Anthony and Robbyn Summers "The Ghosts of November" *Vanity Fair* December, 1994

Says Mark Lane fanned the flames of controversy with his 1966 book, Rush to Judgment, and that in 1967 Jim garrison "muddied" the case by his follies. In 1979, House Select Committee, hinting the Mafia was responsible, concluded there "probably" had been two gunmen in Dealey Plaza, one of the O, and thus "probably" a conspiracy. Select Committee then passed the buck to Justice, which did nothing.

Calls Posner's book, *Case Closed*, a "loaded brief for the prosecution"--as much as Lane's had been for O's defense. Harold Weisberg has already replied with *Case Open*.

Calls Oliver Stone's movie a "dubious piece of scaremongering." Yet, had some good results--in response to public concern which the movie created, Congress passed the JFK Assassination Records Collection Act.

Since then, more than 2 million pages of documents have been released to Archives, primarily by FBI and CIA.

Board now has to rule on masive withholdings that remain (Assassination Archives and research Center in Washigton says between 1 and 2 milion pages of relevant documents still being withheld by federal agencies).

Although its powers limited to enforcing release of official records, has right to subpoena witnesses and hold public hearings.

While the predominant conpiracy theory proposes that the Mafia killed JFK, Summers believes a more complex scenario best answers the question.

Indications that, even if US intelligence operatives played no part in the assassination, their agencies have long hidden a relationship with O:

Leads indicate public has not been told the truth about US contacts with O during and after his defection to USSR.

Discovery thata journalist who features large in the case is listed in CI files as an Agency "collaborator."

Credible evidence that CIA has concealed or destroyed its surveillance tapes of an O visit to mexico city

In course of this subterfuge, they may have blocked exposure of "a darker truth."

Doubters on Warren Commission itself included Richard Russell (D, GA) and John J. McCloy (US disarmament coordinator). Other doubters included FBI domestic-intelligence chief

William Sullivan and Dallas police chief Jesse Curry (who believed 2 gunmen involved).

Says John McCone told Bobby "early on" that he thought 2 gunmen had fired. (Source?)

RFK himself expressed doubt, but not until years later (1966, when he told Richard Goodwin that if anyone was involved, it was organized crime). Shortly before his own death, he said that, if elected President, he would like to reopen the Warren Commission.

In past year, LBJ Library has released recordings of phone conversations showing LBJ browbeating people into accepting position on Warren Commission, indicating that it wouldn't take much time. "All you gotta do is evaluate a Hoover report he's already made."

LBJ wanted to head off a congressional investigation and stop rumors of an international Communist conspiracy.

Hoover himself, pressing to release something to convince public that O was the real assassin, was privately not convinced the case was strong enough to be able to get a conviction against O. (Private phone call to LBJ)

Physical Evidence:

Autopsy, at Bethesda naval hospital, under many handicaps, including instructions relayed by phone from RFK, who was with Jackie.

1992 *Journal of the American Medical Association* confirmed that the family, concerned that the world would learn JFK suffered from a progressive disease of the adrenal glands, wanted to prevent several routine procedures. The organs of the neck were not dissected.

We still don't know the precise nature of JFK's injuries. Much confusion. Especially regarding small hold supposedly located near rear base of the neck, which appears to hae been described as six inches above where it actually was.

Zapruder film appears to show that a single gunman ccould not hae had time to fire again betwen moment JFK first seen to be hit and moment Connally appeared to react to being shot. Rather than allow for possibility that two gunmen haad fired almost simultaneously, Warren Commission lawyer Arlen Specter (now R-PA) credited one bullet (the so-cakked "magic bullet") with having hit both the president and Connally. He proposed that it entered JFK's back, exited through his throat, then entered Connally, causing C's multiple wounds.

Need to accept this theory to believe in single assassin.

Doubters of this theory on Warren Commission included McCloy, Hale Boggs, John Sherman Cooper. Richard Russell didn't believe it, nor did LBJ (in conversation in one of newly-release phone tapes from LBJ library).

Recent tests (the latest reported in the *Journal of the American College of Sugeons* (May, 1994) suggests that such a phenomenon can occur.

But doubts as to whether the bullet was found on Connally's stretcher, as the Commission claimed.

Doubts as well about the number of bullet fragments recovered. Too many fragments, and too big, to have come from the bullet recovered. (Showing that there was more than one gunman?)

Some who have seen X-rays think they have been tampered with to cover up evidence of a frontal shot.

ARRB in May 1994 announced that second set of autopsy photographs may have survived, photos apparently made from the original negatives and thus presumably authentic. Awaited with great interest.

What about acoustical evidence that convinced House Select Committee that a second gunman did fire from in front of the president, but missed?

Other studies soon claimed that the purported acoustics evidence, an old Dictabelt of police radio transmisions, was probably just static, not a recording of the gunfire as the Committee's consultants had believed.

Dr. Cyril Wecht, lone dissenter on the committee's medical panel, suspectered there had been two virtualy simultaneous shots to JFK's head, one from the rear and one from somewhere else. Others now agree--leading some (Dr. David Mantik) to conclude that the alleged X-ray fakery was designed to cover up evidence for the frontal shot.

Posner claimed that computer enhancement settled the question of the timing of the gunshots, and that test-firing provided the final physical evidence necessary to prove the single-bullet theory, but failed in his book's first edition to state that the computer work had been done for the prosecution side in an ABA mock trail of O, in which the "jury" split. There was also a case for the defense.

Dr. Charles Crenshaw [member of the Dallas medical team treating JFK] has drawn criticism for his book claiming that JFK's wounds indicated shots from the front. Has brought defamation suit against Journal of American Medical Association, Warren Commission lawyer David Belin, and others.

When Connally died last year, family refused permission to have bullet fragment lodged in his thigh removed. To help resolve "magic bullet" theory doubts. (FBI had even supported calls for removing it).

While X-ray evidence meanwhile suggests that one large fragment was never removed from JFK's head.

Result: still much theory and speculation about meaning of the physical evidence.

Oswald:

O steadfastly denied having shot anyone on Nov. 22, and some weaknesses in the prosecution case.

Not established that it was he who had picked up the mail-order rifle at the post office.

Also, discovered in 1970s that the chain of possession and storge of the fragements of bullets, allegedly fired from the Carcano, was terrible. Some had actually vanished. If some of the ballistic evidence is missing, and some remains in the bodies (JFK and Connally), the shooting cannot be blamed conclusively on one man with one gun.

Evidence that the rifle was stored in the garage of the house where Marina was staying, and where he slept the night before the assasination, is thin.

Three of O's prints found on cartons near the suspecg window, but O's job involved working in that area, and prints belonging to others also found there--including one palm print not linked to any employee or alw-enforcement official known to have handled the boxes.

Most agree that to have fired that rifle three times, twice accurately, in the timespan the W Commission established would have been a remarkable feat. O at best a competent marksman. (And O had missed Walker, under much more favorable circumstances, shortly before).

Not true that new analysis of the fingerprint evidence now ties O more closely to the crime. Experts disagree as to whether the marks in question (partial prints found near the rifles trigger guard) are identifiably O's. The O palm print was on a part of the gun accessible only when the weapon was disassembled and may have been an old print. No prints found on the spent shells nor on the live round remaining in the chamber.

Also, evidence good that O's own testimony--that he was eating in the first-floor lunchroom at the time JFK shot--was correct.

In addition, witnesses to Tipit's murder and the attempt to kill Walker spoke of not one but two suspects near each crime scene. In addition, witnesses to the assasination spoke of seeing two men with a gun on a high floor of the Depository, while two policemen encountered men behaving suspiciously on the grassy knoll.

New evidence: an FBI report revealing that on the morning after the assassination, a revolver found near the scene of the crime--Book Depository. A second gun. Whether or not the weapon has any significance, the public had to wait 30 years to learn about it.

O insisted that he was just a patsy. Yet if he was framed, he looked guilty--of something. Carried false ID, used phony names, lied repeatedly. Was he a witting participant, manupulated by others, or totally a fall guy?

Cuba Connection:

CIA's plans to assassinate Castro. "A mounting body of testimony sugests that the Kennedy brothers approved these plots."

Cites Richard Bissell (in statement before his death); George Smathers (close friend of JFK's)--apparently in interviews with Summers. Plus Manuel Artime, a Cuban exile leaer much favored by the Kennedys, told a congressional investigator that JFK was personally behind the Cubela plot, and proposed AM/LASH operation.

On the morning of JFK's death, according to new research, FitzGerald attended a meeting to put finishing touches to another Castro assassination scheme, one Robert Kennedy promoted. Those present included (allegedly) E. Howard Hunt and James McCord (although Hunt claims he attended no such meeting and was not dealing with Cuban matters at the time. McCord has not responded to Summer's attempts to contact him).

One who admits he was present is Harry Ruiz-Williams, a Cuban exile who RFK had taken into his confidence.

Another Cuban, whom RFK had taken into his confidence (and insists on anonymity) has told how in 1963 another senior Castro officer, not Cubela, agreed that for a large cash payment, he would organize a **violent overthrow of Castro**. RFK arranged for a deposit to be paid into a foreign bank, and the **operation was imminent by Nov. 22**. The coup, to be followed by US support, was **supposed to occur within 10 days**. (Cites research by **Lamar Waldron** and **Thom Hartmann**, from Atlanta, who are writing book on the operation and have **obtained corroboration of its existence from US military and govt. Sources. Dean** Rusk says he learned of the coup operation after JFK's death).

This, despite fact that UN delegate William Attwood talking with his Cuban counterpart about a possible peace initiative. With JFK's approval.

"Oh, there's no particular contradiction there," Dean Rusk told us. "It was just an either/or situation. That went on frequently."

Did JFK die because O read about Castro's retaliation threat in the newspaper and took matters into his own hands? Or did Castro learn that the Kennedys were behind the plots and hit back? Was O, wittingly or unwittingly, manipulated by Havana? (Contrast with Summer's book--its idealistic view that JFK out of the Castro assassination game, after missile crisis, and now trying to make peace with Cuba--leading anti-Castro fanatics to bump him off. No recognition at time that JFK could have been playing a very double game here, especially with his anti-Castro record)

Did CIA keep Warren Commission in dark about plots to kill Castro? **Warren's son and grandson say, no, Warren did know about the plots.** Took this so seriously that he dispatched staff counsel William Coleman on a secret mission, believed to be a meeting with Castro.

Coleman, who has spoken of trip privately, won't comment to Summers about his trip. But will say that his mission helped convince him that Castro had nothing to do with JFK's death. (As the Warren Commission and House Select Committee concluded)

Concluded it would have been suicidal for Castro to risk provoking an American revenge attack--and insane for him to do so by using a known pro-Castro activist like Oswald.

Soviets?

No serious observer thinks that the Soviets were behind JFK assassination.

Takes the Nosenko approach--neither KGB nor military ended up interested in O. Obviously he was questioned, although probably not directly. Also, given concern that he might be an American agent, he was watched. If he had seemed potentially useful, might have used him, but he wasn't and they didn't. (Directly conflicting with Epstein's conclusions)

Mafia?

The most durable conspiracy theory is that the Mafia killed JFK.

Stench of mob-connected corruption in JFK's election. Then use of Giancana and Trafficante in plots to kill Castro. Tie-ins with mob, both before and after election.

Mafia thought they haad a deal; their help in exchange for a complaisant Justice Department. But Bobby moved to crush the very men who thought they had earned an easy ride.

The Mob typically does not hit prosecutors or politicians, Blakey agrees. Unless they take favors from them. Once the public official crosses the line, he invites violent retribution. And Blakey believes that is what happened. The Kennedys took graft, but did not keep their bargain.

Frank Ragano's story, in *Mob Lawyer* (spring 1994), seemed to hammer this home. Message from Hoffa to Trafficante and Marcello in July 1963, to kill JFK (R the messenger). Then, Trafficante's supposed death-bed comment to R, in Tampa on March 13, 1987, that T had made a mistake in killing JFK rather than Bobby.

But T's family say that March 13, 1987, meeting between T and R never happened. According to many witnesses, T was and could only have been in Miami on that date.

So, Ragano story no reliable. Yet this does not dispose of the Mafia theory, nor of notion that Trafficante and Marcello played some part in JFK's murder.

T's comments to close associate in Sept. 1962. Plus Marcello's ire at being deported and remaining under threat of deportation.

Did Mob use O to take the blame? Notes O's family connections to Marcello in New Orleans.

And Warren Commission misled public by describing Jack Ruby as an unstable charatcer with no significant link to organized crime. He did have significant and multiple Mob connections.

But none of this proves the Mafia killed Kennedy.

"Another strand of evidence, one that at first appears to point to the Mob, may lead to a more complex truth. Right after the assassination, acting on a tip, New Orleans law-enforcement authorities took a brief interest in **David Ferrie**, then employed by the legal team working to thwart the renewed Kennedy effort to deport Carlos Marcello. He was released after cursory questioning, and his name does not even appear in the Warren Report. It should.

"Last year, after decades of debate as to whether Ferrie ever met Oswald, *Frontline* discovered an old photograph that seems to settle the matter. Apparently taken in 1955, when the alleged assasin was a teenage member of the Civil Air Patrol, it shows C.A.P. cadets at a cookout. Former cadets, one of whom is himself in the picure, told *Frontline* they recognized both O and Ferrie, who was a CAP instructor, in the photograph." (108) Other links as well. Ferrie may have urged O to join the Marines.

The fake birth certificate. Created by O to get into Marines when still underage. Flap at FBI in 1960 over whereabouts of O's genuine birth certificate. FBI even alerted State ot "possibility that an impostor is using O's birth certificate." FBI, State, and ONI exchanged reports referring to the certificate when O returned from Russia without it, and it never did turn up.

Whole impostor notion related to CIA.

While O in USSR, someone of opposite political persuasion--anti-Castro--may have been using his name in the US to buy equipment during buildup to the CIA-backed Bay of Pigs invasion. Leading member of the group was O's former employer (while a teenager in New Orleans), and included Guy Banister as well. Banister's connections to Cuban Revolutionary Council, created by CIA.

Connections between Oswald, Ferrie, Banister, and 544 Camp St. And group of people who viewed JFK as a traitor and betrayer.

Right after assassination, Bobby called Harry Ruiz-Williams (with Haynes Johnson present) and said "One of your guys did it." (109)

CIA officers associated with anti-Castro and/or mob people: Gerry Droller (CIA Director of Operations, Bay of Pigs) William Harvey (who hated the Kennedys)

Also mentions **William Gaudet** (long-time CIA officer or agent who edited newsletter for Information council of the Americas, or INCA; Gaudet went to Mexico at same time as O)

And reports on O, immediately after assassination, telling of O's pro-Castro links--reports based on information coming either before assassination or before anyone but US intelligence knew it.

Also Loran Hall, alias Lorenzo Pascillo--who resembled Oswald and later admitted (and then

recanted) to having visited Silvia Odio with two companions. CIA operative? Certainly strong connections to Trafficante. In 1963, heavily involved in anti-Castro activities, training commandos and running guns.

One of these anti-Castro operations, launched in Spring of 1963 with CIA support, called **Operation Tilt** (CIA codename).

In turn, Operation Tilt indicates link between Hall, CIA, Trafficante and one other man, **John Martino** (who died in 1975), who claimed to have personal knowledge of what happened in Dallas.

Martino, who worked for Trafficante and with Roselli, and emerged from a Cuban jail in 1962 to join the fight against Castro (including at least one of the plots to kill Castro), had contacts with CIA and FBI. Including **William "Rip" Robertson**, a CIA agent who had defied presidential orders by going ashore at Bay of Pigs. Also **William Pawley**, a champion of the exiles, whose CIA file shows he worked closely with CIA's highest officials.

Martino by his own account took part in plot to kill JFK--although at time he loudly charged that Castro was behind the assassination. Confessed just before his death in 1975. Said he had not been in Dalas pulling a trigger, but had been involved. Implied that his role was delivering money, facilitate things. Said O wasn't the hit man. The anti-Castro people put O together, and O didn't know who he was working for. He was to meet his contact at the Texas Theatre; these people were to get him out of the country, then eliminate him. O made a mistake. There was no way to get to hin, so they had Ruby kill him.

The other trigger was in the theater--a Cuban. Police let him come out.

Martino claimed he himself had met O seveeral weeks before the assassination, in Miami. Said an FBI aent named Connors asked him to come, and introduced him to O. Summers unsuccessful in tracing Connors, although FBI records show that Martino did have contacts after the assassination with an agent named Jame J. O'Connor. Who remembered nothing helpful.

Several pages that refer to Martino have been withdrawn from the JFK assassination records collection at NARA, at CIA and FBI insistence. (117)

Silvia Odio story and Martino episode suggests that O was being set up.

Allen Dulles told his Warren Commission colleagues that an Agency official might well not admit that someone had been an agent, even under oath. (123)

Some wonder whether US intelligence was able to pressure O into service because he had committed some crime during his Marine service, or because he had homosexual leanings. Was his defection to the USSR, following service on a top-secret U-2 spy base, a genuine defection? Or was O a low-level tool in a Cold War intelligence operation? Why was there no "damage assassment" conducted by the navy, and why did the passport office post no "look-out card" following O's 1959 defection? How come his estimated expenditures en route to Moscow exceeded his known funds?

Plus, new information (this year) has O visiting the US embassy in Moscow several times in 1959, and being taken to a secure rea where a visitor would never ever get unless on official business. He visited the Counsul, Richard Snyder, who had been employed by CIA and who may still have been employed by CIA under State cover.

To John Newman, it looks as though the CIA has been lying about Oswald for more than 30 years.

The cable that flashed from Moscow to Washington immediately after O's defection said he had told embassy officials that he had "offered Soviets any information he has acquired as enlisted radar operator." Yet CIA claims it did not open a 201 file on O until more than a year later.

Newman has what he believes is hard evidence that other files were opened on O immediately, files that were extremely sensitive. Either O was the object of a sensitive intelligence investigation or O was an intelligence asset.

Newman believes he has exploded CIA's assurance to the Warren Commision that it never interviewed O or communited with him directly or in any other manner. (Memo written 3 days after asassination by officer identified as TBC, chief of SR6 in Soviet Russia division, in which he recalled having discussed "laying on of interview[s] through the [Domestic Contacts Division] or other suitable channels."(124) (SR6, known as the "Soviet Realities Branch," was responsible among other things for creating legends for sleeper agents in the USSR)

Newman also has found CIA document with margin scrawling, "Andy Anderson OO on Oswald." "OO" stands for Domestic Contacts Division, and former deputy chief says DCD did debrief O on return from USSR; a former DCD officer, Donald Deneselya, recalls reading such a debriefing report (4-5 pp)

This document originated in CI/SIG, the mole-hunting unit in CIA's counterintelligence.

Why deny having debriefed O?, N asks. Except to wipe out any evidence that it had ever had any interest in O.

Mexico City episode: where are telephone tapes? Former Warren Commission lawyers William Coleman and David Slawson say they heard such tapes, courtesy of CIA, and a senior officer who served in Mexico at the time says they existed after Nov. 22.

David Phillips in charge of anti-Castro operations in Mexico in late 1963, during O visit.

CIA and FBI worked together on penetrating Fair Play for cuba Committee, and Phillips directed CIA side of operation. O part of their penetration attempt?

New evidence (from Ray and Mary La Fontaine) suggests that O knew Jack Ruby before the assassination.(139)

David Phillips left an unpublished mss for a novel in which the fictional narrator says he was one

of two case officers who handled O. "We gave him the mission of killig Fidel Castro in Cuba....I don't know why he killed Kennedy But I do know he used precisely the plan we had devised against Castro." (139)