

Was the CIA Involved in Dallas?

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PERHAPS YOU RECALL that day. It was in September of 1964. The members of the Warren Commission, six of them, formed a semicircle. In the middle were the chairman, Chief Justice Earl Warren, and the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, who had appointed the Commission to perform its task. Earl Warren held the massive documents in his hand. It was a tape-recorded, filmed event. People and reporters from all over the world were watching it. Earl Warren handed the Report to Lyndon Johnson, and Lyndon Johnson held it. He was absolutely silent for about thirty seconds. It was very embarrass-

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sing with the film going through the camera, the tape going through recorders, and Johnson not saying anything. Finally an aide said: "Won't you say something, Mr. President?" And Lyndon Johnson said: "Well, ehhh, it's very heavy." History may record this comment as the finest short analysis of the Warren Commission Report.

When the Warren Report was released the *New York Times* referred to it as "the most authoritative document, the greatest investigation of a crime in the annals of civilization." It is true that the Federal Bureau of Investigation conducted some 25,000 interviews and the Secret Service some 1,550 interviews. The Central Intelligence Agency, the Dallas police, and the Dallas sheriffs, all poured their information into the Warren Commission. Some of this information was published in the one-volume report. More of it was published in the twenty-six volumes of evidence. And some of it has been locked away in the files of the CIA, the FBI, the Secret Service, the Department of State, the Treasury Department, and other agencies.

When the shots were fired in Dealey Plaza, Dallas, on November 22, 1963, many people were there. Yet in its massive investigation the Warren Commission failed to question 95 percent of the witnesses to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. They also were supposed to find out who killed Officer J. D. Tippit. They said Oswald did that, but they failed to question the majority of the important witnesses to the murder of Officer Tippit. They were supposed to find out something about the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald by Jack Ruby. Before I say anything else harsh about the Warren Commission, let me say that not every conclusion issued by it was invalid. There was one accurate conclusion, their finding that Ruby killed Oswald. As you may recall, that event took place on network television, and it would have been difficult to deny. They were supposed to find out how it happened, however, and they failed to question 95 percent of the witnesses to the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald by Jack Ruby. They failed to ask a single relevant question of Jack Ruby himself.

How did they fill up the twenty-six volumes and the tens of thousands of documents filed since? Volume 18 is an example: It published, in full, the dental chart showing the condition of Jack Ruby's mother's teeth in the year 1938. I suggested to the Commission that the chart would not have been relevant unless

it had been charged that Ruby bit Oswald to death, but I guess the FBI was too busy doing other things to investigate relevant matters.

Let's go back to 1960, three years before the assassination of John Kennedy, and to a book written by Robert Kennedy, who had shortly before that time been counsel to a Senate committee investigating the role of the Mafia in the United States and its effort to take over certain trade unions. Let's go back to page 84 of *The Enemy Within* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960):

By 1949, with the help of Brennan and others, Jimmy Hoffa had consolidated his position in the Michigan Teamsters; but outside his home state he was still largely unknown. For him, the key to the entire Midwest was Chicago. He needed a powerful ally there—and he found his man in Paul Dorfman. Dorfman, our testimony showed, was a big operator—a major figure in the Chicago underworld who also knew his way around in certain labor and political circles.

A slight man with thinning red hair and an almost benign manner, Dorfman took over as head of the Chicago Waste Handlers Union in 1939 after its founder and secretary-treasurer and counsel was murdered. . . .

Robert Kennedy goes on to talk about Dorfman's tie-ins with Al Capone and Longie Zwillman. He traces, in 1960, the power of the Mafia in the trade union movement in Chicago from the murder that occurred in 1939. This was the murder of Leon Cooke, counsel for the Chicago Waste Handlers Union. He was killed by John Martin, the president of that union.

This information was given to the Warren Commission. One of their six panels dealt with Jack Ruby's background. One question given to the commission was: Was Jack Ruby involved in the murder of Leon Cooke? Is that an interesting question? Bobby Kennedy had spoken of it three years before his brother's assassination. In the FBI report published quite solemnly as Exhibit 1235 of the Commission's twenty-six volumes we read: "An extensive search of the records of Chicago police department, did not reflect any reference to John Martin, Jack Ruby, or Jack Rubinstein as he was then known, or to the murder of Leon Cook [sic]."

Evidently the crime never took place. We find reference to it, however, in the major headline story on the front page of the December 9, 1939, issue of the *Chicago Daily Tribune*:

"Attorney Shot, Union Row." The article under this headline tells the whole story, how it happened, how Leon Cooke was shot, and how he died. He was shot by John Martin. One turns to the jump page. Here we have pictures of two individuals the Chicago police and the *Chicago Daily Tribune* considered to be the two most relevant persons involved. The caption reads: "Leon R. Cooke, left, lawyer and former secretary of the Junk Handlers Union was shot while in his union offices, and Jack Rubinstein, present secretary, who was seized for questioning." But the Warren Commission never heard about these facts because the FBI couldn't find any references to the story. I think the Commission relied upon the wrong agency to crack the case for them.

I am now going to give a brief analysis of what took place in Dealey Plaza in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. The presidential limousine moved northward, got in front of the Texas Book Depository building, then made a very sharp turn and slowed down. It almost stopped when it made that turn. It then started to speed up. The Commission's conclusion: No credible evidence even suggested that any shots came from anywhere other than the sixth floor of the Book Depository building where, it held, Lee Harvey Oswald was located.

Let's look at some of the evidence. Two-thirds of the witnesses in Dealey Plaza said that the shots came from behind a wooden fence high up on a grassy knoll in front of the presidential limousine. Every single employee of the Union Terminal Railroad who was on the railroad bridge in front of the limousine and was questioned in effect said: "I heard the shots, I looked in the direction where the shots came from, and I saw puffs of white smoke come from behind the trees, behind the wooden fence and dissipate into the air." This version was told to the Warren Commission counsel by S. M. Holland, senior supervisor of the Union Terminal Railroad. The lawyers seemed very disconcerted. Holland said: "You don't have to believe me if you don't like. Ask any of the other boys. A whole lot of us were up there and we all saw the same thing." That was sufficient warning for the Commission. They didn't call one of the other witnesses on the railroad bridge.

When the president was shot, he was brought to Parkland Hospital, where the doctors examined the wounds that he had suffered. They first of all examined the wound in the president's

throat. Every doctor at Parkland Hospital who examined that wound, who talked to the media that day, said that it was a small, neat wound of entrance. The president had been shot in the throat from the front. The Zapruder film taken at the time and place of the assassination shows where the president was looking—to the front and slightly to the right. That was the first shot.

A bullet also struck the president in the back. After he died at Parkland Hospital, his body was shipped to Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland, where only military physicians were permitted to examine his body and perform the autopsy. Fortunately, there were two FBI agents present during that time. Agents Siebert and O'Neill wrote a report that was first classified and later declassified, evidently by mistake (based upon our examination of how that happened). In any event, the Siebert-O'Neill report revealed some significant information. The doctors who were performing the autopsy on the president's body in Bethesda found a wound in the president's back.

First of all, they examined his clothing. In the jacket and in the shirt there was a hole, six inches below the shoulder, slightly to the right of the spinal column. In the same place in the president's back there was a hole. They probed it with a finger and with an instrument. They said that the bullet had gone in only a very short distance and stopped, but was not present in the body. They could not figure out what had happened to the bullet. A phone call was made to the doctors at Parkland Hospital to ask if they had any explanation. The doctors there said that after the president died, he was placed on a stretcher and external cardiac massage was administered. His body was struck roughly in the chest area in the hope that his heart would begin to beat again, but the attempt was unsuccessful. Shortly after that a bullet was found on the stretcher. The doctors conducting the autopsy said, in effect, "Well, that explains it. The bullet had entered a very short distance. It was misfired. Perhaps it was a dum-dum. In any event, it was probably dislodged as the president's body was subjected to external cardiac massage." That's the second bullet.

A third bullet was fired. At least one bullet hit Texas Governor John Connally, who was riding with the president. He suffered many wounds. At least one bullet had to have hit him to cause his wounds. (We are dealing with absolute minimums

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to see if we can make the Warren Commission case stand up.)

Above description of a hole

A fourth bullet was fired and missed. James Tague, though, wouldn't say it missed; it hit him. It missed the occupants of the presidential limousine, struck a curb, and left behind some metallic material in the curb. Then either that bullet, or portions of the bullet and the curb, struck James Tague in the face, and his face began to bleed from a superficial injury. Other than Governor Connally, who was severely injured, and President Kennedy, who was killed, James Tague was, so far as we know, the only other person wounded in the firing in Dealey Plaza that day. That's four bullets.

A fifth bullet was fired. It struck President Kennedy in his head. That was the shot that killed the president. Five shots. At an absolute minimum, five shots.

Fake. I don't find convincing by bullet by Kennedy's name - official

A weapon was found on the sixth floor of the Book Depository building. The officer who found it, Deputy Sheriff Seymour Weitzman, described it in detail in a sworn affidavit the next day as a German Mauser 30-caliber. Shortly after that the FBI said that Oswald had purchased an Italian Mannlicher-Carcano, caliber 6.5. So the Dallas police said: "That's what we found yesterday." Overnight the weapon changed its nationality and its size. It is not a very good weapon, the one they ended up with, the Italian Mannlicher-Carcano.

Not do

I talked about this case in Milan and Rome. Each time I have mentioned that the Italian Mannlicher-Carcano was the weapon utilized for the precision firing that day, the audience, particularly men in their fifties or more, burst into hysteria. The first time I asked what was funny about that, one man got up and said: "We always thought that the Mannlicher-Carcano was the reason we lost World War II." In any event, the "weapon" was tested for the FBI by the fastest rifleman east of the Mississippi, Robert Frazier. To work the bolt, to get the new round into the chambers, Frazier said, required a minimum of 2.3 seconds without even aiming the telescopic sight, which would require another second. So we have an absolute minimum to work the bolt of this old rusty weapon of 2.3 seconds. An absolute minimum.

Now we have Governor Connally examining the Zapruder film frame by frame. He said that President Kennedy was struck at that certain frame, and that he himself was struck at this certain frame. He swore that he was absolutely sure. Mrs. Con-

Some have to have dug out this in a rush and probably is referring from one of his speeches. This is the way he speaks

nally, who was seated alongside him, corroborated his testimony. If his statements are true, then Governor Connally was struck 1.8 seconds after President Kennedy was struck because the Zapruder film, the Muchmore film, and the Nix film are all clocks. Once you know the speed of the film through the camera (the Zapruder film has 18.3 frames per second), it becomes a clock for the assassination. Therefore when you say "that frame and this frame," you can tell how far apart they are—1.8 seconds. Now with a weapon that requires 2.3 seconds as an absolute minimum for an interval period, having shots 1.8 seconds apart becomes very difficult.

But the Commission never bothered with that question at all, except to say that Governor Connally was probably wrong, that he had had a delayed reaction. He was just struck a glancing blow. The bullet entered his back and shattered his fourth and fifth ribs, causing his chest wall to explode with a huge gaping, sucking hole that almost cost his life. The Commission referred to that as a glancing blow that he hardly noticed.

Now we have problems for the Commission. The most serious problem for the Commission has been provided by the Zapruder film. From the first shot to the last, the Commission conceded, the maximum period of time elapsed is 5.6 seconds. The problem that the Commission has is that you can't get off five shots in 5.6 seconds with a 6.5-caliber Mannlicher-Carcano, and that weapon is the one with which they were going to prove that Lee Harvey Oswald killed the president.

But the Commission started with a preconception, and they utilized the evidence or distorted the evidence to meet that preconception. I'll give you an example. When the Commission was formed on January 12, 1964, J. Lee Rankin, counsel of the Commission, held its first press conference, which explained to the media (the account was published on the front page of the *New York Times* under the headline "Six-Phase Inquiry,") how the commission was organized in six panels. All of the evidence that would reach the Warren Commission would come through those six panels. What were they?

Panel number 1: What did Lee Harvey Oswald do on November 22?

Panel number 2: Oswald's background.

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Panel number 3: Oswald in the Marine Corps and Oswald in the Soviet Union (a strange juxtaposition).

Panel number 4: How Ruby killed Oswald.

Panel number 5: Ruby's background (which we saw they did splendidly).

Panel number 6: The effectiveness of the Secret Service that day in providing precautions. (We thought we knew the answer to that one already.)

Those were the six panels. When I went before the Commission I congratulated it upon its development of an organization. I thought the six panels were fine, but I said: "However, Mr. Chief Justice, I would have added a seventh panel if I was conducting the investigation." He said: "Really? What would you call it?" I said: "I'd call it 'Who killed John Kennedy?'" The only evidence that could come before the Commission, based upon their table of organization, relative to the death of John Kennedy was in Panel 1: What did Lee Harvey Oswald do on November 22? In other words, there has never been a more public, open, cover-up in the history of this country. They said in advance what they were going to do. And they did it.

Let us see now how they handled the evidence in the light of their preconception. How many shots can be fired with the weapon they designated as the murder weapon in 5.6 seconds by one person? Three is the maximum, assuming the weapon is fully loaded. There is time for two interval periods. You cannot get four shots off; it takes too long. With that information the Commission concluded: Lee Harvey Oswald fired three shots. That is the most you can fire with the weapon; that is what he must have done. But then the question is: How do you explain all of the wounds and all of the known results of the bullets? You do it by the development of "the magic bullet theory," which is central to the Commission's conclusion.

This is the magic bullet theory. Lee Harvey Oswald is up on the sixth floor of the Book Depository building with his trusty German-Italian Mannlicher-Mauser 30-caliber 6.5-caliber. Here comes the president's limousine directly in front of the Book Depository building and almost stops as it makes its turn. At this point Oswald can drop the weapon out of the window confident that it will injure someone. But does he even fire at that

What he said is
that if he thought
Oswald guilty he
would not repre-
sent him. My
recollection of his
testimony is not
clear but I think
this is a paraphrase
of Post Mortem, Ch 3

What does "fully
loaded" have to do
with speed of firing?

point? Oh, no. Being somewhat of a sport, he waits until the car speeds up. As it moves rapidly away, Oswald fires the first shot. This bullet strikes the president in the back of the neck, leaving behind a wound six inches below. It exits from his throat, leaving behind a small, neat wound of entrance as it does so. It hangs out there in mid-air for 1.8 seconds until, apparently, it observes Governor Connally seated directly in front. It then strikes Governor Connally in the back, shattering his fourth and fifth ribs. It exits from his right chest wall and makes a sharp right turn, fractures his right wrist, makes a U-turn, and embeds itself in Governor Connally's left thigh, where it remains until external cardiac massage is administered to President Kennedy. Then it falls out of the president's back onto his stretcher.

Is there any wonder that the inventor of that miraculous bullet, Arlen Specter, who was elected district attorney of Philadelphia based upon his development of that theory, has refused to debate with a single critic of the Warren Commission ever since 1964? He was invited to appear on the Geraldo Rivera program with me. He said that he would not go on if I was there, or if Cyril Wecht (forensic pathologist of Pittsburgh) was there, or if anybody who was going to talk about the facts was there. ABC said to him: "We'll tell you what we'll do. If you don't want to debate with them, we'll put them on first. They can say what they want. Then you will have the last forty minutes, all to yourself, to say whatever you want." He said: "I refuse to do that. I'm not going to get involved in that kind of situation." But he accepted Tom Snyder's invitation to appear on his show. A full hour, no debate, and no one asking any intelligent questions. No one was there to ask any intelligent questions.

When the full story is told about the death of John Kennedy and what the media have done in an effort to affect the thinking of the American people, we shall then begin to unravel the role of the CIA disinformation section. We now have hard information for the first time about its role in issuing false statements about the critics of the Warren Report. The government was very active in the period when criticism first began to be voiced. There was not a single lecture that I gave in any college campus or before any church group in this country during which there were not at least two members of the Federal

*In fact in 1966
Specter was
many people
request to appear
me & when he
found out he
from me in 1966
he flew to England
& did not
on BBC.*

Bureau of Investigation present with tape recorders. Not one. It's all now available in the National Archives.

I want to talk about one other area regarding the death of John Kennedy, that concerning Jim Garrison, district attorney of New Orleans—the single most maligned public official in this country. Garrison submitted evidence to a grand jury in New Orleans, and they indicted Clay Shaw. This is what was presented to the jury: Garrison's theory that there was a conspiracy to kill John F. Kennedy, Garrison's theory that Clay Shaw was part of that conspiracy, and Garrison's theory that Clay Shaw's motivation was that he was working for the Central Intelligence Agency. The evidence was submitted to the jury. It was the only time an American jury has had an opportunity to examine the evidence regarding the death of John Kennedy.

The twenty-six volumes came into court in New Orleans in a wheelbarrow. I remember it very well. The single bullet theory relies upon the fact that the bullet they have—Commission exhibit 399—is responsible for all of the wounds, a view that Arlen Specter still holds. During the trial Jim Garrison's assistant asked Lieutenant Colonel Pierre Finck, the pathologist who conducted the autopsy of the president for the government, if that one bullet could have caused all the wounds. Finck said: "It's impossible, for the reason that there are more grains of metal still in Governor Connally's wrist than there are missing from that bullet. That bullet could not have done it." Add to that statement the statement of Norman Redlich, assistant counsel to the Warren Commission, that if it is proved that the single bullet theory is not accurate, then he would concede that there was a conspiracy to kill John F. Kennedy, and you can see how central the single bullet theory becomes in an analysis of all of the evidence. And Finck said that that bullet could not have caused the wounds suffered by Governor Connally, certainly not the one in the wrist.

The evidence was presented to the jury. The jury listened closely. Then the jury concluded, number one: That there was a conspiracy to kill John F. Kennedy. It was the only American jury that ever heard the evidence and the only one to reach that conclusion—a historic moment that the press has not yet, of course, reported fully. Conclusion number 2: That the evidence showing Shaw's association with the assassination did not, however, prove his guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. Every juror I

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Garrison changed to grand jury.

I was not there but I think not. I think judge ruled right no evidence.

What happened to Finck

no such thing

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talked to (and I talked to them all with a formal questionnaire) believed the nine witnesses who swore that Oswald, David Ferrie, and Clay Shaw were together in Clinton, Louisiana, and elsewhere. Every juror said: "I believe them absolutely. I believe that Shaw committed perjury when he denied that he knew Lee Harvey Oswald."

Garrison's failure to prove an association between Shaw and the CIA was, however, a central question in the minds of many of the jurors. The jury acquitted Shaw and then Garrison indicted him for perjury for denying that he knew Lee Harvey Oswald. In my view there is no such thing as an open-and-shut criminal case. But we do have nine witnesses believed by every single juror, and every single juror also believed Clay Shaw committed perjury. It *was* a strong case. Then, for the first time, the federal government moved in directly and openly. A federal judge in New Orleans issued an injunction forever prohibiting Jim Garrison from trying Clay Shaw. Such a thing had never happened before in the history of this country. It was unprecedented. That was the end of the case. That was the end of it all.

According to Victor Marchetti, at the Central Intelligence Agency during the time of the Shaw trial it was said (in a meeting with a number of people, including Richard Helms), in essence: "Clay Shaw is ours. Our relationship with him can't be known. We have to do what we can to help him during the trial." What did they do? Isn't it about time, since Victor Marchetti made that statement in early 1974, that some committee of Congress invite him to make the statement under oath and then call Richard Helms and ask him if he and the others said that? Isn't it about time to ask them what the Central Intelligence Agency did to pervert the course of justice in New Orleans? I think it is long past time.

I have been talking about this matter all over the country ever since 1964. The assassination of John Kennedy is not a spectator sport. We have to do things. We have to change the course of this country. We have not had a real election in this country, one that has been decided by ballots instead of bullets, since John Kennedy's head was blown off in Dealey Plaza. Who became president after that? Lyndon Johnson. Then he was elected because John Kennedy was dead. Next Robert Kennedy was killed in the 1963 campaign. Then in 1972, when the polls

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showed that Nixon could not win because of the strong showing that Wallace appeared to be making, Wallace was removed. We have not had an election where we have made the decision without the interference of bullets since John Kennedy's head was blown off. If we do not want to have a country where that is the situation, we will have to do something about it.

We have never before had the opportunity we have now, never. Watergate has brought about a change. The Freedom of Information Act was signed in the wake of Watergate. It says that documents that are in the public domain belong to us, no matter what the CIA and the FBI say. They belong to us. That act was passed by a strong vote of the House and the Senate. It was vetoed by President Ford, who, as Congressman Ford, signed the Warren Commission Report as a member of the Commission.

When the facts are finally disclosed, one thing I believe will stand out with absolute clarity. Gerald Ford and the six other members of the Warren Commission, because they did not take the hard evidence available to them and make it available to those who had the authority to prosecute, are all accessories after the fact in the murder of John F. Kennedy.

What can we do about it? There is a committee called the Citizens Commission of Inquiry comprising just about every responsible critic of the Warren Commission, everyone who has done hard research and others who have been involved in peripheral areas. It started with Marcus Raskin and Richard Barnet, the two codirectors of the Institute for Policy Studies. It contains Bernard Fensterwald, former counsel for committees of the Senate; George O'Toole, former CIA agent who wrote The Assassination Tapes (New York: Penthouse Press, 1975); L. Fletcher Prouty; Morton Halperin, former deputy assistant secretary of defense; and many other people.

What we have done under the new Freedom of Information Act (passed by an overwhelming vote over President Ford's veto) is to demand all of the relevant material on the assassination. It's quite clear that the FBI and the CIA and the others are dragging their feet. We'll have to go into court to get the material. But we are confident that we are going to get it.

We are going to analyze that material. I'm teaching at the Law School of the Catholic University of America. The administration there has made it possible for us to have an internship

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program. Law students will begin getting credit for going through that material as it comes out of the National Archives. That work will be done, and that material is going to be made available to every relevant committee of Congress that has a responsibility to investigate any aspect of the cover-up by the CIA and the FBI.

What you have to do is see to it that your congressperson and your senator understand that it is his or her responsibility to fight for such an investigation. If you think that this is a matter that belongs on the agenda of the American people, you have to put it on the agenda. When Gerald Ford or any other candidate for the nomination of his or her party comes to any place where you are, this question must be raised and raised forcefully until we know where that candidate stands. If we do this together with the new Freedom of Information Act and the Citizens Commission of Inquiry, I believe that we are going to bring out the facts regarding the cover-up of the assassination of John Kennedy, the cover-up by the FBI, by the CIA, and by the Warren Commission. I believe that through an examination of the cover-up, we will be able to follow footsteps right back into the conspiracy that killed John F. Kennedy.

This can only be done if we force the apparatus of government to work for us in an effort to secure the facts rather than to do what they have done since November 22, 1963—work in an effort to suppress the facts.

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