ASSASSINATION RECORDS REVIEW BOARD

1	MODIBOLIMITION RECORDS REVIEW BOTTLE
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3	PUBLIC MEETING

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5	Massachusetts State House
6	Room A-1, 1st Floor
7	Boston, Massachusetts
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9	Friday, March 24, 1995
10	riiday, Maich 24, 1999
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12	The above-entitled meeting commenced, pursuant to
13	notice, at 10:02 a.m.
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1	ATTENDEES:
1	JOHN R. TUNHEIM, Chair; Minnesota Chief Deputy
2	Attorney General
3	DAVID MARWELL, Executive Director
4	DR. KERMIT L. HALL; Dean, College of Humanities,
5	and Professor of History at The Ohio State
6	University
7	DR. WILLIAM L. JOYCE; Associates University
8	Librarian for Rare Books and Special Collections
9	at Princeton University
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11	DR. ANNA K. NELSON; Adjunct Professor of History
12	at American University
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WITNESSES:

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2	GEORGE MICHAEL EVICA
3	PHILIP H. MELANSON; Political Science Professor at
4	the University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth and
	the author of Spy Saga: Lee Harvey Oswald and
5	U.S. Intelligence, published in 1990
6	EDGAR TATRO
7	PRISCILLA JOHNSON McMILLAN; History Professor at
8	the Harvard Russian Research Center and the
9	author of Marina and Lee, published in 1977
10	
11	DICK RUSSELL
12	RICHARD TRASK; Author of Pictures of the Pain:
13	Photography and the Assassination of President
14	Kennedy, published in 1994
15	STEVE TILLEY; National Archives
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PROCEEDINGS

1	F K O C E E D I N G S
2	[10:02 a.m.]
3	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Call this meeting of the
	Assassination Records Review Board to order.
4	We're glad to be here in Boston today. I'm going
5	to give a brief introductory statement, but first I'd like to
6	introduce the members of the board and staff who are up here
7	today with me.
8	To your left, far left, is Dr. William Joyce, board
9	member, and Dr. Anna Nelson, board member, and to your right,
10	your far right, Dr. Kermit Hall, who is a member of the board,
11	and David Marwell, who is the executive director of the staff
12	of the Assassination Records Review Board.
13	Dr. Henry Graff, who is a review board member, was
14	unable to join us in Boston today.
15	The Assassination Records Review Board was created
16	by Congress in October of 1992, signed into law by President
17	Bush. We were appointed by President Clinton and confirmed
18	by the Senate and sworn in about 11 months ago.
19	Much of our first year has been spent organizing the
20	staff, getting the group ready to go, but let me tell you a
21	little bit about our obligations under the law.
22	It's not the job of the Assassination Records Review
23	Board to solve the mysteries related to the assassination of
24	President Kennedy, but it is the job of the review board to
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find all of the records that are available today that had never been available before to the American public and share those records with the American public.

We have decisions to make on some of the records as to whether they can be released immediately or whether they will have postponed release dates, and we are about to begin that effort in the upcoming several months.

But first and foremost is our responsibility to find records wherever they are at. Obviously, many records are still housed within the agencies of the Federal Government, and many of those records are in Washington.

We have been working closely with the agencies that have records, providing guidance to them on what constitutes an assassination record and how broad their search for records should be today.

We are also engaged in a hunt for records in other parts of the country. In Boston, we spent time yesterday at the JFK Library, with the library staff. Obviously, there are records there that are of great interest to us.

We had a very fruitful set of meetings yesterday with library staff, were very cooperative with us, and we hope that, in the months to come, there will be further releases coming out through the library.

We are also interested in records that individuals may have. There are individuals who were in government service

during the 1960s who still have records, and we're interested in obtaining copies of those records for the collection.

I might add that records include more than simply documents. It includes photographs. It includes any kind of information that bears on the assassination of President Kennedy in one way, shape, or form.

We are in the process of adopting a definition of what an assassination record is. That definition will, of necessity, be quite broad.

It is up to the review board, in the final instance, to determine whether a record is an assassination record, and so, it is incumbent on us to define the issue somewhat broadly so that we can sweep in as many records as possible that have some potential bearing on the assassination of President Kennedy.

We are also looking for records in the hands of state and local archives, state governments. We are also beginning our effort to seek out the records of foreign governments that may have information in them regarding the assassination of President Kennedy.

This was a very tragic event in the history of our country, a very tragic event, probably the crime of this century.

The fact that there are so many questions that are still lingering in the minds of the American public is significant to us, and we want to do our best to uncover records

that will help the public understand more fully what happened both before, during, and after the assassination of the President.

We have about two-and-a-half further years to complete this effort. We are due to sunset on October 1 of 1997. We expect that we will be done with our effort by that time. I don't think the American public wants a many-years effort to try to further uncover records on the assassination of President Kennedy. So, we will be quick with our work.

We have held a number of public hearings in our effort to reach out to the American public. The Congress was very clear to us in passage of this act and during our confirmation proceedings that they wanted this board to be a public board, a board that reached out to the public to gather information, to share with the public what we were doing.

Many of the prior official actions that have been taken by our government related to the assassination of President Kennedy have been very secretive, and Congress wanted to change that, and we are very mindful of that fact, and that's one of the reasons why we are trying to hold some of our meetings outside of Washington, make them available to interested members of the public, as we are here today in Boston.

I want to thank the Senate President and the House Speaker for allowing us to have our public meeting today in the State House, very helpful to us to be able to use this very

fine public facility, and we thank them very much.

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We have also recently moved into our new offices in Washington at 600 E Street, Northwest. The address will be available to any of you, and our telephone numbers, if you wish to communicate any information to us, to our staff. We encourage you to do so.

If you have information or have ideas, particularly on where there are records that we should be hunting for, we'd like to hear about that, and please let us know, and you can pick up our address and our telephone number here today.

The board really has now virtually completed its organizational effort. We have a staff in place. Many of the staff now have the necessary security clearances so that we can move forward with review of Federal records, and so, that process is about to begin.

It's taken a while to get organized, but it certainly takes a while to organize a new independent Federal agency, and let me emphasize that we are independent. We are not part of any other agency of the Federal Government.

We are an independent Federal agency within the Executive Branch, appointed by the President but with Senate confirmation, so that we are not subject to any kind of oversight by any of the existing Federal agencies, and I think that's important to the independence of this effort.

I mentioned we spent time at the JFK Library

yesterday. We have also spent time at the Johnson Library in Austin, Texas. We held a public hearing in Dallas in November, which was very interesting and brought forth a good deal of information.

We've held five public hearings -- or public hearings and meetings in Washington, and this is our second public hearing outside of the Nation's Capital here today in Boston.

As I said, our focus today is to gather input on where assassination records are.

We have a group of witnesses that we have asked to testify today and are prepared to help provide us with advice, witnesses who are researchers, who have worked in the field, and have written about the assassination of President Kennedy. So, we're very much looking forward to hearing from them.

I'd like to ask if any of the other board members have any preliminary statements to make before we go ahead with the meeting.

[No response.]

CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: We would like to hear first this morning from Steve Tilley, who is the liaison to the board from the National Archives and the person who is the person in charge of the JFK collection within the National Archives.

He is going to provide us with an update on the records that are currently in the collection and what is expected in the near future.

Mr. Tilley, welcome.

MR. TILLEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It's always a pleasure to appear before the board and provide information on the collection and how it stands.

For the record, I will just identify myself. I'm Steven Tilley, and I am employed with the National Archives and Records Administration, and I am the person in charge of the JFK collection at the National Archives.

My duties also include, however, being the liaison to the review board for the National Archives and also being the liaison to the other Federal agencies that are involved in processing records under the act.

When the President John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection Act of 1992 was passed and signed into law by President Bush, the National Archives already had many years of experience in dealing with the issue of the Kennedy assassination.

The National Archives has had custody of the records of the Warren Commission since the transfer of those documents in November of 1964, and over the course of the years since that transfer, we have provided access to the open records of the Commission to the public, we have conducted periodic records of the closed records, 10-year reviews of the closed records, which are required under instructions promulgated by the Department of Justice, and we also respond to the Freedom of

Information Act requests for the records of the Warren Commission.

The records of the Warren Commission were opened in the years following the transfer, primarily in the interest of dealing with the initial criticism that was surfaced after the publication of the Warren report in September of 1964.

The Justice Department put together an interagency task force which reviewed the documents of the Commission and released approximately 65 percent -- and that's a rough estimate, obviously; I wasn't there then -- of the records were made available at that time in an attempt to provide the public with an understanding of what the Warren Commission report was based on.

Unfortunately, I guess, or perhaps fortunately for our purpose here today, the criticism of the Warren Commission report was not stilled, as we all know, and there has been continuing controversy over the assassination in the years that have followed that, and that continued controversy has, of course, led to the existence of other investigative panels that were established in order to try to come to grips with the vexing questions of the assassination.

The first of those investigations was the Clark panel, named after Attorney General Ramsey Clark, which was impaneled in the late '60s in order to -- primarily, their mission was to examine the medical evidence that pertained to the

assassination and their job was to see if, in fact, the Warren Commission's conclusions were correct on that issue.

Later, after the revelations of Watergate, additional investigative panels were established to look into certain aspects of the assassination, and one of the things that came out of the Watergate inquiry was the fact that it appeared that the Central Intelligence Agency had perhaps been involved in some activities that was outside its charter, and in order to address those issues, in 1975, President Ford established the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States, which has become known, of course, as the Rockefeller Commission, after Vice President Rockefeller, who chaired it.

But those same allegations that had led to the impaneling of the Rockefeller Commission also led the Congress to get involved in the controversy, and in 1976, the Senate established the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities.

That long name is known to most people who research this issue as the Church Committee, headed by Senator Frank Church, and a parallel investigation occurred in the House of Representatives at that time. The House Select Committee on Intelligence, chaired by Representative Otis Pike, also delved into certain aspects of the assassination.

Now, these three groups were primarily investigating the possibility of CIA involvement in the assassination, and

their focus was somewhat narrower than the Warren Commission, but they still had played a major role in extending the information available on the assassination.

These efforts finally culminated in 1978 with the establishment of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, the purpose of which, of course, was to look into both the assassination -- not only the assassination of President Kennedy but also the assassination of Martin Luther King.

Now, I just give that history as a background, because I think it is important for everyone to know that all of the records that I have just described, the records of these entities, are now part of the JFK collection, and now, I would like just to tell how some of those records came into our possession and what the status of those documents are.

First, let me say that the Kennedy act, as it was passed by the Congress, provided the National Archives with seven responsibilities. For the purpose of our discussion today, though, I think I'll limit myself to three which deal directly with the access to the collection itself.

The first requirement that the National Archives had under the act was that, within 45 days of the statute being signed, the archives was required to prepare and make available standard identification forms for use by all government offices in describing assassination records prior to the transfer of those records to the National Archives.

Furthermore, we were required to ensure the creation of a database of these assassination records forms to serve as an electronic finding aid to the collection, and let me just say here that the database that has been established, which was established on December the 10th of 1992 by the archives, consists of the forms that were created by the agencies during their review of closed documents, documents that were closed at that time.

The database does not contain the full text of any documents themselves. The database just consists of the forms that were created.

Also, the database does not contain any forms about any records that were open for research and in the possession of the National Archives on the day the law was signed, October 26, 1992.

Therefore, all open Warren Commission records at that time are not in the database, and other documents that were in the possession of National Archives at that time and open for research are not in the database.

We do have standard archival finding aids that we have created over the years which do allow us to search those records and provide assistance on those documents.

So, it's not like there is a black hole here. We can research these documents, as anyone who has dealt with us knows, and we can provide assistance on those records, but the

database consists solely of records that were closed to the public on the day the law was signed.

Now, when we established the database on the 10th of December of '92, on the day we also distributed data collection system information, such as a training program showing agencies how to enter data into the database, data disks, and other information to allow them to conduct the work necessary to create the database.

At this time, the database contains approximately 120,000 documents, and of course, the creation of the database has greatly facilitated the ability of the staff of the National Archives to provide assistance to researchers in finding documents — and particularly in locating individual documents, which is often the case, where researchers are trying to find a single document or documents about a certain individual or a certain event that might be interspersed throughout the records of several different agencies.

Now, unfortunately, at the present time, the database is only available at the National Archives building and accessible only to the staff of the National Archives, but we are working very hard on trying to make the database available to the public both in our research room at the National Archives and our new facility on College Park, Maryland, and also eventually to have this available on-line over the Internet or some other server across the country. So, that's something

we're eventually shooting for.

Our second responsibility under the statute was to establish the President John F. Kennedy Assassination Records Collection, and we did that on December 28, 1992, through a notification in the Federal Register, and that announcement also solicited open assassination from all Federal agencies, asking them to transfer any records they may have had about the assassination that were open to us for inclusion in the collection.

Now, since we already had the custody of the majority of the open records, the creation of the collection was largely a technical act, if you will, and what it did was define the following open records as the collection itself.

As I mentioned earlier, the records of the Warren Commission -- by the time the collection was established on that date, we estimate that only 2 percent of the records of the Commission were closed on that date. The vast majority of those closed documents were records of other agencies and not records of the Commission itself.

We were, I believe, in our discussions with the board, the board is aware that we were basically holding only four or five documents that were Commission-originated documents at the time the collection was established and none of them in full, all in part.

The collection also included the records of the Secret

Service.

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Now, the Secret Service case file on the assassination had been transferred to the archives in 1979, after the completion of the work of the House Select Committee, and it contains approximately 11,000 pages of documents.

Many of those documents are duplicates, records that are among the records of the Warren Commission. Many of the Secret Service-originated documents that are among that file were made available to the Warren Commission and are incorporated in the Warren Commission's files.

The third major set of records in the collection were the criminal division of the Department of Justice case file on the assassination, contained approximately 65,000 pages of documents, and that file included official mail and interagency correspondence with the Department of Justice, correspondence from the public, and replies to those inquiries, and once again, copies of a large number of FBI documents relating to the assassination.

Fourthly -- and something that was actually, a major addition to the collection, although it had come in before the act was signed -- was the first portion of the Lee Harvey Oswald 201 Personality File of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The CIA had been processing this file for opening under their openness program that had been announced by then-Director Robert Gates in 1991 and had finished

approximately 22,000 pages of that file before the bill was signed into law, and they transferred that information to us in September of 1992.

Now, this portion of the file -- these documents do not contain record identification forms, because they were open at the time the law was signed.

However, documents from that portion of the file were postponed by the CIA, and those documents, those postponed documents, or the postponed documents which have portions deleted, remain in the custody of the Central Intelligence Agency, and those documents that had deletions or were postponed in full will be part of the collection database in the future.

Finally, the fifth major grouping of records were personal papers and donated historical materials that were in the custody of our presidential libraries.

There was a good amount of material that was open at that time, that was already available for research, in the custody of our presidential libraries.

An example of that was all of John Connally's papers at the Lyndon Johnson Library had been opened for research prior to the signing of the law at Governor Connally's express instructions.

Once it became obvious that there was going to be a statute, he let it be known that he wanted all the records in his files made available in full, and that was done.

So, we had a significant amount of material from our libraries at the time the collection was established.

I might also say that President Ford had also done the same thing and let it be known to his library that he also wanted total cooperation under the statute, and we had a significant amount of material from his Congressional files related to his work on the Warren Commission, and we were also able to open a portion of the Rockefeller Commission files, not a large portion, but at least some documents from the Rockefeller Commission were opened or we were able to open at a later date, after we reviewed them, because they were all closed at that time, but it was based on the President's cooperation under the statute.

The third major requirement for NARA, along with all other Federal Government offices holding assassination records, was to identify, review, and make available to the public all assassination records that could be disclosed within a 300-day review period.

These were records that were closed at the time the bill was signed into law, and these are the documents that were required to be entered into the database under the statute, and further requirement was that each document had to have its record identification form attached to it to provide the information for a researcher as to clearly identifying the document, showing its status -- if it perhaps is released in

part, showing that status -- showing when it was reviewed last, and this is to provide as much information as possible to the researcher about that particular document.

At the end of the 300-day review period, which was August the 23rd of 1993, the newly-opened records under the statute were made available to the public at our building in downtown Washington, D.C., and these newly-opened records include the following.

The remainder of the CIA's 201 personality file on Lee Oswald, a file which, incidentally, dated back to 1959.

In addition, we also made available CIA records relating to other aspects of the assassination, which is known as the segregated collection of CIA records, and without boring anybody with too much detail, basically it had been segregated by the CIA during the time of the work of the House Select Committee, and as part of the agreement with the Committee, it remained segregated at the CIA through the remainder of the time after the Committee had finished.

It's considered to be records of the House Select Committee on Assassinations and not CIA records, through some court action, but it's still CIA-originated material.

Secondly, we received several records from several components of the Department of Justice, from the criminal division and the civil rights division, but none from the FBI at that time.

Third, we opened the records of the House Select Committee on that day -- of course, only the portions that related to the assassination of President Kennedy, the Martin Luther King records, of course, being outside the scope of the act.

That was a significant opening. Those records had never been available before. They were closed for research under standard rules of the House of Representatives, and their inclusion in this statute was a significant agreement by the House to the openness under this law.

Fourth, we opened some previously-closed records of the Warren Commission. This had been -- these were the 2 percent that I mentioned earlier, and this resulted in only four documents now being postponed at this time and part of original -- of Warren Commission-originated documents.

And fifthly, we opened some records of the National Archives itself, frankly some records we probably didn't know we had at the time, that related to the assassination, particularly some correspondence of the Archivist's office dealing with transfers of records and work with the House Select Committee, basically administrative records of the National Archives.

Also, though, we also released more material from the holdings of the three presidential libraries -- the Kennedy, the Johnson, and the Ford libraries -- and as I mentioned

earlier, significant among that disclosure were some records from the Rockefeller Commission.

Now, the opening on the 23rd of these newly-released records drew over 130 individuals to the National Archives on that day, a large number of whom were journalists, and the opening on that day received worldwide attention.

The interest -- I guess I shouldn't say this, considering -- the interest from the press did drop some in the months ahead, but as we have continued to add records to the collection, there has been significant interest in this material.

What's even more interesting to me, having worked with this material for a long time, is how the interest of the public itself continues to grow.

I have a very small staff. We're known as the JFK access staff, and there are only three of us, and last year, we processed over 600 written inquiries for information about the collection.

This does not include all the telephone calls and all the walk-in researchers that we have handled, and that doesn't include all the work that has been handled by our non-textual division, which contains some material, the motion pictures and the sound recordings that we have, but it looks like, right now, for this fiscal year, we are on a pace to do almost 900 written inquiries.

So, there's obviously a significant interest in the assassination out there, and what's particularly striking to me is the number of young people who seem to be interested in the assassination, and I mentioned to one of the staff yesterday that, later this year, we expect eight people from Harvard University, who are working some sort of a group project, to come down and spend some time with us.

So, there is a lot of interest among students, college students and high school students, in the records of the collection. Obviously, this interest has been generated by the fact that there is so much new information available in the collection.

After the opening in August, we had additional records come open, pretty much on a periodic basis since that time.

In September of '93, the archives released transcripts of telephone conversations of President Lyndon Johnson for November and December of 1963.

The library had decided, in the interest of full disclosure, that all telephone conversations of that period would be assassination records and, therefore, released the transcripts of all conversations of those two months.

And then, in November of 1993, additional records were made available, including 350 pages of documents from the Defense Intelligence Agency, approximately 8 cubic feet of records, and cubic feet, of course, is an archival term. We

estimate approximately 2,500 pages of documents in a cubic foot of records.

We have -- a hundred pages of National Security Agency records were opened at that time, the records of the Executive Office of U.S. Attorneys were opened, and then we also opened the tape recordings of the transcripts that were made available early in 1993.

We also opened the Secret Service records of the White House gatepost logs that were provided by the Kennedy Library, which had been reviewed and then opened for the collection.

The first release of FBI records took place in December of 1993, and those records consisted of the FBI's headquarters file on its investigation of Jack Ruby.

Significant releases of FBI records have taken place in the months since then, and we have had, basically, approximately 250 cubic feet of records now of FBI materials available. That and the CIA are probably the largest body of materials that we have.

The FBI has released their headquarters and field office files relating to Lee Oswald, their headquarters and field office files of its investigation into the assassination itself, its work with the Warren Commission, with the House Select Committee, with the Pike Committee, liaison with various other investigative bodies, plus related files on individuals such as Marina and Marguerite Oswald, David Ferry, and Clay

Shaw.

So, there is a wide variety of information there that's now available from FBI files, and of course, additional FBI files are under review as we speak today.

In September of '94, we had a significant increase in the records of the CIA, when the CIA released another portion of its segregated collection of files.

These documents had also been made available to the House Select Committee but were on microfilm at that time, and the review process had been slowed by the fact that the CIA had to print the documents off onto paper before the review could take place.

These records, I think, are significant in the fact that, while some of them were duplicative of what had been released earlier, they contain a significant amount of information about the activities of Cuban exile groups and the work of the Central Intelligence Agency with those groups, and I will say that there has been a great deal of interest in that particular set of records since they were made available in September.

We have also added the records of the Church Committee to the collection. The initial transfer took place in January of 1994, and we have had increases in that over the previous months since then. We now have 40 boxes of records, approximately 40,000 pages of material.

There is still a small amount of material still being reviewed by the Committee. It's the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence which has the oversight of this material since, of course, the Church Committee no longer exists, and the staff there is still working on a small amount of material still to be transferred.

I should also point out that we do not have the data disks for the Church Committee records yet. They will be transferred with the last bit of information that we receive. But we have created a finding aid in order to help us search those records that we make available to the researchers.

The significance of the Church Committee, I think, is that it was the -- one of the first releases of any testimony taken by the Intelligence Committee, and the transcripts of the testimony that have been made available, which cover many of the main players in some of these events, please like Edward Lansdale and Robert McNamara and people like that -- these were significant new documents that were made available for the first time under the statute.

We also have the records of the Pike Committee. They have just recently come in, and there's only three boxes of the Pike Committee, and let me say right here, Mr. Chairman, that I just wanted to make clear that, with the Church Committee and the Pike Committee, we do not have all the records of those committees.

Those committees looked at a number of different issues that involved Central Intelligence Agency activities, and the JFK aspect was only one portion of their investigation. We only have the records that pertain to that part of their investigation. We don't have all of the records of those committees.

Now, once again, you have duplication, and one of the prime factors that people must realize is that many records are duplicated throughout the collection.

Each one of the investigative bodies went back to the FBI and got copies of their documents, and they went to the CIA and asked for documents, and of course, then they came to the National Archives and asked for copies of Warren Commission documents, and in doing so, they received copies of some of the same documents they had received from the other agencies.

So, there is a lot of duplication of material, but what is new here is that there are some unique documents among each of these collections, and of course, what's really unique is the documents created by the investigative panel itself.

CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Mr. Tilley, I wanted to ask you a question.

At our last public hearing in Washington, the testimony from the FBI was that a release was imminent of additional materials, House Select Committee materials that

1	they had been reviewing. Can you provide us with an update
2	on that?
3	MR. TILLEY: Mr. Chairman, what I can tell you is
4	that we were expecting that transfer, and it's sort of been
5	on again and off again over the last few days, and we are hoping
6	that there may be something in the next week or so where that
7	transfer will take place, but at this time we don't really have
8	anything hard and firm on that.
9	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: And how much material do you
10	expect from that transfer?
11	MR. TILLEY: Well, my understanding is that there
12	are about 149 or 150 pages from the Lee Harvey Oswald file and
13	approximately 16 boxes of records relating to some organized
14	crime figures. Those records were made available to the House
15	Select Committee.
16	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Can we expect this release
	sometime within the next week?
17	MR. TILLEY: I hope so, yes. That's my
18	understanding. It may take place next week.
19	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Do members have questions for Mr.
20	Tilley?
21	DR. NELSON: I have one question, Mr. Tilley, and
22	that is, with this vast amount of material coming into the
23	archives, is it your sense that the agencies continue to answer
24	the Freedom of Information requests, or are they relying on
25	

the documents simply coming out in a body?

Is the archives answering any Freedom of Information requests?

MR. TILLEY: Oh, yes, yes.

We have received many, many Freedom of Information Act requests, and we are responding to them as we can, but for the most part, the documents that are being requested from us are records of other agencies or are already open, and under the Kennedy act and under the FOIA, we have no --we don't have the authority to open the records of those committees.

So, what I have done is I've tried to ask people to be patient and let the board -- in some instances let the board's work go forward, and once the board has finished its work, maybe the documents will be available, because the FOIA process is such a long, complicated process with so many people, and there may be a quicker resolution through the work of this board.

MR. MARWELL: Mr. Tilley, you mentioned the imminent release of some FBI records. Can you tell us what's on the horizon with other agencies? Are there any other major releases that you expect in the next period of time?

MR. TILLEY: No, I don't.

I mean I do know that there are additional files of the FBI that are being reviewed that deal with the issue of organized crime and other issues that have been raised with the FBI by the House Select Committee. Other than the one we

just discussed, there is nothing imminent from them.

from other agencies, and they have been coming in an a periodic

basis, and we are dealing with those as they come in, but at

this time, there are no major groups of records that are pending

may, away from the question of what's come in and what's there

and move you to a somewhat more policy-based and philosophical,

perhaps, issue, and I am wondering if you can help me and perhaps

in the near future to be transferred from any agencies.

I am getting records that had been out on coordination

DR. HALL: Mr. Tilley, I'd like to shift you, if I

an individual.

help the other members of the board by explaining to us the basis upon which the National Archives and presidential libraries hold and maintain materials, and here I have special interest in the nature of deposit agreements, donations, deeds of books, how they operate, and maybe you can also address the issue of the relative responsibilities of these entities, the archives and the presidential libraries, for holding those materials and perhaps returning them to those who have given them to the library or archives, and finally, whether you have within your knowledge any instance in which material that might be deemed an assassination record that has, in fact, been taken

from the archives or a presidential library and returned to

Libraries within the National Archives maintains the

MR. TILLEY: Well, the Office of Presidential

presidential library system, and there is a statute which governs -- that established the presidential library system.

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I'm not sure what the title of it is, but there is a statute which established that system, and the heart and soul of that system was always the issue of donations of records.

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Before the passage of the Presidential Records Act in 1978, it was established policy that the records of a president belonged to the president as his private property, and every president prior to President Reagan took his papers with him when he left office, and it was with the establishment of the Roosevelt Library that the system -- the presidential library sort of came into being, and basically -- very, very basically, the way it worked is that the president would take his papers with him at the end of the administration and then he would deed those papers back to the United States under a deed of gift, and that deed of gifts sets forth certain provisions of access to those papers, as established by the president, and at the same time, the president would help in the building of a facility to house those materials, a foundation would be established which would raise money and build a library and/or museum that would then house the facilities, and that facility would then be maintained by the National Archives.

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Now, in addition to the papers of the presidents, the staff of the libraries also have a regular program where they solicit the papers of members of the administration in

order to fill out their holdings, to add to the historical record that they can make available to the public, and those holdings are also established and controlled under deeds of gift.

But this is a process where the archives has some -- has guidance on it, and they provide guidance to their staff on how this process should be handled, but it's often a difficult process getting some of the donors to agree to sign deeds at a certain particular time and et cetera, et cetera.

So, we often, in the interest of at least taking possession of important collections of papers, we will agree to deposit agreements or even courtesy storage in order to begin the process, and I know that the libraries will say that -- even though they don't like to begin with deposit agreements or courtesy storage -- that they will do so in order to get possession of a significant collection and then with the hope, always, of getting a donor to sign a deed sometime in the future.

Now, when the JFK act was under consideration in the Congress, the National Archives worked very closely with the committees considering those bills in order to protect the integrity of the donor system, and the archives feels very strongly that we must continue to be able to provide donor agreements to the people with private papers in order to obtain their donations, and through doing that, we must allow them some control over the access to these documents, although eventually they become available for research at some time in

the future, and we worked very strongly with the committees in order to try to protect that system, and there is a particular section of the statute which -- Section 11(a) -- which does address the issues of donated materials and donor agreements.

At the same time, the archives also is very, very understanding of the need to cooperate with the work of this board in order to see that assassination-related documents do become available as soon as possible, and we have worked very closely with our donors, the staffs of the three main libraries involved in this effort have worked very closely with their donors in order to try to get them to agree to the release of documents and to agree that documents become part of the collection and then become open for research by the public.

Obviously, this has not been a perfect situation. There have been some rocky relationships and some problems, but we are continuing to work very hard on getting this done.

In response to the last portion of your question, we are aware of one particular instance where some records have been returned to a donor. The records were simply covered by a -- I don't even think there was a deposit agreement.

I think they were strictly in courtesy storage --I may be wrong in that, but that's my recollection -- and the donor came and asked for the materials to be returned, and we have done so under our understanding of the way the system works.

But we have also made the board fully aware of the

issues surrounding that and how that has occurred, and of course, we are willing to assist the board in anything the board deems necessary to pursue that issue.

DR. JOYCE: Mr. Tilley, in the course of your relations with the presidential library system, when materials that you're aware of have been put in those libraries on the basis of either a deposit agreement or courtesy storage, has there been any effort made to review whether any of those records might be Federal records and not the property of those who would have deposited the records there or simply had them there on the basis of courtesy storage?

MR. TILLEY: Well, that's a thornier issue, I think, to a certain extent.

Obviously, there are some documents in donated papers -- we're all aware of that, anybody who has done any research in private papers over the years -- that sometimes there are some papers that people create on government service that get involved in their personal papers.

But we work very hard to try to make sure that it's very clear what the issue of these documents are, whether in fact they are private papers or whether or not there are any Federal records that can be deemed to be Federal records and should not be part of private papers.

But for the most part -- sometimes, I think, the libraries try to deal with that when they actually get a deed

signed; at other times, I think it's not always as clear-cut 1 as that. 2 But we are aware that that is a concern of the board 3 and will continue to work with you on it. 4 In that connection, do you think there DR. JOYCE: 5 is any room here or leverage, perhaps, for the board to consider 6 some of these records, or are you aware that some of them seem 7 to be unambiguously Federal records in terms of any access 8 questions that may arise, that this would be a useful way for 9 us to approach the situation as a potential remedy of it? 10 MR. TILLEY: Well, I think it's certainly something 11 that's worth looking into. 12 I don't think -- the statute really doesn't address 13 that, I think, it doesn't go into detail on that issue, but 14 it's certainly something, I think, that the board maybe might 15 want to look into as a chance to perhaps alleviate some of these 16 more difficult questions concerning these donated materials. 17 DR. JOYCE: Thank you. 18 CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Thank you, Mr. Tilley. 19 appreciate your report this morning, and I have enjoyed working 20 with you. 21 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. MR. TILLEY: 22 CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Before we go on to our additional 23 witnesses, I just wanted to give you a brief update on what

you can expect from the review board in the upcoming several

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months.

First of all, we do expect, soon, to issue our final regulation on our guidance to agencies on what constitutes an assassination record. As many of you know, the review board and staff has been working on this issue for the past four or five months.

We have published a draft regulation in the Federal Register, and we have held a public hearing and gathered comments through a comment period that ended about two weeks ago.

It's up to the board now to reach its final conclusion on what is included in this definition of an assassination record. It is guidance for Federal agencies and for others in interpreting what the topic means. So, you can expect to see that soon.

You can expect that the board will be having a public hearing at some point, probably in Washington, a hearing at which we will bring in people who were investigators with prior investigations into the assassination of President Kennedy to gather their input on what records we should be looking for. We hope to organize that hearing relatively soon.

Our staff will be working within agencies to help agencies go through records that they have. We expect that process to be beginning very soon, and we expect that our own review process of postponed records will start shortly. We have already seen some records and started a preliminary review.

Staff has been reviewing records, particularly House Select Committee records and Warren Commission records, but we have what we estimate will probably be somewhere in the neighborhood of 50,000 records that we will begin our review process on very soon, and that review process will result in an order from the board which will either be a release order — that release order, if an agency does not agree with us, can be appealed to the President in, I think, a 30-day period.

Once that period of time is elapsed, then that record will be fully available to the public if there has been no decision to reverse the decision of the board.

There may well be postponement orders, as well.

Those orders, we expect, would identify a particular date in the future by which the information in the record will be made public, and we would provide substitute records to disclose as much as possible about the information being withheld.

So, that process is about to begin, and you expect to see action from the board soon in that regard.

I think, also, you will see, in coming months, releases of information and materials, many releases coming from agencies. That shows, I think, that the process is working well.

Hopefully, not all material that has been identified for keeping secret will have to come through us, that agencies will reconsider their decisions, as they have been doing over

the past two or three years, and make a lot of that information public.

That's, I think, important to demonstrate that this process is working well, that we are overseeing the process, that agencies themselves are making redeterminations on records and the need for secrecy of records.

This is all part of the effort to open all of the still-secret files related to the Kennedy assassination and, I think, an indication that that process is working and the agencies are rethinking the need for secrecy of many of these records. So, we're looking forward to those releases in the months to come.

I'd like to take this moment to call our first witness to testify today, Mr. Philip H. Melanson.

Mr. Melanson is the author of Spy Saga: Lee Harvey Oswald and U.S. Intelligence, which was published in 1990, and we appreciate, Mr. Melanson, your willingness to testify and provide us information today about what records we should be seeking.

MR. MELANSON: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Let me say that I am impressed that full disclosure
is not only the board's mandate but the spirit with which it's
approaching its work, and I think what I'm going to try to do
is make a few suggestions about achieving that goal, given that
there are some problems and impediments.

The first point I would urge is that your definition of assassination-related records include all U.S. Government files on Lee Harvey Oswald prior to the assassination.

As the board is aware, I'm sure, and much of the public, the enduring controversy of who Oswald really was, what he was, is an inherent part of the historical truth of this case. It's also been an area that's been subject to governmental secrecy over the decades and to deception. So, it's crucial that these be released as part of a record.

Oswald, as you know, is the most complex alleged or real political assassin in American history. Let me refresh our memories about that.

This is a young man who studied the Russian language in the Marine Corps, subscribed to Pravda, had proximity to a U-2 spy plane, defected to Russia, came back, and had involvements with groups that looked both pro- and anti-Castro, and corresponded with or joined some of the most heavily-targeted domestic political groups of the era.

So, the files pre-assassination on Oswald are very rich, and just as the Warren Commission created assassination records out of Oswald's school transcripts, psychiatrist reports, Marine Corps disciplinary records, those of us who have a different view of Oswald want the full record of what our government agencies knew about him to be released.

And those agencies, let me say, a list of agencies

that definitely have or should have had, given their mission, pre-assassination files on Oswald, would include the Marine Corps, the State Department, selective service, FBI, CIA, probably National Security Agency, and Army and Navy intelligence.

And I would also urge that as part of this outreach in pre-assassination Oswald, that the files of the groups that he joined or corresponded with be looked at carefully, as well, because these were groups, as I said, that were heavily targeted by U.S. intelligence, and the key to how they treated or thought of Oswald may lie in those files — the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the Communist Party USA, the Socialist Workers Party, and the infamous American Civil Liberties Union.

I also urge the board to focus its disclosure spotlight on some of those agencies that have remained relatively in the shadows.

We're all aware of FBI and CIA and Secret Service, but many of us in the research community would like to see special attention paid to the National Security Agency and to Army intelligence, which has a very poor history of responsiveness, to be charitable, in this case, which indications are has material presently on Oswald, claimed that it destroyed routinely a file on Oswald.

Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms is another agency.

So, these are things that need to be looked at and

will shed light on who Oswald was.

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Let me get to the part of my suggestions that relate to implementation, and if I am already reinforcing what the board is already thinking, so be it, because some of Chairman Tunheim's comments this morning parallel my suggestions.

I emphasize that the board should develop its own expertise about the files, and I can't stress that enough.

I think it's commendable that you're talking with assassination researchers who understand the case, many of whom are also expert on the files, but I also point out that there are experts who know little or nothing about the Kennedy assassination who are exceedingly expert on the convoluted filing indices of FBI and CIA, and I hope you will draw upon these people at every stage.

Let me give you my own parallel example from another case.

As the director of the Robert Kennedy assassination archives at the University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, when we began to pursue the FBI files on the Robert Kennedy case, the Freedom of Information Act request was drafted in concert with authors who had written on the FBI, ex-agents, scholars knowledgeable in the field, and it was a six-page letter that I was the signatory to, much of the jargon of which I couldn't understand, but it produced 32,000 pages of records where previously similar requests not so detailed, not so expert,

had produced one-tenth of that volume, and I think that's proof that, if you are able to tell the agencies where to look, what to look for, you're going to increase the yield tremendously.

I also urge -- and I think the chairman spoke to the fact that this is occurring. There is no replacement for the expertise of those who worked on the files contemporaneously, the people who generated them, who use them, who knew what they are about.

Present records custodians may not have that knowledge, and this is important not only in broadening the search but also, frankly, in overcoming the hide-and-seek games, as I call them, which some intelligence agencies play some of the time.

And I would refer to the examples that -- in the Robert Kennedy case, for example, if it hadn't been for the affidavit of a Los Angeles police officer, retired, we would not have known about the super-secret department file on the case that was stuck out at L.A. airport and not in the downtown files.

And similar things have happened in other cases, agents who work, know the convoluted filing system and where things might be hidden, as well as where they might be found.

The other payoff here is tracing documents from documents and files from files, a very important activity that really requires a detailed knowledge of cryptographs and notations and filing numbers, and also what I call the

mirror-image principle, that you will find some state and local agencies who have mandates that cause them to be in touch with Federal agencies and who will have Federal paper in their files that will lead to Federal agency files.

The example I would talk about here is the Dallas police criminal intelligence unit.

Both pre- and post-assassination, that unit within the police department definitely should have or would have had contact with the Central Intelligence Agency, with Army intelligence, with other agencies, and therefore, their files provide a good clue, in mirror-image fashion, to what the Federal agencies might hold.

I was very pleased to hear Chairman Tunheim talk this morning about the search for private records and the broadening of the search.

I applaud that tremendously, and I won't belabor it except to say that the history of disclosure in all three of the assassination cases -- Dr. King, Senator Kennedy, President Kennedy -- shows us time and time again that some of the most important materials, for varieties of reasons, are held in private hands or are held in public venues beyond the record custodian's purview, and may I remind us that, for example, the acoustical tape so crucial to the House Assassinations Committee work was brought to them from the home of a retired Dallas intelligence officer.

My favorite example in this venue is, when we were getting the District Attorney's files released in the Robert Kennedy case, in a branch office distant from downtown Los Angeles, an employee found a box in a storage closet marked "Sirhan Sirhan case" and sent it downtown, because he had heard on television that we were getting the files disclosed, and that's one of the things that I think is so valuable about your public hearings, your media contacts, and your taking this on the road, so to speak, because it alerts people to what's going on.

In that box happened to be the official filmed re-enactments of Robert Kennedy's murder done by the officials in 1968, an incredible trove of audiotapes of witness interviews, and so, it's very important to keep up that notion of outreach to not only private individuals and collections but things that may be sort of lost in the closets.

I also urge the board -- I know it's not an investigative body, I know it's got limited or scarce resources, but when you're talking to the agencies who hold these files, ask them the questions not only about what they can give you now but about what they should have been giving over the decades and what they should have preserved that they didn't preserve.

We're all about public disclosure, but also, in a certain sense, even though it's not your mission, you're holding these agencies accountable just by the questions you ask them

and by your asking them to release files, and over the decades there has been an inexcusable refusal of the public right to know, an unaccountability of certain materials, and I urge you to ask.

Ask the CIA, when you're talking to them, about that mysterious photo of Oswald that everybody has been chasing that's so crucial.

If it's really Oswald in Mexico City, it makes the Warren Commission supporters very happy. If it's an Oswald imposter, it's a window onto conspiracy. Where did it go when it left the private safe of the Mexico City station chief?

And please ask all these Federal agencies, just to please me if you would, cathartically, does anybody have any snippet of an audiotape recording of the 48 hours of interrogation of Lee Harvey Oswald when he was in custody and was talked to by revolving-door interviewers from state, local, Federal agencies too numerous to mention, and yet, we have no preserved record of that moment at which the alleged assassin of our President, who had ties to Cuba and ties to Russia, was being interrogated at the time of our peak national crisis.

So, I know you can't chase everything that's missing, but I urge you to select a few items and try to hold these agencies responsible.

My last point is to encourage you to reverse what has been the trend in disclosure in the last several decades

for whatever disclosure we have had.

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Agencies have taken the position, largely, that assassination-related records should be withheld if they relate to other secrets, ongoing operations, or intelligence sources and methods.

I am asking the board to disentangle these things, that when there are records held by the CIA or the FBI that are clearly assassination-related, do not accept the response that current operations preclude their release. They can and should be disentangled, and let me give you my example of that.

I and other researchers have focused on this anti-Castro Cuban group in Dallas, ALPHA-66, and without going into theory, which I know is not the Commission's bailiwick, let me just say about this group that it's a terrorist group created by the CIA.

It detested President Kennedy, by its own statements. It was in Dallas. It was illegally well-armed. CIA case officers were meeting with the meetings there. The CIA failed to report this group to the Secret Service, as protective procedure required.

The head of this group was mistaken for Lee Harvey Oswald in two incidents that we reported, one by the FBI, one by the Dallas police.

The point is that -- I don't need to go further to say that this is the subject of suspicion, if not intrigue.

The Rockefeller Commission asked the agency to 1 respond about this, and their response was, in part, that they 2 couldn't find such a book in the 1963 Dallas telephone book. 3 Their second response was that the street on which 4 the group held its meetings could not be found in a Dallas street 5 map, but that's sort of like saying that Beacon Street outside, 6 you know, can't be found in Boston. 7 My point is that the agency has been terribly 8 unresponsive to previous official investigations and that this 9 is an area of suspicion. 10 So, ALPHA-66 files in Dallas should be released. 11 The problem that we all face is as follows. 12 ALPHA-66 is still active, attempted an assassination 13 of Castro, by their own admission, in 1983, and still exists 14 in Miami, perhaps with agency sponsorship. 15 The fact that they are current and that their 16 operations are current should not preclude the 1963 records 17 from being released. 18 And finally, I think there is an extraordinary 19 opportunity here that I know the board is aware of. 20 Not only is it your daunting task to help repair 30 21 years of distrust and governmental secrecy that have so eroded 22 our democratic culture, but also, it's an extraordinary 23

The idea that, for the first time, citizens will be 25

opportunity for the public right to know.

the judge of the balance between government secrecy and what we know, rather than the agencies themselves or the courts, I think is extraordinary, and I just urge you that, at every step along the way -- and I think you're doing this -- consult with those rational, responsible, sober experts in all fields who can help you do your job better and do it in a more timely fashion, because you're aware and I'm aware the clock is running, and the work has to be done, and I thank you very much for allowing me to comment this morning.

CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Thank you very much, Mr. Melanson.

Questions, board members? Go ahead.

DR. JOYCE: Mr. Melanson, in the course of your own research, have you made Freedom of Information requests of some of the agencies you've mentioned this morning, especially the CIA and the NSA, which you regarded as unresponsive, and whether, in the course of your work, in making those requests, if you have any leads that you would like to share with the board in assisting our effort to discover more documents.

MR. MELANSON: Yes, I would.

I have made Freedom of Information Act requests in the Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King assassination and President Kennedy's assassination to NSA, the CIA, the FBI, and Army intelligence, and what I would like to do is to prepare a memorandum with insights from those experiences that might be useful to the board and submit that to you, if that's your

pleasure.

CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: We would very much appreciate that.

DR. HALL: I'd like, Mr. Chairman, to echo that question raised by my colleague and put it in a somewhat different way.

One of the interesting parts of your testimony relates to the assassination of Martin Luther King and the role of the CIA relative to the surveillance of Dr. King, as well as military intelligence.

You suggest that there are documents relating to the assassination of Dr. King filed in the western hemisphere division.

My question to you is twofold.

One, do you have comparable leads or suggestions for us relative to the assassination of the President beyond the materials associated with the 112th at Fort Sam Houston, question number one, and question number two, do you have or would you suggest any names to us of individuals coming out of the military intelligence operation whose personnel files and/or other military records may be of value to us to search?

MR. MELANSON: Yes. That's not something I'm prepared to do this morning, but in fact, I do have queues to other files, and I would like to prepare a list of individuals that relate to those files that I could submit to the board.

I don't have any direct experience in requesting like 112th material from Army intelligence, but I do have other requests that would be useful.

DR. HALL: I do think, if there are names of individuals associated with military intelligence, specifically the Army, it would be of great value to the board, since names can provide one route by which to begin to hunt.

MR. MELANSON: Absolutely.

DR. HALL: Thank you.

DR. NELSON: Have you had the opportunity or do you know of people who have had the opportunity to look at what the CIA and the FBI have released in the archives since you began your research, and have you found that a great deal of useful information is there and peripheral information? How do you assess that information that's come out so far?

MR. MELANSON: Come out so far? I think it's a fascinating mix of the useless and the absolutely essential, and that's what this is all about.

For all of the material on Oswald that's been released that tells us so very little about him or about government's relationship with him, the recent release indicated very clearly that, in fact, Oswald was debriefed on his way back from the Soviet Union, contrary to decades of denial of that event by the agency, when it made so much sense to researchers that it had to have occurred, is the kind of things that helps fill

in the picture and fill in the puzzle very clearly.

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I also think that the material that you get to the public will be the most interesting, by definition.

What has been released has been the minimalist definition of what the agencies wanted to release or what we knew to pursue, and I think our feeling in the research community is that the really good stuff, the best of the stuff, is there and is forthcoming, and while not denying that what's been released so far has been crucial, and I say Spy Saga could not have been written without these files, but I'm looking forward to your releases making it look like a Cliff Notes version of

CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: You hit on a topic earlier which I think is a very important topic.

its thesis, and I think that's what will happen.

Obviously, we are working with people within agencies today who know about the agencies and their files and their records today, but perhaps they are not aware of filing systems of 30 years ago or 25 years ago or task forces or compartments or other entities within agencies.

You may not have thoughts to provide us today, but if you have any thoughts on that issue, particularly how the CIA and perhaps other agencies were organized back during this era, we'd certainly appreciate that.

I think that will shed great light on who we should be looking for and where we should be looking for it.

1	MR. MELANSON: Great. I'd be very happy to do that.
2	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Anything further?
3	DR. JOYCE: One thing.
	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Go ahead.
4	DR. JOYCE: You also mentioned in your testimony the
5	importance of records in private hands, and again, if you have
6	leads on them, if you'd be willing to share them with us, as
7	well, that would be most helpful.
8	MR. MELANSON: Okay. I will confess that I don't
9	any leads in the JFK case to what's been in private hands.
10	I have examples from the other two cases, but I'm sure that
11	there are researchers who do.
12	DR. JOYCE: Thank you.
13	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Thank you very much, Mr. Melanson.
14	We appreciate your sharing your expertise with us today.
15	Our next witness this morning is Priscilla Johnson
16	McMillan, history professor at the Harvard Russian Research
17	Center, and she is the author of Marina and Lee, which was
18	published in 1977.
19	Good morning.
20	MS. McMILLAN: I would like, first of all, to thank
21	this board for what it is doing for all of us.
22	I know that you are trying to redress the harm and
23	the wound that was done to the American spirit in 1963 and the
24	the wanta that was done to the interreal spirit in 1905 and the

confusions that have arisen since so that we may $\operatorname{\mathsf{--}}$ the American

people may be free to move on to the current history, which clamors for its attention.

I made a printed statement to the board earlier and mentioned certain records, and my remarks today will not duplicate that statement but are by way of amplification.

I forgot in my statement to mention some records that I tried but failed to find when I was writing Marina and Lee.

One is the draft chapter for the Warren Commission on Oswald's personality that was written by Wesley Liebler, and in the National Archives, I was able to read Liebler's notes, but I never did seen his first draft, which I think the Commission had decided not to use.

I never saw Oswald's Marine Corps record. You probably have it, but I didn't see it.

Another item which I did mention in my earlier statement to you is the Marine inquest record into the death of Private Martin Schrand in the Philippines, which was of interest to me because it might have helped to establish Oswald's ability and propensity to kill prior to the episodes that occurred later.

In my book, I tried to point to deficiencies in my own research so that others could take it from there, but so far as I know, those lapses have not been picked up, and I just wanted to point them out to you.

I have been told by other researchers that some

materials that had not been made available by the presidential library, the Kennedy Presidential Library, up here -- and I know that you were there yesterday and that you doubtless know more about those than I do, and so, I'm just going to give a written summary of oral histories, but there were some facts in the Robert Kennedy material, including his desk diaries -- the year 1963 was missing -- telephone messages for '62 and '63 are missing but resume in '64, and logs of Robert Kennedy telephone conversations. I have a feeling you know more about this than I do.

I think the bulk of my remarks have to do, then, with the Russian side, and since I wrote my statement earlier, it's been announced that President Clinton is going to Moscow on May 9th, and I would like to emphasize that that presents a very unique opportunity for this board.

Some things in Russia haven't changed much since the time of Ivan the Terrible, and that is that the personal commitment of the leader is about the only thing that can make certain things move, and I think if, in advance of Clinton's visit, it is made known to President Yeltsin that the President would very much appreciate cooperation with this board, it might be critical in obtaining certain records there.

He has done this before in trips abroad, as he provided the Poles with material on the Catin massacre. It costs you nothing, and in the present situation of imbalance between the

two countries in the favor of the United States, it's something 1 he can do rather easily. 2 Also, I think the reports that the Chechen 3 intervention has weakened his hand are probably not correct 4 and that he is in charge. 5 I revert, then, to the importance of the presidential 6 archive, which would contain the most important documents that 7 were collected for Secretary General Nikita Khrushchev, and 8 the importance of that archive, both for material on Oswald 9 and material on Yuri Nosenko. 10 I have been told by fellow researchers that 11 intervention in that archive by Yeltsin's assistant has not 12 been helpful. It has to go to Yeltsin himself. 13 Similarly, with the Central Committee's Otdel 14 Administrativnikh Organov, files which are sealed right now, 15 and again, nothing would help except intervention by Yeltsin. 16 In general, the archival situation in Moscow has 17 tightened, and documents that were available in late '92 and 18 in 1993 are not available now. 19 I have been told that it's especially difficult to 20 get help there right now. There are two places to look in 21 Moscow, I think. One are the main KGB files in the old building. 22 The others are located outside Moscow at the headquarters of

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I forgot in my printed statement to mention the files

the Foreign Intelligence Service.

of the military intelligence, the GRU, and I also forgot that the present government Byeloruss might be helpful, because the old Byelorussian Republic had a security service of its own that presumably did track Oswald.

The Minsk office of the U.S. exchange organization IREX could probably be helpful in locating archival sources in Minsk.

In my earlier statement, I mentioned a former KGB official named Yvegeny Petrovich Pitrovanov, and I repeat that.

There is a Russian in the United States who wrote a book published in Moscow in the '70s on the Kennedy assassination. He lives now in New Jersey, Tenafly, New Jersey. His book was also published in the U.S. by a Russian language publishing house, Hermitage. His name is Egar Yurfemoff, and he may be knowledgeable about sources in the former Soviet Union.

There are a number of Americans whose names and addresses and telephone numbers I will provide to you and some Russians, emigres, one emigre, who is curator of the Andrei Sakharov archive here at Brandeis University, and two Russians who are here at the Russian Research Center, who are very knowledgeable about Russian archives.

I think that the former KGB head, Bachatin, who came to office after the August '91 coup and was not there very long, would have seen everything in his brief time and should probably be approached unofficially. I'm not sure how those things are

done, but it might be an embarrassment for him if it were too official.

The last matter I wanted to bring up -- in my own papers which I accumulated while writing my book, Marina and Lee, I have 13 or 14 file boxes in my basement, and I have been told by other assassination researchers that they are not very safe there, which I was quite hurt by.

They would include between 700 and 800 pages of interviews that I conducted with Marina Oswald in 1964 and '65.

They are not big pages but maybe five-by-eight pages, and I have been translating mentally, and you know, I work some in Russian but mostly English.

Then I have Warren Commission exhibits and other materials that could cast light on the veracity of what I was told or could reconcile, various versions.

Then there is my own earlier manuscripts, drafts, which were cut for length and, in some cases, on the insistence of the lawyers for my publisher for reasons of privacy or defamation.

I wrote to the archives, perhaps in 1976, that out of gratitude for the help of Mr. Marion Johnson, then the curator for legislative, civil, and judicial archives, I wished to will those, on my death, to the archives, and my will does leave them to the archives, but should this board want those records sooner, I could arrange to have them xeroxed to keep the xeroxes

1	for myself or whatever arrangement would be best for this board.
1	And that's all I had to say today, except that I have
2	these written notes, and I will give those to whomever.
3	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Thank you, Ms. McMillan. We
5	appreciate your willingness to share your materials with us.
6	I think that would be very, very helpful for us. Maybe we
7	could ask you just a few questions.
8	You mentioned your interviews with Marina Oswald
9	Porter. Do you think she has information that should be added
10	to the JFK assassination collection?
11	MS. McMILLAN: All I can say is that she is a very
12	honest person when she's dealing with an official government
13	board, and if she has anything, she'll give it.
14	We used to discover things unwittingly, in cookbooks
15	and other unlikely places, and I am sure she would be
16	cooperative, but I can't think of anything.
17	DR. NELSON: I wonder how static the Russian
18	bureaucracy is, and I ask that question because we have discussed
19	earlier the fact that, in this country, the organization of
20	an agency 30 years ago may not be the same as the organization
21	now.
22	So, is it would it be more valuable to us to try
23	to reach people who are emigres and such, who have come here,
24	who know that period, as you did, that time, or to perhaps reach
	the current researchers or just both?

	I mean there are a great many people now trying to
1	do research in various Russian archives, and are they
2	knowledgeable enough about what happened 30 years ago to be
3	useful to us?
4	MS. McMILLAN: Are you speaking of the researchers
5	into those archives or the officials in charge?
6	DR. NELSON: Oh, I was thinking more about whether
7	the researchers could seek the information, 30-years-old
8	information, and be assured that the organization itself would
9	have been that static. Perhaps it had.
10	MS. McMILLAN: I hope my answer would be responsive
11	to your question. The researchers with whom I have talked seem
12	very, very knowledgeable about what documents are where. None
13	of them have ever worked on
14	DR. NELSON: No, I understand.
15	MS. McMILLAN: Oswald, but they do seem to be very,
16	very knowledgeable about what is where.
17 18	On the other hand, if it's hard to get everything
	in the U.S. Government, as my preceding witness, it would be
19 20	much harder there, of course.
21	I think that, if you touch the right button at the
	top, you would get cooperation to the extent that those people
22	know.
۷)	As for whether the officials in the Russian and

Byelorussian bureaucracy know, I would think no. I would think

1	you would have to go to some older retired people, such as
1	Pitrovanov, to find out what might be where, and you would have
2	to have people with some imagination, would be my guess.
3	DR. NELSON: Is it your perception, in speaking to
4 5	the researchers, that the bureaucracy was so great in the Soviet
	Union that nothing was thrown away, that things are there if
6	we could just find them?
7	MS. McMILLAN: I think the real danger is that there
8	are things that are there that they are not going to cough up,
9	that if they had something that pointed to Oswald's working
10	for any Soviet agency, it might not be handed over under any
11	circumstances, but it might by mistake, for one thing,
12	and what was the other part of your question?
13	DR. NELSON: Well, my question was whether they, in
14	fact, had such a bureaucracy that they didn't throw things away.
15 16	MS. McMILLAN: Oh, yes. They not only don't
	throw I mean they do keep many copies, and a document which
17	ought to be in one place it may have been destroyed there,
18	but it will be somewhere else.
19	They are just drowning in paper, and they keep
20	multiple records, which is a fortunate thing.
21	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Any other questions?
22	DR. HALL: Yes.
23	Are you familiar with the forthcoming work by Norman
24	Mailer on Lee Oswald?

	MS. McMILLAN: He has talked to me about it, but I
1	have not seen that, Mr. Hall.
2	MS. McMILLAN: Could you, in the course of those
3	conversations or did you, in the course of these
4	conversations, get any sense of the records that were made
5	
6	available to him by the KGB or others?
7	MS. McMILLAN: I didn't get a sense of there being
8	Moscow KGB documents, but I may be totally ignorant about that,
9	but of Minsk, yes.
10	He said he talked I think what he told me was he
11	talked to 18 ex-KGB officials, he had recordings, and that he
	maybe said he had reduced them down to two in the book, but
12	there had actually been 18.
13	But I am trying I did mention in my statement that
14	there might have been something else besides the KGB in Minsk,
15	and that would be the Byelorussian government
16	DR. HALL: Right.
17	MS. McMILLAN: at that time.
18	DR. HALL: I think it's safe to say we should ask
19	that question of Mr. Mailer. Mr. Mailer came to you as someone
20	
21	who is expert in
22	MS. McMILLAN: I didn't see him. He called me to
23	say that he wished to pay me fair use for quotations just
	two conversations with him.

But it does occur to me, with you asking that, that

Marina's uncle lived in a building, an apartment building that was across the street from the residence of the secretary then of the Byelorussian Communist Party, Akiral Masorloff, and I don't know whether Masorloff is living -- I suppose he's dead -- but I'm not sure that they wouldn't have kept quite a close watch on that building and the comings and goings, and there might even be photographs. That might be helpful.

I never did talk to Lee Oswald's friends in Minsk. I thought that -- I couldn't get a visa, and I thought, even if I could, that it would do me nothing but harm, but Mr. Mailer certainly did talk to them, and most of our conversations had to do with how were they, what were they like, did he think they were truthful, that type of thing.

DR. HALL: Thank you very much.

DR. JOYCE: Ms. McMillan, there have been several statements to the effect that you might have had a connection to the Central Intelligence Agency.

I was wondering if you could elucidate the nature of them and whether you might have had any conversations with the CIA concerning Oswald in connection with the Soviet Union or Cuba.

MS. McMILLAN: Thank you for asking, Mr. Joyce.

My government service was 30 days as a translator in Moscow in the winter of -- early 1956, when I was a translator for the Joint Press Reading Service -- American, British,

Canadian -- I think there was a fourth country.

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in the fall of '59.

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KGB to be an informer when I was a reporter, and I was frightened in going back, and I thought somebody -- the American ambassador was aware of my difficulties, but I was afraid that something could happen to me, and I wanted someone on the outside to know,

and that was the fall of '59.

His name was Gary Coite, and I believe I was asked about that by the House Assassinations Subcommittee, but I am

My conversations with CIA officials about Oswald came only following the assassination. I think it was the FBI who came to see me over the weekend of November 22nd-23rd. not sure if I ever did talk to CIA people about Oswald after the assassination. I talked to State Department, Warren

my boss there asked for my continued employment but was refused,

because I did not have a security clearance from the U.S.

It was an English-language translating service, and

I did have a conversation once in Grand Central Station with a CIA official, and until recently, I couldn't remember why I had that conversation, but I think I do remember now that it was in 1959, before I was returning to the Soviet Union after covering Khrushchev's visit to President Eisenhower

I had been under a good deal of pressure from the

not sure whether I remembered at that time why I spoke with him, and then, in the autumn of '62, Mr. Donald Jamenson, who I thought was named Mr. James McDonald, came to see me in Cambridge, and I spoke to him about my observations on a visit I had just made for The Reporter magazine about the intellectual atmosphere.

I was writing about Soviet painters and writers, and my notes had been confiscated when I left Leningrad airport, 18 notebooks, and President Kennedy had helped me with that matter. That is, Carl Kazen -- he had had Kazen speak to me.

So, I felt that I should speak to Mr. Jamenson, and I did not -- my effort then -- I assumed that anything one intelligence service knew, the other intelligence service knew and that their files were either penetrated -- and of course, my concern was for my Soviet friends.

So, I didn't name names except of, I think, Yveta Chenko, people who were so well-known in the west that I couldn't hurt them, but otherwise I gave -- I don't think I mentioned names of anyone I thought could be hurt.

And those were the extent of my living contacts with the -- I, of course, knew people in the American embassy, the British embassy, the French embassy, and the Israeli embassy, but I only saw them -- contacts about things I was particularly interested in, like the British had someone who knew a lot about the parasite laws passed by Khrushchev in 1959, but the Israelis

knew a lot about intellectual circles and so did the French, more than the Americans did, and the Americans I would go to for agriculture and economy.

But if I thought somebody was in the intelligence of either side, I avoided them. It was just -- and I avoided them, but of course, I would have talked to people that I didn't know, and in that situation, the only thing that saved you and made you able to write and have any spontaneity in your life is to be a somewhat open person, and so, I tried to be like that, but of course, you don't know everything you're doing there, and it was a rapidly-changing situation.

DR. JOYCE: You mentioned in your written statement that you submitted to the board that you thought it would be wise for us to seek out records of the U.S. Communist Party concerning Oswald and also the records of John Apt.

Do you have any leads for us about where we might find these records?

MS. McMILLAN: I wish I did. No. But I thought that Oswald's choice of Apt for a lawyer was very telling, and I assume the Communist Party was very upset and that Apt purposely disappeared because it would be embarrassing to the party, but your guess is just as good as mine.

But I was really glad that the previous speaker spoke about Oswald's prison interrogation, because again, the various notes have been made remarkably confluent but tantalizingly

incomplete.

CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Ms. McMillan, your information and thoughts on how we should seek former Soviet records are very helpful, and we really appreciate that.

Let me ask you one final question. You interviewed Lee Harvey Oswald in 1959 in the Soviet Union. Would you just take a moment to give us your sense of the man, your thoughts, impressions of him based on that interview?

MS. McMILLAN: Well, he was stunningly young. He looked like a very young boy, and I felt very sorry for him. He seemed to be at sea and not to know what he was dealing with.

He told me proudly that he had been to Get Schemer, a children's department store that was only a block from our hotel, and they had bought an ice cream cone there, and he seemed so proud that he had been -- he didn't know the language very well.

I just made him tea during that time. I just felt really sorry for him, and I felt somewhat a sense of identification, because I had weak press credentials and was a lone individual trying to remain as a reporter, you know, of the Soviet bureaucracy, and I did speak the language, I had studied the country, and I had a Master's degree, and I think I was 31, whereas he had just turned 20, and he seemed younger, and we were both lone individuals up against the bureaucracy,

1	and so, I felt quite a sense of sympathy for him, and I liked
2	him.
3	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Thank you very much.
	MS. McMILLAN: Thank you.
4	MR. TATRO: Mr. Chairman, can I ask another question
5	about Apt?
6	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Let's proceed with the hearing
7	first, and we'll take care of it before the end of the day.
8	Thank you very much.
9	Our next witness is Mr. Richard Trask, who is the
10	author of Pictures of the Pain: Photography and the
11	Assassination of President Kennedy. It was published in 1994,
12	an exhaustive study on the history of the photographic record
13	surrounding the assassination.
14	Mr. Trask, welcome. Thank you for coming.
15	MR. TRASK: Good morning, Mr. Chairman. I want to
16	thank the board for the invitation and the opportunity to address
17	you this morning.
18	As you are all well aware, yours is an important but
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20	difficult task whose scope can become extremely open-ended,
21	and no one from within the research community would recommend
22	that you narrowly define your scope.
23	Indeed, there is at least one point which unites the
24	diverse research community, composed of historians, lawyers,

physicians, authors, and tens of thousands of other interested

citizens.

That point is the desire for your pursuit the broadest definition of full and complete disclosure of any and all records relating to the assassination of President Kennedy.

I do not fool myself into believing that the outcome of your efforts will be universally praised as absolutely accomplishing your mandate or that the released records will bring forth a final and conclusive truth to the matter of who killed the President and why.

For generations beyond ours, these released materials will also be the grist for new theories and some wild speculation.

Yet, in spite of all the potential hype, profiteering, misuse, and misinterpretation of this new information, full disclosure should still be aggressively pursued by you and should, in many cases, lay to rest old controversies and eventually clarify much of the truth.

Most importantly, your board's conscientious pursuit will turn around for the first time in almost 30 years the previously lackadaisical government performance as regards open access.

Past official inquiries into the President's assassination obfuscated and kept hidden large amounts of information.

Government officials, bureaucrats, archivists, and

others having their hand in the creation and custody of these records, often due to potential agency embarrassment, incompetence, inertia, prejudice, or possessiveness, kept many of their records out of the public domain.

The research community, many of whom began their quest due to the perception of their government's purposefully withholding vital information, has convinced the majority of the public that this withholding is a sinister and purposeful hiding of a conspiracy to kill a president of the United States.

This belief has been virtually seared into the national psyche.

The only option for rightfully restoring and renewing the public trust in its government is by countermanding a history of political constraints and past prejudices in assassination inquiries through an active and massive declassification of all records relating directly and indirectly to the President's assassination, and the time and opportunity is obviously now.

I have personally become interested in the events of November 22, 1963, since they occurred, being a 16-year-old who was drawn in emotionally to the trauma of the shooting.

For many years, I believed that there was a large and masterful conspiracy that must have been responsible for taking the life of the President.

By the 1970s, I wasn't so sure about an intricate plot and began to feel manipulated by writers and critics, as

well as by the government.

There have appeared so many facts, perceived facts, hard truths, innuendos, self-serving statements, and lies to make a pursuit of the truth, especially in light of the nondisclosure of so many government records, almost impossible.

Not wanting to add to the cacophony, yet desiring to contribute something to the historical record, I decided to focus on the previously understudied area of the photography of the event.

Though history is defined through historical photography, as the use of photographic images capable of supporting the study and interpretation of history, photography has limitations for use as historical evidence and may exhibit only partial truths, biases, and distortions of reality. It can never tell the whole story of an event. Yet, for all its potential shortcomings, it is closer to being a trace of reality than any other documentation.

In very broad strokes, let me comment about these photographic materials relating to the assassination and how they may be included within your review of records which should be released or sought.

Following the assassination, the FBI began a process of attempting to gather photographs as potential evidence, though after about a week of this process was less vigorously pursued.

Meanwhile, the news media used their own photographic 1 sources, as well as those they obtained from amateurs who had 2 been on the scene. 3 During the assassination, a minimum of 19 spectators 4 in Dealey Plaza recorded some of that event, while at least 5 14 professional photographers took scenes from the motorcade 6 or after exiting their vehicles. 7 Within a short time of the assassination, over a score 8 more photographers were in the plaza recording all sorts of 9 activity. 10 Those photographic materials which were collected, 11 utilized, and kept by the FBI and subsequent Warren Commission 12 investigation are quite scanty. 13 There are copies of some photographs, though most 14 are dramatically cropped and multi-generational. 15 A number of photos, films, and videotapes possibly 16 part of the original Commission record often do not show up 17 in archival or Freedom of Information search requests. 18 There is little evidence that this class of source 19 material, with the exception of the Zapruder film, was ever 20 actively examined. 21 The professionals and their images, such as White 22

The professionals and their images, such as White House photographers Cecil Stotan and Thomas Atkins, were virtually ignored, as were many amateurs who had made photos at the plaza.

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Though the later House Select Committee on Assassinations was serious in its pursuit of potential photographic sources, when it ceased operations in 1979, with the exception of those photos and documents published within its report and hearings, their materials, contact reports, and subcommittee photographic studies were sealed to public access.

A full disclosure of photos and films, studies of these materials as prepared by the government or subcontractors, and all supporting documentation in the way of FBI and Secret Service field and lab reports should be released.

Also to be sought should be the National Photographic Interpretation Center and CIA records relating to the study of the Zapruder and possible other films and photos, as well as records relating to the Justice Department's pursuit or lack thereof in regards to the Charles Bronson film which the House Select Committee on Assassinations had requested they further study.

All other records relating to photographs and photography acquired or generated by the Warren Commission, Rockefeller Commission, Church Committee, and House Select Committee should be obtained.

Also to be searched out should be any and all records and photos relating to several persons whose films or photos are not now available or for which information about them is quite incomplete.

This includes the so-called babushka lady, Norman Similus, James Hanken, Gary Field, Jack Weaver, and James Powell. In Powell's case, files from the Army Intelligence Corps should be examined relating to his activities in and around the Texas School Book Depository.

I firmly believe that the President Kennedy assassination material should not only be sought for the object of a partial restoration in trust in regards to government disclosure and for the potential of learning more about the event as a criminal offense but also for gathering a complete record and preserving these materials for the sake of history.

With that in mind, I would urge as full a collection of photographic materials of the events of November 22nd as possible.

The study of this type of photo evidence by myself and others has shown it to be of some assistance in the explanation of previous points of controversy.

For example, a man believed by some to be Jack Ruby is seen in one photo which is taken near the book depository entrance shortly after the assassination. I uncovered a separate photo taken by someone else at about the same time in which it is clear that that man is obviously not Ruby.

The John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson libraries contain important November 22nd photographic resources created by the official White House photographers, as well as through

photo and film gifts of individuals and organizations.

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The maintenance of these visual materials is carried out in a highly professional manner, with fine conservation storage areas but with budget constraints on processing new material for public access.

This visual material should, if not specifically copied for inclusion in the National Archives assassination collection, be noted in any master listing of assassination-related materials available to the public.

Likewise, important photographic documentation is in the possession of the State of Texas, the Western New England College Archives of Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Dallas Municipal Archives and Records Center, particularly the original Dallas police department photo negatives made of the book depository building.

Through cooperative arrangement, possibly first-generation prints far better than those within the Warren Commission files could be made available to the National Archives collection.

The bulk of the important photographic sources, however, are still in private hands.

Although the board obviously cannot compel this material to be given to the national archives, it might be possible to come to an arrangement with these photographers or their families whereby the materials could be made a part

of the permanent assassination collections.

Some important photographic sources have never been 2 viewed by the government or the public.

Former presidential assistant David Powers is known to have taken film from aboard the follow-up car in the Dallas motorcade, while former Dallas motorcycle officer W. George Lumpkin at one time had possession of a Polaroid photo taken of him in the motorcade and with the book depository building in the background.

Another large category of original photo materials relating to the assassination are those created by print and television cameramen. An effort to obtain copies and an agreement for use should be attempted.

This material includes collections from the original news-gathering agencies and individual photographers who may possess originals. This category is extremely unrepresented in official government files.

Among these sources are the four television stations active in the Dallas-Fort Worth area in 1963, the NBC and CBS television networks, and the Sherman Greenberg Film Library.

CBS also is reputed to have film out-takes of some potentially significant interviews filmed in 1967 in preparation for their documentary series "The Warren Report."

Some of the November 22nd coverage, including film by Don Cooke of KTTV and Tom Allia of WFAA, is also possibly

available, having been saved by the cameramen or possibly in 1 other private hands. 2 Newspaper coverage included large numbers of 3 negatives being generated by the Dallas Morning News, Dallas 4 Times-Herald, and Fort Worth Star-Telegram. Some of the Dallas 5 Times-Herald collection is now on deposit at the Dallas Public 6 Library. 7 Various photographers or their families may also 8 possess original materials not now represented within the 9 newspaper libraries. 10 The Sixth-Floor Museum archives also has some 11 important photos and negatives, including many made by William 12 Allen and several others. 13 Time-Warner, Inc., has in its photo archives original 14 coverage by staff photographer Art Richaby, as well as collected 15 film and prints made by several amateurs. 16 The wire services were likewise represented by their 17 own photo staff and through the preparing of spot news photos 18 and films. United Press International was represented by staff 20

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photographers Frank Cancelare and William Allen, while UPI news film division originally purchased amateur films by Nicks and Munchmore. UPI Betman News Photo now has possession of some of these resources.

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Associated Press coverage included photos by James

Atkins and Henry Burroughs, AP Wide World now possessing some of these important original negatives, particularly those made by Jim Atkins.

Multi-generation copies of photos not now extant elsewhere are also possibly among collections of assassination researchers.

To indicate its determination for an inclusive collection of photographic resources, the Assassination Record Review Board or National Archives itself should publicly request and actively seek out still unknown photographic resources which have thus far not come to light.

Though possibly beyond the original scope of your board, the active solicitation of these known and unknown visual prime resources to history are so important to collect and preserve, being among the most important and useful documents of what really occurred on November 22, 1963.

The sticking point is obviously how many of these privately and corporately owned artifacts can be acquired and made available to the public if the owners are reluctant to give up their originals or right to use of copies of the originals.

I, for one, believe that if an institution such as the National Archives is firmly committed and able to properly store and conserve these materials, that with effort an amicable agreement may be worked out for the deposit, purchase, or gift

of significant amounts of these materials which will benefit 1 the potentials donors, the public interest, and especially the 2 historic record. 3 Though they did not know it would be the case at the 4 time, those photographers who were recording a presidential 5 visit to Dallas some 32 years ago incidentally recorded one 6 of the most significant watershed events of the 20th century. 7 The importance of their documentation of that event 8 transcends monetary or personal considerations. These images 9 must be preserved as part of the collection as being significant, 10 more so than any past government record. We owe it to history. 11 Thank you. 12 CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Thank you. 13 Any questions for Mr. Trask? 14 DR. HALL: Yes. 15 Mr. Trask, thank you very much. I found your 16 statement very interesting and very revealing, and you certainly 17 have captured an important part of this particular piece of 18 assassination history. We really don't have this kind of 19 evidence for other events. 20 I'd like to ask you, though, a series of guestions 21 that really have to do with the question -- to do with the issue 22 of forgeries of photographic records.

Do you think the board has any responsibility with regard to determining whether any photographs or films are

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forgeries?

MR. TRASK: Yes. I would like the board to be able to push the envelope for as much responsibility as possible in looking into the primary sources.

As you are probably aware, there has been much in the critical literature in the past year or two concerning the Zapruder film, what happened to the copies that were sent to Washington, what happened with their being examined through the CIA laboratory, and many people have suggested that, within a very short period of time, that film was tampered with.

I, myself, do not believe that to be the case, but I think it's important, because this factor is coming up in the literature so much, that it would, I believe, be relatively simple to find out if the original Zapruder film and the three first-generation prints were, in fact, tampered with.

DR. HALL: Do you have any other suggestions for us in this regard, beyond the Zapruder film? Do you personally know of any photographs or films that may be suspect as forgeries?

MR. TRASK: Well, one area in which I'm not very conversant are the Oswald outdoor photographs, and there has been much controversy about that for many, many years.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations photograph panel looked into those photographs, and I, for one, believe they very much decided that they were, in fact, not

forgeries.

When we're speaking of those photos that were taken or films that were taken in the Dealey Plaza area at the time of the assassination, I think one of the reasons for trying to obtain the original copies of films or first-generation prints is to make sure -- as well as negatives -- is to make sure that no tampering has taken place.

I'm not aware of much in the way of controversy that has arisen concerning the Dealey Plaza photographs and possible fooling around with those.

DR. HALL: Recognizing it's a world of scarce resources and short time, if you were giving us a set of priorities to pursue, what would be at the top of your list, photographically, for this board to do?

MR. TRASK: I would be very interested to find out more about James Powell, who was a special agent for the Army Intelligence Corps who, when the assassination was over, was interviewed by both the FBI and the Secret Service and came up with two different versions of what he saw and what happened at the assassination scene.

He was, within a very short period of time, on the corner facing the southeast corner of the school book depository and took one photograph of it. I want to know why there's only one photograph, where he was.

He claims in one of the statements that he was a

half-block away. Why did he have a camera, did he take more pictures, and so forth. He was also active, apparently, in the searching of the building itself.

It could be that there is simply a very easy answer to that, but it was a red flag that stuck up at me when I was looking at the information about the Dealey Plaza photographers.

DR. HALL: Thank you very much.

DR. NELSON: Mr. Trask, I wonder if you can give us some clues about finding people who have these photographs. You mentioned that is something we should do, but is there a central source? Is there some organization? How would you suggest we go about that?

MR. TRASK: That's one of the problems with photographic materials, is that the bulk of the materials that were generated photographically during the assassination were in private hands, and with the exception of some material that got into the official record, which are always bad copies and not very well framed and so forth, you really don't have an awful lot of material within the public record.

That's why -- I think your board is the first board that has looked into the resources of the assassination which doesn't have some kind of a linkage to the government which would be able to -- because of your built-up good integrity right now -- would be able to request of many of these individuals, many of these businesses which have this film and

photographic material, to please allow them to be released.

DR. NELSON: So, basically, you're saying that we'd have to go to each individual person who might have been there.

MR. TRASK: I can follow up my written materials with more specific information about where they are available. When I was putting my book together, I kind of had to find out those sources. It's amazing how much material is still out there.

The local newspapers have literally hundreds of negatives, many of which have never even been printed before, which might relate in one way or another to Dealey Plaza, to events that happened shortly after the assassination, and I would think that a business such as a newspaper or some of the TV coverage in Dallas would be willing, within limitations, to make this available to the board and, hopefully, to the American public.

CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Mr. Trask, there have been allegations that this board has heard that the FBI seized photographs or film at the time of the assassination. Do you believe that, or do you have any opinions on that subject?

MR. TRASK: Unfortunately, I believe the FBI was not as at-speed as was the media. The media was there in force, and most of the materials that were acquired were acquired by the media.

As a matter of fact, it's a sad commentary that, in many cases, materials that came to the attention of the Warren

Commission had to be requested through the FBI to contact the individual media which first came up with these.

The FBI did make an attempt sometime probably beginning Saturday morning to acquire any kinds of materials that would have been processed through the local processing houses, Kodak, and so forth, but this was a bit late and not very dramatically done.

Once Oswald was shot, my impression is that the investigators were not interested in photographic materials anymore.

MR. MARWELL: I was intrigued in your written statement and your remarks earlier that former presidential assistant David Powers had a movie camera in the follow-up car and that this film has never been seen, apparently. Do you know anything about it? Do you know whether it covered the critical period of the motorcade?

MR. TRASK: I do not believe it covered the critical period of the Dealey Plaza area.

My remarks are talking to the historic record as a whole, and I believe that something as significant as a film being done even of the vehicle prior to its entering Dealey Plaza would be of benefit to researchers.

One very minor item of controversy has always been whether or not a bullet, in fact, hit -- or a fragment of a bullet hit the area around the windshield and made a dent in

the chrome. We have not been able to find, to this point, any 1 evidence for or against this dent having occurred. 2 The Secret Service had indicated that this dent had 3 occurred prior to November 22nd. Pictures taken prior to Dealey 4 Plaza would help find out if that, in fact, were true. 5 CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Thank you very much. 6 appreciate your sharing your expertise with us today. 7 Next, the board would like to hear from Dick Russell. 8 Mr. Russell is the author of the 1992 book The Man Who Knew 9 Too Much. 10 Mr. Russell, we appreciate your joining us today. 11 MR. RUSSELL: Thank you, Mr. Tunheim. 12 I guess I would like to address my remarks primarily 13 about the board's power to subpoena witnesses which I understand 14 you have and also to obtain records that might otherwise be 15 unavailable about very important individuals under the privacy 16 act provisions of the Freedom of Information Act, which I believe 17 should be pursued. 18 As you said, I'm the author of The Man Who Knew Too 19 Much, which is an 824-page book about the assassination. I 20 am a long-time investigative journalist. 21 The book was the product of some 17 years of research 22 and led me to inescapable conclusion that a conspiracy existed 23 that went beyond the alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, and

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his own slayer, Jack Ruby.

The primary subject of this book is a man named Richard Case Nagall, a former military intelligence officer and CIA contract agent who was involved with Oswald when both were stationed in Japan in 1957 and '58 and later during the 1962 and '63 period in Dallas, New Orleans, Mexico City, and perhaps elsewhere.

There is ample documentation on Mr. Nagall's intelligence career to convince me that, as far as he has been willing to reveal himself, he has told the truth and that, indeed, he may be the most important living witness to the events leading up to the tragedy of November 22, 1963.

In brief, Mr. Nagall maintains that he sought to warn both the FBI, in the form of a registered letter to Director Hoover on September 17, 1963, and the CIA, specifically Desmond Fitzgerald's office of the special affairs staff of the CIA, of an assassination plot involving Oswald and two Cuban exile associates who used the code names of Angel and Leopoldo.

At the time, Mr. Nagall was working as a double-agent and had connections to the Soviet KGB and/or GRU intelligence services, as well as Cuban intelligence, possibly Japanese intelligence, and the CIA.

The intent of the conspirators, according to Mr. Nagall, was to pin the blame on Castro's Cuba and spark an invasion of the island, and he has stated that Oswald was falsely convinced that he was working on Castro's behalf.

Now, here, for example, is an FBI document that already exists concerning Mr. Nagall, dated December 20, 1963, where he states that he met Oswald in Mexico City and in Texas.

This is a Secret Service document that was withheld for many, many years -- finally, it was released, I guess, in the 1970s -- which states that one of the Secret Service agents interviewed Marina Oswald for approximately two hours on January 18, 1964, concerning Richard Case Nagall.

I don't believe that the transcript or any notes on that interview have ever been made publicly available, and I think that they should be.

I just want to read very briefly from one of the other statements which would led you to perhaps seeking out these documents.

This is an affidavit that Richard Nagall swore in 1975 which states that, in September 1963, the exact date of which he was capable of verifying, he dispatched a letter via registered mail to J. Edgar Hoover, with a return address in Mexico, mailed within the United States.

The letter was neatly typewritten and composed in the style and format used by operational personnel of the CIA in writing their reports.

In this letter, he states that he advised Mr. Hoover of a conspiracy, although he did not use that word, to assassinate the President of the United States involving Lee

Harvey Oswald, indicating the attempt would take place in the latter part of September 1963, originally.

He said I furnished a complete and accurate physical description of Mr. Oswald, listing his true name, two of his aliases, his residence address, and other pertinent facts about him.

I disclosed sufficient data about the conspiracy, citing an over act which constituted a violation of Federal law, to warrant an immediate investigation if not the arrest of Mr. Oswald.

I signed the letter with the name Joseph Kramer, an alias of a known Communist or Soviet agent then residing in Canada and also an alias that I had used during my meetings with two FBI agents in January of 1963 in Miami.

I am willing to undergo a polygraph examination relative to any and all statements made herein.

I am aware that substantial government files exist pertaining to Mr. Nagall and his activities with the CIA, the FBI, the State Department, Secret Service, U.S. Passport Office, and at the Army Records Intelligence Repository Center in Fort Holabird, Maryland.

Mr. Nagall has previously obtained his lengthy CIA and FBI files under the Freedom of Information Act, and since he has been quoted publicly in books, magazine articles, and newspapers that he was cognizant of Oswald and an assassination

plot, I believe it is in the public interest to waive any privacy act restrictions and review for release the records maintained on him by these agencies.

I think it would also be important, as has been pointed out by Ms. McMillan, to request of representatives of the KGB and/or the GRU any files they have retained on Mr. Nagall, as he also says that he wrote and signed a confession while incarcerated by Soviet authorities during the summer of 1968.

Files on him may also exist with Cuban intelligence and Japanese intelligence, which was known at the time as the Cabinet Research Office.

He stated that Oswald, while a Marine in Japan, met with a Colonel Nikolai Eroshkin, whom it has been verified was, indeed, at the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo as an intelligence agent at the time, and with Professor Chikao Fujisawa.

These people, too, I believe, should be sought information about through the files.

I listed, and I won't read them here, but that any file search into him should also involve researching his various aliases, and I think that's something that should be done with other witnesses, as well, who have used pseudonyms, because files may exist under those names.

It should be noted that he himself has said that he used the aliases of Alec Hidell, which was the alias that Oswald used, indicating that that was an alias used by more than one

person as part of some kind of intelligence operation.

I have listed other files in my testimony that I've

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submitted to you that I won't read here but indicating where 3 he has said they would be available, and I would say about him, 4 too, that although a concerted effort was made by various 5 government agencies to portray him in a light that would cast 6 doubt upon his veracity, a thorough search of these records 7 would indicate otherwise and that any release of material

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opinion, without the Nagall material. He is still alive. He lives in the Los Angeles area. He has indicated to me in the past that, if he was ever subpoenaed by a government agency, he would be willing to testify.

pertinent to the assassination would not be complete, in my

Even though the Warren Commission knew about him, as well as the House Committee on Assassinations, for reasons best known to those members, he was never called.

I would urge the review board to use its powers of subpoena to call Mr. Nagall for testimony.

It would also be pertinent to examine records for information on Oswald's alleged associates, Angel and Leopoldo, both of whom were also identified by Sylvia Odio as visitors to her apartment in September of 1963.

These two individuals were reportedly associated with the Cuban exile group ALPHA-66 in Mexico City and elsewhere,

as well as JURE and the MRP, or Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo.

Mr. Nagall referred on several occasions to the late Antonio or Tony Cuesta, a Cuban exile leader, as an individual who may have had association with these conspirators.

I believe I have mentioned to you before, and I hope this came up at the Kennedy Library yesterday, that there is a file there on Cuban exiles which has never been released to the public, and I feel it would be very pertinent to your investigation.

Since the first assassination plot against the President originated in Mexico City at the time of the Cuban missile crisis, CIA files originating there might contain information about this.

Pertinent here would be CIA material on the Hotel Luna, its proprietor, and in particular, a head waiter named Franz Waehauf.

I would urge the review board to obtain the complete autobiographical manuscript of former CIA station chief Winston Scott, which was taken out of Mexico City shortly after his death in 1969 by the CIA's counterintelligence chief, James Angleton.

I think pertinent here, too, and something that should be looked at is the possibility that there was an intelligence operation surrounding Oswald that may have had nothing to do

with the assassination itself but may have concerned CIA interests in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and also CIA interests in the possibility that they had been penetrated by an agent of the other side and that they were observing Oswald, monitoring his contacts to see if this so-called mole search would turn up anything. It's a vast area. Obviously, James Angleton's files would contain a great deal about it.

I named other individuals here that are rather obscure that I won't go into again, but Mr. Nagall has stated that a young Trotskyite from the San Antonio area named Harry L. Power left behind a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, much like Oswald's, in an Indiana hotel room immediately after the assassination.

This has been verified from other sources. There have even been newspaper articles about this fellow, and files on Harry Power should be scrutinized.

I also think that records pertaining to far-right extremists should be examined closely, and I will mention specifically the H.L. Hunt oil family in Texas. Mr. Hunt, of course, is no longer alive, but his sons are.

I was told by two different employees of the Hunt oil family -- one of them told me that the first copy of the Zapruder film was, in fact, purchased not by Life magazine but by the Hunt oil family, and I think they should be questioned about what happened to it, because it may have contained different footage than we have ever seen.

I was told by another employee of the Hunt oil family that Mr. Hunt asked him directly to check out the security around Oswald in the Dallas jail on the Saturday after the assassination, that he did so, reported back to Mr. Hunt that there was very little security, in fact one could get close to Oswald, and of course, the next day, Jack Ruby, who had visited the Hunt oil offices on the 17th of November, shot Lee Harvey Oswald.

I would be willing to turn over to the Committee a collection of private papers from the H.L. Hunt family, which I obviously could not say how I obtained but which reveal that they conducted an ongoing investigation into what Jim Garrison was doing in 1967.

In other words, they were doing a private investigation at the time, trying to see if the Garrison investigation would point to them.

There are other individuals whose files should be looked at and who should be called.

John Thomas Mason, I believe, is still alive in the Dallas area. I did an article in the Village Voice a number of years ago which recounted the story of an Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms agent named Frank Elsworth, who told me of arresting Mason shortly before the assassination.

He was an arms dealer, a member of the Minute Men close to the Hunt oil family and Cuban exiles and, in fact,

looked so much like Oswald that, when Frank Elsworth was called into the police station on the afternoon of the assassination, he thought that he had arrested and then he released Mason before the assassination, the man who had shot the President.

Larry Schmidt is another individual who should be looked at. He was very close to General Walker, his brother worked for Walker, and I was told on very good authority --in fact, General Walker himself told me before he died that he suspected that the Schmidt brothers, who were very right-wing, may have been involved with Oswald in the shooting attempt against him.

I also think, finally, that -- and I don't know how you go about this exactly, because it's a vast field, and many of the files have been destroyed -- but there is a possibility that Oswald could have been under some kind of hypnotic control, as far out as that may seem.

We know of the existence of a CIA program called MK-Ultra and of military intelligence programs along the same line, where efforts were made to control and manipulate human behavior.

When I took passages from Ms. McMillan's book about Oswald's behavior patterns in, particularly, February before he shot Walker or attempted to shoot Walker, apparently, and in July of '63, one of the leading experts on hypnosis in this country told me that the description in that book is a classic

example of what is called a hypnotic abreaction.

Oswald was stationed then at Otsugi, of course, in Japan, where LSD work was known to be going on.

There have been all kinds of rumors about this over the years, and I've researched this rather extensively and feel there is, indeed, a possibility that something like this could have been employed with Oswald.

Bo Alexander, who was the Assistant DA in Dallas at the time, told me that he believed that "the Manchurian Candidate" theory was a viable one almost immediately after the assassination.

I would, finally, just like to thank you for your consideration of these requests in order that the American people might finally come to know the truth about what happened in Dallas, because I believe that, until this happens, we will remain unable to reclaim the heritage that made this Nation what it was.

This great trauma of modern American history has affected all aspects of our political and social life. Our democracy has never really recovered from the assassination and the terrible events that followed in the '60s, including the assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and Bobby Kennedy.

John F. Kennedy once foresaw, prophetically, that "We shall have to test anew whether a nation organized and

governed such as ours can endure. The outcome is by no means

certain."

Today, I am afraid we live in a nation far removed from the new frontier that President Kennedy envisioned. We see racism, poverty, homelessness, drugs, and violence permeating our republic and the seeds of a government completely removed from the real concerns of the people, with control concentrated in the hands of a powerful few, I believe, were planted on the day of the Kennedy assassination.

The assassination remains a gaping wound in our national psyche. Tens of thousands of documents are still being withheld by various Federal agencies, and I would simply call, finally, for full disclosure.

Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Thank you, Mr. Russell.

Ouestions?

DR. HALL: Mr. Russell, would you know the scope and character of the records that Mr. Nagall has in his personal possession?

MR. RUSSELL: I have never seen most of the records that he has in his personal possession. I know that, in the 1980s, he fought for a long time to get his CIA files and finally did, and then his FBI files.

 $$\operatorname{\textsc{He}}$$ did tell me, in 1984, which was the last time I saw him in person, that these files of the FBI contained what

1	he called false information linking him to Sam Giancana and
1	John Roselli, two of the mobsters who were involved in the
2	anti-Castro plots with the CIA.
3	I don't know exactly why he told me that, whether
4	it's true or false. He said he did know Roselli, and he had
5	met Giancana once.
6	And I know that Army intelligence, I believe,
7	has I have a lawyer in Washington who has been seeking some
8	of those files, and apparently some 900 pages of Army
9	intelligence files about him have been found and could be,
10	certainly, releasable.
11	DR. HALL: Can you better inform on those, those
12	materials? Is this something with which we are familiar, the
13	900 pages?
14	MR. RUSSELL: I haven't seen them yet. I have simply
15	been told that they have responded to this attorney to the effect
16	that these records exist and that one would be charged X amount
17	per page for them.
18	They did do another release earlier this year of some
19	records about him, and there have been a few items coming out
20	in the new releases from the CIA and the FBI.
21	I will certainly be glad to inform you of anything
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23	further when I find out about it.
24	DR. HALL: That would be very helpful.

Mr. Chairman, I just have one other question.

CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Go ahead.

1 DD HALL I much

DR. HALL: I must say the State of Massachusetts currently either has short legislators or it has a very powerful chiropractic lobby here. These chairs, I think, were designed for others, other than human beings.

The thrust of my question to you about Nagall and the materials he has is not so much the materials that were created on him which he has now gained possession of but whether he has any governmental materials in his possession that relate to matters other than -- and especially anything that would relate to MK-Ultra or to the operations of the CIA outside the United States.

MR. RUSSELL: I doubt that he would have anything on MK-Ultra, but I would think that he would information relating to activities outside the United States of the intelligence agencies.

I know -- he has told me that there was a photograph -- this isn't pertaining to the assassination directly, but in a bank vault in another country, there is a faded Polaroid photograph of himself with Oswald in Jackson Square in New Orleans, that perhaps somewhere a tape recording of a discussion between Oswald, Nagall, and two conspirators exists.

I know that the Garrison investigation tried to get it, but the man that they sent happened to be a CIA agent himself.

He was infiltrated on the Garrison staff, apparently. 1 Nagall claimed that this tape recording didn't exist, 2 but he has also hinted that it may still exist, and certainly, 3 he would have ample records on activities in Japan, Mexico City, 4 and elsewhere where he operated. 5 DR. HALL: Do you think he would testify without a 6 grant of immunity? 7 I think he should be granted immunity. MR. RUSSELL: 8 If he were offered immunity, I believe he would probably do 9 it. 10 DR. HALL: Thank you very much. 11 DR. JOYCE: Mr. Russell, I am wondering -- you have 12 mentioned a variety of names and aliases this morning, and I'm 13 wondering if you have any certain knowledge of records in 14 government agencies or even in private hands pertaining to any 15 of them that have not been released. 16 MR. RUSSELL: Concerning aliases in general of the 17 various individuals? 18 DR. JOYCE: Well, concerning any of the people whom 19 you have mentioned either by their name, their alias, or even 20 a cryptonym or something of that nature. 21 MR. RUSSELL: Well, nothing comes immediately to 22 mind, but certainly, a number of people who have come up over 23 the years as having possible knowledge of the assassination

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have used aliases.

One example that I can think of is this fellow that I interviewed who is now dead, Colonel William Bishop, who maintained that he had some knowledge of the assassination ahead of time and used the name John Adrian O'Hare, and the there was this sort of thing -- well, did O'Hare die in 1975 and Bishop live on or -- I mean it's a very murky world, as you know, and certainly, cryptonyms are very important.

Am/LASH comes to mind, which was the cryptonym for Orlando Corvella, who was involved in the assassination plots against Castro.

I think there must be -- in fact, there's been released now a long list of CIA cryptonomic programs, and of course, it's a lengthy process to go into that and find out who was involved in all these operations, but if I do think of anything further directly about people's aliases, I will let you know.

CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Mr. Russell, did you ever attempt to gain information from any Japanese sources, Japanese government sources, in particular?

MR. RUSSELL: I never went to Japan myself. I know that, during the course of the front-line investigation, a researcher whom I know did spend some time tracking down people in Japan and wasn't really able to come up with much. I don't know if he looked in the right places. I mean Japan is very secretive about all this.

You know, they sent an investigator of their own to

1	this country, named Atsuyuki Sassa, I believe, immediately after
	the assassination, to try to find out what the American
2	government was looking at, and I personally think that there
3	may be some very interesting material in Japan.
4	Exactly where you would look as I said, I know
5	that the intelligence agency there, the CIA's counterpart, was
6	called the Cabinet Research Office, and I think they should
7	be requested to see what they have on Oswald.
8	He was stationed there, of course, for a long time.
9	The Japanese police, I'm told, surveiled him, took pictures
10	of him outside the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo on occasion when
11	he walked in, and I definitely think it would be a further area
12	for pursuit.
13	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Thank you, Mr. Russell. We very
14	much appreciate your expertise and sharing information with
15	us.
16	We have two additional witnesses for our hearing
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18	today.
19	George Michael Evica he is the author of And We
20	Are All Mortal: New Evidence and Analysis in the Assassination
21	of John F. Kennedy, which was published in 1978. Mr. Evica,
22	welcome, and if you would help us focus on the records this

MR. EVICA: Thank you.

morning, we'd appreciate it.

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"The arc of the universe bends toward justice," from

a letter to the editor by Joseph E. Lowry, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, New York Times, March 25, 1995.

While this is not in the prepared notes that I gave you copies of, this is a message from Marina Oswald Porter, who urges you to subpoena all film and all video generated by both the networks and the local stations in Dallas and, obviously, also from Austin and Houston, et cetera, and in the light of that, especially since Mr. Trask was so helpful, I wanted to tell you that Trask, of course, and Groden, of course, but also Martin Shackleford would be excellent sources for finding film and video, and because I was a production editor for five years, as well as their music and effects editor at the same time, I know that one of the problems you will face when you get professional tape -- two inches, inch-and-a-half -- from the '60s, you very well may not have the equipment on which to run it and view it.

So, I urge you to check equipment for running and viewing professional tape, et cetera, and if such equipment is available, possibly duplicating it, actually duplicating the equipment or getting it on long-term loan.

Also, when you do get film and tape, be very careful with it, because it will be already in the process of deterioration. You might want to copy some of it.

About getting the message out, I urge you -- for example, in photography -- and this is all part of my

statement -- to look into photographic clubs, photographic magazines, photographic journals, and place ads, but also get on the Internet and the World Wide Web and tell them that you're looking for document suggestions, tell them you're looking for document requests, and get on all the bulletin boards and ask for those private sources.

I've given over 12 major papers since 1985 at conferences in Washington, Louisville, Dallas, et cetera.

Among the major the 20 major topics, I narrowed the topics for us here to six and then possibly three others if we have time, and I'd like to go over those with you now, and the topics are the Texas Trip: Presidential Security, the Texas Trip: The Dallas Motorcade Route, the Texas School Book Depository Building, Rifles, Ballistics, and as I said, possibly three others. You will notice that, among the other topics are, in fact, a topic that was touched on by Dick Russell.

For the first, the House Select Committee on Assassinations took note of the local and Federal security errors, security lapses, and security inadequacies in Dallas on November 22, '63, and specifically around and in Dealey Plaza, resulting in a site the Committee judged to be, quoting the Committee itself, "uniquely insecure."

Since no later than '75, researchers have collected comments circulating not just among researchers but in the U.S. intelligence community on a possible Dealey Plaza assassination

scenario; that is, a covert test of the President's security, including a simulated attack to be attributed to pro-Castro agents or sympathizers, that test justifying an actual security stripping as part of the simulation. With the President made vulnerable, the assassination plot succeeds.

Now, what documents would you need? Obviously, all documents touching on presidential security no later than April 1963. I would bet that probably from April 23rd you would begin to see security documents of importance.

From April of '63 through November of '63, in the files of the Dallas police, especially their special services -- that would be Officer Reynolds' division -- the Secret Service, especially its presidential protective division; the CIA, especially the Office of Security, I think you should know, is the CIA inside the CIA -- and the FBI, especially what might remain of J. Edgar Hoover's files, including the document called

"An Agreement Between the FBI and the Secret Service" that would be on presidential protection.

Now, what about the route? Contrary to what most people think, the motorcade route was neither controlled by the White House nor by Vice President Johnson. Governor John Connally and his Austin and Dallas associates dictated the specifics of that Texas trip.

There's only a paragraph here. I have about 200 pages

now developed that document that fact. I'm not speculating on it. It was Connally and his associates who dictated the specifics of the trip, most significantly the Dallas segment, including the motorcade route.

If the route was, in fact, determined at an early date, allowing conspirators carefully to plan the assassination, then the history of that decision-making process relative to the trip to Dallas and of the motorcade route through Dealey Plaza needs to be fully documented.

Now, neither the Warren Commission nor the House Select Committee on Assassinations has such documentary evidence.

In fact, the most important House Select Committee on Assassinations document is tucked away in an appendix to the 12 volumes. It's remarkable that that's where you find out the most about the motorcade from the House Select Committee on Assassinations.

You need, then, all the documents relating to the Dallas motorcade route from the Dallas police, the so-called host committee in Dallas -- there were other host committees in Fort Worth and in Austin -- the Secret Service but especially the documents of the Austin, Texas, Johnson-Connally office and the Austin Secret Service.

Less well known is my second suggestion that you get all the documents relating to the Dallas motorcade route

associated with, sent to, created by, or sent by Mr. Bill Moyers, the White House's representative in Austin the latter part of November '63.

Mr. Moyers worked with the Secret Service in Boston and communicated, apparently, directly and indirectly with both the Dallas Secret Service and with the Dallas host committee on the motorcade route.

I'm going to skip the Texas School Book Depository Building, because I think that's obvious, but it's only been taken up once in the literature, and that's in Jerry Rose's Fourth Decade Journal.

About the rifles, I think you realize that there is -- finally, we get at the heart of the problem and the hard evidence as we look at the rifles, plural, and most people do not know about the SIFAR documents.

The SIFAR documents are the Italian armed forces intelligence service documents identifying the rifle reputedly found on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository and photographed so that the photographs went around the world as a 7.35 rifle in appearance, re-barrelled to 6.5.

That means every discussion on the possibility of it being a larger millimeter size is justified by its apparent appearance. I'm not speculating now. I have some of the SIFAR documents but not all of them.

It's very important for you, therefore, to get all

the SIFAR documents -- that's the military -- Italian military intelligence service documents -- in their original Italian, including those documents generated by SIFAR in Italy but not shared with U.S. intelligence agencies, all SIFAR documents received by the FBI, the CIA, the Treasury Department from SIFAR directly or indirectly transmitted.

FBI Special Agent Robert Frazier is still available. The last time I talked to Francis X. O'Neill, former FBI agent, he indicated that Robert Frazier would be happy to talk about ballistics and about the rifles.

So, he would be especially helpful here, since he worked with the documents, the SIFAR documents, and testified to the Warren Commission using SIFAR documents.

Now, those documents are apparently not in the Warren Commission records. So, you'd have to go to the Italian government and to the FBI.

It is very important, by the way -- it was very important at the time -- I didn't realize why, but then Defense Minister Giulio Andreotti was quite concerned about the fact that it was, in fact, a Mannlicher-Carcano, and if you're wondering if the Italian bureaucracy and the media found that of interest, they flew two people over from Panorama, which is the Italian equivalent of Time magazine, to interview me in Connecticut for three hours when I broke this story on the SIFAR documents, at Giulio Andreotti's request to the Italian

military that they explore the whole story of the alleged assassination rifle.

Now, about ballistics -- and I think it's very important that you see where that ballistics story is going.

Beginning with former CIA chief Allen Dulles, a member of the Warren Commission, and continuing through a series of CIA officers, both active and retired, the FBI's so-called ballistics match of the rifle reportedly found in the depository, CE-399, the bullet reportedly found at Parkland, and the fragments reportedly recovered from the presidential limo, have been seriously questioned.

If you look at the 26 volumes and you look at the testimony of Robert Frazier before the Warren Commission, the commissioners themselves doubted the FBI's ballistics argument. Check it, please.

Dulles express his doubt directly to FBI Agent Robert Frazier when the FBI's rifle expert was making his ballistic presentation to the Commission.

Now, notice that, if we go through these documents, we're going for documents about the hard evidence that allegedly involves Lee Harvey Oswald through a broken chain of evidence from that ballistics match that the Warren Commission members did not buy through a rifle that cannot be linked directly to Lee Harvey Oswald to the assassination.

Very important, therefore, that you look for, as I

said in my documents section on this topic, the FBI's original microscopic comparisons in photographs and slides that need to be recovered from wherever they are.

FBI Agent Robert Frazier's notes and work materials need to be recovered so that an independent analysis of the ballistics evidence as it was available to the FBI, not now, but in November of '63 can be made.

I can assure you that, when you take the original FBI spectrographic reports and the original FBI neutron activation analysis tests -- and I have those documents from the FBI, and by the way, some or all of them are missing now from the National Archives, so I may be one of the people from whom you need to get documents that no longer exist either in the FBI files or in the National Archives -- that I would urge you to have those independently checked by a spectroscopist and a neutron activation analysis person.

About the others, my other topics, I was very happy to hear Dick Russell talk about John Thomas Mason. You will get your best -- I think, for now -- your best leads on John Thomas Mason and his relationship to ALPHA-66 and Frank Elsworth from Elsworth's documents -- that is, the Treasury Department's records -- and from the documents that are cited in my book, And We Are All Mortal.

For the medical records at Parkland and Bethesda, no one has looked yet for the teaching institution records.

Almost all of the doctors at Parkland and at Bethesda, many of them, had teaching institution connections, and some of them made reports to their teaching institutions; that is, as part of an internship, residency, et cetera.

I would make no assumptions. Find out every teaching institution that was involved with Parkland and every teaching institution that was involved with Bethesda, find out if there were any records distributed from both Parkland and Bethesda to those teaching institutions' files. I think you're going to come up with some very interesting material there.

Lastly, the Bethesda medical record -- the last time that I interview Francis X. O'Neill, former FBI agent, he said at approximately midnight, he left Bethesda, the morgue room, where a fully-clothed body, presumably of John F. Kennedy, was in the coffin and the work largely, both of the autopsyists and the cosmeticists, had been concluded.

Yet, sometime after midnight -- I think after 1:00 -- we know that at least two Secret Service saw an apparently naked John F. Kennedy on his face, and they were asked to verify a bullet hole in his back.

What you have to reconcile, therefore, are two different sets of records that are at odds with what Francis X. O'Neill reports he saw as he left Bethesda and what Secret Service Agent Heale reports as he stayed at Bethesda, and that's no small concern, because that brings up that whole question

of body	y alteration.
	Thank you.
	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Any questions for Mr. Evica?
	DR. NELSON: I have a question.
	How do you think we should treat the information that
reveals	s presidential protection if, in fact, they're still using
many of	those same methods today.
	MR. EVICA: They are still using some of those same
methods	s, and let me take you back to 1975 and '6, when I was
in clos	se touch with George O'Toole, former problems analysis
chief c	of the Central Intelligence Agency.
	I talked about a history of security stripping from
the pre	sidency of John F. Kennedy to the two shootings in which
Preside	ent Ford was involved.
	George O'Toole had no doubt that security was
.nadequ	late and that we were going to have war, in effect, results
of eith	er security stripping or inadequate security that would
threate	en the lives of the presidents.
	I see that as a pattern, this inadequacy of
reside	ential security. Some may see it as something even more.
But ce	rtainly, the uniquely insecure security of the President
of the	United States on November 22, 1963, was the context in
which J	John F. Kennedy was killed.
	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: That's it, Mr. Evica. We
appreci	late your sharing your information with us today.

MR. EVICA: Thank you. I will be sending you a much 1 longer memo. 2 CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Great. We appreciate it. 3 We'd like to hear now from Mr. Edgar Tatro, who is 4 an assassination researcher who has assisted many authors. 5 Mr. Tatro, welcome. 6 MR. TATRO: Thank you for the opportunity. I know 7 that you guys must be tired, and there's only a few minutes 8 left, so I'll try to be as brief as possible, which is tough 9 for a high school English teacher to do, but I'll do the best 10 I can. 11 To answer a couple of quick questions, John Apt worked 12 with Harold Weisberg years and years ago, and he may have in 13 his extensive files files on Apt. 14 I can hook you up with a man who is involved with 15 FBI watchdog abuses. They haven't focused on assassination, 16 but they might know people that might know people. 17 Here at home here, Harold Issacs was a MIT professor 18 here, and there were FBI documents that linked him to the Aunt 19 Lillian, Dorothy Murat from New Orleans, and perhaps you should 20 contact MIT and see what they have on Harold Issacs and see 21 what the relationship is to Oswald's aunt. 22

Let's see here, quickly. Bullets. Bullets. A lot of the things that Mr. Evica has talked about are right on the button. He and I obviously have been working separately but

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on similar issues, especially the Texas aspects.

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He talks about one of the rifles that came through St. Albans, Vermont, and ended up coming through -- he talks about two different rifles with the same serial numbers, and one of them came through St. Albans, Vermont.

The bullets -- I wrote an 8,000-word article on the bullets. The bullets went to Greece, came through Canada, Vermont, and ended up in Texas and might tie into Mason, as well. So, that's it.

Besides, also, the company that made the bullets is the same company that supplied the arms and ammunition for the Iran-Contra affair, which is not good company.

I am interested mainly in Lyndon Johnson. Four major scandals were going on at that time.

There was the TFX scandal with Fred Korth, who had to resign a month before the assassination, close friend of Lyndon Johnson's. There was the Bobby Baker scandal, there was the Billy Sol Estes scandal, and there was Jack Halfen, a mafia man working for Marcello.

All four of those scandals were exploding on the scene in 1963. Once President Kennedy was dead and Lyndon Johnson was president, they all stopped. All documents relating to those four guys and associates of them should be looked into.

George DeMohrenschildt was contacting Lyndon

Johnson. He was Oswald's best friend. He was contacting

George Bush. There's a whole series of relationships between 1 DeMohrenschildt and all of these power figures, especially the 2 oil man, Clint Murchison. 3 John Currington and Paul Rothemell are alive. They 4 were H.L. Hunt's oil men. I believe Rothemell recently just 5 had heart bypass surgery, so he may not be in the best of shape. 6 Okay. I have a record that came through Emily Brown, 7 an excellent researcher who is very little known from the New 8 Jersey area, and the Navy, by accident -- actually, it came 9 through the Air Force. 10 It's a document that puts Oswald in Gulf Port, 11 Mississippi, and he wasn't there, according to the Navy. I 12 have the actual document, and I have all the Navy denials, and 13 I don't know what it means, but something is sure amiss. 14 Oswald's military intelligence files were destroyed. 15 The House Select Committee called it very troublesome, which 16 is the understatement of a lifetime, but cross-reference files 17 were destroyed. I have a letter from the Navy admitting that. 18 The question is, is there any microfilm of these 19 things that could exist somewhere? It's hard to believe it 20 would just go. 21 I am in association with a number of Canadian 22 researchers who are pursuing a number of aspects of the case. 23

They would be glad to help you, and I can hook you up with

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them.

I have a letter from the Canadian government admitting they destroyed Oswald files as recently as 1990. So, that's not very good.

When Oswald came back from Russia, he met with a man they call the travel agent, Spas Raikim, but actually he was the president of the anti-Bolsheviks nation, and I've been able to obtain documents showing correspondence between Hoover in 1959 to Raikim.

Raikim says it's all innocent, but there are things blacked out, and even he doesn't know what they are blacked out. So, even he would like to get a hold of those things.

There are at least five witnesses who said there was a hole in that windshield, forget about the dent, that there was a hole in it, and it's never been resolved, and I have been told that there were five to eight windshields available and they could switch windshields. I think someone ought to try to look into the possibility of a windshield switch.

There's a sidewalks scar down here that was stolen by Earl Golz, broken right out of the sidewalk. It's down in a Texas researcher's possession now. It does fit a bullet miss from the other knoll that no one talks about.

I can show you a human-like figure with a rifle that, my god, you could fish from that angle. I brought those pictures with me in case anybody really wanted to look at them.

Oswald, it's been alleged, was at the Monterey School

1	in Miami, by one of the Warren Commission members in January
2	of 1964. There are no records. It's called the Defense
3	Language Institute now.
4	The Defense Language Institute told me that they
5	didn't have any records on Oswald and that they did not keep
6	any correspondence between them and the Warren Commission or
7	them and the House Select Committee. That's hard to believe.
8	Maybe there is some correspondence in existence in the House
9	Select Committee files.
10	Allen Dulles' mistress, Mary Bancroft, was also a
11	CIA agent. She was the friend of Michael Paine's mother.
12	Michael Paine and Ruth Paine were taking care of Marina Oswald.
13	Now, where there is smoke, there is not necessarily
14	fire, but any fireman will tell you, most fires, people get
15	killed by smoke inhalation, and I would like to know what the
16	relationship is between Allen Dulles, Ruth Paine, Mary Bancroft,
17	and the Oswalds.
18	Let's see here. I think I'll skip as many things
19	as possible.
20	The House Select Committee said that the 201 file
21	had 37 documents that were unavailable at the time. Are they
22	available now?
23	There were microphones, I'm told, in the autopsy room
24	in Bethesda. Did somebody tape record that autopsy? It would

be nice to find out more about that.

1	And there are a number of other issues here, but I if
2	beg off because of time constraints. I'll be glad to try to
3	help you guys out in any way I can.
3	One other thing. Mr. Trask covered most of the film
5	people.
6	There is Richard Sprague, the researcher, who did
7	all of the collecting of films and photographs in the early
8	years, and there is a man in Canada named Dave Hawkins who makes
9	a living out of this, but he has a great deal of photographic
10	materials, as well as other things that might be available to
11	you.
12	One last thing. I almost forgot.
13	The FBI finger-printed those boxes, the perch where
14	Oswald was supposed to be. There were 28 prints. 24 of them
15	belonged to the two FBI agents who did the printing. Three
16	of them belonged to Oswald, and there is one print that nobody
17	ever identified.
18	If we had a copy of that print, maybe the public can
19	find out who owned that print, and maybe it's a bad guy.
20	Thank you very much.
21	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: Thank you, Mr. Tatro.
22	Any questions?
23	[No response.]
24	CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: In the interests of time, thank

you very much for --

MR. TATRO: Thank you. 1 CHAIRMAN TUNHEIM: -- sharing with us today. 2 This brings to a close our public hearing for today 3 in Boston of the Assassination Records Review Board. I want 4 to give you our address and telephone numbers for anyone who 5 wishes to jot them down to share information with us. 6 As I indicated earlier, the board is very interested 7 in hearing from anyone who wants to direct us toward particular 8 records. 9 Our address is at 600 E Street, Northwest, in 10 Washington, D.C., and the zip is 20530. Our telephone number 11 is 202-724-0088, and the fax number, the same area code, 12 202-724-0457. 13 We thank all of our witnesses this morning for sharing 14 information with us, excellent advice, and we very much 15 appreciate their willingness to be here today. 16 We thank the members of the public for joining us 17 today, and we look forward to your following our continued work 18 as we try to uncover all of the records of the assassination 19 of President Kennedy. 20 Thank you very much. Meeting adjourned. 21 [Whereupon, at 12:58 p.m., the meeting was 22 concluded.1 23 24