

Anthony Summers - Conspiracy

HW 7/21/80

Like all assassination commercializers who begin with a merchantable formula, Summers is a ripoff artist who pretends to be generous with credit and isn't except to a few friends to whom he is more indebted than he indicates.

In order to hide his unoriginality, while hippodroming his own supposed investigations and research, he rarely gives primary sources.

With HSCA, nobody having drawn on that source, he cites their repetition of the work of others, for all the world as though it all began with them. There is no word in the book to indicate that he intends anything else.

With the Warren Materials, he cites them instead of the books from which he cribbed what he uses. He thus pretends that this also is his original work.

He is uncritical of those he uses, like Epstein, covering up Epstein's fakery and lies, as with how and when Oswald got out of England. Because of his heavy use of its material he is virtually entirely uncritical of the HSCA and at no point indicates that so much of its work and so large a percentage of its expenditures were devoted to an effort to put down the entire critical community.

The practice extends to those he uses as probative when they aren't, like John Wilson.

There is little on the assassination and what little there is is not always accurate. (All is unoriginal.)

His formula is guilt by presume indirect, alleged association. In some cases, where it is important in his theorizing, it is not accurate. Ferrie, for example, was not Marcello's employee. He was hired by Wasserman, chief counsel, on G. Wray Gill's recommendation. Ferrie's prior association with Gill is forgotten and thus it all comes out, when Gill represented Ferrie, that Ferrie was represented by Marcello's lawyer. (Of whom there are many, not just Gill.)

In some instances, where his thievery is of more than usual importance, he goes to greater efforts to hide the source from which he stole. Example is Carolyn Arnold.

Another is the New Orleans addresses in LHO's notebook. He is careless enough to have

errors, without citing a source for it. He made a big thing out of Arnold in his TV appearances, exaggerating what he did and in fact misrepresenting what was done before him.

Where researchers have made documents available to him he uses them only in accord with his preconceptions and, incredibly, misses their importat, as with the Oswald/Mexico =Alvarado Ugarte and similar things. Here he does it to the point of dishonesty. The truth is not in accord with his own conspiracy theorizing.

As I read I indicated a few pages for copying, as illustrative, when it occurred to me. Not necessarily best examples.

On page 10 he thanks "Others who have helped unselfishly" and includes me. We had almost no contact. He stayed away when he was working on the TV show, even though his colleagues wanted him to talk to me. He asked for permission to use the Bolton Ford material from Oswald in New Orleans and then didn't credit it. He asked nothing else of me except that I see him a set of books, which also does not qualify as unselfish help. The only real way in which I was helpful to him is in what he stole, in almost all cases attributed to the sources I cited, where attributed at all.

On page 16 he says that the Committee "discovered" that the Army destroyed its files. The committee's "discovery" comes from the most widely distributed column in the world, Jack Anderson's, to which I gave the information long after I obtained it from the Army. (He does not report that his demon investigating committee investigated how the Army came to destroy its files and got an answer.)

22- His diligence in personal investigation did not yield the correct name of one of his more important characters. As listed in the Cast of Characters Ernesto is given as Ernesto Rodriguez. And he appears not to have tumbled to the fact that his father is the electrician referred to or that Ernesto tried to rent space from Sam Newman at 544 Camp. Which is a big if unoriginal deal with him. (He even attributes correlating what he read in Oswald in New Orleans to Bill Turner, that the Lafayette and Camp addresses.) On the same page, his reference to Capt. Sapp, Miami, and Milteer/Somerset reminds me that he quotes the transcript without giving its source, Frame-Up.

His cast of characters is so full

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152-5 Here he takes, uncredited, from WW and O in NO, ~~adds~~ uncredited, adds Epstein, and says it is at the heart of the continuing inquiry, to which he adds nothing of substance.

253-5. His total lack of political understanding and the willingness he has to make facts up as he goes to advance his theories is illustrated by what he says about Howard Hunt, to embroil him and the CIA. He says that it is under Hunt that "the refugee leaders formed a united Front, eventually to become the Cuban Revolutionary Council. Actually, Hunt withdrew from his political role because he so strongly opposed unification, so strongly opposed the moderates who to him were reds, and the Cuban Revolutionary Council was formed of the amalgamation only after Hunt was off the project.

327. His stuff on LHO's notebook and the specific addresses and what he says of them is a unique selection from O in NO only, uncredited and here presented as his own work. To hide this and his stuff on 544, also cribbed from my book, he attributes the latter to Bill Turner.

464. Because he wants to us an at best undependable source, the Britisher John Wilson, he says no more of him that he'd had a "checkered career" and does not include in it intelligence or the character that evolved in the CIA's London investigation. All of that is in the same documents from which he makes selective use. My recollection is that the CIA's records raise questions about his sanity also, but a bad one he clearly was, and totally undependable. Magnifying this he presents, careful not to make it explicit, that a John Wilson in Dallas means he is the same John Wilson because he is in Ruby's notebook. (This is the kind of thing Mary would have assumed and believed.)

527, note 37, cribbed from me and attributed to my CD source and his duplication of Dan Christensen's work afterward.

531. His 59 originates in FW. I told Golz about Arnold (new name) after I put the National Enquirer onto it. His attribution to Golz is OK but his pretense of originality and his efforts to hide original source are not. in 60 his Zapruder comes from FW, where I print the page of the CD he cites in facsimile. in 62, what he attributes to HSCA, comes right from my original work in WW, confirmed by Itek for Life. His 63 note, on Rather's description of the Zapruder film, is stolen from Penn Jones, who added the Rather description to a Zap. print and used it as a sound track.

532. His note 7 on 66 illustrates the totality of ignorance of basic facts based on

which he pretends such authority. He states that "Dr. Guinn was not able to test one fragment found in the car, as it was jacketed in copper rather than lead," and he quotes HSCA. Minor but showing how much he has bothered to learn about bullets: they are not jacketed with lead. Rather have they a core of lead alloy. However, the major error is that copper could not be tested by NAA. It could and had been. Guinn, in fact, was funded by the Department of Justice in a study of using the jacket material as a superior means of identification in NAA testing and his work was published in the 'ournal of Forensic Sciences. The truth is that HSCA did not want the copper tested and Guinn's impartiality extended to forgetting his science and doing as asked and no more.*

535. My interview with ~~XXXXXX~~ Senator Ruseel was not really an interview and I did not pretend it was. I gave an entirely different history, which he avoids and does not mention, and it was not for WW IV, which he says, but for other purposes. I mentioned it in WW IV. My point here is that he improvises rather than reports, on one of the ~~xx~~ rare occasions of his giving credit for what he takes. He is more accurate on 549, where he attributes this to my conversation with ~~XXXXX~~ Russell. (No source cited but PW)

His note 38 on 150 on this page is of the impossible. He uncritically accepts Jones Harris's attribution of a CIA source to a disclosed CIA document which reports what the paper said but he omits the CIA's proof of the impossibility of that report.

616. While he uses my books as part of his biblio, he fails to credit them in his notes. where he uses them extensively, without credit, in his text. Page 640 reflects the extent of his blacking out of his thievery: he does not have my name in his index. But he has the mafia thug Willie Weisberg with his name spelled incorrectly, reflecting not using the original sources. Actually, it was all in the papers, leaked by FBI, and I believe including the Anderson column.

* How he managed not to use George Lardner's excellent story on Guinn, based on his own questioning after my backgrounding, I don't know, except that it would destroy his argument about the unfairness of the press and would reflect badly on HSCA. He had this available from all those who helped him but it reflects inadequate questioning by HSCA and inadequate testimony from Guinn, who actually said the specimens he was given are not authentic.

Anthony Summers

**“It is certainly possible that
a renegade element in U.S. intelligence
manipulated Oswald—
whatever his role on November 22, 1963.
That same element may have activated
pawns in the anti-Castro movement
and the Mafia to murder the President ...**

(continued on inside front flap)

researchers for their friendship and guidance, and both have kindly read this book before publication.

Of the handful of professional reporters who have worked diligently on the case, one has been of enormous help to me as a colleague and friend. This is Earl Golz of the *Dallas Morning News*, who has continued to work the story — sometimes in the face of editorial reluctance.

My special thanks go also to Sylvia Meagher, whose analysis of the Warren Commission's failings, published as *Accessories after the Fact*, did much to convince members of Congress that the case should be reopened. Ms. Meagher encouraged me at the beginning and provided a valuable reading of the manuscript. For his help in Texas, I am especially grateful to Gary Shaw, an independent researcher who has accumulated a stockpile of information and photographs.

Others who have helped unselfishly are: Mark Allen; Professor Peter Dale Scott; Bernard Fensterwald of the Committee to Investigate Assassinations; Jeff Goldberg of the Assassination Information Bureau; Jones Harris; Larry Harris, an expert on the Tippit case; Harry Irwin; Tom Johnson; Penn Jones; Seth Kantor, *Atlanta Constitution* correspondent and specialist on Jack Ruby; David Lifton; Gary Mack; Jim Marrs of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*; Dick Russell; Alan Weberman; Harold Weisberg; Jack White; and Les Wilson.

For his advice, I am indebted to Dr. Vincent Guinn, the metals analyst whose work on the ballistics evidence was central to recent Congressional study. Dr. Cyril Wecht, the combative forensic pathologist from Pennsylvania, corresponded with me patiently over many months. His passionate dissent from official certainties has made him a salutary thorn in the side of apathetic authorities. Former British Detective Superintendent Malcolm Thompson helped with his photographic expertise. In the intelligence area, I thank John Marks of the Center for National Security Studies; Ray Cline of the Center for Strategic and International Studies; and Fletcher Prouty, former Focal Point Officer between the Department of Defense and the CIA. Marion Johnson of the National Archives extended me the infinite patience he has long given to Kennedy researchers. Dave Powers, curator of the John F. Kennedy Library, was most helpful. In Congress, I thank

associates associated with a CIA agent in Dallas and later with a senior official of military intelligence. It was unable to confirm a claim that Oswald himself had been seen in the company of an American intelligence officer shortly before the assassination. Yet, when it received persuasive information that the officer named had existed, either at the CIA or within "one of the military intelligence agencies," intelligence headquarters pleaded ignorance. Some now firmly believe that the vital information has been withheld or destroyed. The Committee did discover that U.S. Army Intelligence possessed a file on Oswald before the assassination. The Army failed, however, to make it available to the Warren Commission and has since destroyed it. In the light of this astonishing development the Committee concluded dryly, "The question of Oswald's possible affiliation with military intelligence could not be resolved."

The Committee extracted nothing material from the fact that, of the Mafia criminals suspected of involvement in the assassination, several had long been involved in illicit CIA plotting to murder Fidel Castro. Nevertheless, few would argue with the conclusion of one eminent witness. He testified that he believed the CIA was still concealing and falsifying information about its assassination projects.

The American press, to its discredit, has generally played down the achievements of the Assassinations Committee or brushed its conclusions aside. This lethargy may stem in part from the fact that—sixteen years ago—there was no serious attempt at investigative reporting of the Kennedy assassination. In those days, before Vietnam and Watergate, investigation was left to the government. Ever since, editors have been content to denigrate the efforts of those citizens who threw doubt on the original findings. In some cases they were right; there were gold-diggers and headline-seekers. Today, however, a massive and sober Congressional inquiry has vindicated the serious researchers. The press should now be prepared, at the very least, to treat the case seriously.

For more than two years I have immersed myself in the massive documentation of the Kennedy case and traveled widely to question a great number of witnesses. This last has been an opportunity denied to many students of the case, who must rely on

accession marked the intervention of organized crime in union affairs.

MCKEOWN, ROBERT: gun runner who reported visit by Jack Ruby in connection with Cuban intrigue; he later claimed he had also met Lee Oswald.

MCVICKAR, JOHN: assistant consul at U.S. Embassy in Moscow; met Oswald.

"YURI MEREGINSKY": intermittently identified by Marina Oswald as the man who introduced her to Oswald.

NAMAN, RITA: American tourist who reports encountering Oswald in both Moscow and Minsk; was involved in taking pictures of him in Minsk Square.

NOSENKO, YURI: KGB officer who defected to the United States shortly after assassination; in spite of grave doubts about his motives, is now working for the CIA.

PAINE, RUTH: befriended Marina Oswald in Texas; Oswald stayed at her house on the eve of the assassination.

PRUSAKOV, ILYA: Marina Oswald's uncle, a lieutenant colonel in Soviet Ministry of the Interior.

ROBERTS, DELPHINE: New Orleans right-wing activist and secretary to Guy Banister (her daughter is also called Delphine).

RODRIGUEZ, ERNESTO: New Orleans language-school proprietor who met Oswald.

RODRIGUEZ, ERNESTO: former CIA contract agent in Mexico City; says Oswald told Cuban authorities about CIA plans to kill Fidel Castro.

RUBY, JACK (né Rubenstein): Dallas nightclub owner with lifelong links to organized crime; he killed Lee Oswald.

SAPP, Capt. CHARLES: member of Miami police intelligence section; he warned of potential threat to U.S. officials by anti-Castro exiles; learned of menacing remarks by Joseph Milteer, and says there was a security alert during President's visit to Miami on November 18.

SNYDER, RICHARD: consul at U.S. Embassy in Moscow, with intelligence background, who met Oswald.

THORNEY, KERRY: served in Marines with Oswald.

TIPPIT, J.D.: Dallas police patrolman shot shortly after the President's murder; Oswald was officially identified as his lone killer.

thought was *behind* us." The Chisms were not called by the Warren Commission.

A. J. Millican, who had been standing in front of the colonnade, said of the final gunfire, "I heard two more shots come from the arcade between the bookstore and the underpass, and then three more shots came from the same direction only farther back. Then everybody started running up the hill." Mr. Millican was not called by the Warren Commission.

Jean Newman* stood halfway along the grassy knoll and said that her first impression was that "The shots came from my right." Ms. Newman was not called by the Warren Commission.

Abraham Zapruder, of film fame, was using the concrete wall on the grassy knoll as a vantage point. A Secret Service report of an interview with him reads: "According to Mr. Zapruder, the position of the assassin was behind Mr. Zapruder." In testimony to the Warren Commission, Zapruder recalled that one shot reverberated all around him, louder than all the others. This would be consistent with a shot fired on the knoll itself, much closer to Zapruder than gunfire from the Book Depository.

The next witness became well known after the assassination because of what then seemed a lonely tale — puckishly contrary to the official story. He is Sam Holland, the elderly signal supervisor who stood at the parapet of the railway bridge over the road, directly facing the President's car as it approached (*see page 57*). Holland also had an excellent view of the fence on the knoll near where the young soldier, Gordon Arnold, was to hear bullets "whizzing" right over him.

Immediately after the assassination Holland told the police firmly that there had been four shots and that he had seen "a puff of smoke come from the trees." He stuck to his story in spite of official skepticism, maintaining that at least some of the firing "sounded like it came from behind the wooden fence. . . . I looked over to where the shots came from, and I saw a puff of smoke still lingering underneath the trees in front of the wooden fence." Pressed on where the shots came from, Holland replied confidently, "Behind that picket fence — close to the little plaza —

* Not to be confused with the married couple of the same name, who also witnessed the shooting.

were fired from the rear, and almost certainly from the sixth-floor corner window of the Book Depository. Drawing together medical, ballistics, film, acoustics, photographic, and trajectory analysis, the Committee ended up with this reconstruction of the assassination.

A first shot, fired from the Book Depository, missed. The second, again from the Depository, entered the President's back, came out through his throat, traveled on into Governor Connally's back, and exited through his chest to cause further injuries to his right wrist and thigh. According to the Committee the third bullet, fired from the knoll, missed altogether. The fourth, fired from the Depository, caused the fatal wound to the President's head.

A wound ballistics expert told the Committee that the President's lurch backward, in the Zapruder film, was "a neuromuscular reaction . . . mechanical stimulation of the motor nerves of the President." The Congressmen accepted this thesis and cited other evidence indicating that the head shot came from the rear. The Committee's medical panel, with one doctor dissenting, supported the thesis that the backward movement was either "a neurological response to the massive brain damage" or a "propulsive" phenomenon, sometimes known as "the jet effect." Their studies of the X rays and photographs convinced them that the bullet entered in the upper part of the skull and exited from the right front. All the doctors agreed that the rear wound was "a typical entrance wound." In spite of the fact that the brain had not been sectioned, as the panel would have preferred, existing pictures of it tend to confirm their opinion that the head shot was fired from behind. The Committee was further convinced by sophisticated modern tests which had not been made sixteen years ago. Dr. Vincent Guinn, a chemist and forensic scientist, broke new ground with his "neutron activation" tests — a process in which the bullet specimens were bombarded with neutrons in a nuclear reactor. The results were impressive, and appear to resolve fundamental areas of controversy.

Dr. Guinn was supplied with all the surviving bullet specimens, the several pieces from the car, tiny fragments removed from the wounds of both the President and Governor Connally, and the full-sized bullet found on the stretcher at Parkland Hospi-

7:15 A.M. He then walked over to Frazier's house, just a few doors away, to get a lift into work. Frazier's sister noticed that Oswald was now carrying a heavy brown bag, and Frazier asked about it as the two men drove into the city. Oswald said something about "curtain rods," and Frazier remembered he had mentioned rods the night before. At the Texas School Book Depository, Oswald walked ahead into the building, holding the package tucked under his right armpit.

After the assassination, during their search of the sixth floor, police found a brown paper bag large enough to have contained the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle. It appeared to be home-made. The FBI later found a palm print and a fingerprint on the bag, and these matched Oswald's right palm and his left index finger. Fibers found on the paper were very similar to fibers on the blanket in the Paine garage.

The day after the assassination, again in the garage, police made further dramatic finds. They came up with two photographs, both of a man holding a rifle in one hand, two left-wing newspapers in the other, and with a pistol on his hip. The Warren Commission was to decide that the man was Oswald and that the rifle was the assassination weapon. Oswald's wife, indeed, was to say that she had photographed her husband in this odd pose the previous spring. The background in the pictures was the back yard of a house where the couple had lived at that time. An FBI photographic expert determined that the photographs had been taken with an Imperial Reflex camera believed to have belonged to Oswald. On top of all that, there was the ballistics evidence.

As we have already seen, expert opinion is that the "magic bullet," found on the afternoon of the assassination at Parkland Hospital, was fired in the Mannlicher-Carcano to the exclusion of all other weapons. The three cartridge cases found at the Depository have also been firmly linked with the rifle. The ballistics evidence involved in the policeman's shooting seemed damning too: cases found near the scene of the killing had been fired in the pistol that Oswald was carrying when arrested.

Long before this catalogue of evidence had been prepared, the Dallas authorities expressed great confidence in the case against Oswald. At ten past seven on the evening of the assassination, Oswald was charged with the killing of police officer Tippit.

revealed only two stores in the area where a man could buy ammunition suitable for the rifle.²³ One of these was in fact well outside Dallas itself, and both gun shops were sure they had never had Oswald as a customer. In any case, ammunition is normally sold in hundreds or dozens of bullets, not by the handful. The traditional version of the assassination thus assumes, improbably, that Oswald had previously exhausted his supply of ammunition — all save the four bullets accounted for at the Book Depository. It suggests, too, that he set off to shoot the President of the United States confident that he would use only those bullets that day. The four lonely bullets on the sixth floor justify more thought than they have ever been given. For some, they nourish the suspicion that they were planted to inculpate Oswald.

All the technical evidence shows that the three used cartridge cases had been fired from the Mannlicher-Carcano. All were scored distinctively by marks firmly identified as being caused in the chamber of the Carcano. As we saw earlier, sophisticated modern tests on the magic bullet — and, more importantly, on bullet fragments found in wounds and in the Presidential car — define them as coming from only two bullets. The same tests narrow down the type of the bullets to either standard Carcano ammunition or one of a very few other bullet types. It is reasonable to suppose, then, that the rifle on the sixth floor was used to fire two shots at the President. The presence of a third cartridge does not, however, necessarily mean that the rifle was used for a third shot at the motorcade.

The reason for doubt was spotted by Assassinations Committee Congressman Christopher Dodd when he struggled to interpret the acoustics evidence showing how quickly the Depository shots had been fired. Dodd realized that there was an apparent contradiction. In his view, the brevity of the pause between the first and second shot meant a likelihood that *two* rifles were at work to the rear of the President that day. Since scientific evidence suggests firmly that the second shot hit both the President and the Governor and was fired from the Mannlicher-Carcano, Dodd reasoned that the first shot must have been fired by his hypothetical second gun. On that basis, Dodd could attribute only two of the recovered cartridge cases to shots fired in the assassination — the one credited with hitting the President and the Gover-

name. He did say the second man was "short." There were two rooms in the Book Depository where workers had lunch, the "domino room" on the first floor and the lunchroom proper on the second floor. There was indeed a worker called "Junior" Jarman, and he spent his lunch break largely in the company of another black man called Harold Norman. Norman, who was indeed "short," said later he ate in the domino room between 12:00 and 12:15 P.M., and indeed he thought "there was someone else in there," though he couldn't remember who. At about 12:15, Jarman walked over to the domino room, and together the two black men left the building for a few minutes. Between 12:20 and 12:25 — just before the assassination — they strolled through the first floor once more, on the way upstairs to watch the motorcade from a window. If Oswald was not indeed on the first floor at some stage, he demonstrated almost psychic powers by describing two men — out of a staff of seventy five — who were actually there. This information is nowhere noted in the Warren Report.²⁶

The Warren Report said no employee saw Oswald after 11:55 A.M., when he was still on the sixth floor. This ignored two items of evidence. Bill Shelley, a foreman, said he saw Oswald near the telephone on the first floor as early as ten or fifteen minutes before noon. (It would certainly be interesting to know whether Oswald actually used one of those telephones.) An employee called Eddie Piper said he actually spoke to Oswald "just at twelve o'clock, down on the first floor." The Warren Commission had both these statements but omitted them.

Within hours of the assassination, Oswald told interrogators that he left the first floor for the second-floor lunchroom to get a Coca-Cola to drink with lunch. The staff lunchroom was on the first floor, and the Coca-Cola machine was there. Oswald's statement is supported again by Eddie Piper, who said Oswald told him: "I'm going *up* to eat." Today it is also corroborated by a witness who was never questioned by the Commission and whose story remained buried until I traced her in 1978.

In 1963 Carolyn Arnold was secretary to the vice-president of the Book Depository.²⁷ An FBI report, omitted altogether from the report, said Mrs. Arnold was standing in front of the Depository waiting for the motorcade when she "thought she caught a fleeting glimpse of Lee Harvey Oswald standing in the



hallway." When I found Mrs. Arnold in 1978 to get a firsthand account, she was surprised to hear how she had been reported by the FBI. Her spontaneous reaction, that she had been misquoted, came *before* I explained to her the importance of Oswald's whereabouts at given moments. Mrs. Arnold's recollection of what she really observed was clear — spotting Oswald was after all her one personal contribution to the record of that memorable day. As secretary to the company vice-president she knew Oswald; he had been in the habit of coming to her for change. What Mrs. Arnold says she actually told the FBI is very different from the report of her comments and not vague at all. She said: "About a quarter of an hour before the assassination, I went into the lunchroom on the second floor for a moment. . . . Oswald was sitting in one of the booth seats on the right-hand side of the room as you go in. He was alone as usual and appeared to be having lunch. I did not speak to him but I recognized him clearly." Mrs. Arnold has reason to remember going into the lunchroom. She was pregnant at the time and had a craving for a glass of water. She also recalls the time. It was "about 12:15. It may have been slightly later."

It is of course possible that Oswald scurried upstairs to shoot the President after Mrs. Arnold saw him in the second-floor lunchroom. Yet one witness, Arnold Rowland, said he saw two men in sixth-floor windows, one of them holding a rifle across his chest, at 12:15. Rowland's wife confirmed that her husband drew her attention to the man, whom he assumed to be a Secret Service guard. There was, of course, no such guard, and no other employees were on the sixth floor at that time. The time detail — 12:15 — is the vital point here. It can be fixed so exactly because Rowland recalled seeing the man with the rifle just as a police radio nearby squawked out the news that the approaching motorcade had reached Cedar Springs Road. The police log shows that the President passed that point between 12:15 and 12:16. Mrs. Arnold's given time for leaving her office — 12:15 or later — is corroborated by contemporary statements made by her and office colleagues. She told the FBI she finally left the building, after visiting the lunchroom, as late as 12:25 P.M. If Mrs. Arnold saw Oswald in the lunchroom at 12:15 or after, who were the two men, one of them a gunman, whom Rowland reported in the sixth-floor windows?

both know who is responsible." This document failed to state that the tapped telephone numbers were those of Michael Paine and his wife, Ruth Paine, the woman who was playing host to Marina Oswald at the time of the assassination. It is not clear whether anybody ever asked the couple about this conversation between Mrs. Paine's house and Mr. Paine's office. There is no record of the full telephone conversation, nor of what happened to the original recording. Whatever the meaning of Document 206, it is typical of official gestures to the public's right to know.

Much of this book will be given over to assembling pieces of the jigsaw that have slipped through the net of "national security" restrictions. Sometimes the emerging picture will seem to point to sinister Communist conspiracy — a specter which President Johnson, just after the assassination, feared "could conceivably lead the country into a war which could cost forty million lives." Marina, the Soviet wife Oswald brought back from Russia, remains a mystery in her own right. The questions about her continue to multiply.

Why did Russian authorities issue her with new documents just before she left for the United States? Well before the assassination, the CIA pondered whether she might be a Soviet plant, sent to the United States with a phony identity. Afterward, the Agency asked a series of questions about Mrs. Oswald's documentation but never received satisfactory answers.

Why, once in the United States, did Marina receive a letter from the address in the Soviet Union of a man suspected by the CIA of being an agent of the First Chief Directorate of the KGB, Soviet intelligence? In 1964, the Warren Commission considered the possibility that Marina might be a "Soviet agent" — almost humorously. Senator Russell commented, "That will blow the lid if she testifies to that." She did not, of course, but there is little sign that anyone on the Commission really wanted to peer under the lid. Some suggestive leads, which raised awkward questions for American intelligence agencies, were left unpursued.

One of Oswald's Dallas acquaintances, Teofil Meller, told police after the assassination that in 1962 he had taken precautions before plunging into a relationship with a former defector. He said he had "checked with the FBI, and they told him that Oswald was all right." What exactly did that mean?

Another Dallas resident, George de Mohrenschildt, be-

consider evidence indicating that individual members of the agencies might have had prior covert associations with Oswald and even played a role in the assassination. One particularly serious allegation³⁴ remains, as the Committee's Chief Counsel carefully put it, "undiscredited." Yet the shifty behavior of the intelligence organizations as a whole may conceal — apart from inefficiency — an embarrassing truth less heinous than actual involvement in the assassination.

The Warren Report stated, "Close scrutiny of the records of the Federal agencies involved and the testimony of the responsible officials of the U.S. Government establish that there was absolutely no type of informant or undercover relationship between an agency of the U.S. Government and Lee Harvey Oswald at any time." Today, in the wake of Watergate and a stream of CIA scandals, such all-embracing trust sounds quaint. The Warren Commission staff did not see all the records, and some of the "responsible officials" consulted have been exposed as very irresponsible officials indeed. In 1979 Congress' Assassinations Committee was careful to make no such sweeping statement.

The transcript of one Warren Commission executive session, released only in 1974, throws an interesting light on the CIA's attitude to the ethics of public disclosure. Commission member Allen Dulles, himself a former director of the CIA, told his colleagues how a CIA official would deal with inquiries about an agent he had recruited.

DULLES: . . . he wouldn't tell.

CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN: Wouldn't he tell it under oath?

DULLES: I wouldn't think he would tell it under oath, no.

CHAIRMAN: Why?

DULLES: He ought not to tell it under oath. Maybe not tell it to his own government, but wouldn't tell it any other way. (*Sic*)

CHAIRMAN: Wouldn't he tell it to his own chief?

DULLES: He might or he might not. . . .

Whatever Lee Oswald might eventually have revealed about himself and U.S. intelligence was lost to history forever two days after his arrest. In the late morning of November 24 the Dallas police chief decided to move his prisoner to the county jail. In the

brother, Oswald had written mysteriously, "Pretty soon I'll be getting out of the Corps and I know what I want to be and how I'm going to be it. . . ." Now, in August, Oswald behaved as if he was impatient to leave the Marines. He then achieved that by asking for an early release on the ground that his injured mother needed his support. This was a fabrication, for Mrs. Oswald had been only slightly hurt, many months before, and was now perfectly all right. Nevertheless, Oswald got her to provide evidence to support his plea and promptly obtained the discharge. He simultaneously applied for a passport, openly stating in his application that he intended to travel to Russia and Cuba. Although this hardly squared with his pretense of going home to look after mother, there is no sign that the Marine Corps raised any query. In Oswald's unit, the rapidity of his discharge came as a surprise. The passport, however, was quickly granted, and within days Oswald was out of the Marines and on his way to Texas.

In 1979, in a superficial review of Oswald's service record, Congress' Assassinations Committee said it found nothing very out of the ordinary. If Oswald was being manipulated by a competent intelligence unit, one surely should not expect to find obvious discrepancies. There is no sign that the Committee talked extensively with Oswald's barrack colleagues. Nor, apparently, did it ponder the Marines' remarkable tolerance to Oswald's blatant Russophilia or the calm acceptance of his planned trip to Russia.

Oswald did not delay long in Texas. Once there, he told his brother he was going straight on to New Orleans to "work for an export firm." That was as bogus as the story about caring for his ailing mother. When Oswald reached New Orleans he boarded a ship bound for Europe and disembarked at the British port of Southampton on October 9. By midnight next day he was checking into a hotel in the Finnish capital of Helsinki. Lee Oswald was on the last lap of his journey to Moscow, and things continued to go smoothly for him. Within two days, after no known advance notice at all, the Soviet consul in Helsinki granted Oswald a six-day tourist visa to enter the Soviet Union. Oswald's easy access had encouraged the belief that the Soviets were expecting him. The suspicion is bolstered by a claim that Swedish intelligence detected a flying visit by Oswald to Stockholm, where he

CHAPTER 9

The Cracks in the Canvas

We have not been told the truth about Oswald.

- Senator Richard Russell, former Warren Commission member, in 1970

Back on the Marine Air Control base in California, Oswald's roommate had been puzzled. Nelson Delgado had heard his friend talk of being in contact with Cuban officials, and now he was receiving a Russian newspaper. Years later he recalled asking Oswald incredulously, "They let you get away with this in the Marine Corps, in a site like this?"

It was a good question. There was Oswald openly dabbling with revolution while working in a sensitive area on an American military base at the height of the Cold War. The nearest anyone came to blowing the whistle was when mailroom workers reported the "leftist" nature of Oswald's mail. An officer, Captain Block, raised the matter briefly with Oswald, who reportedly explained that he was "trying to indoctrinate himself in Russian theory in conformance with Marine Corps policy." That was as far as it went, and Oswald went on merrily playing Russian records, reading Russian books, and generally flaunting his preoccupation with things Soviet. It failed, apparently, to cause any official concern.

Today another Oswald acquaintance at the California base, Kerry Thornley, cannot accept that. Thornley, too, was doing his share of youthful talking about Communism; he says now, "Looking back, I feel that both Oswald and I must have been put under surveillance by the Office of Naval Intelligence during our periods of active duty in the Marine Corps. The Cold War was raging then. He was widely regarded as a Communist. . . ." Thornley has a valid point; it is odd that Oswald's indiscretions do not crop up in any naval file — at least none that the public has been permitted to see. In the study of historical mysteries, the omissions from official records sometimes turn out to be more significant than the inclu-

sions. Should we apply the inefficiency theory of history to Oswald, explaining all the contradictions as being just the result of human error or laziness? Perhaps nobody was sufficiently alert to bother with Oswald's Socialist protestations; or maybe Naval Intelligence heard about Oswald but did not take the information seriously. Perhaps, but if so it was the start of an extraordinary chain of inconsistencies and official oversights. It is a chain which lasted, virtually without interruption, until the day of the assassination. It is so protracted and so unlikely that, to a number of naturally cautious and scholarly researchers, it has led to a startling conclusion. They believe that, somewhere along the line, Oswald the youthful Socialist became a tiny cog in the machinery of American intelligence.

This thesis is at the heart of the continuing inquiry into the assassination of President Kennedy. It involves fumbling in the historical dark, endless perusal of the documentary record, and obstinate demands for the release of classified official documents. Also, contrary to the image of the blinkered "critic" so readily drawn by the more prejudiced media, those at the serious core of the critical community do have open minds. They falter, with each new development, between theories within theories. In the end, though, they are left with these questions. Was Oswald wholly diverted from his Marxist course and henceforth used for what some intelligence department construed as patriotic duty? Was he simply identified as a left-winger and then unwittingly exploited by American intelligence? Was Oswald recruited by Soviet or Cuban intelligence? Or was he, as the official reports have insisted, just the confused disciple of the left he appeared to be, controlled by nobody and no country, a scrap of flotsam on the swirling political tide? The evidence may suggest that the conventional version has been wrong, that Oswald was some sort of pawn on the intelligence chessboard. The logical point for the game to have begun was during his military service, and it was then that the inconsistencies began. They justify a more skeptical look at Oswald the Marine, beginning with his avid study of Russian.

The official report on the assassination skates quickly over the details of Oswald's progress in learning Russian, saying only that he rated "poor" in all parts of a test he took after being transferred from Japan to California. In fact, Oswald scored "4 +"

in Russian reading, which means he got four more answers right than wrong. He scored "+3" in written Russian, and "-5" — a very low result — in understanding spoken Russian. Although "poor," these results show that Oswald had grasped the basic principles. It indicates that he had been working on his Russian before leaving Japan, yet none of his friends there noticed him doing so. The only evidence that he was trying to pick up Russian at that stage comes from Marine Dan Powers, who had seen Oswald outside the base in the company of a Eurasian woman. From the little Oswald said about her, Powers understood she was half Russian and was teaching Oswald the language. We know nothing more about the mysterious Eurasian, and it would be wrong to assume that she was a Communist agent. What is significant, and what the Warren Report skipped quickly past, is that Oswald suddenly made remarkable progress in Russian between late February 1959, when he failed the Marine test, and the summer of the same year. That summer a Marine friend, knowing of Oswald's interest in Russian, arranged for him to meet his aunt, who was studying Russian for a State Department examination. The aunt, Rosaleen Quinn, had supper with Oswald in Santa Ana, and they talked together in Russian for two hours. According to Quinn, Oswald spoke Russian better, and with much more assurance, than she did after working with a teacher for more than a year. Oswald explained his excellent progress by saying he had been listening to Radio Moscow. This was the man who only months earlier had achieved a miserable "-5" in understanding spoken Russian, let alone speaking it himself. Anyone who has learned a foreign language knows that only practice in conversation leads to fluency — books are merely a basis for picking up grammar and elementary language structures. This is especially true of Russian, which is one of the hardest languages for an Anglo-Saxon to tackle. It was as though Oswald had had some sort of crash course. The official report skipped past this little inconsistency, but there is now evidence that may explain it and open a Pandora's box of nagging questions.

Two months after the assassination, at a closed executive session of the Warren Commission, Chief Counsel Lee Rankin outlined areas of the case which required further investigation. He did so armed with initial reports from the military and the various

agencies which had already supplied information on Oswald. In the midst of a prolonged exposition, he said, "... we are trying to run that down, to find out what he studied at the Monterey School of the Army in the way of languages. . . ." The "Monterey School" in California, now the Defense Language Institute, has long provided highly sophisticated crash courses in languages ranging from routine European languages to the most obscure dialects. It was and is used by U.S. Government and military agencies to familiarize staff with languages ranging from Swahili to Mandarin Chinese.

The Monterey School was functioning and active in 1959, while Oswald was based in California. The official record makes no mention of Oswald ever receiving instruction in Russian, or any language, during his Marine service. Yet the reference in Rankin's briefing — "... we must run that down, to find out what he studied at the Monterey School of the Army" — seems to imply knowledge that Oswald had attended a language course. The transcript of the executive session in which this appears was classified "Top Secret" and only released in 1974 after prolonged litigation by a private researcher. Some other episodes during Oswald's Marine service deserve a new look, without prejudice.

There may be something strange about that incident at Atsugi, when Oswald is said to have shot himself in the arm. One of the Marines present at the time, Thomas Bagshaw, says today that the bullet hit the ceiling and missed Oswald altogether. A second, Pete Connor, says the same thing. Other Marines recall that Oswald was slightly wounded. None of the three unit doctors who would have been involved have any recollection of a Marine with a self-inflicted wound in the arm. The years have, of course, blurred memories, but it is a little odd that such a bizarre little incident has faded totally for all three.

There are inconsistencies in accounts of Oswald's movements while serving in the Far East and specifically when his unit was stationed on Taiwan in autumn 1958. The Department of Defense told Congress' Assassinations Committee in 1978 that, while the main unit did go to Taiwan, Oswald stayed with a "rear echelon" at the Atsugi base. It appears, though, that Oswald himself claimed to have served in Taiwan, a claim supported by the recollection of one of his officers, Lieutenant Charles Rhodes

CHAPTER 13

The Company and the Crooks

Anti-Castro activists and organizations . . . acquired the means, motive and opportunity to assassinate the President.

— Staff report of Congress' Assassinations Committee, 1979

Cuba was President Kennedy's albatross, but it had hung in the rigging of the American ship of state for decades. Washington had perceived it as just another poverty-stricken island in the sun, an American puppet which would hopefully stay that way. So it had, mostly under the rule of a former army sergeant named Fulgencia Batista, an old-fashioned dictator with a priority interest in lining his own pockets. He was able to do so above all because of the patronage of American organized-crime bosses, and they turned Havana into a mecca for gambling and prostitution. It was fine for everyone but the vast majority of the Cuban people, who remained miserably poor. On New Year's Day 1959 Cuba rallied to the liberation call of an unknown named Fidel Castro, and Batista fled. In Washington, as in America's citadels of organized crime, the government of President Eisenhower watched and waited to see what sort of revolution Castro had wrought. Few in the outside world suspected its true Marxist colors, but the Central Intelligence Agency had for many years been watching Castro with foreboding. Within months of his coming to power it became clear that Cuba was to be a Communist state, raising the specter of a Soviet outpost on America's doorstep. The United States reacted with instinctive outrage and nowhere more strongly than at the CIA and in the Eisenhower White House.

The Agency began eagerly encouraging the activities of the many thousands of anti-Castro exiles who had flooded into the United States, mostly to Florida and the Southern coasts. Under the direction of a CIA officer called Howard Hunt, later to become notorious for his role in the Watergate affair, the refugee

leaders formed a united front, eventually to become the Cuban Revolutionary Council. With the active assistance of the CIA, known colloquially as "The Company," young Cubans were recruited for armed struggle against Castro. At camps in Florida and Panama, and later in Guatemala and Nicaragua, U.S. Army officers trained the exiles for an invasion of their homeland. The unscrupulous nature of American intentions was summed up by Hunt, who recommended: "Assassinate Castro *before* or coincident with the invasion (a task for Cuban patriots). Discard any thought of a popular uprising against Castro until the issue has already been militarily decided."

In the White House, Richard Nixon was Vice President. With President Eisenhower in poor health and seeing out the last days of his administration, Nixon had a more active role than most deputy leaders. He was close to many of those wealthy Americans and Cubans who had most interest in the fall of Castro and was by his own account the "strongest and most persistent advocate" of efforts to bring it about. Nixon thus willingly became the White House action man on the Cuban project, reportedly favoring the extreme right-wingers among the Cuban exiles. It is a role he would apparently prefer forgotten, as he revealed years later. On one of the tapes which exposed his perfidy as President, Nixon brooded fearfully about what could still come out about the Cuban affair: "You open that scab, there's a hell of a lot of things, and we just felt it would be very detrimental to have this thing go any further. . . . If it gets out that this is all involved, the Cuban thing, it would be a fiasco. . . ."

In November 1960, at the height of preparations for an exile invasion of Cuba, John Kennedy was elected President. The plans he inherited from the CIA and the Eisenhower administration led him into worse than fiasco. Kennedy disciples and their opponents still argue about where the fault lay for what occurred on April 17, 1961, when a force of Cuban exiles were put ashore on the south coast of Cuba, at the now infamous Bay of Pigs. It seems, sifting through the multiple accounts, that the new and inexperienced President was inadequately briefed by the CIA and given bad military advice. The idea was that the exiles would establish a beachhead, then capture and hold an area which would be claimed as the territory of the provisional government. It was blithely

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assassination, but one of his successors did encounter the alleged assassin. This was CRC delegate Frank Bartes, who turned up with Carlos Bringuier for the court case following the street fracas. On that occasion, he indulged in a noisy argument with Oswald. Bartes said he never visited 544 Camp Street and never had anything else to do with Oswald. Arcacha and the CRC have been firmly linked to at least two other people — apart from Banister — who did cross paths with the alleged assassin. One was Carlos Quiroga, the anti-Castro Cuban who admitted visiting Oswald at home a few days after his street confrontation with Cuban exiles. Quiroga provided some of the information which helped expose Oswald as a Communist on the forthcoming radio debate.

The CRC had a friend in a New Orleans advertising man called Ronnie Caire. Caire was a fervent supporter of the exile cause and had been a leading light with Arcacha in yet another anti-Castro organization, the Crusade to Free Cuba. The arm of coincidence was long indeed, it seems, in the New Orleans of 1963. After the assassination Ronnie Caire would say, very carefully, that he "seemed to recall" a visit from Oswald. He said Oswald had been "applying for a job."

Perhaps Caire's memory was better than he thought. In Oswald's address book, on the same page as Carlos Bringuier's address, was the following list of addresses:

117 Camp
107 Decatur
1032 Canal

As written, the entries made no sense. The first was the address of a formal-dress rental shop, and the second did not even exist. Allowing for either a mistake or deliberate secretiveness on Oswald's part, researchers have juggled the numbers. 107 Camp Street, it turns out, was Ronnie Caire's business address. 117 Decatur was the address of Orest Pena, yet another prominent Cuban exile in close touch with the others we have mentioned. Pena had two other distinctions — he had worked closely with Sergio Arcacha Smith and was a regular informant for the FBI. Unfailingly, in any study of Oswald in New Orleans, the connec-

was serving as a courier for gambling interests.”

Whatever the precise object of Ruby's Cuban travels four years before the assassination, it may have been then that he made a fateful connection. There is no doubt that in Cuba he was closely in touch with Lewis McWillie, who knew Trafficante. Today there is evidence that Ruby met Trafficante himself.

In the summer of 1959 Trafficante was languishing in one of Castro's detention centers, a prominent victim of the Cuban clamp-down on Mafia gambling and narcotics operations. He was held at the Trescornia camp, on the outskirts of Havana, an easygoing institution that allowed inmates to receive frequent visitors. Among those confined in the same camp was a detainee of English origin called John Wilson. In 1963 Wilson — by then in London — contacted the American Embassy promptly when it became known that Oswald had been murdered by Jack Ruby.¹⁰⁷ He reported that, at Trescornia camp in 1959, he “met an American gangster called Santos. . . . Santos was visited several times by an American gangster type named Ruby.” Wilson, now dead, lived a checkered career as sometime journalist and political activist in Latin America. Press accounts published long before the assassination confirm that he had indeed been picked up — along with several confederates — on charges of planning a bomb attack on Nicaragua. In 1963, when he produced his information about Ruby and “Santos,” he could not have known from public sources that Ruby had been in Cuba in 1959. Other details in the Wilson account suggest that he was well qualified to offer it and that the “Santos” mentioned was in fact Santos Trafficante. One of those detained with Wilson was apparently involved in gun smuggling with Eddie Browder, who had been working with one of Trafficante's close associates and who has been linked to earlier arms deals involving Jack Ruby. In 1978, in an interview in Cuba, the former detention-camp superintendent recalled the “English journalist” — apparently John Wilson — and confirmed that he was held in the same area as Santos Trafficante. In 1963 Wilson recalled that four years earlier Ruby “would come to prison with person bringing food.” Two witnesses, one of them the camp superintendent, have confirmed that Trafficante and his companions did receive special meals brought in daily from one of the Havana hotels. During his stay in Havana Ruby stayed — accord-

1. Ambush

- 35 Poem: *Poems* by Alan Seeger (Charles Scribner & Sons, 1916).
Kennedy and danger in Dallas: Manchester, *op. cit.* pp. 13, 15, 45.
Dallas notables: General Edwin Walker, Mayor Earle Cabell, H. L. Hunt.
- 36 Kennedy speeches: Manchester, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 96.
Advertisement: *Dallas Morning News*, November 22; XVIII. 835;
inserted by John Birch Society members and rightists.
Kennedy comments: Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 137; and Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 25; VII.455 — testimony of Kenneth O'Donnell.
Miami scare: CD's 1347/20 and author's interview with former Miami Police Intelligence Captain Charles Sapp, 1978; but see also HSCA Report p. 635 n.44.
- 37 Spectator comment: Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
Nellie Connally comment: IV.147 and IV.131.
Officer's remark: Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
Time: calculated for HSCA — HSCA II.40; and Report p. 48 (Agent Youngblood noticed the clock on the Book Depository).
President's cry: II.73/74.
Note 1: It has been suggested that Agent Kellerman imagined he heard the President speak only because of the possibility his throat wound made speech unfeasible. Doctors differ on this point, but it seems speech may well have been possible (HSCA VII.278/295/305).
Events in car: Mrs. Kennedy's cry — V.179-; Mrs. Connally — IV.148; Governor Connally — IV.133; "buckshot" — HSCA I.54.
- 38 Doctor breaks news: Manchester, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

2. The Evidence Before You

- 41 Cartridges found: III.283 (Mooney).
Gun found: III.293 (Boone) and VII.107 (Weitzman); (described) III.392 (Frazier) IV.260 (Day).
Note 2: There has been controversy over the identification of the rifle, because it was initially described as a Mauser. Although one of these descriptions came from one of the officers who found the weapon (who was familiar with guns), I believe this was simply a mistake. I do not subscribe to theories that the rifle was subsequently switched for the one supposedly owned by Lee Oswald, as some have claimed. HSCA experts agree that confusion is the probable explanation (HSCA VII.372).
Bullet fragments: (listed) HSCA VII.365.

- 1969) (see bibliography).
- 58 Arnold: interviewed by Earl Golz for *Dallas Morning News*, August 27, 1978 (seen by Yarborough — *Dallas Morning News*, December 31, 1978); never interviewed by HSCA — interview of Arnold by Golz, May 23, 1979.
- 59 Railway supervisor: S. M. Holland — testimony VI.239—.
Woodward and friends: *Dallas Morning News*, November 23, 1963 (Woodward's position indicated in XXIV.520).
Chism and wife: XXIV.204/5.
- 60 Millican: XIX.486.
Jean Newman: XXIV.218.
Zapruder: CD 87.15566; HSCA Report p. 89.
Holland: (police statement): XXIV.212; (testimony) VI.239; interview of Holland by Mark Lane (on film) taken from transcript of *Rush to Judgment*, transmitted on BBC-TV, January 29, 1967.
- 61 Eight other witnesses: Frank Reilly — VI.230; Nolan H. Polton — XXII.834; James Simmons — XXII.833; Clemon Johnson — XXII.836; Andrew Miller — VI.225 and XIX.485; Richard Dodd — XXII.835; Walter Winborn — XXII.833; Thomas Murphy — XXII.835 (see also HSCA XII.23).
Bowers: VI.284 — testimony of Bowers; and filmed interview by Mark Lane, March 31, 1966; also Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 23-24.
- 62 Gunpowder (Mrs. Cabell) VII.486—; (Yarborough) Feldman, *op. cit.* (unpaginated); (Roberts) Feldman, *op. cit.* (unpaginated); (Brown) VI.233—; (Baker) VII.510—.
Smith: VII.535; *Texas Observer*, December 13, 1963; two interviews with author, August 1978; XXII. 600.
HSCA on photograph by wall (Willis): HSCA VI.121—.
Moorman photograph: HSCA VI.125—; (Grodin on Moorman) HSCA VI.296.
- 63 Zapruder on CBS (Rather error): tape of KRLD, Dallas CBS affiliate — reel 65A.7 (inventory of tapes of Dallas radio stations, National Archives).
Frames reversed (original error): XVIII.70—; "printing error" — Hoover letter to Ray Marcus, December 14, 1965.
- 64 Riddle: *Ramparts* magazine article entitled "The Case for Three Assassins" by David Lifton and David Welsh, January 1967.
Hargis: VI.293/5; Curry, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
Martin: VI.289.
Harper: CD1269, p. 5; HSCA VII.24.
"covered with brain tissue": HSCA Report p. 40.
HSCA conclusion: HSCA Report p. 1; HSCA V. 690—.
- 65 Neuromuscular reaction: HSCA I.415.
Medical panel agrees on reaction thesis: HSCA VII.174 and 178.
Entrance wound: HSCA VII.176, 107; and HSCA I.250 (brain

should have been sectioned); HSCA VII.134; bullet path — HSCA VII.135.

Guinn tests: HSCA I.507; (testimony) HSCA I.491; interviewed by author, November 1978; *Analytical Chemistry*, Vol. 51, p. 484A, April 1979.

- 66 *Note 7*: Dr. Guinn was unable to test one fragment found in the car, as it was jacketed in copper rather than lead (HSCA I.515). In their analysis, the firearms panel concluded that this was the base of a 6.5 mm. bullet and believe it had been fired through the rifle found at the Depository (HSCA VII.369). This, probably, was the fragment referred to by Congressman Dodd in public session as "not easily identifiable as a result of neutron activation tests" (HSCA V.696).

One of the fragments recovered from the floor of the limousine has vanished since 1963 (HSCA VII.366n). In addition, Guinn reported finding one fragment container empty, a can which had apparently contained particles from the car's damaged windshield. Nor were any samples left from a curb that had reportedly been struck by a bullet. Guinn assumed these had simply been "used up" in earlier FBI tests (HSCA I.196 and letter to author, August 10, 1979). This, at any rate, is the way the HSCA decided to account for the difference in weight and count of fragment material originally listed by the FBI and that handed to Guinn (HSCA Report p. 599n³³). Clearly the fragments were, at one stage, at least poorly catalogued and monitored. Some will suspect a more sinister explanation. See also Note 11 on problems with possible missing fragments in connection with Governor Connally's wrist and the magic bullet (later in this chapter).

Ballistics link fragments to gun: HSCA VII.369-.

Warren conclusion on shot: Report p. 105.

- 67 *Note 8*: Norman Redlich, Commission lawyer, said on March 23, 1965, "To say that they were hit by separate bullets is synonymous with saying that there were two assassins." (See *Inquest* by E. J. Epstein, p. 55.)

Helpern: Marshall Houts, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 59.

Note 9: Helpern was quoting the Warren Commission description of the bullet. The HSCA firearms panel found it to weigh 157.7 grains, however (HSCA VII.368, 372).

- 68 Wecht: *Modern Medicine*, November 27, 1972; *Forensic Science*, 1974; HSCA I.332-.

Nichols: *Maryland State Medical Journal*, October, 1977.

Shaw: interview with author, 1978; and HSCA I.268, 302.

Boggs: June 11, 1965, interviewed by E. J. Epstein for *Inquest* (p. 148).

Cooper: interview for BBC, produced by author, 1978.

Russell: interviewed by Alfred Goldberg, May 5, 1965, reported in *Inquest* by E.J. Epstein, p. 148; and interviewed in 1970 for *Whitewash IV* by Harold Weisberg, p. 21; see also *New York Times*, November 22, 1966, p. 22.

HSCA on "magic bullet": HSCA report p. 47.

Forensic panel on "magic bullet": HSCA VII.179.

- 69 Ballistics reports: HSCA I.411 (tests on bullets); bullet fired in rifle — HSCA VII.368.

Guinn test: HSCA I.533.

Wecht rejection: HSCA VII.199.

- 70 Baden on "futile" tests and on seeing similar bullets: HSCA I.307.

Note 10: In August 1979, Dr. Baden became the subject of controversy in New York City, where he had been serving as Chief Medical Examiner. The mayor of New York decided not to confirm him in his job, and the city's district attorneys complained that Dr. Baden was responsible for "sloppy record-keeping, poor judgment, and a lack of cooperation." Dr. Baden took strong exception to the criticisms, and the matter had not been finally resolved when this book went to press. (*New York Times*, August 3, 6, and 8, 1979.)

Operating-room supervisor and policeman: Nurse Audrey Bell, in conversation with author, 1978; and Patrolman Charles Harbison, reported in *Dallas Morning News*, April 3, 1977; interviewed by Earl Goltz, September 1977.

Note 11: As cited above, Nurse Audrey Bell, operating-room supervisor at Parkland Hospital in 1963, stated in 1977 that on November 22, 1963, she had seen and handled "four or five bullet fragments" after their removal from the Governor's arm. Bell says she placed these in a "foreign body envelope" and handed it to federal agents. This much seems confirmed by HSCA VII.156 and Fig. 17, HSCA VII.392. The Warren Commission referred to "two or three fragments" and claimed they could have come from the magic bullet (Report p. 95). Bell, however, has caused concern with her recent remark that "the smallest was the size of the striking end of a match and the largest at least twice that big. I have seen the picture of the magic bullet, and I can't see how it could be the bullet from which the fragments I saw came." (Interview with author, 1978.) Bell has thirty years' nursing experience and has seen hundreds of bullet injuries. In the wake of her 1977 statements came another from Charles Harbison, a patrolman who guarded the Governor's room. He says that on November 25 or 26, when the Governor was being moved, somebody — he thinks a doctor — gave him fragments. Harbison says he gave them to an FBI agent. Since he recalls "more than three," since he and Bell refer to different

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Assassinations Committee at a loss in 1979. This is covered in the next chapter.

Easy access and Soviets: HSCA Report pp. 212 and 212n21.

- 150 *Note 38*: The possibility of a Stockholm visit was first raised in a report three days after the assassination (November 25, 1963) in *Dagens Nyheter*, the leading Swedish newspaper. It reported as fact that Oswald "passed through Sweden . . . on his way to the Soviet Union." The article stated that "After an unsuccessful attempt to get a Russian visa in Helsinki, he went to Stockholm, where he rented a hotel room. Two days later he was able to continue his journey to Moscow. That indicates the Russian Embassy gave him a visa." Jones Harris, an independent researcher, reports confirmation, from a CIA source, that Swedish intelligence confirmed the detour to Stockholm. The question arises — if American intelligence did know of this, and knew within a short time of the assassination, why was nothing said about it in the Warren Report, or in the HSCA Report in 1979?

Visa studies: XXVI.156, 165, 158; HSCA IV.241.

Moscow arrival: HSCA Report p. 212.

Oswald at American embassy: Report p. 260.

Allegiance letter: Report p. 261.

Oswald on giving Soviets information: Report p. 748; XVIII.908.

McVickar reaction: XVIII.153-7.

- 151 Oswald and Japanese Communists: IX.242 — testimony of George de Mohrenschildt.

Note 39: de Mohrenschildt, a Russian emigré who was to befriend Oswald in Texas after his return from the Soviet Union, said: "He [Oswald] told me that he had some contacts with the Communists in Japan, and they — that got him interested to go and see what goes on in the Soviet Union." Statements by de Mohrenschildt, however, must be read in the light of the evidence about de Mohrenschildt's background. See Chapter 11, "The Man Who Was Perfectly All Right."

9. The Cracks in the Canvas

- 152 Russell quote: conversation with researcher Harold Weisberg, 1970.
Delgado: VIII.242.
Block: interviewed by Epstein for *Legend*, p. 86.
Thornley: affidavit January 8, 1976.
- 153 Russian language: Report p. 685; VIII.307. XIX.662 (took Russian test February 25, 1959).

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