

School of Law

June 23, 1995

Mr. Harold Weisberg 7627 Old Receiver Road Frederick, Maryland 21702

Dear Mr. Weisberg,

I have just finished reading your latest book on the JFK assassination, Case Closed.

Enclosed please find copies of my three most recent articles on the assassination.

Please keep up the good work, and remember that there are millions of Americans who have had their eyes opened because of your important work.

Very truly yours,

Donald E. Wilkes, Jr.

Professor of Law

706-542-5179

tsm/DEW Enclosures Thanks for your letter and its enclosures. I regret that your articles did not get wider at ention. I've carried that forward a bit in the enclosed retyped rough drift of an article about two years old to which I aded a bit when it was available. I have no bjections to others seeing it but I do not want it use without permission because I have some plans for it.

Case Open was completed before the end of 1993. It was butchered in publication with at least 75% just chopped put. I hope to be able to use that part in some current writing. I used Posner's prosecution—type brief as a defense lawyer would have only I stuck to the actual official evidence.

Nover AGAIN! was pub completed about Thanksgiving-time in 1992 and was sat on until this April. Hany fever errata. I'm sorry I've not been able to get copies so I can ot send you one. It is in the stores or they can order it. The index was somehow emitted! I enclose a copy in the event you get the book. I'm told it is off first by a page and then by two pages. It is unread and unedited.

I've a sequel to Haven AGAIN! completed as well as a number of other rough duefts but no publisher and I'm not in a position seek either an agent or a publisher at 82 and in impefied health. But I am getting what I can on paper and it will all be available at local "cool College.

If anyone ever copies all of Russell's file on the Commission I'd like to get a copy to deposit at Mood.

Please excuse my typing. Sorry it cannot be any better.

Sincerely,

Harold Weisberg

# Papers show late senator doubted fundings of Warren Commission

### By DONALD E. WILKES JR.

Documents recently uncovered in the University of Georgia Library show Sen. Richard Russell, the only Georgian on the Warren Communication, had grave doubts about key aspects of the Warren Report on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, but kept silent about his reservations for two years. These documents, located by a university student doing research on the JFK assassination, also reveal Russell, apparently disgusted with Warren Commission, procedures, prepared but never sent a letter resigning from the Commission three months after JFK's death.

The Warren Report was released 25 years ago, on Sept. 27, 1964.

President Kennedy died in a burst of sniper fire in Dealey Plaza in downtown Dallas, Texas, on Nov. 22, 1963. The Warren Report concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, shot JFK from the Texas School Book Depository, and that there was no conspiracy

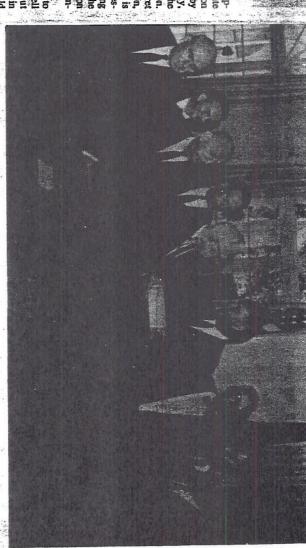
behind the assassination.

Georgia's Richard Russell, who rep-

Georgia's Richard Russell, who represented this state in the U.S. Senate for 38 years, never wanted to serve on the Warren Commission. Appointed by President Lyndon Johnson anyway, Russell soon became known as the "Great Dissenter" on the Commission. The transcript of a Jan. 27, 1964, secret session of the Warren Commission, declassified and published in 1974, is typical. It shows Russell asking questions and making comments indicating that he was highly displeased with the quality of both the FBI's investigation and the information being fed the Commission by the FBI and CIA.

To prevent any embarrassment to President Johnson, the loyal Russell signed the Warren Report without publicly disagreeing with anything in it. But two years later the senator could restrain himself no longer. He publicly announced his "lingering dissatisfaction" with part of the report. In an interview published in the Allanta Consequence of the RUSSELL'S, page 7A.

with JFK death report



Sen. Richard Russell (second from left, front) watches as Warren Commission chairman Earl Warren presents the report to Pres. Lyndon Johnson. Behind Russell and Warren stands then Rep. Gerald Ford, later to become presedent himself. Russell, who had serious doubts about the investigation of Kennedy's assassination, planned at one point to resign from the commission. (Photo courtesy of Richard B. Russell Collection, Richard B. Russell Memorial Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens)

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#### •Russell's objections

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stitution Nov. 20, 1966, Russell explicitly stated he could not agree that Oswald acted alone. He could accept the conclusion that Oswald fired the shots that killed JFK, but he could not rule out the possibility that Oswald was part of a conspiracy.

In the interview Russell also disagreed with the report's single bullet theory: the theory that one of the bullets fired from behind the presidential limousine struck JFK in the back,

exited the front of his neck, and then struck Texas Gov. John Connally.

The Warren Commission embraced the theory in its report to try to explain why films show JFK and Connally both reacting to wounds in less than the amount of time it takes to fire two shots from the rifle supposedly used by Oswald. Without the theory, the Commission would have been forced to acknowledge the existence of multiple gunmen.

On Jan. 19, 1970, less than a year before his death, Russell again proclaimed his doubts about the Warren Report, this time in a television interview. Although professing to have not "the slightest doubt" that Oswald fired the fatal shots, Russell went beyond his 1966 remarks and stated flatly that he "never believed that Lee Harvey Oswald assassinated President Kennedy without at least some encouragement from others."

Russell added: "I think someone else worked with him."

When the Warren Report was published other members of the Warren Commission also had silent doubts. Sen. John Sherman Cooper as well as Rep. Hale Boggs shared some of Russell's concerns, but, like Russell, did not speak out at the time.

The documents recently found in the UGA Library include a dissenting statement prepared by Russell but omitted from the Warren Report. Whether Russell intended to have his dissenting statement published in the report is unknown. Something that might throw light on the matter, the transcript of the final meeting of the Warren Commission held on Sept. 18, 1964, two days after Russell dictated his dissenting statement, disappeared (apparently from the National Archives) years ago.

The existence of the dissenting statement proves the doubts Russell first publicly voiced in 1966 dated back to even before the report was issued.

In his dissenting statement, dictated on Sept. 16, 1964, Russell disagreed with the Warren Report view that JFK and Connally were hit by the same bullet, and also disagreed with the report's conclusion of no conspiracy. In Russell's judgement, the insufficiency of the evidence gathered against Oswald "preclude(d) the conclusive determination that Oswald and Oswald alone, without the knowledge, encouragement or assistance of any other person, planned and perpetrated the assassination."

Russell's plan to resign from the Warren Commission is reflected in an entry on his desk calendar for Feb. 22/23, 1964: "write Pres J & Resign from Commission." In a two-page letter of resignation addressed to President Johnson dated Feb. 24, 1964, but never mailed, Russell complained the Commission was scheduling, holding, or cancelling meetings without notifying him. Why Russell changed his mind about resigning is unexplained.

The passage of a quarter-century has confirmed many of Sen. Russell's doubts about the Warren Report. Almost every major study of the JFK assassination since 1975 has rejected the single bullet theory, although there is disagreement as to whether this necessarily means more than one gunman shot at JFK.

A 1977-78 congressional reinvestigation of the assassination specifically found that the FBI and the Warren Commission failed to investigate adequately the possibility of a conspiracy to assassinate JFK and that the CIA was deficient in supplying information to the Commission. The congressional committee concluded, contrary to the Warren Report, that JFK probably was assassinated as a result of a conspiracy, although the committee did not know who the members of the conspiracy were. Where the Warren Commission found that Oswald fired all the shots at the president's limousine, the congressional committee found it highly probable that two gunmen did the shooting.

It is no wonder that the Warren Report has failed to withstand the test of time. As Sen. Russell's public pronouncements and his previously undisclosed papers show, even members of the Warren Commission didn't believe

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#### JFK killer not alone, UGA Professor sa The Athens by Donald E. Wilkes Jr. 12-8-

recording released earlier this year by the Lyndon Johnson Presidential Library has brought to light some important new facts concerning the Warren Commission's investigation of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. As a result of disclosure of the recording it is now evident, more than three decades after the assassination, that President Lyndon B. Johnson and three members of the Warren Commission (Sen. Richard B. Russell, Sen. John Sherman Cooper, and Rep. Hale Boggs) rejected the so-called single bullet theory, an essential part of the Commission's single-assassin thesis.

Thirty years ago, on Friday, Sept. 18, 1964, at 7:54 p.m. Sen. Richard B. Russell placed a long distance telephone call from his Georgia home to President Lyndon B. Johnson at the White House. Russell's purpose was to tell Johnson about what had happened earlier that day at the final official meeting of what Russell called "that dang Warren Commission," of which he was a reluctant

member.

The recording of that conversation was not released to the public until Apr. 15, 1994. The recording confirms a well-established fact: Sen. Russell vehemently disagreed with the so-called single bullet theory, a key aspect of the

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Warren Commission's 1964 report on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. The recording also discloses an amazing fact previously unknown: LBJ agreed with Russell that the Warren Report's single bullet theory was unworthy of belief.

The single bullet theory is the theory that a nonfatal bullet fired from behind the presidential limousine pierced IFK's back, exited his throat without hitting any bones, struck Texas Gov. Connally in the back, exited his chest after shattering ribs and puncturing a lung, smashed through his right wrist, and then came to rest, virtually intact, in Connally's left thigh.

The proposed final draft of the Warren Report unconditionally accepted the single bullet theory as conclusively proved by the evidence. However, due to objections by Russell and other Commission members at that final meeting on Sept. 18, 1964, the official version of the report endorsed the single bullet theory but refused to rule out other possibilities. Denying that the single bullet theory was essential to its overall conclusion that Oswald was the lone gunman in the sixth floor window, the report found there is very persuasive evidence" to support the single bullet theory and that the theory is "most probably" correct, yet also (in deference to Russell's objections) acknowledged that certain "factors have given rise to some difference of opinion as to this probability

In his Sept. 18, 1964 telephone call to President Johnson. Russell, after an opening exchange of pleasantries, immediately complained \*that dang Warren Commission business has whupped me down ... I was just worn down fighting over that damn report."

A cause of the difficulties at the Warren Commission's final session, Russell made plain, was the single bullet theory: "[T]hey was trying to prove that the same bullet that hit Kennedy first, was the one that hit Connally and went through him and went through his hand and his bone and into his leg and everything

When LBJ asked, "Well, what difference does it make which bullet got Connally?," Russell answered: "Well, it don't make much difference!" Then he



to courtery of Richard Russell Memorial Library

LIKE OTHER AMERICANS Senator Richard Russell wa shocked by the as tion of President Kennedy. He did not believe a single sniper could have wounded Gov. John Connally and killed Kennedy.

Commission believels) that the same bullet that hit Kennedy hit Connally. Well, I don't believe

LBJ quickly responded: "Well, I don't either!

Russell then gave LBI two reasons for rejecting the theory: it contradicted Connally's testimony that he was hit by a different bullet, and it required the further finding-a finding accepted by the Warren Report-that one of Oswald's three shots missed the limousine entirely, which seems highly unlikely given the assassin's deadly shooting abilities.

On Sept. 16, 1964, two days before the call to LBJ, Russell had dictated a dissenting statement detailing his many doubts about the single bullet theory and about the Warren Commission's conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, had murdered President Kennedy. This dissenting statement was not included in Warren Report but is in the senator's papers at the UGA's Russell Library. Shortly after the Warren Report was released, Russell first made public his doubts about the Report when he told The Atlanta Constitution for Sept. 29, 1964 that it still was not known whether Oswald had acted "with the encouragement or knowledge of anyone else." Russell attacked both the single

added: "But they said that ... the bullet theory and the lone assassin notion in an interview published in The Atlanta Constitution Nov. 20, 1966. In an interview with WSB-TV in February 1970, less than a year before his death, Sen. Russell again voiced doubts about parts of the Warren Report.

Sen. Russell's objections to important findings of the Warren

'It has been known for years that LBJ believed, not withstanding the Warren Report, that President Kennedy was assassinated by a conspiracy.'

Report received further publicity when the senator's views were mentioned in various IFK assassination books, including notably Edward Epstein's Inquest (1966), Harold Weisberg's Whitewash IV (1974), Bernard Fensterwald's Coincidence or Conspiracy? (1977), and Henry Hurt's Reasonable Doubt (1985).

(For more information on the ejection of various findings in the Warren Report, including the single bullet theory, by Russell

Commission, see Wilkes, "Russell Disagreed with JFK Death Report," The Athens Observer, Nov. 9, 1989, p. 1.) While Russell's disbelief in the

single bullet theory has been well known for decades, LBJ's disagreement with the theory is a surprising new discovery.

It has been known for years that LBI believed, notwithstanding the Warren Report, that President Kennedy was assassinated by a conspiracy. As a U. S. Senate report published in 1976 reveals, a close aide to LBJ told a highranking FBI official in 1967 that Johnson "is convinced there was a plot in connection with Kennedy's assassination." In a 1971 interview with another former aide-an interview published in Atlantic magazine seven months after his January 1973 death-LBJ reiterated his belief that the JFK assassination had been part of a conspiracy. In the interview Johnson sald that when he became president he had learned that America was "operating a Murder, Inc. in the Caribbean." It appears LBJ thought the JFK assassination a retaliation for CIA-Mafia murder plots in the early 1960's aimed at killing Cuba's Fidel Castro.

When the Commission, with knowledge of the distances and locations in

famous Zapruder film it concluded that less than 2 seconds elapsed between the earliest point in time at which IFK could have been shot in the back, and the latest point in time when Connally could have been shot in the back.

However, it had also been established that it took at least 2.3 seconds to fire the "Oswald rifle" twice (without aiming). If, therefore, there was only one assassin then both JFK and Connally must have been struck in the back by the same rifle bullet-the single bullet. As Burt Griffin, a member of the Warren Commission staff, bluntly phrased it: "To say that [JFK and Connally] were hit by separate bullets is synonymous with saying that there were two

The Warren Commission was totally committed to the single assassin thesis-that Oswald. acting alone, fired all the shots with a Mannlicher-Carcano 6.5 mm bolt-action rifle, that a total of three shots were fired, and that the shots came from a window on the sixth floor of the school book depository. The Commission's slavish devotion to the single assassin notion, no matter what facts or leads the investigation uncovered, is widely recognized as one of the reasons the Warren Report is deficient.

Although the Commission denied it, the truth is that without the single bullet theory the Commission would have been forced to abandon its fundamental premise that Oswald was the sole assassin. It was not the inconclusive firearms tests, but the Commission's fixation with proving that Oswald acted alone, that induced the Commission to favor the single bullet theory.

Three decades after publication of the Warren Report, Americans are finally in a position to understand the terrible truth: in 1964, when the Warren Commission announced his findings, the American people were being asked to believe a lone assassin scenario underpinned by ballistics theory which, unknown to them, the President of the United States and nearly half of the members of the Warren Commission had deemed not worthy of belief.

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TO LYNDON IOHNSON Russell confided his doubts about the "single bullet theory". Johnson said he did

A RELUCTANT MEMBER of the Warren Commission, Russell had to fight to get a statement that the Commission

## GW JFK DOOK . IS university Law professor Continued Coveru

What a shame it is that attor-By Donald E. Wilkes Jr.

with a pistol; and that the evia Dallas policeman, J. D. Tippet, a closed case. dence of Oswald's guilt as the JFK murder may be described as shortly afterwards Oswald killed nition manufactured in 1944; that JFK; that Oswald accomplished disgruntled, pro-Communist the Warren Report was right: assassination of President John F. now, in the 30th year after the Closed (Random House, 1993) is one assassin is so strong that the factured around 1940 and ammuaction 6.5mm Italian rifle manuthe assassination with a bolthelp from anyone, murdered misfit and loner who, without Oswald was a violence-prone, that 24-year old Lee Harvey The book purports to prove that Kennedy, a national best-seller. ney Gerald Posner's book, Case

ishes several extravagant conthe author has obviously done a lot of research, and he demol-Posner's book is interesting

> case is closed, it is only because and press establishment. If the ues to be embraced by the media Commission in 1964 and continassassination, a coverup which strange circumstances of the the coverup of the sinister and effect of the book is to continue the coverup continues. began with behind the assassination. The assassination; but nonetheless the spiracy theories concerning the that there was no conspiracy book wholly fails to demonstrate the Warren

Oswald's guilt as the sole assaspleading. In order to prove truth; it is a work of special it is not the fruit of a quest for the Posner's book is not the result of generally have been favorable, evidence and concluded that the researchers to have looked at the The reviews of Posner's book that sense he is a sort of lone nut Warren Report was right, and in but this is unfortunate, since among JFK assassination buffs. judicious and impartial inquiry; Posner is one of the very few

stating (Warren Commission

come from this blanket ... ble that these fibers could have would say here is that it is possi-Hearings, vol. 4, p. 81): "All I make a positive identification, Warren Commission refused to expert who testified before the garage prior to the assassination (p. 225). In actuality, the FBI fiber kept his rifle wrapped" in a

behavior after the assassination. flies in the face of Oswald's President, and his lame explana-He cannot give a good reason activities and statements of the neck and then struck Texas Gov. behind transected JFK's back or tion of Oswald's alleged motive why Oswald would kill the be a sophisticated investigator. prising in a lawyer supposed to displays a disturbing naiveté surinvestigate the assassination, he which failed to warn or protect police and intelligence agencies John Connally. In appraising the the theory that a bullet fired from credited "single bullet theory" he attempts to resuscitate the disactuality they are not. Incredibly, ters are proven facts when in neously asserts that certain matfacts to the contrary, and erro-Posner ignores or disparages IFK and then failed to adequately murderer of a police officer, sin of a president and the lone

limousine approached the Texas School Book Depository, foolasserts that a lone Oswald, who single gunman theory, Posner had passed the Depository and structed shot as the presidential would have had an easy, unobthe actual assassination: he constructs an absurd account of harder to hit; that Oswald then before firing, when his target was was moving away from him ishly waited until the limousine In a vain effort to uphold the

rifle that sold for \$2.00 wholesale, using a cheap, flimsy, dilapi-dated, 25-year old second-hand and finally, that 5 seconds later, after JFK had reacted to wounds react to his injury until seconds shot, fired 4 seconds later, far less serious than Connally's); tion shows that Connally did not Zapruder film of the assassinahit, and even though the famous his wife adamantly maintained bullet, even though Connally and men had been hit by the same wounded both JFK and Gov. first shot missed and his second move to a position where his street lamp and a tree, rather fired after JFK had already been that Connally was hit by a shot the eyewitnesses thought both Connally (even though none of more it would take for the car to than waiting the three seconds was obstructed by both a tall view was unobstructed; that the while his view of the limousine proceeded to fire his first shot

tained microscopic fibers from

the blanket with which Oswald

Posner's book is not above

"discovered that the bag con-Oswald allegedly used to carry the Italian rifle to the Depository who examined the paper bag proceedings the FBI fiber experts that in the Warren Commission are by no means proven. stating as "fact" matters which the Depository, Posner asserts rifle found on the sixth floor of To link Oswald to the Italian

Closed, p. 256). However, the panel of firearms experts (which in 1977-78 reinvestigated retained by the U.S. House of ates even a wisp of smoke" (Case Committee on Assassinations Representatives ing that "since modern ammunithe time of the shooting, assertof the presidential limousine, tion is smokeless, it seldom cresmoke arising from the knoll at witnesses who saw a puff of Posner heaps scorn on the eyethe grassy knoll to the right front hidden gunman fired at JFK from the large body of evidence that a In an attempt to pooh-pooh

Oakley—as "a simple shot" (1) Hood, William Tell, and Annie the combined talents of Robin shot which would have required in the Depository. Posner even refers to the fatal headshot—a an angle from the sniper's perch moving away, downhill, and at the presidential limousine was tance of 265 feet (88 yards) while shoot JFK in the head at a dis-Oswald (a poor shot) was able to

the JFK murder) reported that even smokeless powder emits residue and smoke when a cartridge is fired; and the panel further reported that when they test-fired the "Oswald" rifle "some smoke was observed coming from the muzzle of the weapon." (House Assassinations Committee Hearings, vol. 7, p. 373.)

of the FBI experts that the Tippet bullets could not be shown to a experts said it was "not possible" with the FBI experts, except that also tested the bullets and agreed the Chicago Police Laboratory, expert retained by the Warren sible" to say with scientific cer-Commission accepted the view have proved what the FB pistol. Thus Nichol claimed to had been fired from Oswald's proved one of the Tippet bullets Nichol claimed that his tests Commission, Joseph Nichol of vol. 3, p. 475). Another ballistics (Warren Commission Hearings, tainty that they had been Oswald's pistol, it was "not posbody could have been fired from although the bullets in Tipper's they therefore concluded that, to be linked with the pistol, and have sufficient identifying marks lets fired from the pistol did not before Oswald obtained it), bulhad been modified (apparently mined that because the barrel pistol taken from Oswald after sample bullets fired from the compared those bullets with from the FBI Crime Laboratory Warren Commission, experts In 1964, at the request of the from the body of Officer Tippet. 280). Four bullets were removed murder of JFK (Case Closed, p. understanding Posner says "is [the] key to ment of the "proof" that Oswald killed Tippet, a killing that his arrest. The FBI experts deter-Consider also Posner's state-The Oswald's" Warren



President John F. Kennedy, Jr. was assasinated on November 22, 1963. His death has stirred controversy as to the actual assaliant(s) for 30 years now.

fired from the Oswald pistol (Warren Report, pp. 172, 176).

Assassinations Committee had the Tippet bullets examined by a panel of five firearms experts who, like the HBI experts, concluded that the bullets "could not be conclusively identified or eliminated as having been fired from the [Oswald] revolver." (House Assassinations Committee Hearings, vol. 7, p. 377.)

Yet this is how Posner states the "facts" concerning Oswald's pistol and the bullets that killed Tippet: "On three of the bullets, the best the experts could conclude was that the bullets had the same characteristics as Oswald's revolver, but they could not iso-

ecientific certainty to have been

fourth bullet had enough unique characteristics that it was matched to his revolver to the exclusion of all others." (Case Closed, p. 279.) In a footnote supposedly supporting this emphasized mistruth, Posner audaciously cites the testimony Nichol gave to the Warren Commission!

In claiming that Oswald was a loner with no ties to American intelligence agencies, Posner dismisses summarily a massive amount of evidence that Oswald had intelligence connections and frequently hung around with right-wingers, and refuses to accept the plain truth that "loner" Oswald associated with intelligence operatives, including CIA operative and right-wingers.

another far-rightist, ex-FBI agent Guy Bannister, both of whom had close dealings with Oswald, the supposed Marxist, in New Orleans in the summer of 1963. He also finds "understandable, rather than sinister" (p. 87), Oswald's close relationship in Texas with the mysterious George de Mohrenschildt, a wealthy, right-wing, Russian aristocrat whose cover was "petroleum engineering" and whose entire life was steeped in intelligence work.

Amazingly, Posner accepts at face value solemn denials, sworn testimony, and affidavits by American intelligence agencies denying they had dealings with Oswald, and appears to actually believe that the absence of proof in the files of these agencies that Oswald was an intelligence agent demonstrates that he was not such an agent.

sons. But there are thousands, to assassins who kill notable perand "glory" that crazies attribute because he wanted the "fame" impenetrable furies" (p. 472) and "driven by his own twisted and says, killed JFK because he was content, a misfit; Oswald, he a wifebeater, a Marxist, a mal ever said anything bad about or Oswald was the classic lone nut explanation he can offer is that indicated any hostility to JFK rists, Posner can advance no Oswald admired JFK. The bes and there is evidence that would have desired JFK's death plausible reason why Oswald There is no evidence that Oswald Like all single-assassin theo-

hom sick or strange as Oswald supwald, posedly was, and they do not New attempt presidential assassinations; why then would he? And if Oswald wanted to bask in the splendor of being a presidential ip in assassin, why after his arrest did he deny guilt? Why, when he it, a when the cameras were rolling was and the whole world listening, and the not (like all previous presdid he not (like all previous pres-

F. Kennedy, is what really constiobsolescent notion that Lee Harvey Oswald alone killed John erwise try to cling to the quaint from several directions, or to othmotorcade came under gunfire compelling evidence that JFK's evidence or scientific proof that claim that there is overwhelming wrong. To leap to the conclusion that Oswald is "a man with Oswald is weak, to ignore the deny that the evidence against Oswald was the lone assassin, to blood on his hands" (p. 472), to on November 22, 1963," and con-"to mock the President he killed" tends that "[t]o say otherwise" the only assassin in Dealey Plaza flatly claims that Oswald "was (p. 472). As usual, Posner is At the end of his book Posner

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tutes mocking the truth.

"I didn't shoot anybody," "I'm

ust a patsy," and "I emphatically

deny these charges"?

deed and brag about it to the world? Why did he instead say,