

need to learn, about Oswald and about this crime against American democracy. Like presidential elections, the darker side of our political process, assassinations, profoundly alter not only the succession of leadership and the distribution of political power but the course of public policy and history. If the U.S. Secret Service is to effectively protect our political leaders, it must understand the various root causes of these assaults: lumping Oswald with Squeaky Fromme and John W. Hinckley, Jr. as fitting "the profile" of U.S. assassins (lone, deranged drifters) is too simplistic for effective protective research.<sup>6</sup> It is also essential in a democracy that institutions and agencies of government be held publicly accountable for their performance and actions, an accounting that should not be voided by official secrecy and disinformation.

Finally, if some cabal successfully conspired to subvert the democratic process by disenfranchising citizens' ballots with bullets, this must be confronted. Doing so will serve history and democracy well, even if criminal justice cannot now be achieved. We can begin to comprehend a great deal more about the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, about the sources of violence that threaten our political system and about the nature of covert power and politics when we know which of the conflicting images was real: Lee Harvey Oswald, U.S. intelligence agent-provocateur.

Appendix A: Selected Chronology of Lee Harvey Oswald

Oct. 18, 1939 Born in New Orleans, La.

1955 Joins New Orleans chapter, Civil Air Patrol  
allegedly headed by David Ferrie

Oct. 24, 1956 Joins United States Marine Corps

Sept. 11, 1959 Released from active duty

Oct. 15, 1959 Crosses Finnish-Soviet border en route to Moscow

Oct. 31, 1959 Visits U.S. Embassy in Moscow and announces his  
intention to defect to the U.S.S.R.

April 30, 1960 Marries Marina Prusakova

May 1, 1960 Francis Gary Powers' U-2 spy plane is shot down  
in the U.S.S.R.

Feb. 15, 1962 Daughter June is born

May 1962 Arranges return to U.S. with help of State Dept.

June 1, 1962 Leaves U.S.S.R. by train to Holland

June 2, 1962 Leaves Holland via liner for U.S.

June 14, 1962 Arrives Fort Worth and lives with brother Robert

Oct. 10, 1962 First day at Jagers-Chiles-Stovall photo-  
optics firm

Nov. 3, 1962 Rents apartment at 602 Elsbeth St., Dallas

Mar. 3, 1963 Moves to apartment at 214 W. Neely St., Dallas

April 6, 1963 Last day of work at Jagers-Chiles-Stovall

April 24, 1963 Leaves Dallas. Family moves to Irving, Tex. to  
live with Michael and Ruth Paine

April 25, 1963 Arrives in New Orleans

May 9, 1963 Takes job at Reily Coffee Co.  
 May 11, 1963 Family joins him in New Orleans  
 mid June, 1963 Hands out FPCC leaflets at Dumaine St. wharf  
                   where USS Wasp is docked.  
 July 19, 1963 "Fired" from Reily Coffee Co.  
 Aug. 9, 1963 Arrested for disturbing the peace during  
                   leafletting (Bringuier scuffle)  
 Aug. 16, 1963 Passes out FPCC leaflets outside Trade Mart,  
                   New Orleans  
 late Aug.-early Sept., 1963 Oswald and Ferrie visit Clinton, Louisiana  
                                   during CORE voter-registration campaign  
 Sept. 27, 1963 Travels to Mexico. Family stays at Paines' home  
                                   in Irving, Texas  
 Oct. 3, 1963 Returns to Dallas and registers at YMCA  
 Oct. 4-6, 1963 Visits Irving, Texas where wife and child are  
                                   living  
 Oct. 14, 1963 Rents apartment at 1026 N. Beckley, Dallas  
 Oct. 15, 1963 Takes job at Texas School Book Depository  
 Oct. 20, 1963 Second daughter, Rachel, is born  
 Nov. 1, 1963 Rents a new post office box at Terminal Annex  
                                   Post Office, Dallas. Authorizes mail ~~to be~~  
                                   <sup>for</sup> ~~recieved by~~ the ACLU and the FPCC *to be received*  
 Nov. 22, 1963 Goes to work at Depository. President Kennedy  
                                   is shot at 12:30 p.m. Arrested in Texas  
                                   Theater, ~~at~~ at 1:50 p.m.  
 Nov. 24, 1963 Murdered in basement of Dallas Police station  
                                   by Jack Ruby

**Appendix B: Excerpts from the Testimony of Former CIA Director  
Richard Helms Before the House Select Committee on  
Assassinations**

Richard Helms testified in August of 1978. In these first excerpts he hints that there was Agency concern about who might have been behind Oswald, but that the most relevant data resides in foreign intelligence files (implicitly, not in CIA files):

There is hardly any question there was more discussed during those days as to who was behind Lee Harvey Oswald, if indeed he was the man who was responsible, what had affected his life, why had he done the things he had done, and so forth.

\* \* \*

I think if the Chair would indulge me a minute, I would like to make a comment about the various investigations into the assassination of President Kennedy based on the long years I have spent in the intelligence business, and that is, until the day that the KGB in Moscow or the Cuban intelligence in Havana is prepared to turn over their files to the United States as to what their relationships to these various people were, it is going to be extraordinarily difficult to tidy up this case, finally and conclusively.<sup>1</sup>

The CIA had denied that it had any interest in or data on Oswald beyond his rather meager "201 file." A 201 file was

described by the Agency as an expression of routine interest in a person--nothing extraordinary. The House Committee was interested in the question of why such a routine file was not opened on Oswald in the fall of 1959 when he defected rather than waiting until December of 1960. Moreover, Helms' testimony appears to have been inconsistent on this point.<sup>2</sup>

**COMMITTEE COUNSEL MICHAEL GOLDSMITH:** Mr. Helms, what is a 201 file?

**DIRECTOR RICHARD HELMS:** I believe the 201 file, if memory serves, is simply the number given to a type of file at the Agency in which personality information is placed. In other words, if you open a 201 file on the chairman of this committee, for example, it would simply be information that had come into the Agency which involved that gentleman.

**GOLDSMITH:** Why would the Agency have opened a 201 file on Oswald?

**HELMS:** Why would it have?

**GOLDSMITH:** Yes, sir.

**HELMS:** I believe at some point a decision must have been made that Oswald was perhaps a matter of continuing interest and therefore the information which we held on him should be put in the file.

I would like to suggest to the committee that when a Government agency receives mail it has to do something with it, and one of the things that you do with it is to try to categorize the type of information it is and where it would best be filed so that if you need it at some future date you can get it back.

**GOLDSMITH:** I would ask that Mr. Helms be shown JFK exhibit F-534. For the record, that is a Department of State telegram dated October 31, 1959. Would you please read to yourself that telegram.

**HELMS:** Yes, Mr. Goldsmith, I have read it now.

**GOLDSMITH:** This telegram makes reference to Oswald, indicating his intention or desire to defect, and it says that Oswald has offered the Soviets any information he has acquired as an enlisted radar operator. My question to you is whether information contained in this particular telegram would normally lead to the opening of a 201 file?

**HELMS:** I just don't know how to answer the question. I would have thought so but, on the other hand, maybe a decision would be made that this was something that involved the Marine Corps and that this was their concern. After all, the Department of Defense has a very large Defense Intelligence Agency and then it has intelligence units in the Army, Navy, and Air Force and they do have jurisdiction over their people and their security.

**GOLDSMITH:** Mr. Helms, I would ask you to refer to your previous testimony to this committee on page 75, specifically to line 15, your response to the question posed by me.

**GOLDSMITH:** Would the information contained in this telegram normally lead to the opening of a 201 file?

We are referring to the same telegram. Would you please read the response that you gave that day?

**HELMS:** "Mr. Helms. I would have thought so, an American who was defecting to the Soviet Union would have been of

counterintelligence interest and that would have been quite sufficient to have caused the Agency to open a file."

GOLDSMITH: Mr. chairman, I move for the admission of this exhibit.

RICHARDSON PREYER: Without objection, the exhibit is ordered into the record at this point.

The former director Helms expressed profound skepticism regarding the claim made by Soviet sources, such as defector Yuri Nosenko, that the KGB had absolutely no interest in Oswald and never debriefed him. Many analysts, including the author, greet the CIA's denials of interest in Oswald with similar skepticism, based on the mirror image of Helms' reasoning to the Committee:<sup>3</sup>

I simply do not understand that assertion. I would have thought, to begin with, that any American who went to the Russian government and said, "I want to defect to the Soviet Union" would have immediately been taken over by the KGB to find out what his game was because, after all, the KGB's charter is to protect the Soviet state against infiltration.

How would they know that he was serious about this? How would they know that the CIA had not sent him to make a fake defection and to try to get into Soviet society through this device?

So, for that reason, if not for many others, I find it quite incredible, the assertion by Nosenko that Oswald was never interrogated or was never in touch with the KGB while he was in the soviet Union. This really stretches one's

credulity. It goes back to the testimony this morning that this is the hardest thing about the whole Nosenko case to swallow, and I have not been able to swallow it in all these years.

Congressman Floyd J. Fithian (Dem. Ind.) raised the question of damage assessment regarding Oswald's possible U-2 secrets.<sup>4</sup>

CONGRESSMAN FITHIAN: Would you, would the Agency then not have-- as a matter of practice--not have inquired of DOD or someone as to how much damage to our U-2 operation, let's say, theorized, that Oswald might be able to do by the defecting?

HELMS: I don't know. We might have, but I would have thought that the feeling would be that that was the Navy Department's responsibility.

FITHIAN: Is it your best assessment that in all probability the Agency did not make any effort to assess the potential damage of Oswald's ....

HELMS: I think that is right. In other words, he was another Marine, but what specialty he had or what he had been involved with, I don't think we would have gone into that unless it were volunteered to us in some form.

Under rather sharp, lengthy questioning, an acerbic Helms was asked about whether Oswald had been "connected" with the CIA.<sup>5</sup>

GOLDSMITH: Did the Agency ever conduct an investigation to determine whether Lee Harvey Oswald had been connected with the



CIA?

**HELMS:** Yes, and I believe that [then CIA Director] Mr. McCone presented to the Warren Commission a sworn affidavit saying that he had no formal connection with the CIA of any kind. I gather that through the years a couple of people have been identified who had once thought that maybe the Agency should have some kind of a contact with Lee Harvey Oswald, but to the best of my knowledge no contact was ever made.

In any event, he was not an agent of the CIA and I was horrified this morning to have Mr. Blakey, [Committee's chief Counsel] as a part of this committee's work coming out with the allegation at this late date that he had some identification with the Agency. Can't this ever be put to rest? What does it take to put it to rest?

Excuse me, I am asking you a question. I will rephrase it. I would hope that at some juncture someone would find some means of putting this allegation to rest.

**GOLDSMITH:** Mr. Helms, what did the Agency's investigation involve when it was looking into this matter.

**HELMS:** We have records for one thing in the Agency, and then on top of that, I have the recollection that various people were asked whether they knew anything about Oswald or had any connection with him, people like the officers in the contact division, did you ever interview Oswald; people in the CE staff, etc.

I don't remember the exact details. Fifteen years later it would be implausible for me to remember exactly what, but I can assure you that we would not have asked or suggested or allowed

Mr. McCone to swear out an affidavit, present it to the Warren Commission, unless we believed the affidavit to be truthful.

GOLDSMITH: Was there a written report summarizing the Agency's investigation?

HELMS: I don't know.

GOLDSMITH: Do you think one should have been filed?

HELMS: I don't know.

GOLDSMITH: Why not?

HELMS: I don't have any idea why it should have. If it manifested itself in the affidavit sworn by Mr. McCone, isn't that evidence enough?

GOLDSMITH: Are the Agency's files sufficiently accurate to resolve that issue?

HELMS: I don't know. You know, after this inquiry today, I am reminded of the fact that back in the days of the Continental Congress that intelligence, espionage, and counter-espionage were conducted by committees of the Continental Congress. I think maybe the best thing to do would be to return secret intelligence to the aegis of the U.S. Congress and let you fellows run it.

GOLDSMITH: Mr. Helms, did the Agency ever have an operational interest in Lee Harvey Oswald?

HELMS: Not that I am aware of.

GOLDSMITH: I would ask that the witness be shown JFK F-526. I would ask that you read that.

For the record, this is a memorandum dated November 25, 1963.

HELMS: I have glanced at this memorandum. I have not read

it in great detail. Who wrote it?

GOLDSMITH: You are asking me who wrote it?

HELMS: Oh, I am sorry. I am supposed to take an anonymous memorandum and make judgments on it. I'll do the best I can.

GOLDSMITH: I might add that this is a sanitized document and I would hope you would not want me to indicate who wrote it.

Referring you to the first paragraph that makes reference to the laying on of interviews.

HELMS: The first paragraph makes reference to the laying on of interviews with Lee Harvey Oswald.

GOLDSMITH: Does the language of this memorandum suggest that the possibility of a contact with Oswald was contemplated?

HELMS: The memorandum does not say anything about a contact.

GOLDSMITH: Does the memorandum make reference to the laying on of interviews?

HELMS: It says I had discussed--some time in summer 1960--with almost a whole line blank, the laying on of interviews through blank or other suitable channels. At the moment, I don't recall if this was discussed while Oswald and his family were on route to this country or was after his arrival.

GOLDSMITH: I am sorry. I didn't ask you to read the document. I simply asked you to....

HELMS: I am sorry. I didn't know I was disobeying.

GOLDSMITH: I simply asked you whether the document makes reference to the laying on of interviews?

HELMS: Yes, it says someone thought about laying on an interview.

GOLDSMITH: In light of that, does it suggest that at the very

least a contact with Oswald was contemplated by the Agency?

HELMS: Not by the Agency, by some individual in the Agency. For a lawyer, I think you ought to be more precise.

GOLDSMITH: Mr. Helms, I am not in a position here today to respond to your criticism.

HELMS: I am sorry. That was not criticism.

GOLDSMITH: Mr. Helms, have you testified before at a congressional hearing?

HELMS: At any time?

GOLDSMITH: Yes.

HELMS: Do you mean in my life?

GOLDSMITH: Yes, sir.

HELMS: On more than one occasion, yes.

GOLDSMITH: And during those occasions, sir, was the standard operating procedure for the attorney to ask the questions and for the witness to answer them?

HELMS: I must confess during my life, Mr. Goldsmith, that I was usually asked questions by the Senators or the Congressmen involved.

GOLDSMITH: Very well, Mr. Helms. Under those circumstances again, was the procedure for the member of the committee or its staff to ask the questions and to have the witness answer the questions?

HELMS: Yes.

GOLDSMITH: Did anyone tell you before you came to testify here today that standard operating procedure would not be followed?

HELMS: I don't recall discussing it with anyone.

GOLDSMITH: Fine. Let's follow the standard operating procedure, Mr. Helms.

HELMS: Certainly, Mr. Goldsmith.

GOLDSMITH: Do you know what follow-up there was to this memorandum dated November 25, 1963? [The memo refers to CIA discussions about Oswald that occurred in 1960.]

HELMS: I have no idea.

GOLDSMITH: I would like to draw your attention to the last line on this memorandum. It makes reference to the Harvey story.

HELMS: Yes.

GOLDSMITH: Do you know what Harvey story that is referring to?

HELMS: No, I do not.

GOLDSMITH: Did the Agency debrief Lee Harvey Oswald upon his return from the Soviet Union?

HELMS: I was not aware that it did. I don't believe it would.

GOLDSMITH: Would standard operating procedure have called for Oswald to have been debriefed?

HELMS: I would not have thought so, Mr. Goldsmith. I think that the standard operating procedure after he returned to the United States would have been for the Navy to debrief him.

GOLDSMITH: Why is that, sir?

HELMS: Because he had been a member of the Marine Corps, and I believe he stayed in the Marine Reserve, if I am not mistaken. But in any event, the understandings were that military officers were handled by the intelligence organs of the defense establishment.

GOLDSMITH: So I take it, then, that the Agency had no interest in finding out whatever information Oswald may have picked up

during his work at a radio factory in Minsk?

HELMS: I don't know.

GOLDSMITH: Again, Mr. Helms, would you agree that a memorandum that makes reference to the possibility of the laying on of interviews on Oswald is contemplating a contact with Oswald? I am not suggesting a contact necessarily occurred, sir, but that it is contemplating a contact.

HELMS: Apparently someone, and I am sorry but the memorandum is so sanitized that I don't know who it was nor do I know in what part of the Agency he was, apparently had an idea at some point it might be a good idea to interview Oswald. To the best of my knowledge, his thought never came to anything.

GOLDSMITH: Did the Agency ever interview the author of this memorandum to determine whether there was any follow-up?

HELMS: I don't know. I don't know who wrote the memorandum.

GOLDSMITH: Do you think if there were a written report summarizing what the Agency had done in its investigation of the Oswald allegation, perhaps issues like this might more readily be resolved?

HELMS: I don't know. I think these issues are very difficult to resolve, particularly 15 years later when I don't even know what I am dealing with.

GOLDSMITH: Do you think the availability of a written report summarizing the steps that the Agency went through would facilitate resolving this issue today?

HELMS: Yes, I think probably it would have been, in light of hindsight, might have been very useful if we had had a memorandum

for the record of everybody in the Agency who was talked to about Oswald. We should have kept that going for several years.

After discussing Oswald's 201 file, Helms was questioned about the possibility that the CIA doctored 201 files for covert purposes. One document in the Committee's possession referred to a "forged and backdated" 201 file to be used in connection with political assassinations (the "ZR Rifle" project).<sup>6</sup>

**GOLDSMITH:** Are 201 files ever maintained on a covert basis or is there ever such a thing as a fake 201 file?

**HELMS:** I don't know. You brought to my attention the fact that you had discovered one in the Agency. I was not aware of the phenomenon myself prior to your having brought it to my attention. Since you did find one, then I concede that I guess there was such a thing, but I was not aware of the one that you brought to my attention and I am not aware of any others.

**GOLDSMITH:** Let's examine that particular one at this point. I would ask that Mr. Helms be given JFK F-522.

What was the ZR Rifle project?

**HELMS:** My understanding from the hearings of the Church committee, I believe the ZR Rifle originally started out as an indicator for a project which was supposed to cover a man who in turn had been taken on to have available an operational capability to kill people. This man was hired before I was aware of these things. I have this in hindsight but I believe that is what the ZR rifle was supposed to be and then I believe later it metamorphosed into something else. But anyway, after I became Deputy Director for Plans, I put on the shelf for good any and

all use of this capacity for killing people. We didn't need that, so that was the end of that.

If the ZR rifle continued after that, it was in another context and I don't remember precisely what the context was. I can read what you have given me here, that it was to spot, develop, and use agent assets for Division D operations. My recollection of Division D was that it was the operational staff in the Agency which attempted to procure code and cipher materials overseas for use by the National Security Agency.

**GOLDSMITH:** In fact, that form which you were just reading, the reference to Division D, has no bearing at all upon any executive action-type problem, any type of assassination program?

**HELMS:** I would not have thought so. If that was in Division D, maybe it was there for convenience. Maybe they didn't know where else to put it, and I can't blame them.

**GOLDSMITH:** Is it also possible the person writing these notes was writing that aspect of it to mislead people to cover the fact that this was assassination activity?

**HELMS:** I don't know whether that was the idea or not, Mr. Goldsmith.

**GOLDSMITH:** Let's take a closer look at this particular document. This document consists of handwritten notes. The notes are in the handwriting of two different individuals.

**HELMS:** Yes, I notice here on one of the pages, "It should have a phony 201 to backstop this."

**GOLDSMITH:** You are reading from which page, sir?

**HELMS:** I am sorry, they are not numbered, Mr. Goldsmith. I am



not trying to be difficult. It is 1, 2, 3--this is page 4.

GOLDSMITH: You are referring to the bottom of the page where it says, "should have phony 201 in RI"?

HELMS: That is it.

GOLDSMITH: This document indicates, "should have phony 201 in RI to backstop this. All documents therein forged and backdated. Should look like"--I believe that says a "CE file."

HELMS: I think that must be what it means.

GOLDSMITH: Let's refer your attention now to page 6, two pages further.

HELMS: Right.

GOLDSMITH: At the bottom right-hand portion of the page approximately five or six lines up, the person wrote in, "Never mention the word assassination." Is that true?

HELMS: Yes, that is what it says.

GOLDSMITH: Would you turn to the next page. Does that page say "No projects or papers except for cover"? Does it also say "cover file create from RIS"--the rest of it not really legible? Does it contain that language?

HELMS: Yes. I don't know, I can't read it either. It is so cut up and excised, and so forth, it really doesn't make much sense.

GOLDSMITH: In any event, Mr. Helms, do these handwritten notes contain any indication that this particular project contemplated the use of fake files?

HELMS: That is what it says here. I don't know any more about it than that if this is the item I mentioned a moment ago that you had brought to my attention and I concede that is what this says. But I find it awfully difficult to deal with these matters

so totally out of context and excised and sanitized, and so forth. My recollection is as I have told you, that the ZR Rifle project was an individual who was supposed to kill people. He never killed anybody and he was never used for that purpose after I had anything to do with it, and any further business the ZR Rifle was involved in was something else's entirely.

**GOLDSMITH:** Mr. Helms, I would ask you to refer to page 86 of your prior testimony which is given at a time when you had access to the complete document.

**HELMS:** Is the top of that page supposed to have been censored by the Agency or is that somebody else's lining.

**GOLDSMITH:** No, sir, that was not intended to be sanitized by the Agency. I believe your lawyer will confirm that.

[Witness conferring with counsel.]

**HELMS:** Excuse me, Mr. Goldsmith, I was confused by what I was looking at here.

[Witness reading from prior testimony.]

**GOLDSMITH:** The question to you:

"**GOLDSMITH:** In any event, would you agree that here is a case where at the very least agency personnel were contemplating the use of a fake 201 file and possibly a fake operational file?"

Would you please read your answer?

**HELMS:** [reading]

"**HELMS:** Yes, it looks like that. But then his boss would have known about this. He would have had to get permission to do that. Somebody would have known about it."

## Introduction

1. The twenty-six volumes of testimony, documents, and exhibits that accompany the Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Gov. Printing Office, 1964) are cited by volume and page-- e.g. XXI. 76. The single volume summary is hereafter referred to at the Warren Report. Throughout the twenty-six volumes, material is often designated as a numbered Commission Document (hereafter referred to as C.D.) or Commission Exhibit (hereafter referred to as C.E.). The cite for note 1 is VI. 270.
2. Warren Report, p. 334.
3. "The Evolution of an Assassin: A Clinical Study of Lee Harvey Oswald," Life, Feb. 21, 1964, pp. 68A-80, at p. 72.

## Chapter 1

1. Henry Hurt, Reasonable Doubt: An Investigation into the Assassination of John F. Kennedy (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1985), p. 193.
2. Report of the Select Committee on Assassinations, U.S. House of Representatives (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Gov. Printing Office, 1979). The final report is hereafter referred to as (e.g.) HSCA Report. The accompanying twelve volumes are referred to as HSCA VI (volume six). Cite 2. is HSCA Report, p. 197.
3. "Additional notes and comments on the Oswald case," Dec. 11, 1963 (CIA 376-154), quoted in Henry Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p.

226.

4. Michael Eddowes, The Oswald File (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1977).
5. Robert Sam Anson, "They've Killed the President" (New York: Bantam, 1975), p. 283.
6. Transcript, Warren Commission executive session, Jan. 22, 1964. Warren Commission members: Chief Justice Earl Warren, Representative Hale Boggs (Dem., Louisiana), John J. McCloy (coordinator of disarmament activities in the Kennedy administration), Sen. John Sherman Cooper (Rep., Kentucky), Allen W. Dulles, Sen. Richard B. Russell (Dem., Georgia), Representative Gerald Ford (Rep. Michigan).
7. Philip Agee, Inside the Company: CIA Diary (New York: Bantam, 1975), p. 85.
8. David Belin, Final Disclosure (New York: Charles Scribners & Sons, 1988), p. 212.
9. Executive Session transcript, Jan. 27, 1964.

## Chapter 2

1. v. 301.
2. XIX. 665.
3. Details of Oswald's experience, as described here, are taken from J. Edward Epstein's Legend (New York: Bantam, 1966), unless otherwise specified.
4. Hearings, "Events Incident to the Summit Conference," p. 124, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 86th Congress, 2nd Session. Testimony by Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, June 2, 1960.
5. Epstein and/or Henry Hurt interviewed several of the men who

worked with Oswald in the Atsugi radar bubble (Epstein, Legend).

6. Warren Report, p. 609.

7. FBI document MI 62-1178, DL 89-43. Nov. 30, 1963 interview with Daniel Powers, Oswald's Atsugi squadron leader, p. 3.

8. VIII. 298.

9. Epstein, Legend, p. 280.

10. Epstein, Legend, p. 69.

11. Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 200.

12. Anson, "They've Killed The President", p. 157.

13. Anthony Summers, Conspiracy (New York: McGraw Hill, 1978), pp. 156-7.

14. Anson, "They've Killed The President", p. 157.

15. David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, The Invisible Government (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), p. 122.

16. Ibid., p. 11.

17. Ibid., p. 11.

18. William R. Corson, The Armies of Ignorance (New York: The Dial Press, 1977), pp. 374-5.

19. Final Report of the Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence, Investigation Into the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Book V (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Gov. Printing Office, 1976), pp. 58-9.

20. Wise and Ross, Invisible Government, pp. 122-4.

21. HSCA Report, p. 220.

22. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 156; HSCA IX, p. 603; HSCA VIII, pp. 313-15; HSCA XIX, p. 601.

23. Summers too notes this possibility, Summers, Conspiracy, p. 156. His own research confirmed the use of such a ploy by British

intelligence, as far back as WWI.

24. HSCA Report, p. 220.
25. VIII. 298.
26. VIII. 232.
27. HSCA XI, p. 84.
28. XXIII. 796.
29. Warren Report, p. 685.
30. Warren Report, p. 611.
31. Warren Report, p. 612.
32. Epstein, Legend, pp. 86-9.
33. Epstein, Legend, pp. 86-9.
34. Interview with Professor James Weeks, Department of Modern Languages, Southeastern Massachusetts University, February 18, 1981.
35. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 155.
36. Transcript, Warren Commission executive session, Jan, 27, 1964.
37. Telephone inquiry, Public information Office, Defense Language Institute, Monterey, Cal., Feb. 18, 1981.
38. Warren Report, pp. 613-14.
39. Warren Report, pp. 614.
40. VIII. 257.
41. XVI. 337; C.D. 107, p. 37.
42. Warren Report, p. 367.
43. XVIII. 162; See Sylvia Meagher, Accessories After the Fact (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), p. 331.
44. C.E. 2676; XXVI. 32. See also HSCA Report, p. 211. The

Committee could not explain the timing of the arrival in Helsinki.

45. Warren Report, p. 692.

46. On defectors generally, see The Dallas Conspiracy, Peter Dale Scott (unpublished ms.) ~~NY Times, June 20, 1959~~. On Oswald's defection, Warren Report, pp. 616-17.

47. Warren Report, pp. 617-18.

48. Warren Report, pp. 617-18. Richard E. Snyder, the diplomat who dealt with Oswald at the U.S. Embassy, later asserted that the would-be defector told him that

he [Oswald] had told Soviet officials that as a Soviet citizen he would make known to them whatever he knew about the Marine Corps and his specialty in radar. He intimated that he might know something of special interest.

Snyder also said that Oswald might have

thought he was establishing credibility with Russian ears-in-the-wall [electronic surveillance of the U.S. Embassy by the KGB].

See Richard E. Snyder, "The Soviet Sojourn of Citizen Oswald," Washington Post Magazine, April 1, 1979, p. 29.

49. Warren Report, p. 367.

50. See C.D. 434 and 451; HSCA Report, pp. 101-3; HSCA XII, p. 475.

51. C.E. 941; XVIII. 155.

52. II. 162.

53. Curry interview with Anthony Summers (Summers, Conspiracy, p. 128).

54. Alexander interview with Summers (Summers, Conspiracy, p.

128).

55. Patrolman Warren Roberts statement to FBI, 11/30/63 file 89-69, p. 1.

56. Warren Report, pp. 747-50; Anson, "They've Killed the President", p. 161.

57. Jim Marrs, Crossfire: The Plot That Killed Kennedy (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1989), p. 114. Marrs describes Snyder as "a CIA intelligence operative serving as senior consular officer at the Moscow embassy." It has been established that Snyder worked for the Agency prior to his Moscow diplomatic assignment. It has not been established that he worked for the Agency while dealing with Oswald. Marrs' book is devoid of footnotes. an in introductory note he states that, "Any statements without attribution indicates historical fact or issues which are undisputed among the majority of credible assassination researchers. This seems a rather ephemeral baseline since <sup>p t</sup>interpretations of historical fact in this case differ markedly, as do perceptions of who is or isn't a credible researcher. Conversely, the fact that a majority of mainstream historical descriptions of the case accept Oswald's guilt does not make it true.

58. HSCA Report, p. 215: HSCA quotes concerning Snyder are from this page unless otherwise specified. See also David. C. Martin, Wilderness of Mirrors (New York: Ballantine, 1980), p. 117, on CIA offices <sup>r</sup>under diplomatic cover in Moscow.

59. Anson, "They've Killed The President", p. 161 (on Snyder's reaction); also Meagher, Accessories, p. 339.



60. C.E. 909; VII. 2.
61. VIII. 298.
62. VIII. 298, discussed in Meagher, Accessories, p. 339.
63. Epstein, Legend, pp. 102, 366.
64. Epstein, Legend, pp. 102, 366.
65. Ross and Wise, Invisible Government, p. 123.
66. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 204. Summers and Dick Fontaine interviewed Prouty in 1978 and Summers corresponded with Prouty in 1979.
67. See Gary Powers with Curt Gentry, Operation Overflight (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970); also Summers, Conspiracy, p. 204, p. 206.
68. Powers interview, The Times, April 20, 1971.
69. The following discussion of the Soviets' interrogation of Powers is taken from Epstein, Legend, pp. 120, 300n.2.
70. Oswald's letter and possible presence in Moscow when Powers was there: Epstein, Legend, p. 121.
71. XVIII. 131; XVI. 705-6.
72. XVIII. 137.
73. V. 284; XVIII. 160-2. Marina visa: XVIII. 158.
74. The Davison incident is taken from: Warren Report, p. 634; C.D. 87 SS 569; C.D. 235; C.D. 409, p. 3; C.D. 1115 section XIII; XIII, item 104.
75. XVI. 616; XVIII. 16.
76. Robert Oswald with Myrick and Barbara Land, Lee: A Portrait of Lee Harvey Oswald (New York: Coward McCann, 1967), p.117.
77. C.E. 18; XVI 50.
78. HSCA XII, p. 250.

79. The Penkovsky Papers (New York: Avon Books, 1966), p. 24.
80. Ibid. pp. 360, 366.
81. C.D. 87; C.D. 235; C.D. 409, p. 3; C.D. 1115, section XIII, item 103.
82. HSCA Report, pp. 215-17.
83. Warren Report, p. 671; cf. p. 669.
84. Warren Report, p. 674.
85. Warren Report, pp. 671-3.
86. Warren Report, pp. 750, 722.
87. Warren Report, p. 667.
88. Warren Report, p. 667.
89. XXII. 12; XXIV. 509.
90. Anson, "They've Killed The President", p. 167.
91. Anson, "They've Killed The President", p. 167.
92. Anson, "They've Killed The President", p. 59; Warren Report, pp. 370, 626, 674-5.
93. C.E. 29; XVI. 144.
94. C.E. 9.
95. Transcript, Warren Commission executive session, Jan. 27, 1964.
96. Warren Report, p. 173.
97. Free China and Asia (Taipei), August, 1959 (cited by Scott, The Dallas Conspiracy, ch. 2, p. 23).
98. Wise and Ross, Invisible Government, p. 241; on emigrés: Morton Halperin et al, The Lawless State (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), pp. 137-8.
99. CBS Television, "The American Assassins," November 26, 1975.

100. Ibid.
101. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the Assassination of JFK, Book V, p. 88.
102. IV. pp. 417-20.
103. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the Assassination of JFK, Book V, p. 87.
104. IV. 417.
105. HSCA Report, p. 209.
106. Epstein, Legend, p. 312; HSCA Report, p. 207-9; HSCA XII, pp. 463-5.
107. Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence (New York: Dell Pub. Co., 1975), pp. 219-21; Wise and Ross, Invisible Government, pp. 4, 5, 199, 201-4, 249.
108. Halperin, The Lawless State, p. 137.
109. XVIII. 367 (March 31, 1961 Memo of State Department).
110. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 219-20.
111. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 219-20.
112. New York Times, June 30, 1959 (cited by Scott, The Dallas Conspiracy).
113. Ibid.
114. Scott, Dallas Conspiracy, ch. 2, p. 2.
115. Scott, Dallas Conspiracy, ch. 2, p. 2.
116. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 177-8; Scott, Dallas Conspiracy, ch. 2., p. 2.
117. Sources cited in note 113.
118. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 177-8.
119. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 177-8.
120. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 178.

121. Priscilla Johnson McMillan, Marina and Lee (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), p. 107.
122. Prouty letter to Anthony Summers, June 25, 1979 (Summers, Conspiracy, p. 168, n. 168).
123. CIA document 1004-400, declassified in 1976.
124. Bernard Fensterwald and Michael Ewing, Coincidence or Conspiracy? (New York: Zebra Books, 1977), p. 230.
125. Employment-aptitude tests: X. 121-7, 144, 155; XI. 475-8; Warren Report, pp. 402-3. Cunningham quotes: X. 123-4, 127. On Oswald's IQ and general intelligence see VIII. 290, 247, 300.
126. Testimony of Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall employee Dennis Ofstein, X. 202.
127. XVI. 155.
128. XVII. 801.
129. Warren Report, pp. 386-7.
130. C.D. 75, p. 461-2; C.D. 1209; C.D. 1211, 1218, 1226, 1230, 1241. It is not clear as to the source of this claim: whether it was Oswald's assertion that was recorded or was from some other source.
131. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the Assassination of JFK, p. 54 cited in Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 242.

### Chapter 3

1. Denver Post, May 2, 1976.
2. See Anson, "They've Killed The President", pp. 178-81; Summers, Conspiracy, ch. 16; C.E. 1409.

3. Lee (V.T.) Exhibit 1; XX. 511.
4. XX. 514-18.
5. Oswald's two visits to Bringuier: XIX. 240; XXV. 773; X. 37; XXVI. 768. Also, Summers interview with Bringuier, 1978 (Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 300-1).
6. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 300-1.
7. Warren Report, p. 383.
8. HSCA X. p. 81n.
9. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 307-8.
10. Rosemary James and Jack Wardlaw, Plot or Politics: The Garrison Case and its Cast (New Orleans: Pelican Pub. Co., 1967), p. 12.
11. FBI Agent Quigley and Oswald interview: Quigley FBI report, Aug. 23, 1963 (FBI document N.O. 100-16601-18); XVII. 758-62.
12. IV. 437; XVII. 758-62; HSCA X, p. 123.
13. X. 41, 61, 68; XVI. 342; XXV. 771. Also C.D. 206, pp. 216-18; C.D. 114, p. 629; C.D. 75, pp. 69-70.
14. This trend is described by Senate Committee to Study Govt. Intelligence, Book V.
15. Halperin, Lawless State, pp. 135-40.
16. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the Assassination of JFK, Book V, p. 60.
17. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the Assassination of JFK, Book V, p. 60.
18. Memo from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to Warren Commission Chief Counsel J. Lee Rankin, June 11, 1964.
19. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the

Assassination of JFK, Book V, p. 64.

20. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the Assassination of JFK, Book V, p. 64.

21. XXVI. 783; C.E. 3120.

22. XXIV. 332, 337.

23. XX. 512; XX. 518; XX. 524.

24. Sources used for this portrait of Banister include: HSCA X, pp. 123-7; Harold Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans--Case for Conspiracy with the CIA (New York: Canyon Books, 1967), pp. 51-2, 327-9, 337-40, 364, 391, 410; Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 319-26.

25. Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 289. See also Jim Garrison, On the Trail of the Assassins: My Investigation and Prosecution of the Murder of President Kennedy (New York: Sheridan Square Press, 1988), p. 5. Garrison states that this incident occurred at sunset on the day of the assassination. He cites a New Orleans police report (K12634-63). Garrison has generally implied a CIA-based conspiracy. On the Trail incorporates much of the material from his 1970 book A Heritage of Stone and adds a memoir concerning his 1967-9 probe (as New Orleans District Attorney) into a possible conspiracy involving New Orleans businessman Clay Shaw, a probe that focused intensely on Ferrie and Banister as well. Shaw was acquitted in March of 1969 of conspiracy to kill the president. Garrison's investigation and methods came under sharp criticism, criticism which his latest book seeks to refute with a spirited defense.

26. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 321.

27. State of Louisiana, Secretary of State, May 17, 1967.

Friends of Democratic Cuba, Inc. Articles of Incorporation Cited

in Jim Garrison, Heritage of Stone (New York: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1970), p. 97.

28. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 321.

29. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 320.

30. E. Howard Hunt, Give Us this Day (New York: Arlington House, 1973), pp. 40-51, 181-9. Front organization: HSCA X, p. 57.

31. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 319.

32. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 319.

33. Milton E. Brener, The Garrison Case: A Study in the Abuse of Power (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1969), p. 47.

34. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 318-19.

35. Warren Report, pp. 407-9.

36. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 326.

37. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 326.

38. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 326.

39. HSCA X, pp. 130-31.

40. HSCA Report, p. 144.

41. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 257. Summers interview of Kohly, 1978.

42. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 427-8. Summers obtained a copy of an audio tape made by a Dallas policeman at a John Birch Society meeting.

43. William Manchester, Death of a President (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 53.

44. Garrison, Heritage, pp. 98-100, Trail of the Assassins, p. 37.

45. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 324.

46. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 325.
47. XVI. 67.
48. Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, pp. 78-80.
49. Wise and Ross, Invisible Government, pp. 26,42; Anson, "They've Killed The President", p. 250.
50. XXII. 828; Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, p. 79.
51. George Valsky, "Cuban Exiles Recall Domestic Spying and Picketing for CIA," New York Times, Jan. 4, 1975.
52. Warren Commission, Bringuier Exhibits 3 and 4.
53. Fensterwald and Ewing, Coincidence, pp. 468-70; telephone conversation with Bernard Fensterwald, Sept. 21, 1981.
54. Ibid.
55. CIA document 1433-492-AB. May 8, 1967 memo "Garrison and the Kennedy Assassination," one page.
56. Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Activities with Respect to Intelligence Activities, Supplementary Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Gov. Printing Office, 1976), Book III, pp. 620-2. Hereafter referred to as Rights of Americans, Book III.

#### Chapter 4

1. The profile of David Ferrie is based on the following sources: HSCA X, pp. 103-11; Anson, "They've Killed The President", pp. 105-6; CIA document 1359-503, Feb. 7, 1968; El Tiempo, New York, March 1967; C.D. 75, pp. 287-90.
2. Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 263.



3. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 482-3.
4. James and Wardlaw, Plot or Politics, p. 45. See also HSCA Report p. 143 note.
5. J. Edward Epstein, Counterplot (New York: Viking Press, 1969), p. 37.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.; William Turner, "The Garrison Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy," Ramparts, January, 1968, p. 48.
8. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 329.
9. Richard H. Popkin, "Garrison Case," New York Review of Books, Sept. 14, 1967, p. 28.
10. James and Wardlaw, Plot or Politics, p. 72; El Tiempo, New York, March, 1967.
11. James and Wardlaw, Plot or Politics, p. 131.
12. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the Assassination of JFK, Book V, pp. 12-15; New Orleans States-Item, May 5, 1963.
13. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 329.
14. C.D. 87, p. 3.
15. HSCA X, p. 132n.
16. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 329.
17. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 329.
18. CIA document 1326-1042.
19. C.D. 75, pp. 285-97; HSCA IX, pp. 103-5; Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 284.
20. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 601 n.3, pp. 477-8; HSCA IV, pp. 499, 567; HSCA IX, p. 806.

21. Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 286, citing C.D. 75, pp. 285-7.
22. Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, p. 184.
23. Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, p. 184.
24. FBI Report, Nov. 26, 1963, #89-68, National Archives--David Ferrie file, p. 4 (CR7593).
25. Epstein, Counterplot, p. 37.
26. Turner, "Garrison Commission," p. 46; FBI Report, Nov. 26, 1963.
27. C.D. 301, p. 87. (Secret Service Report).
28. Ibid.
29. FBI Report, Nov. 26, 1963 (CR7593), p. 4.
30. C.D. 301, p. 85.
31. Ibid.
32. CD 301, p. 86 (National Archives).
33. Turner, "Garrison Commission," p. 46.
34. HSCA X, pp. 108-9.
35. HSCA XI, p. 103; VIII 14; XXII 826.
36. HSCA IX, p. 104.
37. HSCA X, pp. 108-9, 102-4; VIII. 14.
38. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 339.
39. HSCA X, pp. 108-9.
40. XXV. 140.
41. Ibid.
42. Delphine Roberts interview with Anthony Summers (Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 323-6, 335-6, 5798-80n).
43. Garrison, Heritage , p. 129.
44. Description of the Clinton incident draws upon the following

sources: HSCA Report, pp. 142-5, HSCA IV, pp. 482-5; Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 332-7; HSCA X, pp. 114, 132, 203.

45. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 335.

46. James W. Clarke, American Assassins: The Darker Side of Politics (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 118.

47. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 336 speculates on a possible FBI link to the Clinton incident, specifically to COINTELPRO. State agencies were also known to have an interest in surveillance of civil rights activities.

48. Halperin, Lawless State, p. 136.

49. Halperin, Lawless State, p. 137.

50. Halperin, Lawless State, p. 138.

51. Halperin, Lawless State, pp. 142-3.

52. Halperin, Lawless State, pp. 142-3. Only a small fraction of these were actually opened.

53. Halperin, Lawless State, p. 153.

54. Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities within the United States (Rockefeller Commission Report), U.S. Govt. Printing Office, June, 1975, pp. 152-5; Halperin, Lawless State, pp. 146-7.

55. Senate Select Committee, Rights of Americans, Book III, p. 725.

56. Halperin, Lawless State, p. 146.

57. Halperin, Lawless State, p. 146.

58. Rockefeller Commission Report, p. 1153; Senate Select Committee, Rights of Americans, Book III, pp. 723-6.

59. Marchetti and Marks, CIA and the Cult, p. 217.

60. Marchetti and Marks, CIA and the Cult, p. 217.
61. Rockefeller Commission Report, p. 153.
62. "CIA Infiltrated Black Groups Here in 60s," Washington Post, March 30, 1978.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. C.R. 75, FBI Report, Nov. 11, 1963, p. 3.
66. National Archives, record group 272. Statement of David W. Ferrie, witnesses by FBI Agent Regis L. Kennedy, New Orleans, December 10, 1963. (C.D. 205, p. 588).
67. HSCA X, p. 114.
68. HSCA X, p. 113.
69. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 497.
70. FBI Report, Nov. 27, 1963 (File No. 89-69), Special Agents Wall and Viater.
71. Garrison, Heritage, p. 111.
72. Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 265, citing Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans and New York World Journal Tribune Feb. 28, 1967.
73. Garrison, Heritage, p. 111; Trial of the Assassins, p. 141.
74. Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 264; March 1, 1967 statement of George Lardner, Jr. to New Orleans D.A.'s Office.
75. Fensterwald and Ewing, Coincidence, pp. 304-5.
76. HSCA Report, p. 147.

## Chapter 5

1. Rockefeller Commission Report, p. 152.
2. II. 407-12.

3. Sylvia Meagher and Gary Owens, Master Index to the JFK Assassination Investigations (Methuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1980). See HSCA witness and contact lists, pp. 307-12.
4. II. 408.
5. Ibid., 408-12.
6. Ibid., 409.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 399.
12. XX. 271-3.
13. C.E. 1145, pp. 17-18.
14. See Meagher's perceptive analysis in Accessories, pp. 220-2. FBI to Warren Commission: C.E. 2718.
15. See Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, pp. 300-2. Researcher Fred Newcomb made the initial discovery of this dimension regarding the Dodd Committee.
16. Ibid. on Kleins; Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 300 on Seaport Traders.
17. Meagher, Accessories, pp. 312-13. See also testimony of Communist Party official Arnold Johnson, X. 103-5.
18. Halperin, Lawless State, p. 153. The ACLU's Dallas chapter was listed by the Dallas Police as one of the "known subversive and extremist groups" in the city, some of which police claimed to have "successfully infiltrated" (C.E. 710). It seems likely that cold warriors in the intelligence community would hold a

similar view of the organization.

19. Marchetti and Marks, CIA and the Cult, p. 217.
20. Marchetti and Marks, CIA and the Cult, pp. 216-18.
21. Rockefeller Commission Report, p. 152.
22. Senate Select Committee, Rights of Americans, Book III, p. 702.
23. Senate Select Committee, Rights of Americans, Book III, p. 692.
24. Senate Select Committee, Rights of Americans, Book III, p. 692.
25. This mentality is described in Wise and Ross, Invisible Government chs. 16 and 17; Marchetti and Marks, CIA and the Cult, ch. 8.
26. XX. 511.
27. C.E. 1409 (XX. 796).
28. Summers, Conspiracy pp. 297-8 implies that it was Oswald.
29. C.E. 1409.
30. May 26, 1963 letter to the FPCC, XX. 512.
31. HSCA X, p. 127.
32. FPCC reply to Oswald, May 29, 1963 (XX. 514).
33. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the Assassination of JFK, Book V, pp. 66-7.
34. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the Assassination of JFK, Book V, p.65.
35. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the Assassination of JFK, Book V, p.65.
36. XX. 800; XXV. 770-5.
37. June 17, 1964 Memo from Richard M. Mosk to Wesley J.

- Liebeler, "Oswald's Reading," 6pp.
38. Ibid., 4. A copy of this memo was published in CE 1117.
  39. Oswald letter to The Worker, C.E. 1145 (XXII. 166).
  40. C.E. 1145 (XXII. 167).
  41. James and Wardlaw, Plot or Politics? p. 12.
  42. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 303.
  43. Oswald letter of August 4, 1963 (XX. 524).
  44. C.E. 1145 (XX. 167), Oswald letter of August 13, 1963 to Arnold Johnson.
  45. C.E. 826, FBI file #100-16601, 8/15/63 Report of interview with Lee Harvey Oswald on 8/10/63.
  46. Martello's statement to FBI, Nov. 29, 1963 (file No. 89-69), pp. 3-5.
  47. XXI. 626.
  48. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 301.
  49. X. 41, 61, 68; XXV. 771; XXVI. 342; C.D. 206, pp. 216-18; C.D. 114, p. 629; C.D. 75. pp. 69-72.
  50. X. 49; XI. 160-3.
  51. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 308.
  52. X. 42; XI. 171; XVII. 763.
  53. IX. 166.
  54. CBS Television, "The American Assassins," Nov. 26, 1975.
  55. HSCA X, p. 8ln.
  56. C.D. 205.
  57. Ibid. 647.
  58. XVI. 67; Harold Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, p. 79.
  59. XXII. 826.

60. X. 41-2.
61. Ibid.
62. XI. 167-8.
63. Ibid. 168.
64. CIA document 590-252: March 6, 1964 memo from the CIA to the Warren Commission. The House Unamerican Activities Committee (HUAC) also had a clipping on Oswald's defection in its files.
65. "Conversation Carte Blanche" broadcast on WDSU Radio, August 21, 1963, at 6:05 p.m. Transcript obtained from XXI. 633-41 (Stuckey Exhibit 3).  
"Oswald--New Orleans."
66. XIX. 175.
67. XXII. 172; C.D. 1145, p. 11 (August 28th letter, Oswald to American Communist Party Central Committee).
68. November 5, 1962 letter from Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Farrell Dobbs to Oswald.
69. Reply to Oswald's offer came from Mr. Bob Chester, SWP.
70. FBI memorandum "FPCC Activities," p. 4.
71. II. 408.
72. IV. 426.
73. Ibid.
74. C.E. 826, p. 12 (FBI document NO100-16601/CV).
75. Senate Select Committee, Rights of Americans, Book III, p.728.
76. Halperin, Lawless State, pp. 148-52 (on the paradigm of operation CHAOS).
77. Senate Select Committee, Investigation Into the Assassination of JFK, Book V, p.65.



## Chapter 6

1. X. 273-4.
2. IX. 217.
3. FBI document DL-105-1766, "Relationship between the Oswalds and the de Mohrenschildts," p. 17.
4. C.D. 777a; C.E. 538; IX. 184-6.
5. See Wise and Ross, Invisible Government, pp. 125-6. The most famous case described by Wise and Ross was that of ex-Nazi General Reinhard Gehlen and his spy network known as "the Gehlen Organization."
6. FBI document DL-105-1766, p. 22.
7. Ibid., p. 18.
8. IX. 170.
9. FBI document DL-105-1766, statement of Igor Voshinin, p. 18.
10. Ibid.
11. IX. 187.
12. Ibid.
13. "Who Was George de Mohrenschildt?" Clandestine America, Fall, 1977.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 226.
17. C.D. 777a; C.E. 538; IX. 184-6.
18. Clandestine America, Fall 1977; Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 225-6, 560 (n. 61).
19. CIA document 18-522.

20. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 226.
21. Warren Report, p. 262.
22. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 225.
23. HSCA XII, pp. 55-8; CIA document 431-154B.
24. HSCA XII, p. 60.
25. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 249.
26. HSCA XII, p. 60-1.
27. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 249.
28. FBI document DL-105-1766, p.19. Statement of Gary E. Taylor.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid. p. 22, statement of Ilya Mamantov.
32. HSCA XII, pp. 60-1; Summers, Conspiracy, p. 607 n.28.
33. Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 223; HSCA XII, p. 57.
34. Cogswell, New York Daily News, April 12, 1977. This information on de Mohrenschildt was used by HSCA (HSCA XII, p.60).
35. VIII. 358; IX. 3, 5.
36. Scott, Dallas Conspiracy, ch. 3, p. 9.
37. Summers, Conspiracy, 225.
38. HSCA XII, p. 61; Garrison, Heritage, p. 80.
39. Ibid.
40. HSCA XII. p. 61.
41. Ibid.
42. Garrison, Heritage, p. 114; II. 386.
43. C.D. 206, p. 66.
44. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 225.

45. Telephone call to Mary Ferrell, July 7, 1981.
46. IX. 96.
47. FBI document DL-105-1766, p. 13.
48. Ibid., p. 14. Statement of Samuel B. Ballen.
49. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 229.
50. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 230.
51. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 230.
52. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 230.
53. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 230.
54. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 231.
55. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 231.
56. X. 202.
57. Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 222.
58. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 231.
59. X. 201.
60. IV. 388.
61. Warren Report, p. 603.
62. Garrison (Heritage, p. 81) alleges that Dallas Police also found what they described as "an unknown electronic device." If true, this would certainly be intriguing. Garrison cites XXI. 596-7 but those pages contain no such reference.
63. FBI document DL 89-43, Dec. 4, 1963, FBI laboratory to NY Field office. This memo indicates that the Bureau compared the film found in Oswald's Minox to Minox film relating to another case (designated "LOCFAB, ESP-R"). The two films were not produced by the same camera, said the Bureau. It would be interesting to discover what other case the FBI was cross checking Oswald's film with.

64. HSCA XII, p. 390, 397; Earl Golz, Dallas Morning News, Aug. 7, 1978; Anthony Summers interview with Dallas District Attorney Bill Alexander (Summers, Conspiracy, p. 231-2).
65. XVI. 53.
66. Telephone conversation with Steven Baker of Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall, May 14, 1981.
67. <sup>See also</sup> X. 184-5 (Graef testimony).
68. Epstein, Legend, p. 142; on words and sentences: Ofstein, X. 197.
69. X. 175-6 (Graef).
70. X. 167-212, testimonies of Robert L. Stovall, John G. Graef, Dennis Ofstein.
71. Ibid., Stovall and Ofstein.
72. X. 204 (Ofstein).
73. Ibid. 194.
74. X. 194-212 (Ofstein).
75. Ibid., 208.
76. Ibid., 198.
77. Ibid., 202.
78. Ibid., 207-8.
79. Ibid., 208.
80. Ibid., 202-3.
81. Ibid., 206.
82. Oswald's letters were responded to by Mr. Robert Chester, Socialist Workers party, Dec. 9, 1962; Mr. James J. Torney, Hall-Davis Defense Committee, Dec. 13, 1962; Mr. Louis Weinstock The Worker, Dec. 19, 1962.

83. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 312-13.
84. C.E. 1940.
85. Garrison, Heritage, p. 129. Garrison's office obtained an application form containing this information.
86. C.E. 1941; Marachini: Garrison, Heritage, p. 129.
87. Garrison, Heritage, p. 129.
88. Garrison, Heritage, p. 130, based on interview of John P. Voltz, New Orleans District Attorney's Office, conducted with Melvin Coffee, Feb. 18, 1967.
89. Garrison, Heritage, p. 130, based on interview of James Lewallen with Alcock and Ivon, New Orleans D.A.'s Office, Feb. 19, 1967.
90. The information concerning Coffee and the CAP is taken from his Nov. 30, 1963 FBI interview by Agent Ernest C. Wall; Lewallen and the CAP: Lewallen's Nov. 27, 1963 FBI interview by Agents Wall and Viater. (Bureau File NO 89-69).
91. Hurt, Reasonable Doubt, p. 219.
92. IX. 237.
93. HSCA Report, p. 217.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Summers interview with Jeanne de Mohrenschildt (Summers, Conspiracy, p. 228).
98. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 227.
99. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 227.
100. Account of Moore: 1976 interview by a reporter, appearing in "Three Witnesses," Dick Russell, New Times, June 24, 1977.

101. Summers interview with Jean de Mohrenschildt (Summers, Conspiracy, p. 227).
102. Epstein, Legend, p. 314.
103. VIII. 355.
104. FBI document DL-105-1766, p. 14.
105. Ibid.
106. Dallas Morning News, March 30, 1978. It has been alleged that, at this point in his life, de Mohrenschildt was suffering from psychological problems that made his assertions unreliable.
107. Boston Globe, Associated Press article, March 27, 1977, "Assassination Probe Witness Found Dead," p. 8.
108. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 499. Chapter 7

Chapter 7

- The "sensitive source" was most likely the CIA's audio and visual surveillance.*
1. ~~Quoted in Summers, Conspiracy, p. 369.~~
  2. FBI Report, November 30, 1963, Laredo, Texas. File #5A 89-67.
  3. C.D. 75, pp. 588, 613, 652; Anson, "They've Killed the President," p. 181.
  4. Gaudet's statements concerning his role and activities have come from three interviews: with Allen Stone in 1975, Bernard Fensterwald in 1975, Summers in 1977 and 1978; also Gaudet's HSCA deposition (HSCA Report, pp. 218-19).
  5. Fensterwald interview of May 13, 1975.
  6. Summers interviews, Summers, Conspiracy, p. 364.
  7. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 364-5.
  8. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 365.
  9. HSCA Report, 218-19; Summers, Conspiracy, p. 365.
  10. XXVI. 337; also FBI 44-2064.

11. HSCA Report, 218-19.
12. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 584-5 n.89; C.D. 963 (24pp.) at pp. 17-19.
13. XXV. 30, 35, 39; Fensterwald and Ewing, Coincidence, pp. 233-5. Also, XI. 220; XXIV. 576, XXV. 42, 45, 75; Warren Report, p. 733.
14. XXV. 25, 44-7.
15. Warren Report, p. 305.
16. Fensterwald and Ewing, Coincidence, p. 234.
17. Fensterwald and Ewing, Coincidence, p. 234.
18. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 370.
19. Warren Report, p. 733; XXV. 42, 45, 76; XXIV. 576.
20. Fensterwald and Ewing, Coincidence, p. 234.
21. Fensterwald and Ewing, Coincidence, p. 624.
22. Fensterwald and Ewing, Coincidence, p. 234; XXIV. 642.
23. XI. 214; Summers, Conspiracy, p. 369.
24. XI. 215; Summers, Conspiracy, p. 369.
25. Meagher, Accessories, pp. 334-6.
26. Meagher, Accessories, p. 337.
27. XVI. 33; XXIV. 590; XXV. 586, 634-5; HSCA III, 6-8.
28. Warren Report, p. 299; HSCA Report, pp. 123-5, 248-55.
29. Testimony of Azcue to House Assassinations Committee, HSCA III, pp. 126-58; HSCA Report, pp. 123-6; Azcue's formal statement made during public hearings in Havana, conducted by the Committee, July 29, 1978.
30. Sylvia Duran interview with Anthony Summers, May 13, 1979 (Summers, Conspiracy, p. 376).

31. Also, Mrs. Duran wrote to Summers, June 22, 1979 regarding her observations about the film.
32. C.D. 1216.
33. HSCA III, p. 103.
34. HSCA, III, P. 103. Oswald's height: Autopsy Report, FBI file; New Orleans Police arrest record.
35. HSCA III, p. 69.
36. See HSCA Report, pp. 124-5. Summers 1978 interview with Contreras: Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 377-8.
37. HSCA III, p. 172. HSCA Report, p. 251.
38. HSCA III, pp. 142, 155, 176.
39. The FBI monitored Oswald for links with the American Communist Party from the time he returned to the U.S. after his defection to Russia. He never joined the party.
40. Summers interview with Duran (Summers, Conspiracy, p. 370). Neither the Warren Commission nor the House Assassinations Committee nor the New Orleans Police possessed such a photo, and there is no indication that the real Oswald ever possessed it either.
41. C.D. 631.
42. Colby interview with Dan Rather, CBS TV special "The American Assassins," Nov. 26, 1975.
43. On mystery-man photograph: Warren Report, p. 364; XI. 469; C.D. 1287; C.D. 631; C.D. 674; CIA internal memorandum, May 5, 1967; Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 380-2.
44. David Phillips, The Night Watch (New York: Atheneum, 1977), p. 142.
45. HSCA IV, p. 215; XI, p. 63; also Central Intelligence Agency



document 579250.

46. XXVI. 149 (C.E. 2764).
47. XI. 469; C.D. 1287; C.D. 631; C.D. 674.
48. CIA memorandum to Warren Commission, July 1964 (C.D. 1287).
49. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 382.
50. CIA memorandum, July 1964, (C.D. 1287).
51. Agee, Inside the Company, p. 528.
52. Phillips, Night Watch, p. 142.
53. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 384.
54. Phillips, Night Watch, p. 142.
55. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 383.
56. Summers, Conspiracy, p. 383. Summers' interview with former house Committee chief counsel Richard Sprague, 1978.

A key figure in the Mexico City affair and the impostor question is the late David Phillips, the CIA officer who was Chief of Cuban Operations in Mexico City during Oswald's visit. Phillips became embroiled in a complex controversy regarding whether he had been operating under the cover name "Maurice Bishop." In a series of testimonies and interviews, Cuban exile leader Antonio Veciana, the founder of the violent anti-Castro group Alpha-66, told how his CIA case officer "Maurice Bishop" had orchestrated raids against Castro in defiance of President Kennedy's ban on such activity. Veciana claims that in late August or early September of 1963 he was called to Dallas to meet Bishop. At the meeting, says Veciana, Bishop was accompanied by a quiet, strangely-preoccupied young man whom Veciana would later recognize as Lee Harvey Oswald. Phillips vehemently denied being

"Bishop" or meeting Oswald.

HSCA took the Bishop matter quite seriously. Building on the work of HSCA investigator Gaeton Fonzi, Journalist Anthony Summers has unearthed a rich trail of evidence that confirms the existence of a "Maurice Bishop" such as Veciana described. There is also a striking series of parallels between Phillips and Bishop--physical appearance, CIA assignments and activities.

Fonzi said in 1989, "That Antonio Veciana should produce, in describing the role <sup>and</sup> character of Maurice Bishop, a figure so specifically identical to David Phillips, and that Phillips' history should have so many relevant and interconnected facets bearing on the Kennedy assassination breaches the bounds of coincidence." See Summers, Conspiracy (Paragon House edition, 1989), pp. 324-35, 504-19. Fonzi published a lengthy article on Phillips/Bishop in the November 1980 issue of Washington Magazine.

57. Summers, Conspiracy, (New York: Paragon House, 1989), pp. 519-23, 535.

58. Summers, Conspiracy, pp. 373-4.

59. CBS-TV "The American Assassins," November 25, 1975.

60. Washington Post, May 6, 1977.

61. Letterhead memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to James J. Rowley, Secret Service, Nov. 23, 1963 (JFK Classified Document 000169).

62. HSCA Report, p. 251.

63. FBI Agent-in-charge in Dallas, Gordon Shanklin, claimed no knowledge of the tapes. However, Shanklin suffered "serious impairment of credibility" in the view of the House Committee because he had been involved in destroying a note allegedly given