



# A HERITAGE OF STONE

## JIM GARRISON

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*To the Younger Generation.  
May its members have the insight to  
the deceptions of the warfare state.  
May they have the courage to stand  
on the side of humanity.*

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**Editor's note:** I would like to thank Joe Martines for lending his copy of the 1975 paperback which made this project possible. Joe lives in Canada, describing when “the lights went on” for him in this way: “Working part-time at a small Italian weekly newspaper gave me the idea to write about [Vincent Salandria](#) and [Gaeton Fonzi](#) after reading Fonzi’s [great book](#). Taking a cue from Fonzi looking up Antonio Veciana in the Miami phone book, I did the same and phoned Vince who was extremely gracious and patient as was Gaeton Fonzi. Meeting [Chris Sharrett](#) around that time during his visit to an Ottawa film studies conference was a pleasure, as was meeting [Marty \[Schotz\]](#) a few years ago in Boston. To say that meeting and knowing Vincent Salandria has changed my life would be something of an understatement.”

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am especially grateful to Vincent Salandria and Andrew Sciambra. Their help in our search for the facts about President Kennedy's assassination covered a long period of time and took too many forms to begin to describe them here. Their help continued throughout my writing of this book. I could not have accomplished it without them.

I am grateful to the members of my staff who remained loyal to me in the face of pressures I have not sought to relate here. I am particularly appreciative of the efforts of James Alcock, Alvin Oser, William Alford and Louis Ivon, who continued pressing ahead for the truth even after it had become apparent that we had taken on forces which were really too great for any district attorney's office to engage. However, what I lacked in wisdom they more than made up for in courage and loyalty.

I am indebted to Ralph Schoenman for his encouragement; and to Willard Robertson, Cecil Shilstone and Joseph Rault and to the citizens who, with them, formed the organization called "Truth and Consequences," which helped my office finance its efforts.

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Above all, I am grateful to the people of New Orleans for the long and patient support they gave us while we sought the truth. Without their backing we never would have made it.

## FOREWORD

When will the world grow weary of murder? When my sons and yours, too, are gone?

Man's rise from a poor but honest animal to his present eminence as a charter member of the Hydrogen Club is a great success story. It may turn out to be the success story to end all success stories.

The descendant of the hairy Stone Age man would rebuild the earth, change the course of rivers and touch the very stars at which his ancestor stared from his cave at night. There was nothing he would be unable to do, so long as he was not asked to love his fellow man.

Man has invented the cross, the gallows, the rack, the gibbet, the guillotine, the sword, the machine gun, the electric chair, the hand grenade, the personnel mine, the flame thrower, the "blockbuster," the obsolescent atom bomb and the currently popular hydrogen bomb—all made to maim or destroy his fellow man. These inventions, combined with hate and selfishness and lust for power, are responsible for the unending destruction of humans by other humans. Yet most dangerous of all is modern man's interest in his own self. Hate and love of power could be dealt with were it not for the license they receive from the inertia of millions. The most dangerous of all humans are the gray mice: it is their silence that kills. It was the silence of the gray mice outside the German concentration camps that killed the millions inside.

Whether we survive the Thermonuclear Age may come down to the simple question of whether we learn to care about our fellow men. Perhaps our cruelty and detachment will lend to a final day of fire for the most rational creature who ever walked the earth. The computers which we have invented now tell us that our losses in a nuclear exchange will be many millions of American dead. We have come a long way from the first stone axe.

Is there an alternative to the extinction of man? Those gibbets, thumbscrews, gallows, treasured hates and fond cruelties must inexorably give way to the expansion of man's intellect and reason. Along with this, he must increase enormously his compassion for and identification with the species. Failing this, he will become silent forever.

JIM GARRISON

*New Orleans*

## ONE FRIDAY IN NOVEMBER

It was a warm November day, as November days in New Orleans are apt to be, when my chief assistant bolted into the office. "The President's been shot!" he yelled.

I had been working on some long-since forgotten matter and I shoved it to the side. Soon Frank Klein and I were downtown where we could find out what had happened in Dallas. A small restaurant on Royal Street had a television set. We ordered something and watched the news coming in bits and pieces from Texas.

Things were moving fast on television. Now the President was dead. The news shifted to the manhunt, to the surprisingly quick cornering of the alleged killer in the theater. As the news bulletins steadily appeared, a great amount of information about Lee Harvey Oswald was becoming available unusually fast.

I recall that everything else seemed to have stopped, that everywhere people were gathered around television sets. Increasingly, the news was about Oswald. The news seemed to be very detailed for such a new personality on the scene. Now it was reported that Oswald had spent thirty months in Russia as a defector. Now it was reported that Oswald was originally from New Orleans and had spent the past summer in New Orleans.

In retrospect, it is apparent that there was too much about Oswald and that it came too soon. There was a prefabricated quality about the whole affair. I was not conscious of this at the time, however, being much more conscious of my feelings for the young President who had just been murdered.

### *The Unwanted Witness*

That Sunday afternoon Klein and I met at the office with a handful of other members of the District Attorney's staff. This had become a custom of ours whenever New Orleans appeared possibly involved in any unusual case. For example, in the Chicago murders of eight nurses some years back, the knots with which they had been bound were apparently the work of a seaman. New Orleans is a seafarer's port of call, so we spent the better part of a weekend going through arrest and conviction records of men with seagoing experience.

In the Oswald case, we had a lead regarding one David Ferrie. Someone informed us that Oswald and Ferrie had been associated together in the Civil Air Patrol and that Ferrie may have taken part in the assassination. It took about 15 minutes to establish that Ferrie had not been in Dallas on the day of the murder. However, I could not get Ferrie, who had been known to our office for some time, out of my mind. After my staff checked him out thoroughly, I remained unconvinced by his explanation about a mysterious trip he had made to Texas on the day of the assassination. So I

ordered him held for questioning by the FBI. We were about to have our first encounter with the federal government in the case. (It is somewhat analogous to bobbing for apples with your hands tied behind you.)

After preliminary questioning, the FBI ordered Ferrie released and then took the surprising step of issuing a news story saying that it had not requested he be picked up. Three matters stood for three years. We had come across a strange man, an acquaintance of Oswald's, making a strange trip into Texas at a strange time, and we had turned him over to the federal government. And the federal government indicated he was not involved. The FBI agent who questioned Ferrie assured me that he had no connection with the assassination. So far as they were concerned on the Dallas end, it was Oswald alone and unaided.

### *Three Years Later*

Nothing was farther from my mind than the possibility that the federal government might have a reason to lie. It did not occur to me that there was such a thing as domestic espionage in the United States or that New Orleans had been used to create a scapegoat history for Oswald.

In the autumn of 1966 I was in New York visiting Senator Russell Long of Louisiana. The talk turned to the assassination of President Kennedy. I was astonished to hear him say that he felt there was a question about the Warren Commission's inquiry. I had assumed that the matter had fully and honestly been looked into by the commission. My mind turned back to our office meeting the weekend of the assassination and to our questioning of David Ferrie.

When I returned to New Orleans I began reading the 26 volumes of the Warren Commission's hearings and exhibits as well as the commission's conclusions. It became apparent that its official conclusion that Kennedy had been killed by a single marksman, shooting at him from behind, was totally impossible. It also began to seem that Lee Harvey Oswald quite possibly had not fired any shots and had been a mere scapegoat.

Then what was the meaning of these 26 volumes of evidence? Why was the government lying to the people? Who had killed President Kennedy and why?

Thus I began my own inquiry. I started quietly with a small team from the office staff, our jurisdiction based upon the fact of Lee Oswald's curious activities in New Orleans in the summer of 1963 and upon his seeming involvement with the assassination.

Soon enough, however, what we were doing became known. Some newspaper reporters had noticed that we were taking unusual trips and were engaged in unusual activity. A front-page story appeared reporting that we were engaged in a new investigation into the assassination of President Kennedy. Although I gave no interviews, a rash of news stories appeared across the country saying that I was

only seeking headlines.

On March 1, 1967, I made my first arrest. Although I did not expect a great deal of help from the federal government, I must admit that I was rather surprised when it immediately went to the aid of the defendant. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, commenting on the arrest, said that the defendant had been checked out by the FBI and cleared, “more or less.” President Johnson said that he saw no reason to reopen the Warren Commission investigation. Subsequently, a series of press accounts appeared charging that I was conducting a reign of terror, using improper methods in my investigation and abusing the defendant’s constitutional rights—charges I found ironic since philosophically I tend to side with the individual against the potentially oppressive state.

The press failed to point out the extensive steps I took to protect the defendant’s rights, including the virtually unprecedented one of filing a motion for a preliminary hearing so that the court itself could determine whether the defendant should be bound over for trial. After receiving a unanimous ruling, we presented the case to the Grand Jury, which indicted the defendant on the charge of participating in a conspiracy to kill John F. Kennedy. I took these steps—anyone of which, if unsuccessful, would have ended the case then and there—because I felt that the enormity of the charge required me to exercise every conceivable caution on behalf of the defendant.

For the next two years my staff and I sought to get the defendant to trial. During this period the national press—television, magazines and newspapers—continued to attack me both professionally and personally.

The battle was not restricted to the media alone. For the first time in my career as District Attorney, I began to experience some difficulties in getting witnesses and defendants to appear in a Louisiana court. Some courts even refused to extradite defendants charged in our jurisdiction. When we subpoenaed witnesses from other states to appear before the Grand Jury, we discovered that the courts in other jurisdictions for vague reasons were refusing to honor and enforce our subpoenas. We subpoenaed Allen W. Dulles, onetime director of the CIA, with regard to Lee Harvey Oswald’s activities with that organization. However, the U.S. attorney in Washington, D.C. who would normally handle this request wrote us a letter in which he said, “We decline to represent you in this matter. Accordingly, I am returning the documents you forwarded, including the check, so that you may pursue the matter yourself or arrange for other counsel.” Needless to say, we never got to talk to Mr. Dulles.

Nor did we get to see the photographs and X-rays of the President’s body and other articles relating to the assassination which were subpoenaed unsuccessfully by our office as vital evidence in our case and which still remain locked up until the year 2039.

Meanwhile the battle continued. J. Edgar Hoover refused to furnish information requested by my

office. The American Civil Liberties Union charged me with misuse of my office. My resignation was called for at least once a week. A national magazine tried to link me with the mob, and Ramsey Clark had already commented that he “might prosecute Jim Garrison.” Texas Governor John Connally, who had never talked to me, said that I had turned up nothing “credible” in my investigation. The federal court temporarily stopped the prosecution.

A wealthy businessman from the West asked if he could drop by. He was one of countless persons, with varied ostensible purposes, who came to my office and sought to know just what I was doing. When he finally arrived, he seemed restless and uninterested in discussing the assassination and repeatedly adjusted the Annapolis ring on his finger. Then he came to the point: “Would you be interested in a federal judgeship?” When I said “No” and that I would not do anything to stop our investigation, he left. A few months later, Internal Revenue Service intelligence agents appeared in my office and informed me that they were conducting a criminal investigation of me for possible income tax violations. We had turned down the carrot; now we were getting the stick.

U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark’s appearance, requested by our office through due legal procedure, was blocked by the federal government. Wesley J. Liebeler, assistant counsel to the Warren Commission, refused to appear as a witness. Chief Justice Warren stated to the press that he saw no new evidence.

Finally, on the eve of the trial, after our trial brief had been stolen and turned over to the defense, the Justice Department released a secret study by a medical panel backing the findings of the original autopsy report. The move was obviously intended to influence prospective jurors. In view of its timing, there was some thought about delaying the trial, but it was finally decided to proceed. After all, I could hardly count on being the district attorney in 2039 when the federal government proposed to release its great mass of evidence.

Much has been said about the trial, both pro and con. Some were glad to see parts of the Warren Commission evidence crumble in the face of a genuine courtroom proceeding. Others, who quite apparently had not read the testimony, called the trial a fraud and me a publicity seeker, unaware that I still refused to give interviews concerning the case. The national press criticized our witnesses, without reporting that the only convicted felon to appear as a witness in the trial appeared for the defense, and seemingly overlooked [Dr. Pierre Finck’s testimony](#) which, by revealing that more lead was removed from Governor Connally’s wrist than was missing from the bullet which the commission claimed had gone through the President and the Governor, virtually destroyed the Warren Commission’s position.

The local press, in contrast to most of the national media, was relatively objective during the trial. This was somewhat surprising because I had never briefed the reporters nor given them any background concerning the case. Undoubtedly, they were as unaware of the federal government’s

role as I was when I first began to look into the case. It must have appeared to them that I was presenting a scenario which featured abominable snowmen as the assassins. The rules of evidence, however, obstructed the presentation of evidence we had developed concerning the existence of a major domestic intelligence operation in the United States.

As our legal system would have it, a jury of twelve men heard the evidence and returned a verdict of not guilty. They did this because in their minds the evidence presented by the state did not prove the defendant guilty beyond a reasonable doubt of the crime of conspiracy to murder the President. As a district attorney I accept the verdict of the jury. However, to misconstrue this verdict as an acquittal of the federal government in its involvement in the assassination of the President and in its suppression of the evidence would be a serious mistake.

We saw the verdict as pointing up the impossibility of presenting an espionage case in an American court of law. The burden of proof is too heavy for the state to carry. The average American juror knows little about espionage, and about domestic espionage in particular.

All superstates engaged in efforts to gain power must maintain extensive domestic intelligence operations at home. They must seek to maintain control of individuals and ideas lest their international war adventures lose the support of the populace at home. That the domestic espionage operation may be illegal according to the law of the land is irrelevant. The issue is power, immense power, and it is not one which can be encompassed in a single courtroom and in a single trial.

It was this immense domestic espionage power which the DA's office of New Orleans unknowingly took on when it began its investigation into the murder of John Kennedy.

From the outset I regarded the task as unpleasant but one I had to do, because no one else in public office saw need to and because part of what had happened occurred in my jurisdiction. Duty and conscience compelled me to seek the truth about the assassination. As a result, my staff and I found ourselves on a collision course with the most powerful force in the country.

The battle that followed over those three years exposed us to a part of America that we never dreamed existed. It became very clear to me that this was no longer the country that I had grown up in as a boy. It was a nation controlled by an enormous domestic intelligence organization which would seek to discredit or destroy anyone who dared challenge its authority.

The power maneuverings of the opposition which emerged against our investigation in New Orleans taught us much about the nature and operation of the new rulers of our government who had seized power through killing the President. We realized that the implications of what we had learned in New Orleans had a significance far transcending our investigation. We felt a sense of urgency that the American people should know the truth about our nation's military-intelligence

alliance. The question of who killed John Kennedy evolved into the more meaningful query of *why* he was killed. In turn, the question of why John Kennedy was killed became a touchstone for understanding our nation's plight today as it suffers under the control of the new power apparatus.

It is this sense of urgency that compelled me to write this book.

### *Blitzkrieg in New Orleans*

The verdict of not guilty for the defendant in New Orleans came approximately eight months before my campaign for reelection. Elements of the national news media, sensing my defeat, stepped up their propaganda campaign and dedicated their efforts to that end. It was a blitzkrieg of which any German Panzer division commander would have been proud. My methods were assaulted almost daily, the smears literally endless. I was accused of everything from being connected to the Mafia to slapping my wife in public, to cover only the mentionable charges.

The battle lines became increasingly clear. I was on one side and the federal government was on the other—*always* on the other. The longevity of our battle at times seemed likely to surpass the Greek and Trojan wars. As the election drew near, the national news media were fully prepared to record my demise. Their representatives followed me on the campaign trail where I talked to the people and stressed the accomplishments of my office, telling the people that I represented them and not the federal government and assuring them that my investigation into the assassination of John F. Kennedy was not yet over.

The most interesting thing about the campaign was the response of the audiences to my efforts to press for the truth in the President's murder. Fortunately for me, the people of New Orleans were able to sense the efforts of the federal government and the news media to take over the District Attorney's office, and they came to my aid. I was reelected in the first primary. The people had spoken and the message was loud and clear. Apparently they liked the kind of office that I had conducted over the past eight years. However, more important to me, it seemed they felt strongly about the murder of Jack Kennedy and they wanted someone to do something about his assassination. They wanted the truth brought out. They wanted an end to the steady flow of deception from Washington.

### *The Nearness of History*

Winning the election, satisfying though the victory was, carried with it the responsibility of continuing to press forward in bringing out this truth. To understand the forces involved and their motivation is to understand all of the once-mysterious assassinations of the 1960's, which in each instance achieved the elimination of a public figure who opposed our massive military expedition into Asia.

As American military force spreads across the Pacific into Southeast Asia, it is possible that counterforces may develop which will allow America to survive its own power explosion. However, we must begin to recognize history as it is happening to us. We can no longer toy with illusions. Our war adventures in Asia are no more related to national security, in any rational sense, than the assassination of John F. Kennedy was the work of a “lonely, disoriented man.”

The forces which our leaders have unleashed in Asia might produce a Pax Americana, as is undoubtedly intended, but it is more likely to be the beginning of the end of our country as we have known it. Sooner or later there must develop a broader base of understanding about what is happening or we will never regain control of our government. Sooner or later the relationship of assassination at home and war abroad must come to be understood.

In the past three years, I have learned more about the inhumanity of uncontrolled governmental power than I cared to learn. I have written this book so that the truth about the murder of John Kennedy finally may be brought out for every American to see. Above all, I have sought to show what has been done to our country by men who believe in solving problems by the use of force.

If you care for America, then this book has been written for you. I wrote it in the hope that it might help illuminate the peril which surrounds us. Welcome to the fight.

## PART 1 / ILLUSION

1.

### THE EXECUTION

*Not a Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war ... not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men and women—not merely peace in our time but peace in all time.*

—JOHN F. KENNEDY[1]

A man who cares too much for the human race may find himself living in a hostile environment. His humanity may not be regarded as dangerous so long as his voice cannot be heard by too many people, but if he is eloquent, or if he is in a position to affect the affairs of the nation, then his humanity will be regarded by some men as a great threat.

After the United States ascended to the position of the most powerful military nation in history, in the midst of its accumulation of the most effective death machinery of all time, there occurred the accident of the election of a President who regarded the entire human race with compassion. By the time this happened, the cold war had become our major industry, and the Central Intelligence Agency had become the clandestine arm of our military-industrial complex and, in the process, the most effective assassination machine in the world.

John Kennedy's efforts to obtain a lasting peace represented the threat of civilian control reasserting itself over the military and industrial power structure which had developed during the years of the cold war. Shortly after noon on November 22, 1963, Kennedy's hopes died by assassination.

The United States government found nothing sinister about the President's murder. A youth had been overly exposed to Communist doctrines, and the alien thoughts had goaded him into murdering the President of the United States all by himself. Otherwise, all was well. In fact, things were better than ever, and, in time, the people would be reminded that they had never had it so good.

The counterthrust had taken less than six seconds. There was no risk that the federal government would expose the truth about the President's murder, because agents of the federal government had participated in it. There was no risk of exposure from the national press, because, having been

tossed a lone assassin and presented with an acceptable fable, the press would not go farther and try to digest the indigestible, to think the unthinkable and to question Brutus about the removal of Caesar.

The use of the coup d'état—the murder of a leader by forces within his own government—is as old as government, as old as the struggle of men for power. From modern intelligence agency techniques, however, there has come a new refinement. Through the employment of cover devices and the controlled dissemination of information, the role of the government in assassinations can be effectively concealed.

No longer need Macbeth leave his castle to kill Duncan. He can remain at Inverness until the news arrives about Duncan's sudden death and about the subsequent killing of the lone assassin. No longer need Brutus go with his associates to the Senate to murder Caesar. He can remain at his home until the couriers arrive with the news of Caesar's death and of the hot pursuit by Roman soldiers of a lone assassin.

Coups d'état generally have been accomplished by men powerful enough to be free from any fear of retribution. If they did not possess, at the outset, some manner of achieving control over the machinery of government, they would not have initiated the murder of a national leader. The people afterward may be free to make Caesar a god, as they did in Rome, but they must not be free to disturb the men who killed him. In the meantime, the men who sponsored his removal can change the government's policies to suit their desires, leaving the citizens free to mourn and worship their dead leader.

When the assassination of a national leader is not supported by elements of the government, it is predictable that the government investigation will be effective and relentless. In such a case, if the assassins are not shot at the scene, they will be hunted down and cornered whether in the Amazon jungles or at the North Pole and swiftly brought to justice. All information contributing to the discovery of the whole truth will be welcome. The press and other government agencies will be encouraged to contribute all possible facts to the inquiry. When the criminals are caught, the federal machinery of justice will be firm and uncompromising. Assassinations which do not meet with government approval are subjected to painstaking scrutiny.

However, it is another matter when an assassination is supported by powerful forces within the government. The vaunted protective guard of the President suddenly will have become curiously impotent, for its operation will be known intimately by the assassins. The assassination apparatus will be extraordinarily effective. Federal investigative agents, who within hours can hunt down a man crossing a state line with a stolen loaf of bread, will move like sleepwalkers. High officials reviewing the affair will diligently examine many irrelevant items, such as Lee Harvey Oswald's "shot" record showing that he had received his smallpox vaccination in 1951,<sup>[2]</sup> but will casually

overlook the most pertinent evidence relating to the assassination. Perhaps from the news media there will be an occasional editorial on violence in the streets.

When an assassination is not authorized by the government but has been committed extragovernmentally, an investigative agency which is independent of the government will be regarded as the most natural of allies, very possibly a source of more information to help bring the criminals to justice.

However, when an assassination has been supported by elements of the government, an independent investigation is as welcome as a snake dropped inside one's shirt. The independent investigators, rather than the assassins, are the criminals. Every possible government agency will be used in the counterattack against the menace presented by an outside inquiry. Major news agencies will be persuaded to join the assault against the outrageous new development. An investigation which seeks the truth presents a survival problem to the government. Whatever tasks are required to destroy the public's confidence in the investigation and, ultimately, to destroy the investigation itself will be undertaken.

In a country with advanced technology for news distribution, the removal of a nation's leader by a coup d'état will never be attempted unless those sponsoring the murder feel assured that they will have an effective degree of control over the dissemination of the news. Government control must be at a high enough level to guarantee the subsequent distribution of official news releases encouraging the belief that, however tragic the incident, it was essentially meaningless and all is well.

The high speed of news dissemination is used to great advantage in contemporary intelligence assassinations. The official fiction can be spread to every corner of the world and obtain acceptance as reality long before any separate inquiry, if one ever occurs, is begun. The sheerest illusion is spun into the only reality the public will ever know.

Creation of a believable cover for an assassination is routine for an intelligence agency of a major government. The cover story which is initially distributed by the press release creates a degree of acceptance virtually impossible to dislodge. This is the case especially when the official fiction is supported by the prearranged activities of a decoy pointing in the direction of a false sponsor of the assassination.

The actual events of the assassination become irrelevant. All that remains relevant is the cover story issued to the press and the power to control the investigation and conceal the evidence.

A new political instrument has been created. It provides for the permanent removal of men whose philosophies do not coincide with that of the dominant power structure of the United States. The

danger that the press will recognize what is happening and will make relevant criticism has been demonstrated to be zero. The thinnest of covers will set the press off in the direction opposite to the truth, like greyhounds pursuing the artificial rabbit. The victim can be dispatched with a shotgun and an official announcement that it was done with a bow and arrow will produce editorials condemning the careless use of bows and arrows.

No one wants to recognize that somewhere along the line America has ceased to be the home of the brave and the land of the free, and that only in after-dinner speeches is it still the sweet land of liberty. No one wants to recognize that there are assassins at work in the land, systematically eliminating men who speak out for the human race and for the future. No one wants to admit that in America peace is dangerous business. Better to have the assassinations accompanied by wafer-thin deceptions, eagerly accepted one after the other, than to have to face the truth.

Justice is not so blind that it pursues the most powerful forces in the country. Nor is the press so committed to truth that it wants the burden of knowledge of what is happening.

America has become a nation controlled by men who seek ever-increasing power. Justice is whatever they want to happen. Truth is whatever they announce has occurred.

In Munich, while the government wrenched out the gold teeth of the freshly murdered masses at nearby Dachau, judges excoriated pickpockets and sent them to prison. In Washington, as the assassinations occurred, the men in government engaged in poised debates over daylight saving time and discussed with aplomb new laws to end the violence in the streets.

Even before the sun set in Dallas on the day of the assassination, the leaders of our government knew that President Kennedy was not killed by Lee Oswald. The overwhelming majority of witnesses at the scene,[3] the doctors at Parkland Hospital[4] and the Zapruder film, hidden for years from the eyes of the American people,[5] made it perfectly clear that the fatal shot came from the front.

Federal officials were silent about witness reports which contradicted the official fiction, just as they were later silent when Oswald, in turn, was murdered so that he could never talk. What motivated these cardboard men who had nothing to say when the President was torn apart and justice once more was hanged from the scaffold—and then hanged again?

As the President's limousine turned right from Main Street onto Houston, gunmen waited at Dealey Plaza. In other towns and cities men glanced at their watches and waited for the news bulletin. At the corner of Elm the car made a sharp left turn past the Texas School Book Depository. President Kennedy had about ten seconds left....

[Not a Pax Americana](#) enforced on the world by American weapons of war ... not merely peace for

Americans but peace for all men and women—not merely peace in our time but peace in all time.

Suddenly these were only words.

- 
1. [↔] Theodore C. Sorensen, *Kennedy* (New York, Harper & Row, 1965), p. 731.
  2. [↔] John E. Pic Exhibit 59, *H*, **XXI**, 123.
  3. [↔] Of the 90 persons who were asked the question of where the shots came from, 58 said the shots came from the grassy knoll, while the remaining 32 said they came from other places. See Mark Lane, *Rush to Judgment* (New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966), p. 37.
  4. [↔] Vincent J. Salandria, “The Head Wounds of President Kennedy,” *Liberation* (March, 1965), pp. 26-32.
  5. [↔] Although a poor copy of the *Zapruder film* is now available for examination at the National Archives in Washington, D.C, in 8mm., 16 mm. and slide form, only duly authorized scholars and researchers can obtain permission to view the films. *Life* has yet to release the film for motion picture viewing by the general public.

2.

## ORNAMENTS

*So may the outward shows be least themselves:  
The world is still deceived by ornament.  
In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt  
But, being seasoned by a gracious voice  
Obscures the show of evil?*

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Merchant of Venice*[1]

Now the time had come for the ceremonies, so that the changed leadership accomplished by the guns in Dallas would be authenticated and accepted.

First, there had to be the Great Funeral which, by its majestic display of splendid sorrow, would help to discharge the anger and tension of the people and divert their attention from the murdered man's actual labors and the motivation for the murder. Then there would be the Great Investigation which would ease the rational concerns of the people by pointing to the conclusion, after an industrious display of seeking evidence, that the murder of President Kennedy had merely been the meaningless act of a young man with a joyless childhood. The next ritual would be the formal Great Inquiry in which handpicked national leaders, the gray-haired elders of the tribe, would make a solemn study of the tragedy. Then they could assure the public that every detail had been investigated and that, indeed, there was no conspiracy and the United States still had the best of all possible governments. Ultimately, major installations would be christened "Kennedy"—a space center, a monstrous airport, a guerrilla warfare center—thus demonstrating that America may murder its leaders but does not forget their images.

The funeral was as magnificent as any ever received by a fallen leader. Ironically—because no President in the twentieth century had been so deeply at odds with the military establishment—it was a military funeral. Troops of all services marched through gray streets to a slow-cadenced drum and behind the casket clopped a horse with empty stirrups at his sides, a nostalgic reminder of ancient days. Television was allowed to show the proceedings for countless hours, although it would not afterward be allowed to show the [Zapruder film](#), which in six seconds would have revealed to the country what really happened. The nation's leaders attended, and their faces expressed sadness—not so much sadness that later they would insist that concealed evidence be shown to the public, but enough sadness for the occasion. Great dignitaries from all over the world were there to attend the ceremonies and later to meet with the new President.

The government investigation which followed appeared to be very intensive and had the effect of convincing millions of intelligent Americans that the facts were being exhaustively explored. Upon closer examination, however, the government's investigation was more reminiscent of Brutus scouring every inch of Rome, collecting material from the courtyards and the catacombs, in order to try to learn who had murdered Caesar. When the historic investigation finally was concluded, a great deal of evidence appeared to have been collected for the public to see. However, upon careful inspection much of the evidence collected did not appear to have too much relevance to the murder of John Kennedy.

Included in the trivial "evidence" ultimately presented were the dental charts of Jack Ruby's mother,[2] grammar school records of Oswald,[3] photographs of Russian scenery,[4] irrelevant letters,[5] irrelevant telegrams,[6] picture postcards showing bullfights,[7] a copy of the proceedings in an unrelated divorce case,[8] a study of Oswald's pubic hairs,[9] and a traffic citation received by Jack Ruby.[10]

On the other hand, much evidence which appeared to be significant either had been destroyed while in the government's control or was classified as secret and locked in the National Archives until the year 2039.[11]

The notes of Commander James J. Humes, the Navy pathologist who conducted the autopsy on the President, were burned in his fireplace for reasons which were never made clear.[12] The investigative notes taken by a federal agent who questioned Oswald in New Orleans were later consigned to flames by the same agent.[13] In each of these instances important information which might have clarified the location of President Kennedy's wounds or the relationship of Lee Oswald to the federal government were swept away forever by fire. On the other hand, there is no record of any instance in which irrelevant evidence was burned or in any other way lost to posterity.

The locking up of evidence until the year 2039 meant that anyone who was 21 when the assassination occurred would be allowed to examine the hidden material at the age of 96, assuming that he had managed to retain an active interest in the case. This generous concession to the right of the public to know the facts undoubtedly was made because, as would be explained by federal officials, there was no political motivation behind the President's unfortunate demise. Since there are no political implications to his murder, all the evidence is going to be made available for you to examine—after seven decades.

Among the files locked away in the archives, where they could not be examined by the public, were the following: A CIA file concerning Oswald's access to information about the U-2,[14] a memo from the head of the CIA entitled "Lee Harvey Oswald,"[15] a CIA file concerning dissemination of information on Oswald,[16] a reproduction of the CIA official dossier on Oswald,[17] a CIA file entitled "Information given to the Secret Service but not yet given to the Warren Commission,"[18]

a CIA file on the chronology of Oswald in Russia,[19] a CIA file on the activity of Oswald in Mexico City,[20] and a CIA file entitled “Information on Jack Ruby and associates.”[21]

As a result of the federal investigation, a total of 51 such CIA files were locked away in the vaults in Washington. Many of the files were classified secret on the grounds that national security was involved. Was it not a curious circumstance that the assassination which had no politically-motivated meaning had connected with it so many files that could affect the security of the nation if made public?

If an assassination accomplished by an itinerant warehouse employee produced such precaution in protecting state secrets, would it not be interesting to speculate whether there could have been much greater secrecy if the President had been killed as the result of a conspiracy? More than six years after what we were told was a lonely act devoid of political significance, a great volume of evidence was still classified as secret and locked away in the National Archives.

Not merely the great quantity of evidence hidden afterward but the conduct of the government during the investigation indicated that something was binding it, that it was not free to inquire into all relevant areas. The moment President Kennedy’s heart stopped beating the investigative agencies of the United States government seemed to suffer a substantial decline in their accustomed investigative alacrity. The sudden absence of their traditional proficiency in dealing with ordinary criminals, car thieves or counterfeiters was indicative of an investigative body’s encountering uniquely powerful obstacles. In the FBI, for example, agents accustomed to following leads to their conclusion were required to check out portions of leads and send the results in to Washington, after which they were given parts of new leads to pursue.

There are some indications that this strange disability of the federal investigative apparatus occurred even before President Kennedy’s heart stopped beating.

In retrospect, the federal investigation was much less a search for facts than a purposeful ignoring of them. When neglect of initial information appeared impracticable, the evidence was systematically destroyed. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the investigation was inexpertly performed or poorly organized. The investigative agencies seem to have known exactly where not to look and what not to find. A close study of the post-assassination investigation requires that the investigation be regarded as nothing less than a continuation of pre-assassination planning.

Despite the shocking impact of the murder of the President of the United States, the government took over control of the investigation firmly, quickly and smoothly. It had no jurisdiction whatsoever, because the killing of the President was not a federal crime, but the federal government took over from those who did have jurisdiction. Thus, shortly after the assassination, those local law

enforcement authorities having genuine legal jurisdiction were, in effect, eliminated from the investigation. This meant that no officials with legal jurisdiction were seriously investigating the murder of the President of the United States, and it also virtually ended any risk that curious local government officials, uncontrolled by Washington, would actually seek any evidence.

Moreover, even before the investigation began, the federal government announced that there had been no conspiracy and all the shooting had been done by a lone assassin.[22] Ordinarily serious investigations—the kind which actually seek to determine what happened—occur prior to the announcement of the conclusion. In the case of John Kennedy’s murder, however, first the conclusion was announced by the federal government and then the investigation proceeded, thus reducing the options of the investigative technicians to the single one of confirming their employer’s pronouncements. Similarly, the murder of Lee Oswald at the outset of the investigation considerably diminished the public interest in requiring evidence that he was not, after all, the lone assassin.

It is interesting that the first announcement that the assassination was a meaningless, one-man project came *not* from Dallas, where one would expect such knowledge to have been acquired, but from Washington.[23] Even more interesting is the fact that at the time the announcement was made the evidence back in Dallas still indicated that the President had been killed in an ambush. [24] As late as the morning following the day of the assassination the *Dallas Morning News* quoted District Attorney Henry Wade as saying that there appeared to have been a number of men in the operation.[25] As for Lee Oswald, at the time of the initial Washington announcement that he alone was guilty, there was not the slightest evidence back in Dallas to give any reasonable support for such a conclusive announcement.

It made no difference. The name of the game that was now going on was not truth. It was power. Dallas officials sensed what was happening and moved back a little farther.

The first official statement that John Kennedy had been killed by the lone assassin, Lee Oswald, came in a radio message to the new President in *Air Force One* as he flew back to Washington.[26] The good news that there was no conspiracy at all—and that it was, therefore, not a military coup d’état or anything sinister like that—was radioed to the new Chief Executive’s plane from the Situation Room in the White House.[27] Actually, this radio message from Washington came in a little ahead of time, since there was not yet evidence nor even rumor to support it, so that the transmitters of the message deserve credit for this foresight in knowing so soon what the conclusion of the federal investigation was going to be.

Back in Dallas, Oswald had been given a paraffin test to see if he had on his cheeks the nitrate deposits caused by firing a rifle. The test showed that he had no nitrate deposits on either cheek, a fact which supported the proposition that he had not fired any rifle that day.[28] If Oswald had been

allowed to live long enough to go to trial, the absence of nitrate on both cheeks would have been powerful evidence for his exoneration.

Nevertheless, the announcement was made that the test showed that Oswald, indeed, had fired a rifle,[29] and this incriminating news circled the world, satisfying hundreds of millions that the President's assassin had been caught.

Similarly, it was announced that Oswald was identified as having been the man who killed Officer J. D. Tippit. This news also flew around the globe, lending further substance to the picture of Lee Oswald as a deranged, ruthless killer. Actually, two eyewitnesses at the scene of the Tippit murder indicated that Oswald was not the officer's murderer. Acquilla Clemons,[30] observed the incident, was firm in saying that Oswald was not the man who killed Tippit. Domingo Benavides, the closest witness to the shooting, gave a description of the killer which so completely eliminated Oswald as a suspect that he was never called to the lineup to look at Oswald.[31] This news, however, did not go around the world. For these reasons, also, had Oswald Lived in all likelihood he would have been exonerated.

It was announced to the press that a map belonging to Oswald had been found with marks made at possible assassination points along the parade route.[32] This news also rapidly became widespread. Later, it turned out that the map belonged to Mrs. Paine, with whom Oswald's wife stayed, and the marks were made to help him locate addresses while he was job-hunting and had no connection with the assassination.[33] Understandably, there was not too much press propaganda value in the development that the map had no connection with the assassination. By the time this fact was clarified, Oswald had been murdered.[34]

To the people in the United States and the rest of the world the mass media reported that the chicken bones and cigarette butts in the assassin's lair showed that Oswald had eaten lunch and smoked while waiting for the President's car. It was later learned that the lunch had been eaten by Bonnie Ray Williams, a Texas School Book Depository employee, who afterward watched the parade from the floor below. As for the cigarette butts, no evidence was ever adduced that Oswald did smoke. These facts did *not* receive the attention of the newswires and public presses.

Here are other facts which were barely afforded exposure by the mass media:

The official cause of death description of President Kennedy was made at Parkland Hospital at 4:45 that afternoon.[35] It stated that he was killed by a gunshot wound of the temple. The temple is located on the side of the head, slightly above an imaginary line drawn from eye to ear. Assuming that it has not been moved by government authorities in the meantime, the book depository, where Oswald was employed, is located to the rear of the point where the President was killed.

It is conceivable that Dr. John McClelland, who diagnosed the cause of death as a wound received in the left temple,[36] had had a busy day and had some other patient in mind, but even in Dallas it is unusual to see a President of the United States who has just been shot to death, so it is reasonable to expect that a doctor would remember the President's wounds for a little while. Other doctors at Parkland confirmed that the President appeared to them to have received wounds from the front—not merely in the head but in the neck as well.[37]

Here are more facts which were not sent around the world.

There was eyewitness evidence concerning the strange movement of three cars behind the grassy knoll shortly before the assassination, despite the fact that cars were supposed to be kept out of this area by the police during this period. The driver of one of the cars appeared to be operating a radio transmitter as he drove.[38] Similarly, there was eyewitness evidence concerning the rapid departure, after the shooting, of three men from the rear area of the book depository. Two of them left in a station wagon so fast that the door was flapping open as it took off.[39]

Richard Randolph Carr, who observed the departure of the station wagon with two men in it, earlier heard the shooting from the grassy knoll. Carr had served in combat in the Army in North Africa and Anzio and he knew gunfire when he heard it. The shots were too close together, Carr said, to be fired by a single man. He saw one of the shots from the knoll miss the President's car completely and cut a furrow in the grass—the bullet's path going in a direction from the area in front of the President's car toward the rear of the car. The response of federal investigators to this information, as he later testified under oath, was to tell him to keep his mouth shut.[40]

About one hour before the assassination, Julia Ann Mercer, a 23-year-old resident of Dallas, driving a rented white Valiant automobile, was held up in traffic and observed a man dismount from a truck at the foot of the grassy knoll with what was obviously a rifle wrapped in brown paper.[41] The driver of the truck, as she subsequently informed uninterested federal investigators, was Jack Ruby. [42] Her statement to the federal agents was later revised without her knowledge, in virtually every material respect.[43]

And here are more facts which did not receive world-wide dissemination.

The overwhelming majority of witnesses in Dealey Plaza distinctly heard gunfire from the vicinity of the grassy knoll in front of the President's car.[44] Because of this, the great majority of the people who were able to act, after they recovered from their shock, ran toward the grassy knoll to search the hidden area behind the picket fence.[45] Seven witnesses saw smoke drifting up above the trees on the knoll at the moment of the firing.[46]

Immediately after the shooting, men were seen running from the picket fence which stands on the

knoll to the front of where the President was shot.[47] One of them appeared to be carrying a headpiece.[48]

Within minutes after the assassination, some men were arrested in back of the grassy knoll by the Dallas police.[49] Photographs of them being marched to jail in the custody of police officers were taken, but in spite of this the official position continues to be that no one was arrested on that day except Lee Harvey Oswald. In fact, at least nine men were arrested in the vicinity after the assassination. All except one were quietly turned loose after Oswald was arrested, and there is no record of their names. The ninth man was kept in jail for days, even after Oswald's assassination, for possible investigation by Dallas authorities with regard to the President's murder. His name is not available.[50]

The Zapruder film,[51] which clearly shows the effect of the shooting—coming from different directions—on the President, leaves no doubt that the fatal shot slammed him backward and to his left.[52] Unless the laws of physics have been revised, the [Zapruder film](#) clearly indicates that the fatal shot came at the President from in front and to the right of him. After more than six years following the assassination, the Zapruder film is still being withheld from the American people.[53] In the short portion of it which was published in the Warren Commission exhibits, frames [314](#) and [315](#) were reversed. This reversal confused the question of the effect of that bullet which impacted at frame [313](#) in terms of the direction in which it had propelled the President. This reversal of the frames was admitted later by the director of the FBI.[54]

Numerous witnesses in the vicinity of the President's car observed that the shot which tore open his head slammed him backward and to his left.[55] When the fatal shot struck him, the motorcycle officers to the left rear of the Presidential limousine were splattered with blood and brain matter. [56]

In view of these facts, most reasonable men, those who were not in fear of the power of the federal government and who were free to use their common sense, would conclude that President Kennedy was killed by a shot from in front and to the right of him. However, these facts were not made available to the public. What was made available—and hurtled around the world—was the fiction of a lone young warehouse employee crouched savagely behind the President with the fastest gun since Wyatt Earp.

A coup d'état needs a scapegoat to be thrown to the people so that public hostility can be discharged and the new order accepted. The impression that there was a case against Lee Oswald was created by false statements and leaks to the press which swept around the globe in minutes. After the image was created, it was quick-frozen by his murder. All that remained was for government officials to explain that everything that happened was meaningless and all was well.

There was never a real case, in terms of evidence, against Oswald. There was never even the beginning of a case. There was no case against him because he had not killed anyone. He too was a victim, as were the President and the American people, of a new force in America. Oswald was murdered less than 48 hours after the President's assassination. Within that short span, however, the official legend had been created and the modern technology of the media took it from there. Lone assassin ... No conspiracy ... Lee Harvey Oswald ... No Conspiracy ... Book depository ... Lone assassin ... No Conspiracy.

Even the accused himself was abandoned by his police guardians, killed and flung to the crowd. As the dead "assassin" he became another bauble drawing attention away from the professionally handled ambush at Dealey Plaza, rather than a live and protesting patsy entitled to a full and public trial.

The glitter of the official lies, the tinselled news stories of things which never occurred and the epic splendor and thought-numbing grief of the President's funeral confused the eye and confounded understanding. Anyone seeking to inquire into the meaning of the assassination found himself in an enchanted maze which steadily led him away from reality.

Americans were not yet aware that deception had become a craft in their country, that an intricate contrivance of men for the clandestine production of illusion had become not only a part of but also manipulator of America, its policies and its people. In the past, according to the American tradition, evil was something which could be seen and recognized. In our folklore, evil wore a low-slung gun, confronted you in the open and was defeated by a virtuous heart and a quicker draw.

If, indeed, it were ever that simple, it was no longer. Now it was possible in America not merely to accomplish the foulest murder but afterward to remove all stain and make it appear to have been something less: to make it seem the meaningless act of a loner, a capricious quirk of fate undeserving of too deep an inquiry. In time, the hidden machinery would casually kill other national leaders whose commitment to peace made them dangerous to men committed to war and secret manipulation of the populace.

Behind the stage magic and mocking deception, behind all the ornaments arranged to lure away the eye, massive power was drawn up in silent array to prevent any effective inquiry from disclosing the fact that America had become a warfare state where human sacrifice was practiced not only abroad but now also at home.

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1. [↔] William Shakespeare, [Merchant of Venice](#), iii. 2.

2. [↔] [CE 1281](#).

3. [↔] [CE 1384](#).
4. [↔] [CE 2606](#) and [2607](#).
5. [↔] [CE 180-202](#).
6. [↔] Wilcox Exhibits [3005-3015](#), [H, XXI](#), 744-55.
7. [↔] [CE 2190](#).
8. [↔] [CE 1960](#).
9. [↔] [CE 2404](#).
10. [↔] [CE 1528](#).
11. [↔] *New York Herald Tribune* (December 18, 1964), p. 1.
12. [↔] [H, II](#), 373.
13. [↔] [H, IV](#), 433.
14. [↔] [CD 931](#).
15. [↔] [CD 1216](#).
16. [↔] [CD 631](#).
17. [↔] [CD 692](#).
18. [↔] [CD 674](#).
19. [↔] [CD 321](#).
20. [↔] [CD 347](#).
21. [↔] [CD 1054](#).
22. [↔] Theodore White, *The Making of the President, 1964* (New York, Atheneum, 1965), p. 33.
23. [↔] *Ibid.*
24. [↔] (a) Immediately after the shooting, Sheriff Bill Decker ordered: “get over to the area where the shooting occurred and saturate the area of the park, railroad and all buildings” [Decker Exhibit 5323](#), [H, XIX](#), 458.  
(b) Jesse E. Curry, Dallas Chief of Police, driving the lead car, issued the order: “Get a man on top of the triple underpass to see what happened up there.” [CE 705](#), p. 461.  
(c) Immediately after the shots were fired, numerous law enforcement officers and spectators ran toward the railroad yards in pursuit of suspected assassins. [H, II](#), 181; [H, VI](#), 288.  
(d) A man with a headpiece in his hand had been seen running away from the knoll area immediately after the firing ceased. [CE 2003](#), p. 222; [Decker Exhibit 5323](#), [H, XIX](#), 492.
25. [↔] *Dallas Morning News* (November 23, 1963), [Section 4](#), p. 5.
26. [↔] White, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
27. [↔] Pierre Salinger, *With Kennedy* (New York, Avon Books, 1967), p. 10.
28. [↔] [WR 560](#); [H, III](#), 485, 514.

29. [↔] *The New York Times* (November 25, 1963), p. 11.
30. [↔] Lane, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-94.
31. [↔] H, VI, 451-52.
32. [↔] CE 2178.
33. [↔] WR 235.
34. [↔] H, III, 30-31.
35. [↔] WR 526-27.
36. [↔] WR 526.
37. [↔] Vincent J. Salandria, “A Philadelphia Lawyer Analyzes the President’s Back and Neck Wounds,” *Liberation* (March, 1965), pp. 14-22.
38. [↔] H, VI, 286.
39. [↔] *State of Louisiana v. Clay L. Shaw*, testimony of Richard R. Carr, February 19, 1969.
40. [↔] *Ibid.* [p. 20]
41. [↔] Decker Exhibit 5323, H, XIX, 483.
42. [↔] Interview of Jim Garrison with Julia Ann Mercer held in New Orleans, January 16, 1968.
43. [↔] *Ibid.*
44. [↔] Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
45. [↔] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-45.
46. [↔] *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.
47. [↔] Decker Exhibit 5323, H, XIX, 492.
48. [↔] *Ibid.*
49. [↔] Richard E. Sprague, *The Kennedy Assassination* (Unpublished, Edition 4, October 15, 1967), p. 7.
50. [↔] *Dallas Times Herald* (December 8, 1963), p. 1.
51. [↔] CE 885.
52. [↔] *Ibid.*, frames 313-34.
53. [↔] See ch. 1, n. 5.
54. [↔] Letter provided by Paul Hoch, dated December 14, 1965, signed by J. Edgar Hoover, reprinted in Harold Weisberg, *Photographic Whitewash* (Hyattstown, Md., Harold Weisberg, 1967), p. 145.
55. [↔] CE 1024, p. 731; H, VI, 294; H, VII, 518.
56. [↔] H, VI, 292, 294.

3.

## POWER

*“Who controls the past controls the future.”*

—GEORGE ORWELL, [1984](#)[1]

If we had learned on November 22, 1963, that the premier of Russia had been shot from a Moscow office building by a lonely capitalist sympathizer, we immediately would have pierced the governmental lie and recognized that a coup d'état had been accomplished and that new hands had taken over in the Soviet Union. We would have recognized that it was not reasonable that a pro-capitalist, and a lonely one without any apparent motive, could have accomplished within seconds the transfer of leadership of the Soviet Union. Finally, if the assassin himself were liquidated within 48 hours while surrounded by armed policemen by a patriotic Moscovite, it would have become apparent that strong and well-organized forces had seized control of the Russian government.

We really would not have been greatly interested in examining the grade school records of the assassinated assassin or in studying his photograph as a boy taken during a visit to the zoo. We would have been more interested in knowing what forces were opposed to the late premier's policies and what assassination machinery was available to these forces.

In short, we would have recognized that the news story disseminated around the world was an obvious fabrication by which the new Russian government sought to fool the Russian people, to legitimize its acquisition of power and to conceal the actual reasons for the coup.

It would have been predictable that a massive search for evidence by Russian investigators, all of whom now worked for the new government, would confirm that things had happened just as the new government had announced: that the savage assassin, his mind inflamed by reading capitalist literature, had accomplished the meaningless murder. Government investigators could be expected to produce truckloads of incendiary capitalist literature found hidden in the assassin's apartment. A photograph would be produced of the lone assassin proudly holding aloft in one hand the murder weapon and in the other a copy of the *Wall Street Journal*. Positive evidence would be exhibited proving that he had lived for a period in Chicago. Anyone who had followed the developing Russian scenario would be asking a great deal of human nature to expect that later a group of Russian officials, each handpicked by the new premier, would announce that he had been placed in office by a coup d'état and that the government's investigation was a fake.

The assassination of President Kennedy demonstrated that many people will believe the most

unlikely inventions rather than confront the fact that their government is lying to them. These people have become conditioned to accepting official announcements as rocks of reality, and it is painful for them to consider that these rocks are without substance.

Washington could have announced that Lee Oswald, having received blimp training in Russia, had bombed the President's limousine from a blimp. The X-rays of the President's autopsy would still be unavailable. The [Zapruder film](#), showing the President's head being shattered by the bullet from the front, would still be concealed from the country. In September of 2039 citizens could view the blimp itself.

There would have been editorials, piercing to the heart of the matter, calling for stricter controls on blimps. Anyone who publicly questioned the official blimp story would be denounced as a politically ambitious seeker of attention. Congress would be debating daylight saving time and pretending that we were not at war. Nothing would be greatly different because the blimp story would be exactly as accurate as the one which we were given.

In Nazi Germany the professors at the universities and the intellectuals, those who would have been expected to perceive reality more effectively, waited as quietly as rabbits in a pen until, one by one, they were picked up by the ears and taken off to the crematoria, still unwilling to face the reality that their country would do this to them.

We fear rejection by our government just as, when we were children, we feared rejection by our parents. We do not want to learn that the country in which we have lived all our lives has changed. We do not want to find that we are alone in a strange land.

The planning of the assassination took full account of this. The timing and the adroitness of the government's gradual release of the preplanned official fiction indicated confidence that it would be accepted by the press and by the public regardless of what the evidence indicated.

Kennedy's assassination and the subsequent concealment of the facts by the government's professional investigation also demonstrated that there is virtually nothing which men will not do once it becomes clear that their deeds have governmental sanction, the past childhood equivalent of parental approval. Brutality and injustice, once they are permitted, become accepted as routine. This is why in war ordinarily civilized men frequently commit the most uncivilized atrocities, although it is customary for the press of any nation to indicate that this is only being done by the other side.

In Dallas, once it became apparent that Lee Oswald was the officially designated rabbit, career law enforcement authorities shouldered aside the eyewitnesses and the evidence and concentrated their attention on the make-believe charges against him.

There are few things in the world of men which power cannot do. It can make men rich overnight,

and it can destroy them. It can put billion dollar defense industries in rural areas and destroy the economy of major cities. It can turn ordinary men into powerful officials, and it can turn extraordinary men into cadavers.

Power can also change front into back and down into up. Front was changed into back when the Zapruder film and the autopsy X-rays were kept out of sight and the government announced that the President was shot from the back. Front was changed into back when the frontal neck wound, which had been identified as a probable entrance wound by the civilian doctors at Parkland Hospital,[2]—was announced to be an exit wound by the military doctors in Washington.[3] It was later learned that the military doctors never really examined the neck wound—because they were given orders not to probe it.[4] This merely confirms the fact that it was power, and not medical knowledge, which changed front into back.

Down was changed into up when the government announced that Lee Oswald was on the sixth floor of the depository when the assassination occurred. There is no acceptable evidence to support the claim that Oswald was on the sixth floor during the period of the assassination. All witnesses who did not find it necessary to later change their stories describe men on the sixth floor, but it is plain that none of these men was Oswald. He was seen on the first floor at noon by Eddie Piper, a 55-year-old janitor at the Texas School Book Depository.[5]

After the shooting, Oswald was observed on the second floor by Roy Truly, the 56-year-old superintendent of the Texas School Book Depository, and Officer Marion Baker, as they rushed up the stairs.[6] Even had it not been he downstairs but, instead, someone who happened to look like him, Oswald could not have flown down the stairs to encounter Truly and Baker, because Victoria Adams, an employee at the depository at that time, was coming down the stairs from the fourth floor, and no one passed her.[7] Nor could Oswald have come down the elevator, because it was on the fifth floor with its door propped open.[8] Up to the time of his execution no one claimed to have seen Lee Oswald on the sixth floor, much less at the window with a gun. Nevertheless, power changed down into up and history now has him diabolically crouched at the sixth floor window.

Down was also changed into up when, in the official reenactment of the assassination, the window at the assassin's lair was raised higher than it actually was at the time of the President's murder in order to permit the reconstructors on the sixth floor to point the rifle without lying down on the floor. The official theory had the assassin crouched over the boxes at the sixth floor window, but the Dillard photograph of the building, taken within seconds of the murder, showed the window to be open only a short distance from the bottom.[9] Thus, if the government's story were true, unless the window was immediately lowered after the assassination, the assassin would have had to shove his rifle through the window glass or else fire through the glass to have fired on the President. It is possible that such irresponsible damage to property, had it occurred, might have impelled the Dallas

police to a more aggressive inquiry. However, the problem of the low window was solved at the time of the official reenactment by simply raising it higher[10] so as to conform to the official story of the assassination.

Power can make things which existed disappear as if they had never existed.

Because the assassination was planned on a need-to-know basis, most of the officers on the Dallas police force did not know it was going to happen and were under the initial delusion that they were really free to inquire into the murder of the President. During this exceedingly brief period of innocence, police officers encountered another rifle at the book depository which was not part of the approved scenario.[11] Until control was obtained over the situation, this building which houses children's schoolbooks more closely resembled the Alamo.

The rifle encountered was triumphantly brought down from the depository by Dallas police officers a few minutes after 1:00 P.M.[12]

Its discovery was recorded on film by a cameraman named Montesana and made available commercially in the Dallas Cinema Associates film of the assassination.[13] In the film, the rifle is being held aloft by a policeman, and other officers and citizens are crowded around to stare at this nearly historic weapon. Beneath the filmed scene is the legend "The Assassin's Rifle." [14] Unlike the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle subsequently produced as Lee Oswald's murder weapon, "The Assassin's Rifle" has no telescopic sight on it. This rifle has never been publicly seen since.

On the sixth floor of the depository, Officer Seymour Weitzman, searching through the crates of books, found a hidden rifle which he described as a 7.65 Mauser.[15] In a sworn affidavit he also described the Mauser's telescopic sight as being 4/18 power and also spoke of the gun strap.[16] It should be added that Weitzman formerly was in the sporting goods business and knew guns. The 6.5 Mannlicher-Carcano, later produced as Oswald's, had "Made in Italy" boldly printed on the side. The 7.65 Mauser is as easily distinguishable from this cheap rifle as it is from a bowl of spaghetti.

When the official scenario finally filtered down through the Dallas ranks, the Mauser disappeared and the rifle without a sight disappeared, and all that remained was the Mannlicher-Carcano with which the lone assassin, legend now tells us, accomplished history's greatest sharpshooting feat unaided by other rifles in the hands of other men. The other rifles became as nonexistent as unicorns, unworthy of attention in the government's 26 volume summary of "the hearings" and "the evidence."

The nice thing, for the official investigation, about the Mannlicher-Carcano was that three empty cartridges found by the famous window matched it and had, at some point in time, been fired from

it.[17] Two of the cartridges were lying next to each other[18] and were not ejected ten to twelve feet out to the side as cartridges ordinarily are.

When the Mannlicher-Carcano was sent to the FBI laboratory, the technicians were unable to find any of Lee Oswald's fingerprints on it.

Some nine days later—a week after Oswald's murder—the Dallas Police Department rushed up to Washington a palm print of Oswald's which it said it had found on the gun.[19] However, even the stoutest defenders of the Dallas police, a most exclusive group by that time, did not put too much stock in the late-discovered palm print.

Although it is possible to determine by tests whether or not a rifle has been fired recently, there is no evidence that such a test was given to the rifle which was supposed to have killed the President. One can hardly blame the law enforcement authorities for not wanting to play Russian roulette at this point. It was bad enough that the paraffin test tended to exonerate Oswald from having fired a rifle without exonerating the rifle as well.

Power can cause unpropelled inanimate objects to move from one position to another.

The official photograph of the assassin's lair in the depository was taken at the outset of the "investigation" which followed and is shown for all to see in the Warren Commission exhibits.[20] You can see clearly the two stacks of book crates, each stack consisting of two large crates one on top of the other, and it helps to show how the killer, his mind ravaged by Marxist readings, built a comfortable shooting perch from which he could shoot at the President and strike a blow for leftism. A question exists, however, as to just who constructed the assassin's lair, because this particular lair was built after the assassination.

As the middle section of the parade moved along Houston Street toward the left turn by the depository, Tom Dillard, a news photographer, took a photograph of the depository from his moving car.[21] Instead of showing the official assassin's lair constructed of two equally sized piles of crates, two on one side and two on the other, it reveals that at the time of the President's murder the two piles of crates consisted of three crates on the left side and one on the right side—an arrangement not nearly as convenient for assassination as the official one thought up after the President's murder.

Even in fictional murder cases it is considered to be in bad taste to alter evidence so as to create a picture more advantageous to the investigators. The men who shifted the crates after the assassination in order to create a structure at the window more suggestive of Oswald's guilt plainly were unaware that their breach of etiquette would be revealed by the earlier photographs taken during the parade. As a result, however, anyone who examines the assassin's lair as depicted in the

official photograph and as depicted in the parade photograph in [Exhibit Dillard B](#) will find that he is looking at two differently constructed lairs in the same window. To give credit where credit is due, however, the lair of crate boxes constructed after the assassination is much more practical for shooting down on the street than the crate structure which existed at the window when the President was killed.

Fingerprints and palm prints were taken from these book crates. Three of them were identified as Lee Oswald's.[22] However, inasmuch as his job involved moving these book crates around on the sixth floor, these prints are not inculpatory at all. Another print was never identified and did not match that of any employee in the building, a fact which would be of some interest in most cases. Twenty-four prints were identified as belonging to two law enforcement agents,[23] a circumstance really more inculpatory than the finding of Oswald's prints, since these law enforcement officers did not work on the sixth floor as he did.

Of course, one might observe that because of the overwhelming evidence that the fatal shot came from the knoll in front of the President, it did not make too much difference how boxes were stacked in a window to his rear. The government had a reply to this. The eyewitness and medical evidence as to the shooting from the front were systematically ignored and thereby were rendered nonexistent. The vaporization of such distracting factors cleared the way for concentration on the impelling question as to *why* Lee Oswald had come out of nowhere to remove the Chief Executive of the United States. This historic hypocrisy was crowned by the posthumous study of Oswald made by a distinguished psychiatrist retained by the government. Calling attention to Oswald's unusually poor spelling. Dr. Renatus Hartogs concluded that the frustrating effect of Oswald's spelling disability would not be inconsistent with his having decided to murder the President.[24]

Let us assume that Dr. McClelland had acquired his medical education from a correspondence course and was under the impression that the temple is in the rear of the head. Assume further that the witnesses on the first floor of the depository were not really looking at Oswald but rather at a young man who was his spitting image and happened to be dressed like him, while the real Oswald crouched at a window upstairs on the sixth floor. Assume further that the police had found neither Mausers nor a rifle without a telescopic sight and that the only rifle found was the Mannlicher-Carcano allegedly owned by Oswald. There still remains the critical question of whether it would have been *possible* for Lee Oswald to have accomplished the shooting feat credited to him. If it were impossible, for example, for him to have achieved the carnage at Dealey Plaza with that rifle, then it would not matter whether he were a Marxist or a vegetarian and the fact of his early death would not convert the impossibility into a possibility.

We know that while he was in the Marines, Lee Oswald's last record in firing just barely achieved the minimum score for qualification.[25] We know also from his fellow Marine, Nelson Delgado,

that Oswald was known on the shooting range as one who very frequently got “Maggie’s drawers”—the waving of the red flag from the target pit indicating that he had missed the entire target sheet.[26]

Yet the shooting feat credited to him by the government not only would have placed him on any Olympic rifle team but would have elevated him to the rank of one of the best riflemen in history. In the less than six seconds during which all of the shooting was done, he would have had to aim and fire the ancient bolt-action rifle three times (subsequent experiments showed that no one could fire the weapon any faster than that within the given time limit[27]) and yet hit his quarry in the back (or back of neck, depending on which of the autopsy descriptions you accept) and the head. For the first shot from the window, as the Warren Commission had to concede, the obstruction caused by the foliage of a large tree would have allowed him less than eight-tenths of a second to aim his first shot.[28] Furthermore, the commission had to ignore evidence of a shot impacting on the President *prior* to the emergence of the Presidential limousine from that area where it was shielded by that same foliage from the view of any gunman positioned in the Texas School Book Depository building.[29]

The contradiction between Lee Oswald’s recorded mediocrity and the laurels posthumously placed on his brow by the American government were explained by Walter Cronkite, a defender of the commission, in a CBS documentary on the Warren Report. He admitted that under normal circumstances Oswald would have taken longer. But the circumstances were not normal. He was shooting at a President.[30] It is not easy to reply to such compelling logic. Undeniably it was not the sort of opportunity the average citizen encounters every day, and it may be that the prestige of the target inspires more accurate marksmanship. It is entirely possible that, back in his Marine days, had Oswald been shooting not at an ordinary black bulls-eye but at a real live lieutenant general of the Marines he may have achieved a higher score.

In order to be completely thorough in its investigation, the government decided to duplicate the alleged assassination from the sixth floor window of the depository.[31] Otherwise it was obvious that rumormongers and malcontents would spread the word that it could not be done, and such unfounded comments eat away at the very foundation of government by the people.

First, however, it was necessary to have shims, thin strips of metal, placed in the mounting of the telescopic sight of the Mannlicher-Carcano. This was necessary because the sight was not adjusted parallel to the rifle barrel, meaning that whatever one was seeing through the sight was not necessarily being pointed at by the rifle barrel.[32]

Judging from its conduct of the duplication, the government seems to have recognized that the lone assassin was one of the great riflemen in history. It seems to have recognized this shortly after the assassination, if not before.

To duplicate the lone assassin's feat, three professional riflemen, each a rated Master in the National Rifle Association, were selected.[33] They shot from a platform 30 feet high, half as high as the sixth floor window. Their targets were not moving, as in the legend of the lone assassin, but were fixed. Their targets were also larger, consisting of a two-square-foot silhouette of the head and shoulders, rather than of the limited portions which would have been exposed had they been men riding in a car.[34] They were allowed as much time as they needed for aiming for the first shot, [35] whereas the lone assassin, as the Warren Commission later conceded, would have had less than eight-tenths of a second to aim his first shot.[36]

The Master riflemen were unable to do it. Only one of them was able to get three rounds fired, as the lone assassin was supposed to have done, within the required time.[37] With every conceivable advantage set up for them, it cannot be said that the professional riflemen came close to the marksmanship credited to the lone assassin. They were like blind men shooting at flies. All that the government tests did was to demonstrate what already was apparent: that the official fairy tale was not merely untrue but, like all fairy tales, impossible.

Ordinarily, when it becomes apparent that it is impossible for a suspect to have committed a crime, he is eliminated as a suspect and discharged from custody. However, America was no longer an ordinary place. It had become a place where truth was turned into lies and lies became the basis for the official version of the assassination.

In such a place the government need not fear that any of its agencies will do anything about the lie. Nor need it fear that there will be protests from the elected representatives of the people. Nor need it fear that the national press will raise any but polite questions.

Three years after the assassination, two-thirds of the American people did not believe the official conclusions of the government about John Kennedy's murder.[38] Nevertheless, the highest government officials continued to pretend that no serious questions existed, that nothing was wrong.

The United States government had mushroomed into a superstate. In the superstate it makes no difference what the people think because they are capsulated from the center of power of the government. Truth becomes a government-controlled commodity.

In Orwell's *1984*,[39] history was merely chalk writing on a blackboard and it was erased and rewritten whenever it suited the government's convenience. Original documents or evidence which contradicted new authoritative versions of history were destroyed by the Records Department of the Ministry of Truth. After the falsification was completed, there was no way for the people to prove it had occurred, and the changes calcified into official truth.

When a powerful government takes a stand against the truth, other elements of the power structure may join in the defense against the common enemy. In France, the government, the military, the press and the church asserted with a single voice that Dreyfus was guilty and condemned those who suggested otherwise. Dreyfus had to be guilty, they said, for if he were not it meant that the generals of France were lying, and this was impossible. As it turned out, the impossible had occurred. The generals of France had been lying.

No matter how idealistic are the foundations of a government or how virtuous its previous history, its accumulation of excessive power transforms it into the superstate. The superstate is an organism committed to maintaining its tremendous power in the face of truth, in the face of history. The technicians of the superstate, ignoring morality and the lessons of history, will protect the superstate with whatever deception or destruction is necessary.

The superstate's rationale for attacking the truth will always be national security, but the real reason is the preservation of power. Its use of authority to defeat reason is undoubtedly mankind's oldest way of winning a feud. Such use of authority continues to be effective whenever the people have become isolated from the government and cannot control it.

The result is that the scapegoat in a coup d'état is [presumed guilty](#) because of his weakness. Those who question his guilt are presumed mentally unbalanced because of their irrelevance, and the government is presumed innocent because of its power.

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1. [[↔](#)] George Orwell, [1984](#) (New York, Signet Classics, 1950), p. 29.
  2. [[↔](#)] Salandria, "A Philadelphia Lawyer ...," *op. cit.*, pp. 14-22.
  3. [[↔](#)] [CE 387](#).
  4. [[↔](#)] *State of Louisiana v. Clay L. Shaw*, testimony of [Pierre A. Finck](#), M.D., p. 117.
  5. [[↔](#)] [H, VI, 383](#).
  6. [[↔](#)] [H, III, 225-26, 250](#).
  7. [[↔](#)] [H, VI, 392](#).
  8. [[↔](#)] [H, III, 223](#).
  9. [[↔](#)] Dillard Exhibits, [A, B, C, D, H, XIX, 563-66](#).
  10. [[↔](#)] [CE 887](#).
  11. [[↔](#)] Lane, *op. cit*, pp. 114-15; [CE 2003, p. 63](#).
  12. [[↔](#)] [H, III, 293-94; Decker Exhibit 5323, H, XIX, 507](#).

13. [↔] Dallas Cinema Associates film, sequence 2, shows Houston St. below Texas School Book Depository in Dallas, Texas, shortly after the assassination and a rifle being examined by police officers.
14. [↔] *Ibid.*
15. [↔] Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 114, n. 10 [references [XXVI](#), [509](#)].
16. [↔] [CE 2003](#), p. 63.
17. [↔] [CE 2968](#), pp. 449-50.
18. [↔] Josiah Thompson, *Six Seconds in Dallas* (New York, Random House, 1967), p. 142.
19. [↔] [H, V](#), 23.
20. [↔] [CE 723](#).
21. [↔] Dillard Exhibits, [A](#), [B](#), [C](#), [D](#), [H](#), [XIX](#), 563-66.
22. [↔] [WR 249](#).
23. [↔] *Ibid.*
24. [↔] Dr. Renatus Hartogs and Lucy Freeman, *The Two Assassins* (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1965), pp. 106-7.
25. [↔] [WR 191](#).
26. [↔] [H, VIII](#), 235.
27. [↔] [WR 117](#).
28. [↔] [WR 102](#), [105](#).
29. [↔] [CE 885](#), Zapruder film. President Kennedy's right hand begins to lower to a clutch at his throat from Zapruder [frame 189](#) through [frame 206](#) when the right hand of the President became obscured by the Stemmons Freeway sign.
30. [↔] Mark Lane, *A Citizen's Dissent* (New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968), p. 107.
31. [↔] [WR 97](#).
32. [↔] [H, III](#), 443-44.
33. [↔] [H, III](#), 445.
34. [↔] *Ibid.*
35. [↔] [H, III](#), 444.
36. [↔] [WR 105](#).
37. [↔] [H, III](#), 446.
38. [↔] The Harris Poll as reported in the *New York Herald Tribune*, Paris edition (October 6, 1966), p. 1.
39. [↔] Orwell, *op. cit.*

4.

## THE QUARRY

*As long as the police carries out the will of the leadership, it is acting legally.*

—DR. WERNER BEST, *Heinrich Himmler's right-hand man in the Gestapo*[1]

There is one small difference between the crime of actually killing the President and the crime of being named by the government as the killer. The latter may be regarded as the worse offense because of the difficult burden of proof which it places on the government. This considerable problem may require the execution of the defendant prior to trial in order to allow for a more orderly presentation of the evidence against him. In the case of Lee Oswald, for example, the subsequent secret hearing before the President's commission was a model of order with neither interference by any defense counsel nor the obstruction of rules of evidence.

Most observers are in general agreement that the weekend of November 22, 1963, was not one of the better weekends for the Dallas police force. However, in fairness to that organization, it must be said that most of its members did not know that the assassination was going to occur.

Nevertheless, once it became clear that men in the federal government had designated Lee Oswald as the official assassin, the confusion of Dealey Plaza was left behind and the joint operation of the local and the federal agencies became a model of law enforcement coordination. Now the Dallas police force moved inexorably after the quarry, finally surrounding and then arresting him at the Texas Theatre.[2] The luster of this achievement is dimmed a little when it is considered that there was at that time no evidence whatsoever that Oswald had shot anyone; nor, indeed, did any sound evidence to that effect ever develop.

However, possession is nine points of the law, and the execution and subsequent conviction of Oswald satisfactorily closed the Dallas file on the murder of the President, ending forever whatever curiosity Dallas law enforcement authorities had about the matter—if, indeed, they ever had any.

Appropriately enough, it was a complaint that Lee Oswald had entered the Texas Theatre without purchasing a ticket which, according to the record, aroused the Dallas officers to effective action. The eyes of veteran police officers must have bulged with disbelief at the audacity of such an act. Undoubtedly already made irritable by the murder of a fellow officer, not to mention the murder of the President, they seem to have been galvanized into action by the failure to buy a ticket at the Texas Theatre.

At least fifteen officers, mounted in a fleet of patrol cars, descended on the Oak Cliff area and surrounded the theater.[3] The lights were switched on and, after some intensive searching activity upstairs and downstairs, Oswald was seized from his seat at the rear of the theater where he had been sitting all along.[4]

Nevertheless, the prey was ensnared now and the apparent lack of reason for trapping him would be lost in the escalation which would follow. The signs pointing to hidden power would be ignored. No one wants to face the fact when terror arrives in their homeland. In Hitler Germany when the Jews heard the first rumors that the government was conducting mass murder in gas chambers, they were reassured by their own leaders who could not conceive that such a thing could happen in Germany.

The evidence really indicated, even up to the time of his autopsy, that Lee Oswald had killed no one, but it made no great difference. The world had been informed that he was the assassin, and that is, for governmental purposes, the same as being the assassin. In either case, there is no difference in the funeral ceremony.

Power structures have no compassion. Consequently, what a man has done or had not done is not of any great importance. It is what the government says he has done that is important. In Germany in the thirties, most of the men who were hauled away in the middle of the night to be converted into ashes had committed no crimes. Their captors knew this well enough but did not waste tears on the matter. The government had designated certain persons for removal. This meant that officially they were enemies of the state.

Distant orders from a distant city. The power flowed like electricity in a high-tension line. What did they say his name is? How tall is he? Where are we supposed to find him? Don't forget the shotguns.

An inquiry into the facts of the Tippit shooting reveals the same kind of accumulation of implausibilities and the same bland official disinterest in reality as existed earlier in Dealey Plaza. Once again, law enforcement officials showed no serious concern about the question of who had committed the murder once they knew whom they were supposed to arrest for it.

Among the few worthwhile sources of information left available after the government's assassination of the evidence are the radio logs of the Dallas police force.[5] Apparently the existence of the recordings made it a risky enterprise to alter the typewritten transcripts, and as the result some gleanings of truth have escaped the technicians' brooms. The first description of the Tippit killer, recorded at 1:22 P.M. on a radio log transcript, refers to the man's black hair.[6] Between 1:33 and 1:40 P.M. the description then came in on the radio that Tippit's killer had black and wavy hair.[7] Oswald had thin and receding brown hair.

At 1:40 P.M. it was reported that shells on the scene indicated that the subject was armed with an automatic .38.[8] The gun purportedly removed from Oswald at the Texas Theatre was not an automatic but a .38 Smith and Wesson revolver, a weapon considerably different in operation and appearance as well as the effect made on the used shells. The shells at the scene indeed would have indicated, by the marks caused by the ejector which flips them out, if they had been fired from an automatic weapon.

Domingo Benavides, whose pickup truck was only a few yards away from Officer Tippit when Tippit was shot, persistently refused to identify Oswald as the killer, although he had seen his picture many times in the news media.[9] Although he was by far the closest witness to the Tippit murder, Benavides was never taken to the police lineup to see Oswald.[10]

Just before the murder of Officer Tippit, Acquilla Clemons saw the killer with another man. After the shooting, the second man headed off in a direction different from that taken by the murderer. The killer was described by her as heavy and short.[11] Lee Oswald was of average height and very thin. Mrs. Clemons was never taken to the police lineup, never questioned by the FBI and never called as a witness before the Warren Commission.[12] Mrs. Clemons later informed a nongovernment investigator that the Dallas police had told her she should not tell the Warren Commission what she knew because she might be killed.[13]

The ambulance for Tippit was called by Mrs. Frank Wright, whose husband heard the shooting and saw the killer run away. Mr. Wright was uncompromising in stating that the killer did not resemble the Lee Oswald later shown on television and in the press.[14] Mr. Wright was never brought to the police lineup to see whether the man arrested was the man he had seen running away with the gun in his hand.[15] Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Wright was ever called before the Warren Commission.

The government's avoidance of the major eyewitnesses to Officer Tippit's murder promoted Mrs. Helen Markham, a Dallas waitress who observed the Tippit shooting on her way to work, to the position of the state's star witness against Lee Oswald even though she failed to pick him out of a lineup without police assistance. Mrs. Markham's observations do not appear to help the state's case, but what she lacked in observation, she made up in her effort to cooperate with the commission.[16] Nevertheless, as late as spring, 1964, just prior to her Warren Commission testimony, she described the killer of Tippit as a short man, somewhat heavy, with somewhat bushy hair, thus corroborating Mrs. Clemons' description.[17] This further exoneration of Oswald subsequently was presented, in the form of a tape recording of her making this statement, to the commission.[18] The commission swept it aside with dignity and returned to the weighty problem of saddling Lee Oswald with the officer's murder as well as that of the President.

Had the prosecution of Oswald occurred before a jury rather than a committee protecting the government's interests, the government's star witness would have blown the case out of court, and

a new investigation would have been required to locate the real killer of Officer Tippit. Following is the dialogue which ensued when Mrs. Markham was asked to corroborate her identification of Oswald at the police line-up.

Q. Now when you went into the room you looked these people over, these four men?

MARKHAM: Yes, sir,

Q. Did you recognize anyone in the line-up?

MARKHAM: No, sir.

Q. You did not? Did you see anybody—I have asked you that question before—did you recognize anybody from their face?

MARKHAM: From their face, no.

Q. Did you identify anybody in these four people?

MARKHAM: I didn't know nobody.

Q. I know you didn't know anybody, but did anybody in that line-up look like anybody you had seen before?

MARKHAM: No I had never seen none of them before.

Q. No one of the four?

MARKHAM: No one of them.

Q. No one of all four?

MARKHAM: No sir.[19]

Finally, the commission's counsel resorted to a leading question, inadmissible in any court of law, in order to communicate to its witness what it desired.

Q. You recognized him from his appearance?

MARKHAM: I asked—I looked at him. When I saw this man I wasn't sure, but I had cold chills just run over me.[20]

In the superstate a witness offering substantive evidence is not a necessity but merely a convenience. Consequently the quality of the testimony of a witness is of no great importance. That can be taken care of later by a press release or a government announcement that the witness gave convincing testimony. In this case, the Warren Commission Report later would announce blandly that witness Markham confirmed her positive identification of Lee Harvey Oswald as the man who shot Officer Tippit.[21] Since neither a defense counsel nor a live defendant existed, the government officials comprising the Warren Commission were free to resort to such imaginative pronouncements wherever gaping holes in the government's case had to be filled in.

Even though the more important eyewitnesses were not invited to the lineup to look at the quarry, the lineup itself was not likely to cause any viewer to be using only his recollection of the murder in picking out a man. As one of the observers stated, it would have been difficult not to recognize that

Oswald was the man who was placed there to be picked out.[22] Oswald, with a black eye from his arrest, was standing with three other silent and unmarked men and was protesting in a loud voice. [23] Witnesses were located who said that the man in the lineup who was yelling could be the man they saw running.[24] None saw the shooting of the officer. The other eight witnesses to the flight, including those who actually observed the murder, were not brought to the lineup, nor were they ever brought to any subsequent proceeding or forum.

One witness who observed the man running from the Tippit murder was Warren Reynolds, an employee of the Reynolds Motor Company (used car lot) at 500 East Jefferson, approximately one block from the Tippit murder site. Reynolds, after hearing the shots and seeing the gun in the man's hand, followed him on Jefferson Boulevard until he lost him in the parking lot behind a large church.[25]

Strangely enough, this man who chased Tippit's killer for a block was not interviewed by the FBI until January, 1964, two months after Tippit's murder. He informed them that he could not identify Oswald as the man running with the gun, a fact which may account for the delay of his first recorded questioning. Two days later he was shot in the head by an unknown assailant but somehow survived. After the shooting, Reynolds reflected that it must have been Oswald after all. He so testified before the commission.

In the ordinary course of events, Lee Oswald would have come up to trial for the Tippit murder and Reynolds would have been a witness. However, gunfire removed Oswald and changed Reynolds' recollection. The shootings of Oswald and Reynolds were treated by the government as meaningless, just as it found the shootings of the President and of Officer Tippit to be meaningless.

As for the man who really shot Tippit, he appears to have circled back around the block which Tippit had just passed and to have made his way into the huge evangelistic church on 10th Street and Crawford. He was last seen running toward the church in the parking lot behind it. Gaining access to its side entrance would have brought him once more within view of some person on 10th Street. It was at the point of emergence from this parking lot that the white jacket was found, apparently thrown there by the man who killed Tippit.[26]

The radio logs indicate that one patrol car was about to search the church when a radio transmission on the same frequency distracted this effort and sent the patrol car to the library on Marsalis, five blocks away. Any transmitter set on the proper frequency, whether in a patrol car or in a building, can broadcast misleading messages to police engaged in a search. This technique appears to have been used in 1968 in the Martin Luther King assassination, which was shortly afterward followed by misleading radio messages sent out on the police frequency.

Meanwhile, back in Dallas, here is how the search of the church ended.

531—19: Do you have any information for us?

19—531: Nothing, we're shaking down these old houses on the 400 block of East Jefferson right now.

95—531: Send me another squad over here to Tenth and Crawford to check out this church basement. 66 checked out.

223—531: (Excited) He's in the library on Jefferson east 500 block.

531—223: What is the location?

223—531: Marsalis and Jefferson, library. I'm going around back. Get someone around the front. Get them here fast.[27]

After the police cars converged on the library to find nothing there, the transcript then has this dialogue.

550—19: There is nothing to this Marsalis here. Let's get back up to the place and work to North Jefferson, we got a witness that saw him shed his jacket and check towards Tyler.

(223 interrupted this transmission several times.)

223-531: It was just a boy running to tell them what happened, he works there.[28]

During the diversion to the library, the trail of Tippit's killer disappeared. There was no more mention of the church at 10th and Crawford.

Approximately five minutes after the last transmission, the message came which indicated that it was time to catch the patsy.

531: Have information the suspect just went into the Texas Theatre on West Jefferson, supposed to be hiding in the balcony.

531: 550—2, 494, 211, and many more squads surround the Texas Theatre.

26—531: I'm remaining out to the Homicide Bureau with a witness on the officer's shooting.

550—2—531: Suspect on shooting of police officer is apprehended en route to the station.

531—550—2: From the Texas Theatre.

550—2—531: Caught him on the lower floor of the Texas Theatre after a fight.[29]

Thus the complaint that a man failed to buy a ticket at the theater became a radio message that he was the suspect in the officer's shooting, and eighteen police cars converged on the theater. This had to be the most remarkable example of police intuition since the Reichstag fire.

If we suppose for a moment that the same force which executed the President also killed Officer Tippit, it is perceivable that immediate dividends were produced by the new murder. The murder of Tippit provided an early reason for arresting and charging Oswald. At such an early juncture the harlequin evidence against him for the President's murder could not have been produced so quickly,

like pulling a rabbit out of a hat, without creating questions. Yet a reason for Oswald's prompt detention was needed so that the subsequent escalation of discoveries about his culpability would appear credible. His having been arrested for one murder would encourage the public to imagine it quite likely that he had committed another.

The officer's murder, near to where Oswald would be arrested, also created the picture of a trail leading from Dealey Plaza through the 10th Street murder scene to the theater. It also justified the concentration of many police cars in the Oak Cliff area, a few blocks from the theater.

By creating the early inference that the President's killer was now in the Oak Cliff area, attention was diverted away from Dealey Plaza and away from the shooting from multiple directions heard by the witnesses there. The arrest at the Texas Theatre of a lonely individual predictably would appear to be the logical culmination of a search for him which somehow had begun at Dealey Plaza.

The murder of Tippit laid the predicate for Oswald's own early execution. This added demonstration of apparently remorseless brutality would create an emotional climate of acceptance when the time came to remove Oswald.

Above all, the Tippit killing tended to provide a basis for creating an ineradicable picture of Oswald as a madman. In time it would have the effect of serving as a substitute for evidence that he had shot Kennedy. It would be easy to believe that a madman who had shot the officer for no reason had shot the President shortly before. It extracted Oswald from the category of an ordinary warehouse worker, so that when the time came to put the spotlight on him for the President's murder he already would possess the qualifications for a villain in the eyes of the world.

It would be possible now for the old carnival shell game to be played with the public. If the pea were missing under the first shell, it would be assumed that necessarily it was under the second. If it were not under the second, then it must be under the first. If Oswald had not committed one murder, the thinking would go, he must have committed the other. Consequently, it would not matter too much which justified his informal execution. Justice would have come full turn.

Even up to the time of his own murder there was no *eyewitness evidence* that Lee Oswald had killed either the President or the police officer. On the contrary, all evidence of any substance indicated that he had killed neither one. Yet, because of the confusing welter of facts, it was possible to infer that he had clearly committed one murder and, therefore, logically, also had committed the second. One news bulletin escalated to another, firmly imprinting the view that he was the arch-criminal of the century, caught early by alert police. No replies by him to the tacit conviction would ever be heard outside of a closed room.

He was treated as guilty of murder A because manifestly he had committed murder B. What was the

ultimate evidence that he had murdered B? That he had manifestly murdered A. The game was played so expertly that, despite the lack of evidence against him for the actual shooting of anyone, he would have to be buried under an assumed name to keep patriotic citizens from desecrating his grave.

While apparent gains from Tippit's death can be recognized for the involvement of a force other than Lee Oswald, a force using him to great advantage, no gains on Oswald's part are perceivable in Tippit's murder. Oswald was not yet a suspect in the President's murder when the Texas Theatre was surrounded by police cars. At every stage the police actions with regard to Oswald occurred prior to the surfacing of a cause for these actions.

There was no description broadcast to cause Tippit to attempt to arrest Oswald, nor do the statements of the eyewitnesses to the murder in any way support the idea, later interpolated into the scenario by the government, that Tippit was in the process of arresting his killer. The problem of a believable motive attributable to Oswald is as thorny for Tippit's murder as it is for the President's murder. Even if we were to accept his spelling problem, as one government expert inferentially suggested, as the cause of the removal of the President of the United States, it is hard to accept the proposition that he still felt he had not done enough about it after stunning the world with parricide and that he needed one other victim in order to be at peace with himself.

When murder occurs, we cannot ignore the question of who gains from it. From a rational viewpoint, the application of various possible models to see where gains occurred in the Tippit murder leaves as the only reasonable likelihood: an organized, clandestine force. The agents serving this force, having assassinated the President, were then in the process of establishing a trail to a decoy and establishing a basis for his quick arrest and elimination. Thereby, the door would be closed to any intensive inquiry into such questions as how the President happened to be killed by a shot from the front.

After his rapid escalation to the status of assassin of the President, Oswald was questioned for a total of twelve hours by federal and local law enforcement agents. At an early stage in the proceedings, Chief Jesse E. Curry announced that he was uncooperative and would not confess to the President's assassination. It may be that such a surly and arrogant refusal to cooperate with the government was, like his spelling difficulty, indeed an indication that he was diabolical enough to have been the assassin. However, if this is a valid application of logic, then it can be applied with equal validity to the testimony of high government officials indicating that the CIA was not involved in any way with Oswald's activities. Chief Curry might then have made a memorable contribution to law enforcement by observing that these high government officials were being uncooperative and would not admit that the CIA was involved in the assassination. However, Chief Curry chose to confine his insight to a more modest objective.

Even though a transcript of the questioning of a prisoner is customary for much lesser offenses, no transcripts whatsoever of the questions and answers were made during the long sessions with Oswald.[30] Had Oswald once admitted committing either of the murders, it is safe to assume it would have been trumpeted to the world and later printed boldly on the covers of the Warren Commission volumes.

Why were not the questions and his answers, relating to one of the most sensational murders of all time, transcribed as they occurred? One explanation given, although it was never adopted by authorities as official, was that the room was too small for anyone else to be in it. Even if we assume that the public offices in Dallas are unusually small and the stenographers unusually large, it does not explain why a compact tape recorder was not used.

Again and again it was to become all too apparent that some guiding authority did not want the truth to be made public. In this instance it was apparent that it did not want his verbatim answers during the twelve hours of questioning to be made known to the public. The questioning of a prisoner for twelve hours, without his having had access to a lawyer, predictably would have made any lasting conviction at a trial difficult, if not impossible. Since all the law enforcement officers present were very experienced, this is an early indication of the fact that no one was worried about a trial ever occurring.

Furthermore, the authorities seemed to be aware that no one was going to insist on seeing a transcript of the questioning any more than anyone would insist that real evidence be produced that Oswald was guilty. Oswald had been found guilty at the outset by unseen power. His questioning was a prologue not to trial but to execution.

In Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, Rubashov sits in his cell waiting for agents of the party to come and get him. Under constant questioning, with a spotlight in his eyes, he confesses that he had been plotting to kill the leader of the party. This was not true, as all parties to the questioning well knew. No matter. The sound of drums is heard, and the guards come to take him to his execution.

In Franz Kafka's *The Trial*, Joseph K. is arrested but never told the reason for his arrest. He has committed no offense, but that is of no importance. After his release from arrest, he receives a notice to go to court. Even there he is unable to learn the nature of the charge against him. When he encounters the chaplain of the court, he is informed that he probably will be convicted. However, the chaplain also does not know what the charge is. Finally, two men in formal attire arrive at his room and take him to an abandoned quarry. One of the men holds him by the throat, while the other one stabs him in the heart.

An individual cannot cope with the unseen forces of the superstate. His perception is limited by his assumption that things are as they appear to be and by his belief that he is living in a world in which

evil is easily recognized and in which inhumanity is not tolerated by the law.

In Kafka's courtroom, Joseph K. excoriated the judge for not being told the charges against him, unaware that his complaints were only brief noises and would change nothing. In the Dallas police lineup, Lee Oswald also yelled his outrage.

However, the superstate is deaf to human noises, remote and unreachable; its lethal machinery is hidden behind a masque of officials uttering reassuring phrases.

Oswald was about to be converted into an illusory villain, which would make it almost impossible to see the realities of the assassination. By the time he was brought out of the theater for failing to buy a ticket, a large crowd was waiting to scream at him. By the time he reached police headquarters, he was being booked for murdering Officer Tippit. By the time the sun rose the next morning, he was booked for murdering the President. By early Sunday afternoon, the autopsy had been completed on him.

As an enemy of the people, safely disposed of by a patriotic nightclub owner, Oswald was to be immensely useful. He would serve to explain not only the President's assassination but also the assassinations which would follow.

The time would come, after the third assassination of a national leader opposed to the Vietnam War, when a high government official would explain what was happening. Speaking before President Johnson's Commission on Violence he would explain that the unusual number of assassinations in the United States were being caused by "crazed and lonely men like Lee Harvey Oswald who wanted attention and got it by killing someone famous." The Commission on Violence would agree with this observation, making it unnecessary to inquire into the activities of any government agencies. Congress would pass a law requiring the registration of all persons possessing machine guns.

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1. [↔] William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York, Fawcett Crest Books, 1959), p. 374.
  2. [↔] [WR 178](#).
  3. [↔] *Ibid.*
  4. [↔] [H, VII, 37](#).
  5. [↔] [CE 705, CE 1974](#).
  6. [↔] [CE 705, p. 410](#).

7. [↔] *Ibid.*, p. 416.
8. [↔] *Ibid.*, p. 417.
9. [↔] H, VI, 452.
10. [↔] *Ibid.*
11. [↔] Lane, *Rush to Judgment*, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
12. [↔] *Ibid.*, p. 176.
13. [↔] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
14. [↔] George and Patricia Nash, “The Other Witnesses,” reprint from “The New Leader” in *Critical Reactions to the Warren Report* (New York, Marzani & Munsell, 1964), p. 50.
15. [↔] *Ibid.*
16. [↔] H, III, 310-11; Lane, *Rush to Judgment*, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-89.
17. [↔] Markham Exhibit, 1, H, XX, 3.
18. [↔] *Ibid.*; see also Lane, *Rush to Judgment*, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-89.
19. [↔] H, III, 310.
20. [↔] *Ibid.*, 311.
21. [↔] WR 167-68.
22. [↔] H, II, 260-61.
23. [↔] *Ibid.*
24. [↔] Sylvia Meagher, *Accessories After the Fact* (New York, Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1967), pp. 257-58.
25. [↔] H, XI, 436.
26. [↔] CE 1974, p. 862.
27. [↔] Sawyer Exhibit A, H, XXI, 396.
28. [↔] *Ibid.*, p. 397.
29. [↔] *Ibid.*
30. [↔] WR 180.

5.

## JUSTICE

*The government has an inherent right to lie to save itself when faced with nuclear destruction.*

—ARTHUR SYLVESTER, *former Assistant Secretary of Defense*[1]

The effect of power upon men of honor is as old as the murder of leaders for the acquisition of power. Since the beginning of recorded time, the thwarting of justice has been virtually the exclusive province of honorable men. Simpler men have rarely been able to get their hands on the machinery of justice.

The generals who sent Dreyfus to Devils Island on false charges were among the most honorable men in France. The men who helped Brutus dispatch Julius Caesar were among the most honorable men in Rome. All that is required for distinguished men to participate in a crime is for them to be able to rationalize that there is a higher virtue than justice and that they will be serving this higher virtue. After that, they can carry on their assignment with dignity, whether it be merely the concealment of truth from the nation or actual genocide. The most effective rationale to justify the destruction of justice is the excuse of national security. It worked well in Hitler's Germany, and it worked well in America after November 22, 1963.

The unwritten premise of the Warren Commission was that full exposure of the facts of the assassination would endanger the security of the country, a curious premise if one accepts the official tale of the lone assassin. The primary function of the commission thus became not the revelation of the essential facts, as the American people had expected, but the careful control and concealment of the essential facts. What ostensibly was a truth-seeking body turned out to be the antagonist of truth, its perverse posture being justified on the old, familiar totalitarian ground of national security.

When the commission's hearings were nearing completion, the predisposition of its members was against publication of the testimony and the exhibits. Allen Dulles said there was no point in publishing the material because the American people did not read. Other members similarly opposed publication of the material. Even after it was decided that publication was necessary, it was apparent that considerably less than all the relevant material would be published. Some of the evidence, the Chief Justice indicated, might not be made available to the American people during their lifetimes.[2]

It is well then at the outset to be rid of any impression that the commission conceived its function to

be finding the truth and communicating it to the public. This board of past and present government officials clearly conceived its function instead to be the protection of government interests as distinguished from the interests of the people. The public was not going to be informed but rather mollified so that it would not be unduly disturbed.

If you were going to select a commission to protect the government from the people, you undoubtedly would be very careful in choosing its members. If it truly appeared that the President had been shot capriciously by a lone assassin, it would not matter greatly who constituted the board of inquiry. A committee made up of attorneys, university professors and businessmen, for example, would be quite satisfactory.

On the other hand, if you had reason to believe that elements of the government were involved in the assassination, and if you desired to conceal this, you would be likely to confine the commission to government officials so that they would be inclined to protect government interests. The Warren Commission consisted entirely of men who presently or formerly were high federal government officials.

Furthermore, if there were a specific part of the government which you felt you particularly wanted to protect from the public eye, you would very likely give some thought to having that part of the government well represented on the board of inquiry. The part of the government most strongly represented on the commission, by virtue of the philosophies of its members, was the military-intelligence complex.

This is a very interesting coincidence, because no President in history was more at sword's point with the military and intelligence combine than was John Kennedy.

The split, which began when the Bay of Pigs debacle was laid in his lap, had widened by the time of the Cuban missile crisis, when he rejected the advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (with the sole exception of General David Shoup of the Marine Corps) to bomb Cuba. It further widened when the President set up negotiations with Fidel Castro, looking toward a possible detente with Cuba. It further widened when he authorized the signing of the nuclear test ban treaty in Moscow on September 1, 1963, again over the objection of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.[3] It further widened when Secretary of Defense McNamara announced Kennedy's intentions of having most American troops out of Vietnam by 1965,[4] a move which would have constituted a complete abandonment of our military foothold in Asia. Senator Wayne Morse has apprised us of the fact that "Mr. Kennedy told me ten days before he was felled by an assassin's bullet in Dallas on 11/22/63 that he (Kennedy) was re-examining Viet Nam Policy." [5]

President Kennedy's program of deescalation necessarily had a tremendous impact on elements of our military-intelligence structure. From their point of view, we had reached a position from which

we were close to military hegemony over the world, and this rich young man, this transient, was undoing it all by the systematic voluntary surrender of our military advantages.

This steady, ineluctable course toward ending the cold war placed Kennedy on a collision course with the strongest forces in the United States government. His course, if continued, meant the end of the long hayride of billions and billions of dollars of military hardware purchases. It meant the end of the Pax Americana, the new imperialism which had crept into American foreign policy at the end of World War II. It meant the beginning of the end of the dominance of the Pentagon and the CIA over American foreign policy, and, indeed, over much of the domestic policy as well. It meant, in sum, the beginning of the end of two empires, one international and the other a bureaucratic structure internal to our government and more powerful than all the rest of the government put together.

But the empires did not end. As luck would have it, a lonesome warehouse employee happened along and, because of personal adjustment problems he was having, removed the President. Incidentally, this lonely man rescued from possible oblivion the most powerful warfare structure on the face of the earth.

Consider now the orientation of the majority of the members of the Commission appointed by the new President to inquire into the assassination.

Allen Dulles was the head of the Central Intelligence Agency until President Kennedy removed him after the Bay of Pigs disaster in Cuba. During his ten years as deputy chief and then as chief of that agency, the concealed power of the CIA grew steadily. Although the CIA was represented to the American people as engaged in activities outside of the United States, it also operated as a powerful secret police agency within the United States. The primary activity of the CIA was deception—not merely red-blooded, patriotic deception of foreign people, but domestic deception as well. The CIA also had developed skills in the art of political assassination. The trademark of the CIA assassination was that it never looked as if the CIA had done it.

Senator Richard Russell was the Chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Subcommittee. He had no peer as the protagonist for the needs of the military-industrial complex. His close relationship with the armed forces establishment had peppered his home state of Georgia with military bases. Senator Russell was a member of the Board of Visitors to the Air Force Academy, West Point and the Naval Academy.

Congressman Gerald Ford enjoyed the reputation of being the CIA's best friend in the House of Representatives.

John J. McCloy had previously served as head of the Office of Strategic Services, the top military

intelligence agency, during World War II. It was out of the OSS structure that the CIA was born.

These were four of the seven men who were assigned the thorny problem of the mysterious assassination of a President who was at the time of his removal in deep conflict with the military and its clandestine intelligence ally and who made the statement that he was going “to splinter the CIA into 1,000 pieces and scatter it to the winds.”[6] These were four of the seven men who were going to attempt to discover the motive of a lonely warehouse employee in removing this man from office.

The rest of the appointments were significant with regard to protecting the government from the people. The Chief Justice was a distinguished liberal whose appointment would appease those liberals who might take note of Kennedy’s absence. A Republican Senator was added, marrying the opposition party to the President’s commission. Finally, there was the Democratic whip of the House of Representatives, to bind the majority party in Congress, and the result was a politically oriented government team, firmly weighted among the majority with the philosophy of the military-industrial complex.

It is apparent that the minds putting together this team conceived of the assassination inquiry as being primarily a political problem. Less sophisticated minds might have regarded the inquiry as a problem of evidence inasmuch as the foremost question appeared to be the identification of the force which committed the crime. However, this matter was settled by bypassing entirely the question of who killed the President. Instead of taking on the question of determining if Lee Oswald had murdered the President, the commission assigned itself the problem of finding the reason why he had done it.

Thus the commission evaded at the outset the primary question at issue. Furthermore, its automatic conviction of the scapegoat before it examined the evidence guaranteed that its conclusions as to the motive for the assassination would have no significant contact with the reality of the President’s murder. If one arbitrarily assumes that Christopher Columbus was the first man to fly an airplane across the ocean, an analysis of why he decided to travel by air will not be very valuable no matter how many months are spent on the project.

Allen Dulles, one of the commission members and the man who had been removed as head of the CIA by President Kennedy at a very early juncture, called the attention of the investigating body to the phenomenon of lonesome assassins in America.[7] At one of the earliest sessions, just after the members of the commission were given their oath of office, he noted the recurrent appearance of lone assassins and the general absence of plots in Presidential assassinations. Presumably through the use of insight, since the commission had not heard any testimony yet, he was able to anticipate that this probably would turn out to be true of Kennedy’s murder also. The following dialogue occurred in the early executive sessions of the Warren Commission and was classified as top secret

for more than four years following the assassination:

MR. DULLES: I've got a few extra copies of a book that I passed out to our Counsel. Did I give it to you, Mr. Chief Justice?

CHAIRMAN: I don't think so.

MR. DULLES: It's a book written about ten years ago giving the background of seven attempts on the lives of Presidents.

CHAIRMAN: I have not seen it.

MR. DULLES: It's a fascinating book, but *you'll find a pattern running through here that I think we'll find in this present case*. I hate to give you a paperback, but that's all there is. [Emphasis added]

REP. FORD: When was the book written?

MR. DULLES: 1952. The last one is the attack on Truman. There you have a plot, but *these other cases are all habitual* going back to the attack on Jackson in 1835.

I found it very interesting. [Emphasis added]

MR. McCLOY: The Lincoln assassination was a plot.

MR. DULLES: Yes, but one man was so dominant that it almost wasn't a plot.[8]

The following month, the former head of the CIA once again brought up the historic trend showing that American Presidents usually were killed by lonely men.

MR. DULLES: I have one other point. I think it would be well to assign one of these people to the question of studying previous cases of assassination attempts against the head of state, particularly in the United States and maybe a few others.

*There is a pattern that runs through that, you know*. It is rather interesting. I have been studying that a good bit myself, in getting the books I can get including Don Vance and others.[9] [Emphasis added]

Notwithstanding the historical evidence advanced by the former CIA chief to the effect that American assassins were lone assassins, a very good question arose during one of the early meetings. This was the matter of whether or not Lee Oswald happened to be an agent of the CIA. Ordinarily, when a man is accused of murder, an inquiry is not made to see if he is a CIA agent. Such an inquiry would seem to be all the more unnecessary when the man has allegedly killed the President, because there is a general assumption that the President and the CIA are on the same side. Nevertheless, like a body floating up on the lake in the middle of a picnic, the question arose. Since the former head of the CIA had been placed on the commission, he addressed himself directly to this bizarre development.

MR. DULLES: Depending as of the time we are talking about, I might have a little problem on that —having been Director until November, 1961, it would depend upon as of what time he was

supposed to have been an agent of the CIA. The only problem—there is no problem so far as I am concerned in making an affidavit to the period up to November 26, 1961, if you want me to. I don't know what you would feel about that.

Of course, McCone has all the records. I do not have the records and files. All the records are there. McCone, of course, could testify as to the records for any period as far as that is concerned.[10]

Ultimately, the commission decided to take the bull by the horns and write the CIA a letter asking whether Oswald had been a CIA agent. At the same time it asked the CIA whether Jack Ruby also had been an employee of the agency. The commission's letter was written to the CIA in April, 1964. In the *six months* of its existence which followed it received *no reply* from the intelligence agency. After the Warren Commission had completed its inquiry, submitted its report to the President and disbanded, the CIA responded by letter explaining that Lee Oswald and Jack Ruby were not CIA employees.

The CIA never explained why it took six months of deliberation for it to decide that Oswald and Ruby had never been employed by that agency. However, the Warren Commission apparently took the view that no news was good news, for it never protested the intelligence agency's refusal to reply while the commission was still in existence. The disdain with which the CIA treated the request of the President's commission may give some idea of its enormous power as a part of the warfare complex. It is also illustrative of the correspondingly limited power of transient Presidents in the new order of things after November 22, 1963. In the eyes of the war machine, Presidents come and go but the cold war lasts forever.

Some information apparently was available about Oswald's connection with the intelligence agency in a CIA memorandum marked Secret. This was referred to in a State Department letter received by the commission. However the CIA memorandum was not attached as the letter indicated it should have been. The commission, hardly inclined to want to find threads leading to a government agency, turned its attention to less depressing areas of inquiry. As the months passed, by the extensive questioning of irrelevant witnesses the Warren Commission managed to avoid having to confront the all too evident inference that Oswald was an employee of an intelligence agency of the United States government.

Behind the scenes, as the subsequent classification of secret files indicated, there appears to have been much more concern about Oswald's full identity than was revealed in the bland proceedings at the front of the stage. For a young man who was supposed to be an itinerant nobody without significant connections, Lee Oswald evoked an unusual security response from the government. FBI, Secret Service and CIA documents relating directly to Lee Harvey Oswald are among the files still classified as secret six years after the President's murder.

As a by-product of the federal investigation into the assassination, a total of 51 such CIA files were

locked away in the vaults in Washington. In many instances the secret classification of the files ostensibly was based upon national security.

The winding excursion into trivia taken by the government investigation was matched by the testimony being heard by the commission. Classmates from Oswald's school days were questioned in detail about a fight he had with another boy.[11] A number of persons who had been tourists at Minsk when Oswald was there were questioned.[12] One gentleman, who had conceived the notion that President Kennedy had been killed by the Communists because Kennedy was about to abandon being a Communist stooge and turn American, testified at great length—thirty-five pages in the published testimony.[13]

This was not an inquiry into the assassination. This was a filibuster—a rambling, time-consuming game of manners so that in the end it could be said that everything had been explored exhaustively. Understandably, no commission meeting ever occurred at which all the members were present. Having begun the inquiry with the conclusion that the scapegoat was guilty, it really made no great difference whether they were all there or not.

Only a government inquiry committed to finding no government involvement could have been so blind to the many threads which connected Lee Oswald to a government intelligence operation. Had the inquiry been conducted instead by a committee of ordinary citizens its focus would have been quite different.

It would have been recognized as unusual that the alleged Marxist assassin had been given a particularly high security rating while he was in the Marines.[14] It would have been noted that the “defector” had applied for his passport to Europe and had received it overnight.[15] It would have been observed that Oswald had not learned Russian on his own because of his “Marxist tendencies” but that he had been taught Russian by the government and had taken an armed forces Russian examination while stationed at El Toro Marine Base months before his alleged defection.[16]

It would have been observed that on his return from his thirty months in Russia he was never charged or punished but, on the contrary, received special treatment. He was given a job at Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall Company, a photographic firm in Dallas.[17] In New Orleans, after his arrest following a street dispute over his Fair Play for Cuba signs and literature, he was, unlike the other parties to the dispute, interviewed privately by a federal agent. The agent subsequently destroyed his notes from his interview with Oswald, contrary to normal law enforcement procedure.[18]

It would have been discovered inevitably that the address Oswald stamped on the leftist literature he passed out in New Orleans, 544 Camp Street, was the location of a government operation being conducted by W. Guy Banister, a former special agent in charge of the FBI office in Chicago and an intelligence officer in World War II. The government sought to conceal Oswald's mistake in so

marking his literature by giving the address of the ex-FBI supervisor and intelligence officer as 531 Lafayette Street, the side entrance to the office.

For any honest inquiry, the cat would have been out of the bag because 544 Camp Street was an active headquarters for the government's anti-Communist effort in New Orleans. All the government accomplished by trying to change the address of this operation was to show guilty knowledge of Oswald's government connection as well as the meaning of that connection with regard to the assassination.

It would have been recognized as unusual that, although Oswald ostensibly had been a defector to Russia, he received special service from the government when he applied for a passport to Europe in the summer of 1963. Under federal law, men who have been defectors are not eligible for passports at all. However, when Oswald applied in New Orleans with a number of other persons, unlike the other applicants, he received his passport within 24 hours. Nor can it be said that his application slipped through unnoticed, for on the federal government's list of applicants his name has been distinctly marked with a "No" so that it stands out from the others.[19]

A commission genuinely seeking the truth about the assassination would have taken particular note of the remarkable associations of this itinerant warehouse worker. In Dallas, his most frequent companion was an extremely sophisticated man who spoke five languages and had been an intelligence agent for France in World War II.[20] Obviously, such an individual would be most useful to contemporary American intelligence.

Oswald's wife and children were staying at the home of Michael and Ruth Paine in a Dallas suburb. Michael Paine was an engineer at Bell Helicopter, a contractor for the Defense Department.[21] Ruthie Paine's father was a retired employee of the Agency for International Development, regarded by some as a cover operation for the CIA, and her brother-in-law was employed in the Washington, D.C., area by the same agency.

When Oswald's wife and child came back to Dallas in September, 1962, Michael Paine moved out, [22] and they moved in with his wife. Immediately after the assassination, when they had been given other quarters, Michael Paine moved back in with his wife.[23]

In New Orleans, it would have been observed, Oswald was closely associated with David Ferrie, a pilot-adventurer who had executed contract assignments for the CIA. Prior to the CIA operation in the Bay of Pigs, Ferrie had trained Cuban pilots in Guatemala for the invasion. Later Ferrie had made night flights into Cuba depositing men and weapons.[24]

It would also have been noticed that among Oswald's belongings seized by the Dallas police was an exotic collection of equipment for a laborer at a warehouse: one Minox camera, one 15 power

Wollensak telescope, one pedometer, one compass, one pair of Nippon Kogaku binoculars, camera filters, one Realist viewmaster, an Ansco flash assembly, one 35 millimeter camera, a second pair of binoculars, one lens in a hood, one 7x18 telescope, another camera, a variety of photographic film and an unidentified apparatus lamely described by the Dallas police as an “unknown electronic device.”[25]

It certainly would have been noticed that during the twelve hours of questioning of the man who allegedly killed the President of the United States, no transcript or recording of his statements was made, contrary to long-established practice in law enforcement.[26] No attorney was made available to him during the twelve hours of interrogation.[27]

In short, a committee of ordinary citizens exercising common sense would have necessarily perceived the accumulation of indications pointing to linkage of the accused assassin to an intelligence apparatus. Thus, a serious inquiry would have considered the implications of such an intelligence employee being on the scene. As the evidence began to indicate that he could not have accomplished the assassination but was instead set up to be trapped and blamed for it, there would have followed an inquiry into the involvement of the intelligence apparatus itself in the assassination. No committee of Americans would be happy with the task of having to confront this stark implication, but it is unlikely that men free of government connections would conclude that the truth should be hidden and the people fooled in the name of national security.

However, these were not ordinary citizens conducting the inquiry. The Warren Commission, like the government investigators, looked everywhere but toward the government. Its function was not to discover what had happened but to close the door to any such discovery, for after their long and solemn deliberations, any later inquiry would lack authority and could be made to seem frivolous.

And so the commissioners questioned and ruminated and thought out loud and pondered, their attentions never turning one degree toward the direction of the late President’s historically unprecedented break with the powerful military-intelligence combine. They found Oswald’s Marxist inclinations and his inability to adapt to society more engrossing. The fact that he was dead and the warfare complex was alive may have helped make him the more interesting object of attention.

Nothing is more illustrative of the cosmic irrelevancy of the government’s inquiry than the index to testimony at the end of volume fifteen of the commission’s hearings. Many hours could be spent thumbing through this index and attempting to guess how these names found their way into the aimless, wandering testimony: Xaxier Cugat, Eleanor Roosevelt, Heinrich Himmler, Herbert Hoover, Rudy Vallee, Leo Tolstoy, Theodore Roosevelt, Gamal Abdel Nassar, Che Guevara, Frank Sinatra and Frank Sinatra, Jr.[28]

Behind the officious foolishness of the mock inquiry was cold cynicism. It was bad enough that this tribunal of honorable men began its hearings with the presumption that the dead defendant was guilty, in violation of one of the strongest traditions of American justice. It denied him legal representation, unless we call the occasional presence, at one tenth of the sessions, of the American Bar Association's emissary legal representation.[29] No one cross-examined the witnesses, cross-examination being the most effective device available for causing witnesses to stay close to the truth and for determining when their testimony is not true. Oswald's wife, Marina, was used to testify against him after being held in isolation and being coached by representatives of the federal government.

The many witnesses and photographic evidence which would have shown that the President was killed from the front and that, therefore, Oswald did not kill him, were ignored by the commission. Crucial evidence, such as the photographs and X-rays of the President's autopsy, were never viewed by the members of the commission nor made available to the public.[31] The witnesses who saw the shooting of Officer Tippit and who observed that the man did not even resemble Oswald were *never called to testify* before the commission.

The injustice did not end there. It was unjust to protect the men who killed President Kennedy, and moreover, it was unjust to delude the American people about the assassination.

Nor did the impact of the Warren Commission end there. Its effect was to authenticate the transfer of the power to make foreign policy from the White House to the Pentagon. In its wake would come the very war which John Kennedy was avoiding. More than half a million American soldiers would soon be in combat in Southeast Asia for reasons which were never quite clear.

Thus the conclusion of this tribunal that the government's illusion should prevail was not merely a historic act of injustice: it permitted the removal of a fundamental power from the hands of the American people, and it validated the existence and ascendancy of invisible government in the United States.

Yet these were honored men who did this. What then had honor become in America? It had become position, not compassion. It had become laurels, not conscience.

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1. [↔] Address of Arthur Sylvester before the Deadline Club, New York Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, New York, December 6, 1962.
  2. [↔] *The New York Times* (February 5, 1964), p. 19.
  3. [↔] Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), pp. 909-13.

4. [↔] Franz Schurmann, Peter Dale Scott and Reginald Zelnick, *The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam* (New York, Fawcett, Premier Printing by Fawcett World Library, 1966), p. 32.
5. [↔] *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (April 26, 1966), p. 1.
6. [↔] *The New York Times* (April 25, 1966), p. 20, col. 3.
7. [↔] David Lifton, *Document Addendum to the Warren Report* (El Segundo, California, Sighttext Publications, 1968), pp. 89-90.
8. [↔] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
9. [↔] *Ibid.*
10. [↔] *Ibid.*, p. 263.
11. [↔] H, VIII, 2-3.
12. [↔] H, XI, 212-13.
13. [↔] H, XV, 709-44.
14. [↔] H, VIII, 298.
15. [↔] WR 774.
16. [↔] WR 257.
17. [↔] WR 402-4, 719.
18. [↔] H, IV, 433.
19. [↔] Meagher, *op. cit.*, p. 337.
20. [↔] H, IX, 169, 183-84.
21. [↔] H, II, 386.
22. [↔] *Ibid.*, 433.
23. [↔] *Ibid.*, 427.
24. [↔] Interview of Rancier Ehlinger with New Orleans District Attorney's Office on March 30, 1967.
25. [↔] Stovall Exhibit, H, XXI, 596-97.
26. [↔] WR 180.
27. [↔] WR 201.
28. [↔] H, XV, 753-801.
29. [↔] Lane, *Rush to Judgment*, *op. cit.*, 377-80.
30. [↔] *Ibid.*
31. [↔] H, II, 371-72.

6.

### THE CRAFT OF DECEPTION

*The mounting of strategic deception calls for the cooperation and high security of all parts of the government engaged in the effort.*

—ALLEN DULLES in *The Craft of Intelligence*[1]

#### *The Fourth Dimension*

The main reason for the inability of the American people and the press to recognize the conspiracy to kill President Kennedy was the fact that its operations all occurred in another dimension, a dimension which generally is not known to exist in our nation. Few Americans are aware that one of the by-products of the cold war has been the development of a huge intelligence structure within their country. This invisible monster serves not the American people but the warfare complex. Its capabilities go far beyond the gathering of secret information and embrace a variety of services ranging from murder to the creation of misinformation to be fed to the press to a multitude of refinements of thought control. The rationale for its existence in an ostensibly open society is national security, although it is difficult to conceive of any greater threat to the security of a democracy than a clandestine government agency which specializes in deceiving the public.

Consequently, an operation executed in this invisible dimension is neither perceivable nor understandable to the great mass of people whose experience has been acquired in the three-dimensional world of everyday life. All they will perceive are the results of the operation: a bullet tearing off the side of a man's head, the arrest of a scapegoat, a litter of evidence seemingly pointing to the scapegoat and a jackstraw clutter of irrelevant leads to keep the curious occupied.

The invisibility of its domestic intelligence apparatus typifies the modern warfare state's tyranny, which is also invisible to the populace. Not only are most of the people unaware of the repressive capabilities of their government but, to the contrary, many of them believe that freedom flourishes. They are enjoying their economic benefits and consider restrictions of individual rights as negligible. The people are reminded that, to use former President Johnson's words, they never had it so good. The opponents of the warfare state must fight the war apparatus without expecting widespread understanding of what is happening by those around them. The apparatus victims are

assumed to be victims of fate. Heart attacks, falls, shootings by “deranged” men and dozens of other kinds of misadventures are skillfully wrought by technicians of the warfare state to eliminate its enemies without disturbing the lethargy of the multitude.

The inhumanity of Hitler Germany and Stalin Russia was visible but was accepted to a degree because of the authoritarian traditions of those countries. In America, the inhumanity brought by the new warfare state has been kept out of sight because of the danger that it might not survive a confrontation with the country’s libertarian traditions. As a consequence of the concealment of the inhumanity of the warfare state apparatus, most adult Americans still believe they are living in the land of the free and the home of the brave, with substantial, if not perfect, liberty and justice for all.

In our country all of the trappings and bywords of liberty are still paid homage. But where the interests of the war machine are concerned there exists, behind the star-spangled façade of freedom, government force that is as criminal as the Germany of Hitler or the Russia of Stalin.

The vehicle for obtaining authoritarian results in the new imperial America is the government intelligence agency, most particularly the Central Intelligence Agency. In its original concept, the CIA was merely an intelligence coordinating body. However, as the war interests acquired more power, its operations function was steadily increased at home as well as abroad.

Ultimately the corruption of America by the cold war produced extensive domestic intelligence machinery which with *savoir-faire* could accomplish deeds which our traditions would not have tolerated. The domestic operation of the intelligence complex became a clandestine part of our government. Totally invisible, its existence never acknowledged in the press, it could discredit or destroy virtually any opponent of the expanding power of the warfare interests. Furthermore, it could conceal its actions with charades which caught and confused the eyes of Americans still accustomed to the comfortable adage that seeing is believing.

When the time came for the removal of a President who threatened the survival of the war machinery, the apparatus was ready and waiting. Afterward nothing remained except the picture of a meaningless act by an irrelevant young man, a fiction made generally acceptable by promptly produced evidence that the young man had been to Russia and had engaged in leftist activities on his return. There followed, of course, the solemn authentication by government leaders that all was well, and, in due course, the planeloads of troops flew westward to Asia. Thus does a domestic intelligence apparatus alter the course of government by the people and transfer uncontrolled power to the military leaders who are protected by their moats and revetments from the elective power of the people. These leaders are protected even more by the lack of awareness of the people that anything is happening.

The greatest, and most sinister, accomplishment of the CIA has been the creation of the belief that it

does not operate domestically. It has accomplished this by various means. High officials have lied about its existence in the United States, all, to be sure, in the interest of national security. Most of the agents operating within the boundaries of the United States have vocations which are superficially unrelated to the intelligence organization, thereby saddling anyone who perceives an intelligence operation with the burden of overcoming disbelief in his efforts to communicate what he has encountered. The field headquarters for an operation similarly will appear to be something other than what it is. Because of the close relationship of the military and the CIA, cover assignments to nearby military installations are useful. Thus the CIA agent appears to be almost anything but a CIA agent.

The intelligence activity itself is made to appear to be activity unrelated to intelligence by the use of a cover story. When a mission, such as an assassination, is accomplished, false sponsors are created by prior planning and by the planting of leads trailing away from the intelligence organization. These are to draw the attention of investigators who might want to dig below the surface of the cover story. At a more superficial level, an abundance of leads is planted by prior planning to provide a frame-up of the preselected scapegoat.

Our invisible government begins and ends with deception. Perceiving this deception is the key to understanding how the assassination of President Kennedy was accomplished. Understanding the motivation for his assassination is the key to understanding what has happened to America.

### *Join the Marines and See the World*

It is a long way from Warren Easton High School on Canal Street in New Orleans to intelligence training at Atsugi Air Base in Japan. Lee Oswald made it—and then some. Both of his brothers were in the service. At the age of 16, Oswald tried to enlist in the Marines but was rejected because he was too young. At 17 he applied again and became a Marine.

Soon after his enlistment he was selected to receive radar training. He completed this course and then was selected to receive training in Russian language at Atsugi. The attorneys for the Warren Commission inferred throughout their questioning of witnesses that Oswald, presumably driven by a desire to become a Communist, had learned Russian on his own. However, during the course of his testimony concerning Oswald's military record, Lieutenant Colonel Allison G. Folsom happened to read out loud one of Oswald's grades in an examination in Russian which was given to him at El Toro Marine Base the same year he left for Russia.[2] Seldom do the armed forces waste Russian language instruction on ordinary trainees.

Thus, by 1959, when the CIA was expanding its U-2 program, Oswald had been given training not only in radar but in the Russian language as well. It is hardly surprising that his security classification was higher than that of the average Marine.[3]

Oswald's specialty in the armed forces was not in shooting, his marksmanship being below average, but in intelligence. It is to be remembered that one of the government files classified as secret on the grounds of national security is the file entitled "Lee Oswald's Accessibility to Information about the U-2." [4]

It is not surprising that Lee Oswald was selected for such special training. He was above average in intelligence [5] and was capable of thinking conceptually, which is not a common faculty. He was, in short, quite a different person from the image of the deranged drifter created by the government after the assassination. A glance at the list of books which Oswald borrowed from the New Orleans Public Library indicates that his mind was hardly that of the typical itinerant laborer unable to perform a job well. Among the books were: *Brave New World* and *Ape and Essence* by Aldous Huxley, *Everyday Life in Ancient Rome* by F. R. Cowell, *This is My Philosophy* edited by Whit Burnett, *Profiles in Courage* by John F. Kennedy, *Five Spy Novels* edited by Howard Haycraft, *The Berlin Wall* by Dean and David Heller and several dozen other books. [6] This was Oswald's reading fare for four months in the summer of 1963. It is not representative of the official portrait of the leftist who was labeled the murderer of John F. Kennedy.

Oswald applied for his passport to Europe while still on duty with the Marines. [7] His discharge at the time was honorable, although it was later changed to dishonorable. Within a week he was in New Orleans, where he bought a steamship ticket at the International Trade Mart. The cost of his steamship ticket was more than he had saved in his bank account during his service in the Marines. [8]

Upon his arrival in Russia, Oswald announced that he had left the United States permanently and that he was going to give military secrets to Russia. It was apparent that the Russians accepted this with a grain of salt; however, they assigned him to live in Minsk, and he was allowed to work in a radio factory there. By this time it had become customary on each side of the iron curtain to allow individuals who were apparently lower level espionage agents claiming to be defectors to settle in the country to which they had defected. There they were isolated from any sensitive security operations and kept under observation.

The FBI, following Oswald's announcement in Russia that he was going to give military secrets to the Russians, inquired about him through the State Department. The reply came back: "The Embassy gave him a clean bill." [9]

After thirty months in Russia, Oswald returned with a young Russian wife and child. The money for his return was advanced to him by the State Department of the United States. Although he repaid the State Department later in the year, it is to be noted that for several months he made large repayments to the State Department which would have had to constitute a heavy burden on his extremely modest income. Oswald's 1962 income tax return, filed the year after his return from

Russia, was still classified as secret information more than five years after the assassination.[10]

Perhaps the most significant thing about Lee Oswald's return from Russia is the aforementioned fact that this supposed defector from his homeland was never charged and tried, although his pronouncements concerning his intention to reveal American military secrets on his arrival in Russia, assertedly having left America forever, ordinarily would have resulted in charges. Furthermore, customarily he would not have been able to obtain a passport again for he had previously announced that he was going to give secret radar information to the Russians. Such an action would be expected to result in drastic limitation on his future travel to other countries. Yet, as noted, when he applied for a passport in New Orleans in the summer of 1963, he received it within 24 hours while every one of the other applicants was still waiting.[11] The government's response to Oswald's supposed defection was not to charge him and put him on trial but to continue to give him unique treatment not accorded the average person.

The special relationship between Oswald and the federal government would continue until the time of his arrest. Then only was he abandoned by his employers. Until that time arrived, he was treated by the government not as an enemy agent but rather as a protégé.

The comment made about Oswald by the FBI shortly after his return to Texas was representative of the official government attitude toward him. A lady who had observed a copy of Karl Marx's treatise *Das Kapital* at the Oswald apartment called the local bureau office and confided her concerns. She was informed by the spokesman for the FBI that Oswald was "all right." [12]

He was indeed all right as far as the government was concerned. Oswald had served a lengthy assignment in Russia, an assignment not without risks, and was a member of that exclusive fraternity whose members refer to it as the intelligence community. After his return to the United States, his relationships were almost exclusively with individuals in that community or otherwise connected with the business of national defense. As young as he was and as poor as he was, Oswald was a member of the lodge until after the President was ambushed and they needed someone to throw to the people. Then the rewriting of history began, and Lee Oswald became expendable.

### *The Banister Apparatus*

Lafayette Square in New Orleans is antiquated and worn. Its resident population consists largely of pigeons which have fluttered down from the old post-office building to peck at objects in the grass and an occasional wino fast asleep under a bush with an empty wine bottle at his side. The air is filled with the smell of coffee from the Reily Coffee Company, where Lee Oswald worked, just on the other side of the post office. It is a section given over to threadbare bars, used furniture stores, ancient warehouses and fifty-cents-a-night hotels. The section is gray and dingy and there are few pedestrians. It is a good location for a domestic intelligence operation.

Directly across Camp Street from Lafayette Square is a weatherbeaten, three-story structure built in 1879 and bearing, over the entrance doors, the aging inscription that this once was the Stevedores' and Longshoremen's Building. In large print by the door is the street number 544. On the leftist pamphlets which he handed out in New Orleans in the summer of 1963 Lee Oswald had stamped 544 Camp Street as a return address for anyone requesting information about Fair Play for Cuba. [13]

In 1963, Guy Banister had his private detective business in this building. Banister had very little actual detective business, nor was he apparently greatly interested in acquiring any. He showed considerably more interest in subversive activities in the Caribbean countries. His daily concerns were in fact those of a man engaged in government business, a pursuit not inconsistent with his interests of earlier times when he was in charge of the Chicago office of the FBI. One of the enterprises which he operated from this building was the Anti-Communist League of the Caribbean, an organization which existed more in name than in deeds. Another was Friends of Democratic Cuba, which in 1961 attempted to purchase equipment for the CIA invasion of the Bay of Pigs.[14]

Odd characters, many of them Latins, others clad in guerrilla fatigues and boots, trooped in and out of 544 Camp Street. By 1963 there was still training for anti-Castro missions going on north of Lake Pontchartrain in Louisiana, although not as much as there had been in 1961, and Banister's office was the New Orleans headquarters for anti-Castro activity. After Oswald came to New Orleans from Texas, he did not spend all of his time at the Reily Coffee Company around the corner. He also was a visitor at the office of the former head of the Chicago FBI office.

A regular attendant at Guy Banister's office was David Ferrie, an expert flier and adventurer for hire who had trained Cuban pilots at Retalhuleu, Guatemala, for the CIA Bay of Pigs venture. Ferrie had made many special flights for the government from Swan Island, where the CIA operated a radio transmitter heard throughout the Caribbean, to Cuba itself, where he landed men and equipment in the mountains for the anti-Castro guerrillas.[15] Ferrie previously had a separate enterprise in another office at 544 Camp Street where he had helped to operate the Cuban Revolutionary Front. This enterprise, like Friends of Democratic Cuba—indeed, like virtually everything at 544 Camp—was a cover operation for the CIA and was terminated when it failed to attract even minimal support among Cubans in New Orleans.

David Ferrie knew Lee Oswald from some years earlier when he had been a captain in the Civil Air Patrol and Oswald had been a young cadet under him.[16] In the summer of 1963 they were back in each other's company in Guy Banister's office. Banister's office then was like a crossroads where men on intelligence assignments for the government encountered familiar faces while in New Orleans.

In the same building was the Mancuso Restaurant, where the hangers-on and visitors drifted down

for coffee from Banister's office. Lee Oswald came down for coffee also, along with some of the others from upstairs. One of the unusual characteristics about the young man who was to become world famous as the lone assassin was that he virtually never was alone. He was never alone because by the summer of 1963 he had become an indispensable figure. There were few young men who had spent thirty months in Russia as part of their personal history. He would not be alone until that moment in the Texas Theatre when he was grabbed by the Dallas police and the minutes of his life began running out.

One odd thing about the men who hung around Guy Banister's office was that most of them had rented mailboxes in the post office across the street. Their post-office box keys gave them a reason to be frequently in the old building, which had a number of federal offices upstairs, including the office of naval intelligence. These men who had post-office box keys seemed to have unusual connections with the government and were in one way or another engaged in the intrigue revolving around the Banister office. Oswald's post-office box number in New Orleans was 30061. In Dallas, where his post-office box was only a few feet from Jack Ruby's, his number was 2915 before he came to New Orleans and 2915 on his return to Dallas.[17]

The approved dogma holds that Oswald was something of a stranger to the government until he appeared in Dallas. In point of fact, however, he was well enough known to intelligence agents in New Orleans even before the Bay of Pigs assault in Cuba so that his name was used in association with obtaining equipment for the CIA's 1961 invasion attempt. On January 20, 1961, two representatives of Friends of Democratic Cuba appeared at the Bolton Ford Company, 1483 North Claiborne Avenue. They explained to Fred Sewell and Oscar Deslatte that they wanted to purchase ten pickup trucks and wanted Bolton Ford to bid for the purchase. One of them, a Cuban, expressed the opinion that they should be given the trucks at cost, the inference being that they were for use in a special cause and the company should not be seeking a profit. The other man, an American in his early twenties, identified himself as Lee Oswald and advised that he would be handling the money. He *printed* his name on the bid for trucks, and the two left.[18] The real Lee Oswald was in Russia on that day, and it would be sixteen more months before he was to return to the United States.[19]

On the day after the President's assassination the Bolton Ford men recalled the incident when "Lee Oswald" had appeared there inquiring about trucks for Friends of Democratic Cuba, and they called the FBI. The firm's copy of the bid with Oswald's name on it was located, and the FBI agents carefully lifted it up with celluloid holders so that no fingerprints would be smudged. The paper, fingerprints and all, vanished into that special limbo reserved for significant evidence in the President's assassination. There is no reference to Friends of Democratic Cuba in the millions of words printed by the government about its investigation.

The Civil Court records in New Orleans show that Guy Banister was one of the men who formed

Friends of Democratic Cuba.[20] On the several occasions when Banister's name was mentioned in the federal investigation his address was given as 531 Lafayette Street. To the uninformed reader of a government report this would appear to be a location of no special import; it is, however, the side address of 544 Camp Street, the address which Oswald had stamped on the circulars which he was handing out.

Banister's office was really everything except the office of a private investigator. On occasion there would be ammunition stacked in the back for shipment to anti-Castro groups in Miami. During the rebellion of the French generals in Algeria, the Schlumberger Company, a French corporation, seems to have been receiving ammunition from a source in the United States and storing it in its bunkers in an old Houma, Louisiana, blimp base. When the French rebellion was over, the ammunition became surplus. David Ferrie and others from the Banister menage arrived at the blimp base one night, removed the hand grenades, shells and explosives and brought them back to 544 Camp Street for shipment to Florida.[21]

Coincidentally, the president of the Schlumberger Company in 1963 was Jean de Menil. De Menil was a friend of George de Mohrenschildt, Lee Oswald's most frequent companion on his return to Dallas from Russia.

During Oswald's promenades with the pro-Castro signs and the Fair Play for Cuba and Hands Off Cuba leaflets, placards with printing about Cuba were stacked in the rear of the Banister office. After Banister's death in the summer of 1964, his wife came down from Monroe, Louisiana, to remove his belongings from the office and found some interesting mementos from Oswald's scenes as a Communist. Among Banister's effects there remained a stock of Hands Off Cuba leaflets.[22]

Banister always tended his files with careful husbandry, keeping them locked and retaining for himself the only key. After his death, FBI agents appeared and carted off the files to the great national cemetery which the government maintains for the burial of evidence. They knew where to go, they knew what they wanted, and they were there within hours of Banister's death.

Yet eight months earlier when they were investigating the assassination of the President, the government could find nothing of interest there. The synopsis of the Secret Service report, file number CO-2-34,030, reads as follows:

Extensive investigation conducted thus far has failed to establish that the "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" has offices at 544 Camp Street, New Orleans. It has likewise been impossible to find anyone who recalls ever seeing Lee Harvey Oswald at this address.

Perhaps it all depends on which door the government used. After Banister's death, when its agent entered the side door at 531 Lafayette Street, they swept in like locusts. However, they overlooked the Hands Off Cuba pamphlets and they overlooked the index cards to the files.

The list of the index cards later were obtained by the District Attorney's office[23] and provided insight into the interests of the occupants of 544 Camp Street. Following are some of the Banister files, which the government seized, as well as the classification numbers used by Banister:

American Central Intelligence Agency	20-10
Ammunition and Arms	32-1
Anti-Soviet Underground	25-1
B-70 Manned Bomber Force	15-16
Civil Rights Program of J.F.K.	8-41
Dismantling of Ballistic Missile System	15-16
Dismantling of Defenses, U.S.	15-16
Fair Play for Cuba Committee	23-7
International Trade Mart	23-14
Italy, U.S. Bases Dismantled in General Assembly of the United Nations	15-16
Latin America	23-1
Missile Bases Dismantled—Turkey and Italy	15-16

The former chief of the Chicago office of the FBI had a most unusual set of files for a private investigator. It is therefore understandable that after Oswald's initial arrest when giving out the pamphlets on August 9, 1963, the 544 Camp address magically disappeared from his subsequent circulars.[24]

When a man who has been with law enforcement or the armed forces transfers to a deep cover position with government intelligence, the transition is known to the intelligence profession as "going underground." It is standard operating procedure with intelligence agencies for such a transition to be accompanied by some incident which portrays a disassociation from his previous government occupation.

Banister made the transition from law enforcement to his deep cover role as a private investigator in 1957. The incident arranged to indicate his break with law enforcement was built around an alleged quarrel with a waiter at the Old Absinthe House.[25] Banister was said by the waiter to have drawn a pistol and threatened him. However, there were approximately seventy-five people in the bar and only three, including the waiter, claimed to have observed such an incident. The waiter was newly hired and had previously received a dishonorable discharge from the Air Force. An examination of the New Orleans Police Department file, largely consisting of statements of persons who saw nothing, supports the idea that this incident had been a fiction patently constructed by those involved at the scene rather than a genuine occurrence.

The new waiter's dishonorable discharge from the Air Force, frequently the case when men have

gone underground from the armed forces, seems to have been his own disassociation from the government prior to his entry into the field of espionage operations. Immediately afterward, the waiter left his brief employment at the Old Absinthe House, free to participate elsewhere in the endless make-believe of domestic intelligence.

In addition to servicing anti-Communist activity for the Caribbean and Latin America, the Banister operation was geared to the collection of information concerning left-wing and pro-Communist activities in the New Orleans area. Banister employed and paid selected students on the local college campuses to keep him informed concerning apparent radical activity in an attempt to penetrate such organizations at the colleges.[26] Yet, on the day when Lee Oswald was giving out his Fair Play for Cuba pamphlets at the International Trade Mart, Banister exhibited an uncharacteristic lack of concern when told that a Communist was handing out radical literature four blocks away. He laughed and shrugged the information aside.[27]

On the other hand, on the day of the President's assassination, Guy Banister was considerably less nonchalant when the name of Lee Oswald hit the world headlines. He went to the Katz and Jammer Bar at 540 Camp Street and began drinking early in the afternoon. At about five o'clock he returned to his office. A part-time employee chose this inopportune moment to comment on the unusual people who had been in and out of the office several months earlier. In an explosive fit of anger, Banister struck him with his gun on the side of his head. The man had to be taken to Touro Infirmary for treatment but refused to press charges against Banister. The New Orleans Police Department report, item number K-12634-63, bears the date of the incident: November 22, 1963. Somewhere along the line Banister had lost his nonchalance about Lee Harvey Oswald.

### *The Night Riders*

Some hours after the assassination, on the evening of November 22, David Ferrie, the bizarre associate of Guy Banister and Lee Oswald, began an all-night drive from New Orleans into Texas. The worst thunderstorm in many months was occurring, and the first part of the drive was through a torrential rain. The same evening Bruce Ray Carlin, an associate of Jack Ruby's, also was engaged in an all-night drive from New Orleans into Texas. Ferrie was headed for Houston, from which he would drive south to Galveston. Carlin was headed for Fort Worth, from which he later would drive back to Dallas.

This was Carlin's second all-night drive in two days. On Thursday, November 21, President Kennedy was in a parade in Houston. Carlin was in Houston that day and left in the evening for New Orleans, where he spent Friday. Carlin testified before the Warren Commission that he had come to New Orleans to sell drugstore items to motels. He could not recall at first the name of the New Orleans motel where he stayed but later decided it must have been the Sugar Bowl Motel. He said he had learned about the assassination from television at the motel. On Saturday evening,

November 23, Carlin, having arrived back in Fort Worth, drove to Dallas with his wife where they made a call to Jack Ruby on a pay phone from a parking lot.[28]

Ferrie's all-night drive brought him to Houston that same Saturday; this was the day before Ruby murdered Oswald. In the afternoon he appeared at the Wonderland Skating Rink in Houston. When he was arrested by the New Orleans District Attorney's office on his return to that city, he said that he had driven all night to Houston to go ice-skating. However, the owner of the skating rink testified that Ferrie never put on ice skates but stood next to a pay telephone receiving and making calls. The owner also recalled that Ferrie had aggravated him by repeatedly saying "I'm Dave Ferrie," as if he wanted to be remembered. The skating rink operator said that FBI agents had questioned him about Ferrie's visit but that they showed little interest in the telephone calls or the fact that Ferrie never put on any ice skates.[29] After the phone conversation, Ferrie drove down to Galveston where he checked into a motel.

Meanwhile, Saturday afternoon another acquaintance of Jack Ruby's, Breck Wall, drove down from Dallas, through Houston, to Galveston. This placed both David Ferrie and Breck Wall in Galveston on Saturday night, November 23. A few minutes before midnight, as the published telephone records of Jack Ruby show, he made a long distance call to Breck Wall in Galveston and talked to him for five minutes.[30] The following morning Ruby left his apartment in Dallas, sent a telegraphed money order to Bruce Ray Carlin's wife in Fort Worth and went into the basement of police headquarters, where, in the midst of the mesmerized Dallas police, he fatally shot Oswald.

By the time Ferrie returned from his marathon trip Sunday evening, the New Orleans District Attorney's office had members of its staff staked out at Ferrie's apartment waiting for him. Ferrie called his apartment after his return to the city and, apparently alarmed by hearing a strange voice answering his phone, drove to Hammond, Louisiana, where he spent the remainder of the night sleeping in the men's dormitory of a university there. One of the students later recalled his surprise at seeing Ferrie lying on one of the cots. Plainly exhausted, he had fallen asleep with his hat still on his head.[31]

The following day Ferrie surrendered himself at the District Attorney's office with his attorney. After questioning Ferrie and finding indigestible his explanation that he had driven through a thunderstorm to go ice-skating in Texas, the District Attorney's staff arrested him and ordered him held for the FBI.

It was a strange trip by a strange man at a strange time, but the FBI showed no curiosity about Ferrie. He was released from jail after brief questioning. The bureau's investigative report in effect was a self-serving statement dictated by Ferrie, uncomplicated by any inquisitiveness on the part of the agents.[32] On reading it, it is difficult to avoid the impression that, like Oswald up to the moment he became expendable, Ferrie occupied some sort of special status in the eyes of the

federal government.

The clocks were striking thirteen. Suddenly the David Ferries were being treated with a special deference.

The Secret Service's questioning of Ferrie was equally polite; however, one question which seems to have been asked Ferrie is fascinating. The question itself was never recited in the report, but the nature of the question is implicit in his answer. The Secret Service agents reported that Ferrie said he had never loaned his library card to Lee Oswald.[33] As proof of this he produced his own library card, a card which had expired and which bore an address from which he had long since moved. Apparently dazzled by his cooperation and his sincerity, the Secret Service let the matter drop.

Oswald had a library card on him when arrested, but the card is not available for public examination. We must presume that the Secret Service agents were reasonable men and that there was something about the card on Oswald which made them think that it belonged to David Ferrie. Otherwise it would be meaningless to place in its investigative report Ferrie's denial that it was his. If, for example, Oswald had a library card on him bearing the name George Washington, it would not be reasonable to state in an investigative report that David Ferrie denied lending his library card to Lee Oswald. It is fair to conclude that the Secret Service knew that a library card bearing Ferrie's name had been found on Oswald at the time of his arrest. Conceivably, the federal investigators believed that Oswald, now being built into one of history's greatest criminals, had crowned his achievements by stealing Dave Ferrie's library card.

It was only a few days later that the Secret Service made its investigation of 544 Camp Street, as the result of that address being printed on Oswald's circulars, and reported that nothing could be found there.[34] Ferrie had spent much of his time over the last year at Banister's office. Prior to operating out of the Banister office, Ferrie helped run the Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Front from 544 Camp Street. Ferrie was a particularly distinctive individual since he had no hair and everything from his eyebrows to his reddish wig was either painted or glued on. He also had an arrest record.

It would have been impossible to make a serious investigation at 544 Camp without encountering the phenomenon of David Ferrie—unless the government could not afford to come across him. Nevertheless, he had been delivered into its hands by the District Attorney's office when he returned from Texas. The government rejected him, and its agents busied themselves with getting copies of Oswald's grades in grammar school and obtaining samples of his pubic hair.

The second conspiracy was in progress. The first conspiracy had accomplished the murder of the President, and the second would conceal the truth from the public and introduce countless

diversions to prevent them from understanding what had occurred.

Ferrie's name appears twice in an exhibit in the Warren Commission volumes, but it is misspelled once.[35] The index to the Warren Commission testimony spells Ferrie's name correctly, but it leads the reader to the wrong volume of testimony.[36] If the reader accidentally stumbles across the testimony mentioning Ferrie's name, he is treated to the gratuitous observation that Ferrie and Oswald probably were not in the Civil Air Patrol at the same time.[37]

This was typical of the fate of relevant material when the federal investigation inadvertently encountered it. Alterations were made in statements of witnesses, language was changed, names were changed and numbers were changed, until what once was recognized as meaningful evidence began to appear immaterial. Anything which pointed to the highly organized conspiracy was put through the meat grinder until it no longer pointed anywhere.

### *The Hairless Adventurer*

David Ferrie was bald as an egg from head to toe. For some obscure reason he refused to wear a commercial hairpiece but wore instead a homemade affair cut out of mohair and glued to his scalp with plastic cement. His eyebrows, improbably large and invariably uneven, were painted on with greasepaint and gave him the appearance of a sad and scruffy clown.

After David Ferrie's sudden death, when his Louisiana Avenue Parkway apartment was searched the bathroom walls by the washstand were found coated with dried glue, the accreted sediment of hundreds of mountings of his mohair wig. The remainder of the apartment looked as if it had once been hit by a large caliber howitzer shell. The dwelling had the appearance of never having been cleaned or dusted. The only sign of human habitation was Ferrie's library and a large collection of unwashed coffee cups.

Despite his bizarre appearance, Ferrie's most distinguished characteristic was not his physiognomy but his mind. From his years of study as a novitiate priest, before he was defrocked, he had acquired a background of Latin, Greek and mathematics. He often used this knowledge to help young men who frequented his apartment with their homework.[38] He spoke French and Spanish and had made himself something of an amateur doctor with his collection of medical literature, a varied assortment ranging from *Gray's Anatomy* to pharmaceutical literature. He boasted on occasion that he could kill himself, if he wished, and no coroner would ever find the cause.[39]

Ferrie, after some months of work dissecting mice, once produced a paper on the possible viral origin of cancer. This paper may or may not have been of medical value, but it did demonstrate unusual erudition for a layman. For a long time afterward, he kept the remaining mice in hutches in his dining room, nursing plans for attaching small incendiary flares to them and parachuting them

into Cuba's sugarcane fields. The special fetid smell of hundreds of unattended mice in the dining room added to the unique rank odor of the dwelling, making it difficult for visitors to enter his apartment.

David Ferrie perennially was being defrocked, first of his priesthood, then of his hair, then of his Civil Air Patrol captaincy and then of his position as an Eastern Air Lines pilot.[40] It is unlikely that he was unaffected by this accumulation of bitter experience. This man with a brilliant mind and a face like a clown was a dangerous man.

Above all, Ferrie was a master pilot and, because of his intelligence, could be counted on to perform missions other men could not accomplish. Somewhere along the way, certainly by the time of the insurgency against Batista in Cuba, he had become a contract employee—meaning that he was paid by the mission—for the CIA. He made no secret of this with persons he had known for a long time, for he considered his connection with the CIA a status symbol.[41]

It is difficult to imagine Ferrie's association with Lee Harvey Oswald, his continued presence at the Guy Banister operation and his frequent and unexplained flights out of the country as activities typical of an average citizen.[42] It is also difficult to envision that Ferrie's night long trip to Texas through a thunderstorm, was exclusively an ice-skating escapade.

However, more important than all of his other actions, there is one thing which David Ferrie did which connects him with the President's murder by a thread as thin as gossamer but as strong as steel. Among the many long-distance calls he made, one was discovered which is particularly significant. The federal government apparently did not come across this call, for if it had, it most likely would have destroyed the evidence. This call was discovered by an investigation conducted by the New Orleans District Attorney's office which the government did not control—and which, in time, it tried to destroy.

The power to gather evidence includes the power to conceal and destroy evidence. Consequently, the corrupted power which clenched the machinery of the national government in its grip was well able to employ its investigative agencies, and the thousands of agents now held hostage to high-level corruption, to collect evidence and ship it to Washington for interment. Efficient as this massive operation was, it had one weakness. It could not prevent an independent inquiry from gathering separate evidence which, when connected with that evidence which the government thought was safe to expose, revealed the outlines of conspiracy.

For example, the federal agents failed to locate and confiscate the phone bills for long-distance calls made by David Ferrie, because he did not use his home phone for the calls. The New Orleans District Attorney's office, after searching for his long-distance call bills, contacted the attorney for whom Ferrie was working as a part-time investigator and discovered the original bills for Ferrie's

calls. In the long list of calls to dozens of points from Guatemala to Toronto there was one in November, 1963, which led to Chicago and then to Dallas.

On September 24, 1963, the day on which Lee Oswald departed from New Orleans to go to Mexico and then to Dallas, Ferrie made a long-distance call to Chicago.[43] The number was Whitehall 4-4970, and the phone listing was for a Chicago apartment occupied by a young lady. Examine now the phone calls listed in the Warren Commission exhibits, made public in some instances because they were thought to be safely irrelevant in the absence of additional evidence or, in a few instances, because federal investigators were unaware of their relevance.

In November, 1963, a person in the Ero Manufacturing Company, the firm for which Lawrence Meyers worked, made a long-distance call to the same number. Whitehall 4-4970 in Chicago. The call is listed in the Warren Commission exhibits[44] because of Meyers' contact with Jack Ruby following the call. On November 21, the day before the assassination, Meyers arrived in Dallas with the young lady who was the listed owner of the phone number which he and David Ferrie had called. That evening Meyers left his Dallas motel and spent an hour with Jack Ruby at Ruby's nightclub. Later that night Ruby visited him at his motel.[45]

Here we have Ferrie, Oswald's mentor and associate in New Orleans, calling a telephone number which has a factual correlation with the patriotic nightclub owner who killed Oswald in Dallas. There is a time correlation as well. Ferrie placed the call to Chicago on the exact day Oswald left New Orleans. The owner of the Chicago telephone went to Dallas the day before the assassination with a man who then met with Jack Ruby. There are millions upon millions of telephones in America. The arm of coincidence is not so long that it can be plausibly regarded as responsible for the interconnecting relationship of one Chicago telephone to David Ferrie in New Orleans and Jack Ruby in Dallas before the assassination.

With reference to the day following the assassination, an additional long-distance call correlation can be found. The night before he murdered Oswald, Jack Ruby made a long-distance call to Galveston.[46] Where was David Ferrie at the time of this call? In Galveston, following his all-night drive from New Orleans through a thunderstorm.[47]

In spite of the apparent indirection employed—A does not call B but calls C who communicates to B—tracks appear to have been left by these communications. They were not destroyed in the government's process of clearing away evidence because, in each instance, the key factor was developed by an office *not* controlled by the federal government. Only then did other evidence left available by the government acquire meaning. The connection of available facts: Ferrie's phone call to Whitehall 4-4970 in Chicago before the assassination and Ferrie's trip to Galveston afterward was worked out by the New Orleans District Attorney's office before the government's agencies could disintegrate the evidence.

Ferrie's association with the CIA began at least as far back as that agency's support of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara's insurgents against Batista. He made flights into their mountain stronghold with munitions and supplies. Later, when Castro developed his relationship with Russia and the CIA began to launch guerrilla raids against Castro's Cuba, no one hated Castro more heartily than Ferrie. Ferrie spoke frequently of ways in which Castro could be assassinated, Havana harbor blown up or Cuba invaded. When the CIA trained Cubans in Guatemala for the Bay of Pigs invasion, Ferrie acted as a flying instructor at the Retalhuleu air strip in Guatemala.[48] Shortly before the assassination, he once again flew to Guatemala for a purpose still unknown.[49]

Ferrie made frequent and unexplained flights into Central America and back into the Cuban highlands with munitions and supplies for new insurgents who, this time, were unsuccessful. His telephone records abound with calls to Toronto, Montreal, Central America and Mexico. Until President Kennedy ordered an end to the CIA's continued training of anti-Castro guerrillas at the small, scattered camps in Florida and north of Lake Pontchartrain in Louisiana,[50] Ferrie, dressed in rumpled combat fatigues with a combat field cap perched carelessly on top of his false hair, frequently traveled to the training areas across the lake.[51]

Once when a friend cautioned him about getting into trouble with regard to his flights into Cuba, Ferrie replied that he could not get into trouble because the government was sponsoring what he was doing. "It is the most patriotic thing I've ever done," he said.[52]

When the New Orleans District Attorney's office realized that something was wrong with the federal investigation of Kennedy's death and resumed its own inquiry, it succeeded in persuading a young former mechanic of Ferrie's to resume their earlier association at the Lakefront Airport. It was hoped that something could be learned of Ferrie's flights to distant places. This objective was not accomplished because, as an examination of hundreds of flight plans revealed, Ferrie did not speak of the destination of his flights and did not file flight plans with the airport control. He simply would take off without comment in a light plane and reappear, similarly without comment, several days later.

However, it *was* learned that Ferrie was receiving money in a rather unusual way. On January 8, 1967, he gave the mechanic instructions pertaining to a package to be found in a white car which would be without a license and would be waiting in front of the airport administrative building. Underneath the front seat the mechanic found a bulging brown envelope sealed with Scotch tape. Ferrie took it from him, went in the men's room, returned with a satisfied air and mentioned that he was considering buying a new car.[53]

Although Ferrie to all intents and purposes was unemployed at the time, except for part-time investigative work for a lawyer, an examination of his bank account at the Whitney National bank

revealed that during the *three week period* prior to the President's assassination he deposited \$7,093.02.[54] A few months after the assassination, Ferrie suddenly acquired a large service station.[55] He apparently ran it in much the same way he maintained his apartment. On one occasion he had just filled the gas tank of an acquaintance and he waved him away, turning down payment for the gas. "Forget it," he said. "The government's paying for it anyway." [56]

Soon after the renewed investigation into his connection with the assassination was under way, it became apparent that Ferrie was deeply concerned. There was a loss of the aplomb which, despite his strange appearance, he previously had worn. He began to call the chief investigator of the New Orleans District Attorney's office and to question him repeatedly about the progress of the investigation.

This was reminiscent of a technique he had used before: to pretend to be conducting an "investigation" in order to determine what information law enforcement agencies had gathered about him. For example, shortly after Ferrie returned from Texas and was questioned about the assassination and his relationship with Lee Oswald, he appeared in the 4900 block of Magazine Street, where Oswald had lived, and questioned neighbors concerning what they knew about Oswald and his activities.[57]

Ferrie's acute concern actually began in late 1966 when the New Orleans District Attorney's office began its intensive investigation.[58] At that time, he prophetically remarked to a friend, "I'm a dead man." [59]

Finally, Ferrie turned to the New Orleans District Attorney's office for sanctuary from the incessant visits of the press to his apartment, an indication that he was becoming weary of the pressure he felt, and a room was obtained for him at the Fontainebleau Hotel. The staff felt that Ferrie's deterioration portended a break in the case, that perhaps here at last was one man with enough humanity left from the dehumanizing processes of the warfare state to provide more information on the accomplishment of the President's execution. It did not work out that way.

On February 22, 1967, surrounded by empty and half-empty medicine bottles and containers, Ferrie was found dead. The coroner's routine toxicological tests disclosed none of the standard poisons. The cause of death was certified as natural, due to a massive brain hemorrhage. On Ferrie's piano and table, however, were two typed suicide notes. His *signature* on each note was also *typed*.

With Ferrie's death, there most likely faded into oblivion the possibility of uncovering in the immediate future the full meaning of the assassination.

At the city morgue the coroner's photographers took photographs of Ferrie, who was now defrocked forever—of his mohair wig, of his role as an itinerant pilot and part-time investigator and

of life itself. Across his abdomen remained the twelve-inch scar from the knife wound he received on his last flight into the Cuban highlands.[60]

David Ferrie was a government technician in every sense of the word. Yet he was more than a technician. For that reason he seems to have been unable to survive in the warfare state, which for a time he served so well. Of all the individuals encountered by the New Orleans investigation, Ferrie was the only one who showed signs of remorse about the assassination. In the end some residual conscience, some remnants of his boyhood years with his family and of his years of study for the priesthood, surfaced in his mind and haunted him. It could be said that his death was hastened by his own humanity.

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1. [↔] Allen Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence* (New York, Harper & Row, 1963), p. 148f.
  2. [↔] H, VIII, 307.
  3. [↔] Folsom Exhibit 1, H, XIX, 680.
  4. [↔] See ch. 2, n. 14.
  5. [↔] Hartogs and Freeman, *op. cit.*, Appendix 1, p. 240. According to the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, Oswald had an I.Q. of 118.
  6. [↔] CE 2650, pp. 929-30.
  7. [↔] WR 257-58.
  8. [↔] WR 256-57.
  9. [↔] H, V, 104.
  10. [↔] CD 90.
  11. [↔] Meagher, *op. cit.*, 336-37.
  12. [↔] Harold Weisberg, *Whitewash II* (New York, Dell, 1966), pp. 45-50.
  13. [↔] WR 408.
  14. [↔] CD 75, FBI Report filed by Oscar W. Deslatte.
  15. [↔] Interview of David W. Ferrie with New Orleans District Attorney's Office on February 19-20, 1967.
  16. [↔] New Orleans District Attorney's Office has obtained statements from several cadets who were in the Civil Air Patrol Squadron with both David W. Ferrie and Lee Harvey Oswald.
  17. [↔] Harry D. Holmes Exhibit 3 A, H, XX, 176.
  18. [↔] CD 75, *op. cit.*
  19. [↔] WR 712.
  20. [↔] State of Louisiana, Secretary of State, May 17, 1967. Friends of Democratic Cuba, Inc. Articles of

Incorporation.

21. [↔] Interview of Ransier Ehlinger with New Orleans District Attorney's Office on March 30, 1967.
22. [↔] Interview of Mary Banister with Andrew J. Sciambra of New Orleans District Attorney's Office on April 29-30, 1967.
23. [↔] List of index cards on file in New Orleans District Attorney's Office.
24. [↔] [CE 1412](#).
25. [↔] New Orleans District Attorney's Office has a copy of the applicable New Orleans Police Department's file on record.
26. [↔] New Orleans District Attorney's Office has held confidential interviews with several of these students.
27. [↔] Interview of Allen Campbell with New Orleans District Attorney's Office on May 14, 1969.
28. [↔] [H, XV, 651](#).
29. [↔] Interview of Rowland Charles Rolland of Winterland Skating Rink, Houston, Texas, with Andrew J. Sciambra of New Orleans District Attorney's Office on May 21, 1968.
30. [↔] [CE 2307](#).
31. [↔] Interview of Frank J. Chalona, Jr., of Hammond, Louisiana, with New Orleans District Attorney's Office on March 3, 1967.
32. [↔] [CD 75, p. 199](#).
33. [↔] FBI Report of November 27, 1963, New Orleans, [File No. 89-69](#). Special Agents Earnest C. Wall, Jr., and Theodore R. Viater.
34. [↔] [CE 1414](#).
35. [↔] [CE 1413, pp. 826-27](#); [CE 3119, p. 771](#).
36. [↔] [H, XV, 765](#).
37. [↔] [H, VIII, 29-31](#).
38. [↔] New Orleans District Attorney's Office has several interviews to this effect given by acquaintances of David W. Ferrie.
39. [↔] Interview of Perry Russo with New Orleans District Attorney's Office on February 25, 1967.
40. [↔] Eastern Air Lines Pilots' System Board of Adjustment. In the Matter of the Grievances of David W. Ferrie, Grievance #15-63, #29-63, #48-63 ALPA 4881, 4932, 4984.
41. [↔] New Orleans District Attorney's Office has obtained statements of friends and acquaintances of David W. Ferrie to this effect.
42. [↔] *Ibid.*
43. [↔] Bell Telephone Records in New Orleans—9/24—Chicago, Ill., 312 WH-4-4970—Amount 3.85 Your number 524-0147.
44. [↔] [CE 2350](#).

45. [↔] [CE 2267](#).
46. [↔] [CE 2307](#).
47. [↔] FBI Report of S.A. Carlos L. Kirby, Jr., HO-62-2115.
48. [↔] Interview of David W. Ferrie with New Orleans District Attorney's Office on February 20, 1967.
49. [↔] *Ibid.*, February 19-20, 1967.
50. [↔] Agents of FBI raided the area north of Lake Pontchartrain on July 31, 1963.
51. [↔] New Orleans District Attorney's Office had obtained statements from several of Ferrie's friends and acquaintances to this effect.
52. [↔] Interview of Herbert R. Wagner with New Orleans District Attorney's office on August 6, 1969.
53. [↔] Statement obtained from the auto mechanic by the New Orleans District Attorney's Office on August 6, 1969.
54. [↔] New Orleans District Attorney's Office has obtained copies of applicable deposit slips.
55. [↔] Report of Lynn Loisel of New Orleans District Attorney's Office, March 22, 1967.
56. [↔] Interview of Herbert R. Wagner with New Orleans District Attorney's Office on August 6, 1969.
57. [↔] Interview of Doris E. Eames with New Orleans District Attorney's Office on March 1, 1968.
58. [↔] New Orleans District Attorney's Office began its investigation in October, 1966. However, the New Orleans District Attorney's Office arrested David W. Ferrie immediately after the assassination and turned him over to the FBI who released him after a very preliminary investigation.
59. [↔] Interview of Allen Campbell with New Orleans District Attorney's Office on May 14, 1969.
60. [↔] Scar is clearly visible in morgue shot of David W. Ferrie.

7.

## TRACES OF INTRIGUE

*Yes, there will come a time. But it might not be in your lifetime. I am not referring to anything especially, but there may be some things that would involve security.*

—CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN, *in reply to a question as to whether the commission's inquiry would be made public.*[1]

### *The Texas Tableau*

While Dallas is not a melting pot in the sense that New York and other Eastern cities are, it does have a small Russian community. These are White Russians who are strongly anti-Communist. Many of these people can recall the loss of their family property to the Communists back in Russia. Some can recall the deaths of relatives murdered by the Communists. The only way they could ever hope to regain the old family estates would be in the event of war between Russia and America, assuming, of course, that America won and that these estates as well as the planet itself remained.

When Lee Oswald came to Dallas from Fort Worth in the early autumn of 1962, the White Russians comprised most of the group with whom he and Marina spent most of their limited social life. The White Russians knew that Oswald had spent thirty months in Russia. Yet they did not treat him as if he were a Communist or a radical of any kind. A genuine Communist, assuming that he were so ill-advised as to set up light housekeeping in Dallas, ordinarily could not have made himself welcome in the company of the Texas White Russian community.

All of this community spoke Russian, of course, and because of their or their families' experiences, they ardently favored continuation of the cold war and militantly opposed peaceful coexistence with Russia. Their philosophy was indistinguishable from that of the upper echelon of the American military and intelligence establishments.

The wealthy White Russian associates of the Oswalds paid Marina a great deal of attention, and she began to develop a liking for them. They bought her many dresses. After Oswald had been charged with killing the President, who was attempting to end the cold war, his Russian-speaking friends would testify before the Warren Commission about his brutality toward his wife and his dedication to Marxism. Lee Oswald now was a long way from Warren Easton High School on Canal Street.

Oswald frequently was in the company of some older man. Invariably, his mentor was a worldly individual whose background included an uncommon familiarity with far-away places or an uncommon propinquity to people from other lands. The government was never able to explain what

it was about Oswald in the year preceding the assassination that caused the company of this itinerant laborer to be so acceptable to the older, sophisticated men whose horizons of interest were far beyond those of the average individual. Unless it is assumed that Oswald secretly had attended a Dale Carnegie course and had acquired a magnetic personality, it is difficult to find an acceptable explanation for his extraordinary welcome among people whose ideologies purportedly differed radically from his own. What more probable explanation is there for these interpersonal triumphs of Oswald other than that he was recognized as a member of the intelligence community wherever he lived?

After Oswald arrived in Dallas in 1962, his closest acquaintance was George de Mohrenschildt.[2] De Mohrenschildt was born in czarist Russia, the son of a nobleman and landowner. His family had fled from the Communists, and for a time his father had been jailed by them. His schooling extended from Poland through Belgium and France to Texas. During World War II, De Mohrenschildt had worked for French intelligence. He spoke French, Russian, Polish, Spanish, German and “a smattering of other languages.”[3]

De Mohrenschildt was a consulting geologist who had traveled extensively throughout the world. He had spent a year in Yugoslavia, representing the International Cooperation Administration, located in Washington.[4] He had gone to Ghana allegedly as a stamp collector, although he was a consulting geologist for an oil company at the time. During the Bay of Pigs, he was in Guatemala where he had just concluded a long trek through Central America. At the time of the President’s assassination, he was in Haiti. He was a member of the exclusive Dallas Petroleum Club and had many high-level contacts in the business world.[5]

De Mohrenschildt stated that he was unable to remember exactly how he first met Lee Oswald, but it was his recollection that he went with a friend of his, a man identified only as Colonel Orlov, to Oswald’s residence in the Fort Worth slums before Oswald moved to Dallas.

Not only were Oswald’s Texas contacts rather singular individuals, but at least one of the companies he worked for was in a very unusual line of business. Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall company, which hired him as a photographer, had been given a security clearance to do work for the Defense Department. Their labors involved charting and mapping of coastlines, sea bottoms and some land areas. This work was done with regard not only to the continental United States but to foreign countries as well.[6]

After Oswald left New Orleans to return to Dallas by way of Mexico, his family moved into the home of Michael and Ruth Paine in Irving, a suburb of Dallas. Michael Paine, who worked for Bell Helicopter and had received security clearance, moved out of the house, where Ruth Paine was subsequently joined by Marina Oswald and her children. The Paines later explained that at this time they had separated temporarily. Immediately after the President’s assassination and the departure of

Marina Oswald and her children, the Paines were reunited and Michael Paine moved back into the house. During the months his family was at the Paines', Oswald stayed at a rooming house in Dallas and visited them on weekends.[7] Paine's temporary departure and Oswald's move to a Dallas rooming house created the illusion of a disassociation between Lee Oswald and Michael Paine, an individual possessing a security clearance and working for a manufacturer of military hardware.

Ruth Paine spoke Russian and was acquainted with some members of the small Russian group in Dallas. It was Ruth Paine who was instrumental in obtaining the job for Oswald at the Texas School Book Depository. She called the manager, Roy Truly, told him of Oswald's need for work and recommended that Truly hire him. Shortly after Oswald began to work at the depository, a much better job opportunity presented itself for him and the employment agency called twice about it at the Paine residence. The job opening was at the airport and would have paid him considerably more.[8] Apparently Oswald never learned of the better job, for on the day of the assassination he was still employed at the book depository, in close proximity to the scene of the President's murder. He would be near enough that the leaders of his country would be able to close the gap between him and the death limousine, shrugging aside the towering improbabilities of fact and concealing their hypocrisy with noble phrases.

Just before driving Oswald's family from New Orleans back to Dallas in late September, 1963, Ruth Paine drove to the Washington, D.C., area to visit her sister and brother-in-law. She then drove down to New Orleans to pick up Oswald's family.[9] Eight days after Oswald returned to Dallas from Mexico, and shortly after his family's return from New Orleans, Ruth Paine got him the job at Dealey Plaza.

The income tax reports of Ruth and Michael Paine were classified by the government as secret. Commission documents 212, concerning Ruth Paine, and 218, concerning Michael Paine, were classified as secret for reasons of national security. Commission documents 258, concerning Michael Paine, and 508, concerning Ruth Paine's sister, also were classified as secret for reasons of national security, as were commission documents 600 through 629, concerning relatives of Michael Paine. It is extraordinary how fearful the government became of national security where information concerning the Paines and their families was concerned.

Two months after the assassination, the general counsel of the Warren Commission received a telephone call from Waggoner Carr, the attorney general of Texas. Carr informed the commission's chief lawyer that information had been uncovered which indicated that Lee Oswald was an undercover employee of the United States government and that his undercover number was S-179. The same information was also supplied to the commission by the Dallas District Attorney.[10]

News articles had already found their way into print about Oswald's ease in traveling across

borders and about the curious availability of funds whenever he engaged in international travel ... to Russia ... from Russia ... to Mexico. The commission held an emergency meeting amidst what one commission member later described as “consternation” and requested the Texas officials to come secretly to Washington to discuss this unexpected development.[11]

The members of the commission concluded that they should conduct extensive hearings of as many witnesses as necessary to exhaust “this rumor.”[12] Somehow the hearings on the possibility that Lee Oswald was a government agent never materialized.[13]

The emergency meeting concerning this uncomfortable possibility was never mentioned in the Warren Commission’s final report or in the millions of words of testimony or in any of the exhibits. A similar omission from the final report of the Warren Commission was the fact that the FBI initially failed to inform the commission that the name and unlisted phone number of Dallas FBI agent James Hosty were written in Oswald’s address book.[14] The FBI’s summary of the contents of the address book listed all of the other data in the book and left out this one notation—a rather intriguing one to have been made by the presumed assassin of the Chief of State.

The commission’s reluctance to examine information that Oswald was a government agent is reminiscent of its refusal to look at the photographs of the President’s autopsy. It is troublesome to imagine which would have been more injurious to the commission: finding out that the President was killed by a shot from the front when the scapegoat was positioned in the rear, or discovering that the official assassin was an undercover employee of a government agency when he had been governmentally depicted as a leftist.

Viewed as elements of a domestic intelligence structure, Oswald’s associates in Dallas would have to be classified as Euro-Asian in orientation. Such an operation would be useful for the debriefing and control of an individual recently returned from the Soviet Union. Furthermore, such a group would be useful in helping to create the false impression that a particular individual was a supporter of the Soviet Union rather than the United States.

However, an operation with Euro-Asian orientation would have limitations if it were desired to build a case for pointing to a nation of an entirely different ethnic make-up, such as Cuba. The fictional identification of a particular individual as pro-Russian would be of limited military value, because an attack against Russia would not be feasible. On the other hand, the CIA had attempted an invasion of Cuba in 1961 and had continued to train guerrilla troops for raids on Cuba. There was, then, a pre-existing and still abiding interest in dealing with Castro’s Cuba by means of military power. Could the man who would be named as the President’s killer be identified, by means of contrived evidence, as connected with Cuba? If so, the assassination not only could accomplish the removal of the President but it could also create an ostensible basis for military action against Cuba. Certainly it could be employed as a potential threat of a program against an

inquiring left which felt inclined toward skepticism of the official version of the assassination.

It will be recalled that after Oswald's New Orleans promenades with signs and handbills identifying him as a leftist radical and connecting him with Cuba, he next went to Mexico City and attempted to obtain a Cuban visa. Had Oswald been successful in procuring a visa, the man named as the President's assassin, at a time when the nation was shocked and distraught, would have been found to be in possession of a visa to Cuba issued by the Cuban embassy in Mexico City. The forces pushing for continuation of the cold war would have gained the option of invading Communist Cuba. At the very least, this would have ended the detente toward which Kennedy was working. At the most, it would have been the excuse for an invasion of Cuba by American forces. In all events it would serve as a club with which to beat down liberal inquiry into the real motivation for the assassination.

In any event, the Cubanization of Lee Oswald could not be accomplished effectively by a Euro-Asian structure in Dallas. This was a project for a Latin American apparatus of the government's huge intelligence complex. In New Orleans, the gateway to the Caribbean and to the Latin American countries, such an apparatus existed.

Lee Oswald left Dallas and arrived in New Orleans in early May. By May 9, he had a job at the Reily Coffee Company, just around the corner from Guy Banister's office.

### *The New Orleans Masquerade*

When Lee Oswald first arrived back in New Orleans he stayed with his relatives, the Murrets. This was the home of his first cousin, Marilyn Murret, who also was seeing more of the world than the average American.

In the summer of 1963, when Oswald was engaged in activities flamboyantly identifying himself with Cuba, Marilyn Murret was traveling through Mexico and Central America. In the three years prior to that she had visited Hong Kong, the Philippines, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Malaya, Beirut and various countries in Europe.[15]

This was a traveling family. Now, after a year in Texas, Oswald was on the move again. At summer's end he would be in Mexico, and then he would be back in Dallas. Here a job soon would be found for him in a building overlooking Dealey Plaza.

Lee Oswald had a tendency to put his trust in older persons, responding with little questioning to their suggestions and instructions. If he were told that his assignment called for him to parade in Harlem with a sign advocating white supremacy, he would have performed the task and then gone back to his reading. If he were told to parade in Lumberton, Mississippi, with a sign advocating black power, he would have done that equally well. All intelligence operations necessarily function

on a need-to-know basis and the first thing a lower echelon agent learns is that he will not be given the full nature or purpose of the operation, but will be told his limited assignment and nothing more.

If, in fact, a young man were to parade in a small town in Mississippi with a black power sign, this would not mean necessarily that he was deeply committed to black power, though the men on the Warren Commission might so have concluded. To the contrary, in the mind of any reflective person, it would have raised a question as to precisely what he was up to, because a genuine supporter of such a cause would not advance it very far by parading in the streets of a small Mississippi town with a sign.

Oswald was an ideal low-echelon intelligence employee. Such close-mouthed young men, who execute assignments without question, are needed for a variety of missions ranging from courier service to penetration of allegedly subversive groups. For every James Bond type—if, indeed, such a type exists—who is informed of the overall purpose of his mission, there are a hundred Lee Oswalds who perform tasks precisely as they are directed. These are the spear carriers of the intelligence service, the privates in the invisible army of the intelligence machine.

Those individuals who were in poor economic circumstances before their entry into the intelligence service generally remain at the same economic level. Any unexplained sources of income ultimately would attract attention to and provoke questions about the agents' personal lives. If, before becoming intelligence employees, they had to hitchhike when they traveled, they will continue to hitchhike during their intelligence service. Their payment for executing espionage assignments while continuing to live in squalid surroundings comes in the form of the secret sweets of satisfaction in playing a mysterious role. The recompense also occurs in the form of economic rewards which may be temporarily postponed. It is to be noted that Oswald's last federal income tax return was classified as secret. Shortly after the assassination Marina Oswald received \$57,000 from anonymous donors.[16] The commission demonstrated little interest in ascertaining the sources of the gifts.

In the typical pro-Castro demonstrations by Oswald in New Orleans, he went to an employment agency beforehand and hired someone to assist him in giving out the inflammatory circulars. He paid the hired helper \$2 for fifteen to twenty minutes of this work.[17] This was sufficient time for photographic coverage by the press. The performance ended when the press left. It was not a case of seeking new supporters for a cause. A record was being created. Oswald was putting on a Communist show unaware that, in a country which has a visceral response to the word Communist, he was digging his own grave.[18]

The contrived nature of Oswald's activity is readily apparent in his encounter with Carlos Bringuier, a dedicated anti-Castro Cuban exile. At the confrontation, hot words developed. Oswald then said, "Hit me, Carlos." Bringuier obliged and struck him. In municipal court, Oswald, rather

than Bringuier, pleaded guilty and paid a fine.[19] Another scene for the drama.

On the first two such arrests, Oswald asked the police to let him talk to an FBI agent. Special Agent John Lester Quigley arrived and talked to the other participants as a group. He then took Oswald aside and spoke to him privately.

Some of the photographs showing Oswald handing out leaflets are still classified as secret, so that it is not possible to see all of the persons with him in the picture.

The masquerade itself did not occupy very much of Oswald's time. There was the demonstration in front of the International Trade Mart, a demonstration at a wharf and the demonstration on Canal Street. The contrived record was created in still photographs and motion pictures.[20]

In September, after the masquerade in New Orleans was completed, Oswald suddenly appeared in Clinton, Louisiana. Transferring from one farfetched enterprise to another, he now was attempting to obtain employment at the East Louisiana State Hospital for the insane at Jackson, just outside of Clinton. He also attempted to register as a voter—an unofficial requirement for employment at the hospital—but failed to meet the need for a certain period of residency. While attempting to register to vote in Clinton, Oswald showed the registrar of voters his Marine discharge card and mentioned that he was going to apply for work at the hospital in Jackson. He expressed astonishment when he learned from a barber in Jackson that the East Louisiana State Hospital was an institution for the insane.[21]

It takes little imagination to visualize what fantasies the government and the Warren Commission could have been able to weave had Oswald spent a few weeks on the grounds of the state institution for the insane. However, the job for Oswald did not develop.

The masquerade was resumed shortly after this when Oswald appeared at the Cuban embassy and sought a visa to Cuba, ostensibly to go first to Cuba and then to Russia, a route not ordinarily taken by persons seriously headed for Russia. He produced documents which he claimed to be evidence of Communist Party membership in support of his request for a visa, but he was unable to surmount the red tape and waiting arrangements.[22] Nevertheless, the attempt itself provided some of what was needed to season the turkey. The visit would be treated gravely by the official investigation and the Warren Commission simply as further evidence of his depraved commitment to Communism.

That Oswald never intended to go to Cuba but merely sought to obtain the visa is indicated by the change of address card he filed just before he left New Orleans. The new address in Irving and post-office box number in Dallas which he listed were in Texas, not Cuba or Russia.[23]

Someone else back in New Orleans wanted to make sure Oswald's address change was noted by the post office. On October 11, more than two weeks after he had left New Orleans, someone still

unidentified filed a change of address card for him at the old Lafayette Square post office across from Banister's office. It spelled out with perfect accuracy his old New Orleans address, the new Irving, Texas, address to which his family had moved and his renewed post-office box number in Dallas. Who says that lone assassins have no friends?[24]

### *An International Building*

In the 100 block of Camp Street, four blocks from Banister's office at 544 Camp Street, was the International Trade Mart, a white, windowless building four stories high. In 1963 it had an exotic collection of occupants as compared with an ordinary office building. Instead of the commonplace mixture of lawyers, doctors and local business firms, its tenants came from all parts of the globe.

Among them were: the European Agencies Company, Importers; the Vanguard Export-Import Company; the Italian State Tourist Office; the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany; the Canadian Trade Commissioner; the Colombian Consulate; the Finland Exhibit of Export Goods; the Consulate General of Japan; the Consulate General of Switzerland; the American Oceanic Forwarding Company; Eagle Ocean Transport, Inc.; the Cordell Hull Foundation; the Philippine Consulate General; the British Consulate General; Mitsui, and Company, Limited, Importers; Latin American Reports, Inc.

It would not be consistent with the philosophy of the CIA to ignore the existence and have no interest in a building with such a large concentration of import and export firms and companies with varied foreign interests. Lee Oswald chose an interesting locale as the site for his distribution of Fair Play for Cuba leaflets in August, 1963.

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1. [↔] *The New York Times* (February 5, 1964), p. 19, col. 7.
  2. [↔] [H, IX, 243](#).
  3. [↔] *Ibid.*, 169.
  4. [↔] *Ibid.*, 202.
  5. [↔] *Ibid.*, 195, 217.
  6. [↔] [H, X, 168-69](#).
  7. [↔] [WR 416](#).
  8. [↔] [H, XI, 480-81](#).
  9. [↔] [WR 284](#).
  10. [↔] Edward J. Epstein, *Inquest—The Warren Commission and the Establishment of Truth* (New York,

The Viking Press, 1966), pp. 47-48.

11. [↔] Gerald Ford and Frederick E. Stiles, *Portrait of the Assassin* (New York, Ballantine Books, Inc., 1966), pp. 15-17.
12. [↔] Epstein, Edward Jay, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
13. [↔] Ford and Stiles, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.
14. [↔] Meagher, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-12.
15. [↔] H, VIII, 175-76.
16. [↔] H, V, 604.
17. [↔] H, X, 65.
18. [↔] *Ibid.*, 37-39.
19. [↔] CE 826, p. 753; H, X, 39.
20. [↔] H, X, 39-40.
21. [↔] Interview of Edwin Lee McGehee with Andrew J. Sciambra of New Orleans District Attorney's Office on July 17, 1967.
22. [↔] WR 734.
23. [↔] Harry D. Holmes Exhibit 3A, H, XX, 176.
24. [↔] *Ibid.*

8.

THE IDES OF NOVEMBER

SOOTHSAYER: *Beware the ides of March.*

CAESAR: *What man is that?*

BRUTUS: *A soothsayer bids you beware the ides of March.*

CAESAR: *Set him before me; let me see his face.*

CASSIUS: *Fellow, come from the throng; look upon Caesar.*

CAESAR: *What say'st thou to me now? Speak once again.*

SOOTHSAYER: *Beware the ides of March.*

CAESAR: *He is a dreamer. Let us leave him. Pass.*

—JULIUS CAESAR, *Act I, Scene 2*

*The Restlessness of the Nobles*

Even as Shakespeare's Caesar dismissed the soothsayer, the nobles at his elbow were becoming restless. Caesar's steadily increasing popularity with the people meant that Cassius, Brutus and the other powerful men of the empire would continue to suffer a loss of influence. To the nobles of Rome the growing freedom of Caesar to determine the course of the empire without reference to them was intolerable because it meant they would be reduced in power. Empires always produce vested interests which will not lightly relinquish the gains which their power gives them. The nobles at his elbow killed Caesar in order to keep their power.

The American empire which was born out of World War II and the cold war years was obscured by many euphemisms and was invisible to many Americans. Nevertheless, it was an empire, one of the most powerful the world has known. In 1963, however, fate hung in the balance. A new President was in office, a President who was not merely indifferent to empire but who was making move after move which would have meant the end of the empire and the end of the power of the nobles who suckled on it.

The United States had acquired its status as a superstate back in World War II. Even before the war's end, the new power we had acquired had begun to brutalize us. We used the atom bomb on Hiroshima, after it was no longer a military necessity. We did it again at Nagasaki without feeling a need to provide a rationalization to shield and attempt to dignify this wanton and horrible cruelty.

Once, we had been shocked by the atrocity of the German bombing of the civilian population of Rotterdam. At the war's end, however, we had become the warfare state, adopting as our own the militarism we had sought to end. At the war's end in Asia our objective had evolved from winning the war with Japan to gaining influence over governments by our display of the new atomic war

technology.

Even as we defeated the totalitarians, we had begun to emulate them and had begun building an empire of our own. There are always reasons for keeping power once it is obtained.

In the twenty years following the war our warfare state would spend a thousand billion dollars—a trillion dollars—on armament and on the maintenance of its far-flung empire. Again and again we were told by the war interests that more and more billions had to be spent. When, after nearly two decades of increasing militarism, a new national leader appeared who saw that the foundations of our democracy were being undermined and that warfare interests had gained excessive power in our government, a rift developed between the new young leader and the powerful nobles of the American empire, the barons and the lords and the dukes at the Pentagon and the shadowy counterparts in the Central Intelligence Agency.

The affluence of these men was built upon the continuation of the empire. What kind of words were these they were now hearing? “Not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men and women ...” The nobles began to grow restless.

From his vantage point, Kennedy was aware of dark possibilities that did not remotely occur to most of us. One weekend in the summer of 1962, while on the *Honey Fitz*, the Kennedy yacht, he was asked what he thought about the chance of a military take-over in America. Kennedy replied that it was possible if certain conditions developed.

A military take-over would occur, Kennedy said, if the country were being led by a young President at the time, if a Bay of Pigs occurred, if military criticism of the young President followed and then if another Bay of Pigs occurred.[1]

By the time of this discussion, Kennedy had already overruled the use of warplanes in the invasion of Cuba and the CIA’s long-planned expedition had foundered in disaster on the beach.[2] Only a few months after the discussion, he would overrule the advice of the military to bomb Cuba.[3] Instead, he later would set the stage for peace talks with Fidel Castro.[4] In another year, he would override the strongly felt wishes of the majority of the chiefs of staff and cause the United States to sign the nuclear test ban treaty in Moscow.[5]

Such a compass bearing was not a course concurred in by the men of empire. These were the actions of a man engaged in ending the cold war, the source of endless benefits and bounties, power and prestige, for the military and for its silent partner in the profession of extermination, the CIA.

Yet these changes that Kennedy was making did not have the strategic significance they might have had some years earlier. The nuclear equality which had developed between the United States and Russia had made so remote the possibility of a war between the two that it had become more and

more difficult to conceive of reasons to persuade the American taxpayers to continue to provide billions each year for the war machine.

But now World War II was fading farther and farther away, and the much vaunted Russian military menace to America had begun fading away, too, because of the increasingly obvious ability of each to destroy the other. The capabilities of eliminating cities with a single nuclear bomb and the increasingly varied capabilities of delivery of the bombs meant that the country which was attacked could launch, even in its own death throes, immense destruction against the attacker. As if this nuclear parity, with its threat of the end of military adventure, were not disastrous enough for the men of empire, the President was not merely informing Americans of these realities but was establishing a new relationship with Russia. This new relationship rested on mutual understanding which would replace the endless mutual acceleration of unusable military power. But if these changes meant less strategically than they once might have meant, one thing was becoming clear, inevitably they meant the end of the American military empire. The nobles of the empire muttered and spoke to each other in low tones behind closed doors.

Yet there remained Asia with its undeveloped nations and its millions of poorly fed and poorly clothed humans. Here there was enough grist for the mill of the military superstate to keep it busy for years. It is the first rule of imperialism that unrest anywhere is not merely a breach of the general peace but is in all probability secretly sponsored by the enemy. Like dinosaurs discovering new feeding grounds, the Pentagon and the CIA had gradually turned much of their attention from Europe to the new promise of Asia. The CIA, in particular, was already deeply involved in activities in South Vietnam and in Laos.

But soon President Kennedy himself would turn to Asia and begin to explore the feasibility of removing the contingent of military advisers from Vietnam.

It was one thing to speak of peace, but it was another [to actually begin disarmament](#). It was one thing to speak of a military withdrawal from Asia, but it was another thing [to actually begin it](#). If John Kennedy survived, the empire was threatened.

They gave him a great funeral, replete with the festoons of the military. His search for peace was buried with him. Nor was there, afterward, a Mark Antony to speak in his behalf.

### *The Leaves Begin to Fall*

In the summer of 1963, curious things began to happen in New Orleans. Men at the Reily Coffee Company, where Lee Oswald had been hired, began to receive jobs in the defense plants on the fringe of the city. It is possible that the aerospace manufacturers encountered sudden requirements for men with experience in the coffee business. It would be more rational, however, to perceive that

some force possessing great influence with the defense industry was obtaining positions, in a most systematic way, for men who had come into contact with Lee Oswald.

In medicine a condition hidden from view often can be located by injecting a special dye into the body of the patient and then tracing its subsequent route by fluoroscope. Similarly, in any set of facts where a major crime has occurred, deception on the part of a possible malefactor may be brought to light by tracing the paths of possible witnesses in order to see what has happened to them. As Holmes might have informed Watson, it is elementary that an individual who suddenly has been given a good position would be reluctant to testify against his benefactor. The position may even act as a control factor over what he may or may not say or do.

Now let us see what happened to men who were exposed to Lee Oswald while he was at the Reily Coffee Company. Oswald, it might be added, left the coffee company on July 19, a few weeks before he suddenly appeared on street corners and began handing out leaflets in behalf of Fidel Castro and Communist Cuba.[6]

In July, Alfred Claude, the man who hired Oswald at Reily, went to work for the Chrysler Aerospace Division.[7] Chrysler Aerospace was located at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration facility on the eastern edge of New Orleans.

Within a few days of Claude's departure, Emmett Barbee, Oswald's immediate superior at Reily, abandoned the coffee business and began a new career with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration center in eastern New Orleans.[8]

Within a few weeks of these departures, John D. Branyon, who had worked with Oswald at Reily, left the coffee business and also found a new position at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration![9]

A few weeks after Oswald's departure, Dante Marachini left the Reily Coffee Company and launched a new career with the Chrysler Aerospace Division at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Marachini also was a friend of David Ferrie's and had frequently left his Bourbon Street apartment to drive uptown to visit Ferrie. By an interesting coincidence of timing, Marachini had gone to work at the Reily Coffee Company on the same day as Lee Oswald, although his virtues were not discovered by the aerospace industry until some weeks after Oswald's departure from the coffee company.[10]

Either Reily Coffee Company, an old firm of good repute, was engaged in a diabolically mysterious penetration of our aerospace program or someone was giving special attention to men at Reily who had rubbed shoulders, however slightly, with Oswald. The human engineering represented by these movements implicates neither the men being moved nor the companies involved. Rather, this

exodus makes it seem as if men were being moved like chess pawns by a hidden force, obviously powerful and possessing a unique influence over the government's aerospace program, to accomplish a future gain in position.

In intelligence terminology, the Reily Coffee Company was being "sanitized" with regard to witnesses who had contact with Oswald. After such an exodus to the defense industry, one can imagine it would prove more difficult to obtain witnesses whose testimony might embarrass the government. On the other hand, the electric scenes of Oswald promenading with the pro-Castro signs were recorded on film, as it turned out, so that all the world could see that here indeed was a revolutionary, the kind of man who might well disturb the tranquility of a peace-loving superstate.

The resourcefulness of modern operational intelligence should not be underestimated. Facts are turned into cobwebs in the minds of witnesses while things which never happened are structured into occurrences which can be cemented into history.

In the course of tracing potential witnesses who had been at the coffee company, the name of that Jack-of-all-adventures, David Ferrie, turned up because of Marachini's visits to his apartment. Inasmuch as Ferrie was an admitted CIA employee whom we have encountered before in connection with the assassination, it should be worthwhile to see if men who had contact with him were rewarded with defense jobs in the way that Oswald contacts were rewarded.

One of Ferrie's friends was James Lewallen, who lived in the same apartment house as Marachini in the 1300 block of Dauphine Street. Lewallen's relationship with Ferrie and his propinquity to Marachini are not inculpatory with regard to any of the parties but illustrate, at the very least, the high degree of coincidence which abounds in the case. Lewallen went to work for Boeing at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration facility.[11]

Melvin Coffee had accompanied David Ferrie on his trip into Texas on the evening of the assassination. He had accompanied Ferrie to Houston, then down to Galveston, the town to which Jack Ruby had made his phone call the night before killing Ferrie's protégé, Lee Oswald. Coffee was hired by the aerospace operation at Cape Kennedy.[12]

It should not be thought that New Orleans is a small town and the aerospace operation a huge one, so that nearly everyone works for it. This indeed was the case with regard to some of the smaller German towns in World War II. Undoubtedly, for example, most of the adults in the Bavarian town of Schweinfurt worked for the great ball-bearing plants.

In 1963, however, New Orleans was a city of nearly 700,000, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration facility was not a particularly large operation at all. In short, the transfers into the aerospace industry were disproportionately large and were necessarily the consequence not of

capricious coincidence but of careful design.

What we had here was an unidentified government agency, unidentified only in the sense that its name was not spelled out in neon letters, shifting men into the government controlled defense industry in order to establish, for later purposes, a degree of control over them. The fact that the assassination was not to occur until autumn, at the earliest, gives some idea of the care taken in the planning. The fact that these transfers were being made not in direct support of the assassination but, looking far beyond that, in order to complicate possible investigations which might afterward occur, serves to give some idea of the scope and professional nature of the entire operation.

Here is an example of the investigative steps which the New Orleans District Attorney's office had to take to develop the type of information just described. Remember that at every step of the way, stentorian pronouncements were issued from the highest authorities in Washington that everything had been looked into and the case was closed. This put the New Orleans' investigation in the position of being an outlaw investigation, regarded by many as highly improper, even laughable. However, the members of the team in the New Orleans District Attorney's office knew that they had stumbled across a hidden structure and continued to dig away at it.

The District Attorney's office knew that Ferrie had been a pilot for a major airline and had been fired for questionable activities. It is customary for such a business to employ a private detective agency to develop such information. The name of the investigative agency was obtained and its old records were located in Shreveport, Louisiana. Going through the reports of the private investigators staked out near the Ferrie residence, it was discovered that he was visited quite frequently by a man named Dante Marachini.

Concentrating briefly on Marachini, the beginning of an odd pattern was revealed. He had gone to work for the Reily Coffee Company on May 10, the same day that Oswald was hired there. When it was learned that Marachini resigned shortly after Oswald's departure, his path was traced and led to the Chrysler Aerospace Division at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration operation.

The point about the early exodus of so many men who knew Oswald or Ferrie into the government affiliated aerospace industry is that an honest investigation would scarcely disregard such a phenomenon. However, the commission never glanced in that direction. In the words of Senator Richard Russell, the one member of the commission who showed signs of discontent with the official conclusion, the majority of the seven man commission "wanted to find" that Oswald planned and acted alone.[13]

Why was there such a disproportionate gravitation of possible witnesses into high paying jobs with government defense contractors? These men had an average of four years in the coffee business, yet their casual contact with Oswald started them on new careers in the defense industry. To look into

the phenomenon would have been one of the first major objectives for any honest inquiry. Instead, the great investigation in history concerned itself with one of Lee Oswald's schoolboy fights and other such trivia.

With more than five thousand federal investigators presumably digging into every nook and cranny, it is odd that a handful of men working for a county office should develop what the government could not. Of course, the New Orleans District Attorney's office had a substantial advantage over the government. It was not involved in John Kennedy's murder.

### *Autumn Leaves in the Wind*

When a counterrevolution is occurring and a low level intelligence employee is being prepared for sacrifice so as to draw attention away from the power elite who are sponsoring a forthcoming assassination, it is perhaps old-fashioned to speak of the injustice being dealt to the scapegoat. Nevertheless, the observation must be made that the inhumanity demonstrated by the CIA, and the masked eminences for whom it performed was scarcely distinguishable from the inhumanity of the totalitarian governments which we had defeated in World War II. Actually we had taken the place of the totalitarian powers whom we had defeated. After our two decades as a superstate during the years of the cold war, we had become a different country.

To be sure, all of the revered symbols of Americana had been retained. The "Star Spangled Banner" was still played ceremoniously at all major sporting events. The President annually opened the baseball season by throwing the first pitch of the season. And in every school in every town across the land, children began their day by reciting together the Pledge of Allegiance.

But a change had occurred in America. It had happened as silently as the moon sliding behind the clouds. With the advent of our special brand of benevolent imperialism, we also had acquired the secret police, an integral part of the warfare state—secret police not merely around the globe but within our own country as well. It was all in the name of national security, to be sure, but it is in the name of national security that the warfare state commits its worst crimes against humanity. What was important above all was that the new power structure of our country was no longer the one originally contemplated in the Constitution. Lip service continued to be paid to the importance of the individual and his rights, to the greatness of our democracy and to our "leadership of the free world."

However, the center of gravity of power in America long since had fallen into the control of the warfare interests and all of the signs of the free society which were still exhibited on every hand were garlands, tinsel ornaments to keep the populace content. The real test of whether the country still belonged to the people was what happened to national leaders who called for an end to the Vietnam War or [for removal of our troops from Asia](#). They were shot to death by ostensibly lone

assassins, men who in every case had remarkable records of international travel. Thus the voices of the opponents of empire were stilled. This was the America which had evolved by the 1960's while we all stared at our television screens.

John Kennedy was going to be executed because he was the one man who stood in the way of the continued power of the superstate and the continued growth of empire. Lee Oswald would be executed promptly afterward because someone would have to be seized and killed to turn the eyes of the people away from the nobles, to halt at the very outset the beginning of thought. The singular value of an intelligence employee as the scapegoat was the fact that such an agent would go where he was told, do what he was told and be easily set up so as to appear to be a violent leftist assassin or whatever his superiors desired. Afterward, high government officials, knowingly, and the electronic media, unknowingly, would do the rest. A whole new chapter of history, which it was hoped would last through all time, would have been created by the purest legerdemain, a gossamer fabric spun out of the trust of the people and the duplicity of their leaders.

Thus, months before the assassination, a degree of control with regard to the history being created for the scapegoat had already been established. This control, as previously mentioned, could have been established by moving men who had contact with Oswald from the coffee business into government controlled, higher paying positions in the defense industry.

Interestingly enough, there were portents of what was to happen to Kennedy, just as in Shakespeare's *Caesar* there were also portents of the impending disaster. The latter, however, were supernatural in character, for it was quite acceptable in Shakespeare's time to regard the impending death of a prince or a head of state as reasonable cause for nature itself to give warnings. As a breathless Casca told Cicero, during the course of an unusual tempest of thunder and lightning he had observed strange happenings such as he had never before seen. "I believe," said Casca, "they are portentous things."<sup>[14]</sup>

In the case of President Kennedy's murder, the warnings were more mundane, although later the Warren Commission called upon the supernatural from time to time to explain the succession of impossibilities which it presented to the public. But there was, in Washington, a substantial base of support for the continuation of our policy of military conquest. That is why the "findings" of the Warren Commission were accepted so blandly in the nation's capital. That is why the assassination of John F. Kennedy was accepted with such equanimity in the marble halls of government.

The reaction of those individuals who have encountered the hidden tyranny of the modern warfare state is an eloquent testimonial to its essential inhumanity. For the rest of the population there is nothing to see because, in the new warfare state, its tyranny at home is selective and its inhumanity abroad is far beyond the horizon.

## *The Domestic Chores of Empire*

After the assassination of the President, the speed with which his alleged murderer was removed should have been a signal to all of us that we were witnessing a coup d'état. Furthermore, the intensity of the conflict of policy between the President, on the one hand, and the military and intelligence sectors of the government, on the other, should have told us where to begin in searching for the force accomplishing his murder.

However, it had been a long time since we had witnessed howitzers on flatcars, flights of military planes over our cities and hordes of men in uniform. We were not yet aware that we had reached a time when our military and intelligence combine could exercise great influence over the remainder of our government and yet remain practically invisible. There was nothing in our experience to alert us to the dangers of the acquisition of excessive power by this combine. Even afterward, after the escalation of our military involvement in Asia, we did not become greatly concerned until the volume of dead young Americans being flown back reached a point where Washington could no longer explain it away as a routine matter.

We had come to notice that the power of the federal government had grown to be excessive, but we were dissuaded from looking too deeply into that by the cornucopia of benefits being dispensed from Washington. The new imperialism which had come to characterize America did not show here at home. The rest of the world could see it, but we could not.

Least of all did we know that a part of our government had gone into the business of murder. The rest of the world could see this too, but we could not.

When we were shaken by the bursts of gunfire at Dealey Plaza, we were unable to comprehend what was happening to us then because we were unaware of what had been happening to us before. All of the advantages of electronic communication, with television sets in nearly every home, were useless to us because this magic machinery was not bringing us the truth. To the contrary, it was misleading us from the very beginning. False information was being fed to the press by the government, and the press, believing it to be true, was feeding this misinformation to the world.

Above all, we were totally unaware of the existence in our country of an invisible force, ready and willing to perform with the utmost casualness whatever crime served the empire's purpose. We were also unaware that other parts of our government would protect this force and help to conceal from us its existence. Being unaware that we now lived in a military empire, we were all the more unaware that we, ourselves, were among the colonized.

We were not aware that the years of the cold war had left our country saturated with secret police, something entirely new in American government and entirely foreign to our way of life. In

retrospect, since we were providing billions of dollars a year for the CIA's operations abroad, the CIA also would have wished to expand by adding operations at home. Such expansion of jurisdiction is almost a law of bureaucracy. The agency's domestic activity is nothing less than a secret police operation. The secret police of the CIA help keep the empire going by repression of individuals who oppose the projects of empire, such as our military expansion into Southeast Asia.

A nation which has the machinery for expression of divergent views presents a particular problem to the empire interests and to the military and intelligence forces which need the empire to keep their power. National leaders who have the charisma to be effective and who have a large following present an intolerable problem when they tell the people of the immorality and impracticality of our presence in Vietnam, of the countless billions our warfare state splurges on armaments, of the murders we commit in the name of national security.

Whenever possible the CIA will seek to silence these voices by a massive discreditation of the individual. When this is not practical, because of the prestige of the individual or because he is too well known for derogatory fictions to be believed by the public, then his voice may be silenced by killing him.

The dirty work of empire is done in our home country by the domestic operations division of the CIA. Because the targets of the operations division more often than not are other Americans, the men who engage in this work are generally lower in character than those who work for other intelligence agencies. They are the flotsam and jetsam, the bottom of the barrel of the intelligence business.

The government uses enough of these men that its way of dealing with them is well standardized. It insulates itself from these men, men like David Ferrie and Jack Ruby, by carefully omitting their names from any form of official roster. It also avoids dealing with them directly but deals with them through what is known in the intelligence community as a "cut-off." If a particularly messy job of removing an individual has been accomplished and the press wants to know if the men who did it are connected with the government in any way, the "cut-off" moves from the city and leaves no forwarding address. In Washington, a man with clean hands and white cuffs, and an expression which suggests that he reads the Constitution every night, will appear and announce that a review of government records indicates that the men in question were never employed by the government.

The broad-based saturation of the United States by the CIA's domestic activities give it an operational capability in every city of not merely gathering information but also setting up a scapegoat for such operations as assassination. Thus the agency has a preexisting potential in any given locale for whatever type of operation it desires to accomplish. In the case of an assassination, however, the marksmen are specialists brought into the city by the agency. The supervisor of the operation also is likely to be brought into the city from the outside. Otherwise the men working to

set up the operation are residents of the city where the action is scheduled to occur, resulting in a minimum influx of strangers.

Another technique used in an intelligence assassination to minimize the number of individuals who will acquire knowledge about an operation is called “triple-hatting.” This means that each of the individuals engaged in the operation will execute a variety of tasks, thus limiting the number of men who will be used and who will afterward be carrying the details around in their heads. For example, with regard to the entire operation surrounding the removal of President Kennedy, Jack Ruby was not suddenly converted from a sentimental nightclub owner to a highly effective gunman all in one Sunday morning. Even prior to that day, he was engaged in a number of activities apparently connected with the President’s assassination.

According to Seth Kantor[15] and Wilma Tice,[16] Ruby was at Parkland Hospital when the doctors were trying hopelessly to save the President. It will be remembered that at Parkland Hospital a bullet probably planted was found near one of the stretchers. The Warren Commission concluded that this bullet went through Governor Connally and the President.[17]

According to the testimony of reporter Victor F. Robertson, Jr., on the evening of the President’s assassination Ruby sought to get into the homicide office where Oswald at that time was being questioned; however, he was stopped by the police at the door.[18] His excuse, according to Detective Richard M. Sims, at that time was that he was bringing in sandwiches for the officers.[19]

Just after midnight on the day of Oswald’s arrest, Dallas law enforcement authorities held a press conference to which, incredibly enough, Oswald was brought for the newsmen to see and question. Ruby was present with a press badge and explained himself as representing Jewish news interests. When District Attorney Wade incorrectly described the pro-Castro organization to which Oswald had pretended to belong, Ruby corrected him and pointed out that the correct name of the organization was Fair Play for Cuba.[20]

The excessive volume of phone calls being made by Ruby during that weekend indicates the likelihood that he was also performing a communications or liaison function.[21] This particularly would appear to be the case with regard to his call to Galveston the night before he killed Oswald, by which time Oswald’s former mentor, David Ferrie, was in Galveston.[22]

In addition to all of Ruby’s other activities that weekend, there is evidence which indicates that he drove one of the riflemen to the grassy knoll area. This evidence was made available to the government a full day prior to Ruby’s killing of Oswald. But no action was taken against him until the following day, after he had killed the scapegoat.[23] Consequently, by the time he glided past the Dallas police and shot Oswald, Jack Ruby was culminating an entire weekend of unusual activity. In the terminology of the CIA, Ruby was “triple-hatting.”

The Warren Commission sought to indicate that it found Jack Ruby not qualified to participate in the assassination of a President. What the commission was really doing was calling for higher standards for conspirators in Presidential assassinations. However, the commission could not have been more wrong about Jack Ruby. If it had looked into his background a little more closely, it would have found that he was no newcomer to the world of intrigue.

### *The Patriotic Nightclub Owner*

Dallas was one of the most attractive cities in cold war America. Located in the gently rolling flatlands of eastern Texas, it had close at hand a number of natural features which any city in a powerful country might envy. Not far away was Carswell Air Force Base, with its own stockpile of nuclear bombs in the event a nuclear air strike had to be launched against some other country in order to maintain peace.

The name of Carswell Air Force Base came up in a small way during the course of the government's investigation when a map was found in Jack Ruby's car with the air base circled on it in pencil. Every red-blooded American likes to visit his friendly neighborhood Strategic Air Command base on occasion.

In the early 1960's, Dallas also was an important city with regard to the CIA's activities against Cuba, as were New Orleans and Miami, too. Viewed together, these cities can best be understood as bases in a corridor through which munitions, men, money and medicine went eastward for use in the raids on Cuba and for training of the anti-Castro guerrillas which was supervised by the CIA in the New Orleans and Miami areas.

In 1963, therefore, Dallas was something more than one of America's loveliest cities. It was a bastion in the great American empire. Necessarily, the complex of strategic operations surrounding it would be protected by an intelligence apparatus not readily visible to the public. It is axiomatic that Strategic Air Command bases, nuclear stockpiles and high priority war production facilities would receive the benefits of operational and information-gathering intelligence.

Earlier we found in New Orleans, a city with less warfare facilities, the existence of a concealed intelligence apparatus at the office of Guy Banister, the former head of the Chicago office of the FBI. It was this address, it will be recalled, that Lee Oswald inadvertently put on the pamphlets which he was given to hand out. It was from this office that David Ferrie operated between his flying assignments for the CIA. It was in this aging building on Camp Street that strangers arrived and departed, some in green fatigues and others in civilian clothes, in an endless parade of undisclosed missions. Many of the visitors were Cuban exiles and men engaged in anti-Castro projects.[24]

Dallas also had its anti-Castro activity, only parts of which projected above the surface in the 1960's. We found in our earlier review of the New Orleans activity directed against Cuba that, while there were no large signs identifying the sponsor of the anti-Castro activity, the weight of the evidence consistently identified it as the CIA. It is only reasonable for us to recognize that the similar Cuba-oriented activity in Dallas was also sponsored by the CIA.

In Dallas, just as in the New Orleans operation, the men engaged in Cuban projects had occupations having no apparent connection with their work in these operational intelligence projects. One man whose activity in connection with Cuban projects existed not merely in the early 1960's but went back into the 1950's was a man ostensibly in the nightclub business. His name was Jack Ruby.

In August, 1959, Jack Ruby spent eight days in Havana.[25] The following month he made a turn-around flight to Havana, staying only overnight, then flying back to New Orleans.[26]

Earlier in the 1950's, Ruby had consulted a surplus war supplies dealer and discussed the purchase of 100 jeeps.[27] There were few things more valuable to the rebels in Cuba at that time than jeeps, yet the acquisition of these vehicles had to be indirect and through private sources, for a direct transfer from American military sources would be not only obvious but an action regarded as tantamount to active American military intervention in the conflict between the Cuban government and the insurgents.

American intelligence dramas are painted with a notably heavy hand. Among the activities assigned to Oswald—or his counterpart, as the case may be—were actions which would serve to create the impression that he had Cuban backing and assistance for the world-shaking event with which he soon would be credited. In the government's investigation, a witness was found who gave details of his observation of Oswald receiving a large sum of money from a Cuban in the courtyard of the Cuban consulate in Mexico City. Of course, the fact that Oswald went through all the motions of seeking to obtain a visa to Cuba made stronger the inference that he had connections with the Cuban government. These incidents were developments built on the role he had played in New Orleans, in late summer, when he executed his brief drills with his Fair Play for Cuba signs.

Conceivably, the general indifference to Castro in America could have been fanned after the assassination to a white-hot heat had the pro-Castro lone assassin of the President been found to be in possession of Cuban entry papers issued to him by the Cuban government. The rallying cry, as thousands of U.S. Marines hit the Cuban beaches, well might have been: "Let's remember John Kennedy."

Thus, Ruby may have been right, insofar as the original plan was concerned, when he said after his arrest that the United States soon would invade Cuba. However, at some point after the initial plans for the assassination were formed, the decision appears to have been made to settle for the

elimination of the President without extending the accomplishment into a Cuban expedition.

For one thing, by the autumn of 1963, much of the original gloss seems to have come off of Cuba as far as the CIA was concerned. The covert training of Cubans, which the agency had continued despite President Kennedy's orders, had been ended on August 31, 1963, by raids conducted by other United States agencies on the training sites. Although the trainees and instructors were released afterward, this action seems to have spelled the death knell of the faint hopes for a Cuban adventure which had remained.

Furthermore, by the autumn of 1963, the CIA and its partners in empire had turned their attention to new green acres: the third world in Asia. Here was the new frontier where new and exotic weapons of destruction could be tested against undeveloped nations.

When the time came that the CIA finally took its eye off Cuba, its functionaries at the lower level would not be likely to know of the full shift of attention to Vietnam, Laos and the rest of Southeast Asia. In all likelihood, they would have continued to assume, as Ruby did and as Ferrie seems to have, that ultimately an American invasion of Cuba would occur.

Back when Cuba was still the jewel in the eye of the CIA, another incident helps to illuminate the complete Jack Ruby. Several years prior to the assassination, Nancy Perrin and her husband Robert, an adventurer who had participated in gun-running operations,[28] attended at a Dallas apartment a meeting of Cuban exiles planning a raid on their home island.[29] However, money was needed to back the enterprise, and the money had not yet shown up.

This meeting occurred during the period in which the anti-Cuban raids had been forbidden as a part of U.S. policy but the CIA still covertly approved them. During that period money and ammunition for anti-Cuban activities had to be obtained indirectly and could not be counted on to be readily available from Washington.

The general subject of conversation in the meeting was the prospect of regaining Cuba by a successful invasion. Then Jack Ruby arrived. He was greeted by the others as if they knew him well and had been waiting for him. Ruby had a noticeable bulge in his coat pocket and went immediately to the bathroom with a man wearing the uniform of a colonel in the United States armed forces (Mrs. Perrin could not recall whether it was an Army or an Air Force uniform). When they returned, the bulge was gone from his suit and there was no more talk of the need for money. It was apparent that Ruby was the money man for the operation. Even more interesting, it was apparent in this case that Ruby was no mere nightclub operator.

The above facts, of unusual relevance to the assassination, surfaced right in front of the Warren Commission and were adduced during the testimony of Nancy Perrin, who by that time was Nancy

Perrin Rich. However, when she began to describe the ammunition which she and the others saw in the rear of the apartment, the commission attorneys stopped her testimony on the ground of its irrelevance.

Subsequently, an independent investigator located Mrs. Perrin and asked her what she was about to testify to when she was stopped by the Warren Commission's attorney. She replied that they had been shown a cache of ammunition ranging from hand grenades to Browning automatic rifles.[30]

One is inevitably reminded of the ammunition, the hand grenades most particularly, which were in the rear of Guy Banister's office and which ultimately were sent to Miami for use on raids against Cuba.

The supply and training of the Cuban exiles, the varied involvements aimed at guerrilla raids of the island and a possible new invasion of Cuba, all came to an end with the raids of August 31, 1963, when other federal agencies raided the CIA-sponsored camps, seized the ammunition and arrested those present. This was merely implementation of the President's announced policy after the Cuban missile crisis in the autumn of 1962, a policy which the CIA studiously had ignored. The flotsam and jetsam of the domestic operation of the CIA doubtlessly regarded this simply as more evidence of the danger to the nation which the President represented.

With the termination of the Cuban adventure late in the summer of 1963, the involvement in that enterprise of David Ferrie in New Orleans and Jack Ruby in Dallas also came to an end. However, it was not long until each of them once again was engaged in another affair of intrigue. This time there was even to be found a connection, however indirect, between the two.

Two nights before the assassination, a man named Meyers arrived in Dallas from Chicago with a woman, the same woman whose Chicago number, it will be remembered, was called from New Orleans by David Ferrie in September on the day Oswald left to return to Texas. Now, beginning with the night of Meyers' arrival in Dallas, Thursday, November 20, Jack Ruby met with him.[31]

On the night before the murder of Oswald, Ruby made a midnight call to Galveston, the same night that David Ferrie arrived there after his marathon ride from New Orleans.[32]

Phone calls and meetings occur and the President of the United States is slaughtered. More phone calls and meetings occur and the man announced to be his assassin is eliminated. And in the middle of it all was Jack Ruby, the man whom the Warren Commission found to be merely a patriotic nightclub owner.

### *A Rifle for the Grassy Knoll*

On the morning that the President of the United States was to be executed, the intermittent early

rains had ended and the sun was shining brightly. Julia Ann Mercer was driving westward on Elm Street and had just passed the grassy knoll when a traffic jam occurred, briefly halting all movement. This happened about an hour before the President's parade was to arrive. When stopped by the congestion, she was just beyond the underpass a short distance farther down the parade route from the knoll itself. The knoll, it will be recalled, was the high ground, concealed by a wooden fence and defiled by trees, overlooking the street on which the President soon would be passing.

As she pulled to a stop, she noticed on her right a green, unmarked pickup truck parked next to the curbing. To her considerable surprise, she saw a young man dismount from the truck and remove a rifle. The rifle was wrapped in brown paper, but its outlines were quite unmistakable. The young man carried the rifle up the steep incline, which was a westward extension of the grassy knoll, just across the railroad tracks from the knoll.

Aware that the President soon was to be passing by this location, Julia Ann Mercer stared at the driver, who was still at the steering wheel of the truck. The driver, whose round face and thinning dark hair would become a familiar one to her, turned and glanced back at her. He stared at her for a long moment, and she saw his features distinctly. One more time, before the traffic jam cleared up, their eyes met, and she looked at him full in the face. Then she drove off and let the incident pass from her mind.

When the news of the assassination rocked the world, she recalled the incident of the truck and the unloading of the rifle. Here a comment must be made about Julia Mercer. She is a highly intelligent individual of obvious good character, the kind of witness whom any lawyer would feel fortunate to be able to call before a jury. Her conversion from the status of witness to nonwitness is a forceful commentary on the superstate's serene disregard of truth, on its contempt for the mind of the individual.

On Saturday, the day after the assassination and before Oswald's murder by Ruby, FBI agents showed Miss Mercer identification photographs. They lay in front of her perhaps two dozen pictures of men. Among them she recognized the driver of the truck from which the rifle was unloaded just past the knoll.

When the photograph was turned over by one of the agents she saw the man's name: Jack Ruby. She remembered the name afterward.[33]

She informed the agents that this was the driver of the truck from which the rifle was taken. When asked if the young man resembled Lee Oswald, whose face already was being hammered into history as the lone assassin, she replied that he did not resemble Oswald in any way. Apparently, the government, not satisfied with Oswald being merely the assassin at the rear, was seeking to have him firing from the front as well.

Two days after the assassination, Julia Mercer was watching television with her family when she saw the live telecast of Jack Ruby shooting Oswald in the stomach. She yelled to her family that this was the fellow who had been driving the pickup truck which had unloaded the young man with the rifle.

Even if the FBI had found her story unbelievable, which apparently was not the case since the agents produced his picture before he exploded into public view, certainly by noon Sunday Jack Ruby's action at police headquarters should have aroused some interest. The government's response, however, was not to take action on her statement, but instead, to alter her statement so as to make it meaningless.

First of all, her statement was changed to have it say that she was unable to recognize the driver of the truck. Had this alteration not been made, it would have been obvious to the world that the government had refrained from arresting Ruby until he had the opportunity to kill Lee Oswald. Had it been your picture and had you shot a duck out of season you would have been arrested in short order. Ruby, however, was not bothered. Like Ferrie, he possessed a special status in the eyes of the government agents.

Then her statement was altered further to have it say that the plain green truck was, instead, a green truck with AIR CONDITIONING printed in black on the sides. Of course, in the world of reality black print is not used on green trucks because it is then very nearly invisible, but in the world of illusion in which the federal government was conducting its investigation, one color was as good as another. The result was that many men wasted many hours trying to find a nonexistent "air-conditioning" truck.

Then the government's agents wrote up a "supplementary investigative report" dated November 28 to make it appear that on that later date Julia Ann Mercer was shown a photograph of Jack Ruby and could not identify him as the driver. The FBI understandably was modest about its speedy guess, 24 hours before he killed Oswald, that Ruby might have been more than a mere nightclub owner. Consequently, it changed the date when it showed her this photograph to five days later, thus altering the fact of its extremely unusual inaction with regard to Ruby. It is obvious that the bureau, undeniably efficient in ordinary matters, was cooperating meticulously with some unseen force.

The only entity which can cause the bureau to depart from its religious devotion to efficiency is another government agency. By protocol government agencies are especially cooperative with each other. In a coup d'état where a government agency is involved, it can be expected that such routine protocol will be followed to an exaggerated extent. The surviving department heads will be more interested in pleasing the authorities above them than in serving a dead man in a box.

To shore up the careful construction seeking to undo what Julia Mercer saw, seeking to remove Ruby's name from connection with the President's assassination, an affidavit was drawn up ostensibly given by Julia Ann Mercer to the Sheriff's office, and her name was signed to the affidavit. It was not, however, Julia Ann Mercer's signature. It was not even close to being her signature. The affidavit, which purports to confirm the altered FBI statement, is a government forgery.[34]

Had the FBI taken action on the Mercer identification of Ruby at Dealey Plaza, Ruby would have been arrested on Saturday, and he could not have killed Oswald on Sunday. However, in such case Lee Oswald's tongue would not have been stilled forever, and one of the world's greatest governments could not have exploited its tawdry pretense that a lonely little man killed the President of the United States and that in turn his own meaningless death brought justice to a full circle.

The government could not have allowed Oswald to survive because a live scapegoat sooner or later will scream the truth, and truth soon would become the government's mortal enemy. The scapegoat's death was preordained when the first shot rang out at Dealey Plaza. Even earlier, his death was preordained when he carried out in New Orleans his assignment of parading before the news cameras with pro-Castro signs.

There would be many deaths to come. Yet the greatest tragedy of all, surmounting any which might occur to any one individual, was what was happening to a government which once belonged to the people and to the people alone. No matter how great a nation's past might have been, once it falls under the control of corrupting power there is no crime which it is above committing. It commits its worst crimes always in the name of justice, but they are crimes against humanity nonetheless. Once a government has set its course in this direction, its very inculpability will rob it of the freedom of turning back.

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1. [↔] Paul B. Fay, *The Pleasure of His Company* (New York, Harper & Row, 1966), p. 190.
  2. [↔] Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
  3. [↔] *Ibid.*, pp. 803-8.
  4. [↔] William Attwood, *The Reds and the Blacks* (New York, Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 143-44.
  5. [↔] Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 896, 909.
  6. [↔] WR 407, 409.
  7. [↔] CE 1940.

8. [↔] Application on file in New Orleans District Attorney's Office.
9. [↔] CE 1941.
10. [↔] Confidential interview with New Orleans District Attorney's Office on February 18, 1967.
11. [↔] Interview of James Lewallen with James L. Alcock and Louis Ivon of New Orleans District Attorney's Office on February 19, 1967.
12. [↔] Interview of Melvin Coffee with John P. Volz of New Orleans District Attorney's Office on February 18, 1967.
13. [↔] *Philadelphia Inquirer* (January 19, 1970), p. 1.
14. [↔] William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, i, 3.
15. [↔] WR 336.
16. [↔] CE 2290; H, XV, 391.
17. [↔] WR 19.
18. [↔] H, XV, 351.
19. [↔] CE 2248, 2252.
20. [↔] H, V, 189.
21. [↔] CE 2307.
22. [↔] FBI Report of Robert P. Gemberling and Special Agent Carlos L. Kirby, Jr., re: David Ferrie, Dallas, December 18, 1963.
23. [↔] Interview of Julia Ann Mercer with Jim Garrison, New Orleans District Attorney on January 16, 1968.
24. [↔] New Orleans District Attorney's Office has obtained statements from several people who frequented Banister's office, the import of which statements is to this effect.
25. [↔] WR 802.
26. [↔] CE 1442-1443.
27. [↔] WR 369.
28. [↔] H, XIV, 334.
29. [↔] *Ibid.*, 346.
30. [↔] Lane, *Rush to Judgment*, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-97.
31. [↔] CE 2267.
32. [↔] CE 2307.
33. [↔] Interview of Julia Ann Mercer, January 16, 1968, *op. cit.*
34. [↔] *Ibid.*

9.

## NIGHTFALL

*Treason doth never prosper, what's the reason? For if it prosper, none dare call it treason.*

—MICHAEL FARRINGTON, *16th Century poet*

### *A Short Ride on Elm*

The lead cars in a parade must slow down after each turn. Otherwise an increasingly larger gap develops between the cars following, making the last car whip around the corners at a high rate of speed in order to catch up. The President's limousine had turned two corners in the last block as it arrived at Dealey Plaza, and Greer, the driver, had to slow it down even more. The car was moving at just a little over eleven miles an hour as it reached the Texas School Book Depository.[1]

Then it passed the old red brick book depository. The car was thirty feet past the building, then fifty. The rifle shots, clustered together like strung fire crackers, split the air. In six seconds it was all over.

Now the lies would begin. The government's lies would be unending, each failing lie shored up by two others, then six others, than a dozen. A galaxy of lies would be constructed to pacify the American people and to endeavor to confuse the rest of the world. Distinguished men from each branch of the government would authenticate the lies. The media would race each lie around the world, performing this service not because the media are evil but because it was inconceivable to the publishers and editors that the government of the United States of America had descended to a point where its leaders would lie in concert to conceal from the people the truth about the President's assassination.

But we had reached such a point, and no one—the men in government least of all—seemed able to cope with it.

Conversely, whenever the truth began to come into view, ever more certainly, the government would counterattack, denouncing each bearer of truth. As time went on, there were fewer and fewer men willing to bear the truth or even to discuss it.

The first shot struck John Kennedy in the front of his throat, and he tried to clutch at the wound with both hands.[2] The governor of Texas, sitting in front of him, started to turn and look back at him, when a shot from above and behind entered his back.[3]

As his wife testified before the Warren Commission, Governor Connally cried out: “My God! They’re going to kill us all!” Later, however, when subpoenaed by the New Orleans District Attorney’s Office, the governor issued a press release indicating that, after reflection, it was his conclusion that they were being shot at by a lone assassin.

The third shot struck the President in the back and caused him to fall forward slightly.[4] The evidence indicated that this shot came from a different point of origin than the shot which struck Governor Connally in the back, entering the President’s body at a different horizontal angle.[5]

Now, once more from the front, from the right front in the vicinity of the grassy knoll, came the final shot. The bullet tore off the top of the President’s head in a red spray of blood. A piece of his skull flew off and landed in the grass to the left rear of the limousine. The force of the shot threw the President violently backward onto Mrs. Kennedy who was at his left.[6]

Then it was all over.

The Secret Service, to the last man, stayed with the limousine and rode on to the hospital like inscrutable pallbearers.[7]

The book depository, an old building distinguished only by its unattractiveness, still had no connection with the fatal shot which had just struck the President from his right front. The depository was well behind the limousine at the time of the fatal shot and the United States had not yet begun its historic venture into the rewriting of history.

Among the two witnesses having the clearest view of what happened to the President of the United States were Richard Randolph Carr and William Newman. Carr was on the upper floor of a building which permitted him to look down on the scene. Newman was standing ten or fifteen feet away from the President’s limousine when the President received the fatal shot. Their observations of what happened to the President were representative of the majority of persons who observed the assassination. Inasmuch as the Warren Commission did not call either one of these men, calling instead those few witnesses who did not observe clearly what happened, parts of their testimony will be quoted in the interest of bringing to clear view the long-hidden truth.

What was seen and heard by Richard Randolph Carr, who was then standing on the seventh floor of an unfinished building a block away, conforms with what was seen and heard by most witnesses in a position to observe. Carr had an unusually good background to be a witness to gunfire, having served in combat with the Fifth Ranger Battalion in North Africa and at Anzio. Carr heard three shots coming from the grassy knoll, one right after another. He heard a fourth shot come from a completely different part of Dealey Plaza.

In considering Mr. Carr’s description of the locale, keep in mind that among the assembled

eyesores of Dealey Plaza was a long, white, cement arcade. The shots struck the President as his car passed in front of it. At the eastern end of the cement arcade was the book depository, to which the federal government would dedicate all its power in an effort to change the facts and convert the building into the assassin's lair. At the western end, toward the overpass, was the grassy knoll, in the vicinity of which Julia Ann Mercer had seen a young man with a rifle climb down from a truck driven by Jack Ruby.

Here is how Mr. Carr described the origin of the three shots at the New Orleans trial:

GARRISON: Can you recognize the cement arcade in the aerial photograph?

CARR: Yes.

GARRISON: Now, are you able to recall from which ends of the cement arcade the three shots came from? Was it from the end towards the Depository or the end towards the overpass?

CARR: At the end towards the overpass, right here.

GARRISON: Let the record show that Mr. Carr just indicated—would you point your ruler up there?—let the record show Mr. Carr is indicating an area on the grassy knoll in the vicinity of the picket fence.

THE COURT: Let it be noted in the record.[8]

Mr. Carr earlier had stated that, because of the picket fence and the dense foliage on the trees, it was impossible to see the men on the grassy knoll behind the fence. During the actual shooting, however, he did observe one of the bullets ripping through the grass of Dealey Plaza. Inasmuch as the bullet's path was virtually opposite to the route a bullet would take if fired by a lone assassin crouched in the book depository, the government's investigators did not welcome Mr. Carr with open arms.

In the superstate's self-serving view of reality, Carr might as well not have existed. Actually, government technicians took steps to treat him in such a way as to render him for practical purposes nonexistent.

GARRISON: Mr. Carr, did you talk to any FBI agents about this incident?

CARR: Yes, I did.

GARRISON: Did they tell you to forget about it?

DYMOND: I object to that as hearsay.

(defense counsel)

GARRISON: Were you threatened in any way?

THE COURT: I sustain the objection. You cannot tell us the words used by someone who spoke to you because of hearsay; however, you can state that you had conversations with them and what you did as a result of those conversations. I will permit that.

GARRISON: As the result of the conversations with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, what did

you do?

CARR: I done as I was instructed. I shut my mouth.

GARRISON: Were you called to testify before the Warren Commission?

CARR: No, sir.[9]

From his vantage point Carr was able to see men running from the scene and climbing into a station wagon on the side street by the depository. The car pulled off so fast that one door was still open and flapping as it left. Other witnesses saw men racing from the grassy knoll as soon as the shooting ended. One of them appeared to be carrying a headset, similar to that used in radio communications.[10] J. C. Price, the man who gave the Dallas police an affidavit as to the headset, was ignored completely by the Warren Commission.

As the sounds of the shots died down, the men and women in the vicinity of the President's limousine ran toward the grassy knoll. By the time they reached the knoll, the drama was in full operation. One of the first to arrive was a police officer. He immediately began questioning a man he encountered in the vicinity, but he was shown Secret Service credentials. The questioning ended. [11] A short time afterward, Sergeant D. V. Harkness, inspecting the rear of the book depository, found: "There were some Secret Service Agents there. I didn't get them identified. They told me they were Secret Service Agents." [12]

It was later learned that [no Secret Service agent stayed at the scene of the shooting](#). All the Secret Service men had gone with the motorcade to Parkland Hospital. Forrest V. Sorrels, special agent in charge of the Dallas office, was the first Secret Service agent to return to the scene of the assassination approximately 20 or 25 minutes after the shots were fired. The appearance of men with apparently legitimate Secret Service credentials at key points in Dealey Plaza had the effect of stopping any effective search for the riflemen before it could be started. The impersonation of a Secret Service agent is a federal crime, but the Warren Commission saw nothing to interest it in the behavior of those men on the deadly knoll.

Like Richard Randolph Carr, William Newman seems to have so clearly seen what really happened to John Kennedy that the Warren Commission was forced to pretend that he also did not exist. Newman, his wife and child were standing on the grass just in front of the knoll. He testified that the shots were coming from the knoll area right behind him.[13] In fact, he and his family threw themselves on the ground to avoid being hit by the fusillade.

Newman's testimony made it clear that the fatal shot caused the President to fall backward and away from the grassy knoll from which the shots were being fired:

GARRISON: Just tell us what you observed.

NEWMAN: Well, I observed his ear flying off, and he turned just real white and then blood red,

and the President, when the third shot hit him he just went stiff like a board and fell over to his left in his wife's lap, and I told my wife, "That is it, hit the ground," and that is when we hit the ground because I thought the shots were coming over our heads. And then I looked back and I saw Mrs. Kennedy jumping up on the back end of the car and the Secret Service man or whoever it was into the car, and then they shot on off, took off.

GARRISON: Approximately how far were you from the President when the third shot hit him?

NEWMAN: I was the width of one lane, approximately 10 or 15 feet. I was standing on the curb's edge, edge of the curb. They were in the second lane.

GARRISON: What was the reaction which you observed to the President's head on the third shot?

NEWMAN: The only reaction that I can recall—I don't recall whether his head went back or forward, but I do recall when the impact hit him that he just stiffened and he went to the left, real hard to the left and into her lap, and—

GARRISON: From your position, did he come toward you or away from you?

NEWMAN: He went away from me.

GARRISON: Did you give any statement to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

NEWMAN: Yes, sir, I did, and also the Sheriffs Office after the assassination. A news reporter carried me to the FAA, and then from that point went to the Sheriff's Office and I give a written statement.

GARRISON: Were you called as a witness to the Warren Commission?

NEWMAN: No, sir, I wasn't.[14]

The remnants of the parade pulled up in front of the deserted emergency entrance at Parkland Hospital. It was a caravan of disaster and confusion. One of the President's feet hung over the right side of the long convertible while his head bled onto his wife's lap. She held him closely, as the aides and Secret Service men fanned out in search of the emergency room and hospital personnel.

They rolled him into Trauma Room One. This would be the last place where the truth would be sought about him, where he would be examined by men of medicine who were relatively free of the fear of military power above them. Doctors Ronald Jones and Charles Carrico observed the neck wound and later described it in their reports as a frontal wound. Not one of the civilian doctors who examined the President at Parkland Hospital regarded his throat wound as anything but a wound of entry.[15]

Dr. John McClelland examined Kennedy after his death. That afternoon he made out the official cause of death statement. The cause of death, he wrote down, was a "massive head and brain injury from a gunshot wound of the left temple." [16] Dr. Marion T. Jenkins later also recalled seeing a gunshot wound in the President's left temple.[17] It was the impression of a few doctors, when questioned later, that they saw an entrance wound, but in any event if it was a wound it was one of entry in the front of the head. The doctors found no wounds of entry in the back of the head—but

these were civilian doctors, uncorrupted by fear of high rank. The substitution of fiction for fact would have to wait until the body was moved into the controlled environment of the Bethesda Naval Hospital in Washington.

While the President still lived, the Parkland Hospital doctors tried a tracheotomy. They tried everything conceivable; still, his life faded away, for the top of his head and part of his brain were gone. All of the doctors' efforts, and all of the hopes and prayers of those who loved him, could not undo what had been done to him.

The President's breathing grew steadily fainter. His heart stopped. And so he died there in Trauma Room One, his head and clothes covered with blood.

*The day may come when time seems to hang suspended, when weeds cover our deserted streets and when the only sound is the arrogant squeak of the rat swarms, eager now for their turn at evolution. Someone from a distant place, searching through our artifacts, may chance upon a human skull. Perhaps he will pick it up, looking through the goggled sockets at the dusty hollow where a handful of gray tissue once took the measure of the universe.*

*"Alas, poor man," he might say. "A fellow of most infinite jest, of most excellent fancy. Where are your gibbets now? Your thumbscrews and your gallows? Your treasured hates and your fond cruelties?"*

*"What happened to your disinterested millions? Your uncommitted and uninvolved, your preoccupied and bored? Where are their private horizons and their mirrored worlds of self? Where is their splendid indifference today?"*

*"Now you can be silent forever."*

### *Good News from Washington*

The official explanation for the incredibly early swearing in of the new President was that after the occurrence of such a disaster as the shooting of the President there was no way for any man to divine what was happening. The ship of state should not be left unmanned at the helm when foreign attack could come within hours, even minutes. Ever mindful of the great risk to the nation, Lyndon Johnson stayed on the telephone until he found a U.S. District Judge who could be brought over to swear him in. The ceremony was held on *Air Force One*.

Once the President was sworn in, however, the prospects for the nation's survival appeared to have brightened considerably.

The only danger to which the new President seems to have been exposed was the rapid takeoff from

Love Field of *Air Force One*. Under the law of Texas an inquest had to be held, and the approval of the Dallas County Medical Examiner was needed before a body which had died an unnatural death could be removed.

Back at Parkland Hospital the contingent of men with the new President had been told of this rule, but they ignored it. It is doubtful if any body was ever rolled out of Parkland Hospital any faster. When a coup d'état has occurred there is a big difference between an autopsy performed by civilian doctors and one performed by doctors working for the government. This is all the more the case when the government has announced that the deed was done by a lone assassin crouched behind the President while gunshot wounds appear to have been inflicted on the front as well as the back of the President's body.

By the time the last carload of prospective passengers for *Air Force One* had arrived, the plane had taxied over to the runway. *Air Force One* waited only long enough for the late arrivals to climb aboard before taking off and heading northeast. The departure of *Air Force One* from Love Field that Friday afternoon was not so much a takeoff as it was a getaway.

The federal investigation of the President's murder would take many months. There would be many witnesses to question and much evidence to be photographed and collected. Nevertheless, the military announced the solution of the case that afternoon.

This solution was contrary to the laws of physics, violated all reason and contradicted the evidence. No matter. The government of the United States immediately adopted the military's announcement as its own solution. Thereafter, the objective of investigation was to show how true the military's solution was. Evidence to the contrary was disregarded. If evidence to the contrary was made public, it was discredited by authoritative government pronouncements. Some witnesses who saw things which contradicted the government's early-born solution became strangely silent. Others were killed.

The lightning solution of the military was announced late Friday afternoon, while confusion still dominated the benumbed Dallas law enforcement community.

*Air Force One* left behind the flat land of east Texas and passed over the rolling hills and woods of Arkansas, still climbing because of reports of bad weather ahead. The exact time of arrival was given as 6:00 P.M., Washington, D.C., time.[18] As the plane passed over Memphis, it approached the first fringes of night.

Then came the radio transmission, cool and matter of fact, reaching the plane from the White House Communications Center in Washington. The passengers were given the reassuring news that there was no conspiracy, and they were informed about Oswald's identity and arrest.[19]

This was a pattern which would be seen more and more in the 1960's. An opponent of the Vietnam War would die a violent death. Then, before the investigation was underway, even before the funeral, there would come the announcement from Washington that there had been no conspiracy.

It is hard to strip our minds of all that we have learned or heard in the years since November, 1963. Consequently, it is hard to believe there was a time when there were still other suspects, a time when Lee Oswald did not own the title of sole suspect as the lone assassin. However, there was a period as late as early Saturday, the day following the assassination, when confusion was still predominant, and it was not yet clear that the assassin was Oswald and Oswald alone. It was plain enough that he had been designated the official quarry, but it was not yet plain that there were to be no accomplices.

Back in Dallas, at the time of the radio transmission from the military to *Air Force One* announcing that there was no conspiracy, the men in law enforcement had not yet reached the conclusion that everything had been done by one man to the exclusion of all others. Oswald, for example, was not charged with the killing of the President until early Saturday morning, and even then the thought of many was that there could be others. In Saturday's edition of the *Dallas Morning News*, the District Attorney was quoted as saying that "... preliminary reports indicated that more than one person was involved in the shooting".[20]

Yet on Friday afternoon, the Communications Center in the White House [radioed to \*Air Force One\* that there was no conspiracy](#), that there was only one assassin and he was Lee Oswald. This was more than a mere premature announcement. This was to be the official government line, from which it would never deviate, even though there was no evidence to support it at the time it was made. On the contrary, the evidence was quite to the opposite effect: the vast majority of witnesses had heard the shooting from the grassy knoll, and Oswald had been nowhere near there. Furthermore, the witnesses in a position to see had observed a number of men in flight as soon as the shooting ended.[21] The people of the United States were being fooled and our military chieftains had taken the lead in fooling them. The other agencies of the government, as well as the other leaders of the government when their turns came, would join them in fooling the people.

Such an announcement of no conspiracy prior to six o'clock on Friday evening was far and away too early to be possible under the circumstances. This must be recognized as nothing less than a major fraud, the first of many to come. Remember that there existed not the slightest practical liaison between the military and evidence of any kind. Ordinarily they could not be expected to know what the weight of the evidence was until several days later, when they read about it in the paper. The military leadership of the United States had entered the business of announcing, not what the news was, but what by their fiat it was going to be.

The announcement of the Joint Chiefs of Staff while Oswald still was being questioned that there

was no conspiracy and no one else was involved in the President's murder indicated an ability to foresee the future rarely demonstrated by the military profession. Had they applied the same prescience to the Vietnam War, they might have been able to see that we would have more than a quarter of a million casualties and having no business there in the first place, they might not have dragged us into Southeast Asia.

Nothing so completely indicates the premature confidence of the federal government in its control over the minds of Americans as its handling of the Presidential limousine. Ordinarily the car in which a man has been murdered is carefully left untouched and kept as a most important piece of evidence. Bloodstains, bullet holes and bullet fragments are of immeasurable value in helping to reconstruct what happened. In the case of the President's murder there was a good likelihood that a study of the limousine would have helped to indicate how many gunmen were involved and from what directions they were shooting. Once again the federal government demonstrated that it wanted these questions to remain unanswered. Instead of being examined and photographed, the car was washed out with buckets of water and was sent back to the Ford Motor Company, where the inside was completely rebuilt.[22]

Radio transmissions between the Communications Center of the White House and *Air Force One* are monitored and recorded by the Signal Corps Midwestern Center. In a genuinely free society, therefore, it might be expected that a copy of the tape of the exceptionally early announcement that there was no conspiracy could be obtained. However, an attempt to obtain the tape itself was met with the reply from the Air Force that the tapes were for official use only and were not releasable.

Either the Joint Chiefs had suddenly acquired a remarkable prescience, or else they had an advance copy of the scenario.

### *No Cause for Alarm*

The government's lies about the President's murder now would come in steady succession. They would be bold and arrogant lies backed by high authority, demonstrably impossible lies being hammered into history by repetition in the press. The first autopsy notes, which would be made the very night of the assassination, later would be burned by Commander James J. Humes. The holes in the President's body and the directions from which they came, as described in the original notes, quite apparently seem not to have fit the government's explanation of what happened. This conflict appears to have been resolved when Humes burned his autopsy notes. Not long afterward Humes was promoted by the military to higher rank, presumably for service beyond the call of duty.

*Air Force One* landed in the drizzle at Andrews Air Force Base. Back in Dallas, almost at this very hour, Jack Ruby was at police headquarters, trying to get into the homicide office on the third floor where Oswald was still being questioned. He had a sack full of sandwiches which he had bought for

the officers, but the men stationed at the door refused to let him in. Nor did they respond to the reporter's badge which he had somehow obtained and which he wore on his lapel. Nor were they impressed by the reporter's notebook which he ostentatiously carried.[23]

Masquerades seem to have been the order of the weekend. Although no Secret Service agents stayed on the scene of the shooting at Dealey Plaza, Sergeant D. V. Harkness and Patrolman J. M. Smith encountered men who identified themselves as Secret Service agents but who were not with the Secret Service. Later there were voices heard on the police radio—voices which were not those of any members of the Dallas Police Department but which gave early descriptions, incriminatingly premature descriptions, of Lee Oswald. In addition, there would soon occur an autopsy which was less than a real autopsy.

When *Air Force One* landed, the coffin bearing John Kennedy's body was removed from the back of the plane by an automatic hoist. Robert Kennedy, who had come to meet the plane, and Mrs. Kennedy, her pink dress covered with dried blood, went down on the hoist with the coffin.

The new President, his face revealing the grave preoccupations of state which now burdened him, went down the front steps of the plane with his aides. It was a different scene, indeed it was a different world, than when *Air Force One* last had left Washington. Now Lyndon Johnson was a world leader, and John Kennedy was a cadaver for whom the pathologists at the United States Naval Hospital at Bethesda waited.

The dead President then began the trip to Maryland to the hospital at Bethesda. Around the country, the media continued its frantic coverage of the preposterous, still unbelievable day in Dallas. Yet the government itself appeared to be functioning in a state bordering on apathy. In retrospect, it is very likely that the Parkland diagnosis of the throat wound as an entrance wound was keeping some men in a high state of anxiety, but no such concern could be seen by the general public or the news media. As later events would demonstrate, there was enough power available now to solve this or any other problems which might arise.

Why was there no public fear that the assassination was only the first blow, to be followed by military action from some enemy? For years during the cold war we had been told of the devastating capabilities of our enemies, of their evil intentions; we had responded by providing billions and billions of dollars for defense. The possibility of such an enemy attack, in fact, had been the rationale for the swearing in of Lyndon Johnson aboard *Air Force One* before it took off from Love Field. How, even before the investigation was underway, did the government know that this disaster was not the beginning of one of the great cataclysms which, we had been told, might descend upon us without warning and destroy us all?

There was no sealing off of the transportation facilities out of Dallas. Nor was there a blocking off

of the exits from the country.

Ordinarily, when the head of the government is assassinated, a nation responds by blocking off its borders so that the assassins cannot flee to a distant haven. In spite of the clear evidence on the afternoon of November 22 that a number of men were involved in the President's assassination, no such action was taken at any time. The failure to respond in the normal manner was one of many indications that the United States government neither feared the assassins nor desired to have them caught.

When an assassination is a chance occurrence caused by a random individual, the government has an uncomplicated interest in letting the facts be known and bringing the man who killed the Chief of State to the full measure of justice. When, however, it is a political execution accomplished by a power elite within the government, making the truth available to the people and seeking to bring to justice the men who caused it may present unacceptable complications to the government. Accordingly, the occurrence of a coup d'état, no matter how well it might have been camouflaged, may be identified to some extent by a disproportionate lack of interest on the part of the government in blocking its borders and in conducting an honest, aggressive investigation into the facts behind the murder of the Chief of State.

Historically, when a coup d'état is successful the force which initiated the removal of the fallen leader becomes the dominant force in the government. The fact that a government department bears the euphemistic label of Justice does not mean that overnight it will turn into a suicide battalion. As in the case of all other agencies, its leaders respond not to a dead man buried in a box but to the newly dominant forces. Their slogan becomes: "The king is dead. Long live the new king."

Consequently, there occurs the phenomenon in which the "Justice" Department and other government agencies devote their efforts, not to bringing out the truth about the assassination, but to concealing it and counterattacking those who do seek the truth. When the subsequent assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy would occur, the Justice Department would be announcing the absence of conspiracy as the bodies hit the ground.

The surviving officials and heads of agencies predictably will band together in the defense of the power elite which accomplished the assassination, because the failure to orient toward the new center of authority will mean their replacement. Thus do the most highly reputed agencies bring into the service of the successful planners of an assassination not merely allegiance but all the credit and honor they have accumulated over the years. These agencies, respected by the press and public for historical reasons, are then available to help obstruct any independent inquiry into the facts of the assassination. In the case of an unauthorized assassination, their search for the assassins is rationalized on the basis of justice. In the case of an authorized assassination, their obstruction of the search for the assassins is rationalized on the ground of national security.

## *In the Dark of the Night*

The autopsy of President Kennedy was held at the United States Naval Hospital at Bethesda, Maryland, in a small room crowded with generals and admirals. Although there were questions in the minds of millions of Americans which this autopsy could have answered, they were left unanswered. In fact, the autopsy was never completed.

The bullet wound in the neck—that wound which would have confirmed beyond any conjecture the testimony of the many witnesses who heard the shooting from in front of the President—was never examined at the autopsy. It will be recalled that a complete inquest of the President, as required by Texas law, was prevented in Dallas by rushing his body to *Air Force One* and taking off before the Dallas County Coroner could get to the body. All of the evidence prior to the time when the military obtained control of John Kennedy's body indicated that a bullet had entered the front of the neck and never exited from the back of the neck. This meant that there was a very real possibility that the bullet even yet was lodged in the thick extension of the spine which forms the center of the neck. Normally, an autopsy probes all such wounds to determine the direction of entry, obtain the bullet itself and ascertain a variety of other facts. As time went on the directions from which the different shots originated became an even more pressing question, but by then the concrete had been poured over John Kennedy's grave.

Immediately following the assassination, the doctors at Parkland Hospital had diagnosed the President's neck wound as an "anterior" wound, received in the front of the neck. The long concealed Zapruder film shows the President distinctly reacting as if the neck wound were received in the front.[24] Yet the world had been told that there was only one assassin and that he was in the book depository to the President's rear.

A probe of the neck wound by the pathologists in the Bethesda autopsy room would have revealed which way the truth lay. In retrospect, it is easy to see that this is precisely why no such probe was allowed. The neck wound, with the indications of a bullet entry but no exit, was to be the last real hurdle for the planners of the assassination. Afterward, the federal government would seize control of the investigation despite its complete lack of legal authority and that would be, in more ways than one, the end of the matter.

It was five years after the assassination, at the trial in New Orleans, that it was learned that the neck wound had never been examined. Colonel Pierre Finck, the Army pathologist subpoenaed from Washington by the District Attorney's office, had an unusually retentive memory for details. He simply could not recall, however, who ordered the pathologists not to look at the wound in the neck. [25] Considering the historic occasion and considering the implications of such a strange order, one would think he would never forget the man who issued this command. Finck was able to remember

that the man was a general and that he was not a doctor, but then his memory failed him.

Finck was one of the pathologists who had conducted the autopsy. One of the other pathologists, Commander Humes, afterward had burned his autopsy notes, contrary to medical custom.[26]

The government's pathologist was pressed on this point by the New Orleans District Attorney's office. His questioning was conducted in behalf of the District Attorney's office by Alvin Oser, the Executive Assistant District Attorney.

OSER: Well, at that particular time, Doctor, why didn't you call the doctors at Parkland or attempt to ascertain what the doctors at Parkland may have done or may have seen while the President's body was still exposed to view on the autopsy table?

DR. FINCK: I will remind you that I was not in charge of this autopsy, that I was called—

OSER: You were a co-author of the report though, weren't you, Doctor?

DR. FINCK: Wait. I was called as a consultant to look at these wounds; that doesn't mean I am running the show.

OSER: Was Dr. Humes running the show?

DR. FINCK: Well, I heard Dr. Humes stating that—he said, "Who is in charge here?" and I heard an Army General, I don't remember his name, stating, "I am." You must understand that in those circumstances, there were law enforcement officers, military people with various ranks, and you have to coordinate the operation according to directions.

OSER: But you were one of the three qualified pathologists standing at that autopsy table, were you not. Doctor?

DR. FINCK: Yes, I was.

OSER: Was this Army General a qualified pathologist?

DR. FINCK: No.

OSER: Was he a doctor?

DR. FINCK: No, not to my knowledge.

OSER: Can you give me his name, Colonel?

DR. FINCK: No, I can't. I don't remember.

OSER: Do you happen to have the photographs and X-rays taken of President Kennedy's body at the time of the autopsy and shortly thereafter? Do you?

DR. FINCK: I do not have X-rays or photographs of President Kennedy with me.[27]

....

OSER: How many other military personnel were present at the autopsy in the autopsy room?

DR. FINCK: That autopsy room was quite crowded. It is a small autopsy room, and when you are called in circumstances like that to look at the wound of the President of the United States who is dead, you don't look around too much to ask people for their names and take notes on who they are and how many there are. I did not do so. The room was crowded with military and civilian

personnel and federal agents, Secret Service agents, FBI agents, for part of the autopsy, but I cannot give you a precise breakdown as regards the attendance of the people in that autopsy room at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

OSER: Colonel, did you feel that you had to take orders from this Army General that was there directing the autopsy?

DR. FINCK: No, because there were others, there were Admirals.

OSER: There were Admirals?

DR. FINCK: Oh, yes, there were Admirals, and when you are a Lieutenant Colonel in the Army you just follow orders, and at the end of the autopsy we were specifically told—as I recall it, it was by Admiral Kenney, the Surgeon General of the Navy—this is subject to verifications—we were specifically told not to discuss the case.[28]

Now Oser began to press the Army pathologist. Observe Dr. Finck's rapid backpedaling in this sensitive area.

OSER: Did you have an occasion to dissect the track of that particular bullet in the victim as it lay on the autopsy table?

DR. FINCK: I did not dissect the track in the neck.

OSER: Why?

DR. FINCK: This leads us into the disclosure of medical records.

OSER: Your Honor, I would like an answer from the Colonel and I would ask the Court so to direct.

THE COURT: That is correct, you should answer, Doctor.

DR. FINCK: We didn't remove the organs of the neck.

OSER: Why not. Doctor?

DR. FINCK: For the reason that we were told to examine the head wounds and that the—

OSER: Are you saying someone told you not to dissect the track?

THE COURT: Let him finish his answer.

DR. FINCK: I was told that the family wanted an examination of the head, as I recall, the head and chest, but the prosecutors in this autopsy didn't remove the organs of the neck, to my recollection.

OSER: You have said they did not, I want to know why didn't you as an autopsy pathologist attempt to ascertain the track through the body which you had on the autopsy table in trying to ascertain the cause or causes of death? Why?

DR. FINCK: I had the cause of death.

OSER: Why did you not trace the track of the wound?

DR. FINCK: As I recall I didn't remove these organs from the neck.

OSER: I didn't hear you.

DR. FINCK: I examined the wounds but I didn't remove the organs of the neck.

OSER: You said you didn't do this; I am asking you why you didn't do this as a pathologist?

DR. FINCK: From what I recall I looked at the trachea, there was a tracheotomy wound the best I can remember, but I didn't dissect or remove these organs.

OSER: Your Honor, I would ask Your Honor to direct the witness to answer my question.

I will ask you the question one more time: Why did you not dissect the track of the bullet wound that you have described today and you saw at the time of the autopsy at the time you examined the body? Why? I ask you to answer that question.

DR. FINCK: As I recall I was told not to, but I don't remember by whom.

OSER: You were told not to but you don't remember by whom?

DR. FINCK: Right.

OSER: Could it have been one of the Admirals or one of the Generals in the room?

DR. FINCK: I don't recall.

OSER: Do you have any particular reason why you cannot recall at this time?

DR. FINCK: Because we were told to examine the head and the chest cavity, and that doesn't include the removal of the organs of the neck.

OSER: You are one of the three autopsy specialists and pathologists at the time, and you saw what you described as an entrance wound in the neck area of the President of the United States who had just been assassinated, and you were only interested in the other wound but not interested in the track through his neck, is that what you are telling me?

DR. FINCK: I was interested in the track and I had observed the conditions of bruising between the point of entry in the back of the neck and the point of exit at the front of the neck, which is entirely compatible with the bullet path.

OSER: But you were told not to go into the area of the neck, is that your testimony?

DR. FINCK: From what I recall, yes, but I don't remember by whom.[29]

Now we arrive at an area where Dr. Finck, whose recollection of details is usually exquisite, becomes inexplicably vague. This is Dr. Finck's second day of testimony.

OSER: Can you give me the name of the General that you said told Dr. Humes not to talk about the autopsy report?

DR. FINCK: This was not a General, it was an Admiral.

OSER: All right, excuse me, the Admiral, can you give me the name of the Admiral?

DR. FINCK: Who stated that we were not to discuss the autopsy findings?

OSER: Yes.

DR. FINCK: This was in the autopsy room on the 22nd and 23rd of November, 1963.

OSER: What was his name?

DR. FINCK: Well, there were several people in charge, there were several Admirals, and, as I recall, the Adjutant General of the Navy.

OSER: Do you have a name, Colonel?

DR. FINCK: It was Admiral Kinney, K-i-n-n-e-y, as I recall.

OSER: Now, can you give me the name then of the General that was in charge of the autopsy, as you testified about?

DR. FINCK: Well, there was no General in charge of the autopsy. There were several people, as I have stated before. I heard Dr. Humes state who was in charge here, and he stated that the General answered "I am," it may have been pertaining to operations other than the autopsy, it does not mean the Army General was in charge of the autopsy, but when Dr. Humes asked who was in charge here, it may have been who was in charge of the operations, but not of the autopsy, and by "operations," I mean the over-all supervision.

OSER: Which includes your report. Does it not?

DR. FINCK: Sir?

OSER: Which includes your report? Does it not?

DR. FINCK: No.

OSER: It does not.

DR. FINCK: I would not say so, because the report I signed was signed by two other pathologists and at no time did this Army General say that he would have anything to do with signing this autopsy report.

OSER: Can you give me the Army General's name?

DR. FINCK: I don't remember it.

OSER: How did you know he was an Army General?

DR. FINCK: Because Dr. Humes said so.

OSER: Was he in uniform?

DR. FINCK: I don't remember.

OSER: Were any of the Admirals or Generals or any of the Military in uniform in that autopsy room?

DR. FINCK: Yes.

OSER: Were there any other Generals in uniform?

DR. FINCK: I remember a Brigadier General of the Air Force but I don't remember his name.

OSER: Were there any Admirals in uniform in the autopsy room?

DR. FINCK: From what I remember, Admiral Galloway was in uniform, I don't remember whether or not Admiral Berkley, the President's physician, was in uniform.[30]

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1. [[↔](#)] [WR 48](#).
  2. [[↔](#)] [CE 885](#), [Zapruder frame 226](#).
  3. [[↔](#)] *Ibid.*, [Zapruder frames 234-37](#).
  4. [[↔](#)] *Ibid.*, [Zapruder frame 312](#).

5. [↔] [CE 397](#), p. 45; [CE 679](#), 680.
6. [↔] [CE 885](#), Zapruder frames 314-34.
7. [↔] [WR 52](#).
8. [↔] *State of Louisiana v. Clay L. Shaw*, [testimony of Richard R. Carr](#), February 19, 1969.
9. [↔] *Ibid.*
10. [↔] [Decker Exhibit 5323](#), [H, XIX](#), 492.
11. [↔] [H, VII](#), 535.
12. [↔] [H, VI](#), 312.
13. [↔] *State of Louisiana v. Clay L. Shaw*, [testimony of William Newman](#), February 17, 1969.
14. [↔] *Ibid.*
15. [↔] Salandria, “A Philadelphia Lawyer ...,” *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17.
16. [↔] [WR 526](#), 527.
17. [↔] [H, VI](#), 48.
18. [↔] White, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
19. [↔] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
20. [↔] *Dallas Morning News* (November 23, 1963), [Section 4](#), p. 5.
21. [↔] *State of Louisiana v. Clay Shaw*, [testimony of Richard R. Carr](#), February 19, 1969.
22. [↔] [CD 3](#).
23. [↔] [H, XIII](#), 187-89; [CE 2424](#).
24. [↔] [CE 885](#), Zapruder frames 189-312.
25. [↔] *State of Louisiana v. Clay L. Shaw*, [testimony of Pierre A. Finck](#), February 25, 1969.
26. [↔] [H, XVII](#), 48.
27. [↔] *State of Louisiana v. Clay L. Shaw*, [testimony of Pierre A. Finck](#), February 24, 1967, pp. 48-49.
28. [↔] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-16.
29. [↔] *Ibid.*
30. [↔] *Ibid.*, February 25, 1970, pp. 5-8.

10.

## THE WAR MACHINE

*The means of defense against foreign danger historically have become the instruments of tyranny at home.*

—JAMES MADISON

### *After the Eulogy*

One of the most remarkable accomplishments of the Roman Emperor Augustus has been said to be that he maintained the form of the republic for the people to see while actually transferring ever more power to the armed forces. This well may be history's judgment of Lyndon Johnson, who repeatedly recited his craving for peace while hundreds of thousands of combat troops were flown to Vietnam.

On Sunday afternoon, two days after John Kennedy's assassination, the new President met with the ambassador to South Vietnam in the Executive Office Building. Lyndon Johnson had just come from the Rotunda of the Capitol where a moving eulogy had just been rendered for John Kennedy. The body of the late President still rested on the black-draped catafalque at the Rotunda of the Capitol.

The new President informed the ambassador that he was not going to lose Vietnam, that he was not going to see Southeast Asia to go the way China went.[1] This was nothing less than a complete reversal of the policy of withdrawal which had been announced and put into action by the late President whose body still lay in state at the Capitol. It contemplated nothing less than the inevitable involvement of major U.S. forces in Asia, inasmuch as it had long been apparent that the South Vietnamese forces could not hold their own against the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese.

Even before John Kennedy had been buried, then, the decision had been made for our major involvement in Asia. Had the United States government been an innocent party with regard to President Kennedy's murder—which the available evidence, as well as its own conduct, its effort to conceal evidence and obstruct outside inquiry, indicate was not the case—such a decision would have required an infinitely longer period of evaluation and analysis. The decision to reverse John Kennedy's plan for withdrawal from Vietnam would not have been reversed with such immodest speed.

The final evidence of reversal of the American withdrawal from Vietnam, which had been planned by President Kennedy, came in the new President's New Year's message to General Duong Van

Minh on January 2, 1964: “The United States will continue to furnish you and your people with the fullest measure of support in the bitter fight.... We shall maintain in Vietnam American personnel and material as needed to assist you in achieving victory.”

It would not be long before American troops would be flown into Vietnam in great volume. John Kennedy’s contemplated withdrawal from Vietnam was to be reversed 180 degrees. The military, it would develop, readily adjusted to the President’s assassination.

Meanwhile, at the outset of the Warren Commission’s inquiry, two occurrences threatened to upset the commission’s equanimity.

First, it was learned that the Attorney General of Texas was getting ready to start an independent investigation in behalf of the state of Texas. This was hardly part of the federal government’s game plan, and it was forestalled by a statement from Chief Justice Warren to the Attorney General of Texas stating that such an inquiry would interfere with the federal investigation, a remarkable legal observation inasmuch as Texas had legal jurisdiction with regard to the President’s murder, whereas the federal government had none whatsoever.[2] From the beginning, from snatching the President’s body from Dallas before the Texas coroner could see it to the dreamlike investigation of the assassination, the federal government was maintaining a rigid control over every aspect of the situation.

The information was transmitted to the commission that Waggoner Carr, the Texas Attorney General, and Henry Wade, the Dallas District Attorney, had evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald had been an intelligence employee of the United States government. This resulted in the emergency meeting of the commission late on the afternoon of January 22, 1964, to hear out the two Texas officials on their evidence of Oswald’s government connections.

However, nothing more was forthcoming about this from the government. Its answer to any questions would come in the form of a change in foreign policy. In August, the Tonkin Gulf Resolution was obtained from Congress, authorizing the President to take whatever military action he desired to protect American troops. As a practical matter, the authority to make this decision ended up in the hands of the military itself, making it quite predictable that it would be found necessary to take action to protect the troops. This has a very decent sound about it, because no one likes to think of unprotected troops, but if Kennedy’s policy had not been reversed and if the American expeditionary forces had not been flown into Vietnam, it would not be necessary to protect them from anyone.

In retrospect, it is apparent that what was under way was the classic buildup of the warfare state. Ultimately, the provocative incident occurs or is caused to occur and paternal concern forces the larger country to defend its troops.

In this instance, the incident concerned the possible firing of torpedos at two American destroyers, the *Maddox* and the *Turner Joy*. According to later accounts there was no observation of any torpedos, but only an evanescent indication on sonar screens that torpedos might have been fired. The entire affair bore the distinct aroma of a military and intelligence tableau. Nevertheless, it was sufficient for the President to appear before Congress and request the power to prevent further aggression against American armed forces.

There would be no action yet, however, because in November President Johnson would run for reelection and a major plank in his platform would be to seek peace. In the meantime, the military had obtained the *carte blanche* it wanted. Congressional authority now had given the President the right to enter combat with North Vietnam, a right he would transfer to the Pentagon in the form of a right to “repel armed attack” and to “prevent further aggression.”

### *The Open Road to War*

The warfare state operates at two different levels. This is necessary because the interests of the power elite frequently are unrelated to the interests of the people at large. There is what might be called the practical level, which is usually hidden from the view of the populace, and the lovable level, arranged for all to see.

The napalm bombing of a Vietnam village is an operation conducted on the practical level. A 30 second television advertisement for peace, paid for by the same government that is using the napalm, is an operation conducted at the lovable level.

The execution of President Kennedy was an operation conducted at the practical level. He was blocking the thrust of the Pax Americana. He was bringing to an end the cold war, the existence of which was the source of power for the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency.

The magnificent military funeral held for him three days later was an operation conducted on the lovable level. The government was demonstrating to the people that they lived in the best of all possible superstates.

Soon the United States government would be engaged in two major projects. At the lovable level for all the world to see were the Warren Commission hearings, presided over by the silver-haired Chief Justice. At this level the government was playing the role of an anxious parent, seeking to find an answer to the mystifying murder of its late President. Meanwhile, at the practical level the government would undertake a massive buildup of an American expeditionary army in Vietnam. The buildup would continue until more than half a million troops had been sent there.

If a modern Rip Van Winkle who had been asleep for a quarter of a century were to observe the huge American expedition that soon was to pour into Asia, he very likely would conclude that this

did not necessarily mean a commitment to war in Asia. He would conclude that only Congress can declare war. And he would be wrong.

The power of Congress to initiate war had been transferred, in advance of any apparent need, into the hands of the President. The early request, the presence of a condition and the absence of imminent likelihood of commitment had caused many members of Congress to go along with the modest request. Furthermore, there had been a patriotic factor. The President had asked merely that American troops be allowed to defend themselves if attacked.

Actually, however, Congress was being manipulated. This is how the war machine operates. Behind the seeming concern for national security are the busy men with bulging briefcases hurrying from the Pentagon over to Capitol Hill, the tight-mouthed men hurrying from CIA headquarters over to the Pentagon; it is eventually a game. It is an operation designed to produce for the warfare sector and its military hardware supporters billions of dollars annually and unlimited power in the affairs of the nation.

Since the end of World War II the United States has spent a thousand billion dollars—one trillion dollars—furnished by the American people, who have been colonized by these men and their hunger for power. Could the CIA kill a President to keep such an operation going? Kings have been beheaded for infinitely less.

Approximately a month after President Kennedy's assassination, former [President Harry Truman made the observation](#) that the CIA appeared to be engaged in activities far beyond the scope initially intended for it. This was something of an understatement.

Each time the American government has tried to explain what it is doing in Vietnam it produces a different explanation. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution seemed to say that we were in Vietnam in order for our troops to defend themselves if attacked while there. Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk stated that we were in Vietnam because China now had nuclear weapons and we did not know what she would be doing ten years from now. However, when we went into Vietnam, China did not have a nuclear capability. Furthermore, if this kind of thinking has any validity, we may soon have to maintain expeditionary armies all over the world. President Nixon, somewhat more elusive, has explained that we are in Vietnam in order to see that a just peace is brought about in that corner of the world. Our interest in a just peace may be evaluated by the fact that [we have killed so many people from that corner of Asia](#) and have dropped more bombs there than we dropped during all of World War II. Since when has our warfare machine started worrying about a just peace for them?

It really would be better if we could just admit bluntly that there is tungsten in that part of the world and tungsten is needed to make military weapons. That would be correct factually, which would make it an improvement over the imaginative reasons conceived by our leaders, but even that is not

the primary reason for our entry into Vietnam.

For the CIA, its primary objective is to enhance its power. In combination with the military, to maintain and extend its power, it has sought to keep the cold war going. To a warfare state a war is a market—a market for the services of its military and for the hardware manufacturers. We became a warfare state years earlier at the close of World War II when we had developed the ability to kill other men in great quantity. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization served as our war market for many years, until our nuclear stalemate with Russia became so apparent that even our military leaders could see it. The need for a new war market, preferably with an undeveloped country, caused us to turn our attention to Asia and to Vietnam.

Then suddenly there was John Kennedy—too wealthy, too idealistic and too hardheaded to manipulate—talking about peace for all time for all men. Other Presidents had been easier to manipulate into keeping the cold war going. After Eisenhower's meeting with Khrushchev at Camp David, for example, the end of the cold war appeared to have come within reach. Then a U-2, operated by the CIA, came down in Russia and the Paris peace talks were canceled.

But Kennedy was different: he was a President preparing for peace, not war, and he was moving too fast. There had been his refusal to approve American air support at the Bay of Pigs and his refusal to respond to the Cuban missile crisis by bombing Cuba. There had been the signing of [the nuclear test ban treaty](#) on September 1, ordered by him over the objection of the majority of the Joint Chiefs. Then there had been his initiation of *détentes* with [Cuba](#) and [Russia](#). Now he was blocking the new war market in Vietnam.

The Central Intelligence Agency handled all of the details.

### *The Coup d'État*

For years we in America have heard much of the Communist conspiracy to dominate the world. Periodically, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation would give somber warning of the conspiracy. Our military, intelligence agencies, anti-Communist politicians and media would not have hesitated to raise the possibility of Communist involvement had there been the slightest chance of communist intrigue present in Dealey Plaza. Why, then, was there such immobilization of our government after the assassination? Action was called for, but the government would not act except when there was opportunity to implicate Lee Oswald and here, invariably, the government overreacted.

Whereas before the assassination Oswald was given extremely preferential treatment by federal officialdom, after the assassination his treatment at the hands of federal authorities was invariably unfavorable. This official prejudicial post-assassination action against Oswald was not justified by

the data which the authorities were presenting as evidence. This pattern is indicative of a frame-up of Oswald. Inasmuch as this frame-up precluded our receiving information concerning the relationship between Oswald and the government, it supports the proposition that it was engineered in the highest level of our government.

The killing of a President by a high level of government is a coup d'état. The coup d'état is nearly unheard of in America, although European history is replete with the elimination of national leaders by immediate subordinates. This is why Europeans quickly sensed what was happening, while Americans showed virtually no comprehension whatsoever. Even the untimely reversal of President Kennedy's policy with regard to Vietnam, while he still lay in state at the Capitol, failed to generate the slightest spark of curiosity in the United States.

A successful coup d'état affects not merely the history of a nation but may change its power structure. With the killing of John Kennedy, the very position of the Presidency was drastically reduced in status. Henceforth, the President would be a broker for the war machine. He would be an advocate and spokesman for the Pentagon. All Presidents who followed Kennedy would have to know their impotence, no matter what their public role.

Until the work of the Kennedy assassins is undone, Presidents will come and go but the warfare machine and its extensive intelligence tentacles, domestic as well as foreign, will remain in control. The assassination reduced the President of the United States to a transient official, a servant of the warfare conglomerate. His assignment is to speak as often as possible about the nation's desire for peace, while he serves as a business agent in Congress for the military and their hardware manufacturers.

The assassination resulted in insulating the people from making decisions over foreign policy and war. Prior to the assassination, in accordance with the Constitution, the President made the decisions with regard to foreign policy, the Senate approved or disapproved treaties, and Congress decided whether or not we went to war.

There were good reasons for this system. In each instance the decision was made by men elected by the people.

The rifle shots in Dealey Plaza removed these vital powers from the elected officials and made them readily available to the warfare apparatus. As a result, after Kennedy, although most Americans were opposed to our war in Asia, it went on and on. Foreign policy was being made by the Pentagon and the CIA. For example, a secret treaty had been consummated with Laos providing for military commitments to Laos, yet the Senate was not informed of the nature of these commitments. As for the power to declare war, that had been lifted from Congress by the Tonkin Gulf Resolution as neatly as a pickpocket lifts a wallet. Ostensibly having learned that blips had

been sighted on the radar of two of our destroyers, President Johnson appeared before Congress in his capacity as the business representative of the Pentagon and asked for a resolution authorizing American troops to retaliate if they were attacked. In due course, this power was then transferred by him to the military, and when the military was ready to move we were at war. Later, against the wishes of the majority of the people, members of the Congress and the business community, the military burst into Cambodia, leaving the President to rationalize the push to those who had voted him into office on his promise that he would end the war in that unhappy part of the world.

### *The High Price of Glory*

If the government were to take its gold bullion from Fort Knox, fly it to the Pacific in daily flights and drop it in the ocean, this would not be far removed from what has been accomplished by our adventure in Vietnam since the removal of President Kennedy. Even as the dollar approached the value of a postage stamp, the westward flights of troops and weapons into Asia were continued without abatement.

It was not possible to have price controls because the government could not admit it was engaged in war. Consequently, as the Vietnam War continued, the buying power of the dollar steadily descended. What the average American was able to retain at the end of the year was swept up by the heavy taxation, [to pay for the Vietnam War and for the CIA's adventures throughout the world](#).

Seven years after the assassination and the subsequent Vietnam escalation, our economy was showing the strain of too much war production and too much investment in warfare adventures. War production fails to add to the well being of the people and distorts the national economy by adding to its waste and reducing its efficiency. Real income falls as uncontrolled prices continue to rise. Insufficient money is available for the cities, and the standard of living of workers suffers. The quality of public education deteriorates. Billions of dollars that might have been available for our new schools and other social needs have in effect been dumped into the Pacific Ocean. The CIA and the Pentagon are not interested in new schools and social needs. These are death-oriented operations.

The idea that defense contracts bring prosperity and jobs is illusory. In the present structure of our warfare economy, most of the billion-dollar war contracts go only to a few businesses. The only contact most businesses have with the war is in the increased taxes they pay. In fact, some enterprises, such as construction, almost went out of business because of the steadily increasing interest rates. Among the potential disasters which the CIA and the Pentagon may have bequeathed us by removing John Kennedy and opening up the Vietnam War is economic disaster.

## *A Model of Explanation*

What happened to President Kennedy becomes increasingly apparent as it is viewed in the full context of 1963, against the backdrop of the cold war. Nevertheless, let us consider it for a moment as a theory, as if one applied various models of what might have occurred. The model of explanation I have presented here endeavors to interpret sensibly the mass of data which has surfaced regarding the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. A case has been offered to enable the people to examine the reasons for his murder.

It is seven years now since John Kennedy's death, and the model officially presented by the government has sagged and finally collapsed under the weight of its cumbersome lies. Nor is there any sign of hope that the succeeding administrations have any more interest in seeing that the truth is made available. The fact that the same men continue to control the Pentagon, the CIA and the FBI, which helped to conceal the CIA's handiwork after the assassination, indicates that the war-oriented interests are still in firm control and that nothing can be expected from the government except more untruths and more war. This course will be reversed only when the American public unites in understanding the truth about the assassination of John Kennedy and in undertaking dignified action that will restore the republic.

If a better case than the lone assassin fiction could have been made—a case that might have persuaded the public of the government's innocence—even an innocent, and certainly a guilty, government by now would have provided such an explanation. With the passing of the years since the assassination, after the Oswald legend has been shown to have been rejected by a majority of the American people in every public opinion sampling, we should no longer be holding our breath in anticipation of some alternative explanation which might be offered by the government to exonerate it from guilt.

It is inconceivable that men high in our government today are not fully aware of what really happened to John Kennedy and why it happened. If it can be understood outside Washington, it can be understood in Washington. Yet their sophisticated silence remains unbroken as they continue to play the game that all is well in America.

Their continued silence is eloquent testimony that the military and intelligence power elite, which sponsored the assassination and which then initiated the Vietnam escalation, continues to retain covert control of the nation. It is all too apparent that this force in our government believes that violence is the ultimate solution to any problem. This is why the present period is a most dangerous one for America and for the world.

The model of explanation of the assassination which has been presented here can also be put to use in explaining the current operations in which the CIA may be involved domestically as a natural

follow-up to its foremost domestic success—on Dealey Plaza. As our military adventures become more absurd in terms of cost and failure to achieve worthwhile results, it will be increasingly necessary for the CIA to engage in domestic activity in order to continue to provide reasons for the power elite to maintain its control.

Just as the cold war provides reasons for the existence of autocratic power, so does chaos within the nation operate as a source of power. As chaos continues, the populace will tend to be less concerned about abridgment of individual rights and will more willingly grant to a strong centralized government such power it claims it needs. Thus the warfare state may continue to appear to be relevant even after it has had to reduce its international adventures to some degree because the people are sick of war.

Such seeming relevance depends, however, upon the existence of chaos. The government's domestic intelligence can supply chaos in good measure by stirring the embers wherever there is social discontent, and in a society depleted by years of war there will be much of that.

### *Dealey Plaza Revisited*

Dealey Plaza should be recognized as a highly effective assault on civilian control over the military.

Correspondingly, the Warren Commission can be seen as a delegation of the civilian leaders of our country accepting the terms laid down to them by the military. The military conceded one condition which clearly was in the initial planning: they dropped their requirement for an invasion of Cuba. Beyond that concession, the assassination and the inquiry are best recognized for what they were: a military takeover of the United States. It was nothing less.

If we are to understand and bring under control the forces which are shaping today's America and are endeavoring to shape our future, we cannot rest with the official version of the killing of John Kennedy. The model of explanation offered here explains the available data. We must employ this tool of analysis until or unless another one is offered which better explains the evidence.

If we cannot have the truth once and for all about the government's murder of John Kennedy, if the warfare interests in our government are so powerful that they cannot be questioned about such things, then let us have an end to the pretense that this is a government of the people.

If the American people choose to do nothing about what was done to John Kennedy and about the subtle conversion of their country from a democracy into a thinly disguised version of the warfare state, then the republic is lost and we shall never see it again in our time.

In any event, we need no longer pretend that there is any mystery left about the assassination of John Kennedy. The cold war was the biggest business in America, worth eighty billion dollars a

year as well as tremendous power to men in Washington. The President was murdered because he was genuinely seeking peace in a corrupt world. As tired as we are of the horror of the subject, all of us must address ourselves honestly to the meaning and implications of the assassination of John Kennedy, or all of us will pay the price of living in tyranny.

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1. [↪] Tom Wicker, *LBJ and JFK* (New York, William Morrow and Company, 1968), p. 205.
  2. [↪] Lifton, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-9.

## APPENDIX

### John Kennedy and Nuclear Militarism

*The atomic bomb that fell on Hiroshima exploded with only slightly less impact among America's civilian institutions. Yet only a small minority at the time appreciated its implications. The public at large, the military and the statesmen united in a mood of patriotic awe and pride at the immensity of our achievement, and few persons, in high place or low, had the vision to recognize its true significance. Plainly, however, such super-destructive power rendered all the old criteria of power obsolete; clearly, the ruthless employment of that power to obliterate 80,000 men, women and children in one blinding flash meant that all considerations of morality, all moral restraint, had now become archaic concepts; and this combination—the possession of the limitlessly lethal weapon, the demise of morality—signified that naked force had been enthroned over the world as never before. This stark fact carried with it inevitable corollaries. The final enthronement of force spelled inevitably the beginning of the world's most awesome arms race in which each nation would seek to possess that force; and it virtually insured the complete dominance of the military since only the military would be supposed to know all the answers in the realm of force.*

—FRED COOK, *The Warfare State* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1962), pp. 115-16.

The consequence of the development of the ultimate weapon in time would be the militarization of America. By the time President Kennedy took his oath of office, sufficient change had occurred to make unacceptable for long any serious attempt to enforce genuine civilian control over the military. Conflicts between the Pentagon and the White House with regard to fundamental military strategy—and even with regard to foreign policy—no longer could be resolved by a unilateral decision at the White House. This is not to say that the military would allow the fact of the change to become apparent. The protocols, like the uniforms, would remain the same.

The acquisition of absolute destructive power presented, in turn, new alternatives with regard to basic military strategy. There were now available the options of employing the new nuclear force in the event of conflict or of continuing to employ the traditional non-nuclear fire-power.

Historically, any conflict of arms necessarily was contained to some degree by the inherent limitation of the weaponry. For a nation possessing nuclear capability the new option was whether or not to turn away from limited war to a policy of unlimited war.

During the Eisenhower years the employment of nuclear weapons was canonized by his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and massive retaliation was announced as the basis of American military strategy.

Massive retaliation contemplates resolving international disputes by incineration. Its implicit, broader basis is the essential rejection of serious consideration of peaceful coexistence between such opposing superpowers as America and Russia.

Ironically, however, America no longer held a monopoly on nuclear weapons. The development of the capability of nuclear counterstrikes on the part of nations which might be struck by atomic attack really made peaceful coexistence no longer an optional matter. Inasmuch as the launching of a nuclear attack by one superpower against another would result in the eventual destruction of both countries, peaceful coexistence now had become imperative.

One of the most articulate opponents in Congress of the government's official adoption of the policy of massive nuclear retaliation as an answer to the threat of Communist aggression was the junior Senator from Massachusetts, John Kennedy. In 1958 he called for consideration of alternative methods in dealing with the Communists.

Senator Kennedy was equally vociferous in his opposition to signs that America was on the eve of being drawn into war in Southeast Asia. Inasmuch as the impression seems to have been created since his murder that he was one of the initiators of our disastrous adventure in Southeast Asia (an impression which has done much to obscure the motive for his assassination), it is worth noting that an examination of the record reveals that Kennedy voiced strong feelings against getting involved in a war which he believed could threaten the survival of civilization.

Even as a young Senator, John Kennedy spoke out against the American government's embrace of nuclear warfare and against its drift toward military involvement in Asia. Even then he could hardly have been the Pentagon and CIA's cup of tea. One can imagine the consternation in those quarters when, not too much later, he vaulted from his role in the Senate as an opponent of the new militarism to become their Commander in Chief.

From his point of view as President, the new American militarism would be, from the outset, an unending source of problems. He found himself saddled with an endless variety of military commitments around the globe. An even worse problem would be the inflexibility and obstruction encountered because of the general paranoia which had come to exist with regard to Russia and the Communist world:

“Over the past 15 years the American people have been whipped into a state of hatred and fear of Communism reminiscent of the religious wars in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.... President Kennedy is to a considerable extent a prisoner of this public attitude: his freedom of

maneuver is limited. Nor is he entirely the master of his own government. There is always the possibility that in a moment of crisis the wild men in the Pentagon or the Central Intelligence Agency may take matters into their own hands. This is, in fact, the most dangerous of all potentialities in the present situation.” (From the *Toronto Globe & Mail*, August 9, 1961, as quoted in Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 165.)

There was, to be sure, a strong anti-Communist attitude on the part of millions of Americans. However, this did not mean that they desired war with Russia or even that they took it for granted that war was inevitable. Most of the American people saw no cause for war and did not want a war. Undoubtedly, this was equally true of the Russian people.

On the other hand, the anti-Communism of dominant elements of the military was very nearly theological in character. They implicitly assumed not merely the inevitability but even the desirability of a nuclear war with Russia. This had become apparent in their complete adaptation to massive retaliation. As became apparent quickly enough when the Kennedy team took over, no machinery had been retained for alternatives, measures contemplating the resolution of disagreements by actions short of disintegrating Moscow or Peking (not to mention Washington).

The rise to dominance of the military theologians—men who regarded limited war as a compromise—had been reflected in the resignation from their high positions in the military structure of men such as Generals Maxwell Taylor, Matthew Ridgway and James Gavin. These were men as dedicated to their country as any; and they strongly insisted that we should not abandon all our capabilities for fighting smaller—and, therefore, survivable—wars.

They had resigned from the military, in which they had spent their lives, while the theologians and their stockpiles of nuclear weapons remained. Ironically enough, however, when Eisenhower himself left office not long after these significant resignations, he made a revealing comment about the new thunderhead of power which had developed:

... The conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every state house, every office of the federal government.

In the councils of government we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist....

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted.... (From the “[Farewell Address of President Dwight D. Eisenhower](#),” January 17, 1961.)

These were the unprecedented circumstances which awaited President Kennedy. At the outset he moved to change the Pentagon’s massive retaliation posture.

... When McNamara called [at the Pentagon] for the basic defense plans, he found that they still

rested on the assumption of total nuclear war.... “The Pentagon is full of papers talking about the presence of a viable society after nuclear conflict,” he once said. “That viable society phrase drives me mad. I keep trying to comb it out, but it keeps coming back.” Kennedy now charged McNamara with the problem of devising strategies to deal with a world in which total nuclear war was no longer conceivable. This called for a shift from massive retaliation to a capability for controlled and flexible response, graduated to meet a variety of forms and levels of aggression. (Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days* [Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965], p. 315.)

The nuclear militarists must have expected the worst, for even as a junior Senator, Kennedy had strongly attacked their most sacred theologies. Nevertheless, his attack against their citadel of power and against their dogmatic philosophy contemplating the destruction of millions of human beings was prompt and forceful. Resentment toward the so-called “defense intellectuals” by those elements of the military which regard civilian control with suspicion was pronounced.

President Kennedy scarcely had arrived in office when the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion collapsed in disaster. The Joint Chiefs of Staff had approved the poorly conceived and poorly executed invasion. Nevertheless, the new President unhesitatingly publicly accepted the blame for it. Subsequently the relationship between President Kennedy and the high brass in the Pentagon would become worse.

Communications between the Chiefs of Staff and their Commander in Chief remained unsatisfactory for a large portion of his term. Enjoying a popular novel, *Seven Days in May*, about a fictional attempt by a few military brass to take over the country, the President joked, “I know a couple who wish they could.” (Theodore C. Sorensen, *Kennedy* [New York, Harper & Row, 1965], pp. 606-7.)

The problem of the conflict between a President committed by his own nature to human concerns and military leaders suspicious of him for just that reason was aggravated by an additional factor. Because of commitments made by his predecessor on Pentagon recommendations, Kennedy found himself committed, to an extent, on a course of action which they had helped initiate and which he had opposed even as a Senator. The American presence in Vietnam was not to his liking at all. On the other hand, as the military later made apparent by its prompt aggressiveness in Southeast Asia after his death, it did not share his concern about American military involvement in Vietnam. However, that adventure could not occur until his death because of his opposition to the use of our combat troops there.

Yet Kennedy had inherited a commitment to support South Vietnam:

Whether the domino theory was valid in 1954, it had acquired validity seven years later, after neighboring governments had staked their own security on the ability of the United States to live up to its pledges to Saigon. Kennedy himself, who had watched western policy in Vietnam in the early fifties with the greatest skepticism and who as President used to mutter from time to time about our “overcommitment” in Southeast Asia, had no choice now but to work within the situation he had inherited. Ironically, the collapse of the Dulles policy in Laos had created the possibility of a neutralist solution there; but the survival of that policy in South Vietnam, where the government

was stronger and the army more willing to fight, left us in 1961 no alternative but to continue that effort. (Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 538.)

The President recognized his inherited obligation and increased the American advisory contingent in South Vietnam. However, he never budged from his refusal to send over American soldiers for combat in its swamps and jungles:

“They want a force of American troops,” he told me early in November. “They say it’s necessary in order to restore confidence and maintain morale. But it will be just like Berlin. The troops will march in; the bands will play; the crowds will cheer; and in four days everyone will have forgotten. Then we will be told we have to send in more troops. It’s like taking a drink. The effect wears off, and you have to take another.” The war in Vietnam, he added, could be won only so long as it was *their* war. If it were ever converted into a white man’s war, we would lose as the French had lost a decade earlier. (*Ibid.*, p. 547.)

The problem grew, however, in the form of Pentagon opposition to his restraint:

... The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the military “brass” did not like the policy of keeping the struggle in Viet Nam limited or the attempt to emphasize importance of the political aspects of the struggle. But they had not yet moved into open opposition, and there was still a chance that they could be persuaded to go along with the President’s policy. If the JCS and the higher ranking generals did move into open opposition, on the other hand, they could muster powerful support in the Congress and the split inside the American government might develop into the kind of nationwide political civil war that had paralyzed America during the McCarthy era.... (Roger Hilsman, *To Move a Nation* [New York, Doubleday and Co., 1967], pp. 507-8. Mr. Hilsman was one of President Kennedy’s top foreign policy advisers up to the time of the President’s death.)

While it is not generally recognized, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the military leaders at the Pentagon have come to have very real power of their own. A President might wish to sweep them out and replace them with men of his own, men who will execute his own policies without question, but the militarization of America has eliminated that as a practical possibility. The theological commitment to destroy Communism, which is representative of the power elite in the Pentagon, has strong support, along horizontal lines, from Congress, from other government agencies and from the public:

... By now the Pentagon was developing what would become its standard line in Southeast Asia—unrelenting opposition to limited intervention except on the impossible condition that the President agree in advance to every further step they deemed sequential, including, on occasion, nuclear bombing of Hanoi and even Peking. At one National Security Council meeting, General Lemnitzer outlined the processes by which each American action would provoke a Chinese counteraction, provoking in turn an even more drastic American response. He concluded: “If we are given the right to use nuclear weapons, we can guarantee victory.” The President sat firmly rubbing his upper molar, saying nothing. After a moment someone said, “Mr. President, perhaps you could have the General explain to us what he means by victory.” (Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 338.)

John Kennedy’s desire to prevent an American war in Vietnam was remembered well by men who were close to him.

“In the final analysis, it is their war. They are the ones who have to win it or lose it. We can help them, we can give them equipment, we can send our men out there as advisors, but they have to win it, the people of Viet Nam against the Communists.” (From a press statement by President Kennedy, as quoted in Hilsman, *op. cit.*, p. 578.)

... Introducing American ground forces into Viet Nam and becoming involved in the “land war in Asia” that MacArthur had warned against was one thing everybody knew Kennedy wished to avoid.... (Sorensen, *op. cit.*, p. 504.)

“How can we justify fighting a war with American troops in Southeast Asia, which is nine thousand miles away, when we can’t justify it in Cuba, which is only ninety miles away?” (Comment made by President Kennedy, as quoted in Hilsman, *op. cit.*, p. 546.)

From the recollections of his friends, we are permitted even now to see President Kennedy reflecting aloud about the Vietnam problem. However, these are not soliloquies in which the President debates with himself as if it were a decision still causing him turmoil. We are not hearing him ruminate: “to intervene or not to intervene, that is the question.” Even such an apocryphal inner conflict gives him more credit than has rewritten history. In the contemporary fables of the military state, he is repeatedly depicted as supporting, even helping to implement, the escalation in Vietnam.

To the contrary, we had no equivocating, no Hamlet, here. Kennedy’s familiarity with Southeast Asia dated from the days when he would rise in the Senate, in the heyday of Massive Retaliation, [to oppose the early signs of our drift toward military involvement in Asia](#) These were the words of a man who opposed a venture overloaded with risk and rationally indefensible. These were the thoughts of a man who knew the strategic as well as geographic remoteness of the Vietnam area, who knew that it was, for us, the worst of locales in which to join issue.

These were the words of a man who had the intellect to see that a major intervention by us, no matter how we might trumpet analogies to more justified interventions of World War II, would produce not another heroic rescue by the leader of the free world but rather a polarity of opposition. Our intervention would be met by counterintervention—to which we would counter, to which they would counter our counter; until in the end we would have helped generate a conflict which at best could result only in stalemate.

However, President Kennedy’s resolve never faltered, and in spite of the attitude of the men in the Pentagon, he treated Vietnam as a political problem and prevented it from being used as an opportunity for a new American military adventure. To the contrary, the evidence indicates that [he was in the process of working out a gradual withdrawal from Vietnam of the 15,500 Americans there.](#)

In the fall of 1963 he issued an order, over the objections of many around him, to reduce American military advisers in South Vietnam immediately by bringing home one thousand U.S. soldiers

before the end of 1963. [In the spring of 1963](#), reports his key White House aide Kenneth P. O'Donnell, he had made up his mind that after his reelection he would at the risk of unpopularity, make a complete withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam. "In 1965, I'll be damned everywhere as a Communist appeaser, but I don't care." ([Life, August 7, 1970](#), pp. 51-2.) Shortly before his murder, the public announcement was made by Secretary of Defense McNamara that by 1965 all American personnel would be brought back home. McNamara's announcement was made not from the Pentagon but from the steps of the White House.

The President's order to reduce the American military personnel in Vietnam by one thousand men before the end of 1963 was still in effect on the day that he went to Texas, O'Donnell states. (*Ibid.*, p. 52.)

The Vietnam war—with its quarter of a million casualties, its irremediable damage to the image of America throughout the world and its visitation of impending economic disaster within America, itself—came that close to being avoided.

But then suddenly he was dead, the victim, we were told, of a young man whose mind had become ravaged by Communist readings. How curious it was that the man who removed the single tether restraining the theologically anti-communist generals should be discovered to be a Communist:

After President Kennedy's death the pressure was renewed. General Curtis L. LeMay, Chief of Staff for the Air Force, was particularly vigorous in advocating the bombing of North Viet Nam. "We are swatting flies," LeMay said, "when we should be going after the manure pile." General Thomas S. Power said that with conventional bombs alone the Strategic Air Command, which he headed, and its B-52's could "pulverize North Viet Nam," and he made a special trip to Washington to plead the case for bombing not only North Viet Nam but the Viet Cong and their bases in South Viet Nam. (Hilsman, *op. cit.*, p. 527.)

The generals now would be given their head in Southeast Asia. Overnight the government would view Vietnam as a military problem, and a great new war market would be made available to the Pentagon and to America's makers of military hardware.

Soon enough there would materialize in Vietnam a major expeditionary force of more than half a million troops. And soon enough, too, would come the great refrigerated planes making the daily flights back home with the dead young soldiers in their body bags.

We came close, so close to avoiding this most tragic of our wars, this faraway war which may have destroyed America as we knew it:

... in the summer of 1963, Kennedy turned his face resolutely toward life and unmistakably signalled the end of the Cold War. Behind the patriotic façade of nuclear militarism he saw the death of his own children and of all children. In a series of magnificent addresses, he urged us to reconsider our attitudes toward peace, the Soviet Union and the Cold War. He won a treaty ending atomic testing above ground and then paused to wait a little for the more embattled of his cold-war

compatriots to catch up with the times.

At that moment he was struck down .... (D. F. Fleming, *The Costs and Consequences of the Cold War* [Philadelphia, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1966], p. 137.)

He had lived long enough to force the American military to move back from its affair with the inane and suicidal policy of massive retaliation. He had lived long enough to force the Pentagon to reorganize once more in a structure based upon the employment of conventional weapons. He had succeeded in reducing the easy accessibility of the Pentagon to nuclear firearms.

He had pressed hard to attempt to reassert genuine civilian control over the military. He had obtained the removal of the Russian missile sites from Cuba and yet had prevented our own military from bombing Cuba.

He had taken giant strides toward ending the Cold War. He had helped to accomplish the miracle of [the nuclear test ban treaty](#), ending the increasingly dangerous air explosions of nuclear weapons on both sides of the earth.

It is doubtful whether anyone in our time quite so young has ever done quite so much for peace on this earth.

While the Sino-Soviet break was worsening, a *detente* between the Kremlin and the West was being confirmed. On September 20, 1963, addressing the U.N. General Assembly, Kennedy said, “Today we may have reached a pause in the Cold War—but that is not a lasting peace. A test ban treaty is a milestone—but it is not a millennium. We have not been released from our obligation—we have been given an opportunity. If we fail to augment this ... then the indictment of posterity will rightly point its finger to us all. But if we stretch this pause into a period of cooperation—if both sides can now gain new confidence and experience in concrete collaborations of peace—then, surely, this first small step can be the start of a long and fruitful journey.”

And the wonder is that Khrushchev—who had once confronted him in a decisive test and learned to recognize both his determination and his wisdom—also believed it. It’s difficult to know what result their mutual understanding, their agreement on “the rules of the games,” could have achieved, since two months later John Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas. But Nikita Khrushchev’s reaction to the news of that tragedy showed clearly what hopes he had placed in his understanding, one would be tempted to say his connivance, with the young President. He burst into tears, and according to the testimony of a high Soviet official quoted by Pierre Salinger, “He just wandered around his office for several days, like he was in a daze.” As a matter of fact his sorrow was the sorrow of all humanity. (André Fontaine, *History of the Cold War from the Korean War to the Present*, trans. by Renaud Bruce [New York, Pantheon Books, 1969], pp. 474-75.)

## NOTES

## KEY TO SYMBOLS

All references to the *Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964) —commonly known as *The Warren Report*— are designated by the symbol “WR” followed by the page number. References to testimony found in the *Hearings*—i.e., *Hearings Before the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964)—are designated by an “H” followed by the volume number and the page number. References to exhibits in the *Hearings* volumes are designated by the name and number of the exhibit. “H,” and the volume and page numbers. Exhibits on the *Warren Report* are designated by “CE”—for Commission Exhibit— followed by the number of the exhibit and sometimes by a page reference when an exhibit is of more than one page. References to Warren Commission documents are designated “CD” followed by the number.

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