

Time: Nov. 25, 1966

The assassination: the phantasmagoria

At week's end the first official canvass of returns was incomplete and the inevitable recount not yet begun. Election authorities hoped to finish by Dec. 1.

Dixie Dozen. In Georgia, the hangup was a matter of old math—Southern style. With 451,032 votes, Republican Congressman Howard Callaway had an undisputed lead over Democrat Lester Maddox, who had 448,598. But Democrat Ellis Arnall, a former Governor and the contest's only racial moderate, got 57,832 write-in votes and, under an amendment adopted in 1824, Georgia's constitution requires that a gubernatorial candidate must win more than 50% of the popular vote in order to be elected. If no contender wins an absolute



GEORGIA CAMPAIGN STICKER

majority, according to the constitution, it is up to the state legislature to award the governorship to one of the two top candidates. There was little doubt that the Democratic majority of legislators would pick Lester Maddox, the onetime restaurateur who in 1964 dispensed ax handles to whites rather than serve chicken legs to Negroes.

The deadlock stirred a Dixie-dozen legal reactions. The state attorney general petitioned Atlanta's federal district court to uphold the legislature's right to name the Governor. The American Civil Liberties Union filed two suits in the same court to void the anachronistic constitutional provision and order a new election. Callaway supporters asked the court to order a runoff between Callaway and Maddox, with write-ins barred. Yet another petition, brought by pro-Arnall forces, sought to permit write-ins.

Waxing W.I.G. The federal court's first move last week was to disallow the legislature's right to select the Governor. The special three-judge panel followed the U.S. Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote declaration of 1962 and its 1963 decision overturning Georgia's county-unit system of voting. State Attorney General Arthur Bolton thereupon announced that he would appeal the decision to the Supreme Court. Acting with unprecedented speed, the Su-

Even this might not settle anything, because the pro-Arnall faction, called Write In Georgia (W.I.G.), is growing in strength. Democratic Representative Charles Weltner, who chose not to run for re-election because he could not stomach Maddox, warned: "We could go on forever with write-ins. We might not have a Governor for four years." Meanwhile, able Incumbent Carl Sanders, 41, who cannot succeed himself, will stay on in the statehouse.

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fund will vary in proportion to the number of votes cast in the previous presidential election; it will be divided evenly by the two major parties.

Nothing for Teddy. The law works to the disadvantage of third parties, since they would receive only \$1 for every vote they polled above 5,000,000—a feat that no minor-party candidate has ever accomplished. In fact, under the current formula, even Teddy Roosevelt would not have got a cent for his Bull Moose campaign in 1912. Nor is Alabama's George Wallace likely to benefit if he becomes a third-party candidate in 1968.

Other deficiencies of the Long Plan: it makes no provisions for financing of



MADDOX, INCUMBENT SANDERS & CALLAWAY
Old math, Southern style.

ELECTIONS

Long Green

Before entering the hospital last week, President Johnson signed a bill that promises both major parties' presidential candidates a maximum of \$30 million each in public funds for the 1968 campaign. The law, in Johnson's words, is intended to lessen "the danger of undue influence by wealthy campaign contributors." It may also pave the way for eventual public financing of all political campaigns, even at the city and county levels.

First proposed 59 years ago by President Theodore Roosevelt, who even then was worried about the fine distinction between a big campaign contribution and a bribe, the law was finally passed last month on the 89th Congress' final day. Called the "Long Plan," after its Senate sponsor, Democrat Russell Long of Louisiana, it allows the taxpayer to allot \$1 of his income tax (\$2 in a joint return) for presidential campaign expenses. The amount of the

primary campaigns, which leaves open the possibility that candidates will already be deeply in debt to big contributors before the major campaign begins. It fails to prohibit the parties from going right ahead and soliciting private contributions to lavish on top of the public funds. And it offers no alternative financing plan in the event that sufficient taxpayers fail by intent or plain indifference to approve the tax diversion on their income tax forms.

Still, as the 1966 elections showed, an effective campaign nowadays can be ruinously expensive. Costs rise even higher in a presidential year: candidates at all levels spent at least \$200 million in 1964, including estimates of \$40 million by each party for Johnson and Goldwater. In view of the candidates' growing reliance on TV time, the price of electioneering will clearly continue to soar. As the President noted in signing the Long Act, Congress' next task will be to scrutinize and tighten up "our campaign-financing laws—which are now more loophole than law."

LABOR

Vanishing Vote

"There is a question," rumbled George Meany last week, "where the vote went." Labor had undeniably failed to elect most of its favorite candidates. What was especially galling to the A.F.L.-C.I.O. president was that the federation's campaign arm, the Committee on Political Education, boasted a stronger organization this year than ever before. While anticipating two rough years for labor legislation on Capitol Hill, Meany promised to take "a real good look" at C.O.P.E. operations.

Labor not only lost such champions as Senate Candidate G. Mennen ("Soapy") Williams in Michigan, Illinois' Senator Paul Douglas and California's Governor Pat Brown, but also did worse than it expected in the general run of races across the country. "We had one handicap this time," noted Meany. "We didn't have Goldwater against us."

A good point, but even when the batting average was compared with mid-term 1962, big labor took a beating. In the last mid-term election, 72% of the nominees whom C.O.P.E. supported for the Senate were elected, as were 60% of its choices for the House and for gubernatorial seats. The winning percentages this year were 50% for the Senate, 54% for the House and a feeble 31% in the governors' races. This despite the fact that C.O.P.E. spent just under \$1,000,000 this year compared with \$800,000 in 1962. Nearly all C.O.P.E.-backed candidates were Democrats.

Blunted Issue. "We raised more money, put more workers into the field and made more contacts than ever, but we just couldn't overcome factors beyond our control," said Alexander Barkan, C.O.P.E. director. Barkan cited civil rights reaction, Negro apathy in some areas, and Democratic fraternal strife in key states. What Barkan failed to mention—and Meany's investigation will hardly alter—is political history. As time and continuing prosperity erase memories of the great Depression and blunt purely economic issues, the Democrats cannot continue to count on reflex support from rank-and-file union members.

As far as achieving its legislative goals in the 90th Congress is concerned, big labor has ample reason for feeling glum. Meany was guilty of understatement when he said that the chances were "pretty dim" to repeal Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act (the right-to-work provision), which triggered a long and bitter filibuster even in the liberal 89th. Equally bleak is labor's chance of getting restrictions on construction-site picketing eased. By contrast, the 90th Congress may prove far more receptive than the 89th to further limitations on strikes—such as airline stoppages—that have national repercussions.

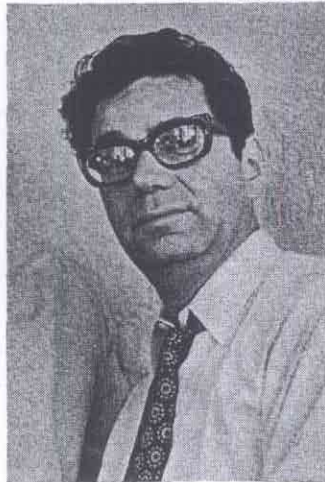
THE ASSASSINATION

The Phantasmagoria

In Los Angeles, bookstores hawk posters, buttons and bumper stickers that ask WHO MURDERED KENNEDY? In Brussels, theatergoers are packing a new play, *Dallas*, 22 November 1963, 12:27 p.m., in which right-wingers and Dallas police frame Lee Harvey Oswald for John Kennedy's assassination. In publications from *Esquire* to *Commentary*, college professors, journalists, novelists and would-be hawkshaws are fairly stepping on each other's lines to find new ways to challenge the Warren Commission's conclusions, investigatory technique, language, logic, legal methodology and moral intent.

The Warren Report, issued more than two years ago after a ten-month in-

FRED MC GARRAN



ATTORNEY LANE
Instinct for the capillaries.

vestigation into the killing, said flatly that Lee Oswald—alone—shot Kennedy, wounded Texas Governor John Connally, murdered a policeman and was, in turn, shot dead by Jack Ruby, whom it pictured as a demented loner. The report was widely praised at first—but no longer. The discrepancies—real or imagined—surrounding the assassination have become an increasingly obsessive topic the world over.

Amateur Sherlocks. Recently, Pollster Lou Harris found that no less than 54% of all Americans now think the commission left "a lot of unanswered questions about who killed Kennedy." A sizable number of people are so concerned that they have in effect turned the quest for the "real assassin" into an evangelistic vocation. Self-appointed investigators are at work throughout the nation, hoping to trip over some bypassed pebble of evidence that will crack the case wide open. They pore endlessly over the 10,400,000 words contained in the commission's report and 26-volume collection of testimony and exhibits. (The Government Printing Office has sold 1,820 sets at \$76

each, plus 145,266 copies of the report itself.) Amateur Sherlocks have besieged the National Archives with requests to see the President's autopsy X rays and photographs recently acquired from the Kennedys, even though the family ruled unequivocally that for five years the material would be available only to certified Government investigative agencies or private investigators approved by the Kennedys.

Minutiae & Half Truths. For cocktail party dissenters, as well as the burgeoning cult of parlor detectives, the chief stimulant has been an outpouring of critical books on the subject. The biggest seller of all (110,000 copies) is Attorney Mark Lane's *Rush to Judgment*, which in effect is a defense brief for Oswald. Actually, the author admits: "My book is not an objective analysis; I've never said that I believe Oswald did it or did not do it. I say that had Oswald faced trial, he would not have been convicted."

Like most of the current crop, Lane's book is essentially a staggering accumulation of minutiae and half-truths based on minutiae. Yale Law Professor Alexander Bickel, himself a critic of the commission, has dismissed Lane's opus as "peripheral and indiscriminate," concluded: "Great trial lawyers, like great detectives, have an instinct for the jugular; Mr. Lane has an instinct for the capillaries."

Fact & Fantasy. In all the verbiage expended on the Warren Report and the assassination, an incredible variety of hypotheses—and "facts" to make them true—has been tossed out to support contentions that Lee Oswald was innocent or in league with another rifleman or the dupe of sinister powers. In its December issue, *Esquire* rounds up 35 theories about the whos, whys, whats and hows of the assassination.

Mark Lane—and others—theorize that Kennedy was shot from a grassy knoll in front of the motorcade, that Oswald's 6.5-mm. Italian rifle was planted in the Book Depository sniper's nest to frame him, that Jack Ruby was part of a widespread plot to eliminate Oswald before he squealed, that slain Patrolman J. D. Tippit was likely in league with the assassins, and that a bullet fired from Oswald's rifle and found on a stretcher at Parkland Hospital had been planted there by unknown conspirators.

Then there are the "Oswald Impersonator" advocates, notably Authors Léo Sauvage, Harold Weisberg and Richard Popkin, who believe that one (or more) plotter was skulking around Dallas, pretending to be Oswald in order to implicate him in the crime. There is the "Manchurian Candidate Theory," which was supported by CIA men at one point: that Oswald had been brainwashed to become an assassin during his three-year self-exile in Russia.

The "Dallas Oligarchy Theory," argued by Author Thomas Buchanan, has it that the assassination was engineered by a Texas oil millionaire who thought

Kennedy stood in his way to domination of the world petroleum market. The "Cuba-Framed Theory," proposed by Fidel Castro, holds that Oswald's activities in Fair Play for Cuba groups were faked so that, assuming he escaped, Washington would figure he had fled to Cuba, and would thus have an excuse to invade. The "Red Execution Theory," pushed by Right-Wing Intellectual Revilo P. Oliver, has it that Oswald was ordered by Moscow to shoot Kennedy because the President had been a Communist but was threatening to "turn American." The "Evil-Forces Theory," favored by Mali Foreign Minister Ousman Ba, links the death of Kennedy, Patrice Lumumba and Dag Hammarskjöld with "forces behind the U.S.-Belgian rescue operation in the Congo."

"Persuasive" Compromise. Tenuous and documentably erroneous as much of the anti-Warren Report literature is, even responsible commentators share the rising feeling that the Administration should reopen the case and clear up—once and for all—the nagging discrepancies. Their contention is simply that so many questions are being raised about certain details in the report that now there is reasonable doubt cast over nearly everything in it.

One of the thorniest points of specific controversy is the commission's "Single Bullet Theory"—the belief that one bullet from Oswald's rifle struck Kennedy in the neck, exited through his throat, then plowed on through Governor Connally's torso, smashed his right wrist and finally lodged in his left thigh.

This hypothesis was originated by a commission assistant counsel, Arlen Specter, now district attorney of Philadelphia, after Warren investigators became puzzled over the timing of Oswald's shots. After a frame-by-frame analysis of a movie film taken by a tourist named Abraham Zapruder, commissioners decided that 1.8 seconds—at most—had elapsed between Kennedy's first visible response to being hit in the neck and John Connally's first measurable reaction to a bullet striking him. The early assumption had been that the two were hit by separate shots. But since Oswald's bolt-action rifle could not be operated any faster than once every 2.3 seconds, the commission finally adopted Specter's theory that one bullet had struck both men—even though the bullet that was supposed to have done the damage was all but unmarked.

The decision to accept the hypothesis was by no means unanimous, and there ensued what has since been described in Author Edward Jay Epstein's book *Inquest* as the "battle of the adjectives." Some commissioners wanted to say that "compelling" evidence supported the single-bullet thesis; others thought "credible" evidence was strong enough, and a compromise was reached with the word "persuasive."

Split-Second Specifics. Even the commission's conclusion collided head-on with the testimony of a primary witness to the shooting—Governor Connally

himself. From the start, he insisted that he did not feel any impact until an instant after he heard a shot, presumably the one that struck Kennedy first, and thus could not have been wounded by the same bullet. The commission decided that he was mistaken; that he had experienced a delayed reaction to his wounds. The Governor said no more about it publicly until early this month, when LIFE prevailed upon him to review the Zapruder films to see if he might have been wrong. The commission had merely shown the Governor screenings of the Zapruder assassination film, but LIFE gave him enlargements of 168 consecutive frames covering the whole shooting episode. As Connally examined them through a magnifying glass, he spotted details he had missed



CONNALLY (WITH WIFE) RE-ENACTING SHOT
By no means unanimous.

before and recalled the specific split seconds of those shattering moments.

There is no doubt in his mind that he was right. "I know every single second of what happened in that car until I lost consciousness," he says in the current LIFE. "I recall I heard that first shot and was starting to turn to my right to see what had happened. [Then] I started to look around over my left shoulder, and somewhere in that revolution I was hit. My recollection of that time gap, the distinct separation between the shot that hit the President and the impact of the one that hit me, is as clear today as it was then."

"It's a Certainty." Connally says he has never read the Warren Report, and he refuses to join the dispute over it. "History is bigger than any individual's feelings," he explains. "I don't want to discuss any other facets of the controversy except my wounds as related to the first shot that hit the President. They talk about the one-bullet or the two-bullet theory, but as far as I'm concerned there is no 'theory.' There is my absolute knowledge, and Nellie's [Mrs. Connally] too, that one bullet caused

the President's first wound, and that an entirely separate shot struck me. It's a certainty; I'll never change my mind."

Of course, nothing Connally said added an iota of new evidence. From the start, the Warren Report pointed out that its single-bullet thesis was "not necessary to any essential findings of the commission." The critics have disagreed, contending that the thesis is the cornerstone on which the commission based its single-assassin conclusion. On the contrary, reasons Arlen Specter. Though the Zapruder film was a key to the commission's confusion about the timing of shots, Specter points out that the film is two-dimensional, and it is impossible to know—"precisely"—when Kennedy was first hit. The President, too, may have had a delayed reaction, and since scant fractions of a second are involved, there is a possibility that there was time for Oswald to shoot twice. Nevertheless, Specter argues that an even more convincing point was the fact that no bullet was found in Kennedy's body or in the limousine. "Where, if it didn't hit Connally, did that bullet go?" asks Specter. "This is the single most compelling reason why I concluded that one bullet hit both men."

The discussion and the doubts are not likely to abate, for nearly every significant incident of that tragic day is fraught with controversy and coincidence. Even a new investigation would be committed to making its own judgments and offering its best reasoned opinions—just as the Warren Commission did—in crucial areas where no firm facts exist. Thus, lacking any new evidence, there seems little valid excuse for so dramatic a development as another full-scale inquiry.

THE ADMINISTRATION

Durable Crocodile

The cast read like one of Frank Sullivan's Christmas paeans in *The New Yorker*. Many of the 80 guests' costumes—each supposed to represent some stage of the guest of honor's life—looked as if they had been assembled for an underground movie. Host Robert Kennedy greeted arrivals in an ankle-length ambassadorial cutaway. Actress Melina Mercouri, in black velvet pants, did her best to impersonate "a little boy"—and was never less convincing. Charles Addams disguised himself as a locomotive engineer. For reasons best known to herself, Eunice Kennedy Shriver was decked out as a bunny. West Virginia Democrat John D. Rockefeller IV came holding hands with Sharon Percy, daughter of Illinois' new Republican Senator-elect.

The party, held at Bobby's Hickory Hill estate outside Washington last week, was a felicitous tribute to Elder Statesman W. (for William) Averell Harriman, whose 75th birthday it was. In an era mesmerized by youth, Harriman—himself youthfully lean and in extraordinary physical fettle—is formidable proof of his own favorite formula

for longevity: "Make a wise choice of your ancestors and maintain your enthusiasm." Indeed, Harriman today is engaged in possibly the most challenging assignment of his public career: that of finding peace in Viet Nam.

Search for Signals. Yale-educated heir to a railroad fortune and a lifelong Democrat, "Ave" Harriman headed the World War II mission that arranged lend-lease to Russia, helped draft the U.S. program for postwar aid to Europe. Though he lost out to Adlai Stevenson for the Democratic presidential nominations of 1952 and 1956—a disappointment that still pains him—he achieved a measure of political success by winning a four-year term as Governor of New York. Later he became one of the older faces in the New Frontier. As John Kennedy's Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, he negotiated the 1962 Laos accord and the 1963 nuclear test ban treaty. For his quick, snapping assault on complex problems, Harriman is nicknamed "the Crocodile."

After Kennedy's assassination, Harriman's entrée to the White House narrowed, and in February 1965 he was actually demoted from Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs to his present post as ambassador-at-large. Rank has borne little relation to responsibility. Harriman's new challenge began taking shape during the U.S. bombing pause in Viet Nam last Christmas, when the President dispatched him on a round-the-world mission to marshal support for peace negotiations. In August, L.B.J. formally charged Ave with coordinating U.S. peace efforts, which, in essence, means sleuthing down every possible lead that might represent the long-awaited signal from Ho Chi Minh.

Faith in Flexibility. In this capacity, Harriman last month carried out a grueling 26,000-mile trip to explain the goals of the Manila Conference. Never



HARRIMAN AT 75
More responsibility than rank.

was his storied endurance so evident. In the course of one punishing 22-hour day, he breakfasted in New Delhi, lunched in Rawalpindi, took tea in Teheran, dined aloft over Greece, and sank into bed in Rome.

Harriman has his critics, chiefly those who feel that he is too ready to offer concessions to the Communists. For example, he energetically advocated the "national reconciliation" clause of the Manila communiqué binding Saigon to offer the Viet Cong a place in South Vietnamese society. He maintains, however, that his flexible approach has been amply vindicated. Says he: "The dangerous people in foreign policy are those with rigid ideas. If I've been right, it's on the general trend."

Though no more sanguine than anyone else over the prospects for a negotiated solution to the war in Viet Nam, the ambassador is convinced that the effort is justified. "Several things are running in our favor," he suggests. "As the President has said, everyone in the world wants to see this stop except Peking and Hanoi. World pressure may have some influence." As for himself, Harriman—who works a seven-day week—is prepared to remain in harness indefinitely. In his Foggy Bottom office last week, staffers saluted his birthday by giving him a table-size atlas, inscribed with a quotation from Alfred North Whitehead that aptly sums up Harriman's own vigorous grasp of life: "The vitality of thought is an adventure. Ideas won't keep. Something must be done about them."

ARMED FORCES

Paying for Prowess

U.S. Navy Captain Archie Kuntze, 46, is a bemedaled battler and an able administrator. As U.S. supply chief in South Viet Nam last year, he handled the suffocating inundation of U.S. men and matériel with such pervasive authority that he was dubbed—and happily proclaimed himself—"the American mayor of Saigon." Last week, like many an American mayor before him, Kuntze (pronounced Koont-zee) found himself on public trial for all the semiprivate sins that high office invites.

Soon after his arrival in the capital, Kuntze demonstrated his logistical prowess by requisitioning Jannie Suen, a sinuous Chinese miss who was 19 years his junior. The Saigon siren and the Wisconsin salt, who was divorced before going to Viet Nam, merrily made the rounds of the diplomatic circuit, threw their own swinging rumpuses in Kuntze's quasi embassy at No. 74 Hong Thap Tu, Vietnamese for Red Cross Street.

Long Arm. Suddenly last summer, Kuntze was shipped home. This month the Navy was ready to outline why. In a World War II barracks at Treasure Island in San Francisco Bay, Kuntze went before a court martial to face charges of importing bolt upon bolt of Thai silk and other fabrics into Viet



KUNTZE (MIDDLE) & COUNSEL
All for Jannie.

Nam "in excess of his demonstrable personal need," illegally converting \$12,000 worth of Vietnamese piastres and U.S. military scrip into dollars, and—possibly the most offensive of all sins to his shore-based seniors—installing Jannie as his mistress.

The Navy left little doubt as to its view of the motive, and implicitly the beneficiary, of Kuntze's dealings. The prosecution quoted the defendant as saying: "I did it all for Jannie." Kuntze volunteered that he had "contemplated matrimony" with Miss Suen, but maintained that the pleasure of her company was justified by her role as interpreter and "unofficial hostess." The defense intimated that Kuntze was being made a scapegoat by a "long arm in a civilian sleeve"—presumably the State Department—for the massive diversion of U.S. supplies into Saigon's black market.

The court, composed of three admirals and six captains, found Kuntze guilty of three acts unbecoming an officer: 1) allowing Jannie to reside "openly and notoriously" in his official quarters; 2) letting her use a U.S. Government vehicle; and 3) illegally importing 250 yards of black cloth. Kuntze was handed a reprimand and reduced in seniority by 100 numbers—thus ending his naval career; he in turn announced his intention to retire by year's end.

Apart from Kuntze's blatant indiscretion the prosecution was plainly a reflection of the Administration's growing concern over the serious leakage of stores in Viet Nam, an obvious target for Republican criticism in the next Congress. Just as clearly, the Navy's delicate handling of the case showed its reluctance to implicate any highly placed Vietnamese officials who might have a more lucrative interest in logistics. As for Jannie Suen, Captain Kuntze's original sin, naval intelligence solemnly reported that she had disappeared without trace.