

brought enthusiastic cheers from some 2,000 students. He paid tribute to the tradition of campus dissent but urged protesters to graduate from demonstrations to jobs in government. "If you want to ban the bomb, only government can do it," he said. "If you want to legalize pot, only government can do it. If you want to make love, not war," Lindsay went on with a grin, "—well, I'm not sure this is a proper role for government. As a Republican, I think the matter should be left up to our system of private enterprise." The students cheered wildly. Later that evening, his speech to 500 USC law-school alumni about the desperate plight of the cities and lawlessness in the streets drew a clamorous five-minute standing ovation.

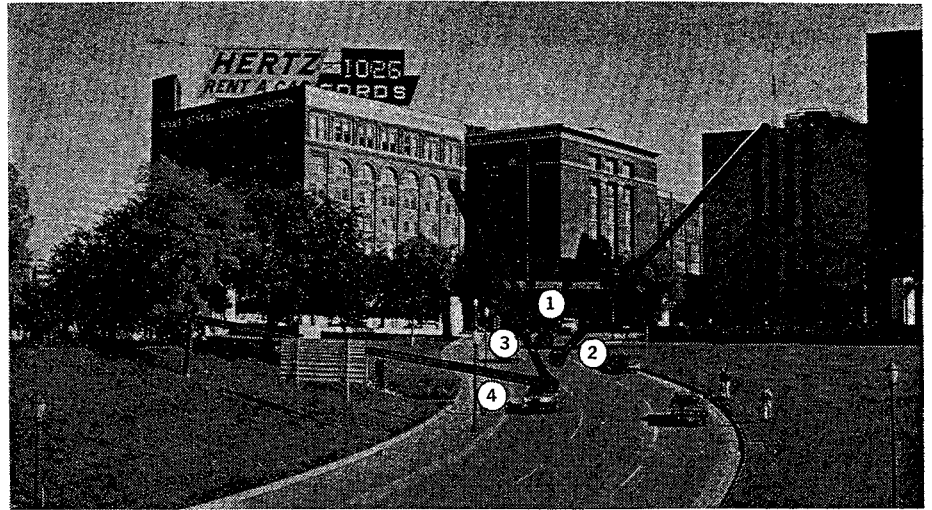
The mayor also saw for the first time signs promoting him for the White House. "Lindsay for President," said one poster. "All the way with Lindsay," said another. That, of course, once more brought up the big question. "No," John Lindsay insisted over and over again. "No, sir. I am not a candidate for President or Vice President. I won't be a candidate under any circumstances." Back home along the Hudson, though, others were not so sure, including New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller—himself a Republican non-candidate. "There's no question about it," one top level party man confided to a reporter. "Nelson thinks John is running."

It's Official

After nearly a year of coast-to-coast campaigning, Michigan's moderate GOP Gov. George Romney took time out last week for a formality: he declared himself a Presidential candidate. In a preachy ten-minute statement, Romney decried expanding government "control over our lives," a succession of "unfulfilled promises" to the slum poor, an Asian land war with "no end in sight," and the "growing aimlessness and flabbiness" of the American nation. "But I am confident that the American people can reverse this trend," he said—adding that what Americans need is "leadership . . . worthy of God's blessing."

Romney thus became the first of leading GOP contenders to make it official. But he still had to show what kind of voter support he could muster in the bellwether New Hampshire primary in March. Even as he pledged to "fight for and win" the GOP nomination, George was bushwhacked at home by his own party; Republican majorities in both houses of the state legislature put off consideration of the open-housing bill that Romney has requested. Worse, they voted not to take up the plan again until the governor is off on a round-the-world tour next month.

■ That hardy perennial hopeful Harold Stassen, 60, also announced he would make a bid for the GOP nomination (his seventh) by entering the Wisconsin primary as a "peace candidate."



Newsweek—Tony Rollo

Dealey Plaza in Dallas: Did three snipers fire four shots at John Kennedy?

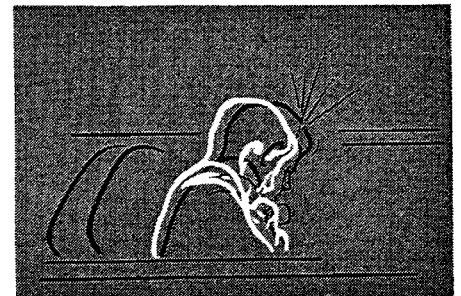
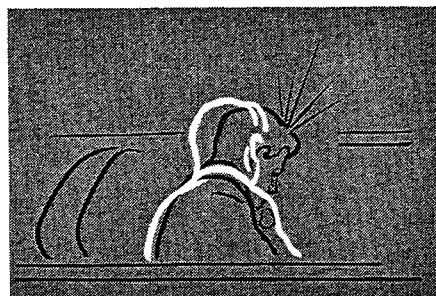
A New Assassination Theory

The Presidential motorcade swings left on Elm Street, past the Texas School Book Depository. Suddenly, from a sixth-floor depository window, assassin No. 1, who probably isn't Lee Harvey Oswald, hits John Kennedy with a shallow back wound, inflicted by a defective cartridge. Assassin No. 2, atop another building across the street from the depository, crumples Texas Gov. John Connally. And then in a perfect double hit, assassin No. 1 in the depository and assassin No. 3 in a parking lot ahead and to the right of the limousine explode Kennedy's head with two shots an eighteenth of a second apart . . .

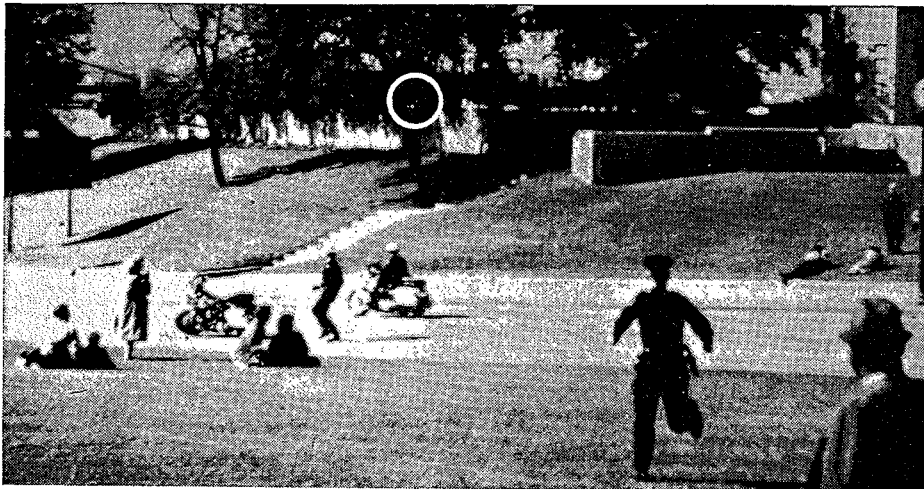
This scenario for the events of Dallas, Nov. 22, 1963, is the latest in an annual autumnal wave of ever more ingenious attacks on the official theory that a lone, lunatic assassin named Lee Oswald shot the President. Its author is Josiah (Tink) Thompson, 32, a stubby, boyish-looking Haverford College philosophy teacher whose only other published book is a study of the pseudonymous works of the Danish Christian existentialist Søren Kierkegaard. But, for all his implausible credentials, Thompson's study commands attention in part because of its philosopher's air of cool, relentless logic. And attention is precisely what "Six Sec-

onds in Dallas" will get: Thompson sold it to (1) The Saturday Evening Post (which splashed it last week with the banner, MAJOR NEW STUDY SHOWS THREE ASSASSINS KILLED KENNEDY) and (2) Bernard Geis Associates, a promotion-conscious publishing firm best known for such swinging sellers as "Valley of the Dolls" and "The Exhibitionist."

Thompson's interest—and his conviction that the assassination could not be laid to Oswald alone—dates virtually from the day of the crime of the century. "I clipped everything I could find in the newspapers," he told NEWSWEEK's Robert Shogan last week. "The thing became an obsession, although I shouldn't use that word." He found the Warren commission report a major disappointment; he had imagined that it would turn up additional conspirators and "that arrests would be made the same day the report was made public." But the commission fingered Oswald alone, and Thompson fell to work on his own draft—a labor that consumed sixteen to eighteen hours a day. Thompson's work, says Saturday Evening Post editor Bill Emerson in a blurb introducing the magazine's condensation, "demolishes the Warren report." It doesn't, quite—though it lays bare the report's shortcomings. What it



Double snap: Superimposed drawings from Zapruder film show JFK's head pitch forward (left), then suddenly wrench back



Witnesses look toward purported sniper's nest (circle) on grassy knoll

does prove at least is that there are, four years after the fact, large anomalies in the available evidence—and that a man with the will, wit and time can make them suit a different conclusion.

The essentials of Thompson's case:

ASSASSIN NO. 1

Thompson agrees that one gunman was on the depository's sixth floor using Oswald's Mannlicher-Carcano rifle, but he insists it is "quite likely" that Oswald was on the first floor during the shooting. His main evidence: an FBI report quoting a depository secretary as saying she "thought she caught a fleeting glimpse" of Oswald possibly five—or possibly twenty—minutes before the first shot. He goes on to suggest, from other fragmentary eyewitness reports and several blurry photos, that there were actually two men in the sixth-floor room.

Fortunately for his work as a whole, Thompson does not push the point but appends it somewhat disingenuously as a postscript. His report of what one witness "thought" she saw hardly squares with the mass of evidence against Oswald.

ASSASSIN NO. 2

Thompson's case for the second assassin rests heavily on his doubts about the Warren commission's hedged judgment that one bullet ripped through Kennedy and caused all of Connally's wounds. His studies of Abraham Zapruder's celebrated home movie of the assassination persuaded him that Connally was hit one-half to one and a half seconds after Kennedy's first wound—too long a gap for a single bullet to have struck both men and too short for one assassin to have fired both shots. He says the intact bullet supposedly found on Connally's stretcher could not possibly have caused all that damage to two men and stayed undeformed. And he rejects the official autopsy verdict that the first hit passed through Kennedy's neck, arguing that this was merely the inference of inexperienced men who learned only the morning after the postmortem that there had been an exit wound in Ken-

nedy's throat. Indeed, he contends that the exit wound was too small to have been caused by a 6.5 mm. bullet and makes a case that it marked the exit of a skull fragment from a head shot. Thompson also offers an FBI report noting that the autopsy doctors had been unable to probe the first entry wound deeper than a finger length. If the bullet didn't even go through Kennedy, reasons Thompson, a second assassin must have wounded Connally.

Frame Game: Some of this is well-trodden ground. The Zapruder film indeed suggests that Connally was hit between frames 234 and 238 as Thompson (and Connally himself) thought: Connally's mouth opens, his cheeks puff, his shoulder sags. Yet all Connally's doctors agreed that a single bullet struck his torso, right wrist and left thigh—and the film shows his right wrist moving out of that line of fire starting at frame 226. This suggests Connally may actually have been hit by frame 226 and that the puffed cheeks and slumping shoulder a half-second later are delayed reactions. Since Kennedy might have been hit as late as frame 225, the two hits could well have been close enough together to support a one-bullet theory.

Thompson may overrate the FBI account of the shallowness of Kennedy's first wound. Thompson generously quotes published statements by New York medical examiner Milton Helpem that the autopsy was faultily run and that the single-bullet theory is dubious. But, as Thompson fails to note, Helpem has no doubts that a bullet might well have passed through Kennedy, no matter how hard the wound was to track. "A bullet doesn't make a tunnel," he says. "Sometimes the path is hard to trace because the tissues collapse and shift after the bullet has gone through."

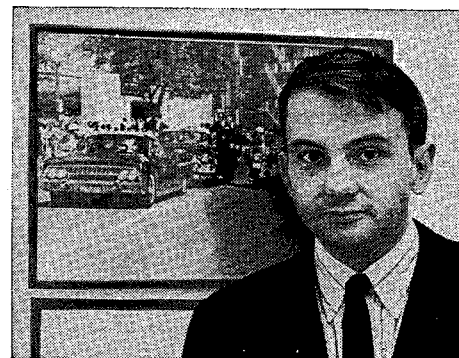
ASSASSIN NO. 3

Thompson's most original contribution is his theory of a double hit on Kennedy's head. The Zapruder film, by his reading, shows Kennedy's head snapping forward, as though hit from behind, at

frames 312-313—and then, an eighteenth of a second later, taking "a tremendous wrench . . . backward and to the left." That, to Thompson, points to a second hit from the right front—and so does the fact that "debris" from the wound showered back onto the trunk of the car and the motorcycle cops riding behind and to the left. Two pieces of skull were later found well off to the left. One "looked" to a doctor like a fragment of the rear skull—consistent, says Thompson, only with a hit from the front that blew out the back of Kennedy's head.

There are problems with this theory, too. Helpem says that the head snap backward could have been a neuromuscular reaction—a possibility that Thompson raises and dismisses, arguing that the head's velocity was too great. The Zapruder film itself shows a pink halo of debris spraying upward and forward at the point a bullet hits Kennedy's head from behind—but no backward spray, as might be expected from an even more explosive head wound fired from the front and side. What's more, the Bethesda doctors found only one entry wound, in the back of the skull, and if Thompson thinks little of their work, the feeling is mutual. The book, says Dr. James J. Humes, the former Navy commander who headed the three-man autopsy team, "is based on so many errors of fact and unwarranted assumptions, so much hearsay and half-truth, that it is unworthy of comment."

'Dark Shape': That judgment is too harsh. Wesley J. Liebeler, an ex-commission staffer who is still pursuing the inquiry at UCLA and who still believes the Warren verdict, calls Thompson's book "the most interesting thing I've seen so far." But, for all his rigorously clinical manner, Thompson deals extremely selectively with evidence and testimony, choosing to place his faith in those eyewitnesses who fit his case. Nothing in his three-assassin theory accounts for the fact that the only traceable bullet and bullet fragments came from Oswald's rifle. Nor does he have any positive evidence placing any other conspirators on the scene. His "assassin No. 2" (in sharp contrast to Oswald's mile-wide trail) appears to have vanished without a trace, and his prime exhibit for "assassin No. 3" is a grainy,



Newsweek—Bernard Gotfryd

'Tink' Thompson: Demolition job?

amateur's photo of a fence atop the grassy knoll, behind which Thompson discerns "a dark shape, the size of a head."

Similar flaws, of course, marked most of the fourteen previous books attacking the Oswald theory, though far more obtrusively than in Thompson's cool, measured work. Yet, as Thompson shows more effectively than most of his predecessors, the work of the Warren commission is also highly vulnerable. If his case is the latest, it is hardly the last. Historians, and those who would rewrite history, will be producing new versions of Nov. 22, 1963, for many anniversaries to come. But the government is not altogether helpless if it wants to help set the record straight. Still withheld from the view of independent experts (by government agreement with the Kennedys) are the autopsy photos and X-rays. Competent inspection of this evidence would not lay all the doubts to rest—but it should settle some of the most gnawing questions about the assassination.

CONGRESS:

Poverty Warfare

Almost from the day the ornery 90th Congress was gaveled to order, it was clear that the Administration would have to do some savvy horse trading to save its anti-poverty bill. When the time came finally to strike the bargain, the President left the unpleasant details to Speaker John McCormack with the counsel: "Mr. Speaker, work it out the best way you can." And behind the closed doors of his memento-hung office, that's just what the 75-year-old Speaker did. He arranged for about 35 Southern Democrats to vote against Republican efforts to dismember and scatter the poverty program in return for an agreement to turn over control of local community-action funds to City Hall.

The Southerners bought the deal in part because it would also enable them to keep tabs on such projects as the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Head Start and VISTA. Or, as Louisiana's Joe Waggoner put it, "We want to keep all the trash in one pile." In part, as well, the Southerners were left free to join Republicans on a last-ditch vote to cut back the President's \$2,060,000,000 request to \$1.6 billion—the Office of Economic Opportunity's current budget level. And last week, with both sides sticking to the bargain, an amended but basically intact \$1.6 billion poverty bill was approved by the House, 283 to 129.

Cutbacks: "I feel . . . like the Boston Red Sox," beamed OEO boss Sargent Shriver, who called mere preservation of the program "a notable victory." (Shriver also anticipated that House-Senate compromises would raise the actual spending figure almost to \$1.8 billion.) Inevitably, however, many existing poverty programs faced sharp cutbacks, and virtually all planned expansion was certain to go by the boards. For dedicated anti-poverty

workers from coast to coast there was very little to boast about. "This bill is looked upon as a major victory, but to the poor it's a disastrous defeat," shrugged Brooklyn VISTA volunteer Tweed Roosevelt, 25, great-grandson of TR. "I think we're just beginning to recognize the poverty problem, but we're failing to follow through."

Action Now

Is the Congress an accurate barometer of public opinion? Apparently not, when it comes to the key domestic issue of the future of the Negro in America. In its latest poll of U.S. attitudes, the Louis Harris survey this week found that the majority of the American people "stand committed to a massive governmental program to root out the causes of ghetto discontent."

Indeed, the Harris survey discovered solid backing for many slum plans of the sort advocated by NEWSWEEK (Nov. 20) in its "program for action." Thus by a lopsided 57 to 32 per cent margin the American people favor a government program designed to tear down slums. They support "a massive Federal job program" for the ghetto unemployed by 56 to 31 per cent. And a 47 to 38 per cent majority favors establishment of a summer-camp program that would keep ghetto youngsters off the streets in the tinderbox hot months.

CALIFORNIA:

Lollipop

Republican Shirley Temple Black's elaborately catered and decorated election-night headquarters in the tony Villa Chartier motel had nearly everything required for a well-scripted victory celebration—except a winning candidate. Even the clean fresh blackboard for keeping score, precisely lined into col-

umns headed with abbreviations—"STB" and "McC" and others running for San Mateo County's eleventh district Congressional seat—was unnecessary. For within minutes after the 8 p.m. poll-closing the returns conclusively showed that Shirley Temple had just overwhelmingly lost the Republican nomination to 40-year-old Paul McCloskey Jr. "McCloskey," as The San Jose Mercury bannered the news next day, "Torpedoes 'Good Ship Lollipop.'"

Ambiguous Answers: McCloskey's win was surprising enough; but his lopsided margin (52,878 to 34,521) nearly flabbergasted Northern California oddsmakers who had figured that Shirley's name alone was enough in a lackluster field of eleven candidates to put her into the final runoff election Dec. 12. How did McCloskey do it? The answers were inevitably ambiguous. Some analysts figured voters basically preferred McCloskey's dovish Vietnam position over Shirley's hawkish line; others concluded that McCloskey's image as a rugged crew-cut war hero (he won the Navy Cross in Korea) simply proved more appealing than Mrs. Black's Goody Two Shoes gentility. At any rate, McCloskey was suddenly the man to watch in San Mateo County, and his handy victory over Mrs. Black also vaulted him into the role of shoo-in favorite over Roy Archibald, 47, ex-San Mateo mayor who, in the same special primary last week, easily captured the Democratic nomination over his five opponents.

And Shirley? Defeat scarcely crushed her. "I am going to dedicate my life," she said in her early and brief concession speech at her election headquarters, "to public service."



Newsweek—James D. Wilson

With daughters in tow, loser Shirley, winner McCloskey discuss the vote



Associated Press