

**The original documents are located in Box 50, folder “President - Personal Warren Commission” of the Philip Buchen Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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*President Ford*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: RON NESSEN *RAN*

Will you please draft an answer to this request for permission to reprint an article President Ford wrote for Life Magazine in 1964 on the Warren Commission investigation?

Attachment: Letter from Christiane Schlumberger of Skeptic Magazine

# skeptic

THE FORUM FOR CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

July 25, 1975

Mr. Ron Nessen  
Press Secretary to the President  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Nessen:

I appreciate your thoughtful note acknowledging receipt, on behalf of President Ford, of the current issue of SKEPTIC on America's foreign policy.

Because of the continuing controversy, many years after the Warren Commission Report, over the circumstances surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy, we have decided to devote the forthcoming issue of SKEPTIC to the troubling question of whether there should be a new inquiry into the Kennedy assassination. We will present a broad spectrum of viewpoints on this question from both supporters and critics of the Warren Report, as well as from a number of prominent public figures.

We would like to include in this issue a condensed version of the article by then-Congressman Ford entitled "Piecing Together the Evidence," which was published in the October 2, 1964 issue of Life Magazine. I have enclosed a copy of the article for your approval.

I would be most grateful for your assistance in obtaining the President's permission for us to reprint his article or granting permission on his behalf. (We have contacted Time Inc., and they have no objection to our reprinting the article since they had first publication rights only.)

As our deadline is pressing, I will call your office next week for your approval.

My thanks, in advance, for your help.

Sincerely,

*Christiane Schlumberger*

Christiane Schlumberger  
Managing Editor



title: Oswald Did It  
author: Gerald R. Ford

Page of Pages

1 (subtitle) The evidence is clear and overwhelming -- President Kennedy  
was shot by Lee Harvey Oswald, and Oswald worked alone

5 One of the three surviving members of the Warren Commission is now  
President of the United States. Then a congressman from Michigan's 5th  
District, Gerald R. Ford, in the October 2, 1964 issue of Life (his art-  
icle has been slightly abridged here), told of the painstaking methods by  
which the Commission arrived at its conclusions and explained why he was  
satisfied that Lee Harvey Oswald alone assassinated President Kennedy.  
10 According to the White House, President Ford's views on the matter have  
not changed; he endorses not only the Warren Commission findings, but  
those of the Rockefeller Commission.

15 President Ford is the only member to have written a book (Portrait  
of the Assassin, 1965) about his ten months with the Commission.

15

20

25



1 The most important witness to appear before the Warren Commission  
in the 10 months we sat was a neat, Bible-reading steam fitter from  
Dallas. His name was H. L. Brennan and he had seen Lee Harvey Oswald  
thrust a rifle from a sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book  
5 Depository and shoot the President of the United States.

In the shock and turmoil that followed, Brennan had headed for a  
policeman and given him a description of the man he had seen in the  
window. The police sent out a "wanted" bulletin based on that descrip-  
tion. About half an hour later, as police interrogated the assembled  
10 employ<sup>e</sup>s of the Depository, the manager, noting that Lee Harvey Oswald  
was missing, had checked the personnel files for Oswald's address and  
description. The police then issued their second wanted bulletin based  
on the new information. After this second bulletin was issued, Officer  
J.D. Tippit stopped Oswald on the street and Oswald shot him dead.

15 The two descriptions differed in some details -- although Brennan  
later identified Oswald in a police lineup -- and it was this discrepancy  
which set off the first of the countless rumors concerning the President's  
assassination: namely, the story that two men were involved. Thus, both  
here and abroad began the cascade of innuendo, supposition, imagination,  
20 twisted fact, misunderstanding, faulty analysis and downright fantasy that  
surrounded the tragic death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Nonetheless, the basic story of the assassination that emerged in  
the first few weeks was never materially altered during the commission's  
investigation. There were no startling developments, no sudden turns  
25 of evidence or testimony that opened up truths previously unperceived.

After taking millions of words of testimony from hundreds upon hundreds of witnesses, the Warren Commission has established that there is not a scintilla of credible evidence to suggest a conspiracy to kill President Kennedy. The evidence is clear and overwhelming: Lee Harvey Oswald did it.

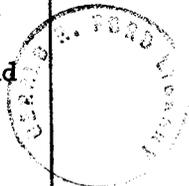
There is no evidence of a second man, of other shots, of other guns.

There is no evidence to suggest that Oswald went to work at the Depository for the long-range purpose of killing the President, that Jack Ruby knew Oswald before he killed him, or that either of them knew Officer Tippit.

There is no evidence, in short, that Oswald was more than a man alone -- a sorely disturbed person whose need for recognition, at any price, festered under his own terrible inability to attune himself to his fellow man.

President Johnson phoned me at home one night, a week after the assassination, to ask me to serve on the commission. Probably every member protested the pressure of work, as I did, and doubtless the President answered them much as he did me: "That's what they all say, Jerry." Of course I accepted.

At the outset, we broke the investigation down into these areas: the assassination itself -- the President's trip to Dallas, the actual shooting and the events before and after; Oswald's movements before and after the assassination, ending in his capture and then in his own murder; Oswald's background, from birth to death; details of Oswald's trip to Russia; details of his murder by Ruby and the possibility of



1 prior association with Ruby, and, finally, the problem of security  
measures to protect future presidents.

5 Our chief counsel was Lee Rankin, Solicitor General in the Eisen-  
hower administration. He picked a handful of skilled men to work  
directly under him. From the start we felt it was important that a strong  
part of our staff come from outside the ranks of government, and to this  
end we selected a dozen of the finest lawyers in the nation to serve  
as consultants. Most of them have worked nearly full time.

10 It would have been a bulky and time-consuming process to recruit  
our own investigators. Instead we elected to rely on the many agencies  
of government which already were involved -- the FBI, Secret Service,  
State Department investigators, Treasury agents, Internal Revenue agents,  
and others. To back up our expert testimony on things like ballistics  
and handwritings, we tapped state and local agencies as well.

15 As the lines of the investigation emerged, we tried to backcheck each  
report to avert any softening of facts that might have occurred due to  
any agency's policy or position in relation to the assassination. Each  
of the endless rumors that spread like so many oil slicks had to be  
traced to its origin; depositions had to be taken and witnesses called.

20 Before we began any of our own investigations, we had to digest the  
massive reports which the federal agencies had gathered in the days  
immediately after the President's death as well as the reports of the  
Texas authorities. Then we plunged into the voluminous task of examining  
the people who were, in one way or another, involved by chance or associa-  
25 tion.



1 This brought before us an unusual cast of characters.

There was the mother, Mrs. Marguerite Oswald, a singularly angry woman whose strange attitudes and actions provided an appropriate background for the strange son she had shaped. Mrs. Oswald's irrational  
5 allegations gave rise to one of the most persistent and dangerous -- and completely untrue -- rumors: that Lee Harvey Oswald was, or had been, an agent of the U.S. government.

There was, also, Oswald's handsome Russian wife, a quiet young woman who at first seemed simple and direct and eager to cooperate --  
10 but who, as time went on and conflicts began to develop in her testimony, emerged as a complex and even mysterious person.

~~There was Robert Oswald, the brother, who came out of his erratic childhood passionately desiring stability, a solid and hardworking man whom Lee seemed somehow to have loved and yet held in sharp contempt for  
15 just these traits.~~

There was Jack Ruby, a sad and strange little man in the Dallas County jail who had killed the only man in the world who could have said with certainty just what happened.

And finally we came to know Lee Harvey Oswald himself, as well as  
20 any obscure man can be known after he is dead -- particularly after he has spent a critical two-plus years of his life behind the Iron Curtain.

~~When Oswald was coming home from Russia, he toyed with the thought of writing a book. As a beginning, he jotted down a foreward. That scrap of paper, filled with misspellings, survives in the commission  
25 files: "Lee Harvey Oswald was born Oct. 18, 1939 to an insuraens sales~~

1 ~~man whose early death left a -- -- [the dashes were Oswald's] mean streak~~  
~~of independence brought on by neglect. ..."~~

5 ~~The full details of Oswald's nearly three years in the U.S.S.R.~~  
~~will remain covered in mystery until and unless the Soviet government~~  
~~opens its files completely. It had not done so yet. Just after Presi-~~  
~~dent Kennedy was killed, the Soviet government, perhaps realizing that~~  
~~its position was equivocal because of Oswald's background, rather drama-~~  
~~tically handed over certain files to U.S. authorities. The information~~  
~~was of little value, and thereafter the Russians answered our additional~~  
10 ~~questions with bare minimums of information.~~

But It ~~did~~ become unmistakably clear that never in his life --  
here, in Russia, or anywhere else -- was Lee Oswald satisfied with the  
environment in which he found himself. When he returned to the U.S.,  
this same discontent quickly overtook him and he began to look to Cuba  
15 as the place where his worth might be recognized and his shadowy  
philosophical theories might finally come to fruit. For, from the time  
he was 15, I believe his faith in Communism and the writings of Karl Marx  
as he understood them was one of the main motivating forces of his life.

20 Only a few weeks before the assassination, Oswald visited the Cuban  
and Soviet consulates in Mexico City to arrange entry to Cuba. Both  
consulates largely ignored him. It was a time of crushing frustration  
for Oswald. We have in our commission files a violent letter of com-  
plaint sent to the Soviet embassy in Washington, implying that the petty  
bureaucrats in the consulates in Mexico did not seem to realize who Lee  
25 Oswald was or the importance of what he was doing.

1 Before he went to Mexico City, Oswald had told his wife, "I'll be  
premier in 20 years." Now he came home, nearly broke, dejected, un-  
wanted.

5 As always, there was not a single meaningful relationship between  
Oswald and any other human being.

10 There was no solace at home. As Marina Oswald's testimony developed,  
it was obvious that their life together had been stormy. He lived away  
from home much of the time. In the last year of his life, he was  
bringing to a peak his growing capacity for violence and his deep,  
overpowering hatred of authority.

15 A week before the assassination, Oswald had a bitter argument with  
his wife. When he came home on the Thursday night before the Friday on  
which he shot President Kennedy, Marina believed he had come to make up,  
but she did not permit the reconciliation. In fact, he had come home to  
get his rifle. He left the next morning before anyone else was up.

~~Mrs. Oswald was to see her husband just once more. He was in the  
Dallas city jail and he told her simply that everything would be all  
right.~~

20 Marina Oswald was the first witness we called. She appeared in a  
neat blue dress with light touches of make-up. Her manner was subdued.  
When she was asked to identify her husband's clothing, she broke down,  
and the Chief Justice, in his gentle way, soothed her back to composure.  
By far the most poignant part of her testimony was her description of the  
afternoon of the assassination.

25 Marina said that when she and Mrs. Ruth Paine, the woman in whose

1 house she lived, heard the news of the President's murder, "We both  
turned pale. I went to my room and cried." Later, Marina testified, Mrs.  
Paine said, "By the way, they fired from the building where Lee is  
working."

5 Mrs. Oswald continued: "My heart stopped. I went to the garage to  
see if the rifle was still there and I saw that the blanket [in which  
Oswald normally kept it wrapped] was still there, and I said, 'Thank God.'"

She did not then look inside the blanket, which appeared undisturbed.  
When the police arrived and asked if her husband had a rifle, she led  
10 them to the garage. She thought, "Well, now they'll find it." One of  
the officers put a hand under the blanket and lifted and it folded over  
his hand. It was empty.

This was an intensely dramatic moment in Marina Oswald's testimony.  
There was a look of complete distress on her face. "Of course," she said,  
15 "I already knew that it was Lee."

Oswald's mother was the next witness. She appeared in a black  
dress and at the time I noted on a pad that she was "aggressive, dog-  
matic, difficult." She told wild stories, frequently forgot her point,  
meandered through blind and unproductive asides. When we tried to get  
-20 her back on the track, she denounced us for interrupting.

But Marguerite Oswald's widely publicized "secret agent" theory was  
traceable in the tangled lines of her testimony. She never accepted  
the fact that her son had simply taken off to Russia, leaving her  
destitute. Instead, she decided that he must have been sent to Russia  
25 on a secret mission for our government. Since her need was indeed genuine,

Title:

Author: Gerald R. Ford

1 she went to Washington to demand of various officials that her son be recalled to the U.S. so that he could support her. She had even tried to get into the White House to petition President Kennedy.

5 Within two months of this, she had received a letter from Lee, in which he indicated he would soon be trying to come home. She took this for confirmation that her demands on government officials had prevailed. After the assassination, she simply revived her belief that he was an agent and told everyone who would listen that this had been the case.

10 The result was a massive search by the commission to prove or disprove the secret-agent theory. First we took the sworn depositions of the directors of various agencies in Washington -- men like J. Edgar Hoover and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. We quizzed personnel from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. We sent our own men into the agencies involved to study their old personnel files.

15 We were, and we are now, convinced that Oswald was never an agent for the U.S. government.

20 We interrogated Jack Ruby in an austere little jury room which had a sink at one end, and a long narrow table around which we all sat. ~~He wore sandals and a white jumper with several buttons and...~~ he told us no more than he claimed at his trial -- that he had been moved only by his horror at the assassination -- it seemed to us that and-go whether we could keep his nerves from exploding. ~~He was tense and, at one point, balked completely. Suddenly~~ Decker of Dallas roared at Ruby, "Now be a man with ~~a~~ ~~have come a long way to give you an opportunity to~~

25



1 ~~I was afraid that would blow everything up~~ but instead, Ruby  
~~began talking again.~~ From this and other sessions, and from total  
examination of the lives of both Ruby and Oswald, we were convinced there  
was no prior relationship between Ruby and Oswald.

5 There were several trips to Dallas and on one of these the staff  
conducted an extraordinary experiment. It actually re-created the  
assassination, taking a similar car through a foot-by-foot re-enactment  
of what had happened. The restaging was based on three strips of movie  
film of the actual event, plus a variety of still photographs.

10 By making a triangulation with surveyor's transits located at the  
precise point at which each photographer had been standing, we were  
able to place the car exactly at each step.

15 A man of John Kennedy's approximate build rode in the President's  
seat. On the jump seat in front of him, just where Governor Connally  
had sat, was another stand-in wearing the actual coat Connally had  
worn on that day, the bullet hole outlined in chalk.

20 The rifle Oswald had used was mounted in the window from which he  
had fired, and a camera was fitted to its telescopic sight. The car  
was taken foot-by-foot down the sloping road and photographed again at  
each spot in its passage. By coordinating these photos and from a very  
close study of the evidence, the commission was able to conclude with  
certainty that there were three shots.

25 I personally believe that one of these three shots missed entirely  
-- but which of the three may never be known. I believe that another  
struck the President in the back and emerged from his throat, and that

1 this same bullet struck Governor Connally in the back and emerged from  
his chest, then went through his right hand and pierced his left thigh.

5 Governor Connally does not agree with this. He thinks the first  
bullet struck the President, the second hit him alone, and the third  
struck the President's head. Nevertheless, it is frequently true that  
a wounded man does not know immediately when he has been hit. I think  
that Governor Connally did not know for an instant or two that he him-  
self was wounded as well as the President.

10 Certainly there is no question that a following bullet finally  
killed President Kennedy, inflicting a massive head wound. From the  
moment that bullet struck, there was no question of a chance for survival.  
~~In effect, the President was dead at that moment.~~

15 As we proceeded through experiment, investigation and testimony, we  
came to feel more and more confident of our facts. But the matter could  
not be considered finished until each of the hundreds of rumors was  
run to ground.

\* \* \*

~~There were, for instance, the tales emanating from a crowd picture  
that included one Billy Lovelady, a youthful employe of the Depository.  
At the moment the President was shot, Lovelady was standing with a group  
of fellow employes<sup>e</sup> at the Depository's front entrance. One of the  
pictures taken at the time of the assassination showed him in the back  
ground. When blown up, the grainy image bore a surprising resemblance  
to Lee Oswald.~~

25 ~~This provoked a storm of rumors here and abroad. Major newspapers  
ran the picture and asked how if there was a possibility that this was~~



1 ~~Oswald, it could be said that Oswald had himself fired the shot. Did not  
this give credence to the theories that there were other gunmen, who were  
upstairs while Oswald was down? Or to the theory that Oswald was the wrong  
man?~~

5 ~~The doubt was compounded by Lovelady's own actions. He virtually  
went into seclusion, refusing to talk to reporters or to allow his  
picture to be made. It is hard to blame him. Immediately after the  
assassination there was an almost tangible aura of fear in Dallas.  
Even important officials could not be sure in the first hours that a major  
10 ~~plot was not underway (H.L. Brennan, who actually saw Oswald shoot the  
President and provided the first description, decided soon afterward that  
his own life was in critical danger. At the first police lineup, he  
later told us, he recognized Oswald immediately but feared to admit it.  
At the second lineup, he made the identification despite the feared  
15 consequences.)~~~~

~~The commission questioned Lovelady, and in the absence of publicity  
he identified himself in the picture immediately, saying he had been standing  
precisely at that spot. Several other employ<sup>e</sup>es<sub>^</sub> testified that they had  
been there with him. The Depository manager agreed that the picture  
20 ~~plainly was of Lovelady, not Oswald. And that was all there was to that.~~~~

~~Then there was the rumor that there had been a sheriff's office  
alert of trouble at the Depository at 12:25 p.m. on Nov. 22 -- five  
minutes before the assassination. Did that mean someone knew in advance  
there would be trouble? Was this not evidence of a plot?~~

25 ~~We checked the records of the Dallas County sheriff's dispatcher desk.~~



1 ~~and found that the call, tape recorded and time-keyed, had been issued~~  
~~at 12:30 p.m., just after the shots were fired.~~

5 ~~The "second rifle" also touched off misleading talk. The weapon which~~  
~~killed President Kennedy was a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle; it was made in~~  
~~Italy. Oswald purchased it secondhand.~~

10 ~~But an early report had quoted police as saying the rifle was a~~  
~~Mauser, which is made in Germany. The two rifles bear only slight~~  
~~resemblance. Result: more public confusion -- except among subscribers~~  
~~to the "conspiracy" theories, for whom it was further proof of more than~~  
~~one gunman. When police insisted that there had been just the one~~  
~~Italian rifle, it seemed to many that they were trying to hide something.~~

15 ~~We had to go back to the afternoon of the assassination to set this~~  
~~rumor straight. When Oswald fled the sixth floor of the Depository, he~~  
~~had thrust the rifle behind a stack of boxes. It was found by the first~~  
~~investigating officers and a guard was put over it until the weapons and~~  
~~fingerprint men arrived.~~

20 ~~A reporter, facing an immediate deadline, asked an officer standing~~  
~~nearby what make the rifle might be. He said he thought it might be a~~  
~~Mauser. The reporter filed his story, calling the gun a Mauser, and~~  
~~the description was relayed around the world. Although it was followed~~  
~~by a correction, the error stirred up wide suspicions.~~

25 Perhaps the most rumor-ridden subject of all was the direction  
from which the shots were fired. Many people found it difficult to be-  
lieve that anyone but a superb marksman could have fired three shots so  
quickly and so accurately. Our tests indicated, however, that this was

1 not a remarkable feat.

There also are those who insist that Oswald, in the time available to him, could not have got from the sixth floor of the Depository to the second, where he was observed moments after the shooting. I ran  
5 down those steps myself, stopwatch in hand. There was time for him to make it.

There were also some cruel happenstances that day which broke in Oswald's favor. Several carpenters had been working on the sixth floor, laying a new plywood floor. At lunchtime they all went downstairs.  
10 Had they stayed at the jobsite while eating, Oswald would have been denied his concealment.

Another young employe<sup>e</sup> actually did eat his lunch on the sixth floor that day. He left a few chicken bones, which at first had been thought to have been Oswald's lunch. Had this employe<sup>e</sup> stayed to watch the parade  
15 from the sixth floor, Oswald might have been thwarted. Instead, he joined two others on the fifth floor, at windows directly underneath the point where Oswald installed himself and waited for the President to appear.

And so the three men heard the shots fired, the ejector mechanism  
20 working, the shells hitting the floor just over their heads. The reverberations dislodged plaster that sifted down into their hair. Subsequently, their eerie testimony pinpointed the rifle shots.

When I was in Dallas, I stood in that same place while an investigator worked a rifle on the floor above. I too could hear the ejected  
25 shells hitting the floor.

1 ~~Perhaps because of early confused reports on the President's  
wounds, there have been persistent rumors, too, that a second gunman  
or even the only gunman was near the railroad overpass which overlooks  
the scene of the assassination.~~

5 But from 10 a.m. that day, the overpass had been sealed off by  
Dallas Patrolman J.W. Foster to all but railway employes<sup>e</sup>. A railroad  
towerman could see the whole area. He saw no strangers in the yard.  
When the motorcade appeared, the handful of spectators on the overpass  
clustered to the railing. Foster stationed himself slightly behind them  
and all were within his range of vision.

10 When the shots were fired, Foster thought immediately that they  
came from the area of the Depository. Others present had a variety  
of other theories, which were subsequently advanced to reporters. The  
towerman, as an example, couldn't be sure whether they came from the  
15 Depository or the overpass: he said he had noted in the past that,  
because of echoes in the area, noises originating from either place  
tended to sound the same.

In any event, no one present at the time saw anything at all sus-  
picious.

\*

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20 Thus we came, gradually and finally, to the end of our assignment.  
We had become masters of much more information than we had expected to  
gather, veterans of many more twisting trails than we had expected to  
follow. We spent nearly two months writing our massive report -- on  
which all of us, with our different backgrounds, are agreed.

25 This report is the truth as we see it, as best we know it, and on



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 13, 1976

MEMO FOR: Phil Buchen

FROM: Barry Roth *BK*

Attached are copies of two letters to Congressman Ford concerning Professor Norman Redlich, a member of the Warren Commission staff. These letters have recently been released by GSA under the Freedom of Information Act after Professor Redlich indicated he had no objection to their release.



EDWIN E. WILLIS, LA., CHAIRMAN

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
WASHINGTON

FRANCIS J. MCNAMARA, DIRECTOR

FRANK S. TAVENNER, JR., GENERAL COUNSEL  
ALFRED M. NITTLE, COUNSEL

February 27, 1964

Honorable Gerald R. Ford  
351 House Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Ford:

Pursuant to conversations he has had with you, Mr. Willis has asked me to forward to you the enclosed reports on Norman Redlich, staff member of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, and on Mark Lane, who unsuccessfully attempted to represent the interests of Lee Harvey Oswald before the Commission.

Re: Norman Redlich Report

The first sheet of this report, which contains only references to groups officially cited as Communist, is the normal report furnished by the Committee in response to requests for information on Redlich. The second page, as noted, contains references to activities not officially cited as Communist. They are being furnished only to members of the Commission who desire information on Redlich because they shed additional light on his activities or association with groups and causes which -- though not officially cited as Communist -- are Communist influenced, originated, or oriented.

It may interest you to know that during the past few days Frank Wilkinson, who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by two witnesses who have appeared before this Committee, has been in the House Office Building attempting to "lobby" Members to vote against this Committee's appropriation for the current year. Wilkinson is the Executive Director of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, a group cited as Communist by this Committee in House Report 1278 of the 87th Congress.

Wilkinson has been distributing in the House Office Building the February 21, 1964 issue of "Abolition News," bulletin of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, which lists "Prof. Norman Redlich, Law, New York University," as one of the sponsors of the committee. A reproduction of this bulletin is enclosed for your information.



It may also interest you to know that certain facts on Redlich's background are now in the "public domain." Enclosed is a reproduction of page 1 of the February 12, 1964 issue of "Tocsin," a West Coast newsletter, which features an item on Redlich.

Re: Mark Lane Report

The two-page report, dated February 10, 1964, is the normal report furnished by the Committee in response to requests for information on Mark Lane. The longer report, dated February 20, 1964, contains supplementary information of the same general character as the information contained on the second sheet of the report on Mr. Redlich, and is being furnished for the same reasons.

Sincerely yours,



Francis J. McNamara  
Director

Enclosures

PC 8  
Redlich  
Prof. Hanna

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: February 24, 1964

FOR: Honorable Gerald R. Ford

SUBJECT: Norman Redlich

This Committee makes NO EVALUATION in this report. The following is only a compilation of recorded public material contained in our files and should not be construed as representing the results of any investigation or finding by the Committee. The fact that the Committee has information as set forth below on the subject of this report is not per se an indication that this individual, organization, or publication is subversive, unless specifically stated.

Symbols in parentheses after the name of any organization or publication mentioned herein indicate that the organization or publication has been cited as being subversive by one or more Federal authorities. The name of each agency is denoted by a capital letter, as follows: A—Attorney General of the United States; C—Committee on Un-American Activities; I—Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee; J—Senate Judiciary Committee; and, S—Subversive Activities Control Board. The numerals after each letter represent the year in which that agency first cited the organization or publication. (For more complete information on citations, see this Committee's "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications.")

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

No evidence

COMMUNIST FRONTS

1955- EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (C-1958; I-1956)

- 1963 Speaker on the Fifth Amendment at Conference on an Appeal to Congress for a Rebirth of Freedom, New York City, April 16, 1955. [Call and Program of Conference] To speak at meeting called to promote abolition of House Committee on Un-American Activities, February 24, 1961, New York City. [The Worker, February 19, 1961, p. 12] National Council member. ["Rights." an ECLC publication, May, 1961, p. 6; letterheads, January 9, May and December 1962, April 29 and October 1, 1963] Among 25 professors who signed a statement published by ECLC condemning the Supreme Court decision of June 5, 1961 upholding the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act. [The Worker, June 24, 1962, p. 14]

1961- NEW YORK COUNCIL TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (C-1961)

- 1963 sponsor of rally to be held April 21, 1961, New York City, jointly sponsored by the above organization and Youth to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (C-1961). [letterhead, April 15, 1961; and press release, April 21, 1961, pp. 12 & 13] Member, Advisory Committee (in formation). [letterheads, April 20 & Oct. 12, 1962] Signer of statement protesting HCUA's hearings of May 6, 1963 on Violations of State Department Travel Regulations and Pro-Castro Propaganda Activities in the United States. [press release, May 6, 1963, p. 2]

1961 YOUTH TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (C-1961)

- Sponsor of rally to be held April 21, 1961, New York City, jointly sponsored by the above organization and New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (C-1961). [See item above under New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee]



THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY  
CITED AS COMMUNIST. THEY WOULD NOT BE INCLUDED IN A NORMAL COMMITTEE REPORT.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

**1961 PETITION FOR CLEMENCY FOR WITNESSES CONVICTED FOR CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS**

Signer of petition to the President asking for clemency for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, who were both serving prison sentences for contempt of congress [undated, printed PETITION FOR CLEMENCY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; and the National Guardian, December 4, 1961, p. 8]. Braden and Wilkinson, identified Communist Party members, appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 29, 1958, during its hearings on "Communist Infiltration and Activities in the South." Braden refused to answer pertinent questions relating to membership in the Communist Party and Communist propaganda activities in the South, basing his refusal to answer on the first amendment, invalidity of the committee, and lack of pertinency of the questions to the subject under inquiry. Wilkinson based his refusal to answer questions relating to the activities and purposes of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in the Atlanta area on the claim that the Committee on Un-American Activities was illegally established and on what he termed "a matter of conscience and personal responsibility."

**1961- PETITIONS TO CONGRESS TO ABOLISH THE HCUA**

**1962** Signer of petition to the 87th Congress to eliminate the HCUA as a standing committee [advertisement, "Petition to the House," Washington Post, January 2, 1961]

Signer of "An Appeal to the House of Representatives-Abolish HUAC," a full-page ad of the Ad Hoc Committee, 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia. [New York Times, February 22, 1962, p. C-17]

**1962 PROTEST AGAINST COMMITTEE HEARINGS**

Signer of statement on HCUA's hearings of December 11-13, 1962, asking: "... In the name of democracy and survival, ...cancel the proposed investigation into the peace program." [press release, Women Strike for Peace, December 12, 1962; and The Worker, December 18, 1962, pp. 4 & 6]

**1964 COMMITTEE TO AID THE BLOOMINGTON STUDENTS (three leaders of the Bloomington, Indiana, Young Socialist Alliance, the youth section of the Socialist Workers Party (A-1947; C-1948), indicted for subversive activity under a state sedition law)**

Sponsor (letterhead states: Sponsorship in no way implies agreement with the political ideas of the defendants.) [letterheads, January 28 and February 3, 1964]



EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

EDWIN E. WILLIS, LA., CHAIRMAN

WILLIAM M. TUCK, VA.

JOE R. POOL, TEX.

RICHARD H. ICHORD, MO.

GEORGE F. SENNER, JR., ARIZ.

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HENRY C. SCHADEBERG, WIS.

JOHN M. ASHBROOK, OHIO

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

WASHINGTON

March 17, 1964

FRANCIS J. MCNAMARA, DIRECTOR

FRANK S. TAVENNER, JR., GENERAL COUNSEL

ALFRED M. NITTE, COUNSEL

Honorable Gerald R. Ford  
351 Cannon House Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ford:

Since I last wrote to you at the request of Mr. Willis relative to the matter of Mr. Norman Redlich, some additional background data has come to the attention of the Committee.

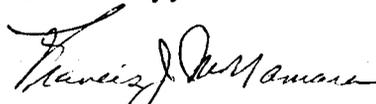
I am enclosing for your information a reproduction of a letter written by Redlich and published in the New York Times of October 13, 1961. It may interest you to know that the rally referred to by Mr. Redlich, the National Assembly for Democratic Rights, was one of the most blatantly Communist operations to take place in this country in recent years. Copies of the Committee's two-part hearing and report are still available should you desire to have a set.

The other item which has come to the Committee's attention is the fact that the Nation Magazine, issue of June 6, 1953, featured an article entitled "Does Silence Mean Guilt?" co-authored by Redlich and Laurent B. Frantz.

Frantz, with whom Redlich wrote this article, testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on April 19, 1940. At that time he denied present or past membership in the Communist Party. Subsequently, however, he was identified as a member of the Communist Party by three ex-Communists who testified before the Committee -- Paul Crouch, on May 6, 1949; Howard A. Bridgman, on April 29, 1950; and Ralph V. Long, on November 30, 1954. Both Crouch and Bridgman testified that they knew Frantz as a member of the Communist Party in the 1930's. If their testimony was true -- and the Committee has no reason to doubt it -- this meant that Frantz had perjured himself when he denied on April 19, 1940, ever having been a Party member.

Frantz again testified before this Committee on May 14, 1960. At that time he invoked the Fifth Amendment privilege when asked about present and past Communist Party membership.

Sincerely,



Francis J. McNamara  
Director

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
September 20, 1976

*President  
Personal  
Carlton F.*

Dear Mr. Dobyms:

In behalf of the President, I wish to thank you for your letter of September 13.

The President was a Member of the Warren Commission, and except for Mr. John McCloy, I believe he is the only surviving member.

A special committee of the House of Representatives has recently been established which plans to conduct a further investigation into the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Many thanks for your good wishes to the President.

Sincerely,

*Philip W. Buchen*

Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President

Mr. Carlton F. Dobyms  
211 East Eaton Street  
Trenton, Tennessee 38382

*RECEIVED*

September 13, 1976  
211 East Baton St.  
Trenton, Tennessee 38332

2  
Gerald R. Ford  
President Off The United States

Dear Mr. President:

First I must wish you all the success in your debate and the election in November.

As my brother Edward P. Dobyms was with the Department Of State Foreign service division for 37 years but now is retired, I have taken quit an interest in our government and all its functions.

It started with the Roosevelt Adm. Truman Adm. Eisenhower Kennedy - Johnson - Nixon, Last but not least the Ford Adm. I must say that in those years I saw a lot of history being made. I am in Ed Jones Rep. district and am a presonel friend of Ed's. and have been in his farm home many times.

I am very much interested in the President John F. Kennedy murder case. In reading about it I noted that you were one of the members of the Warren Commission, as a matter of fact I believe you are the only living member, Am I right or wrong? Are there any plans to reopen that case?

I have just been released from the Veterans Administration Hospital in Memphis Tennessee. I underwent a hernia operation. The hospital staff is very efficient and is a hospital your Administrator there in Washington, can be proud of. Again wishing you all the success in the world.

cd.

Sincerely  
*Carlton F. Dobyms*  
Carlton F. Dobyms

