-



S. M. Holland and Mark Lane behind the picket fence from which Holland and other witnesses believed at least one shot was fired.



Autopsy drawings of wounds to President Kennedy. FBI reconstruction of the assassination.



J. C. Price, engineer with Terminal Annex, auxiliary Post Office in Dealey Plaza. He saw shots come from behind fence. He had a fantastic view from the roof of the building and counted more than three shots.

mission said it couldn't have been Oswald, he was in Mexico at the time. But someone went there using Oswald's name, saying he was a rifleman, saying he was an ex-member of the Marine Corps, and saying that the President should be assassinated. And who was it, if it wasn't Oswald? The minute you say it was not Oswald, it's surely incumbent upon you to ask—who was it? But the Commission just dropped it.

Lane: I don't think Kennedy was killed by Oswald. I don't know who killed him, but what Kennedy stood for prior to his assassination—as compared with where the country has gone since his assassination—is a clue to who killed him.

After the assassination there was a great investment of hope in President Johnson. Nobody wanted to rock the boat. Since then, among thinking people in America, there is the feeling that Johnson is not a great president, that he's responsible for the escalation of the war in Vietnam, that anything can be done to discredit him. This is my personal view of the change in climate in America.

Two months before the assassination Kennedy withdrew 1,000 troops from Vietnam, bringing the forces down to 16,000. And during November 1963, just before the assassination, he brought it down to 15,000. Now we have a half-million troops there. So there is this feeling among thinking people that Johnson is not the President that we wanted to elect.

De Antonio: The *Report* was an anthropological exorcism actually. It allayed and soothed the fears of the American people. It is three years. The Warren *Hearings* is very long, twenty-six volumes, plus the briefer *Report*. There are only 2,500 copies apparently. Who the hell is going to go through those volumes?—even people who are interested? Can you imagine how much work Mark did tracking through twenty-six volumes?

Lane: At least two people were involved in the killing. At least one shot came from the rear and at least one shot came from the right front, indicating at least two people. I see no evidence that either one was Oswald. I think there is evidence that shots were fired from two different areas, but who was involved I don't know. Either

Oswald was involved two months in advance of the assassination, which both I and the Commission doubt, or someone planned to set up Oswald in advance, or both. Maybe Oswald was partially involved—there's that possibility.

De Antonio: We are avoiding all speculation in the film as to what may have happened. Besides, Mark and I do not have unanimity of opinion, for example, about Oswald's role, although our major conclusions are about the same. But the film is not setting up conjectures.

In other words, we have a tension between two points of view—there is the Warren *Report*, and there is our point of view. My reading of direct quotations in context from the Warren *Report* plays off against what Mark says. For example, when the Warren *Report* says that there exists no credible evidence to believe that shots came from anywhere other than the Book Depository Building, I read that line and then—bang! you'll have six witnesses and other material indicating at least some doubt about that. Everywhere it is possible, we make a frontal attack on the Warren conclusion, when it can be done filmically.

I will speak this narration offering the Warren point of view. We were going to get an actor, but on second thought it seems that an actor—in a completely documentary situation—detracts from the atmosphere of facts that we create. Although Mark and I more or less share the same point of view, since it's our film, I will read the other side, off-camera. This does not mean that I adhere to those conclusions. As a matter of fact, I adhere to quite the opposite conclusions.

Appearing visually is material that buttresses and explains the excerpts from the text of the Warren *Report*—a shot of the Book Depository Building, a shot of the fence, a shot of the Presidential cavalcade—sequences put together out of stock footage.

Of the Warren *Report*, we obviously cannot present the entire work, but we present it wherever it impinges on our material—presented in context, in direct quotation. In other words, we don't re-do their lines; we take the lines that are relevant and put them in the film in that form.

We have stock footage of Mark shot by the networks. Never shown, but shot. Back in December 1963 and January 1964. Mark had initial doubts about Oswald's guilt before there was any Commission. Mark was questioning these witnesses throughout. Mark is an attorney, and Mark becomes a vehicle which binds together our entire position.

One thing we did with the Grinberg stock footage film library was to make a deal on a sliding scale—we used twenty minutes of their stock footage for so many thousand dollars; if we use thirty minutes, then so much more, but it's quite a liberal deal.

There is one great stock footage shot we can't get . . . Warren is there surrounded by the august members of the Commission presenting the *Report* to Johnson—I saw it on TV live, it's great—and Johnson takes it and says—"It's very heavy." We can't get this footage. We went to the Grinberg Library, and they said—"You know, there's a lot of footage we can't get anymore." For example, there's a great live TV shot of Johnson pulling up his shirt and saying "See this scar—" CBS said they had destroyed it; NBC said they never had it; I saw it on both these networks on TV at the time. It's disappeared.

In trying to get stock footage here in the U.S., we found that with NBC the answer is always no, and with ABC and CBS the answers were—"We're working on a show of our own." This is a legitimate response really, but we suspected that they weren't really working on a show of their own which could be related in any way to what we were doing. The thing sort of trundled on that way. Mark was in London working on the book and dealing with Bodley Head, the publishers, and I went there to direct a show for the BBC about American urban problems. Mark and I discovered an enormous amount of stock footage in Visnews, an English stock footage house, and at a very low price. So we started acquiring stock footage—as you do in these films with a little bit of money and promises and that kind of thing. We came back here in Christmas of 1965 and found out that suddenly we could get access to the entire Sherman Grinberg Library of ABC, which is not all of

ABC but enough to make a film.

Then CBS opened up, and something happened which I find absolutely shocking, because of my own personal dealings with CBS on POINT OF ORDER. They called Mark and me—the woman I dealt with had dealt with me for POINT OF ORDER—and she said—“De, you know, we did a show in September 1964 called 26 WITNESSES, which dealt with twenty-six witnesses in Dallas, and we have seventy-five hours of outtakes, and if you and Mr. Lane would like to look at them that would be great, they’re for sale. You’ll have to come at night because we’re very busy.” So Mark and I went one night at ten dollars an hour and looked at this stuff, six hours, and we found some fairly incredible material—it’s true, tremendous. We found some of the ghost theory material, the imaginary Oswald material which the Warren Commission later admitted is imaginary. So we were very pleased after six hours of looking, and the next morning I called and said—“Great, we’d like to just keep going” and she said—“Oh, De, I’ve made a terrible mistake. I’ve just been told by the head office that CBS is not allowed to sell this work, and naturally we won’t bill you the sixty dollars for last night.”

Lane: That was kind.

De Antonio: Yes, but it was so extraordinary, because I know this woman very well, and a lot of money passed hands over the years, and I know this was simply untrue. I also know that they are going to destroy the footage because she told me this originally. She said—“I thought I’d offer it to you because we’re going to destroy it anyway, it’s outtakes.” This to me is part of the basic frivolousness of the media because here is the raw material—which they created in a sense, they went and talked to these people, they created it—and they’re simply chucking it down the drain. There is no other record of it, and the people they interviewed are going to die. In fact, cabdriver William W. Whaley died in 1966. He allegedly drove Oswald on November 22, 1963. These people are going to disappear as time goes on, and they’re not going to want to talk again, and this material can never be retrieved. It’s simply material lost to America and to

history and to the world.

Lane: We were there with CBS months before that, and De raised with her in her office the question of this footage and she said she didn’t think it was available. So it was months after that we raised it again, and there must have been some decision-making apparatus at work when they agreed that we could look at it and buy it. After we did see it, the next day it was no longer any good. But it’s hard to believe that she had made an error. She had too many months to get it checked out before that.

De Antonio: For another project, I had to go through an interview to get some Nuremberg footage. I finally got this introduction to Senator Javits, but I had to see a State Department guy, and he introduced another guy who said he was from State. I immediately suspected he was from the CIA. He talked to me for an hour and asked what my opinion was of Vietnam and a lot of things. Of course, this film had nothing to do with Vietnam. He asked me in a roundabout fashion what my political beliefs were. I wanted to make the film like hell so I didn’t lie to him, but I kept it all very cool, and I said precisely what I had felt about all these things. I mean, to lie would have been the end of it. Of course, it was the end of it anyway, because the people who were backing it decided the world didn’t need such a film.

Lane: The outstanding example of the irresponsibility of the media was a story written by Anthony Lewis, now a London correspondent for *The New York Times*, who was then a Washington correspondent or at least the man assigned by the *Times* to write the major story when the twenty-six volumes were released. He appeared in the *Times*, November 24, 1964, but his article was written November 23rd, minutes after the twenty-six volumes were released. Lewis said the twenty-six volumes released today prove conclusively that the Commission was right, that Oswald was the lone assassin, that he was an unhappy man, that he was aided by no one else. Well, to say that the twenty-six volumes “prove” anything indicated that one has at least scanned the twenty-six volumes, but Lewis wrote this article the day that the volumes were released to the



Upper left, Jack Ruby, at the press conference of District Attorney Wade on the day Kennedy was killed. What was Ruby doing there?



Charles F. Brehm, a Ranger during the war who was wounded twice, was thirty feet from the President when he was shot. Brehm testified he saw piece of skull fly off. Direction indicates bullet came from behind wooden fence.



A photograph of a car parked in General Walker’s yard and allegedly found with Oswald’s possessions after his arrest. Marina Oswald testified that when government agents first showed her the picture, the license plate of the car was not cut or burned out of the photograph.

public and to him. It's taken me—as a lawyer for fifteen years reading testimony, and I think that I read at least at an average speed—it's taken me more than two years to go through those volumes. Lewis evidently did it in a few minutes.

This has really been the role of the media, of complete acceptance of the Commission, saying "this is correct" when they could not possibly have any basis for that statement.

De Antonio: The nature of subtle intimidation in the media is also remarkable. In the case of Seth Kantor, whom I called. He is a very important witness, a trained journalist who worked for Scripps-Howard for three years in Dallas, and he's now head Congressional reporter for the chain in Washington. He said two things to the Commission which interested us. He said—"I was in Parkland Memorial Hospital in Dallas shortly after one o'clock. I felt a tug at my sleeve and turned around—there was Jack Ruby. I knew Jack Ruby very well because he'd given me about ten stories since I'd been in Dallas. He'd once given me a story about a suburban housewife who was a stripper and had a snake around her. I wrote it as a feature story. Yes, I knew Jack very well, and he said to me—"Do you think I should close the club for three days since the President's death?" and I said—"Yeah, I think it'd be a great idea." Because I was in a hurry I rushed off." And then later in his testimony to the Commission, Jack Ruby said "I decided to close the club for three days." The Commission now interviews Kantor but said that Kantor was mistaken and that Ruby was not there. Then we uncover another witness who not only saw Ruby but completely identified his clothing, which was substantiated by Ruby's sister.

Now, the other fascinating thing that happened was that when Kantor went into the Dallas jail the day Oswald was shot, Kantor was stopped three times, and at one time they wouldn't let him in even though he had a White House press pass and the Texas Ranger State Police pass, and then we uncovered a fantastic witness who said that he saw Ruby just walk right in there without being stopped by anybody.

I called Kantor up and said—"May I come down to Washington

to film you?" and he said—"Sure, when do you want to come?" I called the next day to confirm the time, and I said—"What about Sunday?" and he said "Great," and I said—"I'll get a car and a camera crew and drive down and I'll see you about 2:30 at the Scripps-Howard Building in Washington," and he said "Great," and half an hour later he called and said—"Look, my wife would really be upset if I saw you tomorrow because we are having people in for lunch and cocktails and all." I said—"I'll meet you any time you want, midnight or anything," and he said—"No, it will be too upsetting. Why don't you write me a letter and tell me who you are." So I wrote a letter—"Dear Mr. Kantor, I never feel it necessary to give my credentials but we'd still like to film you." I can't believe he got to all those decisions by himself—to say "Yes, sure, great," and again to say no the next day. I simply can't believe he changed of his own volition. This is only a guess—I think he called somebody in the FBI.

The press and film world in this country have never properly treated the subject of the assassination and the events subsequent to it. Television has done an outstanding disservice to truth, as television almost always does. Almost without exception, in dealing with any controversial issue, television seems to take an Establishment point of view.

I think that the great disservice to this country is that we are trying everywhere to get a unanimity of opinion. But the only way democracy can function is to have a diversity of opinion. I don't know what the answer is with television because the non-commercial channels are too gutless, and the commercial channels are simply too interested in money, and so it's a wholly depressing prospect.

For instance, they will now treat the topic of certain drugs but they avoid the issue of the rights of individuals who take marijuana, which is demonstrably less harmful than alcohol and probably less harmful than tobacco. Yet marijuana is treated in these television documentaries as if it were a great social terror. There is always the implication that it leads to something else. It is always treated very gingerly.

Whenever the government comes

out hard on an idea, the television medium backs it. I don't think this is the function of television.

Yet, in a curious way, it's in television that we need more government scrutiny in order to make for more diversity. One answer is to have an independent television authority as you have in England, but run by private individuals, maybe operated with government funds, given carte blanche to produce twenty hours of television per day of any kind and even seek out real controversy.

I think that if the Federal Communications Commission would bear down on the television networks it would make them face up to their public responsibility. The networks treat the air as *their* air, *their* time. The biggest phony phrase in the U.S. today is "free enterprise." I mean—who's free, what enterprise? Three networks control most of our air, but it's OUR air, the air of the American people. And yet Stanton and Paley and Sarnoff and Goldenson have got their mitts on the stuff.

As long as CBS looks like General Motors you are not going to have decent programming. They pat themselves on the back because of "Death of a Salesman," but what else has CBS done in a year? CBS is proud of the fact that it has the ten top ratings in daytime television, and do you know what this *means*, when you look at *The New York Times* to see what daytime television is about? My answer to that is fuck them. Those people have nothing to do with *me*. They have nothing to do with the world that interests me; nothing to do with art; nothing to do with politics—real politics; nothing to do with controversy; nothing to do with excitement.

Lane: ABC-TV decided to have a great debate between me and Melvin Belli, who was Ruby's lawyer and who believes the Warren Report. Les Crain was to be moderator, when he had his own program. All of a sudden Les Crain calls up and says—"Geez, Mark, can't have you on the show." I said "Why?" and he said—"Meet me in the bar," and I did and we spend about two hours talking. "ABC-TV said you can't debate Melvin Belli. You would confuse the audience because you would have affidavits and facts and things like that, and it would just

confuse the people." So they decided that Melvin Belli would debate Marguerite Oswald. And so there was a great debate. It was, as you can imagine, a very sad program whereby things were said like—"Do you deny that your son did such and such," and she said—"Well, I'm not a lawyer but I just believe in my son's innocence." And that's the way the medium used her.

We have a tape of a West German show. The guy tried to be faithful to the Warren Commission, but it was done badly. My wife saw it on Channel 13, and in two minutes of it she found four errors in terms of what the Commission said. For example, Warren had Oswald shooting out of the window and taking the rifle and putting it right down and running right downstairs, which would explain how he could get downstairs so quickly, but doesn't explain how they found the rifle 100 yards away on the sixth floor in some boxes.

De Antonio: The German show was really directed at the psychological Oswald—the characteristic one of the loner who couldn't fit into society, who expressed a desire to be known to posterity by becoming involved in a major historical event.

Lane: Oswald's mother retained me to represent his interests before the Warren Commission, but I remained independent of her and investigated on my own and presented those positions that I thought were sound. She agreed to that. We have much of her on stock footage, but frankly she's really no asset to the case.

We aren't in this for the money. Congressman Gerald Ford of the Warren Commission sold his book for a great deal of money to Simon and Schuster, but when Marguerite Oswald wanted to make a speech at Town Hall and had no money for a decent dress, I gave her \$50. This was our only financial exchange in those two years while representing her son's interests.

Money was never the objective. When I was active in Denmark writing a conservative newspaper in Denmark wrote that I was wealthy and morally bankrupt. I hope the opposite is true. And so I sued then in the Danish court. At the trial I showed my money accounts during this period,

how I lost earnings during this period since all my time was devoted to this. The Danish court ruled for us. We won the libel suit. The "responsible editor"—so-called in Denmark, although he didn't write the material—could have been sent to jail for two years, but I pleaded not to have him sent to jail and withdrew that portion of the case. I was given 2,500 Danish crowns, not a lot but more than I sued for, to pay for my court and other costs. The court spoke of me as a man of integrity, that no one would believe those charges against me, etc. I was pleased by the decision, and people who think I have made money on this Oswald thing can be referred to that case.

De Antonio: Mark had started his work on the assassination right after it happened. He and I had mutual friends, and we had lunch together back in early 1964. I told Mark I'd be very interested in working on the film with him, and we both agreed that the movie would have to wait until the completion of his book.

Lane: I've been working on the book basically since January 1964. It's published here by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, and in England by Bodley Head and by Penguin, and in several other countries as well. The title, *Rush To Judgment*, comes from a statement made on behalf of the man charged with the attempted assassination of King George III, in London in 1800. Thomas Erskine, one of the greatest Lord Chancellors of all time, said—"An act against the King is an act of parricide in which the judges, the jury, and even the witnesses are the children—it is fit on that account that there be a solemn pause before we rush to judgment." And, of course, in Dallas fifteen minutes after the shots were fired, the police were looking for Lee Harvey Oswald. And they caught him, and the FBI, the Dallas Police the Secret Service, and the media said he had done it. There was no question about it. Within two days he was dead. And with no opportunity to defend himself—although he does say, and we have him on stock footage saying—"I don't know what they're talking about—I didn't kill anybody—will someone please get me a lawyer?" And a reporter asked him—"How did you get that mark on your head?" He had a



Richard C. Dodd was on the overpass at the time of the assassination. He was never called by the Warren Commission.



James Tague was the only man wounded at Dallas, other than Connolly and Kennedy.



Sergeant Nelson Delgado, who was in the Marine Corps with Oswald.

bleeding gash on the side of his head. He leans into the camera and says—"A police officer hit me," at which point the three Dallas police officers attached to him dragged him away from the camera, concluding the interview. I began to work on the case actually in December of 1963. I wrote an article about the obvious inconsistencies in the District Attorney dissertation.

De Antonio: What Mark started right there, of course, was to write the book, and now the film. It's something that ran from the beginning to right now.

Mark had a book nobody would take—I mean nobody in this country would touch it. Although I wasn't involved at all in writing the book, I worked a little bit on trying to sell it. We saw a great many important publishers here, and in most cases they didn't want to look at it. Regrettably, in the book and the film industries, things are . . . but Holt, Rinehart and Winston is making a major production out of the book. They spent a tremendous amount of money on advertising and promoting it. It's going to be a very, very big book.

Lane: I did start with Grove Press, and we had a contract which they broke. I talked to Ralph Ginzburg of *Fact* magazine and he said—"Well, you know, Mark, it's a pretty controversial question." Of course, that was the purpose of *Fact*, as I recall. *The National Guardian* ran a major article I wrote, and they were willing to run more—but it was impossible to move into the commercial publishing world. I mean I saw everybody. Simon and Schuster, Norton—I think there were eleven.

De Antonio: Random House, too, because I spoke to Epstein.

Lane: And the interesting thing is that in every case where I met with an editor, he said—"Yes, absolutely, we will publish it without any doubt. We have to submit it to lawyers for questions of libel and things like that." I have letters from them. In fact, Grove signed a contract. Yes, they agreed to publish it, everybody agreed to publish it, and then I would get a letter from them three or four weeks later saying—"It's a great book, it's a classic, it must be published in America, we won't publish it, we hope you find someone."

I finally gave up in America and went to England and saw Bodley Head, a very old, conservative firm, small, although they've had some major books like Chaplin's *Autobiography*. They read it and they gave it to Hugh Trevor-Roper, Professor of Modern History at Oxford, and he said they must publish it, and so they did. And they own world rights.

They then contacted American publishers and were amazed to find how many said yes, and then no, just as I told them had happened to me. Then Holt, Rinehart and Winston heard about the book—a fellow named Arthur Cohen, the executive vice-president. He wasn't even contacted by Bodley Head, but he heard that the book was around. He asked for a copy, had seven Xerox copies made when it arrived, distributed them to seven leading people in his firm that Thursday afternoon and said he wanted an answer by Monday. By Monday noon they all had read it, and they all said we want to publish it immediately, we'll take the book whatever it costs, we want that book.

They secured a firm of lawyers, and I was amazed to find that among their libel lawyers was Francis Adams, a former police commissioner in New York but also one of the attorneys for the Warren Commission. I spent some time with the attorneys, and they agreed that everything was accurate and was not libelous. So we sort of have the approval of one of the attorneys for the Warren Commission for a book that does nothing but say that the Warren Commission was inaccurate, when it was not dishonest.

With great fanfare, the publishers are advertising and making it a major operation, and they're very confident. I'm not so very confident because the media have a very firm position on this question. They are completely committed to their position and are not going to be changed by facts.

De Antonio: The strength of the book is that most of it comes from the *Report* and the evidence that the government offers, in its own words. Mark's book treats this evidence produced by the government, and by his painstaking and brilliant analysis, he restores things to their original juxtaposition.

Whereas the film uncovered people in some cases never heard of before by anybody, including the government, in other cases interviewing them more thoroughly than the government did.

There's a technical problem in the film as yet unsolved. The Commission resorted to some of the wildest stuff in its reconstructions, like putting rifles on the sixth floor, with camera attachments, and taking footage and trying to fire at exactly 178 feet and film it, time it, check it. We don't have the equipment to reconstruct it or the money or the people. So I thought to do something way out of the documentary field, to ask somebody like John Hubley to do animation for us. Since we are going to leave the world of fact anyway, just to set up a sort of simultaneity chart of what could happen—with different clocks going and things happening. I think you could almost get to be more real with this animation, better than any re-creation since re-creations are sort of anti-natural. But the budget is interfering. There's always a problem of money with a film like this.

This is not *cinema verite*. I don't accept *cinema verite* as a concept philosophically. I think first of all your mind isn't a blank when you aim the camera, and that when you edit you express a point of view. Nobody is God, nobody can do this thing with total objectivity. Mark and I do have a point of view. We are not objective. We are a plea for the defense. We hope we're honest. Objectivity is something we allow the gods to have but not mere mortals. The most a man can hope for is that he does his best to be honest.

Lane: I talked to witnesses and I developed a view. When one develops a view, one is no longer objective. But I think that I've been honest and accurate, and my book has some 5,000 footnotes. It has more footnotes, citations and references than the *Warren Report*, as a matter of fact.

De Antonio: My experience in films has been within the last five years. I came into this new medium as an intellectual, as a former university teacher and editor, basically as a "word" person who taught philosophy and literature, but also as a person interested in modern art, particularly in the avant garde and

in visual imagery. But I had no interest in film. What got me started was a film which I am not sure is that interesting any more, PULL MY DAISY, which I distributed. I went into documentary films because it was the only way a person my age could begin making films.

I think that it is much harder to make a fiction film—I mean, the kind of fiction film that I would like to make—which would have to do with the world in a different way, in which the visual images would be different from those in a Hollywood film. I couldn't have done it, even if I had had the money five years ago. I have learned something about film making through the documentary. I am working on one other semi-documentary right now.

There's no money for documentaries. The one I'd most like to do, I'd give up anything in the world to do, is the subject of the American Indian. I've been collecting much material and have a tremendous file on this. To do it right is a \$300,000 picture, the ultimate statement on the American Indian, who is worse off than the American Negro. I mean the American Indian is the one race being exterminated from the face of the earth like the Nazis were doing to the Jews. The Indian who is left is still being robbed and cheated by the U.S. government. I'd like to make this long and tough and beautiful. The only people who would sponsor this would be a foundation, and foundations want too much control. I haven't gone to anybody.

The intended Indian project is somewhat related to my earlier film, POINT OF ORDER, made in association with Dan Talbot. POINT OF ORDER is about what most interests me philosophically—the failure of American culture. The film is about the Army-McCarthy Hearings. McCarthyism is the triumph of advertising—saying absolutely nothing, a triumph of technique over content. McCarthy was in the business of saying nothing, but doing it with a consummate artistry which McCarthy did have. Joseph Welch was a right-wing Republican, and in the film he finally used the same *ad hominem* approach that McCarthy used. Welch was not a hero; he was simply a brilliant tactician and great lawyer

and a fantastic actor—a man whose dramatic ability was unquestioned, although his morality might be questioned. His technique certainly has a very close resemblance to McCarthy's own techniques.

I have never been so depressed in my life as when those first rather glorious reviews of POINT OF ORDER came out, because I didn't read *one* review showing understanding of the film. All people assumed that the film was an attack on McCarthy, which it was not. People assumed that Welch was a hero, which he was not, nor did I intend him to be. Mark is one of the few people who got the point. POINT OF ORDER was first of all an attack on the idea of complicity, an attack on the American Establishment, an attack on the pusillanimity of the Army—Stevens and Adams and those silly generals. Sure, it's also an attack on McCarthy, but not McCarthy more than the others.

The beauty of POINT OF ORDER was that all I had was 188 hours of the raw material of history, and the only thing I resented in the reviews of POINT OF ORDER was that people wrote about it as though it were a simple re-creation when in fact everything was wrenched out of chronology. Everything was wrenched out of context to make what I considered at the time the truthful case. The truth in history was that the Army-McCarthy Hearings were a vast, amorphous, rambling shambles that came to a little squeaky halt without any conclusion. I tacked on a conclusion by inventing that little scene in the hearing room which never happened.

There was no narration in POINT OF ORDER. My voice was on the black leader outside the film. The dramatic interest of POINT OF ORDER lies in the characters; we have no such characters here in RUSH TO JUDGMENT.

RUSH TO JUDGMENT has a different problem because, in this film, the main problem is one of total credibility. I don't mean we invent credibility, but to sacrifice everything for credibility, to sacrifice even dramatic interest to make the points. We hope that drama and credibility can be done together; at least this is the optimum situation.



Napoleon J. Daniels, a former Dallas police officer, saw Ruby unchallenged enter the basement of the jail immediately prior to the Oswald killing.



Mrs. Marguerite Oswald announces that she has retained Mark Lane to defend her son before Commission.



Henry M. Wade, Dallas District Attorney, now a federal judge.

Lane: There is a final point about RUSH TO JUDGMENT that I'd like to make. I was in the archives quite recently, and there are 1,550 documents listed in the archive index that they were kind enough to show me, called "Basic Source Materials Relied Upon By The Commission." Of those 1,550, 580 are classified and can't be seen. No one can see them. I saw the list though. But the list is deceptive because one might be called—"FBI Report, Subject: Assassination of President Kennedy, Classified." You have no idea of how many pages or what's in there.

There are thirty-nine reports in the archive which deals with my own activities after the assassination. Every single lecture which I gave in the U.S. has been tape-recorded by agents of the FBI. I read this in the archives. Some reports were classified. Others said—"Mark Lane's appearance in San Francisco, seven lectures, forty-nine rolls of tape." Several of them had been declassified, and I saw those. One, for example, was my speech in a Unitarian Church in Buffalo. Nine reels of tape. What amazes me are the comments including things like "the main points made by Lane—" Obviously, all my lectures in seventy-five universities were recorded by the local police and the various city subversive squads. And the FBI recorded material. What the classified documents contained I don't know—probably phone calls to our offices. I suspect that's why they're classified, since phone taping is illegal activity by the federal authorities.

But this is minor compared to the treatment received by Joachim Joesten. He's a German-born author who wrote a book called *Oswald—Assassin Or Fallguy?* which incurred the wrath of the Commission because it so differs from their position. It came out before the Commission report had been released. One extremely interesting document—I haven't seen it yet—is a report submitted to the Warren Commission by Helms, the Acting Deputy Director of Plans of the CIA, which was nothing more than a report written by the Gestapo on November 11, 1937, upon the background of Joachim Joesten. He left Germany in 1933, and here was the CIA submitting to the Warren Com-

mission for its evaluation a background assessment of Joesten prepared by the Gestapo. I knew the sister agencies worked well together but this is probably going a bit too far.

I was in London working on the book. I found much more peace there and came up with more publishers as well. I was asked by the Commission to come back to testify. I agreed. When I landed in the U.S. and handed over my passport to the Immigration authorities, they took my passport away. I looked down at the Look-out Book, a little black book which they opened up, and there was my name. It never had been in there before to my knowledge, in spite of my other subversive activities, which probably did not shake me as much as this. I have a very serious view of what I've been doing the past couple of years. And there was my name, and next to it was G-15. They came back later and gave me my passport and let me go through. I pointed this out at a lecture in New York City, and afterwards someone came back and said—"I work for the Immigration authorities," and I thought he was going to say you're under arrest but he merely said—"I'm leaving in three weeks anyway—Would you like to know what G-15 means?" I said—"Yes, I'd like very much to know," and he said—"Well, I'll see if I can find out for you." Next day when I was lecturing he brought me a photostated copy of the page with my name on it, and then of the regulations, which said about G-15: "The subject is to be admitted to the U.S. if otherwise qualified; the FBI is to be notified at once and telephonically of his presence."

NEW YORKER
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James Leon Simmons was on triple overpass and saw puff of smoke behind wooden fence, testified he heard shot from there, not from Book Depository.



Press interview of Dallas Police Chief James Curry, who explained the evidence against Oswald.



Harold Williams was arrested by Officer Tippit. He testified to Lane and De Antonio that Ruby was in the police car at the time.

HOMO AMERICANUS

By Louis Marcorelles

The following is a condensation of a review of RUSH TO JUDGMENT, written by Louis Marcorelles and published in Cinema 67, April, No. 115, a film magazine in Paris. The review is translated by Beth Alberty. It discusses two recent releases in Paris—RUSH TO JUDGMENT and the 1948 film by Abraham Polonsky, FORCE OF EVIL.

Two authentic films of the Left, two films of extraordinary talent, two unequalled witnesses of American society, have just appeared on our screens in the midst of general indifference and the apathy of a literally exhausted criticism. Because these two films make no call to demagoguery, because they are "straight" like real bourbon, they have been purely and simply ignored. Let us attempt to repair the neglect.

Emile de Antonio, director of RUSH TO JUDGMENT, professor of literature by training, but also an enthusiastic experimenter, associated with a number of avant garde undertakings in the U.S. (most prominently those of the choreographer Merce Cunningham and composer John Cage), represents in the cinema one of the last authentic adventurers, a man always ready to take all the risks.

His POINT OF ORDER had earlier expressed his obsession with documenting American society and putting into question the foundations of this society. The film was characterized by the same surgical concern, the same desire to analyze how people really think and speak, how things really happen.

De Antonio, in a short written preface, terms his film "art brut" — that is to say, raw material of a reflective and poetic import, but not reworked, not dramatically and

plastically remolded, as the canons dear as much to Jean Mitry and Philippe Esnault as to the two Francoises, Truffaut and Chevassu, require. We are up to the neck in what I like to call, in what must more and more be called, the "cinema direct," that also of Richard Leacock, unequalled master of the modern film, and of Pierre Perrault: a cinema that catches at life with its light-weight equipment, where, contrary to what almost all my compatriots imagine, the question is not to shoot no matter how, but where the spoken word illuminates and plays a primordial role. If there is a crisis today in cinematography (in the Bressonian sense), if structuralism well-apprehended is going to oblige us to re-think radically all our Evangelical truths, it is through such works as RUSH TO JUDGMENT that truly constructive reflection can be exercised.

The real problem — does this type of cinema have a public, as Karel Reisz, absolute admirer of RUSH TO JUDGMENT as the equal of a Chris Marker film, said to me the other day in London. In the current climate of intellectual laziness, in this cultural desert where everything resembles everything and therefore nothing, I would not know how to reply. I only know that television, whether

French or American, rarely would have or will have the self-assurance to bring into question the values of the society which creates it.

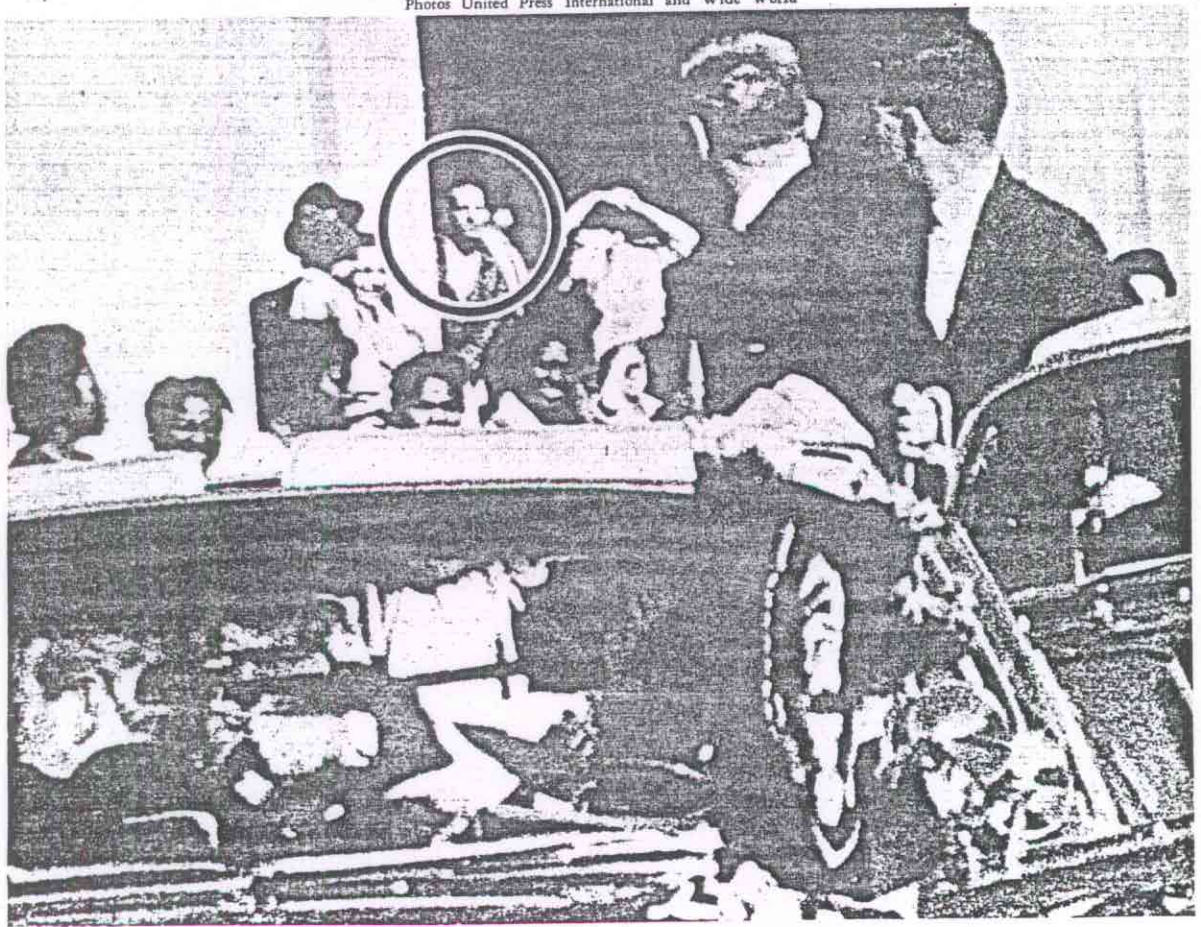
Nowhere else have we been offered a document as prodigious in invading the collective and therefore individual thought, with its corollaries concerning the omnipotence of the police on all levels and the ontological conformity of Homo Americanus, a conformity demonstrated repeatedly as the film shows witnesses offering evidence contradicting the Warren Report but aligning themselves with it in order to keep their consciences clean. Every Preminger will pass, and also the current Hollywood, while RUSH TO JUDGMENT will retain its impact and will deliver to posterity an historic' judgment.

Perhaps it is time to re-think the cinema in view of new exigencies formulated by films like RUSH TO JUDGMENT, and above all by the great Canadians and New Yorkers—Groulx, Brault, Perrault, Leacock, Maysles, De Antonio. We realize that a new way of feeling and of perceiving for the cinematographer is in the process of being designed, if not of being decisively affirmed. This does not imply that all dramatization is to be rejected . . . rather, the spectator must pose to himself the new exigencies, must ask himself what he expects from the cinema.

THE MAN IN THE DOORWAY



At left, Oswald; center, a figure in front of the Book Depository at the time of shooting; and right, Billy Lovelady. Who is the center figure?
Photos United Press International and Wide World



James Altgens, an Associated Press photographer for more than twenty-five years, ran to the south side of Elm Street, camera in hand, as the motorcade drove west on Elm. The Presidential limousine was about thirty feet away from him when he snapped a picture, and as he did so he heard a shot. Altgens' photograph soon became universally well known; it assumed a prodigious significance when people all over the country thought they saw Lee Harvey Oswald in the picture. Oswald, or someone looking like Oswald, was in the background, standing on the steps of the Book Depository Building.

Probably nothing fostered more doubts about the case against him than that picture. How could Oswald have been downstairs watching the motorcade at the same time that he was allegedly upstairs shooting the President? Was it Oswald? The *San Francisco Chronicle* published the photograph together with one of Oswald taken shortly after his arrest and boldly asked if Oswald might be the man in the doorway of the Book Depository. Months later, the photograph appeared in *The New York Herald Tribune* Sunday supplement, giving a new and particular prominence to the unanswered questions.

The Commission sought to dispose of the man in the doorway with these words. "The Commission has determined that the employee was in fact Billy Nolan Lovelady, who identified himself in the picture." Yet Lovelady did not appear before the Commission (he gave his statement to a Commission lawyer) and no evidence suggests that his picture was shown to the Commissioners. The Associated Press was unable to secure a picture of Billy Lovelady when requested to do so by the *San Francisco Chronicle*. A private photographer who sought to take Lovelady's photograph was, according to *The New York Herald Tribune*, taken to police headquarters, questioned in the police surveillance office and then released. He was then advised by the police to leave Dallas, *The Tribune* reported, without a picture.

Two volunteer investigators for the Citizens Committee of Inquiry, an organization formed by Mr. Lane, then went to Dallas and took a picture of Billy Lovelady. It is published here for the first time along with a picture of the man in the doorway and a picture of Oswald at the time of his arrest. In comparing the photographs it should be remembered that Lovelady has stated that he was wearing a red and white striped sport shirt buttoned near the neck when he witnessed the assassination. He wore no jacket, he said.

—Mark Lane



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FILM AS PART OF SPRING FESTIVAL ON CINCINNATI CAMPUS

New forms in film, drama, art, music and dance were presented at the University of Cincinnati Union's Spring Arts Festival April 15-30, 1967. This was the second annual event, made possible by the coordinated efforts of many campus and community departments. "This coordination in itself is rare," states Program Director Barry Zelikovsky in a letter to *FILM COMMENT*. "Feedback suggests that our program was one of the outstanding events of its kind ever presented in our area. More participation and excitement were evident than we have seen at other art-oriented events. To a large extent, what people saw here was new to them. Whether or not we all fully understood seems less important in the light of realizing original experiences, perceptions and ideas."

Among the film highlights were screenings of Andy Warhol's *THE CHELSEA GIRLS*; Carl Dreyer's *GERTRUD*; Jonas Mekas's *MY DIARIES*, in its world premiere; a Retrospective of Stan Brakhage; Stan Vanderbeek's Mixed Media presentation; Len Lye's lecture with films on Kinetic Sculpture; and a Cinema '67 Symposium with Vanderbeek, Brakhage, Mekas, John Cage (composer in residence for 1967), and James McGinnis, Chairman of the faculty film committee.

Three hundred persons attended the Symposium, which occurred late in the two-weeks festival. "The Symposium challenged our thinking in film much beyond previously held values," state Zelikovsky. "In fact, so many cameras were in attendance and clicking away that what was being said about 'the opening-up of cinema' and 'new freedoms to the film makers' seemed to be acted out for us simultaneously. When Mekas credited our current culture with making 'every teenager a film maker,' one needed only to look around for verification."



This motion picture was
originally produced by the
U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY
for release in foreign countries.

Complete Transcript of Sound-track for U. S. Information Agency Film on Pres. John F. Kennedy—YEARS OF LIGHTNING, DAY OF DRUMS

Peck: It was true that the assassin took careful aim at the President of the United States. It was true that at the precise moment the assassin waited for—the trigger was pulled. And it was true that the President was killed. But it was also true that the assassin missed his target for he wanted John Kennedy to die. And that he was unable to do. For no man can take away years of lightning with a single day of drums.

The decade was new, the dreams were high, the man was John Kennedy. In the early snow of 1961 an avalanche of people came through the streets of Washington with expectation and joy. They would come again in the autumn of 1963—the same people through the same streets to the same building. They would come again in 1963 without smiles, without cheers. For death like a thief in the afternoon would place a casket in the Rotunda of the Capital, the same room in

which he had walked to his inauguration.

Warren: You, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, do solemnly swear . . .

Kennedy: I, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, do solemnly swear . . .

Warren: That you will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States . . .

Kennedy: That I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States . . .

Warren: And will, to the best of your ability . . .

Kennedy: And will, to the best of my ability . . .

Warren: Preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States . . .

Kennedy: Preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States . . .

Warren: So help you God.

Kennedy: So help me God.

Kennedy: Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any

burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to insure the survival and the success of liberty. To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe, struggling to break the bonds of mass fettering, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves for whatever period is required, not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich. So let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

Peck: Pennsylvania Avenue was a proud host. Cutting across Washington, the avenue was no stranger to processions and eager crowds. It assumed its role of importance