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ry with his mother g brought food for supper, and confessed he occasionally hit her. He also told the psychiatrist, "I don't want a friend and I don't like to talk to people." When asked if he preferred the company of boys or girls, he responded, "I dislike everybody."

Hartogs's diagnosis was "personality pattern disturbance with schizoid features and passive-aggressive tendencies. Lee has to be seen as an emotionally, quite disturbed youngster who suffers under the impact of really existing emotional isolation and deprivation, lack of affection, absence of family life and rejection by a selfinvolved and conflicted mother." Although Hartogs thought he "was quite clear" in emphasizing Oswald's potential for violence by "the diagnosis of passive-aggressive," he did not explicitly state it since that would have mandated institutionalization. Instead, he recommended that Oswald be placed on probation so long as he was under guidance, preferably from a psychiatrist.*

The New York Domestic Relations Court considered Hartogs's diagnosis serious enough that it assigned a probation officer to Oswald and tried for the next nine months to find appropriate treatment for the disturbed youngster. Meanwhile, Lee was at his ninth school, P.S. 44. On several occasions, Marguerite refused to bring him to court, claiming he had returned and adapted well to school. Instead, his grades were low, sometimes failing, and comments from his teachers noted he was "quick-tempered," "constantly losing control," and "getting into battles with others." Oswald refused to do his homework or salute the

Harold Weisberg tells of the tests but does not quote any of Hartogs's conclusions. Sylvia Meagher, in her acclaimed book Accessories After the Fact, writes, "There is, then, no basis in any of the available medical or psychiatric histories for allegations that Oswald was psychotic, aberrant, or mentally unsound in any degree." Meagher's conclusion is contradicted not only by Hartogs but also by two Soviet psychiatrists who evaluated Oswald after his failed suicide attempt in Moscow in 1959 (see page 51).

years lith?

^{*}Many of the critics ignore Hartogs's testimony. He is not even listed in books written by Mark Lane, Josiah Thompson, Jim Garrison, John Davis, Robert J. Groden and Harrison Livingstone, Robert Blakey, Henry Hurt, David Scheim, or David Lifton. Among the few who mention the tests, Jim Marrs disingenuously says: "The results were essentially inconclusive. They showed him to be a bright and inquisitive young man who was somewhat tense, withdrawn, and hesitant to talk about himself or his feelings."

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better was Kerry aster 1959, "he [Osl if I remember, he lawn, swab down joyed debating phinley, who described Oswald such an nation novel based er the course of half d Oswald believed ommunism was the uite sure that Casnted, "he looked at ism?' And I replied vorable sense, and nunism.' "54 Thorng the Soviet Union 1 the grounds that try and we had no

table" and "unpre-," he recalled. "He ose friendships." out, when Oswald

by telling him to write later told Delgado he Angeles, but Delgado belongings with a gold ther occasion, Oswald lid not see the person assumed it might be ad Oswald. Although only his hunch, some intelligence connecving had any contact "The Best Religion Is Communism" = 31 hmulty

griped about a march they were scheduled to be in. Thornley commented, "Well, comes the revolution you will change all that."
Oswald's voice cracked as he screamed at Thornley. He put his hands in his pockets, pulled his cap low over his eyes, and sat by himself. He never spoke to Thornley after that. "Well, at the time I just thought," recalled Thornley, "well, the man is a nut. . . . He had a definite tendency toward irrationality at times, an emotional instability." He also found Oswald "impulsive," burdened by a "persecution complex," and said that he never showed any affection to anyone, and nobody ever showed any in return. By the end of their relationship Thornley thought Oswald was "pathetic."

There is, of course, the question of why the Marines tolerated Oswald's flagrant study of Russian and subscription to Russian-language newspapers as well as leftist publications like *The Worker*. None of his fellow Marines reported that he proselytized Communism during basic training or during his fourteen months in Japan. He complained about the Marines, but that was not thought to be unique. Oswald did study the Russian language, but not in the conspicuous way that he did later at El Toro. Even one of his commanding officers in Japan studied the language. While he may have been considered a Russophile, he gave the Marines no reason to believe he might be a security threat.

Only after arriving at El Toro, and following his two court-mar-

^{*}Jim Garrison provides snippets of quotes from seven Marines saying they never heard Oswald talk about Communism, the Soviet Union, or Cuba. He concludes, "The statements of Oswald's other associates at the Marine base were almost uniform in their agreement that he had no inclination in the direction of communism or anything leftwing" (On the Trail of the Assassins, pp. 52–53). Garrison writes that Thornley "had not served with Oswald as long as a number of others and had not even lived on the same part of the base. . . . The other Marines' affidavits . . . overwhelmingly contradicted Thornley's claims." But Thornley did live on the same part of the base as Oswald, though they were in different Quonset huts (WC Vol. XI, p. 85). The other Marines' affidavits did not contradict Thornley's testimony—they only said Oswald did not talk to them about the same things he discussed with Thornley. Thornley is not even listed in the indexes for books by Robert Groden and Harrison Livingstone, Henry Hurt, John Davis, David Scheim, Mark Lane, and Josiah Thompson.

man who started taking pictures did not have a security clearance, and O'Neill confiscated his film and exposed it (the roll is still in the National Archives). There is an oft-repeated story of an FBI photographer, without any prior autopsy experience, who allegedly took the photographs. "Those reports are an incredible lie," said Humes. "The official photos taken by John Stringer [the medical school's chief of photography] were never touched, and no one from the FBI even had a camera, let alone the intention to take autopsy photos."

The autopsy photographs and X rays are critical because, despite criticism of the procedure, they provide proof positive of the President's wounds, and have served as the basis for subsequent forensics-panel studies. Because they support the conclusion that the President was shot by two bullets from the rear, there have been attempts to cast doubt on their authenticity. Robert Groden and Harrison Livingstone, in *High Treason*, conclude the X rays are fakes and raise doubts about some of the photos. ⁵⁵ However, they ignore the extensive work of the House Select Committee in examining that very issue.

John Stringer, who took the photographs, viewed them at the National Archives on November 1, 1966, and verified that the pictures were the ones he had taken. Photo experts for the Select Committee concluded the photos were authentic, there was no evidence of fakery, and that alteration of such photos, often taken with two or three exposures from the same camera position, is "essentially impossible."58 As for the X rays, the tests were also absolute. Human bone structure varies uniquely from one individual to another and can be as good a means of identification as fingerprints.⁵⁷ Twenty-two earlier X rays of John Kennedy were compared to those taken at Bethesda. The Committee's experts concluded they were not forgeries and "there was absolutely no question . . . [they were] of John F. Kennedy and no other person."58 Because of certain peculiarities with JFK's bones and teeth, the experts concluded it was impossible to simulate the twenty-two base X rays used for comparison. 59*

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There has been consithe examination they Allegheny, Pennsylvar "worst and most botch piece of crap." Othe but they do criticize the remained in the hosp when it would finish, their work. The Kermine the cause of deautopsy. Dr. Michae the President "could only spent a few how working with the fur Mrs. Kennedy decided.

years and maintained a charges that the while conspirators forgot to r are real. He claims tho the right eye and forel rays do not show any s X rays," says Dr. Mich

The reason Groden of the photographs, whi "They did not dare de sional order asking to murder the President ity of a future congre

*The author, as pa performed by Dr. We

^{*}Groden has asserted as part of his ever-widening plot that the conspirators replaced all the earlier X ray films of John Kennedy taken over the

However, some of the Parkland doctors who treated the President described a gaping wound in the rear of JFK's head (the occipital region), not the right side (the parietal). If true, this not only contradicted the findings of the autopsy team but was evidence that the President was probably shot from the front, with a large exit hole in the rear of the head. Several Parkland doctors also thought they saw cerebellum, tissue from the base of the brain, on the stretcher or in the operating room. Yet, the autopsy photos of the brain show the cerebellum intact. If the Parkland descriptions of the cerebellum were true, this raised legitimate questions over the authenticity of the photographs of JFK's brain, which showed no such damage. Robert Groden and Harrison Livingstone, in their book High Treason, devote more than thirty pages to highlighting this conflict between the Parkland and Bethesda descriptions of the head wound.

However, it is questionable to rely on the Parkland doctors for any assertion about the head wound since, by their own admission, they did not examine it in detail. When Dr. Kemp Clark

National Archives in 1966, a metal box containing the President's brain was missing from the inventory, together with some tissue slides. Humes had given everything from the autopsy, including the brain, to JFK's personal physician, Admiral George Burkley. "He told me," said Humes, "that the [Kennedy] family wanted to inter the brain with the President's body" (Journal of the American Medical Association, May 27, 1992, Vol. 267, No. 20, p. 2803). The House Select Committee concluded that Robert Kennedy likely disposed of the material for fear it would become a lurid public exhibition (HSCA Vol. VII, pp. 367-68).

In the same vein, Humes, who had gotten the President's blood on his autopsy notes, copied them verbatim to clean paper and then burned the original, fearing that the bloodstained notes might become part of a future public display. That same concern prompted the physicians to wash the blood-soaked sheets in which the President's body arrived and to dispose of their own medical garb. But this concern created a situation that led to mistakes. Since Humes and Boswell were not able to use the photographs or X rays when making their autopsy report, they misplaced the entry wound on the back by nearly two inches and the one in the head by four inches. These errors were discovered by the House Select Committee's medical panel. While it did not alter the conclusions about two shots from the rear, it did affect the Warren Commission ballistics tests, which were based on the misinformation about the entry points.

looked at the wound revived, it was the fi read in later books, ning, but that is not save the President, As for the head wor was standing with looked at my pants

"We never had th rico told the autho were trying to sav had no time to exa forensic pathologis good look at the he ine it or really lool he was dead," Dr. and examine the room. We all just were over with," I should get out of

Dr. Baden of th concerned with w vice versa, they wounds. Some of gists. A third of missed by the t deaths, it is com wounds and gun exit or entrance off—there is jus about that wour they say they s cerebellum was the rear of the h since there is no lick. The mistal we have autops

"One of the n

overlooked by the critics, are the frames immediately after the President was shot in the head. It's very clear on the enhanced frames that there is a wound over the right ear, but the back of the head is clean. That film is incontrovertible evidence that there was no defect on the rear of the head."

Yet mistaken descriptions of what the Parkland doctors did and saw continue to be published. High Treason asserts that some doctors examined the wound with a flashlight and that Dr. Jenkins picked the head up from the stretcher to show other doctors the extent of the rear wound. 90 The eight principal doctors who attended to JFK on that day all told the author that such reports were false. Moreover, Groden and Livingstone cite early interviews and some testimony before the Warren Commission to support their hypothesis that the Parkland doctors saw a different head wound than the one described at Bethesda.* Yet the Parkland physicians, in their discussions with the author, were almost unanimous in supporting the autopsy findings that the massive exit wound was on the right side (parietal) of the President's head, not the rear (occipital), and that there was no sign of damaged cerebellum tissue. They insisted that the explainable differences in the wound descriptions between them and the Bethesda doctors have been exploited by conspiracy writers, who created a controversy where none exists. Some admitted that their early statements about the wounds, which they now consider to be mistaken, may have contributed to the confusion.

Dr. Bill Midgett, who helped wheel the President from the lim-

ousine into traum thick hair, and the so shocked... and very closely to see ital—that much I look, but there wa

"We did say the Carrico. "We did : cortex area, and I is that the Presid you could see the down his head, a head. We saw a believe we saw a tal bone. And if v secke also admit described the wo I was wrong in n and in some of r that good of a loc with me trying t them. The truth tissue and blood not get accurate hole and look in did I see anyone

Dr. Peters hathe photograph Nova program, was not lacerate would be the day would say is the head wound side than the rehe did not want

Dr. Jenkins's "The descriptio I read my repo

^{*}In 1988, four of the Parkland doctors—Pepper Jenkins, Richard Dulaney, Paul Peters, and Robert McClelland—went to the National Archives at the invitation of a PBS documentary show, Nova, about the assassination. They were the first Parkland physicians to see the autopsy photographs, and each confirmed the photos represented what they remembered seeing that day, including a picture of the rear of President Kennedy's head, which shows no defect. It has been suggested that the reason the photo shows the rear of the President's head as undamaged is because the doctor (whose fingers are present in the picture) is holding a large flap of skin to cover the rear defect. "False," says Dr. Michael Baden. "There is no flap of skin there. There is a bony protrusion from the right side of the head, but the rear is undamaged, except for the entry hole near the top of the skull" (Interview, January 23, 1992).

lum. The autopsy photo, with the rear of the head intact and a protrusion in the parietal region, is the way I remember it. I never did say occipital."

"I did not really look at it that closely," says Dr. Perry. "But like everyone else, I saw it back there. It was in the occipital/parietal area. The occipital and parietal bone join each other, so we are only talking a centimeter or so in difference. And you must remember the President had a lot of hair, and it was bloody and matted, and it was difficult to tell where that wound started or finished. I did not see any cerebellum."94 Dr. Baxter agrees that it was difficult to determine the precise location of the wound when treating the President: "He had such a bushy head of hair, and blood and all in it, you couldn't tell what was wound versus dried blood or dangling tissue. I have been misquoted enough on this, some saying I claimed the whole back of his head was blown away. That's just wrong. I never even saw the back of his head. The wound was on the right side, not the back."95 Dr. Jones makes the same observation, saying he did not even know there was a head wound for several minutes, and then finally realized it was a "large side wound, with blood and tissue that extended toward the rear, from what you could tell of the mess that was there."96 Dr. Giesecke agrees "that the occipital and parietal region are so close together it is possible to mistake one for the other."97

The only Parkland doctors who still believe they saw a wound in the rear of the head, as well as seeing cerebellum, are Robert McClelland and Charles Crenshaw. "I saw a piece of cerebellum fall out on the stretcher," says McClelland, who claims he was in the best position of any of the doctors to view the head wound. He drew a sketch in 1967 for Josiah Thompson's book Six Seconds in Dallas, which showed a gaping wound in the rear of the head.

"I am astonished that Bob would say that," says Dr. Malcolm Perry. "It shows such poor judgment, and usually he has such good judgment."100 place to see the he position the way I table. As for Dr. N the table, I never surgeon," says Dr is mistaken, but t the National Arc was crenelated f but it was not ce people that saw [co-author of Hig changed his atti he is a lousy pa saw that, and ha completely wro that."103,

Dr. Crenshav examined the w and that the ce resident at the sisted for only a

^{*}High Treason asserts that Jenkins originally said JFK was shot in the chest. Jenkins laughed when the author read him the Groden and Livingstone charge. "I don't know where they get this stuff from. We put tubes into the President's chest, but there were no chest wounds caused by anything also."

^{*}In his original ple, one that does caused some to c another location intentionally ove Jenkins explaine he asked me, 'W breathing bag w temporal pulse, a to the left temple

^{**}Crenshaw a on Kennedy's no implying that a and Bethesda. "the procedure.' sence. Tissue calike the opening

99 "entirely consiswounds on the two ould expect it to be ted it in a vise."76 ls at which the bulid on the President I's rifle at 2,000 feet neck between 1,700 igh flesh, the bullet and hit Connally the wrist at 900 feet id is enough to shat-100 feet per second, If into his thigh." s weapons training 'not deform because ever high enough to

CE 399 emerged in seen similar bullets ullet was traveling ty were still greater ing so fast as to det an absolute re-crele. I have seen cases and the bullet paths There can be minute nition, the condition action of any muscle a different path. Reelpful, since they can differently to bones o bones that are dry. two bullets fired can nd the damage to the cise in futility."79 9 may be impossible, e to the bullet can be tested. For the Warren Commission, the Army conducted separate experiments with 6.5mm bullets, one to determine the effect on a bullet that passed through the President's neck and another to test a bullet going through the Governor's rib. The one that passed through the mock-up of the President's neck (goat skin and meat) was not deformed.80 The missile that hit the reconstruction for the Governor's rib (an anesthetized goat) did not have the benefit of first being slowed through the President's neck. Yet, still, it only had a slight flattening, similar to CE 399.81 The remaining question about the condition of the bullet was whether a bullet at a reduced velocity could strike the radius bone in the wrist and emerge in good condition. In 1992 Dr. Piziali, of Failure Analysis, and Dr. Fackler experimented with powder charges. They lowered the velocity on a 6.5mm bullet to 1,100 feet per second and shot it through a cadaver's wrist. "The bullet actually made a slightly greater hole than the one in Governor Connally's wrist," said Dr. Fackler. "That's because the experiment bullet was actually going a little faster than the 900 feet that CE 399 was traveling. The test bullet was non-deformed. It was not flattened in the least and had nowhere near the damage any peratches?

The final issue in the single-bullet theory involves bullet fragments found in Governor Connally. The FBI randomly weighed 6.5mm Carcano bullets and determined the average weight was 161.2 grains. The stretcher bullet weighed 158.6, meaning only 2.6 grains of its mass were lost. No fragments were left in President Kennedy's neck wound. However, the Governor had three removed from his wrist during surgery, and two small fragments remained in his wrist and one was embedded in his thigh. According to writers Robert Groden and Harrison Livingstone, in High Treason, "There were more than three grains of metal in Connally's wrist wounds alone That is not true. Dr. Gregory, who performed the surgery on the Governor's wrist, said the fragments he removed "were varying from five-tenths of a milli-

^{*}Although some interpreted X rays of the Governor's chest to indicate another fragment was in the chest cavity, Dr. Baden says, "That's completely wrong. It's a bone chip, not a metal flake."

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For some time, Blakey had had a suspicion about possible organized crime involvement, partly because of the mob's well-known hatred for attorney general Robert Kennedy, and partly because of the way Ruby had killed Oswald, which he says "had all the earmarks of a mob hit."13* Although it could never prove Oswald had personal contact with any mobster, the Select Committee nevertheless, under Blakey, concluded that while the "national syndicate of organized crime, as a group, were not involved in the assassination, it could not preclude the possibility that individual members may have been involved."14 Suspicion focused on Teamster boss Jimmy Hoffa, Tampa godfather Santo Trafficante, and New Orleans boss Carlos Marcello. The committee's conclusion infused new life into the arguments for a conspiracy, which now had the imprimatur of a government investigation that had not only concluded there was a conspiracy, but even highlighted the suspects. To the buffs, Garrison's investigation was now only a distant, bad memory.

For many, the CIA remained a leading suspect,** but now the mafia moved to the forefront as the most credible plot-master. The same year that the Select Committee completed its work, Seth Kantor's book, Who Was Jack Ruby?, concluded Ruby was a mafia hit man. In 1979, The Washington Post ran a long article headlined DID THE MOB KILL KENNEDY? And Blakey published his own best-seller, The Plot to Kill the President, in 1981. By the

*Though the mob hated Robert Kennedy because he was relentlessly pursuing them, the committee implied that individual mobsters may have assassinated JFK in the hope that by their removing him, Robert would lose his power to prosecute them.

end of the decade including two th Mafia Kingfish¹⁸

What did the vestigation? Is t and Marcello we Kennedy?

As for Hoffa, tl about wanting R show his interes JFK. The witne convicted felon trusted Partin, he would almost in the summer not John-Kenr RFK or using pl also said that w any further stel a concrete plan Teamster offici. plot to elimina him, saying the be contemplate Hoffa would ha the President a gation by the that the balan that Hoffa had

The sole ev Santo Traffica exile, José Ale although he o confided to his tember 1962 of hit."²³ He clair 1962 and 1965 not record an

^{**}Books like High Treason, by Robert Groden and Harrison Livingstone, and Conspiracy, by Anthony Summers, charged that the CIA, or a rogue group of agents, was responsible for the assassination. In First-Hand Knowledge (1992), ex—CIA contract agent Robert Morrow weaves an intricate intelligence plot, of which he claims to have been a part. Oliver Stone, in his film JFK, regurgitated almost all of Garrison's original contentions against the intelligence community. Yet not only have the underlying facts to such accusations been disproved, but the CIA theories necessarily involve the greatest number of conspirators, sometimes numbering in the hundreds. As the House Select Committee concluded, "The more complicated a plot becomes, the less likely it will work" (HSCA Rpt., p. 179).