

# NBC NEWS

picture book of the year

edited by Ben Grauer

Original articles by NBC News correspondents around the world

500 photographs

HIGHLIGHTS OF  
NATIONAL AND WORLD  
EVENTS OF THE CALENDAR

YEAR 1967  
AND EARLY 1968

# 1968



# NBC NEWS PICTURE BOOK OF THE YEAR: 1968

Covering the calendar year of 1967  
plus the highlights of early 1968

edited by **BEN GRAUER**

foreword by William R. McAndrew,  
late President, NBC News

This second NBC News annual coverage of the highlights of national and world events is a larger and more inclusive volume than the first. Its news coverage is expanded beyond the great events of 1967 to include such spectacular 1968 stories with photographs as Senator Robert F. Kennedy's tragic assassination in Los Angeles, the violence of student rebellions both at Columbia University in New York and at the Sorbonne in Paris, the Tet offensive in Vietnam, the *Pueblo* incident in North Korean waters, President Johnson's momentous decision not to run again and to limit the bombing in North Vietnam, his signing of the historic Civil Rights bill, the funeral of the assassinated Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Paris peace talks between the United States and North Vietnamese delegations, and many more.

The top events of 1967 are covered in depth in 30 reportorial and editorial sections, which include the Presidency, Congress, Supreme Court, Politics, Vietnam, Civil Rights, the Cold War, and Red China. On the home front, the American scene presents the year's biggest happenings in such categories as the Youth Revolt, the Arts, Religion, the Economy, Sports, Crime, Disasters, and Fashions; and there is also an album of obituaries of famous personalities.

Original articles by NBC News correspondents around the world are written by Ray Scherer on the Presidency, Frank Bourgholtzer on the Middle East, Sandy Koufax on the Sports Year, Barbara Walters on the Voice of the Turtleneck, Pauline Frederick on the United Nations, as well as by Garrick Utley, John Rich, Alvin Rosenfeld, Welles Hagen, Bill Brown, and Jack Paxton.

Among the magnificent on-the-spot 1967 photographs you will see President Johnson with Premier Kosygin at Glassboro, spectacular shots of the six-day Israeli-Arab war, the bloody riots in Detroit, Newark, and other cities, draft-card burning and Vietnam war protests, bitter fighting and pacification in Vietnam, the first human-heart transplant, the devaluation of the British pound, new strides in space, the Red Guards rampaging in China, Stalin's daughter defecting to the United States, and *hundreds* more.

Here is a magnificent volume of history in the making that whole families will enjoy together and that will at the same time keep them abreast of the great events currently happening in the world today.

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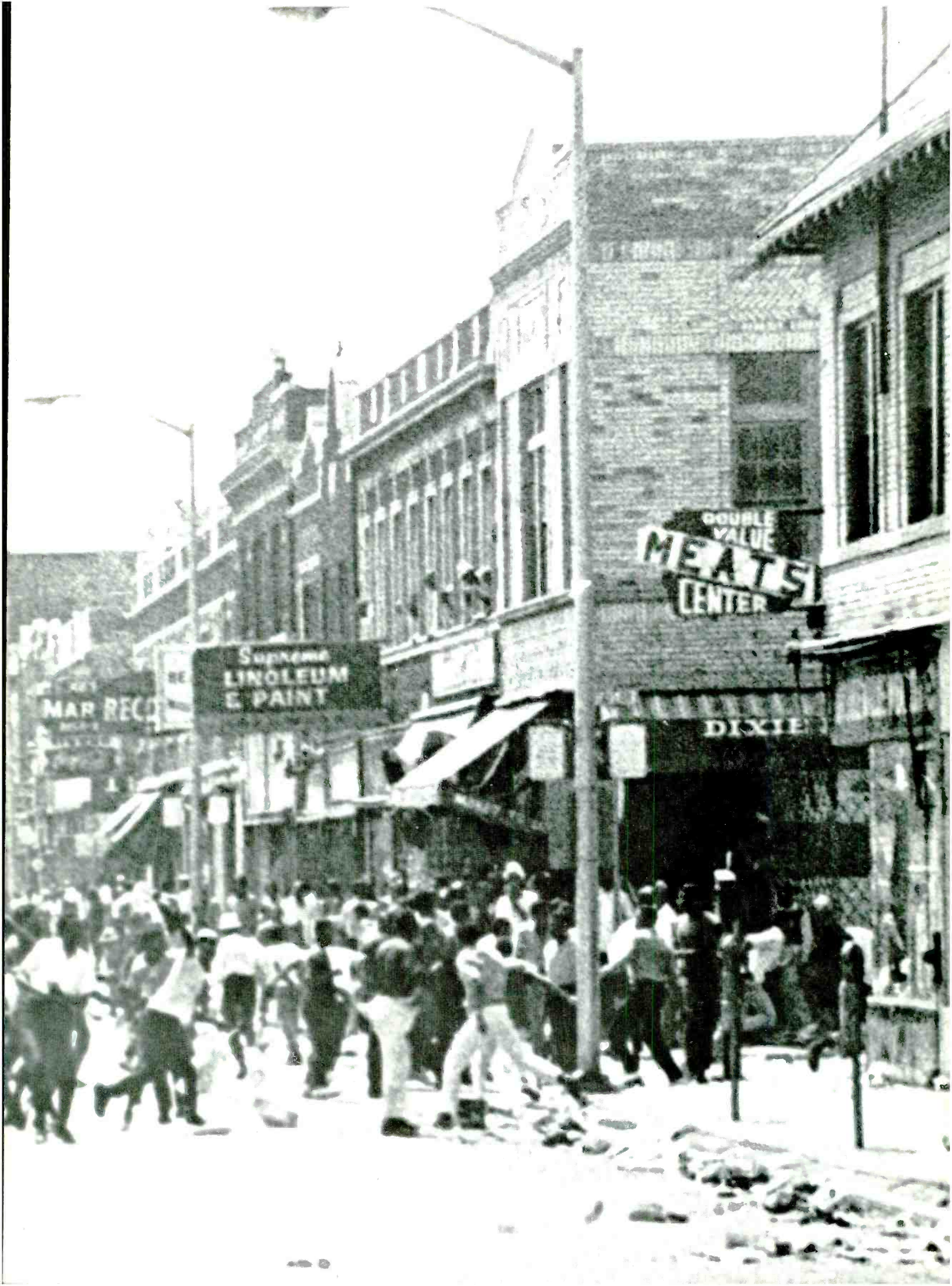
**BEN GRAUER**

For over three decades Ben Grauer's name has been a radio-TV household word. His assignments as NBC reporter, commentator, and interviewer have spanned the broadest of spectra ranging from international crises at the UN, in the Holy Land, and in Berlin to the first live American-Europe Telstar broadcast, the New York blackout, and the papal visit of 1965.

Ben Grauer joined NBC in 1930 and covered for them many of the major news stories in the following decades, among them, the founding of the UN at San Francisco, the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby, and the opening of the New York World's Fair of 1939. He scored a world scoop with an on-the-spot broadcast of the assassination of Count Bernadotte in 1948.

In another facet of his varied career, Ben Grauer was musical commentator for Arturo Toscanini and the NBC Symphony from 1940 to the maestro's retirement in 1954, and ten years later became host and interviewer on the prizewinning NBC radio series "Toscanini—The Man Behind the Legend." He is currently moderator on the NBC-TV political discussion program "Searchlight," and reports nationally on "Business Trends with Ben Grauer," a daily feature on NBC's radio network.

Grauer is president of the National Music League, vice-president of the Overseas Press Club Correspondents Fund, and was decorated by the French Government with the Legion of Honor in 1956. He is married to the noted interior designer Melanie Kahane.



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**NBC NEWS  
PICTURE BOOK OF THE YEAR:  
1968**

# NBC NEWS

PICTURE BOOK

edited by **BEN GRAUER**

**OF THE YEAR:**

**1968**

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NEW YORK

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# INTRODUCTION

THE DRIVE OF NEWS DEVELOPMENTS in 1967 has been so relentless that, if we had not initiated this series of volumes last year, its appearance this year would have been almost a necessity. Our purpose again is to set forth, in words and pictures, the significant events of a tumultuous twelve months. But the quickened pace of the news and the need to make a link with the 1968 national elections have led us to carry forward the major stories with their significant developments through the first five months of 1968. The public, we feel, is more than ever involved in the news—and more than ever is seeking an understanding of its complexities.

For 1967 was truly an astounding year. The world's most powerful nation, militarily baffled in frustrating alien terrain, was torn by suddenly erupting domestic disorder that edged on civil war. Its established authority was challenged at home by insurgent youth, while its prestige and power abroad flashed symptoms of grave economic trouble. President Johnson was seen thrashing helplessly against a rising tide of disbelief and disfavor (rescued only by a sudden master stroke of self-abnegation this spring).

In midyear in the Holy Land we watched a modern David slay Goliath with tanks and planes. The victory brought only new and deeper problems. Throughout the world, East as well as West, masses of people, frequently cued by the young, raised a chorus of contention and dissent, in strikes, protests, demonstrations, and riots. And in December, in the tip of Africa, a twenty-four-year-old girl's heart fueled a fifty-five-year-old man's body as he turned warily but hopefully toward the New Year.

The part played in this news year by broadcast journalism, especially on TV, cannot be exaggerated. In 1966, a milestone was passed when surveys showed that for the first time more than 50 percent of the nation was using TV as their primary news source. That figure has continued to grow, pushed forward by the increasing

depth and intensity of broadcast coverage, especially by the three networks. To every major event today there must now be added the energy of almost immediate circulation of that event, with eyewitness pictures, to everybody in the land.

Add to this the use of space satellites for overseas TV linking of Asia with America and Europe and we find, as a background for appraising the impact of a significant news story today, not an audience of separate communities or even nations, but indeed a world community or tribe.

It is this brand-new commonplace of our day, news by TV (and its handmaiden, the transistor radio) which is, I believe, the central reason for the remarkable rapidity and dynamism of recent news developments. Nor is this new factor restricted to specific causes and issues. In the broader field of mores and social change, the unquestioned power of television to "tell it as it is" can be seen as the international energizer of current widespread alterations in dress, speech, popular music, youth attitudes, race relations, and political groupings.

The warm reception that this annual received in its first appearance last year has led us to follow rather generally the same plan of organization for this year's issue. Our basic concept is that, within the time period under review, events are best understood by subject or substance, rather than by chronology. Some stories surface for weeks, then subside for months—others run by predictable pattern. The approach by topic rather than time seems most useful for sorting out the relationships between events and tracing cause and effect.

Accordingly we have divided our review into thirty chapters, each of which centers on a major area of public interest or concern. The first group of chapters is concerned with national and international affairs, the second group, mainly with social and cultural affairs under the heading of "Life in America." Here we have kept the

discussion to events at home except where news from overseas in these various areas had special interest to or reaction from Americans.

Obviously, the biggest single story of 1967 was Vietnam. It dominated the news year—and does even now as we write. It colored and probably determined the major domestic stories of the year: the violence in the ghettos, and the youth revolt. The text for these three chapters, therefore, is accompanied by pictures selected from bigger than average files to match the in-depth broadcast coverage given these areas during the year.

This year, the second half again opens with a chapter on Youth, but it is now titled "The Youth Revolt" to give emphasis to this extraordinary manifestation in the nation's life. The current world climate of dissent and contention finds its sharpest focus in youth's challenge to the establishment, and our pages are a constant echo of that malaise. The clamor of the young people, and the confusion in the seats of authority in responding to it are fully recorded in the chapters on Vietnam, Civil Rights—the Ghetto Revolt, as well as Crime, Theatre, Music, Dance, and most visibly in Fashions. It is plain that social historians a decade from now will weave a single fabric from all these seemingly unrelated manifestations.

Accompanying the thirty chapters with their factual text and portfolios of pictures are editorial articles mainly by NBC News Correspondents, more than half written while on duty at overseas assignments. The chapter text is factual and objective: the correspondent's articles, on

the other hand, supply interpretation of these areas of news interest by skilled journalists who can bring to bear the advantage of their on-the-scene observations and insight.

Like last year, the various chapters cover in depth the events of the past calendar year, 1967. But, as indicated earlier, the chapters in Part I on national and international affairs are made current by addenda through May, 1968. The picture portfolios in those chapters are similarly updated, and their captions, for clarity, include the 1968 date. The correspondents' articles however, were written as summaries of the calendar year in their respective areas, and do not include reference to 1968 events.

In putting together any review volume, the Editor is forced to look at events with some feeling of elevation and perspective. From that viewpoint two contradictory forces can be felt at work today. One is the obvious force of violence, dissent, and contention that seems to be everywhere. But one also senses, at a subtle and lower level, a long-range countermovement toward weaving together rather than tearing apart, a slow-growing sense of the unity of peoples and goals around the world. Those of us who have worked on this book will be truly happy if it gives, especially to our young people, an awareness and grasp of these two forces, and the part they are playing in these extraordinary days.

New York  
May, 1968

BEN GRAUER

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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# FOREWORD

by WILLIAM R. McANDREW

President, NBC News

IF I HAD TO PICK one word to characterize 1967, I am sorry to say that the word which comes most readily to my mind is "violence." Last year was marked by a lightning-fast war in the Middle East and some of the fiercest fighting in the prolonged war in Vietnam. It was a year of social unrest which erupted into riots in cities across the country. It was also a year that had great bearing on our future policy.

Television news brought violence into the living room with an impact no other medium could match, because the sight of death and destruction is more shocking than the telling of it. But even the man who does not own a television set could not escape the violent events of 1967. He heard about them on his radio, he read about them daily in newspapers and magazines. They are well documented in this book—this comprehensive pictorial history which Ben Grauer has ably assembled and edited.

As 1967 neared its close, United Nations Secretary U Thant reported that the year had produced more crises and greater international tensions than any other in his eleven years at the UN. Those of us at NBC News can attest to this statement. I cannot recall another year which was more challenging to the skills and resourcefulness and, at times, to the physical stamina of our newsmen.

War was the dominant theme. Not one day went by in 1967 that we did not cover, in regular or special programming, the progress of the war in Vietnam. We expanded our Saigon bureau to 26, the largest concentration of correspondents and technicians of any broadcast news operation. That still wasn't always enough. When the tempo of the war increased near the end of the year, and especially when the Vietcong launched their greatest offensive early this year, our newsmen in Vietnam worked an incredible number of hours in the most dangerous and difficult circumstances imaginable.

Ron Steinman, our Saigon bureau chief, pinpointed the situation in a teletype message from which I quote

briefly: "All of us have averaged perhaps one-half decent meal a day since Tuesday, Saigon time [four days before he wrote]. We average about four hours or less sleep each day. There is a threat of a food shortage. . . . Everything else we have ever done here was low-calorie by comparison. I think exhaustion is starting to set in." Needless to say, we responded to Steinman's communication by dispatching reinforcements immediately.

Vietnam again was the No. 1 news story of the year, but another war—the six-day conflict between Israel and the Arab states—eclipsed its prominence in the news for a time. NBC News was in the thick of the Middle East fighting, too. During one period, we had six camera crews filming simultaneously. From May 24 through June 22, NBC News presented more than 47 hours of live coverage on television and 38 hours on radio of the United Nations sessions dealing with the Middle East crisis.

The war took from NBC News one of its most gifted men, and a close friend of many of us at NBC. Correspondent-producer Ted Yates was killed by machine-gun fire in Jerusalem during the first hours of fighting.

The American public's fear that the Middle East conflict might expand into a global war had barely subsided when another threat to the nation's security appeared. With the hot summer came rioting in Detroit and, to a lesser extent, in other cities, evidence of serious problems in our society.

The events of 1967 have already helped to shape the political story of 1968. Senator Eugene McCarthy entered the Democratic Presidential race in opposition to President Johnson's stand on Vietnam. President Johnson announced that he would not seek reelection so that he could work more effectively for peace in Vietnam.

Without question, Vietnam and the racial problems in our own country will be the major issues of this year's

elections. NBC News correspondent Chet Huntley projected the importance of the racial turmoil last November 10 in a special program, "Just a Year to Go." He said: "Traditionally, the Democratic Party celebrates Labor Day in Cadillac Square in Detroit with a rally, parade, and major speeches. Every four years this coincides with the start of feverish campaigning leading up to Election Day in November. Labor Day in Detroit has, therefore, come to mean the start of the campaign. The 1968 Presidential campaign began in the right city, Detroit, and not far from Cadillac Square. But it began

thirteen months ahead of schedule, with a race riot instead of a rally."

As I said, 1967 was a year of violent events and a year of decision-making. It's still too early to assess 1968. But, one thing is sure, whatever happens and wherever it happens, NBC News will be there.

May 1968

*The above Foreword was written and put to press just before Mr. McAndrew's untimely death, following an accident, on May 30, 1968.*

## PHOTOGRAPH CREDITS

Numerals refer to page numbers. Key letters with numerals refer to the position of the picture on the page: *t* top, *c* center, *b* bottom, *l* left, *r* right.

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 Allied Artists Pictures: 218tl  
 Bert Andrews: 207bl,br  
 Jerry Bauer: 199bc  
 Brandon Films: 221cr  
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# THE TOP STORIES OF THE YEAR—1967

*(as selected by the editors of leading news organizations)*

## AP

1. Vietnam War and Increasing Controversy and Demonstrations in U.S.
2. Arab-Israel War.
3. Negro Riots in Newark, Detroit, etc.
4. Three Astronauts Burned to Death in Apollo Test.
5. LBJ-Kosygin Meeting in Glassboro, N.J.
6. Britain Devalues Pound.
7. Congress Votes Not to Seat Adam Clayton Powell.
8. Svetlana Alliluyeva Defects.
9. Red Guards Rampage in China.
10. Election in Vietnam.

## NBC

1. Vietnam War.
2. Racial Violence in Cities.
3. Arab-Israeli War.
4. Red China's Cultural Revolution.
5. First Human Heart Transplant.
6. LBJ-Kosygin Meeting.
7. Britain Devalues Pound.
8. Three Astronauts Die in Apollo Test.
9. Social Unrest and Change.
10. New Space Achievements.

## UPI

1. War in Vietnam.
2. Detroit, Newark, and Other Racial Violence.
3. Red China's Cultural Revolution.
4. Arab-Israeli War.
5. First Human Heart Transplant.
6. Social Ferment in U.S.
7. Britain Devalues Pound.
8. Negroes Elected Mayors of Gary, Indiana, and Cleveland, Ohio.
9. Johnson-Kosygin Summit Meeting.
10. New Strides in Space, Including U.S. Surveyor-Lunar Orbiter.

# Notes on the Endpapers

## **Front:**

### **Sunday in Detroit**

This memorable photograph was taken by an AP photographer on Sunday morning, July 23rd, in the early hours of the rioting which grew into one of the major news events of 1967. Here hundreds of Negroes charge down 12th Street on Detroit's West Side, about three miles from the downtown area, throwing stones and bottles at storefronts and looting the stores. The violence erupted shortly after police raided a "blind pig" saloon before dawn. When the disorders stopped six days later, the nation's fifth largest city, patrolled by National Guard and Federal Troops, counted whole blocks in smoking ruins, \$100 million in damages and almost 40 dead. The urban rebellion had found its bitterest voice.

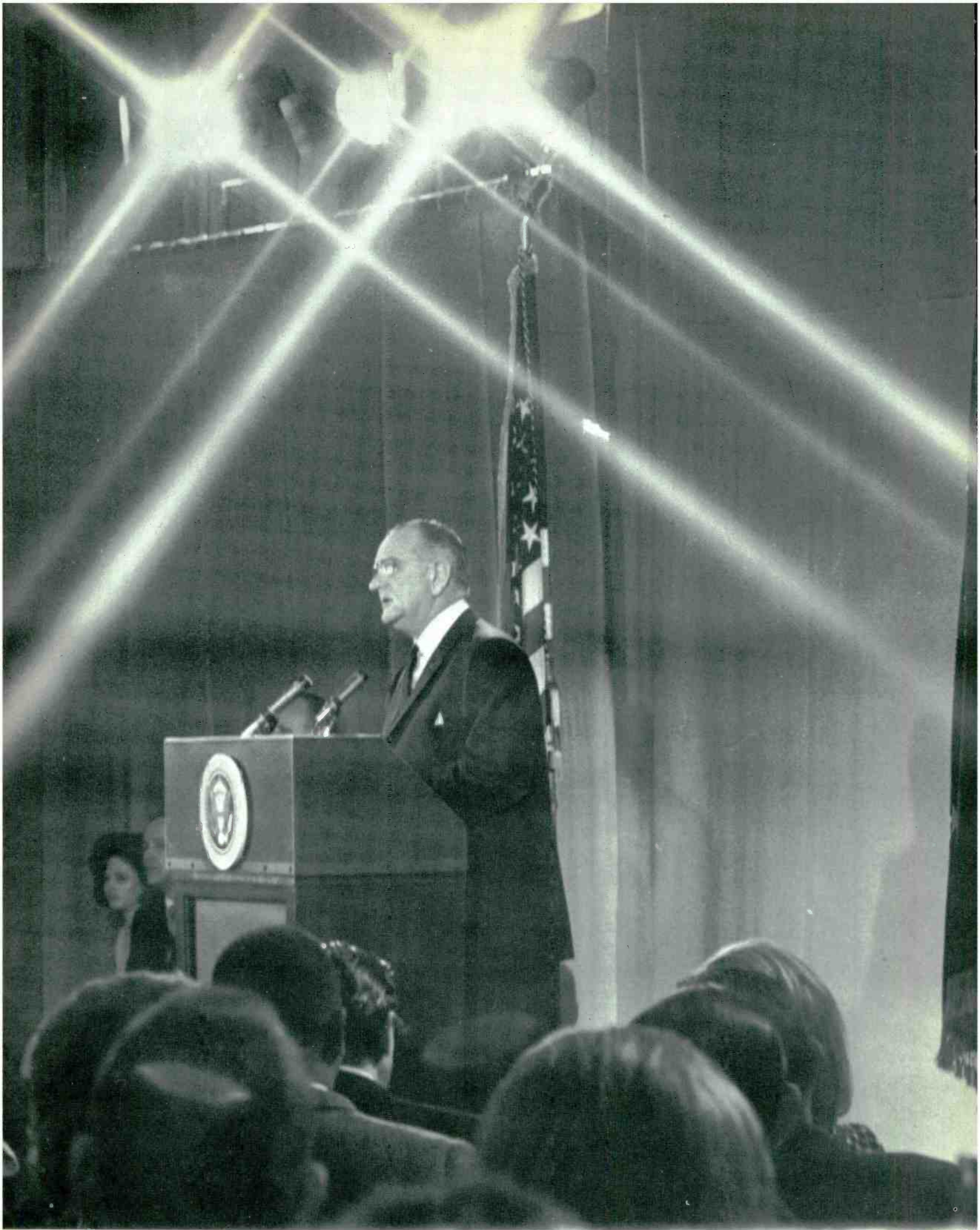
## **Back:**

### **Dreams of Better Times**

A bone-weary American soldier sleeps in the rain and muck of Vietnam while his buddy keeps watch. This evocative picture was taken by Toshio Sakai of the UPI Tokyo Bureau. The slim and quiet twenty-eight-year-old Japanese was assigned to a three-month stint in Vietnam in mid-1967. This is among his bag of pictures. It won him the 1968 Pulitzer Prize for feature photography.

**PART 1**  
**NATIONAL AND**  
**INTERNATIONAL**





# 1. The Presidency

LYNDON JOHNSON PUT HIS FINGER on it himself when he said, early in 1967: "In all candor, I cannot recall a period that is in any way comparable to the one we are living through today. It is a period that finds exhilaration and frustration going hand in hand—when great accomplishments are often overshadowed by rapidly rising expectations."

The portent began to be borne out almost immediately. Although Democrats still firmly controlled Congress, Republicans had gained heavily in the off-year election of the preceding fall, and the coalition of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats stood in front of the President's programs like a stalled car on a rush-hour freeway.

So Mr. Johnson's State of the Union address to the 90th Congress was tailored to a conservative mood, as well as a budget stretched taut by the ever-increasing demands of the war in Vietnam. The message reflected determination in the seventh year of the ugly war; a call for urban reform at home; an appeal for patience in the face of a request by the President for a 6 percent surcharge on income taxes (which he frankly labeled a "war tax"), and a stocktaking at home and abroad.

The essentials of the State of the Union message could be boiled down to two of the phrases the President used in it: on Vietnam, "more cost, more loss, and more agony." At home, Mr. Johnson wished to do "all that should be done." The message was candid and soul-searching. The President had obviously trimmed his sails.

As the year began, many people thought they saw some light at the end of the long dark tunnel that was Vietnam (see Chapter 5, VIETNAM). Ambiguous signals, that could be interpreted as peace feelers, were bouncing among world capitals. And the President, as politically astute a man as ever came down the pike, realized more and more that his coveted place in history was being jeopardized by what happened in the rice paddies

and jungled hills of a corner of far-off Southeast Asia. In off-the-record conferences with newsmen, as well as in public displays, Mr. Johnson made strenuous efforts to convince the American people that although victory in Vietnam was not around the corner, it was attainable, and the United States was slowly attaining it.

The huge new budget the President laid before Congress late in January was a statistical mirror of the nation's growing involvement in Vietnam. The \$169 billion budget was up \$50 billion in three years, with about half the rise attributable to Vietnam. The defense package was estimated at \$73 billion, of which about \$22 billion was for Vietnam. The two other largest items he asked for were increases in Social Security benefits and Medicaid. Great Society programs, in general, were slowed. Mr. Johnson asked only \$1.9 billion in new domestic programs when, because of previous authorizing legislation, he could have asked \$5 billion. The 90th Congress, unlike the free-spending 88th and 89th, was not in a mood to dig very deeply into taxpayers' pockets. And the President read the mood correctly.

Nevertheless, in his Economic Report, the President found the nation's economy healthy, the worst inflationary pressure already passed, and a "healthy forward motion" whirring into 1967—the longest period of greatest prosperity in the nation's history. As a result, government taxing and spending policy was to be mildly stimulative, with the government pumping more money into the spending stream than it would be taking out.

But Mr. Johnson was forced to concede that his much-heralded 3.2 percent wage-price guideline had been torn to shreds by labor contract settlements in the previous year, and he merely asked "the utmost restraint and responsibility" on wages and prices in 1967.

In February, the 38th state ratified the 25th Amendment to the Constitution, and the Presidential Succession Amendment became law. It was fitting that the new law went into effect during Lyndon Johnson's Presi-

dency. He had succeeded to office upon the death of President Kennedy, and the Vice-Presidency had remained vacant more than a year. (Altogether in the history of the Republic, the office of Vice-President has fallen vacant 16 times, for a total of some 38 years.) The Succession Amendment provided for the appointment of a new Vice-President by the President when a vacancy occurred. The new man would be subject to confirmation by a simple majority of Congress. The Amendment also provided for an Acting President in case the President became incapacitated. The legislation was sponsored by an Indiana Democrat, Senator Birch Bayh (pronounce it "bye"), who had been a friend of President Kennedy. Bayh pointed out that the Amendment filled "a Constitutional gap that has existed for almost two centuries."

Meanwhile, public-opinion polls showed Mr. Johnson slipping in popularity. He had been elected in 1964 with the greatest outpouring of votes in the nation's history, and had once commanded the confidence of a poll-estimated 80 percent of the American people. By October, the polls had him sunk to a new low of 38 percent, although the President picked up to 46 percent by year's end. True, many of the polls contained questions weighted in favor of negative answers: "Do you approve of how the President is doing his job?"

Judged by the standard of how effectively Mr. Johnson worked with Congress, his accomplishment on Capitol Hill was dismal compared with his previous record-setting successes. *Congressional Quarterly's* compilation showed that, from the time Mr. Johnson took office until the end of 1966, he managed to have 655 of his 1,057 proposals enacted into law. That's a sensational 62 percent. *C.Q.* reckoned that President Eisenhower's overall percentage was 46, and President Kennedy's only 39.

But in 1967, Mr. Johnson was rebuffed on his tax surcharge (which he raised from a proposed 6 percent to 10 percent in August), civil rights, anticrime, East-West trade, and legislative reorganization. Foreign aid, antipoverty funds, the model-cities program, and the rent-supplements program were all chopped drastically by an economy-minded Congress. Some major bills the President did manage to get through: expanded air-pollution control; a consular treaty with the Soviet Union; an outer-space treaty; the first meat-inspection program since Upton Sinclair's shocking exposés brought about a similar law in 1906, and a major increase in Social Security benefits.

The President's troubles with Congress in the civil-rights area (see Chapters 2, CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION, and 6, CIVIL RIGHTS: THE GHETTO REVOLT) could be traced to a growing white backlash. After the insurrections during the summer in Newark and Detroit, and the riots in scores of other cities, many Congressmen and Senators heeded their constituents' call for an-eye-for-an-eye. And Mr. Johnson, instead of seizing an opportunity

to capture the public imagination with a bold handling of the crisis, fell back on legalisms before ordering federal troops into Detroit.

Michigan's Republican Governor George Romney, a potential Presidential rival of Mr. Johnson in 1968, charged the President with "playing politics in a period of tragedy and riot." The President, for his part, delayed sending federal troops into Detroit until he had wrung from Romney an admission that the Michigan Governor was no longer capable of bringing the situation under control. The handling of the Detroit insurrection covered neither the President nor the Governor with glory.

In the aftermath of a summer of civil strife in the nation's cities, the President appointed a distinguished commission to look into its causes and propose remedies (see Chapter 6, CIVIL RIGHTS: THE GHETTO REVOLT). Appointment of the panel was applauded as a commendable course by many middle-of-the-roaders. But civil-rights activists charged it was too little and too late, and the backlash element cried for arming the populace against any further outbreaks.

President Johnson's strong point, when he took office, was supposed to have been domestic affairs. He was criticized in 1963 and 1964 for having had somewhat less experience in foreign affairs than seemed desirable. But in 1967, when the President's domestic programs were slowed, he scored some stunning successes in foreign policy. Most notable was his handling of the Middle-east crisis. Mr. Johnson was quick to make use of the "hot line" direct teletype between the White House and the Kremlin during the period surrounding the six-day Arab-Israeli war. True, an Israeli victory had saved the United States from having to intervene. Still, tensions ran high in the Mideast, and an eventual United States-Soviet confrontation there was not out of the question. But the President established a new rapport with the Soviet Union that created a new spirit of cooperation between the two superpowers.

The President's success with the hot line was quickly followed by his meeting with Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin. The two had been wanting to meet for some time, but a diplomatically neutral site could not be arranged. Then Kosygin came to the United States in June for the special meeting of the United Nations General Assembly on the Arab-Israeli war (see Chapter 16, UNITED NATIONS). The President and the Premier promptly got together in the small college town of Glassboro, in southern New Jersey. The meeting did not seem to accomplish anything concrete. But it did confirm in each man's mind the fact that his counterpart had firm resolve. However, the Glassboro meeting was an eye-catcher in the Johnson style and, afterward, the President's popularity soared briefly.

In May, with the Mideast crisis building daily, Mr. Johnson cast bread upon the waters adroitly enough at Punta del Este, Uruguay, so that he was able to muster

a unanimous vote among Alliance for Progress members when it came time to back Israel in the United Nations the following month. The Punta del Este meeting was another example of the personal approach at which Mr. Johnson has always excelled. He held a private talk there with each Latin-American leader.

Mr. Johnson's equal adeptness at power politics paid off in the Cyprus crisis. When Greece and Turkey threatened war over Cyprus (see Chapter 9, WESTERN EUROPE), the President dispatched troubleshooter Cyrus Vance. He secured peace between the two NATO countries, each heavily indebted to the United States for military, technical, and economic aid. Peaceful embraces came quickly when aid money talked.

Back at the White House, there was a personal triumph of sorts. The President's elder daughter, Lynda, was married to Marine Captain Charles Robb in a glittering ceremony in the East Room on December 9. The world, looking in on television, agreed Lynda never looked lovelier.

But the President continued to worry about his own image. Polls showed him low in popularity. The war in Vietnam seemed to many a hopeless maze. Negroes had been in open revolt in some of the cities. Senator J. William Fulbright, head of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee, had broken with Mr. Johnson over Vietnam. So had Minnesota's Democratic Senator Eugene McCarthy, who declared his candidacy in the Presidential primaries on a ticket opposed to Mr. Johnson's handling of the war. The growing backlash element was being cultivated by former Alabama Governor George Wallace, who declared himself a third-party Presidential candidate and threatened to siphon off Democratic votes.

Then Australian Prime Minister Harold Holt, a

close ally and personal friend of Mr. Johnson, disappeared while swimming. On 24 hours' notice, the President organized a party of 300, and flew to Australia, ostensibly for the Holt memorial service. Actually, it was the beginning of a round-the-world "orbit" in which Mr. Johnson covered 26,959 miles in 120 hours. He endeared himself to the Australian people by attending the memorial; met there with ten Asian leaders and Vietnam allies; flew to Thailand and then South Vietnam to bolster the morale of United States troops in the field; dropped in on President Ayub Khan of Pakistan, who had been a somewhat troublesome ally; stopped in Rome to talk peace with Pope Paul VI, and then flew home to the LBJ Ranch on Christmas Eve.

In typical Johnson fashion, the whirlwind tour contained a bit of something for everyone. While its dizzying pace left many people unsure of exactly what had been accomplished, one thing was clear: the 36th President of the United States had proved once again that he was a master at putting on a political spectacular that could capture people's eyes, if not always their minds and hearts. As a result of the trip, the name "Johnson" was before the eyes of the people, bigger and bolder than ever, as the calendar turned into the election year of 1968.

But the year just passed had seen President Johnson's fortunes sag. Congress had balked at his domestic programs. There was growing frustration over the war in Vietnam, and some top Democrats had broken with the President over Asia. Large segments of the population were becoming polarized over civil rights. The storm that had been looming on the political horizon seemed about to break, promising many surprises, if not outright disarray, in the Presidential year ahead.



### *LBJ DECLINES TO RUN*

On March 31, at the very end of a nationally televised 40-minute speech devoted almost entirely to Vietnam, President Johnson stated: "I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your President." At the same time, Mr. Johnson called for unity within the nation, and said the Presidency should not be permitted to become "involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year." The President said that, henceforth, he would not devote "an hour or a day" to partisan politics, and that he would devote full energies to the pursuit of peace in Vietnam.

The President's declination was a political bombshell. Only a handful of times in American history had an incumbent declined to seek renomination. Careful readers of Mr. Johnson's speech noted that he had not specifically ruled out a draft, and that President Franklin Roosevelt had made a similar declination before being drafted to run for a third term in 1940. But in subsequent statements and actions, Mr. Johnson gave every indication that his decision to retire was irrevocable.

That decision set off a flurry of political activity. Senator Eugene McCarthy redoubled his efforts to win the Democratic nomination; Senator Robert Kennedy entered the race; Vice-President Hubert Humphrey also entered, after nearly two months of mulling it over, and Richard Nixon, the Republican front-runner, was denied a target on which he could zero in (see Chapter 4, POLITICS AND PARTIES).

### *"CESSATION" OF BOMBING*

President Johnson's speech of March 31 also drew a bombing boundary across North Vietnam at the 20th parallel, below Hanoi and Haiphong, in a new bid for peace. The new bombing line placed under United States air threat only that area of North Vietnam where supply lines into South Vietnam were concentrated. In actual practice, bombing became further restricted to below the 19th parallel. This Presidential peace bid was answered by North Vietnam on April 4 and a search for a site for preliminary talks was begun (see Chapter 6, VIETNAM).

### *STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE*

The President delivered his fifth State of the Union Address on January 17. He declared that although the United States was making progress at home, abroad, and in Vietnam, great efforts were still needed. He called for a \$186 billion budget for fiscal 1969, up \$10.4 billion from fiscal '68. The following day, to help cut the balance of payments deficit, Mr. Johnson ordered a 10 percent reduction in United States civilian staffs overseas. Three weeks later, the President sent Congress a request for \$557 million to deal with rioting, crime, drug traffic, gambling, law enforcement, and justice. Mr. Johnson followed that call with a request for a \$4.6 billion outlay over ten years to provide 6 million new low- and middle-income housing units in cities.

### *TWO MAJOR TRIPS*

On February 17, President Johnson flew coast to coast to give personal send-offs to some 10,500 reinforcements headed for Vietnam. The fighting men, Air Force and Marines, left for the front from North Carolina and California.

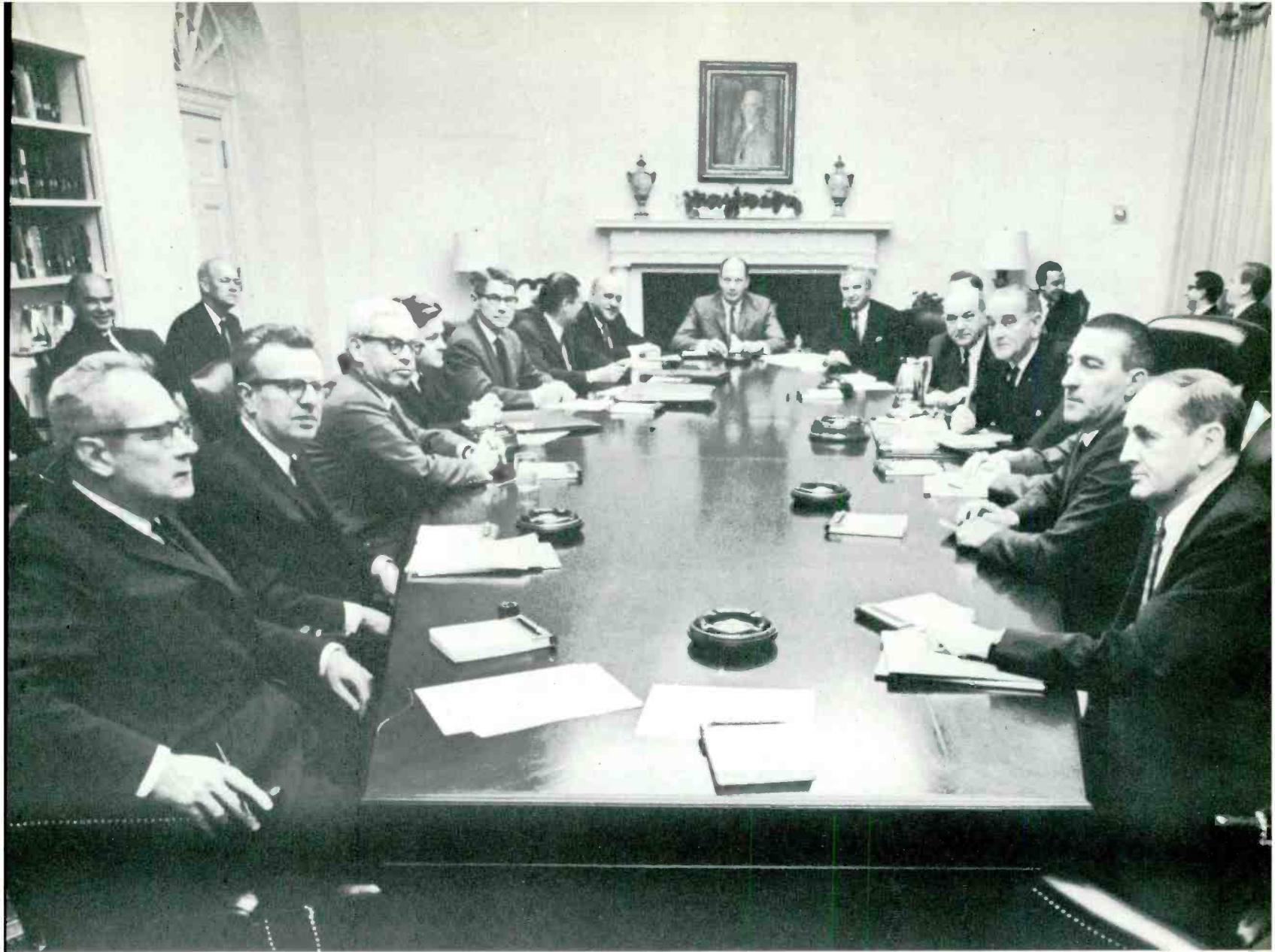
In mid-April, Mr. Johnson flew to Hawaii for a day-long talk with South Korean President Chung Hee Park. The United States reaffirmed its long-standing commitment to help in the defense of South Korea. The demilitarized zone at the 38th parallel had been the scene of a mounting number of North Korean raids, and terrorist attacks early in 1968 had even reached into the South Korean capital (see Chapter 13, THE OTHER ASIA).

### *HUMPHREY TRAVELS, TOO*

Vice-President Humphrey went on a ten-day tour of nine African nations the first of the year. From East and West Africa and Tunisia, Humphrey carried back the message that, although the new nations there were doing their best, they needed help.



President Johnson, always a friend of labor and vice versa, greets C. J. Haggerty, president of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades, during the group's conference in Washington June 12.



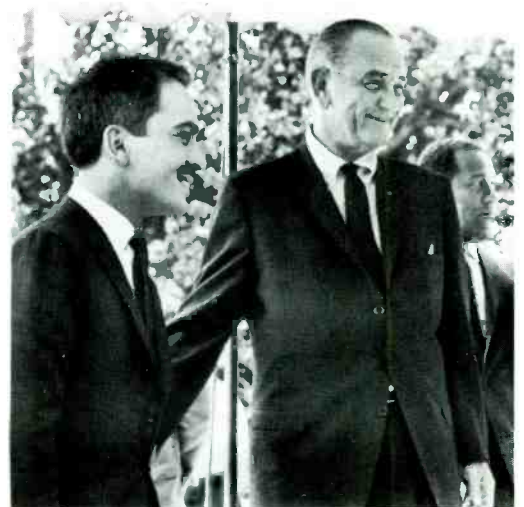
Top: The President's Cabinet at the beginning of 1967, clockwise from left foreground: Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz; Postmaster General Lawrence O'Brien; UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg; Budget Director Charles Schultz; Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman; Defense Secretary Robert McNamara; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Robert Weaver; Transportation Secretary Alan Boyd; Commerce Secretary John Connor; Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and, next to the President, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall and Welfare Secretary John Gardner. Hidden in the background: Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler. Not present was Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach. The Cabinet remained the same in 1967. In 1968, resignations and replacements took place as follows: Postmaster General—W. Marvin Watson, April 10; UN Ambassador—George W. Ball, April 26; Secretary of Defense—Clark Clifford, January 19; Secretary of Commerce—Cyrus R. Smith, February 16; Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare—Wilbur J. Cohen, March 23.

Right: After taking oath as first Negro justice of the United States Supreme Court, Thurgood Marshall introduces his wife and son, Thurgood, Jr., nine, to the President.





A saddened President attends memorial rites for Australian Prime Minister Harold Holt in Melbourne, December 22. In front pew are Britain's Prince Charles, representing his mother, Queen Elizabeth, on a diplomatic mission for the first time. To his left, Lord Casey, Governor General of Australia, and Mrs. Casey.



Jews and Arabs were guests at the LBJ Ranch, though not at the same time. Left: In January, the President and First Lady greeted Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol and Mrs. Eshkol, and, above, at the end of June, after the Arab-Israeli war, Mr. Johnson showed King Hussein of Jordan around the ranch. The rolling, open country of Texas reminded both Middle East leaders of parts of their homelands.

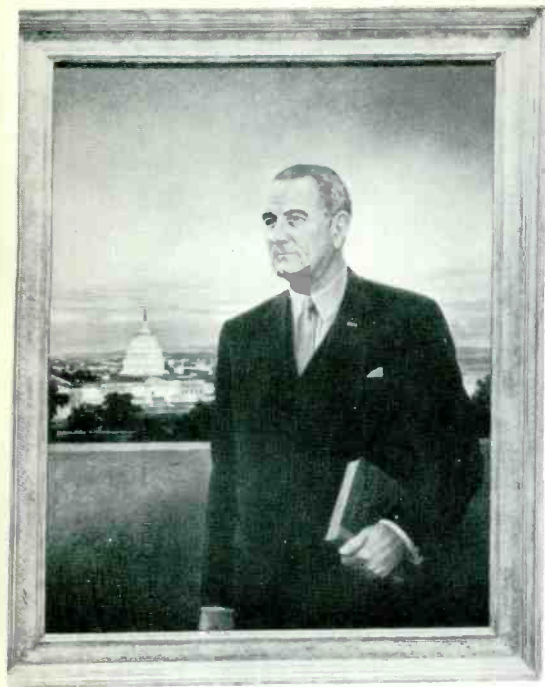


The President on Guam for a strategy meeting with Vietnamese leaders and other Pacific allies in March. Flanking Mr. Johnson during the playing of national anthems are (foreground) President Nguyen Van Thieu of Vietnam and, in background, his Vice-President, Nguyen Cao Ky. At left are Rear Admiral Horace Bird, United States naval commander in the Mariana Islands; Secretary of State Rusk, and Defense Secretary McNamara.

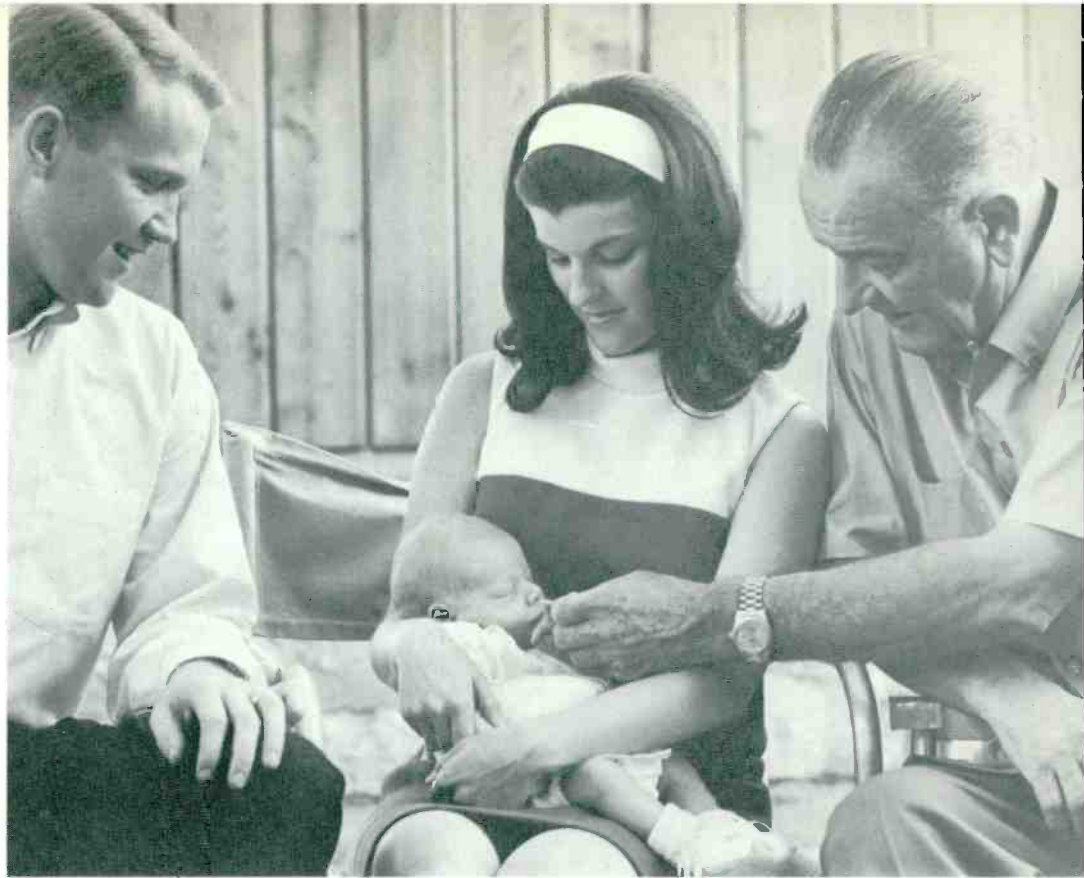


Mr. Johnson has his eye on a slice of the wedding cake as Marine Captain Charles Robb does the honors after his wedding to Lynda Bird Johnson in the East Room of the White House December 9.





Terming this portrait "the ugliest thing I ever saw," Mr. Johnson angrily rejected it. Artist Peter Hurd put it on display in Columbus, Ohio, instead.



The President's first grandchild, Patrick Lyndon Nugent, can't be bothered by a pacifier. Proud parents, Patrick and Mr. Johnson's daughter, Luci Baines, look on at the LBJ Ranch.

The Pope and the President talk peace at the Vatican, December 23, during Mr. Johnson's whirlwind round-the-world tour. Both men agreed that an "honorable settlement" of the war in Vietnam was still possible.



Right: The sign at the LBJ Ranch says "Welcome." The occasion was a reception for Latin American diplomats and their wives. Mr. Johnson wooed Latin Americans successfully in 1967 at the Punta del Este conference in Uruguay.



Below: A stream of foreign dignitaries flowed through the White House during the year. Here, in September, the President and the First Lady welcome President Hamani Diori of Niger and Mrs. Diori.



Above: At Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, November 12, the rector of the Bruton Parish Church, the Rev. Catesworth Pinckney Lewis, turns to introduce Mrs. Johnson to his wife before the service. Minutes later, smiles vanished as the rector, from the pulpit, demanded to know of the President, "why" the nation was fighting in Vietnam. The church incident created a furor.



The President and Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin at their meeting at Glassboro, N.J. They came to at least one agreement: that the other was strong-willed, not likely to want to give an inch.

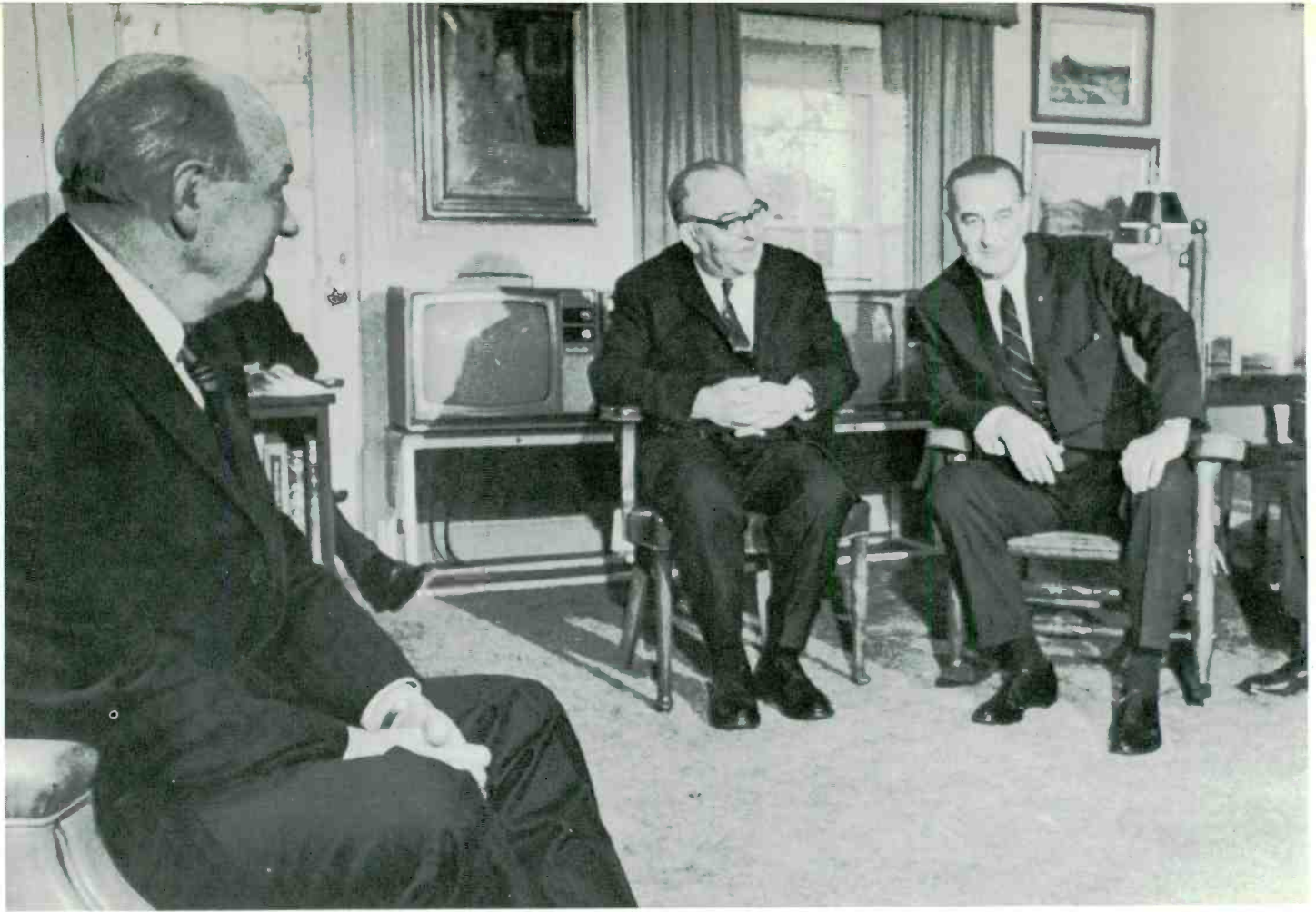


Above: The President aboard the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise* off Southern California early in 1967. *Enterprise* skipper Captain Kent Lee is in foreground with Defense Secretary McNamara. Admiral Thomas H. Moore is in background as planes take off.

Center right: A familiar and oft-repeated scene at the White House in 1967. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and the President in a man-to-man huddle.

Right: Clark Clifford is sworn in March 1 as Defense Secretary, to succeed Robert McNamara. Chief Justice Earl Warren administers oath, while Mrs. Clifford and the President look on.





Israeli Premier Levi Eshkol discusses Middle East problems with President Johnson as Secretary of State Rusk lends an ear, at the LBJ Ranch in January.

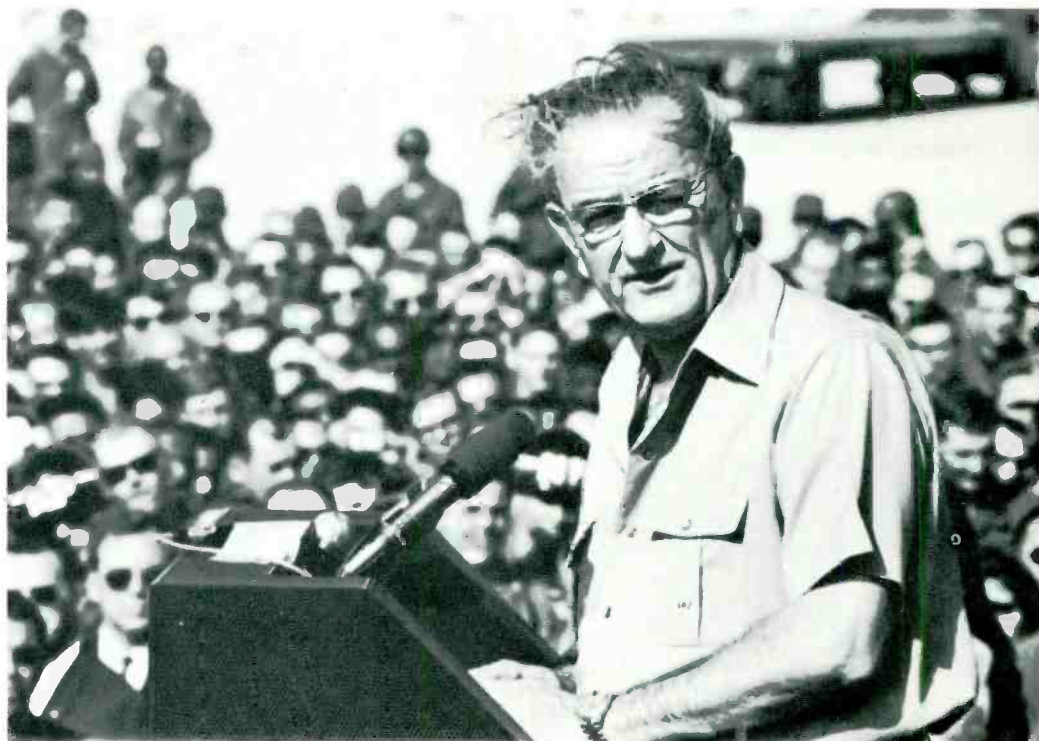
In April, 1968, President Johnson signs a civil rights bill designed to help Negroes find homes in places other than ghettos. Looking on are (front row, from left) Republican Senators Clifford Case of New Jersey, Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, and (slightly behind) Jacob Javits of New York. Continuing, clockwise: Democratic House Speaker John McCormack, Democratic Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, Democratic Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota, and Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall.





Above: President Johnson drops his political bombshell, announcing in a White House television address, March 31, that he will not seek reelection. The momentous announcement came at the very end of a speech in which Mr. Johnson drew a bombing boundary across North Vietnam in a new effort to get peace talks started.

Right: Mr. Johnson addresses United States troops at Cam Ranh Bay, South Vietnam, during his visit there December 23. It was the President's second visit to this American base.





*Ray Scherer, from Fort Wayne, Indiana, began as a reporter on his hometown paper. He joined NBC in Washington in 1947. As White House Correspondent he has covered the activities of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, both at home and abroad, logging a quarter of a million miles of travel in the process. In 1967 he narrated the one-hour NBC-TV special "The Hill Country: Lyndon Johnson's Texas."*

## Year of Discontent

*Ray Scherer*

NBC News White House Correspondent

ONE SPARKLING AFTERNOON late in 1967, a pool of reporters was riding through Washington's Rock Creek Park with President Johnson after a speech to a labor meeting. The President was returning to the White House, and he was in a relaxed and candid mood.

He could use all the labor support he could get, he said, for a number of his bills were moving slowly in Congress. I asked him why he was having so much trouble with his old friends on Capitol Hill. Mr. Johnson drew back his head with its graying hair, its new lines of anxiety, its outsized ears, and said he had come to the conclusion that a President had to get what he really wanted from Congress in his first six months in office because after that "time ran out" on him.

Nineteen sixty-seven was the year that time began to run out on Lyndon Johnson. He fell to new lows in the confidence polls. He wasn't losing the war in Vietnam but he wasn't winning it. He began to have doubts—never stated out loud—about the military advice he was getting. The big cities went up in smoke in midsummer, and the White House became hard pressed for answers.

The President's tax increase was stymied in Congress. So were his civil rights recommendations, his anti-crime bills, his East-West trade legislation. Some congressmen were saying he didn't seem to "care as much" anymore.

Worse than all this, the country seemed troubled

about the President, bored with his leadership, puzzled at his failure to communicate.

By the end of the year such a spirit of disunity pervaded the land that the President had to all but sneak in and out of the American landscape. The White House adopted a policy of never announcing in advance where the President was traveling, not even when he went off to Texas for a couple of days' respite along the Pedernales. His critics began to charge he was afraid to go out among his own people. This missed the mark. It was not that the President was afraid. The Secret Service feared for his safety. After Dallas in 1963, they asked, and now with the peaceniks, who could tell what might happen?

The President did finish out the year on an upbeat, a razzle-dazzle demonstration of the old-time LBJ political virtuosity. Two days before Christmas he flew by jet to visit both the troops at Cam Ranh Bay and the Pope in Rome in the same 24 hours. As the cynics at home put it, Vietnam for the hawks, the Vatican for the doves.

But jet-age political virtuosity was not enough to keep President Johnson high—or as high as he would like to be—in the esteem of his countrymen. His ratings in the polls had risen and fallen during the year, but mostly they sagged. For Mr. Johnson's 200 million countrymen the year produced a rising frustration and, as always happens to presidents, he became the focus of that frustration.

Vietnam accounted for most of Mr. Johnson's troubles. The United States became ever more deeply involved. As the year began Vietnam was looking up. In private talks around the luncheon table in the family dining room of the White House the President exuded a growing confidence that the great weight of United States power in Vietnam was finally making itself felt. He did not claim that victory would come in 1967, but he talked as if it might.

I came away from a late afternoon lunch with the President in February, 1967, all but convinced that the middle of the year would see a definite turning of the military tide in Vietnam. The President believed the big unit war continued to favor the United States and its allies, but he thought the enemy had changed to the strategy of mass assaults at frontier positions partly in the hope of eroding support for the war in the United States.

The enemy had some success in this. Doubters about the war sprang up on every platform. Senator Fulbright's break with the President became testy. Mr. Johnson chafed, mostly in private but sometimes in public, at those on the home front he said gave Hanoi cause to "live on our speeches."

As the year went on, Vietnam began to cost more than anyone anticipated, more in dollars and more in blood. And Vietnam in one way or another cost the President his Secretary of Defense. Robert McNamara, immensely loyal to Mr. Johnson but dispirited after six

years of the war, mentioned to the President early in the year a job offer from the World Bank. Months later the President for his own inscrutable reasons surprised McNamara by allowing him to take the bank job. The episode set off a new flurry of speculation that the Secretary had lost heart for the war and that he and the generals were more and more in disagreement over military policy.

The President nursed a compulsion to build a psychology of success about the American effort in Vietnam. From the White House press room we watched him summon home General William Westmoreland and Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker in November and encourage them to appear on all manner of platforms—"Meet the Press," press interviews, Congress—to parade their convictions that the allies were slowly but surely winning the war.

It appeared to White House correspondents that the President was more dogged in pursuit of his Vietnam policy as 1967 ended than when it had begun. The policy was increasing military pressure while pursuing a middle course between what the President called "surrender and annihilation." Despite another Christmas season peace feeler, the President and the chief hawk in the White House, Walt W. Rostow, believed that Hanoi had never seriously wanted negotiations.

The President's stand cost him heavily. Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, a man Mr. Johnson had made Vice-Presidential eyes at only three years before, declared his Presidential candidacy, not, he said, to take the nomination away from the President but because he hoped to moderate Vietnam policy. The Kennedy brothers increased the tempo and intensity of their attacks on war policy. Robert Kennedy's supporters urged him to do as McCarthy did, get in and run, but Kennedy said that would only split the party and hand the White House to a Republican. The President's relations with Kennedy continued cool on the surface, icy underneath.

The racial disorders of July gave the President new and haunting anxieties. Republicans charged he "totally failed to recognize the problem." In the Detroit situation, the politics of federal intervention hurt the President. Governor George Romney charged Mr. Johnson with "playing politics in a period of tragedy and riot." The President overdid it by bearing down hard (on television) on Romney's "inability to control" the situation.

There was a rising clamor for the President to "do something" about the riots. Mr. Johnson went on television and announced another commission. It would be headed by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner and New York Mayor John Lindsay. Its assignment—investigate, recommend remedies. The critics prejudged the commission, said it would bring in a whitewash. The President told the commission to hit as hard as it found necessary.

The riots had a perverse effect on the President's relations with Congress. What happened in the cities got Congress' back up. The President's recommendations on poverty, jobs, housing, and welfare moved more slowly

instead of faster. And the riots complicated his troubles in Vietnam. There was a strong feeling that the money for Vietnam might better be spent at home on the ghettos. The recurring theme of "guns versus butter" began to sound like the overture for the 1968 campaign. The President went around insisting that the United States could afford both.

Money troubles were all over the horizon. The central bankers of Europe were worried about the dollar. The President held countless meetings on the gold drain. He had asked for a 6 percent tax surcharge in January and then, when the situation worsened, increased this to 10 percent. But Congress did not find his case convincing. The old magic with Congress was disappearing. Wilbur Mills was adamant. No tax increase. The House turned rebellious, undertook to force reductions in appropriations bills. Congress defied the President on other fronts, too.

But 1968, an election year, was fast approaching, and the question was: would Lyndon Johnson do a Harry Truman, campaign against Congress? The President surprised many by showing no disposition to set Congress up as his target to campaign against its do-nothingness. Democrats still controlled Congress, he told us, even though 47 new Republicans in the House made his victory margin too perilous for comfort.

The President gave one rather extraordinary exhibition of partisanship before a labor convention in Florida late in the year. He lit into "Republican wooden soldiers of the *status quo*" who were sitting on his programs in Congress. It seemed to foreshadow his line in the 1968 campaign, but other quarters reported that he seemed indifferent to national politics.

The Democratic National Committee, they pointed out, was in a state of atrophy. In talking to visitors, the President frequently used the phrase "if I run next year." But most intimates in the Johnson circle felt there was no doubt he would run. As one of them put it, "if that man can walk next year, he will run." He was too committed to the war, they said, to ease off, too proud a man to hand the nomination to a McCarthy or a Kennedy. And everyone knew how he felt about Richard Nixon. Hadn't he set Nixon up as his 1968 target long ago? Hadn't he, at a 1966 news conference, lashed out at Nixon as a "chronic campaigner"?

In foreign policy the President listed a number of ventures as minor triumphs. His ratings in the polls had climbed after two meetings with Premier Kosygin at Glassboro. True, nothing tangible came of the meetings but the atmospherics were promising. The six-day war between the Arabs and Israel turned into a plus for the President. By winning, the Israelis rescued him from having to intervene. He drew good marks from the columnists for standing steady, for increasing contacts with the Kremlin over the hot line. He was enthusiastic about the leading role the United States, in the person of Cyrus

Vance, played in cooling the Cyprus crisis. Earlier in the year the President had held a score of separate meetings with Latin leaders at Punta del Este. It was the kind of personal diplomacy he enjoyed.

The President fretted a lot about his image, his failure to inspire, to communicate. He retreated from television, held only 21 formal news conferences during the year but scored a comeback with his televised "new look" news conference from the East Room in November. Admirers pronounced it the "real LBJ," felt that for the first time he had displayed on the tube for all to see the magnetism he could develop in private.

As 1968 arrived the nation was seeing a tougher President, a man who showed promise of moving away from consensus and toward leadership. He was dug in more than ever on Vietnam. At the same time, the Negro explosion of impatience pointed toward the need

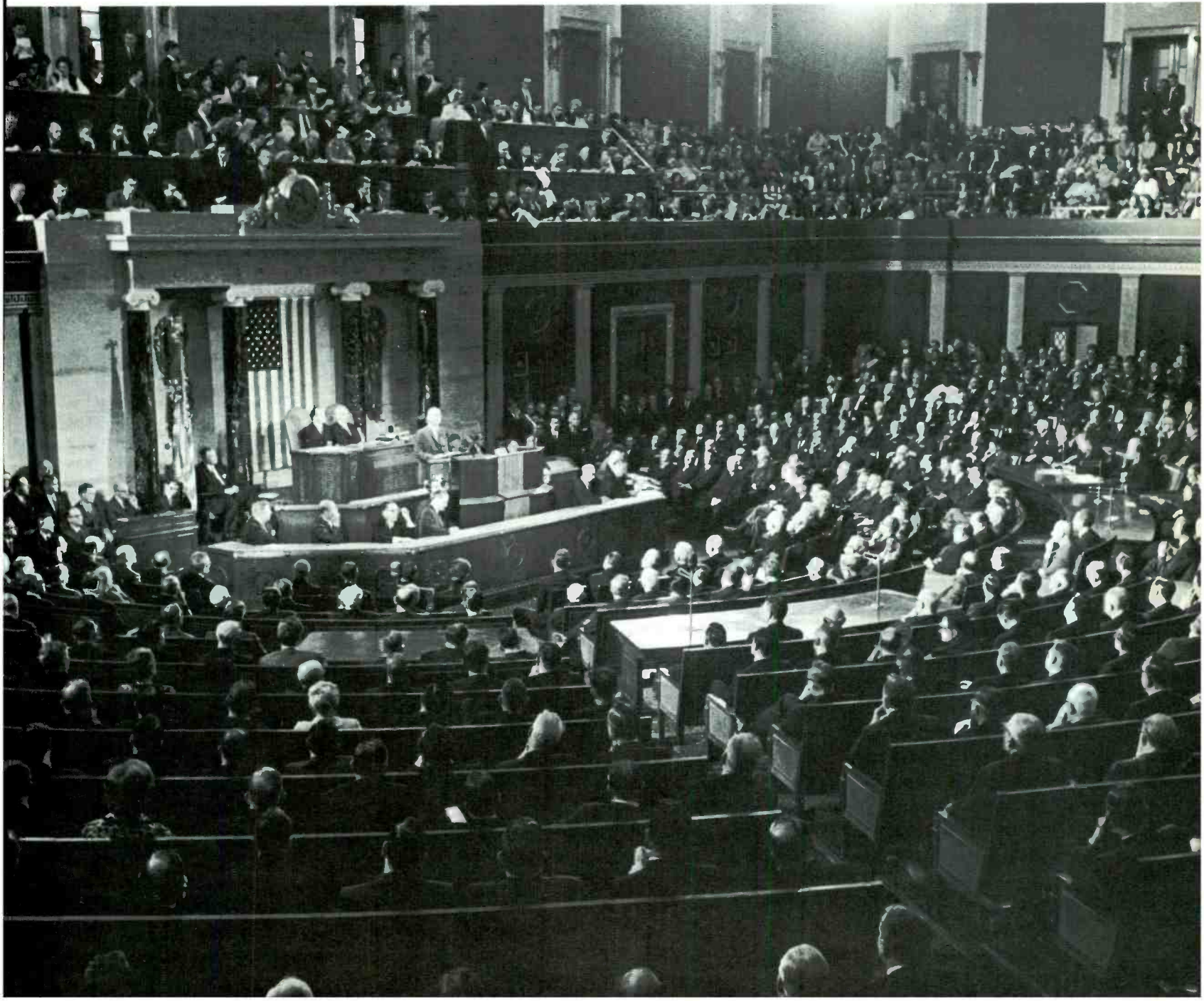
to get out of Vietnam and concentrate American resources on the big cities. Congress was defying the President. He showed more and more concern about the division in the country. He bristled at every news conference question on his plans for reelection as if that were a matter of little consequence. His problem seemed more than ever his failure to persuade much of the country that his war policy was right.

He had established a claim in history as a strong president but the open-ended conflict in Vietnam deeply flawed that claim. The year had brought no measurable movement toward resolution.

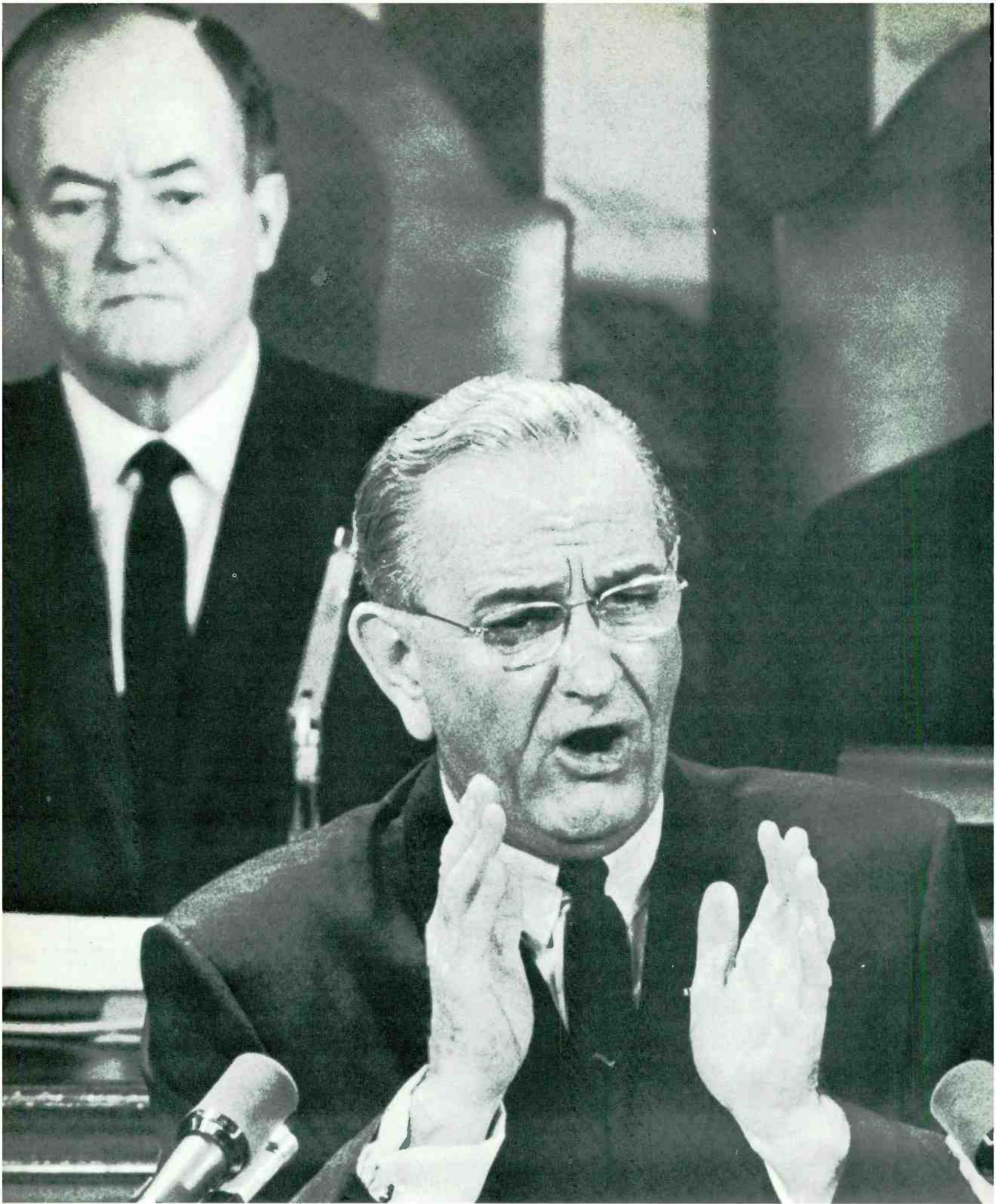
The question was: would the mounting pressures of 1968 force him to change course?

Time appeared to be running out on Lyndon Johnson.

The President delivers his annual State of the Union Address to a joint session of Congress in the House chamber the night of January 10.







Vice-President Humphrey listens as the President discusses problems of Vietnam peace during his fifth State of the Union speech to a joint session of Congress on January 17, 1968. He also stressed unemployment and urban decay.

## 2. Congress and Legislation

FROM THE TIME the first session of the 90th Congress convened on January 10, 1967, it rode roughshod over Administration programs, slashing money bills like cavalymen routing an enemy. It quarreled with itself over keeping its own house in order. And when the final gavel fell, just before Christmas, Congress' legislative record was unimpressive.

As one Congressman put it late in the year: "The war [in Vietnam] hangs like a pall over the Congress. Its enormous costs depress the spirit for domestic progress." While many might say the Congressman's explanation was far too simple, there was no doubt the war affected almost every Congressional action in one manner or another.

The very composition of the 90th Congress added up to trouble for the Administration. While an off-year election usually strengthens the opposition party, the balloting in the fall of 1966 showed a larger Republican gain than many expected. The GOP won 47 new seats in the House, and 3 new seats in the Senate. While the Democrats still commanded substantial majorities in both houses of Congress, many of the new Republicans were conservative. So the loose alliance of conservative Republicans and southern Democrats gave anti-Administration forces a strength far beyond their numbers, particularly in the House.

That alliance embarrassed the Administration, the very first day, by sponsoring a resolution that prevented Representative Adam Clayton Powell from taking his seat pending an investigation. Later that same day, the same informal coalition defeated a two-year-old rule that had prevented the blocking of Administration legislation in House committees. The rule had said no bill could be held in committee more than 21 days. The Senate showed its colors early by agreeing to keep its 50-year-old rule that required a two-thirds vote to choke off a filibuster.

With such ground rules laid, Congress joined battle with the Administration as soon as President Johnson

delivered his State of the Union address. Although the address was specifically tailored to a more conservative Congress (see Chapter 1, THE PRESIDENCY), immediate reaction was lukewarm, except among out-and-out supporters of the Administration. Democratic Representative Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, chairman of the powerful Ways and Means Committee and a fiscal gadfly of long standing, declared right away that the President's proposed 6 percent surcharge on income taxes did not stand a chance unless the gigantic budget could be trimmed considerably. Later in the year, Mr. Johnson called instead for a 10 percent "war tax" surcharge. But it might just as well have been 20 or 30 percent. Mills and his colleagues held to their views, despite repeated budget cuts by the Administration and by Congress. Constitutionally, money bills originate in the House, and the tax measure never got beyond Chairman Mills and his Ways and Means Committee.

Congress' handling of legislative reorganization and the income tax were only two rebuffs to the President. Others came on proposals and bills that affected civil rights, anticrime, and East-West trade. Foreign aid was sliced a record \$1 billion, antipoverty funds were cut \$300 million, and the model-cities program was chopped \$350 million. Congress chewed the rent-supplements program to pieces—from \$40 million down to \$10 million. Sargent Shriver, head of the Office of Economic Opportunity, threatened to resign over the cuts.

The record, however, was not entirely negative. Congress enacted laws that expanded air-pollution control, established an exchange of consular offices with the Soviet Union for the first time, concluded a treaty that provided for use of outer space for peaceful purposes only, and put through the first meat-inspection program in 51 years. Congress also voted a sweeping reorganization of Social Security, which provided an average 13 percent increase in benefits, and higher Social Security taxes to finance them. Most people thought the rising



Top: Powell supporters rally to his side on the steps of the House of Representatives after Congress refused him his seat on January 10, opening day of the first session of 90th Congress.

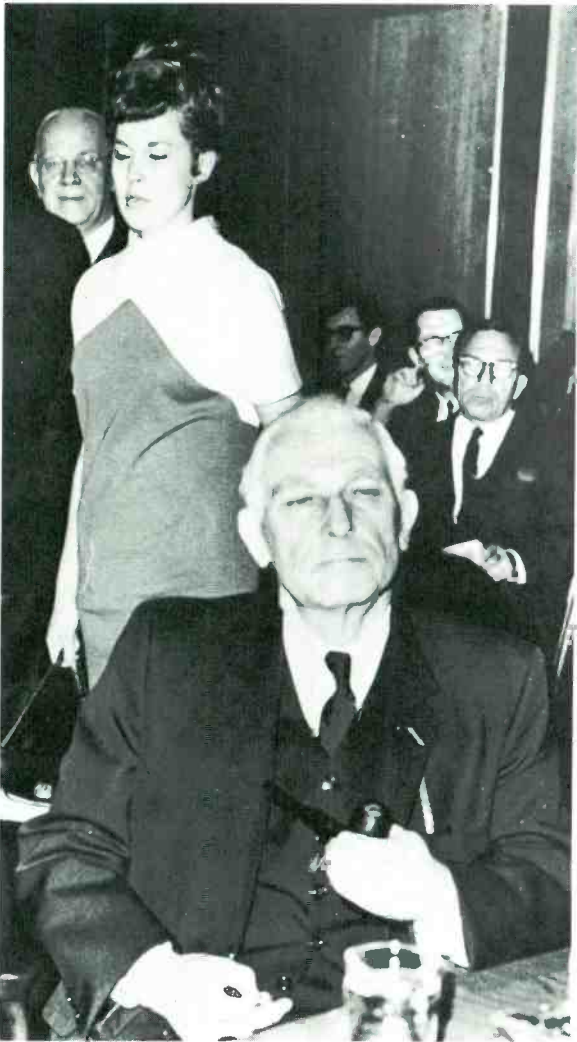


Left: Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler greets Democratic Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee at the opening of hearings on the Administration's proposed surcharge on income taxes. The handshake was about as close as the two men ever got.

Signing the 25th Amendment to the Constitution, the Presidential Succession Amendment, February 23. Seated with President Johnson is General Services Administrator Lawson Knott. Standing, from left: Democratic Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, who sponsored the Amendment; Democratic Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona; Vice-President Hubert Humphrey; Democratic Representative Emanuel Celler of New York, and House Speaker John McCormack of Massachusetts.



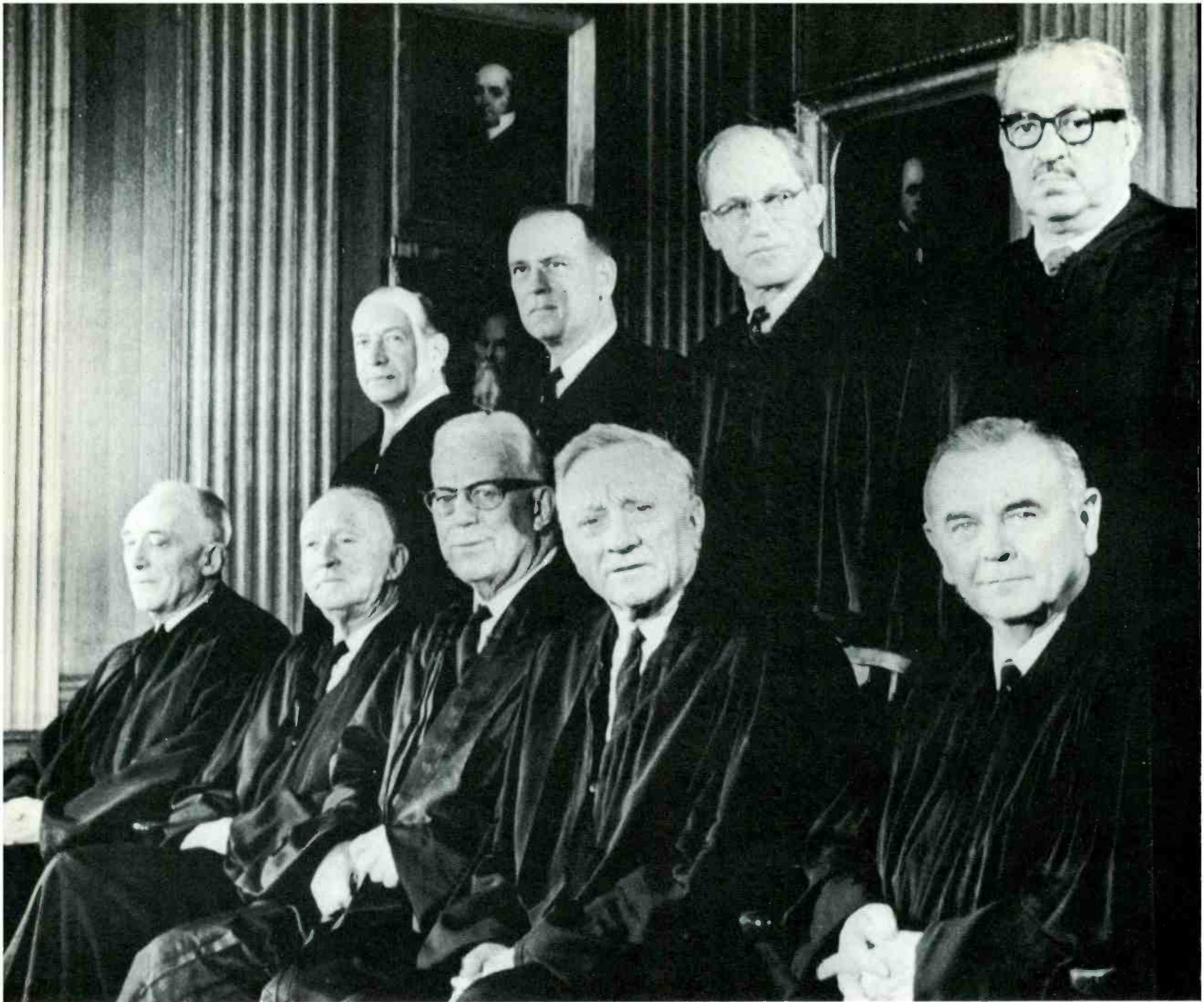
*Right:* Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican Minority Leader. With rolling rhetoric, and a wisdom born of decades of public service, Senator Dirksen helped pull together the shattered elements of his party. He also worked well with President Johnson on Capitol Hill.



*Above:* Senator Thomas Dodd, at Senate Ethics Committee hearing, awaits testimony by a former secretary in his office, Terry Golden (rear). She testified that she typed a letter, dictated by a Dodd aide, praising the ambassadorial qualities of the president of a company that delivered \$8,000 to the Connecticut Democrat.

*Below:* A pair of Democrats and a pair of Republicans who supported the United States-Soviet consular treaty, which passed the Senate, 66-28, March 16. From left, Senators J. William Fulbright of Arkansas and Mike Mansfield of Montana, and Republicans Everett Dirksen of Illinois and Thruston Morton of Kentucky.





The Supreme Court in the fall of 1967. Seated, from left, Associate Justices John Harlan and Hugo Black; Chief Justice Earl Warren; Associate Justices William Douglas and William Brennan. Standing, from left, Associate Justices Abe Fortas, Potter Stewart, Byron White, and Thurgood Marshall. Marshall was named to the Court in August—the first Negro ever to become a member.

## 3. The Supreme Court

THE SUPREME COURT in 1967 shifted its sights from the broad area of civil rights to individual rights. The high court had spent much of the previous 13 years lowering racial barriers. It was time again to preserve individual rights against government encroachment.

The Court held unanimously, on January 10, that it was not a crime for a person to visit countries to which travel was banned by the State Department, provided, of course, the traveler held a valid passport. The case arose principally from visits to Cuba by some individuals and groups. The Court ruling ran counter to the notion that the State Department could tell Americans where they might travel.

In a 5-to-4 decision, on June 12, the Court declared unconstitutional a New York State law that permitted court-approved electronic eavesdropping. The majority held that the New York law opened the door to the planting of listening devices without sufficient evidence of probable guilt, and thus violated Fourth Amendment limitations on police searches. In another case, the Court ruled that property owners may refuse to admit health, fire, and other inspectors unless they have search warrants.

But the Court aided police by ruling 5-to-4, on March 20, that the Constitution does not require a policeman to disclose in court the identity of an informant who gave him a tip about a crime.

In an 8-to-1 decision, on May 16, the Supreme Court held that juvenile courts must grant children the same rights guaranteed adults: quick notice of charges, a lawyer (court-appointed if necessary), warning against self-incrimination, the right to remain silent, and the right to cross-examine witnesses.

In a somewhat broader area of civil rights, the Court ruled 5-to-4 on January 23 that a New York State law requiring loyalty oaths from teachers was "unconstitutionally vague." One week before that, the Court

split 5-to-4 in ruling that admissions by public employees under a threat of dismissal may not be used against them in criminal trials. The majority held that this violated the Fifth Amendment protection against compulsory self-incrimination. (But the Court did not say that tight-lipped employees could not be fired.)

The Court cited the 14th Amendment when, on May 29, it voted 5-to-4 to strike down California's Proposition 14. The controversial proposition, approved in 1964 by the California voters, had given property owners the right to discriminate in the resale or rental of housing. The ruling on Proposition 14 was one of the few times all year when the Court dealt with a problem that had any broad impact on civil rights.

On October 9, the high court let stand a lower court decision ordering immediate desegregation of schools in six Southern states. It also let stand a lower court ruling that school officials in Cincinnati have no constitutional duty to reduce racial imbalance in schools unless it results from discriminatory actions by public officials. The same day, the Court refused to reexamine the convictions of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King and seven other Negro ministers who had violated an Alabama court injunction against a demonstration in Birmingham in 1963. (On June 12, the Court had confirmed the convictions, 5-to-4, on a technicality, and Dr. King and the others then served short jail terms.)

Also on June 12, the Court unanimously declared unconstitutional Virginia laws that forbade marriages between whites and nonwhites. It indicated that similar antimiscegenation laws in 15 other states were also void.

The Court made three important decisions in 1967 concerning freedom of the press in relation to press comments on public or newsworthy figures. On June 12, it unanimously reversed a \$500,000 libel judgment won by former Major General Edwin Walker against The Associated Press. The justices held that the First Amend-

ment's guarantee of freedom of the press extended to libelous falsehoods about public officials. The Court decided that AP had used a proper "degree of control" in its deadline reporting of Walker's statements.

On the same day, the Supreme Court upheld, 5-to-4, a \$460,000 libel award granted to Wally Butts, former football coach at the University of Georgia. Butts had sued the Curtis Publishing Company over a story in which *The Saturday Evening Post* contended he gave his team's plays to Paul (Bear) Bryant, the coach at the rival University of Alabama. Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote that, while "uninhibited debate about [public figures'] involvement in public issues and events is as crucial as it is in the case of public officials," it "does not include absolute license to destroy lives or careers." Butts, while not a public official, was a public figure.

On January 9, the Court decided, 5-to-4, to cancel a \$30,000 judgment against Time Inc., publishers of *Life* magazine. In so doing, the justices upheld press immunity from liability in suits charging invasion of privacy by newsworthy people. The case went back to 1955, to a drama review by *Life* of the play *The Desperate Hours*. The play was based on a novel that was startlingly similar to a real incident in which a couple and their three children had been held hostage in their home by three convicts. The couple, the James Hills, charged that *Life* violated their privacy by giving the impression that the play represented an actual account of the terrifying incident. The Court ruled the Hills could not collect damages for invasion of privacy by erroneous articles unless there was proof the errors were deliberate or reckless.

For the first time in history, a Negro joined the Supreme Court. On August 30, the Senate approved the appointment of Thurgood Marshall. He succeeded Justice Tom Clark, who retired after his son, Ramsey, was named Attorney General earlier in the year.

Marshall had been United States Solicitor General, or chief federal prosecutor. As such, he had frequently argued cases before the Supreme Court. Earlier, he had been a federal judge. Before that, Marshall was

counsel to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for many years. In that role, he had led a 23-year legal battle that culminated in the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision in 1954. Opinions varied as to whether Marshall's appointment would change the alignment of the Court. In many decisions, it had divided 5-to-4 in favor of the liberal wing. Marshall was thought to be a legal conservative on most matters other than civil rights.

While the Supreme Court did not make many decisions in 1967 that created nationwide attention, it did begin considering a growing problem throughout the nation: the rights of criminal suspects against those of law enforcement agencies. The crime rate was rising alarmingly. There were persistent calls from many quarters for broader police powers to cope with the menace. But civil liberties groups warned just as strenuously that individual liberties could be impinged if police powers were broadened indiscriminately. After the summer's riots and insurrections, an edgy Congress considered legislation that would limit the scope of recent high court decisions and grant police the more stringent power they sought.

The Court faced its first direct clash with Congress since it fought with the lawmakers over some of President Roosevelt's New Deal programs. The showdown did not come in 1967. But it could well come in 1968, particularly if there is another summer of urban unrest. The Court has already promised to reconsider in 1968 the whole matter of police eavesdropping and other law enforcement aids.

The Supreme Court, in its 177th term, no longer seemed to be in the forefront of social and political change, as it had been in much of the decade before 1967. The Court did little on civil rights. It was silent on Congressional reapportionment, poverty, and the separation of church and state. Despite many attempts to lead it into a controversy over the legality of United States involvement in the war in Vietnam, the Court remained aloof.



### *ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE EXTENDED*

In April, 1968, the Supreme Court ruled that its one-man, one-vote decision of 1964 be extended from statewide to local elections. Equal representation for all voters became a reality for the first time in the nation's history.

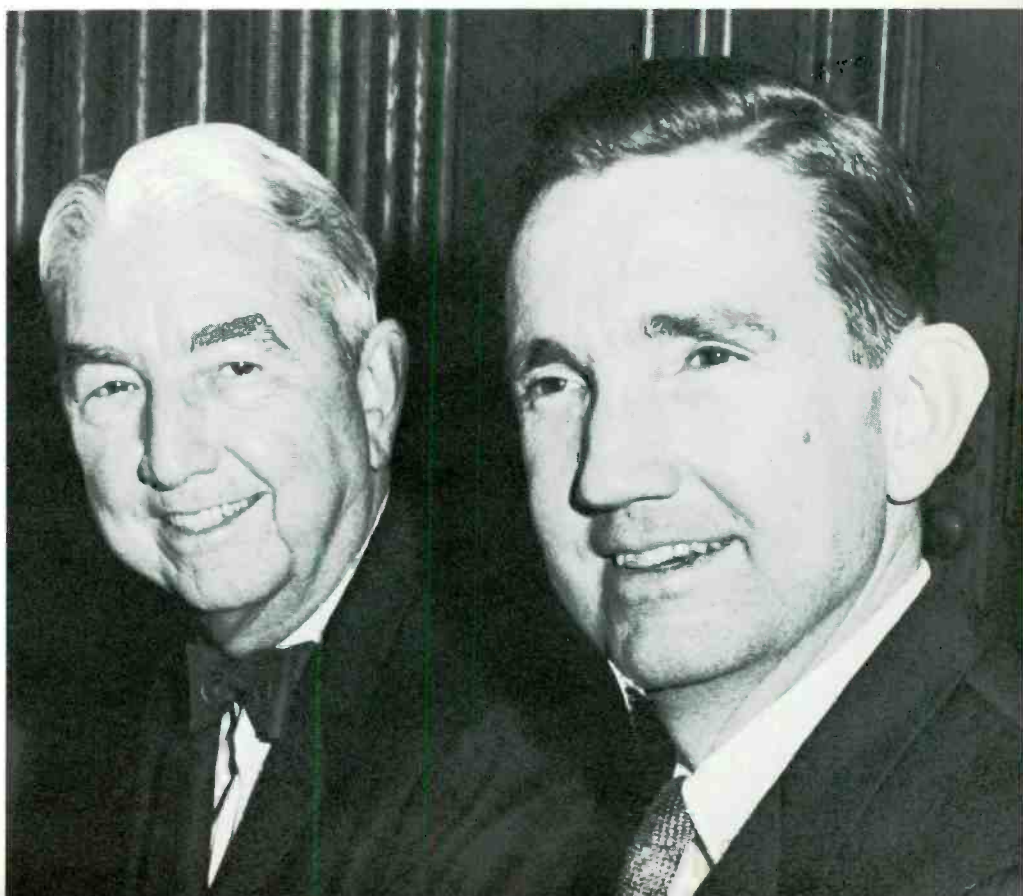
### *"LINDBERGH LAW" THROWN OUT*

Also in April, the High Court declared the 34-year-old death provision of the Lindbergh Law unconstitutional. The Court asserted that the mandatory death penalty upon conviction in such kidnapping cases served to "chill the assertion of Constitutional rights." Therefore, accused kidnapers had been in the habit of pleading guilty to a lesser charge so as to obtain a trial by judge rather than jury. The striking down of the provision meant that a kidnap case could be tried on its merits, without pre-prejudice to the accused.

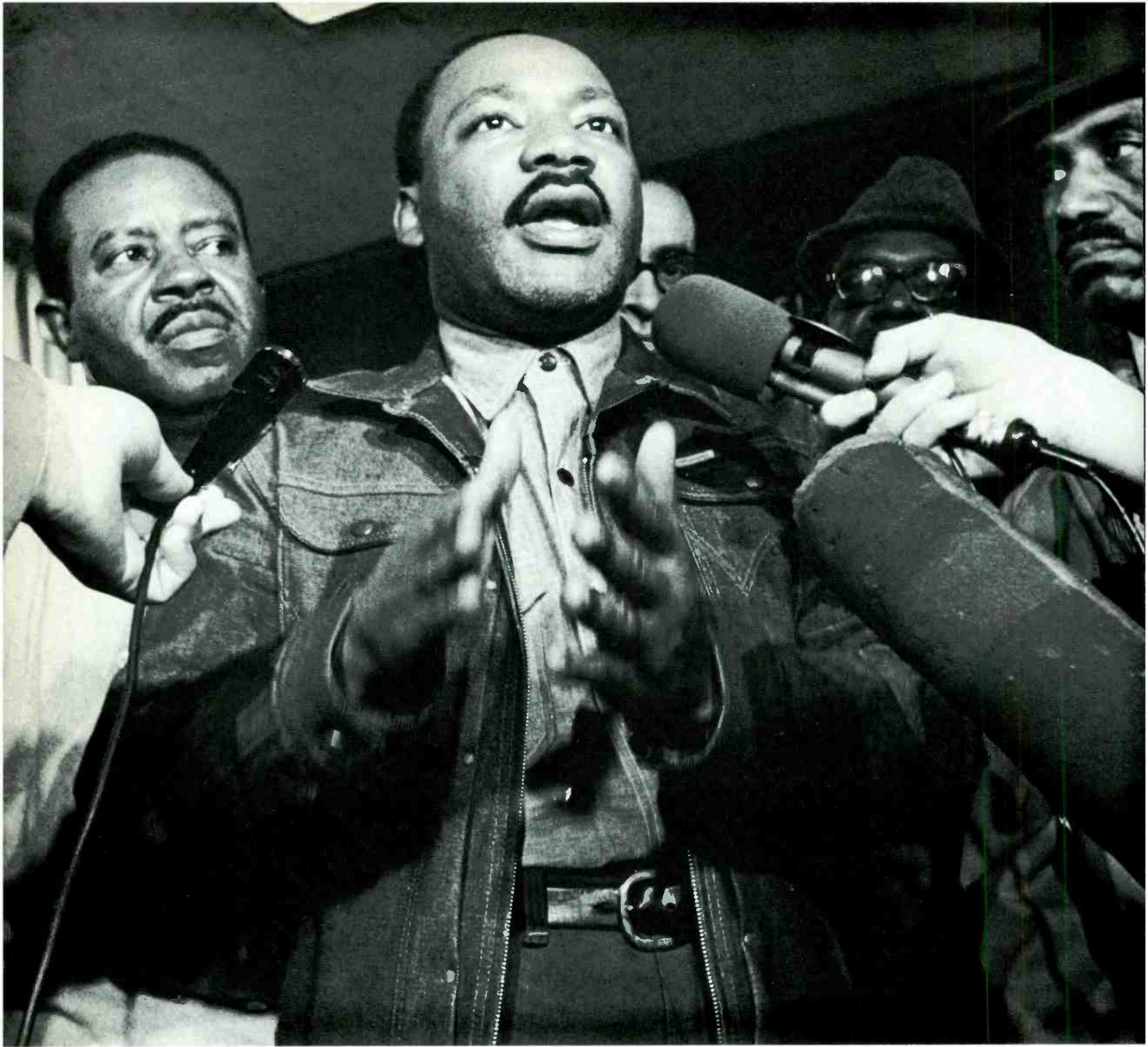


Above: Mildred and Richard Loving, the Virginia couple whose suit brought a High Court ruling that ended anti-miscegenation laws. Mrs. Loving is part Indian, part Negro.

Right: Associate Justice Tom Clark poses with his son, Ramsey, after the latter was named Attorney General in March. The elder Clark was Attorney General, too, before being appointed to the high bench. Later in the year, to avoid possible conflict of interest, Clark retired from the Supreme Court.



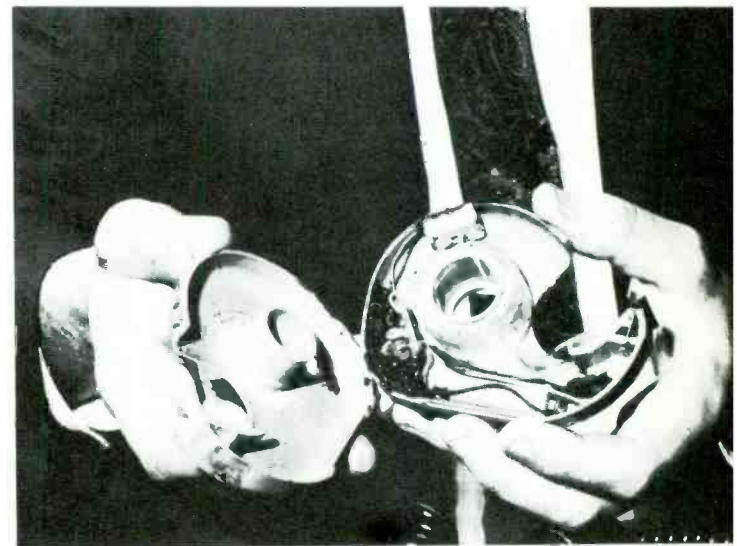
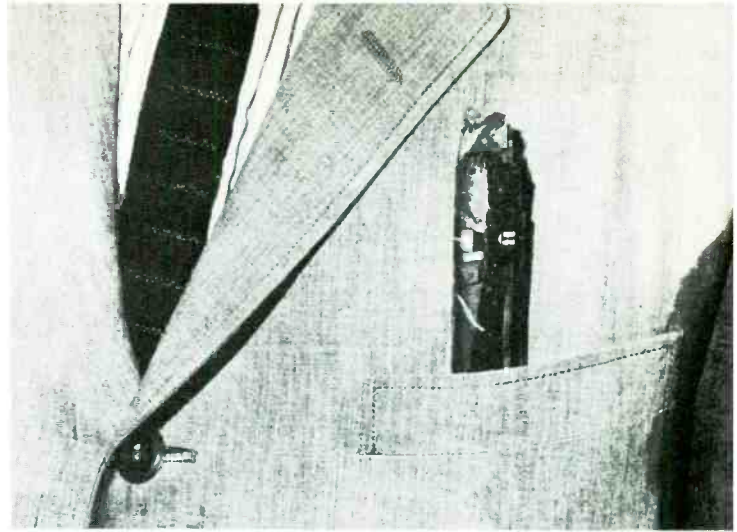
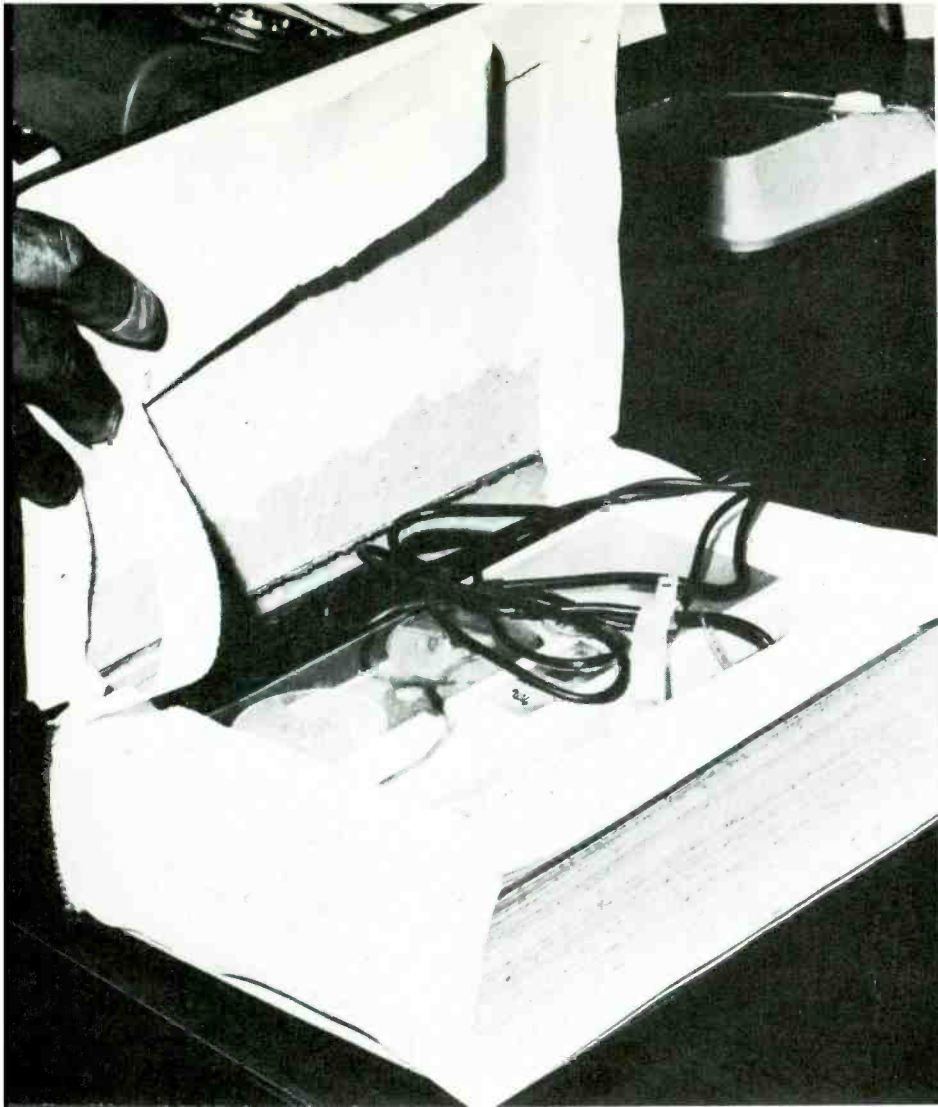




Above: The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., emerges from jail in Birmingham, Alabama, November 3, after the Supreme Court ruled the civil rights leader and aides had to serve four days. Dr. King's assistant, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, is seen over his right shoulder.

Opposite, top: While the Supreme Court limits their use, "bugs" come of age. A far cry from the days of the ear at the keyhole are these electronic eavesdropping devices. They are (a) a voice-activated tape recorder implanted in a book; (b) a tiny transmitter concealed inside a cigar, and (c) a transmitter inside a cellophane-tape dispenser.

Opposite, bottom: Teamsters Union chief James Hoffa, with raincoat covering his handcuffed hands, enters federal prison at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, to begin serving eight-year term. The Supreme Court held firm, despite appeal, on his conviction of jury tampering.





Three Republican Presidential possibilities, as of October, confer during the GOP Governors' Conference aboard the liner *Independence* cruising in the Caribbean. From left, Governors Nelson Rockefeller of New York, George Romney of Michigan, and Ronald Reagan of California.

## 4. Politics and Parties

THE RESURGENCE of the Republican Party was the central political fact of 1967. There had been dire predictions of the party's extinction, after the horrendous Goldwater defeat of 1964. GOP conservatives, liberals, and middle-of-the-roaders had been at each other's throats in the wreckage of that November. But under the leadership of a new national chairman, a pragmatist from Ohio named Ray Bliss, the Republicans rose, phoenix-like, in the off-year election of 1966. They won:

- 47 new seats in the House of Representatives.
- 3 new seats in the Senate.
- 8 new governorships.
- and some 700 seats in the state legislatures—171 more seats than they had lost two years before.

The GOP gain in the House still left the party far short of a majority. But a loose alliance of Republicans and southern Democrats was able to bring more weight to bear on legislation in the first session of the 90th Congress than mere numbers would indicate (see Chapter 2, CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION).

All three of the new Republican Senators attracted national attention. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts became the first Negro United States Senator since Reconstruction. Charles Percy, a personable young businessman from Chicago, had defeated three-time Democratic Senator Paul Douglas. Before the year was very old, the Illinois freshman was being mentioned as a possible GOP Vice-Presidential candidate. The third Republican freshman, former Oregon Governor Mark Hatfield, had been thought of as possible Presidential or Vice-Presidential caliber for some time.

Two of the reelected Republican governors won in a manner that enhanced their possible Presidential chances. Michigan's Governor George Romney, who had been favored to win reelection, scored a smashing 3-to-2 victory, and dragged a number of GOP doubtfuls into office on his coattails.

New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller, whose reelection bid had been seen as a toss-up, not only won but cut the 1962 Democratic margin of 203,000 in New York City to a mere 65,000. He also took three of the city's five boroughs (counties), even though his opponent was a local man.

The new governors had hardly been sworn in when Republican National Committeemen met in New Orleans to assess the results of the previous November and plan the year ahead. Although the first Presidential primary was still 14 months away, names were sifted. Richard Nixon's name was mentioned most frequently. The GOP political pros had always liked him. Romney's name was mentioned frequently, too. He was an imponderable.

Rockefeller, whom the pros had never liked, sat at home steadfastly denying he would seek the Presidential nomination. Very few people believed him. In February, Romney made his first overt move. Still an unannounced candidate, he went on a muscle-flexing tour through several far western and southwestern states and Alaska. He proved that he could pull crowds.

Meanwhile, the new governors in at least four of the states were creating national attention. In Arkansas, Republican Governor Winthrop Rockefeller (brother of New York's governor) was noteworthy if only because he had become the first GOP governor there since Reconstruction.

In California, former movie star Ronald Reagan (pronounce it "ray-gan") took the oath of office at one minute after midnight on New Year's Day, just about the hour his old films usually appear on television. Reagan explained that if the swearing-in had been later in the day, people would have been watching football bowl games on television instead.

In Florida, Claude Kirk became the first Republican governor since 1872. He won because of a bad

split in the Democratic Party there. One of Kirk's first acts in the New Year was the hiring of the services of the nation's third-largest private police force. The force, he said, would be answerable only to him. It would be paid for not out of the state treasury, but by private contributors, whom Kirk refused to name.

And Georgia began the year with no new governor. No candidate had won a majority of the votes the previous November. The Democratic Legislature selected segregationist Lester Maddox, a Democrat, even though his Republican opponent had polled more votes. Maddox had gained national notoriety previously by defying desegregation laws at his restaurant in Atlanta, and by giving his customers ax handles with which to clout Negroes.

Of the new Republican governors, only Reagan was cast into the national political spotlight. Nobody knew just where he stood, though. And experienced politicians, cautious as usual, backed off to take a longer look. On his campaign, Reagan was a conservative, though not of the Goldwater stripe. Still, he had beaten Democratic Governor Edmund Pat Brown by nearly 966,000 votes—and the Reagan name and face had been known nationwide for years, if in a different context. He was someone to be reckoned with in the coming choice of a Presidential ticket.

As the year progressed, Reagan seemed content to play a waiting game in national politics. Rockefeller parried all questions about his possible candidacy, and finally said he would throw his weight behind Romney. Yet, with each statement Rockefeller made on Romney's behalf, observers thought Rockefeller advanced his own cause just a little bit, and hurt Romney's chances just a little bit.

All year long, Romney denied charges he was a stalking horse for Rockefeller. The Michigan governor ranged far and wide on speaking tours. He drew good crowds, but many people thought Romney had trouble deciding where he stood on the issues. Three things hurt him badly: the Mormon Church, of which Romney is an elder, has a policy of not allowing Negroes into any but its most minor positions; Romney's inability to cope with the summer insurrection in Detroit, and his having to call for federal troops; and his statement, on September 4, that he had been "brainwashed" by United States government officials and military men during a visit to Vietnam in 1965. The "brainwashing" comment boomeranged and, by the time Romney *officially* announced his candidacy on November 18, his star was already on the wane—four months before the first Presidential primary. By late fall, few people except Romney's most avid supporters thought he could stay in the race even until that first primary.

Nixon, the old campaigner, spent the year quietly gathering his political strength. He shook hands here and there, sat in on back-room sessions with the pros, and

made speeches only when he thought they would have the most impact. Events were proving that the story of the tortoise and the hare was not entirely fiction.

Rockefeller kept an eye on Nixon and a finger in the political wind. The New York Governor stoutly maintained that he himself was not seeking the Presidency. But many thought they detected a gleam in his eye at the mere mention of the magic word.

While the Republican Party was buoyed on a tide of off-year votes, the Democrats were neither discouraged nor idle. As President Johnson put it, "When a pendulum swings one way as it did in 1964 pretty strongly, it has a tendency to swing back." Obviously, he felt the pendulum could swing back again—toward the Democrats—in 1968.

But the President was greeted, as 1967 began, with a Congress that could not be bent to his will despite large Democratic majorities in both houses. The President's rapport with Congress did not gain at all during the year. His Great Society program was forced into low gear (see Chapters 1, *THE PRESIDENCY*, and 2, *CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION*). The war in Vietnam began to occupy more and more national attention. Leading Democratic senators like J. William Fulbright of Arkansas and Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota outspokenly opposed continuing United States involvement there. Antiwar factions grew larger and more vocal.

During the spring, Mr. Johnson's popularity began to drop. After the midsummer violence in American cities, the polls showed that public confidence in the way the President was doing his job had sunk to a new low of 39 percent (see Chapter 1, *THE PRESIDENCY*). Not since the last month of President Truman's administration, after the Eisenhower sweep over Stevenson, had a President's popularity dropped so sharply in the polls.

Until September of 1967, it had been a foregone conclusion that Mr. Johnson would seek the Democratic Presidential nomination and, as the incumbent, would win it hands down. Now, for the first time, there appeared some doubt he would go unchallenged. Senator McCarthy announced he would enter the Presidential primaries, on a platform opposed to continued American involvement in the war in Vietnam. McCarthy said he was not entering the race to try to wrest the nomination from Mr. Johnson—a seemingly impossible task anyway—but to present the voters with a "Democratic alternative."

With this chink in the Johnson wall, political observers, looked also to Senator Robert Kennedy of New York. Kennedy, no fan of Johnson, said he nevertheless would not risk splitting the party. But few doubted that the younger brother of the late President would get into the race if he thought at some future time that he had a chance.

A third-party candidate loomed. Former Governor

George Wallace of Alabama announced he would run for President on a ticket distinct from the Democratic and Republican labels. Wallace, whose staunchly segregationist policies had backed him into a diminishing corner of the Democratic Party, set out to capitalize on the white backlash vote in both parties. He surprised some observers with the comparative ease with which he gathered tens of thousands of petition signatures to put him on primary ballots in several states.

President Johnson appeared to take these moves in stride. As incumbent President, with all the prerogatives of office, and with all the national party machinery at his fingertips, he could choose his right moment for striking back. But Mr. Johnson, who always worried about his image with the voters even when he didn't have to, now had genuine cause for concern. He made fewer public appearances. When he did speak, though, he was more outgoing, gesturing and waving his arms more often. His backers hailed the "new Johnson style." Even his detractors thought the earthier style made the President come across a little better.

Perhaps the President's most stunning political success in 1967 was his handling of the Mideast crisis (see Chapter 1, *THE PRESIDENCY*). He was roundly applauded for helping avert what could have been a major confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. The public also liked his subsequent meeting with Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin at Glassboro, New Jersey. But neither of these triumphs could begin to erase the conviction among growing numbers of the American electorate that the Vietnamese war was "Johnson's war" and that it was not going well. Much of the electorate—civil rights activists and white backslashers, as well as moderates—thought Mr. Johnson had not handled the summer's urban unrest very well (see Chapter 1, *THE PRESIDENCY*). To many, his appointment of a commission to investigate causes and recommend remedies was not a bold enough step. The President instructed the commission to report its preliminary findings by March, 1968—and its final conclusions the following July. One cynic called the timetable "one report for the convention and one for the campaign."

Then came Election Day, 1967. It was a scattered

off-year election, and perhaps did not prove very much. But the Republicans captured the New Jersey Legislature, the Kentucky governorship, seven mayors' offices in Indiana including Indianapolis, and a number of offices in Pennsylvania. All these Republican gains were ascribed to an anti-LBJ trend.

However, there were some dramatic pluses for the Democrats. Democratic Mayor James Tate of Philadelphia bucked the national trend and was reelected even though his own party had refused to endorse him. In Cleveland, Ohio State Senator Carl Stokes won a narrow victory to become the first elected Negro mayor of any major American city. And in Gary, Indiana, near Chicago, Negro lawyer Richard Hatcher won the mayoralty in a campaign that had bitter racial undercurrents. His own local Democratic party leaders refused to back him.

The Cleveland and Gary elections proved the white backlash did not have quite the snap many people had supposed. If any further proof was needed, it was supplied in Boston. There, Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, who ran on a white backlash platform, was soundly defeated by Democratic Secretary of State Kevin White. He gathered a surprising number of votes among the low-to-middle-income Irish and Italian factory and office workers—the very people to whom Mrs. Hicks's backlash approach was supposed to have appealed. She made a bad political error in calling for a \$10,000 salary for policemen (the symbol of white resistance to Negroes). To the Irish and Italians, that sounded like higher taxes—which would have been worse than racial integration.

Back on the national scene, as 1967 came to a close, President Johnson made his dramatic, 120-hour trip around the world (see Chapter 1, *THE PRESIDENCY*). For all its adroit political showmanship, the whirlwind journey left many people wondering what Mr. Johnson had really accomplished by going to all those places in such a short time.

As the Presidential election year of 1968 arrived, it was clear the Republicans were on the offensive and gathering momentum, while the Democrats were in danger of splitting.

### *ROMNEY WITHDRAWS, NIXON ENTERS*

Richard Nixon, who had already been "running" for the Republican Presidential nomination for a year, officially entered the race February 1, 1968. The Nixon momentum was such that Michigan's Governor George Romney withdrew four weeks later, saying he had not received the support he had expected. The Romney withdrawal came just two weeks before New Hampshire's first-in-the-nation primary.

### *McCARTHY SURPRISES*

New Hampshire, regarded as a rather hawkish state, went for "peace" candidate Senator Eugene McCarthy in a big way in the Democratic Presidential primary on March 12. McCarthy surprised everybody (including, probably, himself) by taking 42 percent of the Democratic vote. President Johnson won 49 percent in a write-in campaign.



### *KENNEDY GETS IN*

Buoyed by McCarthy's success, and emboldened by polls that showed President Johnson's popularity on another downcurve, Senator Robert Kennedy entered the Democratic Presidential race March 16. It was already too late for him to file for the April 3 Wisconsin primary (which McCarthy took by 57-35 after President Johnson's withdrawal), so Kennedy pointed toward head-on clashes with McCarthy in Indiana May 7, and Nebraska May 14.

### *HUMPHREY MAKES IT A THREE-MAN RACE*

Vice-President Humphrey, who had been expected to bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination after Mr. Johnson declined to run March 31, made it official April 27. While the President took no immediate, active role in the race, two Cabinet members came out strongly for Humphrey.

### *ROCKEFELLER FINALLY ENTERS*

New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who had often declared he would not *run* for the Republican Presidential nomination but would accept a *draft*, officially entered the race April 30. Although Rockefeller was starting far behind Nixon, the New Yorker's backers thought their man had a good chance on a second or third ballot at the GOP convention.

### *PRIMARIES: KENNEDY VERSUS McCARTHY—NIXON VERSUS REAGAN*

In the Democratic Presidential Primary in Indiana on May 7, Senator Kennedy drew a strong 42 percent against Senator McCarthy's 27 percent. Governor Roger Branigin, as a favorite son and "stand-in" for Vice-President Humphrey, polled 31 percent. On the Republican side, Nixon was unopposed. Kennedy strengthened his lead by pulling 51 percent in Nebraska's primary on May 14 to McCarthy's 31 percent. Write-ins for Humphrey and President Johnson totalled 14 percent. Nixon, in the Republican primary, rolled up 70 percent but California's Governor Ronald Reagan, without campaigning, had a surprising 22 percent.

### *SENATOR KENNEDY ASSASSINATED*

On June 4, Senator Robert F. Kennedy won the California Democratic Primary with 46 percent to Senator McCarthy's 42 percent. Early June 5, following a victory speech in his Ambassador Hotel headquarters in Los Angeles, Kennedy, passing through a crowded corridor, was shot in the head allegedly by Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, twenty-four, a Jerusalem-born Jordanian resident in Pasadena, California, who was immediately captured. Senator Kennedy died, after head surgery, early June 6th. He was buried June 8 near his slain brother President John F. Kennedy in Arlington National Cemetery. President Johnson declared Sunday, June 9, a day of national mourning, and appointed a commission, headed by Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, to study the cause, occurrence, and control of violence in America.

*Right:* The sign on the wall behind Governor George Romney was prophetic. He's pictured on his way to announce his withdrawal from the Republican Presidential race. Pullout occurred in Washington February 28, two weeks before the first primary.





Top: Senator Robert Kennedy detours from route of Puerto Rican Day parade to greet well-wishers in New York City in June.



Senator Robert F. Kennedy lies mortally wounded on a corridor floor at the Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, shortly after midnight, June 5, moments after he was shot behind the right ear. He had just completed a speech following his victory in the California Democratic Primary. Photo was made by Boris Yaro, a Los Angeles Times photographer who was at Kennedy's side.

Bottom: At a July meeting of the Republican Policy Committee in Washington, strategy is planned by (from left) House GOP Leader Gerald Ford, Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, former President Eisenhower, and Republican National Chairman Ray Bliss.







Left: Senator Eugene McCarthy in Chicago December 3, just before delivering his first campaign speech in quest of the Democratic Presidential nomination. Scene is a conference of anti-Johnson Democrats.



Right: Mrs. Lurleen Wallace takes the oath of office as Governor of Alabama. In succeeding her husband George Wallace (right), Mrs. Wallace became only the third woman governor in United States history. She died of cancer on May 7, 1968.

Below: The first elected Negro mayor of any major American city, Carl Stokes of Cleveland, acknowledges cheers on victory night. With Stokes is his wife Shirley.



Right: Kevin White (center) wins the Boston mayoralty, defeating Mrs. Louise Day Hicks. On hand to congratulate White are Massachusetts Governor John Volpe (left) and Senator Edward Kennedy.

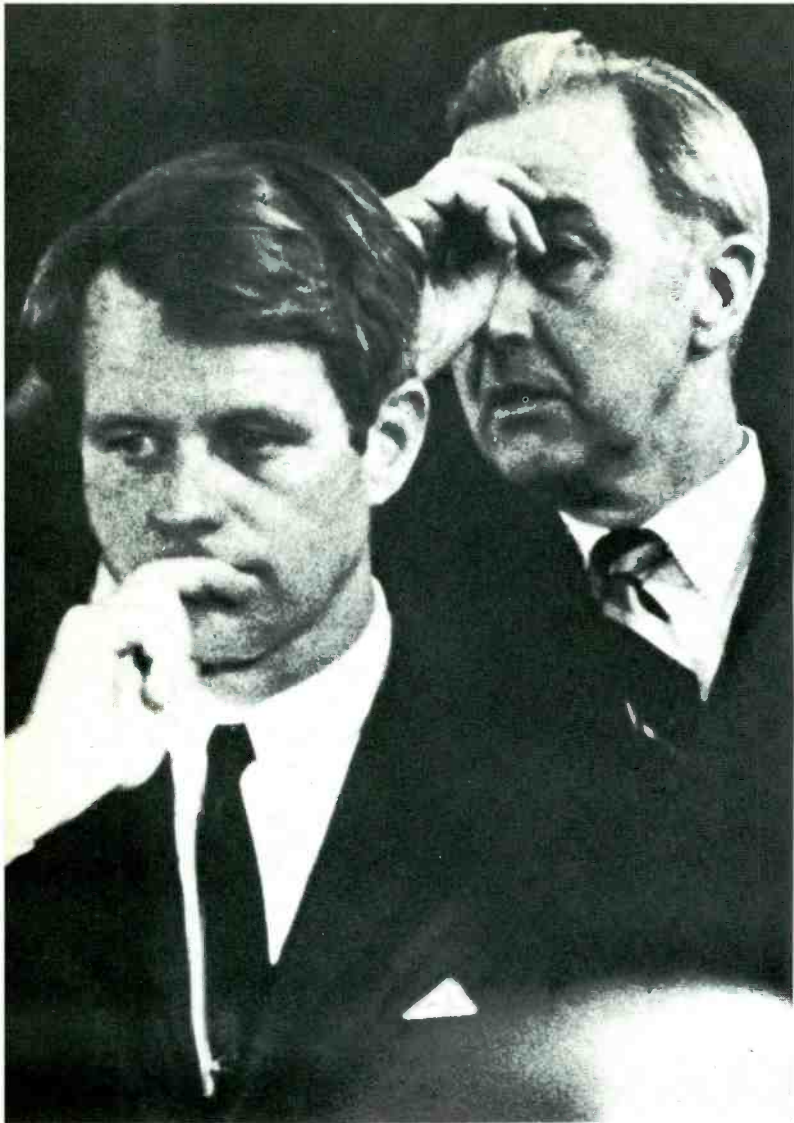


Below: Florida Governor Claude Kirk with black-power advocate H. Rap Brown (wearing glasses, left). Kirk crashed a Jacksonville black-power rally, and wound up sharing the podium with Brown, whom he welcomed to Florida. "But," said Kirk, "I don't want to hear any talk about guns."



Right: In April, 1968, Richard Nixon calls for a moratorium on criticism of President Johnson's Vietnam war policies, in attempt to prevent any possible undermining of peace efforts.





Left: Senator Robert Kennedy and Senator Eugene McCarthy at funeral of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in Atlanta on April 9.

Below: Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York grasps the hand of his wife, Happy, just after telling a news conference on April 30 that he is an active candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination.



Left: With his wife Muriel at his side, Vice-President Hubert Humphrey shares the ovation at a Washington luncheon on April 27, 1968, when he made his official entry into the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Opposite: Senator Robert Kennedy enters the Democratic Presidential race. Announcement came in Washington, and on nationwide television, March 18, 1968. His wife Ethel sits at right.



Above: For the umpteenth time, New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller tells a news conference he will not be a candidate for the GOP Presidential nomination. This reply to the hot question came in March, 1968. A month later, Rockefeller officially entered the race.

Left: Two rival Republican Presidential possibilities meet, smile, and embrace. At the time of this December meeting at a Republican luncheon in New York, one, Governor Nelson Rockefeller (left) was avowedly uninterested, and the other, former Vice-President Richard Nixon, had yet to announce.





Exhausted Marines rest inside a church turned hospital and morgue during an enemy mortar attack in May.

## 5. Vietnam

UNITED STATES FIGHTING FORCES in Vietnam surged over the 500,000 mark in 1967 and assumed the major combat role there. Washington and other world capitals repeatedly heard signals from Hanoi, but could not tell whether they were for peace or propaganda. Antiwar groups throughout the United States became larger, more active, and—on occasion—unruly. Neither victory nor peace seemed anywhere in sight.

The year began in the midst of a brief holiday truce. United States bombing of North Vietnam was halted during the cease-fire. But there was no corresponding slackening of enemy resupply activities along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, which winds through Laos and Cambodia into South Vietnam. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, speaking for the Washington administration, cited enemy resupply and terrorism during the truce as further evidence that North Vietnam did not really want peace negotiations.

Early in January, elements of a 4,000-man United States Marine task force landed in the Mekong Delta, south of Saigon. It was the first American combat unit ever committed to the Fourth Corps or extreme southern area. With the landing, a new phase of the war began: the gradual assumption by the United States of the burden of defeating the enemy.

Peace feelers continued to be sent from Washington and Hanoi. But their number gradually diminished as the year progressed, and the “peace” announcements became more warlike. There was a reemphasis on military resources.

In March, Democratic Senator Robert Kennedy of New York proposed a bombing halt as part of a three-point peace plan. Secretary Rusk replied that there was nothing new in the Kennedy proposals, and that Hanoi had previously rejected similar peace overtures.

Toward the end of March, President Johnson flew to Guam and conferred with South Vietnamese leaders. They discussed the conduct of the war, and the need

for elected, representative government in South Vietnam. While the President was on Guam, North Vietnamese Premier Ho Chi Minh rejected a previously undisclosed peace proposal sent by Mr. Johnson.

One week later, a peace plan offered by U Thant was revealed. It called for a standstill truce, preliminary talks, and a reconvening of the Geneva conference on Vietnam, held in 1954. The United States and South Vietnam accepted the Thant plan, with reservations. North Vietnam rejected it.

By May, Secretary Rusk was able to list 28 peace bids spurned by Hanoi. Rusk said the enemy’s repeated “noes” showed where the responsibility for continuing the war lay.

At the same time, General William Westmoreland, the United States military commander in Vietnam, called for a further buildup of American troops. The total of American fighting forces in Vietnam reached 427,000 in March, and the call for more recruits reverberated at home in intensified debate on the war. It was argued at all levels—from Congress to the man in the street.

Antidraft demonstrations and draft-card burnings became more frequent. Reports of the fighting were disquieting: United States troops engaged in every part of South Vietnam, higher casualty tolls, and little apparent progress. In six years of American involvement in the war there, until the beginning of 1967, slightly more than 6,600 Americans had been killed. Before 1967 was over, that figure had more than doubled.

In the midst of demonstrations and doubts concerning the war, U Thant expressed the fear that the Vietnamese conflict was the “initial phase of World War III.” Most world leaders thought the Soviet Union might be the key to peace. President Johnson, at his June meeting with Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin (see Chapter 1, THE PRESIDENCY) discussed Vietnam. But there was no agreement. Earlier in the year, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson had journeyed to Moscow.

Afterward, he said he and Kosygin had come "within an eyelash" of delivering their allies to the conference table. What was lacking, said Wilson, was "one single, simple act of trust." Presumably, he meant by either side.

The war was becoming more costly in money as well as manpower. The new defense budget allocated \$30 billion for the fighting in Vietnam. President Johnson in January had asked a 6 percent surcharge on income taxes (see Chapters 1, *THE PRESIDENCY*, and 2, *CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION*) to raise more money for the war. In August, he raised his sights to 10 percent, and announced that United States fighting forces in Vietnam would be increased to 525,000 men by June, 1968. But Congress refused to act on the income tax request; there was grave discussion over the escalation.

In the fighting itself, the increasing commitment of large-scale American ground forces occasionally forced the enemy to abandon guerrilla-type warfare and fight stand-up battles. United States troops invariably won those battles and inflicted heavy casualties. But the enemy always seemed able to refill his ranks. His infantry weapons became more plentiful, and more sophisticated. Many of them came from the Soviet Union, and from Red China. Terror raids on towns and villages and United States military installations inflicted fearful tolls from heavy mortars and long-range rockets. Their greater reach made possible attack from concealed positions miles from targets.

The American training of South Vietnamese government troops progressed to the point where the local soldiers often acquitted themselves well when fighting alongside United States troops. When the South Vietnamese fought alone, they did not do so well.

The decision was made to engage many of the South Vietnamese units in the pacification of the countryside. Much money and effort were poured into the program. And at any given time, it went well or it went badly, largely depending on which officials you talked with about it. Pacification of an area seemed to work really well only when United States troops were nearby.

On April 1, a new South Vietnamese Constitution had gone into effect, and national elections were to be held at the end of the summer. There was hope in Washington that the South Vietnamese people would have more faith in an elected government in Saigon, and that the United States would be less open to the charge that the Saigon regime was a Washington puppet.

The pacification program was pushed harder in advance of the elections, so that enough people would be able to vote to provide some sort of consensus. Campaigning for the national assembly seats was spirited. The newly enfranchised villagers seemed to enjoy their role, and they devoted considerable thought to their choice of candidates. On election day, September 3, about 80 percent of eligible voters cast ballots—a re-

markable percentage in view of repeated Viet Cong terrorism designed to disrupt the election.

Premier Nguyen Cao Ky (pronounce it "nwin cow key"), a military man, had been set to oppose civilian Nguyen Van Thieu ("tee-you") for President. But Ky joined, or was persuaded to join, the Thieu ticket as Vice-Presidential candidate. The Thieu-Ky ticket swept the balloting. For the first time in history, South Vietnam acquired a leader who could lay some claim to being a representative of the people.

By this time, the focus of the fighting had shifted northward. On August 11, United States commanders extended air raids over North Vietnam to within 10 miles of the Chinese border. The major port city of Haiphong with its industrial complex was hit repeatedly. Other raids, some of them at rooftop level to foil radar interception, ripped Hanoi. Secondary targets were pounded often. The two rail links with China, running northeast and northwest from Hanoi, were frequent targets. Tracks could be repaired with relative ease, so American pilots went after railroad bridges instead. The loss of American planes to Soviet-built North Vietnamese surface-to-air (SAM) missiles and conventional anti-aircraft fire increased steadily. Before the end of the year, the number of United States planes downed over the north had reached 700.

On the ground, as summer became fall, the heaviest fighting was concentrated in the First Corps area, which comprised the five northernmost provinces of South Vietnam, just below the demilitarized zone. Dug-in positions and heavier, more conventional weapons replaced guerrilla warfare there. B-52 bombers were called in to pulverize concealed enemy gun emplacements just north of the DMZ. Just below it, across the narrow neck of the country, a defense line was established. It was anchored on the east by Dong Ha, and on the west by Khe Sanh. Both posts were held by United States Marines.

Here at home, opinion against the war stiffened. Some people opposed it on moral grounds. Others claimed to be pacifists, opposed to all wars. Still others thought the United States was not winning, and they could see no sense in continuing. On October 16, hundreds of thousands of protesters against American involvement in the war in Vietnam demonstrated in cities from coast to coast. Many of the younger ones tried to turn in their draft cards. Others tried to block induction centers. The largest single demonstration converged on Washington, and tried to move inside the Pentagon. Military police repulsed the protesters, more by a show of force than by force itself. The general unruliness of the throng in the nation's capital created a backlash.

General Westmoreland and the United States ambassador to South Vietnam, Ellsworth Bunker, were called home in November for consultations with President Johnson. They told the American people that

prospects for victory were brighter than ever before, but that the struggle would be neither short nor easy. General Westmoreland went back to Vietnam with an Administration promise of more troops.

At the end of November, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara announced his resignation, effective in January. McNamara said little more than that he was leaving the Pentagon to become president of the World Bank. But the resignation touched off speculation that McNamara had been at odds with President Johnson over White House orders that continuously escalated the war. However, neither ever gave any hint of discord. McNamara had been Defense Secretary seven years—longer than any other man. He had welded the nation's armed forces into virtually a single coordinated unit. Gone were the old interservice rivalries and budget bickering. The brass knew, if they had never known before, that a civilian was running the Pentagon, and running it with a firm hand. McNamara left an indelible imprint on the defense establishment.

Also in November, there was an apparent softening of the Administration's conditions for peace with Hanoi. UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg stated unequivocally that the United States would be willing to have the Viet-

cong's political parent body, the National Liberation Front, take part in any reconvened Geneva conference, or be present in any discussion of the Vietnamese question before the UN Security Council.

As with so many other peace feelers, there was no reply from Hanoi. There was a feeling that the North Vietnamese were banking on anti-Administration sentiment among the American people, and waiting for the 1968 Presidential election, in the hope that there would be a change of administrations in Washington. The new man in the White House, so the reasoning was supposed to go, would possibly adopt a softer line toward Hanoi. But President Johnson declared that any such thinking in North Vietnam would be "a serious misjudgment."

The year in Vietnam ended as it had begun, with a New Year truce. But prospects for peace appeared no brighter than they had at the beginning of 1967. In the intervening twelve months, American fighting forces there surpassed the United States total in the Korean War. Casualties increased weekly. At home, opposition to the fighting mounted steadily. General Westmoreland said, "We are winning a war of attrition." But many people simply did not believe him.



#### *TRUCE "WORST EVER"*

The 36-hour New Year truce over January 1, 1968, was described by United States military authorities as the "worst truce ever," with 170 enemy violations. Twenty-seven Americans and 45 South Vietnamese were killed. The enemy lost 533 dead. Immediately after the truce, stepped-up enemy attacks resulted in a record (until then) weekly enemy death toll of 2,968 (week of December 30–January 6).

#### *UNITED STATES CASUALTIES MOUNT*

Early in January, the United States command announced that 9,353 Americans had been killed in Vietnam in 1967. The South Vietnamese lost 11,135. The enemy lost 90,401. Total United States deaths in Vietnam, January 1, 1961–December 31, 1967: 15,997. By early March, 1968, after the enemy's Lunar New Year (or *Tet*) offensive, total United States troops killed in seven years of war stood at 19,670 dead and 120,131 wounded. Total United States casualties were higher than in the Korean War, though battle *deaths* were lower by more than 12,000.

#### *ENEMY LAUNCHES "TET" OFFENSIVE: HEAVIEST OF THE WAR*

On the first day of the Lunar New Year truce, January 30, North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops launched their largest offensive of the war. Major assaults were made against 30 of the 44 provincial capitals of South Vietnam, as well as district towns, and United States and South Vietnamese airfields and bases. The bloodiest fighting was in Saigon and in Hue, the old imperial capital in the northern part of South Vietnam. On January 31, an enemy suicide squad invaded the United States Embassy compound in Saigon and held out for six hours.

North Vietnamese troops took Hue on January 31. Allied troops retook the city, street by street, in 24 days of fierce fighting. But the enemy held out in the walled Citadel of Hue until February 24. In addition to military casualties, the battle for Hue took the lives of an estimated 3,600 civilians. Thirteen thousand of the city's 145,000 people were left homeless.



Throughout South Vietnam, the Lunar New Year offensive brought 350,000 refugees streaming from battle areas. On March 6, the United States command reported that 6,000 allied soldiers, including 2,000 Americans, had been killed in five weeks of heavy fighting. Enemy battle deaths were estimated at 50,000.

#### *CLIFFORD SUCCEEDS McNAMARA*

On January 19, Clark Clifford, sixty-one-year-old Washington lawyer and adviser to Presidents Truman and Kennedy, was nominated as Secretary of Defense, to succeed Robert McNamara, who had resigned the preceding fall to head the World Bank. Clifford was quickly confirmed by the Senate.

#### *ABRAMS TO SUCCEED WESTMORELAND*

On March 22, General Creighton Abrams was named by President Johnson to succeed General William Westmoreland as United States military commander in Vietnam. The move was to become effective July 1, when Westmoreland returned to the Pentagon as Army Chief of Staff, to succeed the retiring General Harold Johnson.

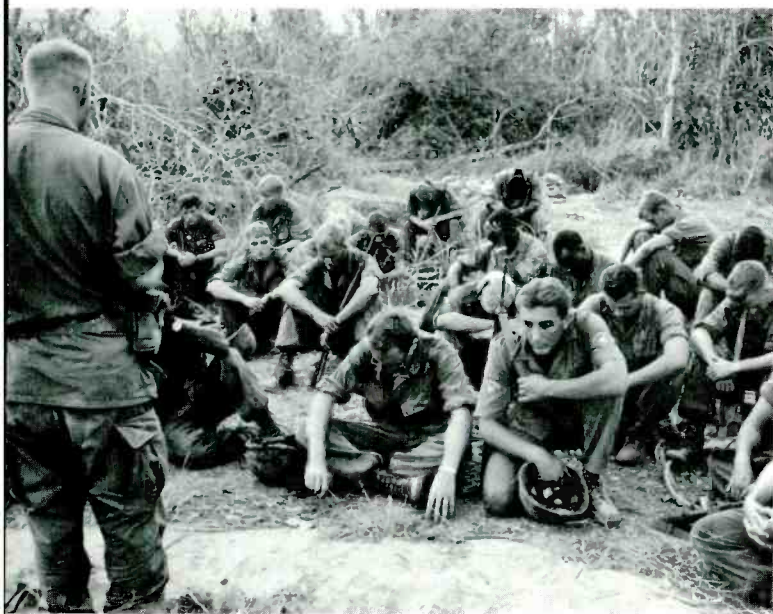
#### *PRELIMINARY PEACE TALKS INITIATED*

Hanoi announced early in January that it "would" start peace talks when the bombing of North Vietnam "and all other acts of war" were halted. Previously, the word had been "could." Peace signals bounced back and forth for nearly three months until, on March 31, President Johnson announced a "unilateral" halt to the bombing of the North beyond the 20th parallel. On April 4, Hanoi agreed to open direct contacts as a first step toward ending the fighting. A dispute over a site followed. Several were mentioned: Pnomhpenh, capital of Cambodia, New Delhi, Warsaw, and Paris. There followed a month of trying to decide where to hold the talks. Finally Paris was agreed on as a site, and initial talks began there on May 10 at the Hotel Majestic. W. Averell Harriman was America's Chief Negotiator and Xuan Thuy, a veteran North Vietnamese diplomat and former Foreign Minister headed his country's team.



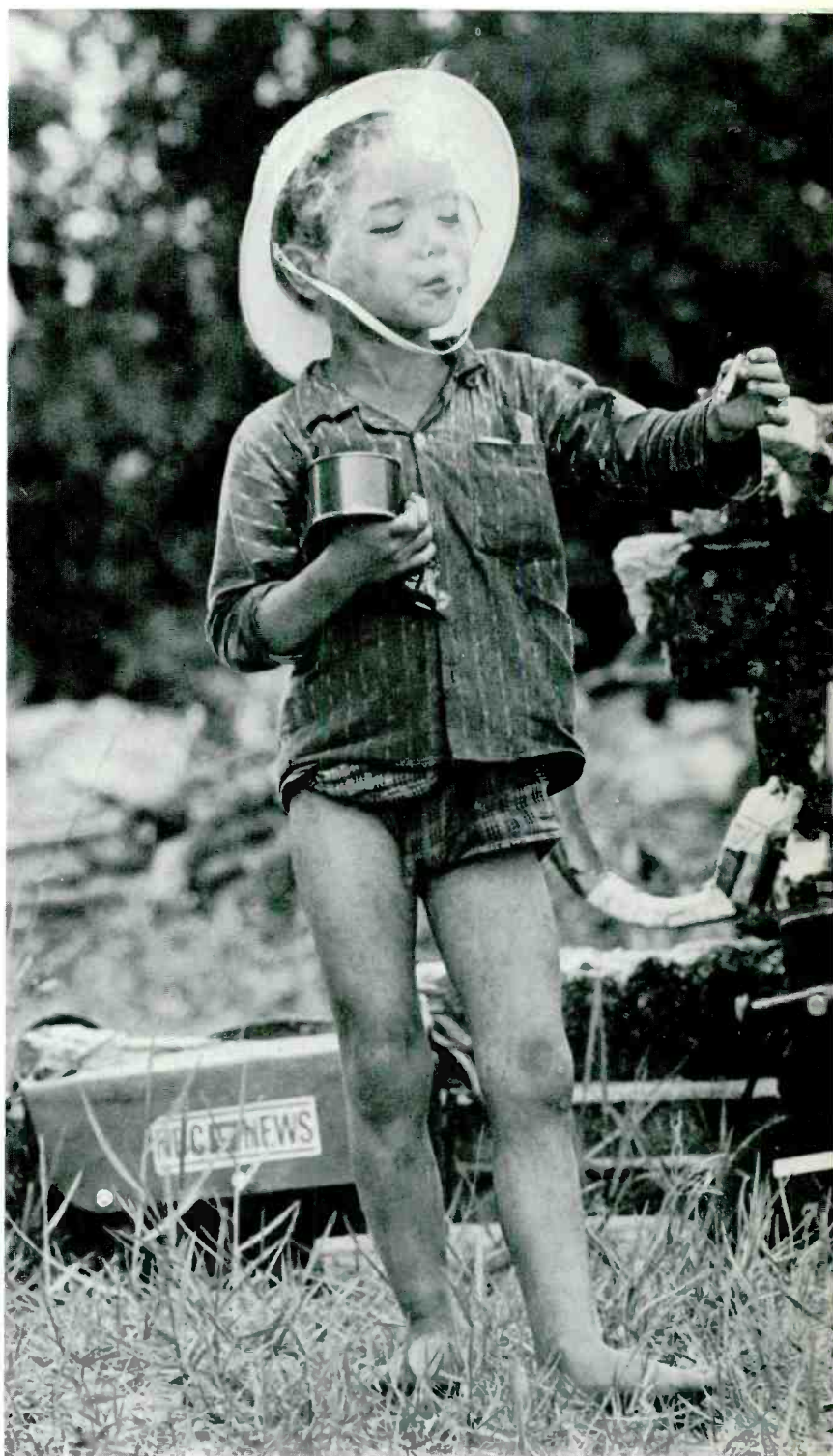


*Top left:* Medic James Callahan of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, applies mouth-to-mouth resuscitation to a wounded man.

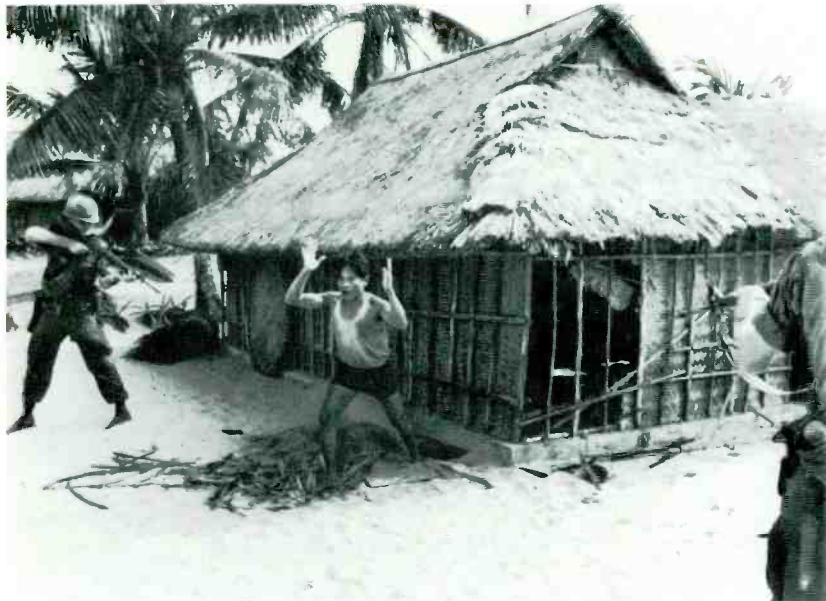


*Center left:* United States Army men of the Third Brigade, Fourth Infantry Division, pray after one of the most furious actions of the war. They decimated an enemy regiment near Saigon in March, killing 423 of the enemy. Americans lost 30 dead, 109 wounded. A Communist China news agency issued the same photo, but without the chaplain, as showing "despondent captured Americans."

*Opposite:* Peasants of Quang Ngai province headed for resettlement trot toward helicopter coming in to landing site marked by a smoke grenade. Their village, held by Viet Cong, was destroyed by United States air strike.



*Above:* A young Vietnamese emulates his elders, topping off a C-ration meal with a cigarette given him by a United States Marine.



Left: Typical enemy tactic in Vietnam: the "spider hole" from which this Viet Cong is emerging at the side of the hut. G.I.'s had to be constantly alert for such tactics.

Below: United States Marine dead are piled high on a tank near Cor Thien, in July, after fierce hand-to-hand fighting with North Vietnamese troops.



Below: At one of several top-level White House meetings during 1967, President Johnson confers in July with General William Westmoreland, United States military commander in Vietnam, and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara.



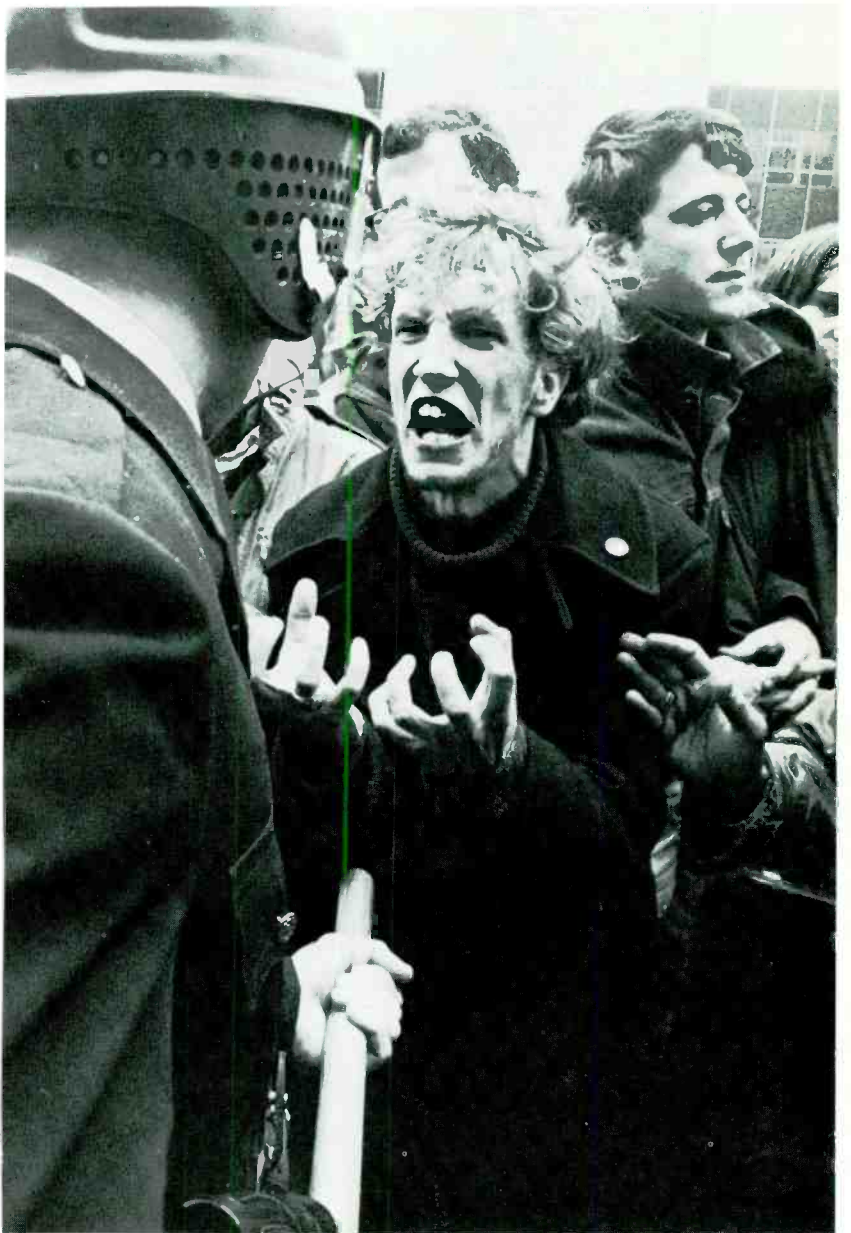


Above: Dr. Benjamin Spock blocks the steps into New York's Whitehall Street Induction Center as part of the December week-long "stop the draft" demonstrations. He was one of 264 persons arrested at the building.



Top right: Army troops throw back antiwar protesters at an entrance to the Pentagon during the mass demonstration in October.

Below: Captain Howard Levy, thirty-year-old Army doctor, is led away after a court martial at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, sentenced him to three years in prison in June. Captain Levy, a dermatologist, refused to teach Vietnam-bound G.I.'s.



Above: "Dirty Fascist!" screams this enraged University of Wisconsin student during an antiwar protest in October. Dozens of people, including policemen, were injured in a melee. Police used riot clubs and tear gas.





Top left: Nguyen Van Thieu takes the oath of office as elected President of South Vietnam in Saigon at the end of October. Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky is at right.

Top right: A Yale University Divinity School student surrenders his draft card during chapel service. He was one of a number of students at various campuses who turned in their draft cards as expressions of nonsupport for the war in Vietnam.

Left: MP's return enemy fire inside United States Embassy compound during the Lunar New Year offensive at the end of January, 1968. In foreground lie two United States soldiers killed during the surprise attack by Viet Cong.



Left: On one of many Administration inspection tours of Vietnam, General Maxwell Taylor (left) and Clark Clifford (holding hat) are met by Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker (in light suit) and the United States military commander in Vietnam, General William Westmoreland. Saigon, June, 1967.



Communist source picture claims it shows rubble being cleared from North Vietnamese port city of Haiphong after United States air raid in January, 1968. Photo was supplied by leftist Japanese news agency, Nhon Denpa. Attacks on this area ended after President Johnson's March 31 bombing ban.

Chester Bowles confers with Cambodia's ruling Prince Norodom Sihanouk (left), and Premier Son Sann over Communist forces' use of Cambodian territory as sanctuary from Vietnamese war. Meeting took place in Phnompenh, Cambodia, in January, 1968.



General Creighton Abrams, appointed in April, 1968, as successor to General William C. Westmoreland, commander of United States Forces in Vietnam. Abrams, West Point '36, was an outstanding tank commander in World War II.





*Jack Paxton from Louisville, Kentucky, worked on a Paducah, Kentucky, TV station as a newsman where his work attracted attention leading to an NBC Fellowship for study at Columbia University's School of Journalism. On graduation he joined NBC News as a reporter until he was assigned to Saigon to cover the Vietnam War in early 1967. He rejoined the New York staff at year's end.*

## No Light at the End of the Tunnel

**Jack Paxton**

NBC News Correspondent

THROUGHOUT 1967, as it had for some years, the Administration proclaimed that "light can be seen at the end of the tunnel." Yet allied military progress was doubtful, allied political progress invisible, and the South Vietnamese were as corrupt and lethargic as ever. Growing evidence seemed to point toward negotiation as the only prospect for a reasonably quick settlement.

During one period of the summer of 1967 there was virtually no significant ground fighting. At that time one correspondent went around telling people the war was over so why didn't they go home? But after some weeks, just as the correspondent and everyone else expected, the enemy initiated a series of large-scale battles. No one really had thought the war was over just because there was no fighting. The situation simply was then as it had been throughout the war. The allies either wanted to fight but couldn't find the enemy—or they were forced to react to him.

In the spring of 1967, the North Vietnamese decided there should be war around Khe Sanh and Hill 881 in the north. In the fall, the Viet Cong decided there should be war in the highlands along the Cambodian border—at Loc Ninh and Dak To and Bu Dop. At the end of the year the Communists began their unprecedented offensive against the major cities.

In 1967, as usual, the allies fought at the will and convenience of the enemy.

In addition, the Communists became better armed in 1967. They had the excellent Chinese-made OK-47 automatic rifle and many more rockets and mortars than ever before. They continued to suffer heavy casualties but with the new arms they were able to inflict more casualties.

Even so, in the big battles the allies generally killed far more than they lost. In the conventional military sense, they seemed at least to be holding their own or possibly, if casualty figures determine victories, to be winning. But the allies were on the defensive, and the enemy sometimes won psychological and political victories in a war that was largely psychological and political—and that almost certainly must have a political, rather than military, end.

What could we honestly say then about progress in the political war, that so-called "other war" that probably would determine the outcome? Were the Americans or the South Vietnamese really making headway with what was officially called "pacification"? Was our side really winning (again official terminology) "the hearts and minds of the peasants"?

Or was 1967 the time to make the "hearts and minds of the peasants" our foremost concern? At the end of the year I was convinced we had not yet won the hearts and minds of the South Vietnamese government and army.

The southerners did not vote in a new government in their September election. They merely retained in power Nguyen Van Thieu, Nguyen Cao Ky, and the other generals each had gathered around him. In short, the South Vietnamese elected the same military junta that had held power for more than two years. It was a military junta that wrote its own election laws, that censored the press, and that campaigned unfairly.

Thieu and Ky prevented serious contenders from opposing them in September. Most notably, "Big" Minh, the exiled general who once briefly led the country, was prevented from reentering Vietnam.

In the last weeks before the election, Ky diverted the army's psychological warfare sections for campaigning. The military teams that were supposed to be out winning peasants and Viet Cong to the government were in fact hiring musicians and showing movies that glorified Mr. Ky.

The election day show itself was impressive. It was effectively administered and voting was orderly. Security was heavy and terrorism light. Inspection teams from foreign countries, which showed up a day or two in advance, were satisfied that the election was fairly run. But what did it all mean?

Thieu and Ky had made frequent trips to the countryside. After the election this stopped. Corruption in the government remained as widespread as ever; perhaps

more so because Americans had given officials more money with which to corrupt one another.

The South Vietnamese army was larger, close to 700,000, but it was not approaching any uniformity of effectiveness. It did not appear capable of taking over major defenses on its own. South Vietnamese units got little news coverage mainly because newsmen were afraid the soldiers would run from a tough fight. That fear was empirically justified.

There seemed little likelihood that the South Vietnamese army would soon grow much bigger. A Presidential order lowering the draft age from twenty to eighteen brought an outcry from possibly more South Vietnamese than had ever united on a single cause. One congressman told the National Assembly he was not going to let his eighteen-year-old son "go to war for the Americans."

As far as the Vietnamese countryside was concerned, the estimate I trusted most came from a veteran Vietnamese cameraman, Vo Huynh. He had covered the war for seven years and had a remarkable insight into the thinking of Vietnamese of several persuasions. Vo guessed that only 2 million of the 17 million people in South Vietnam were strongly committed to the American involvement.

The official line notwithstanding, at the end of 1967 there had been no social progress or land reform on a meaningful scale. South Vietnamese hospitals and schools either had not been built or had not endured satisfactorily. Seventy percent of the peasants living in the lowlands and the Mekong Delta lived on ground owned by absentee landlords who collected up to half the land's produce in rent.

Although official statistics showed two-thirds of the people lived under government control, there were varying degrees of control. At night, even in so-called secure areas, much of that control reverted back to the Viet Cong. Most of the 12,000 hamlet chiefs in South Vietnam were still afraid to sleep in their own hamlets. I suspected that the government statistics on security were compiled in the daytime—and that they might have been more accurate if gathered after dark.

My assessment, obviously, is less than optimistic. Some would even say it is not accurate. At the risk of contributing to their argument, I would point out that generalizations about Vietnam, mine as well as others', are even more dangerous than generalizations on reasonably comprehensible subjects. In 1967, the northern part of the country was different from the south. One province was different from another, and so was one valley and one village. Adding to that an isolated population, which over the years had grown uncommunicative and uninterested, made the gathering of meaningful statistics a challenge, and possibly not a worthwhile one.

Yet some criterion was needed for judgment. So in 1967 the American government continued to gather

statistics in South Vietnam and the American citizenry continued to doubt their validity.

At the end of the year there were nearly half a million Americans in Vietnam. How did they feel about their own lot?

In the United States one heard that the morale of the American soldier in Vietnam was good. One might have thought, as I did before I went to Vietnam, that the United States military spread that word and possibly exaggerated it. Not so. The morale of the American units in Vietnam is high.

The average American combat infantryman in Vietnam is eighteen to twenty-one years old. He is likely to be above average physically and probably has a high school education, but not much more.

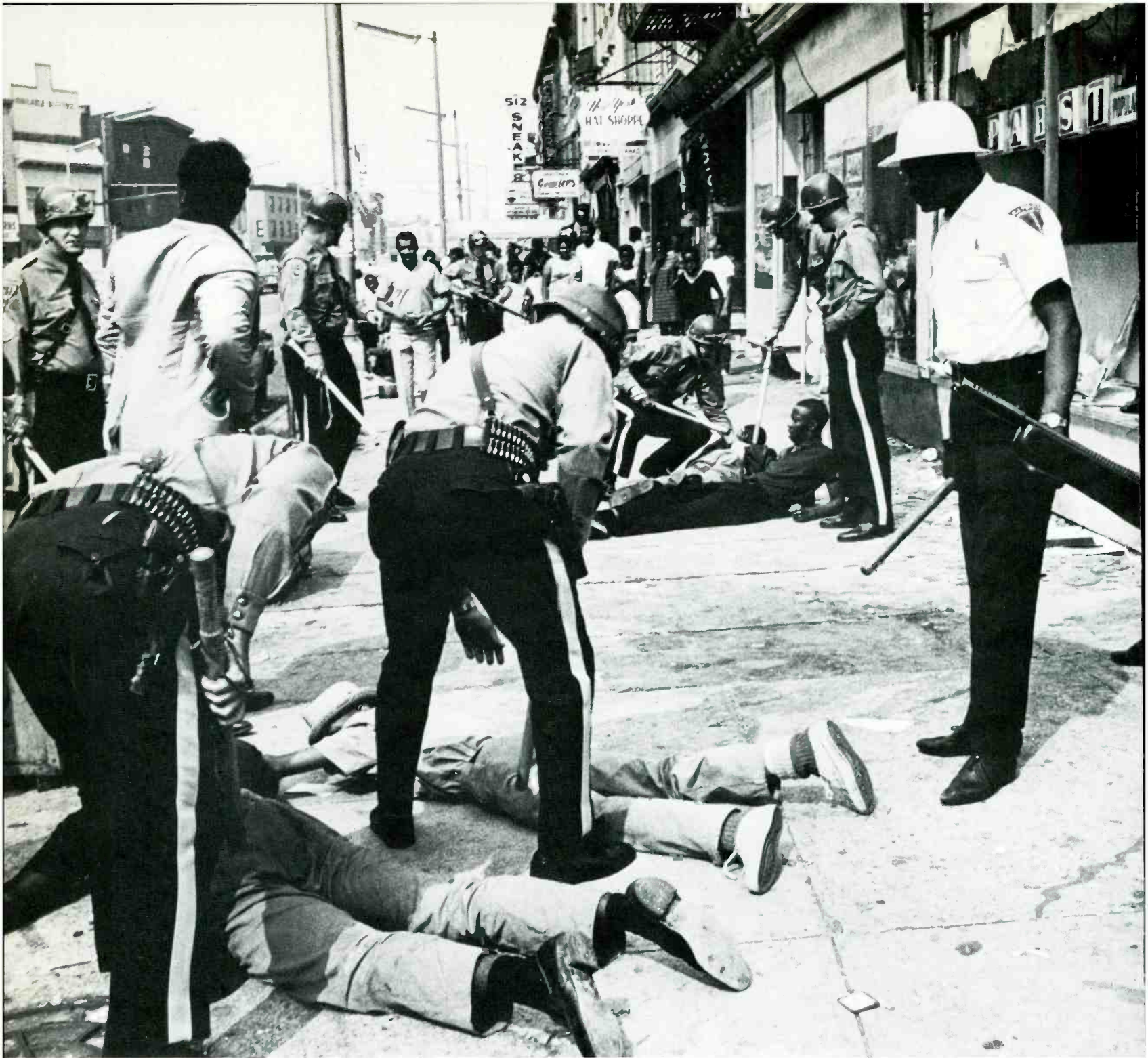
That infantryman, the foot soldier, the "grunt" as he calls himself, is the real hero of the war. He is the hero, but not because he is fighting for an ideal of which he is deeply conscious. Most of those soldiers who do the dirtiest work of the war do not seem certain why they are in it. Many say they are fighting for the freedom of the Vietnamese people or to stop Communism, but they often seem to be repeating statements they have only heard and not thought about. They lack the conviction of men stating their own conclusions. When they talk about abstract ideas or national issues, many of them sound like teen-agers, which in fact they are.

Yet when those same youths are on the battlefield they are men. They are confronted with challenges that they could not have imagined, and they rise to them. Their faces reflect that they have learned new things about what life can be. They even, if such a thing is possible, become used to living in war. And, incredibly, their spirit remains high.

In Vietnam at the close of six years of American military involvement, the unity of purpose, the sense of national backing, the idealism of World War II had faded. Nor did the Vietnam War carry the threat of imminent danger to the folks back home of the earlier war. Still, the United States soldiers in Vietnam went resolutely, repeatedly into battle. With a sense of duty as perhaps their only incentive, they undertook a terrifying task and took pride in the way that they did it.

Our soldiers in Vietnam did not seem to be deeply affected by the rising level of antiwar protest in the United States. They had clear-cut problems closer at hand, and although most of the soldiers did not like the antiwar movement, they did not spend much time thinking about it. Probably not as much time as the Viet Cong, for the rising dissent obviously gave the enemy solace. He saw evidence that he was winning the war the only place he thought he could win it, and where he won the French Indochina War: with the voters at home. Some people cited that as reason to stifle dissent in this country. Antiwar protest indeed assumed some odious forms but in most cases, if not clearly illegal, it was tolerated.





National Guardsmen and State Police search looters on Newark's Springfield Avenue during height of rioting and looting there, July 14.

## 6. Civil Rights: The Ghetto Revolt

THE EMPHASIS in the Negro fight for rights shifted in 1967 from evolution to revolution. Restraint was replaced by rebellion, and thirty cities across the country reeled under the combined impacts of sniper fire, looting, and arson. Whole sections of Detroit, Michigan, and Newark, New Jersey, were laid waste. In the rubble, a shocked and outraged public groped for answers.

In a very real sense, the revolt had been building for centuries, ever since the first Negroes were brought from Africa in chains. Later, Negroes became the ca-boose on the long train of the disadvantaged that had threaded through America's cities for a hundred years. Immigrant housing, frankly built as tenements in the early 1900's and before, deteriorated into rat-infested ghettos for ever-increasing numbers of Negroes who migrated to the big northern cities from the rural South. Disenchantment set in, then bitterness, finally a smoldering resentment. Ironically, the anger was fed by the tremendous gains in civil rights that Negroes had been making since the early 1950's. A race held down in plantation lands for hundreds of years, and now locked in big-city ghettos suddenly realized it could get a share of the pie, and it wanted its *full* share.

Recent "long hot summers" had seen riot and ruin in Los Angeles' rundown Watts, and Cleveland's Negro ghetto, Hough (pronounced "huff"). But most Americans, in other cities, comforted themselves with the thought, "it can't happen *here*."

Then, with the rapidity of lights blinking on a telephone switchboard, Negroes took to the streets in Des Moines and Cedar Rapids, Iowa; West Fresno, California; Erie, Pennsylvania; Durham, North Carolina; Birmingham, Alabama; Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, and Nyack, New York; Hartford, New Haven, and New Britain, Connecticut, and more than a dozen other cities.

It was almost impossible to predict the scene of the next outbreak of violence because there was no pattern—save one of revolt. There was trouble in Minneapolis,

where the Negro population is only 2 percent. But there was less trouble in Washington, D.C., where Negroes make up 63 percent of the population. The most trouble of all came in Detroit, where one of the most enlightened city administrations in the nation had created a "Human Resources Development" program and given it \$27 million to spend in 1967 to provide adult and youth job centers, medical clinics, a neighborhood youth corps, and aid to small business in poverty areas.

The summer of violence did not involve all the nation's Negroes, nor even a majority. But it involved more Negroes than ever before. Frustration fed the fires of the Negro revolt. It had been evident for some time that the drive for Negro rights had slowed. Legal parity with whites had been substantially achieved in the civil-rights acts of 1964 and 1965. Many of the white liberals who had been attracted to the Negro cause in the early 1960's dropped out, because they thought the major work had been done—now they sought new targets. A white "backlash" had been building and, by early 1967, it was apparent that the first session of the 90th Congress was conservative, not likely to produce any meaningful civil-rights legislation (see Chapter 2, CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION). The areas that needed the most work—jobs, housing, and education—were elusive. In these areas, "now" could be translated more easily as "eventually" or even "never."

In this atmosphere, a spark could set off a conflagration. The spark in Newark in mid-July was the arrest of a Negro taxicab driver. Rampaging Negroes besieged the police station and demonstrated at City Hall. Rocks and firebombs were thrown. Violence and looting broke out in the Negro slum area. Local police could not restore order. Mayor Hugh Addonizio called in state troopers, then appealed for the National Guard. As the Guardsmen rolled into Newark, the central ward of New Jersey's largest city became a flaming battleground, where snipers zeroed in on their victims by the

light of fires set by arsonists. The section was cordoned off, a curfew clamped on. The troops moved in and cleared the area block by block. When it was over, days later, 11 people had been killed, 600 wounded or injured. Whole blocks had been ravaged, and damage ran into millions of dollars.

A pall still hung over Newark when black-power delegates to a previously scheduled National Unity Conference assembled in the city. H. Rap Brown urged the gathering to "wage guerrilla war on the white man." And a Black Nationalist leader from Los Angeles, Ron Karenga, declared, "Everybody knows Whitey's a devil. The question is what to do about it?" Notable by their absence were such moderate Negro leaders as the N.A.A.C.P.'s Roy Wilkins, the National Urban League's Whitney Young, Jr., and the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

As the black-power meeting ended in Newark, violence broke out late in July in Detroit. Subsequent investigation could find no direct link between the two. The Michigan situation quickly became an insurrection—a "rising up against civil or political authority." Sniping, looting, and arson made a no man's land of a wide area. Mayor Jerome Cavanagh, heeding the lesson of Newark, immediately called for the National Guard. Seven thousand Michigan Guardsmen, with armored cars and tanks, rumbled into Detroit. But they could not suppress the uprising. The nation's fifth-largest metropolis looked like a war-torn city when Governor George Romney was forced to appeal for federal troops (see Chapter 1, *THE PRESIDENCY*). President Johnson ordered an airlift of paratroopers, as he pleaded with "all our people" to help put down rioting and lawlessness. The President also dispatched diplomatic troubleshooter Cyrus Vance as his personal emissary to the embattled city. In block-by-block, house-to-house fighting—scenes reminiscent of World War II—the riot-racked areas of Detroit were retaken gradually by federal troops and National Guardsmen. When the fighting ended after a week, 33 people had been killed, more than a thousand wounded or injured. Entire neighborhoods had been devastated; chimneys stood like tombstones over piles of rubble, and damage was estimated as high as \$100 million.

At the same time, New York City's 28,000-man police force was putting down three nights of violence in Manhattan's East Harlem, a slum and lower-income area that contained at least as many Puerto Ricans as Negroes. Two people were killed by snipers. What could have been an explosive situation was brought under control by one of the few police forces in the nation that had any degree of training in riot control and community relations.

Meanwhile, H. Rap Brown had moved on to Cambridge, Maryland. There, a two-block area was burned and stores were looted following a black-power

rally. Brown, shot and slightly wounded, was charged with inciting a riot. "We'll burn the country down," Brown vowed as he was arrested by the FBI.

There were other disorders in other cities. In several of them, the National Guard was called in. But nothing, in the remainder of 1967, topped Detroit. Principally because of what happened there, but also because of the violence in other cities, President Johnson appointed a bipartisan commission to study the causes of urban revolt and recommend remedies. He named as chairman Democratic Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois and, as vice-chairman, Republican Mayor John Lindsay of New York. Civil-rights activists and militants cried that the naming of a commission was "too little and too late." The white backlash called for harsher measures. And middle-of-the-roaders grumbled that the President had "merely" named a commission rather than proposing some bold plan that would help cure the causes of domestic chaos (see Chapter 1, *THE PRESIDENCY*). The commission was instructed to report its preliminary findings in March, 1968, and its conclusions four months later.

It was decided that the National Guard and local police would be given training in riot control. A plan was set up under which Guard units could be shifted from state to state speedily and without red tape in any such emergencies in the future, and fast federal help was made available through direct lines to the Pentagon.

As the most disastrous summer in the streets in American history ended, and the rioting succumbed to cooler weather, an army of experts—sociologists; labor, housing, and employment specialists; psychologists, and urbanologists—went to work to find out why the riots and insurrections erupted, and where long-range solutions lay.

Filing cabinets-ful of statistics were compiled. They showed that the words "Negro" and "poverty" were practically synonymous. It was a poverty unique in the country's history, totally different than the barren Dust Bowl of the 1930's, or the urban poverty that sprouted the shantytown Hooverilles of the early Depression years. Those centers of deprivation were inhabited by people who had known better and who believed that, as day followed night, they would know better days again. For millions of Negroes in 1967 there was no such hope. The appurtenances of living had changed—many Negroes had television sets and cars—but they had little to which they could look forward. The nation's 21.5 million Negroes constitute only about 11 percent of the total population, but they make up 20 percent of the population of the inner cities. Many of the country's inner cities had been decaying, and when 5.2 million Negroes migrated to them from the rural South between 1950 and 1966, millions of whites fled, leaving the "core" cities to become ghettos. Negroes comprise 55 percent of Newark's population. The figure is 41 percent in Baltimore,

37 percent in St. Louis, and 30 percent in Philadelphia and Chicago.

Most of these Negroes lack education and job skills. And industries, which had been in "core" cities, sought suburban industrial parks for the room they needed for expansion. Jobs, which had been difficult enough for most Negroes to obtain, became more inaccessible. The whole Negro pattern of poverty is a vicious circle: a low-paying job, or no job, leads to slum housing and a segregated, second-rate school, which leads back to an inferior job. One experienced urbanologist, Patrick Moynihan, who has studied the Negro hard and long, thinks the vicious circle can be broken by money. "Beef up the family income," says Moynihan, "and everything else will follow." For starters, Moynihan proposes putting the Post Office back to two residential deliveries a day, which would create 50,000 jobs. He thinks hundreds of thousands of Negroes could also be put to work in public services, such as street and building repair and maintenance. He believes the federal government should become the "employer of last resort" (as it was with the WPA during the Depression) anytime the national employment rate rises above 3 percent.

Another Moynihan plan is the family allowance, which he thinks should pay an average of about \$10 a month for each child. While it would not eliminate poverty, it would help Negro families out of the worst of it. As Moynihan told a Senate subcommittee in 1967, "We are the only industrial democracy in the world that does not have a family or children's allowance. And we are the only industrial democracy in the world whose streets are filled with rioters each summer."

Not everyone shared Moynihan's views. And while the nation searched its soul for an answer to urban un-

rest, the roots of the problem grew. By late November, the unemployment rate among Negroes rose to 8.8 percent from August. In the same period, white unemployment rose from 3.5 to 3.8 percent of the work force. There was also a late-year upsurge in the number of jobless Negro teen-agers—the very people most conspicuous in the summer riots. Government statisticians also noted that, since the Korean War, unemployment among Negroes, on a percentage basis, has run double that among whites.

Also as the year came to a close, the United States Commission on Civil Rights, in its annual report, hit hard at the government's own efforts to equip Negroes for industrial jobs. The Commission charged that some training programs were unrealistic in terms of jobs actually available, and it said the programs did not really come to grips with the problems of the hard-core unemployed.

Negroes had made some gains during 1967. They chipped away at previously all-white professional and semiprofessional fields. They became more noticeable in blue-collar jobs. Multimillion-dollar housing projects replaced blocks of slums in scores of cities. School boards in southern and northern cities made great efforts to provide something approaching equal education.

The big question, as 1968 began, was whether these efforts, belated though they were, would be enough to convince Negroes that whites were doing everything they could to improve conditions as quickly as possible. But it was getting late. On Negro militants' clocks it was almost midnight. Another summer could bring more revolt, and close the ranks of the white backlash. There could be anarchy.



#### *RIOT COMMISSION ISSUES GRIM WARNING*

The President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Rights (the Riot Commission) released a preliminary report February 29 in which it warned that America "is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate but unequal." It said the trend was not irrevocable, and that its seven-month study had shown it might be reversed if: 2 million new jobs were provided in three years; schools were improved; national welfare standards were established, and an enforceable federal open-housing law was enacted. (That law was enacted, six weeks later; see Chapter 2, CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION.)

#### *MARTIN LUTHER KING SLAIN*

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Nobel Peace Prize winner and organizer of the Montgomery bus boycott and the Selma march, was assassinated by a sniper the evening of April 4, as he conferred with aides on the balcony of a motel in Memphis. Dr. King had gone to Memphis to help organize marches on behalf of striking sanitation workers, 90 percent of whom were Negroes, in the Tennessee city. Americans of every race and creed were shocked and saddened by Dr. King's death. Rioting and looting broke out briefly in over 100 cities, notably Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Chicago, and Kansas City, immediately following the civil-rights leader's death. But troops and calmer heads prevailed after several days of disorders that left 46 dead. President Johnson declared a

National Day of Mourning for Dr. King. Dignitaries packed the small Atlanta church where the funeral was held, and thousands marched in the cortege as Dr. King's casket was borne on a plain farm wagon pulled by two Georgia mules. Millions watched on television, and wondered about a nation that loves peace but is prone to violence.

An international manhunt was begun for Dr. King's killer. The prime suspect was a man identified as James Earl Ray, a drifter and misfit, but all leads seemed fruitless.

#### *RIGHTS RAMPAGE ON-CAMPUS*

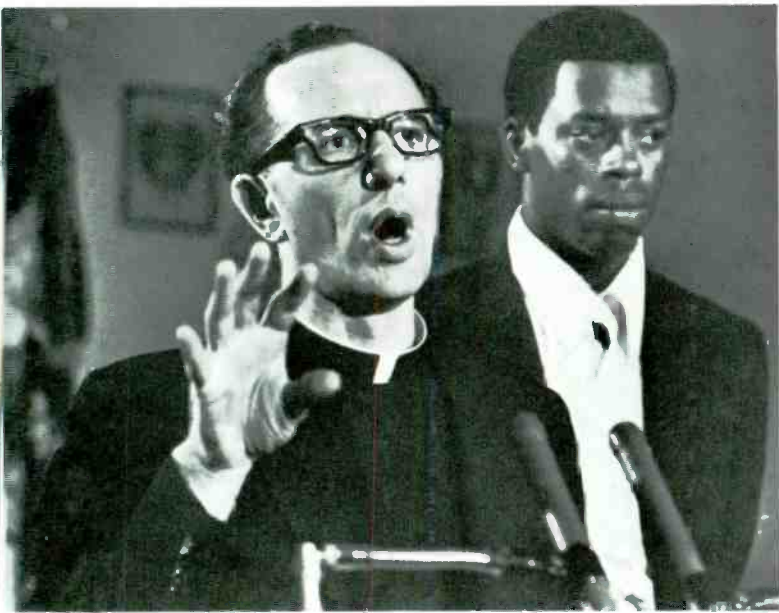
Civil rights, or the alleged lack of them, was one of the causes of the six-day sit-in that paralyzed Columbia University in New York City, beginning April 23. Left-wing students seized the university's administrative offices, kept the dean prisoner 26 hours, and provided impetus for a group of Afro-American students who seized another building on the Columbia campus. The sit-in eventually spread to three other buildings. In the predawn hours of April 30, New York City police were called on-campus to oust the sit-inners. Of the 630 people they initially arrested, 145 required medical attention. Cries of police brutality rose from many quarters. Largely in protest against the police action, Columbia classes were struck by students and faculty. The original issues were a charge of lack of liaison with the nearby Negro Harlem community, and plans to build a university gymnasium in a park frequented by Negroes; lack of meaningful faculty and student voices in university administration, and Columbia ties to the government's Institute of Defense Analyses. The continuing disorders paralyzed most academic activities. On May 22, striking students demonstrated against attempts to discipline their leaders. New York City police were again called and dispelled them, arresting 177, with 68 injured, including 17 police. (See Addenda, Chapter 9, Western Europe.)

#### *THE POOR PEOPLE MARCH ON WASHINGTON*

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference under its new leader, the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, launched its Poor People's Campaign on May 1. A massive march on Washington had long been planned by the Conference's slain leader, Dr. Martin Luther King. From nine cities from Boston through Georgia and Mississippi to the West Coast, thousands of poor people, Negro and white, started converging on Washington, D.C., for a demonstration, announced as nonviolent, demanding Congressional action to end poverty.

Stokely Carmichael, former head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), addresses a University of Texas audience. Born in Trinidad, raised in New York, he has denounced United States "imperialism" in speeches at home and abroad.





*Left:* The Rev. James Groppi, the Milwaukee priest, talks to the press in Washington about the nightly open-housing marches he led from his parish. He and his local Catholic and Negro followers were frequently threatened with bodily harm, but their efforts led to liberalized housing legislation.

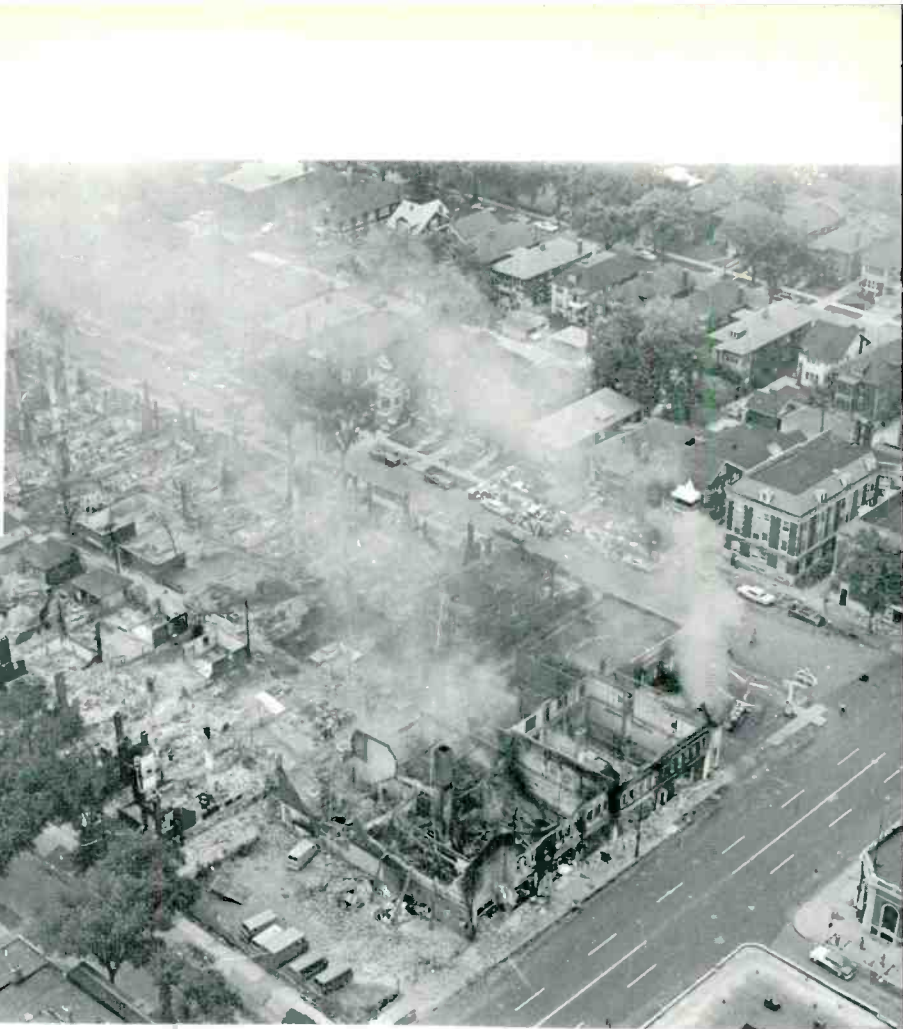
*Below:* Present head of SNCC, militant H. Rap Brown, in handcuffs following July arrest in Washington. He was charged with inciting a riot a few days before in Cambridge, Maryland. After Brown addressed a black-power rally in Cambridge, two square blocks of the small Maryland city were burned.



*Center left:* Milwaukee police hustle a man off after he was charged with trying to interfere with an open-housing march in mid-September.



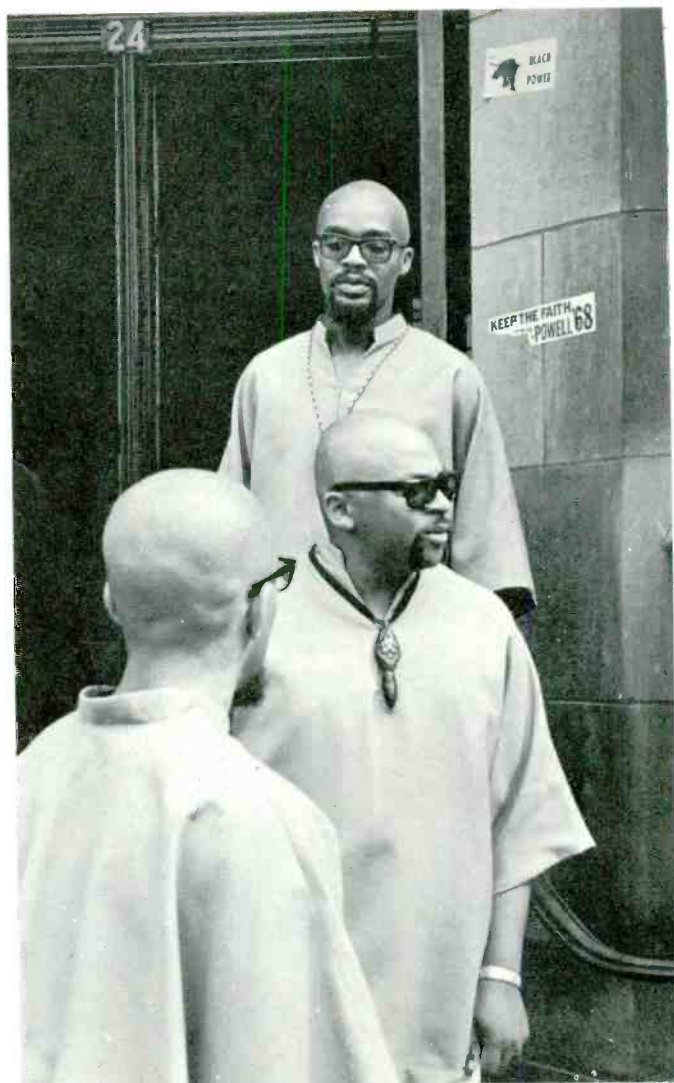
*Left bottom:* The mid-July rampage in Newark is so widespread that looters ignore the cover of darkness. Large pieces of furniture and television sets were two of the most popular items with looters.



*Top left:* New York's Mayor John Lindsay trying to "cool" East Harlem rioting following the shooting of a knife-duelist by an off-duty policeman. The Puerto Rican-Negro-Italian area around East 111th Street boiled up briefly late in July.

*Top right:* Looking like a bombed-out Nazi city, a section of Detroit still smolders 24 hours after rioters got through with it.

*Left:* A picture symbolic of the most widespread summer of civil strife in the nation's history: a National Guardsman stands guard in Detroit in late July as firemen battle one of hundreds of blazes in riot-torn area.



*Top left:* In handcuffs and chains, poet and playwright LeRoi Jones stands in front of Newark police headquarters. He had been arrested at the height of the rioting charged with possession of two loaded pistols.

*Top right:* California Black Nationalist leader, Ron Karenga, and aides, with shaven heads, leave meeting of Black Power Conference in Newark a week after the city's riots. The Conference idea had been suggested by Representative Adam Clayton Powell and planned months before the riots broke out.

*Right:* Ten blocks from the White House, troops patrol an area of Seventh Street, N.W., in Washington, April 6, after fire-bombing and looting broke out following the assassination of Dr. King.







Top left: While fellow officers move in with nightsticks, a New York policeman wrestles with a young Harlem Negro on April 5, 1968. The assassination the day before of Martin Luther King, Jr., triggered a rash of looting and fires in the Negro area.

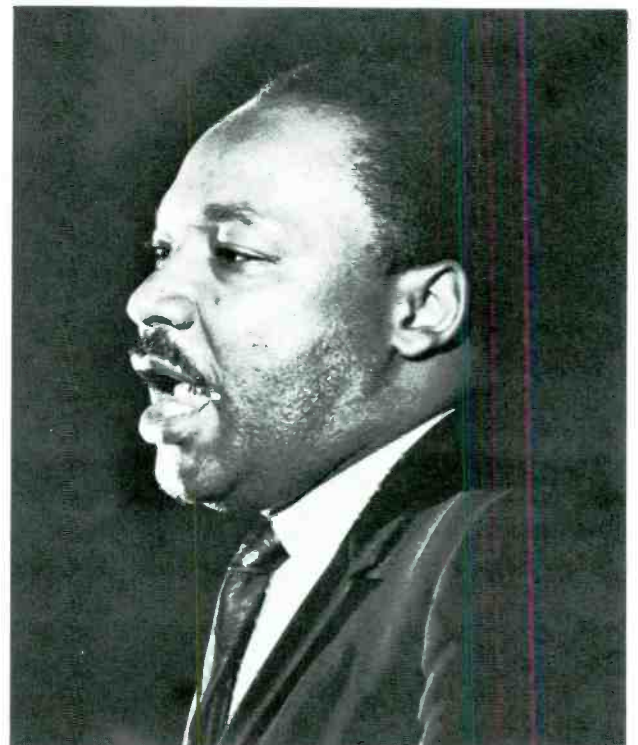


Top right: Eight days after her husband's death, Mrs. King greets newsmen from porch of her Atlanta home before a news conference called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who succeeded Dr. King to leadership of SCLC, is at left. Dr. King's brother, the Rev. A. D. King, is at right.



Bottom left: Farm wagon bearing body of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is drawn by two Georgia mules through Atlanta street en route to a memorial service at Morehead College.

Bottom right: Dr. King during his last public appearance, in Memphis, the night before he was slain.





Top left: Students of Ohio State University demonstrate on the campus April 11, 1968. Hundreds joined the march, which began as separate rallies against the Vietnam war and racism.



Above: Columbia University Students on April 27, 1968, festoon the windows and ledges of the Mathematics Building which they have taken over. Their continued defiance of academic authority met with forcible removal by New York City police.



Left: Columbia University strike leader Mark Rudd addresses a May, 1968, rally on campus in front of the Low Library, a horn-bedecked Alma Mater, stating that further student demonstrations and militant actions can be expected through the summer.



New York's Mayor John Lindsay inspects some of refuse on city sidewalks during garbage strike in February, 1968.

## 7. The Economy: Business and Labor

THE UNITED STATES' ECONOMY hurtled ahead in 1967 like a sleek sports car far out in front of the pack. But the high-powered, delicately tuned machine was developing knocks. Business became nervous and labor anxious—despite a gross national product that achieved a staggering rate of \$800 billion annually by year's end.

The causes of the nervousness and anxiety were many and varied. Among them were a general uneasiness over the course of the war in Vietnam; uncertainty over civil disorders at home; an inflation that crept ever higher despite a slowing economy; labor unrest, and a worsening balance of payments in foreign trade that brought a gold crisis and a run on the dollar.

In January, recession warnings were almost as prevalent as snow warnings. The pace of the economy had slackened in the fourth quarter of 1966, and wholesale inventories were swollen to near-record size. The massive inventories created a buyer's market. Consumers, with so much to choose from, became increasingly selective. They put more of their money into the bank. Deposits began to rise from an expected 5 percent to 7 percent of take-home pay, and that aggravated the inventory problem.

There was no offsetting economic stimulus from defense spending. The government had integrated defense outlays into the economy so well that even a \$73 billion budget for guns left 91 percent of the gross national product for butter. (Even with the demands of Vietnam, the percentage of the GNP that went for defense had held pretty much constant since Korean War days.)

However, by early 1967, the Federal Reserve Board's credit liberalization of the preceding fall had begun to flood the money market. The major banks cut their prime lending rates from 40-year highs, and the rate of consumer savings began to drop as confidence in the economy was restored. Spending picked up; inventories dwindled in six months from an annual rate of \$20

billion to less than \$5 billion; industry placed new orders for capital equipment; production increased, and the specter of recession faded.

The cost of living continued to go up, but for a new reason. During 1966, a large demand for goods and services in the wholesale market had pulled up the cost of labor and materials. By the end of that year, business had a huge inventory to sell and, in a buyer's market, could not very well pass on cost increases to consumers. As inventories began to drop in the spring of 1967, consumer prices rose. The price rises eroded wage gains.

Washington correctly forecast the effect of the Federal Reserve action, and was prepared to dampen any boom to keep inflation in line. In January, President Johnson requested a 6 percent surcharge on income taxes (see Chapters 1, THE PRESIDENCY, and 2, CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION), not only to raise more money for Vietnam, but as a hedge against inflation. At the end of March, the economy failed to register a quarterly advance for the first time since 1961, and Congress took a dim view of the tax rise which, it felt, might dampen the economy further. By August, when Mr. Johnson raised his tax request to 10 percent, the economy was on a slight upswing. But Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee couldn't see any economic boom that required the brake of a tax increase (see Chapter 2, CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION). Mills also saw many ways in which he thought federal spending could be cut first, and the Administration never did get its tax increase.

The rising economy picked up enough momentum by November to pass a milestone. That was the 81st straight month of prosperity, the longest and most prosperous period in American history, surpassing even the war-induced prosperity of 1939–1945. Also in the 81 months up to November, 1967, the average American family's *real* annual income (as adjusted for inflation) leaped 22 percent, to \$7,404. In the same time, the

economy had grown by \$281 billion—more than the combined 1966 output of West Germany, France, and Italy. (West Germany, incidentally, is the world's third-largest industrial power—behind the United States and the Soviet Union.)

Even with the economic upturn in the second half of 1967, Americans did not go on a buying spree. Auto sales, a principal barometer of the economy, dropped to 8.4 million, down 7 percent from 1966. The brightest single spot was housing. New starts in private housing rose 140 percent from January's annual rate of 1,111,000 starts. More money in the mortgage market was the main reason. The burgeoning United States population was a factor, too. On November 20, the census clock in Washington ticked off 200,000,000 people. The Commerce Department predicted the nation's population might reach 250,000,000 by 1980.

Corporate profits, though down slightly from the record levels of the preceding six years, were still substantial. Labor had already broken President Johnson's 3.2 percent wage-price guideline with the 5 percent settlement won by the airline machinists the previous year. The auto industry settlement, reached in October, 1967, after a six-week strike against Ford, was close to 7 percent. It helped set a national pattern. The government even joined in erasing its own guideline when Congress granted a 6 percent raise for 705,000 postal workers. It was accompanied by a 20 percent rise in postal fees for first-class mail, from 5 cents to 6 cents an ounce, effective in January, 1968.

The biggest strike of 1967 began on July 15, when 45,000 copper workers walked off the job. The strike was backed by 26 unions in the industry. The primary issue was not economic. The workers, most of whom labored in company towns in Montana, Nevada, and Arizona, wanted to change the industry bargaining pattern, to force the "Big Four" of copper to deal with a single, industry-wide negotiating team. American Smelting & Refining, Anaconda, Kennecott, and Phelps-Dodge would not hear of such a thing. Each side dug in its heels and, at year's end, the strike was still on—with no signs that a settlement was even near. Organized labor all over the country rallied behind the copper workers, and contributions poured in.

Labor had internal troubles, too. The giant independent Teamsters Union lost its president, James Hoffa, when Hoffa was imprisoned early in the year after losing an appeal from his conviction on charges of tampering with a federal jury. The split widened between the head of the United Auto Workers, Walter Reuther, and the president of its parent AFL-CIO, George Meany. The conglomeration of unions came closer to breaking up than ever before when, at its seventh biennial convention in Bal Harbour, Florida, in December, Reuther charged that Meany's administration of the AFL-CIO made the nation's most powerful labor leader the "complacent

custodian of the *status quo*." The auto workers' chief put forth a program that would have boosted spending for organizing. The facts spoke for themselves: in the 1956–1966 decade, the nonfarm labor force grew from 52.4 million to 63.9 million, but membership in labor unions rose from 17.4 million to only 17.8 million. There was a 17.9 percent increase in the labor force, but only a 2.2 percent increase in union membership.

There was good news and bad for United States international trade in 1967. On May 15, at Geneva, the Kennedy Round of tariff meetings succeeded in making the most far-reaching tariff decisions since World War II. Fifty-four of the free world's industrial nations agreed to cut tariffs an average 35 percent on 60,000 products worth more than \$40 billion in global trade. More than 80 percent of foreign commerce was directly affected by this historic trade treaty. It included the United States, Britain, and Europe's six Common Market members. The agreement also ended most of the 5 percent nuisance tariffs on trade between the United States and this nation's largest customer—Canada.

The United States balance of payments was getting worse, though. Put simply, the balance of payments is the ratio of outgo to income in foreign trade. For several years, the United States—the government, private investors, businessmen, and tourists—had been spending more money overseas than other countries and their nationals had been spending here. The 1967 deficit reached \$3.6 billion, nearly triple the 1966 deficit.

The long-term outlook was not unfavorable. American assets overseas totaled about \$117 billion by year's end, while other countries' assets in the United States totaled about \$66 billion. American holdings in foreign countries would begin to return substantial revenue eventually, but many of the holdings were in newly purchased plant and equipment, which could not return any great amount of dollars for a long time. Foreign assets here, on the other hand, were more liquid—and dollars were flowing out of the country in a steady stream.

Western European businessmen and bankers began to feel that the United States economy was fraying. They feared that Washington might have to devalue the dollar in order to meet its far-flung commitments. So some foreign businessmen began to turn their dollars into gold, the price of which since 1944 had been pegged at \$35 an ounce on the international market. If a European converted his American dollars into gold and the dollars were later devalued, the gold would then be worth more dollars. The European would not lose, the way he would if he still held dollars that had been devalued. The United States Treasury, which held the largest single share of the world's gold, began to funnel some of it into the international market, to hamper speculation. However, there was a risk involved. If the demand for gold kept up long enough, American gold stocks would be depleted, the Treasury's 25 percent gold backing for the dollar would

be endangered, and then Europeans might make a run on Washington, demanding that *all* their dollars be exchanged for gold. By late 1967, there were about \$30 billion in short-term claims against the dollar which foreigners could turn in to the Treasury for gold at \$35 an ounce. The worry spread worldwide, because the American dollar was the common currency of world trade.

Then, on November 18, Britain devalued its pound 13 percent—from \$2.80 to \$2.40. It was a desperation measure to bolster the British economy, which had been suffering from a steadily worsening balance of payments for several years. The British action further convinced many Europeans that devaluation of the dollar was near. To shore up the dollar after devaluation of the British pound, the United States had to pour \$900 million worth of gold into the international market in December alone. Nevertheless, it appeared the frenzied gold-buying would continue.

The White House pondered various mild austerity measures to right the balance of payments and halt the attack on the dollar. President Johnson seemed almost certain to renew his request for a 10 percent surtax, on the theory that anything that could slow inflation would help the dollar. He was also believed to be thinking about some sort of tax on Americans traveling abroad. Such

a tax would cut the outflow of tourist dollars. The Administration had been wondering whether to cut back on American investments abroad as well. That would slash a big outlet for dollars. But the move would be double-edged. Not only would the return flow of profits from abroad be cut, but exports would suffer. About 20 percent of American exports go directly to overseas investments of American companies: machinery, spare parts, and supplies are shipped from home factories to foreign branches and subsidiaries.

As 1967 ended, the gross national product—the combined value of all goods and services produced in the nation—reached an all-time high rate of \$800 billion annually. The growth rate had slowed, to be sure, but the real value and longevity of the country's prosperity was the greatest in its history. The Administration had shown that guns and butter could be bought at the same time, though there were complaints from many quarters that too much was being spent on guns to the detriment of butter. But Americans were growing increasingly uneasy about whether the economy really could stand all the pressure being put on it by spending commitments, inflation, and the attack on the dollar. As one banker put it: "Never have so many had it so good and felt so badly about it."



### *GOLD CRISIS REACHES A CLIMAX, THEN EASES*

Waves of speculative gold-buying inundated the world's gold markets during the first two-and-a-half months of 1968, pushing the price to a record \$44.36 an ounce on the Paris market March 15. In an effort to keep the official exchange rate at \$35 an ounce, and to ensure the stability of the American dollar, the United States helped convene Western European gold-pool nations in Washington in mid-March. They established a "two-tier" pricing system for gold: (1) a private market price that would be allowed to fluctuate according to supply and demand, and (2) an official monetary price of \$35 an ounce on gold transactions between governments. The move helped dampen gold speculation, and gold prices fell back toward \$35 an ounce in free trading as speculators began to realize that the United States would not devalue the dollar.

### *LBJ MOVES TO RIGHT UNITED STATES BALANCE OF PAYMENTS*

President Johnson began the year by decreeing new restraints on corporate investment abroad by American business. In February, American-flag airlines heeded a Presidential Task Force recommendation and agreed to reduce fares 50 percent for Europeans and Asians visiting the United States. In April, the House passed and sent on to the Senate an Administration bill that provided a 5 percent tax on airline tickets bought by Americans for travel outside the Western Hemisphere.

### *KENNEDY ROUND TARIFF CUTS BEGIN*

The first stage of the Kennedy Round tariff cuts took effect the beginning of the year. The United States and five other nations cut tariffs 20 percent. The six European Common Market countries, and seven others, including Japan, were to institute 40 percent reductions July 1.

### *LABOR SANITATION STRIKES IN NEW YORK AND MEMPHIS*

A sanitation strike in New York City in February brought a nine-day health emergency and a clash between the city's Republican Mayor and the state's Republican Governor. Mayor John Lindsay issued a plea for the National Guard to help move garbage. Governor Nelson Rockefeller declined. The strike was finally settled by binding arbitration, after the men went back to work.

Also in February, a ten-week sanitation strike began in Memphis. It immediately became a racial issue, because 90 percent of the Tennessee city's sanitation men were Negroes. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and other civil-rights leaders led marches in Memphis in support of the strikers. On March 28, a march led by Dr. King was broken up by violent whites. A sixteen-year-old Negro boy was shot and killed. Violence and looting followed. The National Guard was called in. Dr. King vowed to lead a peaceful march through Memphis. He was in the Tennessee city preparing for it when he was slain by a sniper April 4 (see Chapter 6, CIVIL RIGHTS: THE GHETTO REVOLT). The strike was settled quickly after Dr. King's death.

### *MERGERS*

One of the largest corporate mergers in American history became final in January when the Supreme Court unanimously approved the long-negotiated marriage of the Pennsylvania and New York Central railroads. The resulting Penn Central became far and away the largest railroad in the country.

But the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (IT&T) in January cancelled its long-planned merger with the American Broadcasting Companies (ABC), saying there had been too many delays. ABC immediately began looking for other possible mergers.

The pound drops to \$2.39 on tally board at upper right in this view of the London Stock Exchange during the most critical period of the gold crisis, March 14, 1968.





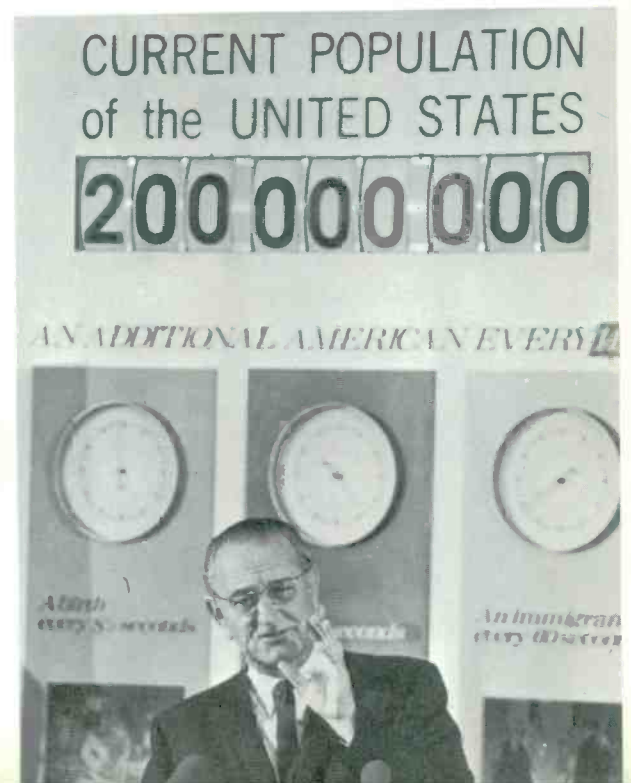
Top right: Michael Blumenthal (with cigar), American delegate to Kennedy Round tariff talks, embraces Canadian delegate after multination agreement at Geneva in May, 1967.

Top left: Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, joins his rank and file on the picket line during strike against Ford.

Center left: A silent picket line of signs guards the Kennecott copper plant at Magna, Utah, shut by a nationwide strike of copper workers in July, 1967.

Bottom left: Officials check weight of gold bars in the Federal Reserve Bank in New York City. They weight about 27 pounds each and are worth about \$14,000 apiece.

Bottom right: President Johnson helps mark the population milestone, November 20, 1967, as the Commerce Department census clock in Washington records the 200 millionth American.







The Apollo 4 spaceship under its 83-foot-diameter parachute splashes onto the Pacific after its 9,000-mile unmanned space journey in November. It reached a peak altitude of over 11,000 miles in its 8½-hour flight.

## 8. Space

THE YEAR 1967 BEGAN on a hopeful note. Three astronauts were scheduled to orbit the earth for 14 days, starting February 21. It was to be the longest and most complete test of the Apollo capsule, which was scheduled to take men to the moon by 1970. Then, on January 27, during the first full-scale simulation of the launch at Cape Kennedy, the dread words "Fire in the cockpit!" burst over the intercom. Minutes later, astronauts Virgil Grissom, Edward White, and Roger Chaffee were dead. The flight was canceled, investigating committees went to work, and no American was lofted into space during the year.

Grissom was one of the seven original Mercury astronauts. White had been the first American to "walk" in space. Chaffee had been awaiting his first space flight. Their deaths meant more than the loss of three human beings, the loss of three highly skilled and hard-to-replace space voyagers—or time lost in the reach into space. Some of the gallant crusading spirit of America's space exploration died with them. Never again would Americans—from national leaders to children in school—view the man-in-space program with the same degree of confidence.

Within hours of the tragedy, James Webb, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, set up a review board to find out what caused the tragedy on the launch pad. Ten weeks later, it reported that "some minor malfunction or failure of equipment or wire insulation" was "most probably the cause of the fire." House and Senate hearings continued for another month, and finally it was decided that the pure oxygen atmosphere in the Apollo capsule was too volatile. Henceforth, the cockpit atmosphere would be only part oxygen, at least until the capsule left the earth's atmosphere and actually got into space.

Although the NASA review board took pains to point out that any defects in the Apollo project should

not be interpreted as an indictment of the entire manned space-flight program, there was a shakeup of NASA officials. Congress, already under fiscal pressure because of the war in Vietnam, and criticized for spending billions on space when so much remained to be done in the cities of America, chopped half a billion dollars from NASA's requested budget.

The budget-cutting did not hamper on-the-ground theorizing and research, though. Space scientists began wondering where to aim space vehicles *after* a successful landing of men on the moon. Should Mars be next, or Venus? Such leapfrogging was important to a timetable, because at least five years were needed from the inception of a mission to its first manned flight.

While America's manned moon program was a tragic failure in 1967, its *unmanned* program was a stunning success. Three Lunar Orbiters and three Surveyor probes completed the task of mapping Apollo landing sites. The Orbiters took thousands of high-quality photographs. Then, the soft-landing Surveyors, which looked like mechanical daddy longlegs, set down on the lunar surface to take close-up photos and sample the soil with tiny shovels.

The other big target of the year for unmanned probes was Venus. The United States Mariner 5 and the Soviet Venus 4 spacecraft raced toward the planet only two days apart. The United States craft flew by Venus 2,400 miles out, as planned. The Soviet craft set down on the planet. Both probes radioed back grim portraits of Venus: temperatures that went up to more than 500 degrees, and an atmosphere heavy with unbreathable carbon dioxide.

At the same time the Soviets were making their lunar and Venus probes, they were trying to push ahead with manned space flights. But they, too, met tragedy. On April 24—in the only manned space flight of the year by any country—Cosmonaut Vladimir Komarov

was killed during reentry of the earth's atmosphere when the parachute lines fouled on his Soyuz 1 spacecraft. Komarov's flight had orbited the earth 17 times.

The tragedies in the United States and Soviet space programs fostered something of a common bond between the two space giants. Competition in manned flights was out of the question while each country examined the causes of its failure. And American and Soviet scientists began talking more about cooperation in space between the two countries. A pooling of knowledge and equipment would not only aid the pursuit of peace, it would cut down on the parallel and staggering costs of space exploration. But any day-to-day cooperation between the two powers remained a dream through 1967.

In January, though, 60 nations signed a treaty pledging to limit their space explorations to peaceful ventures. A later agreement provided for return of one country's space capsules and astronauts should they accidentally land in another country. Indemnities were agreed upon for any damage done.

The two treaties underscored the super-international scope of the quest for outer space, and drew the nations of the earth closer together. In this atmosphere, it was

only natural for American space scientists to show a genuine and public enthusiasm over space efforts during the year by other countries. In 1967, the "Big Two" of space were joined by France, Italy, Japan, Britain, and Australia. All launched unmanned satellites, although not all of them got into space.

As the year ended, American scientists predicted that the difficulties in the Apollo program could all be worked out in time to keep the planned rendezvous with the moon by 1970. But Congressmen, and many other citizens, were beginning to wonder whether such a headlong rush to the moon was really all that important. Would the moon ever be scientifically or commercially profitable? Besides, the monumental efforts necessary merely to get there were proving expensive to a nation that was reexamining its conscience as to whether some of that money might better be spent to give millions of disadvantaged Americans a better life here on earth. It appeared that the pace of the space program would be scaled down. Man had waited a long time to go to the moon and the planets. Many people felt he could wait a little longer.



#### *LAST SURVEYOR SENT TO MOON*

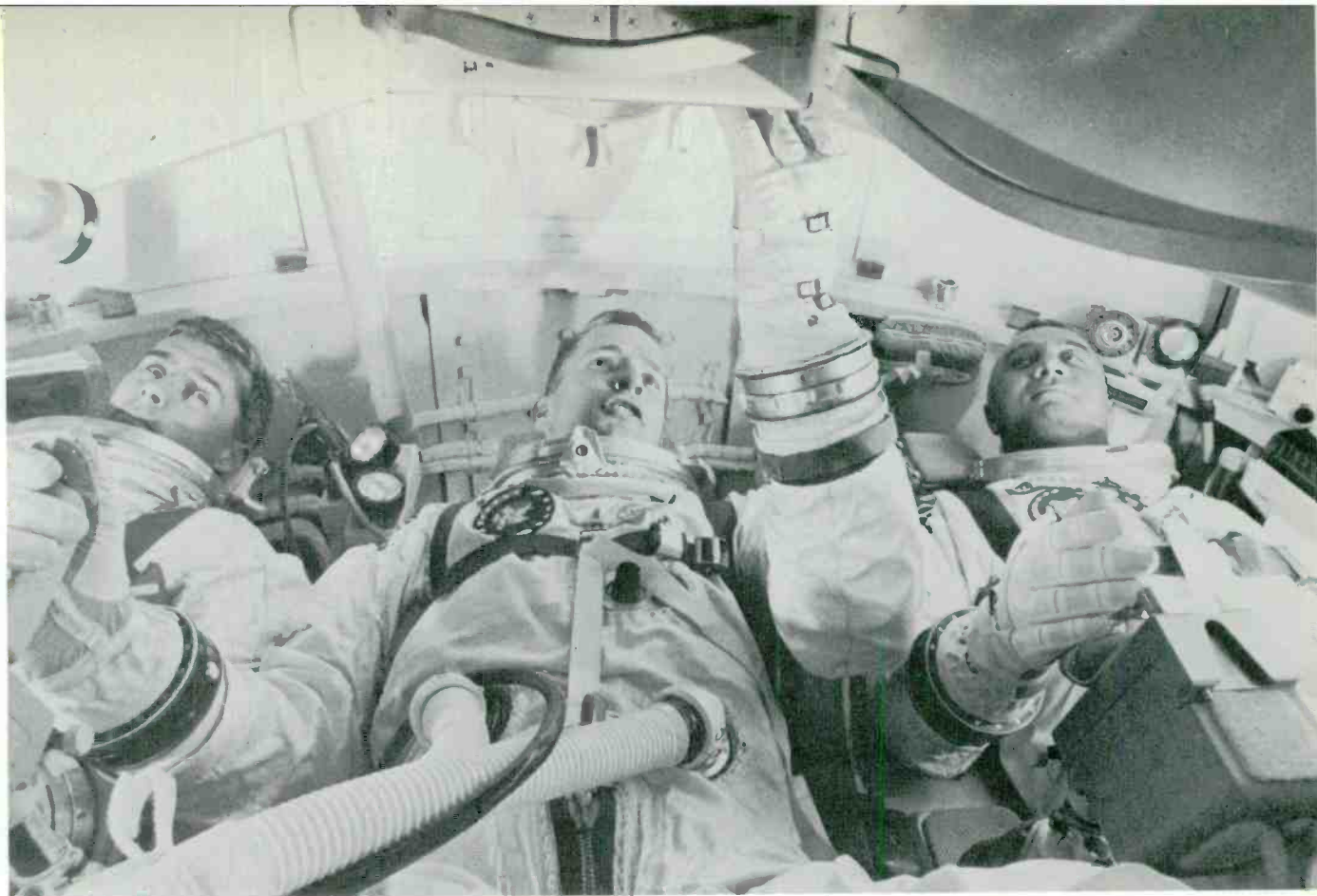
On January 7, 1968, Surveyor 7, an unmanned United States lunar probe, was launched for the moon. It landed intact on the lunar surface two days later, after a flight of 244,360 miles. This final Surveyor probe sent back more pictures of potential astronaut landing sites, and it analyzed the moon's surface. On January 22, a working model of a lunar landing craft for use in Project Apollo was lofted from Cape Kennedy.

#### *NEW PLANS FOR A MANNED SPACE FLIGHT*

On January 29, in his budget message to Congress, President Johnson outlined a resumption of manned space flights—the first since the launching-pad fire killed three astronauts at Cape Kennedy in January, 1967. The new flight was planned for September, 1968. Three men were to be sent aloft together, for as long as 14 days. On April 4, an unmanned Apollo shot—a prep for the September flight—was orbited from Cape Kennedy. The shot was not altogether successful, but space technicians said it would be possible to go ahead with the September flight anyway. They added that it might still be possible to maintain the old timetable of landing men on the moon in 1969.

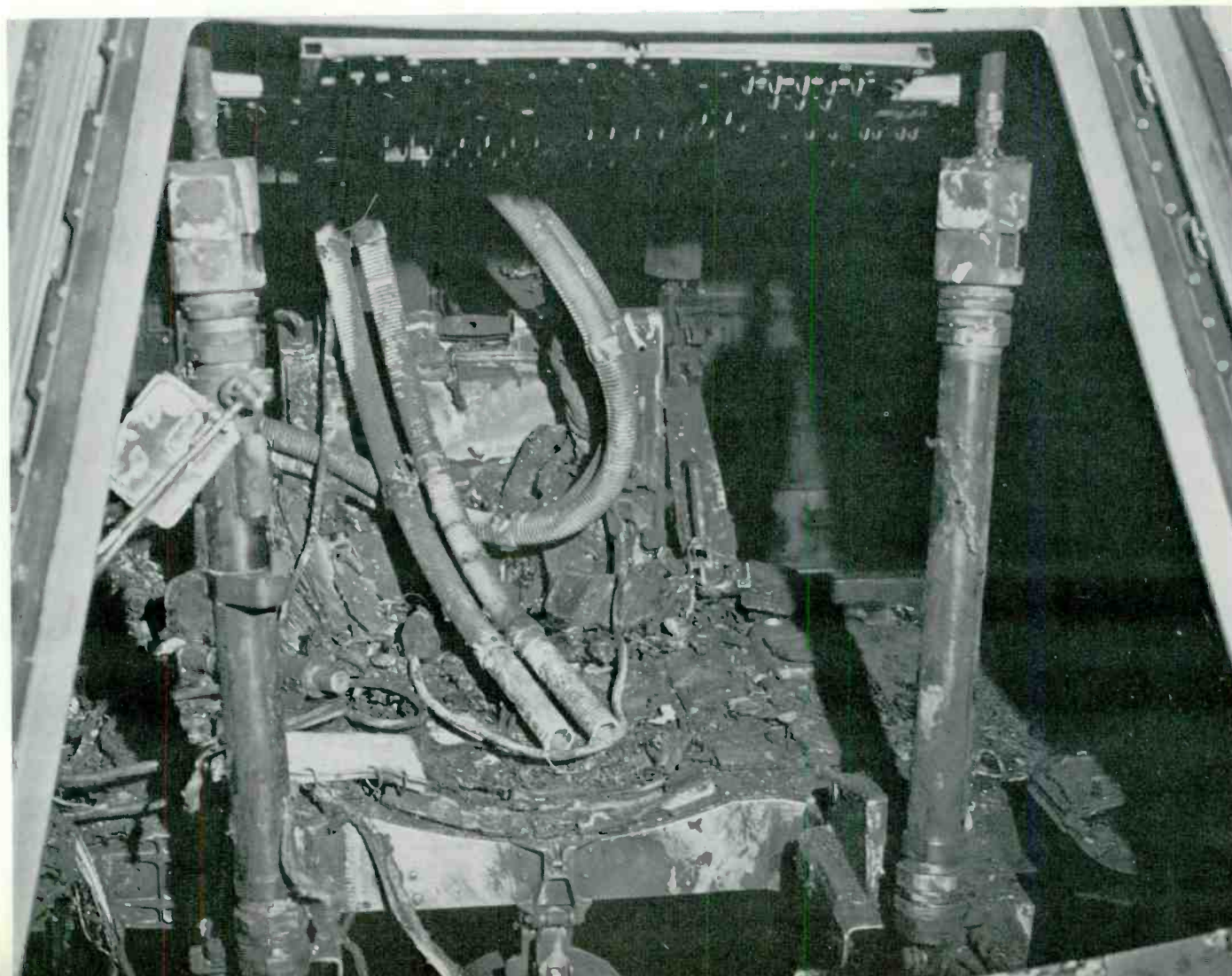
#### *SPACEMAN GAGARIN KILLED*

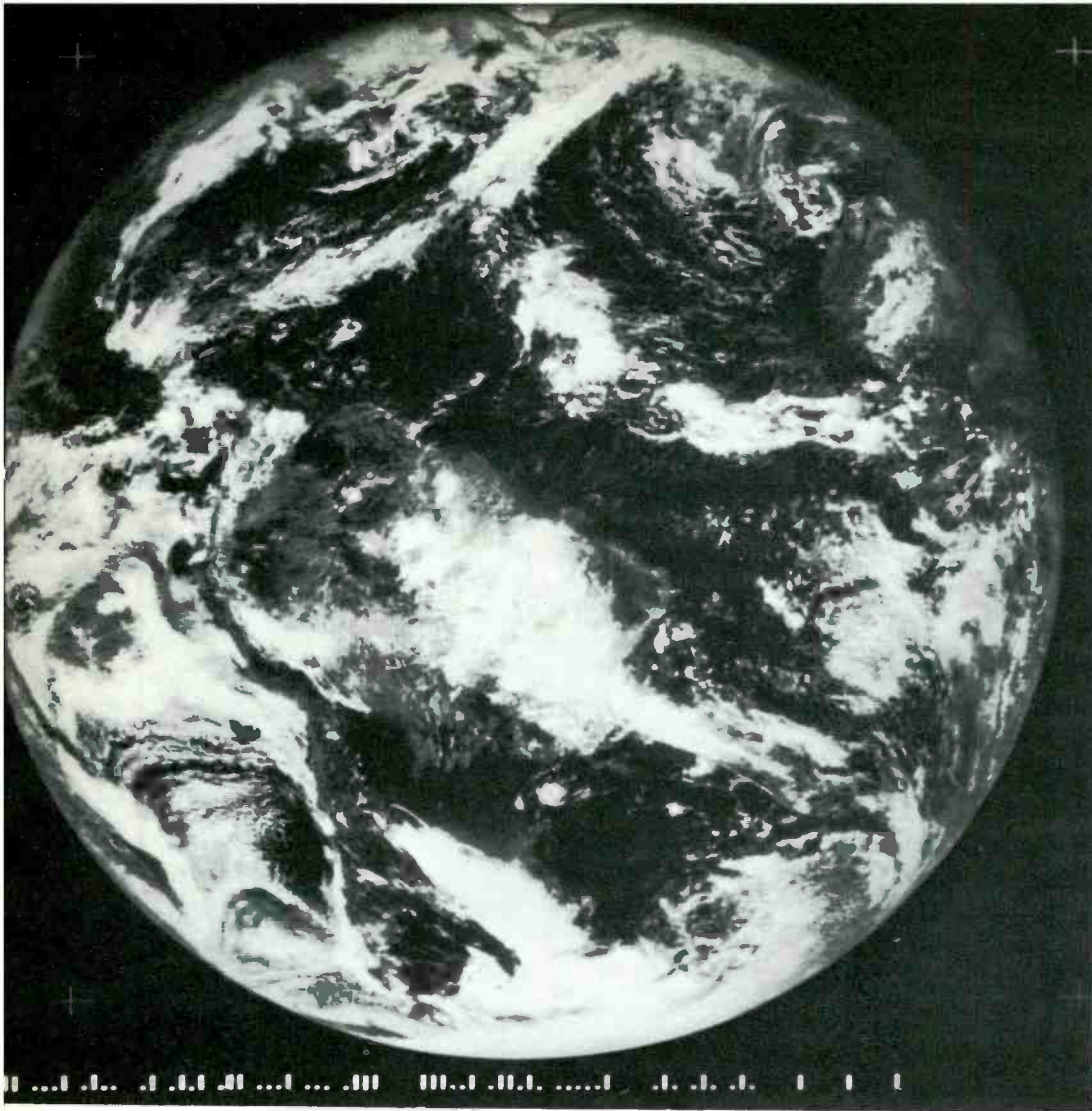
Yuri Gagarin, thirty-four-year-old Soviet cosmonaut and first man ever to orbit the earth, was killed in the crash of a jet training plane near Moscow, March 27. Gagarin was given a state funeral, and his ashes were interred in the Kremlin Wall. He had made his historic orbital flight April 12, 1961.



Above: Astronauts (from left) Edward White, Roger Chaffee, and Virgil Grissom training for the Apollo mission.

Below: Charred remains of their Apollo spacecraft after the three astronauts were killed in a flash fire on launching pad.

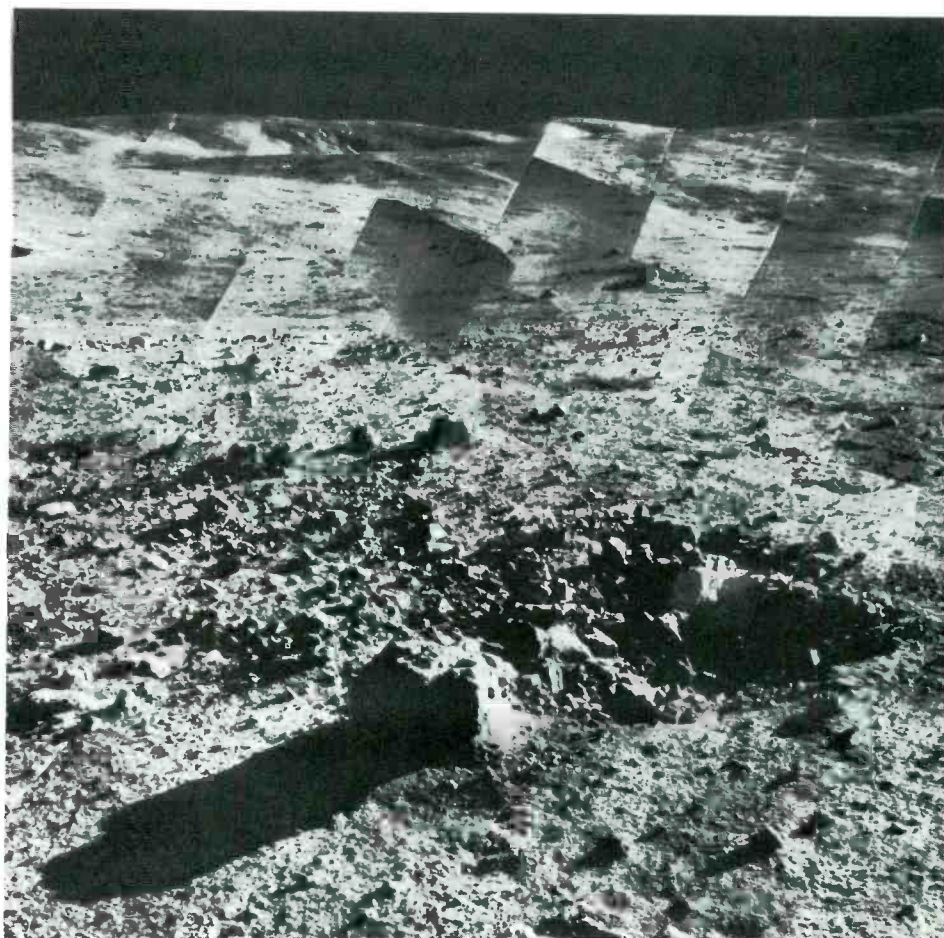
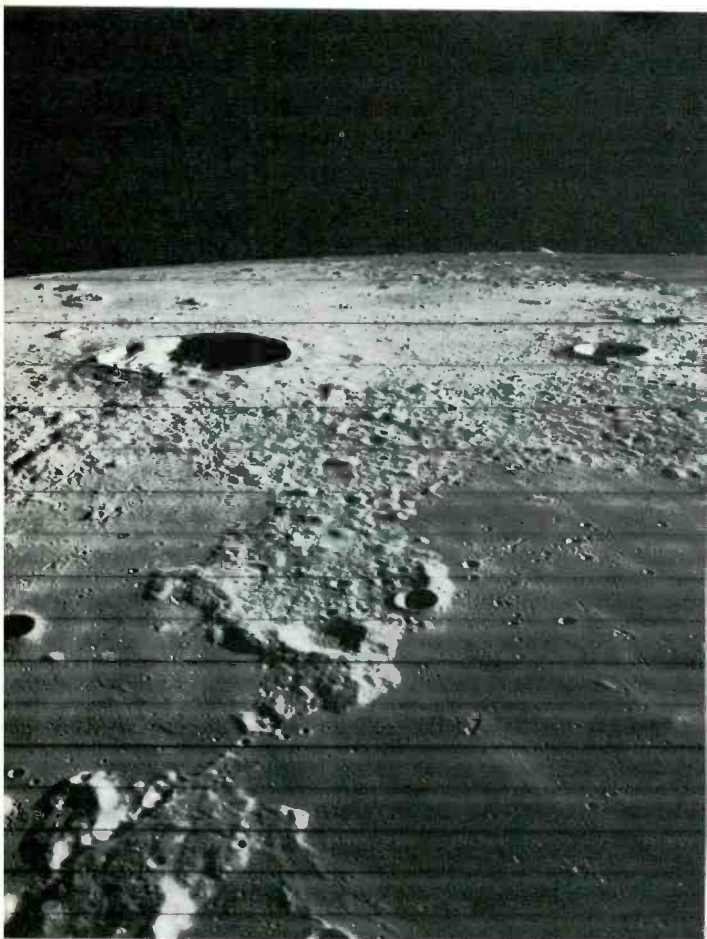


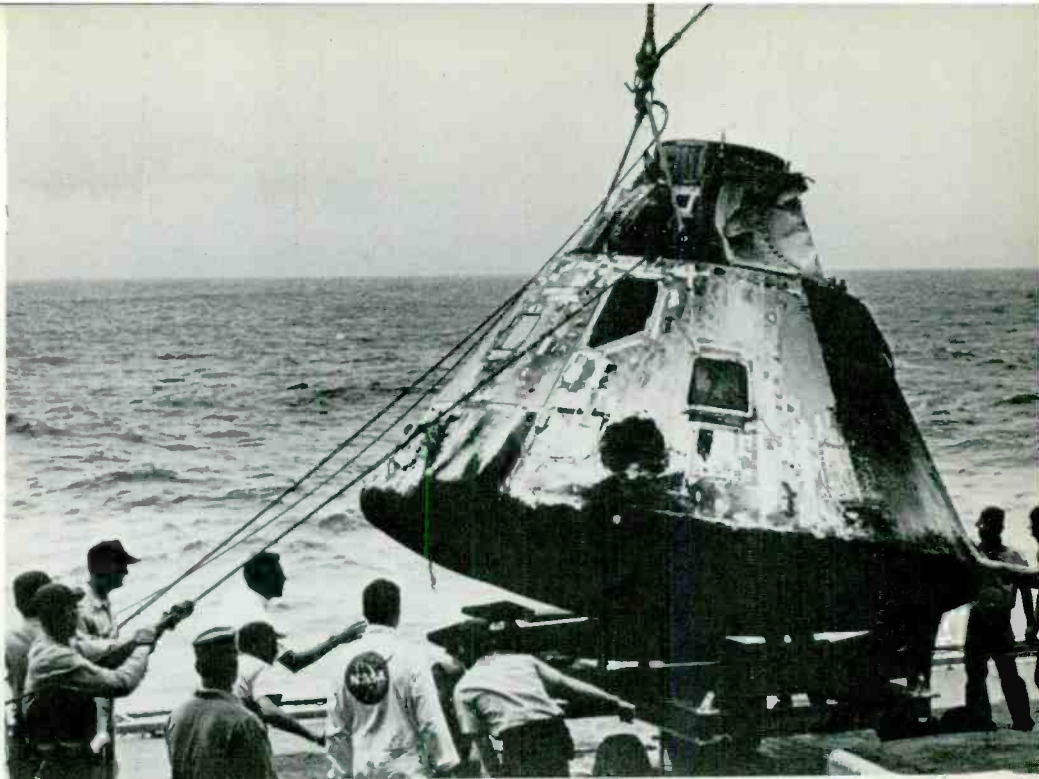


*Left:* Four continents are visible in this photograph of earth, taken from nearly 23,000 miles above the mouth of the Amazon River on November 10, 1967. Unmanned NASA satellite depicted South America in center and, clockwise from upper left, North America, the Greenland icecap, southern Spain, and the west coast of Africa.

*Bottom left:* Buzzing the moon at a height of 32 miles, Lunar Orbiter III sends back TV photographs as it scans the moonscape for manned landing sites. The large crater in the center, named Kepler, is 20 miles in diameter and more than a mile deep.

*Bottom right:* A moonscape close-up. The last and best of NASA's Lunar probes, Surveyor 7, sends back TV pictures like this 45 minutes after soft-landing near Tycho crater on January 9, 1968. The 2-foot rock in foreground is 18 feet away. The horizon is 8 miles distant.



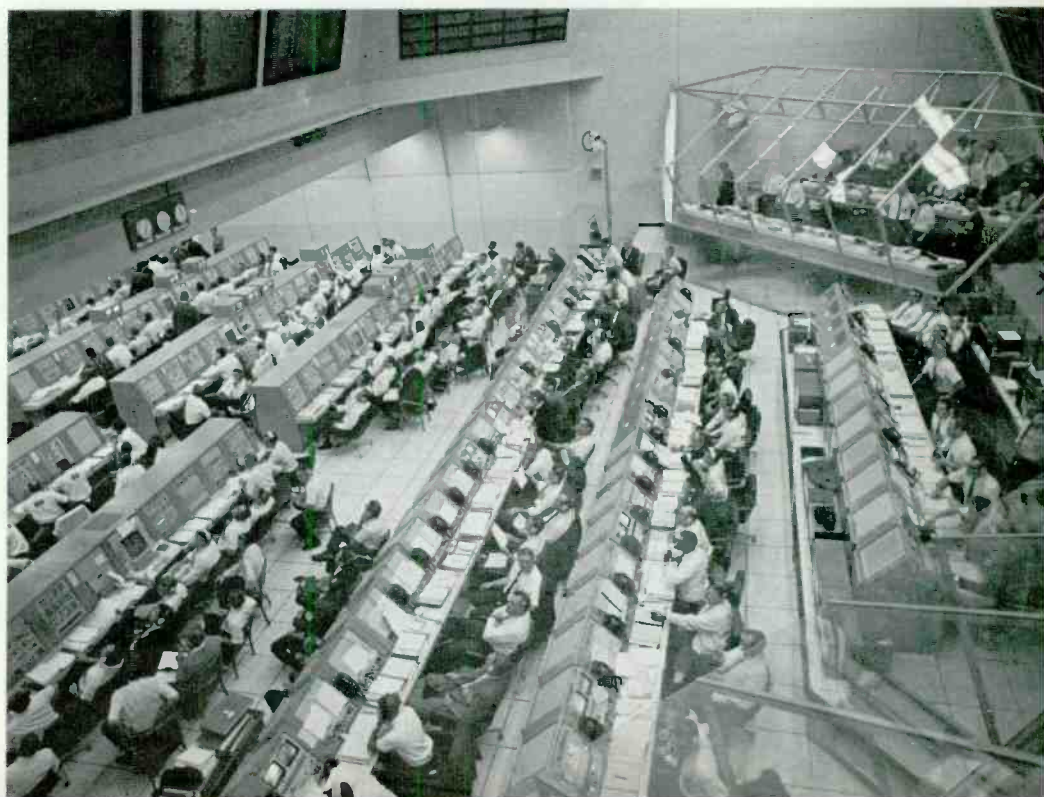


*Right:* Crewmen lower the 6-ton Apollo 4 spaceship to its cradle on the carrier *Bennington* after recovery from the Pacific splashdown. The blackened heat shield successfully withstood 5,000-degree temperatures, simulating those to be encountered on re-entry from moon flight.



*Above:* UN space treaty is signed in Moscow, January 27, 1967, by United States Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson (*left*), Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, and British Ambassador Sir Geoffrey Harrison. Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin stands behind Gromyko.

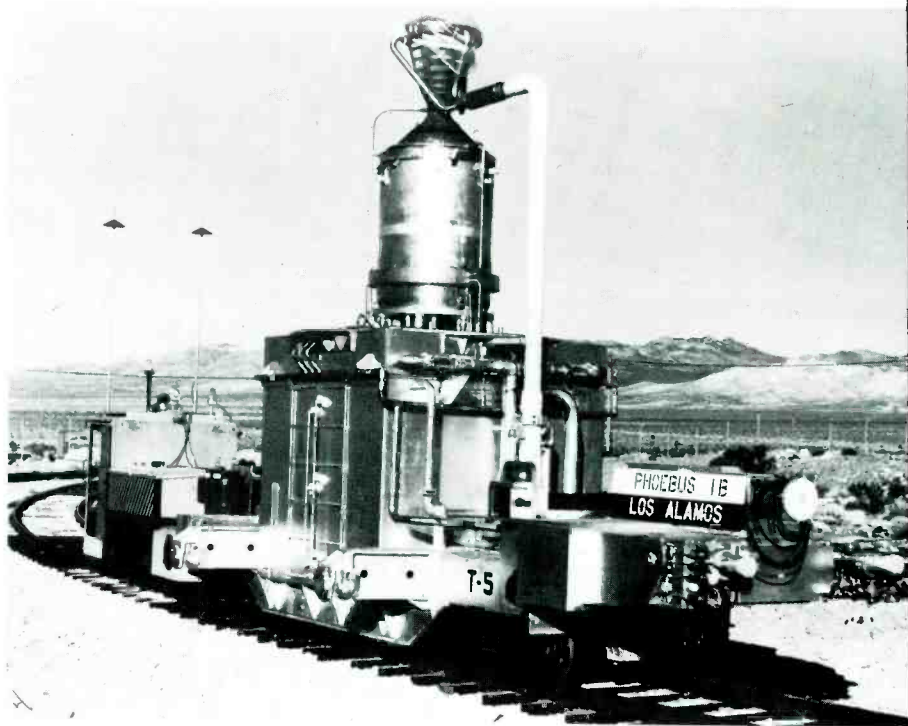
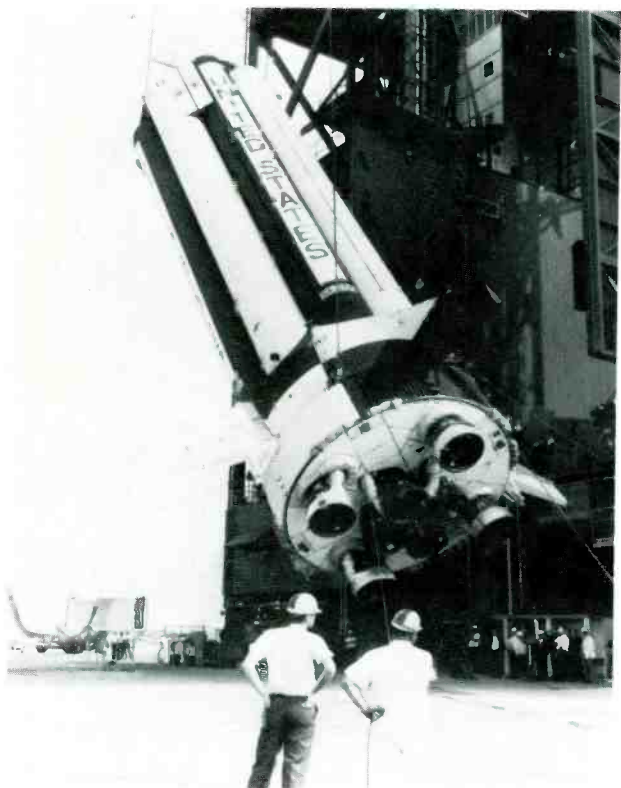
*Right:* The firing room or "electronic brain" as zero countdown approaches for the unmanned flight of Apollo 4. Each of the 150 consoles serves as remote control for a specific checkout or launch operation.





Above: Dr. Wernher von Braun, director of the NASA Space Center at Huntsville, Alabama, watches launch of a Saturn 1 space vehicle through periscope at Cape Kennedy in June, 1967.

Below: America's man-in-space program moves forward again. Eighty-foot-long booster stage of the Saturn 1 rocket is hoisted into position on its Cape Kennedy launch pad to begin checkouts in mid-April, 1968. Later in the fall, three astronauts are scheduled to ride the rocket in an earth-orbit that could last 14 days. A manned flight to the moon could then take place next year.



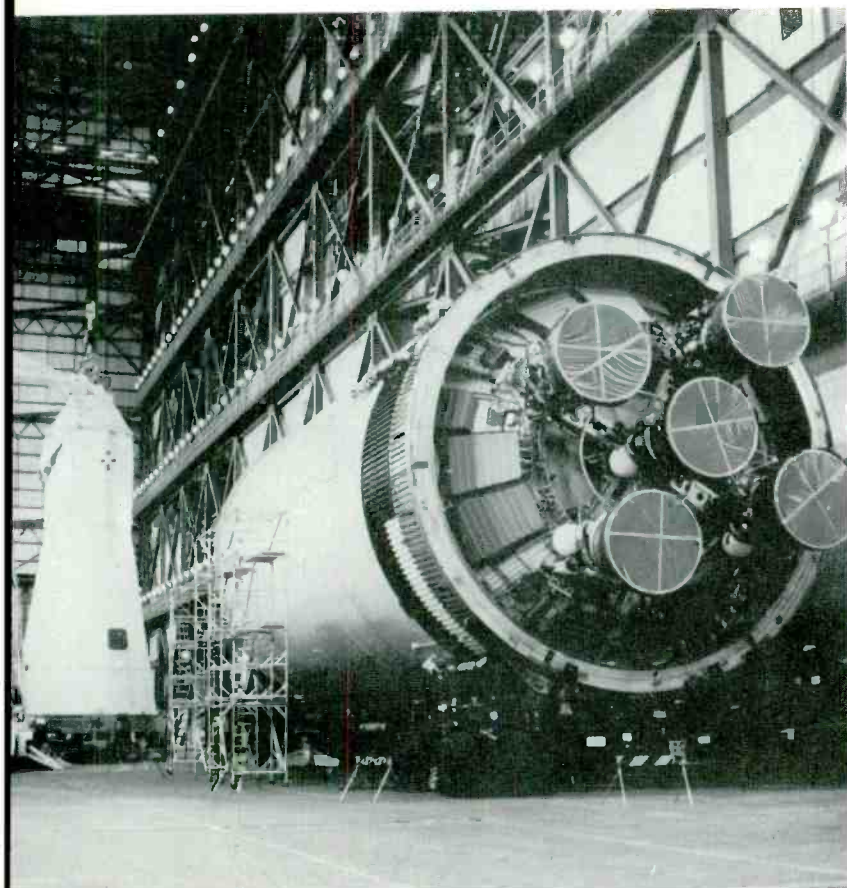
Above: A Phoebus 1-B nuclear rocket reactor mounted on a test cart at the Los Alamos, New Mexico, laboratory. The Phoebus is being used to develop a nuclear-powered rocket engine, the Rover.

Opposite page, top left: The first Apollo/Saturn V flight of November 9. At the towering vehicle assembly building of Kennedy Space Center, the second of three stages of the Saturn booster (right) and the Apollo spacecraft atop its two service modules (left) are prepared for assembly.

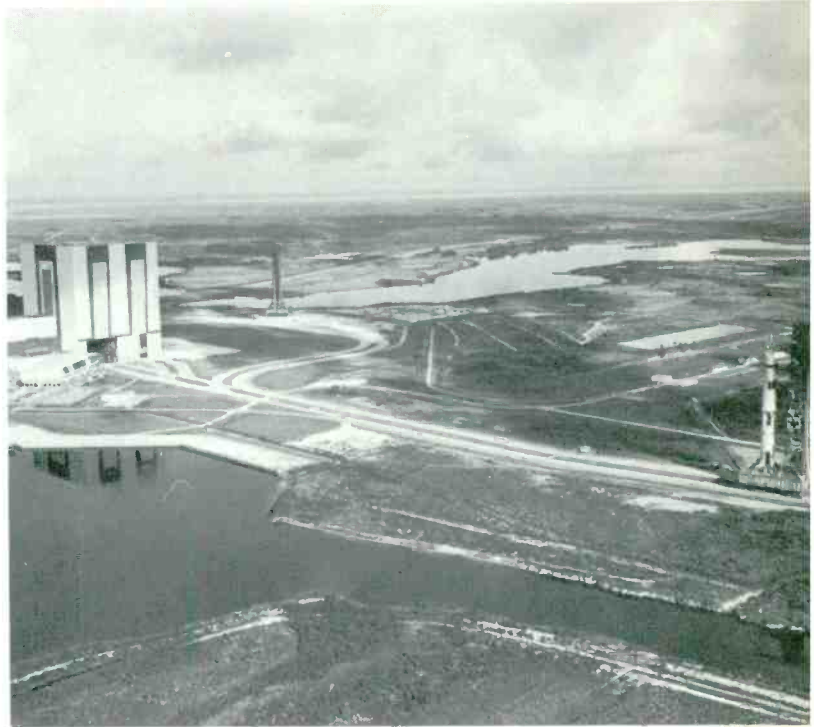
Top right: The Apollo spacecraft crowning the 200-foot Saturn rocket moves via the Transporter (for right) from the giant vehicle assembly building to the launch pad. The 3-mile trip took 10 hours.

Bottom left: The Apollo/Saturn V space vehicle moves into position at the launch complex. From the booster vents of stage 1 up to the needle tip of the launch escape system, it is 363 feet tall.

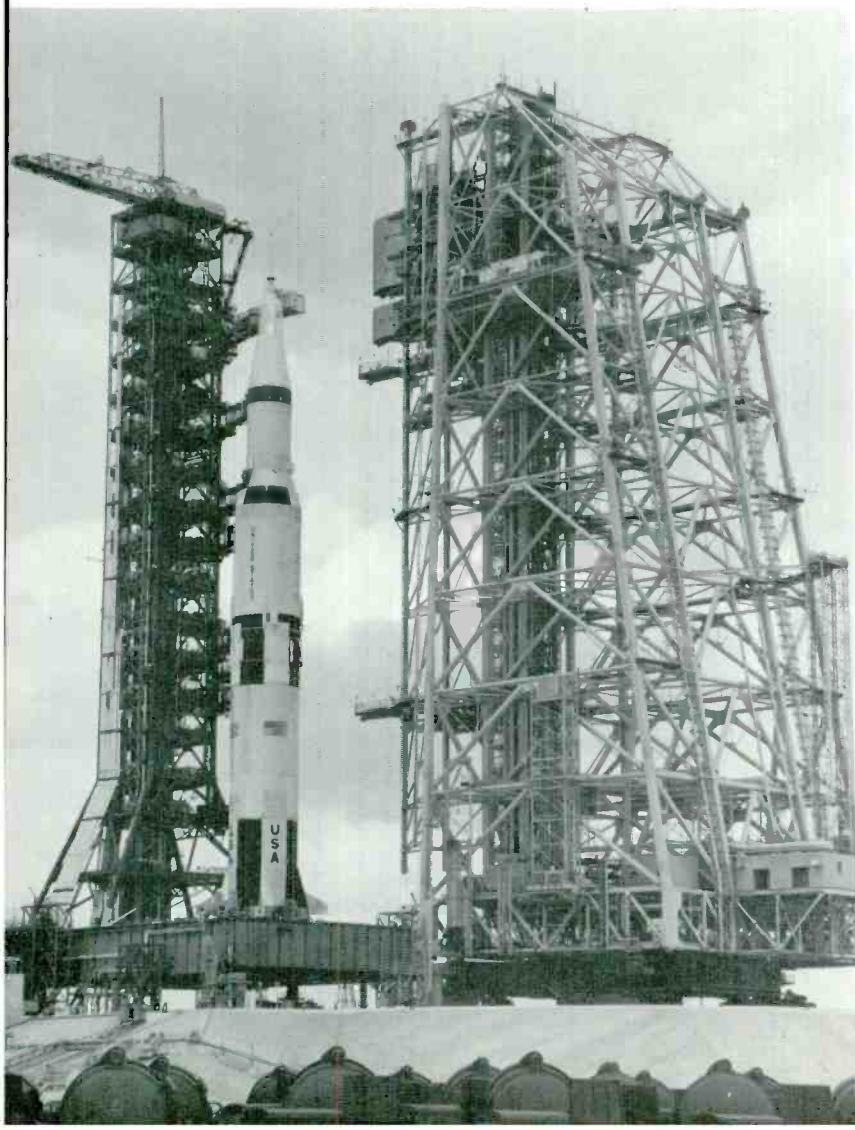
Bottom right: 7:00 A.M. November 9, 1967, liftoff.



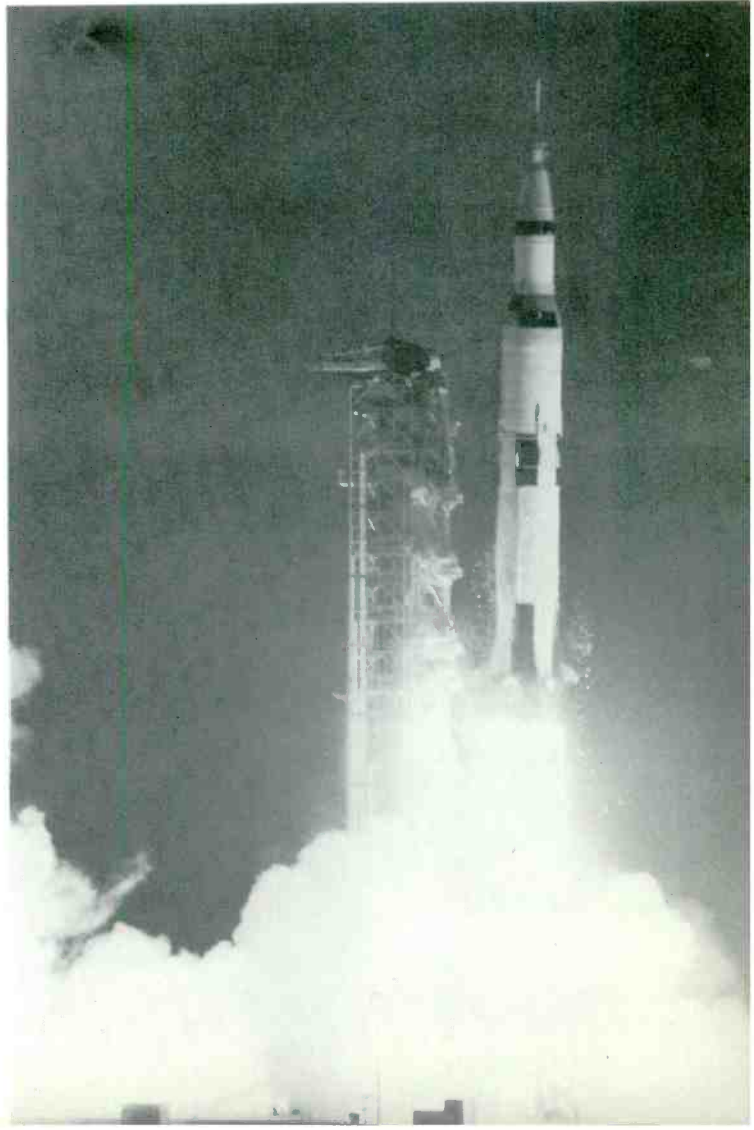
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The Atlantic powers are symbolically aligned at the state ceremony at Bonn for the late Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. From left, West German Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger, French President Charles de Gaulle, West German President Heinrich Lübke, President Johnson and, partially hidden by floral display, Bundestag President Eugen Gerstenmaier.

## 9. Western Europe

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY returned from a tour of the Continent in April and spoke of “a new spirit of European nationalism—a nationalism expressing itself as pride both in Europe as a whole and in the individual European states.” There was evidence aplenty in 1967 of the old-fashioned nationalism. But indications that a sense of community was developing was more subtle.

It was a year of friction in Western Europe: France barred Britain from the Common Market, Greece and Turkey came close to war over Cyprus, Madrid and London became estranged over Gibraltar, and the King of the Hellenes spent a morose Christmas in Rome.

It was also a year of increasing trade and diplomatic ties to the countries of Eastern Europe, as they, too, experienced a surge of nationalism (see Chapter 10, THE SOVIET SPHERE). The postwar power blocs were disintegrating, and both the United States and the Soviet Union were witnessing a centrifugal flight by their former client states.

NATO's problems were in part a reflection of this dynamism. On March 31, the alliance opened new headquarters at Casteau, Belgium, having been exiled by Charles de Gaulle. The French President, who had taken his forces out of the military command (but not the air defense system), gave NATO an April 1 deadline for removing men and bases from his country.

In May the United States and Britain announced cuts in their NATO contingents, effective January, 1968. The financially hamstrung British would withdraw 6,500 men. And the United States would reduce its 225,000-man force by 35,000—this would ease the manpower demands being made by the Vietnam war and save an annual \$100 million in foreign exchange. It marked the first American scaling-down since Harry Truman committed six divisions to the alliance in 1951.

And it was accompanied by Congressional demands for further trimming. Arguments: it would curtail the dollar drain; the other allies had failed to live up to their

commitments; anyway, the threat for which NATO was created no longer existed.

There were other forebodings for the North Atlantic alliance. By summer the Soviet Union was a Mediterranean sea power, in the culmination of a centuries-long quest. A diplomatic coziness with Turkey had opened the Dardanelles, and the Arab-Israeli war (see Chapter 11, THE MIDDLE EAST) had presented the opportunity. The Russian Navy called at ports in North Africa, announced the construction of new helicopter aircraft carriers (it has no conventional aircraft carriers). Western military men feared establishment of a Soviet naval base on the African coast, perhaps at Mers-el-Kebir, the Algerian facility from which the French were preparing to withdraw. Then, they reasoned, it would be a short step to construction of a missile base threatening Southwestern Europe.

Britain had problems, too. For that tight little island, 1967 saw even more constriction as economic calamity gave way to disaster.

In April, Prime Minister Harold Wilson's labor government announced stringent new anti-inflationary measures. It ordered an extension of the virtual price and wage freeze of the previous year, raised taxes, and crimped credit.

The result: a spurt in unemployment, a drop in production. The jobless rate rose during the summer to 2.4 percent—more than 500,000—a postwar high.

The economic thundercloud that burst in 1967 had been spawned over the years by inefficient industry, powerful and demanding labor unions, and overseas commitments that were the vestiges of an empire Britain couldn't get rid of fast enough.

Britain, whose slogan for centuries has been “trade or die,” wasn't trading enough: exports had doubled since 1950, but its share of world trade had declined. And military and economic aid to territories and former colonies around the world constituted an impossible drain

on the treasury.

As the year wore on, the situation worsened. Shipping costs soared when the June war closed the Suez Canal. A nine-week dockworkers strike further crippled exports and widened the deficits in balance-of-trade and balance-of-payments (nearly \$465 million and \$300 million respectively by the end of October). And, in early November, a wave of speculation on the world's money markets forced Britain to commit millions from her slender reserves to maintain the price of the pound.

The strain was too much. On November 18, Britain devalued for the second time since the war (the first was in 1949), a 14.3 percent cut, from \$2.80 to \$2.40. This was teamed with further deductions in overseas expenditures and with loans totaling \$3 billion to shore up the "minipound."

(Devaluation and borrowing eased speculative pressure—which then shifted to attack the United States dollar in a frenzy of gold-buying. The French denied responsibility for either assault.)

Prime Minister Wilson addressed a national television audience on the meaning of devaluation. As he saw it, "we shall now be able to sell more goods abroad on a competitive basis. . . . [But] the goods we buy from abroad will be dearer and so, for many goods it will be cheaper to buy British." By the end of November, 21 other countries that traded heavily with Britain had devalued their currencies.

It remained to be seen whether devaluation would prove more than a stopgap, more than another, though more serious, measure in a lengthy list.

Britain's long-range hope was, of course, full membership in the European Economic Community (the Common Market) and easier access to its 180 million consumers. There was general enthusiasm for Britain's joining (both Labor and the Conservative Party favored it; so did the Americans and 5 of the 6 EEC members). One man—Charles de Gaulle—barred the door.

The British, rebuffed by De Gaulle four years earlier, tried again on May 11, with a formal application for membership in EEC, the Coal and Steel Community, and Euratom (European Community of Atomic Energy). Five days later De Gaulle held a semiannual news conference (these are really monologues, since he answers a broad range of previously submitted questions with a prepared theatrical recitation) and said no. He said it eloquently, but it was still no.

There were Britain's precarious economic situation, the weakness of the pound, her Commonwealth commitments, and "the special relations that tie the British to America."

But he left the door ajar, against the day when Britons had resolved their problems (most likely meaning after De Gaulle). And Wilson, who met with the French President in Paris a month later, reported to the House of Commons that he'd told De Gaulle "we do not

intend to take no for an answer." (Formal rejection of the British application came at the December meeting of EEC ministers.)

For the British Prime Minister, it was an appalling year. He had presided over devaluation, a further shrinkage of the Empire (British troops pulled out of Aden in November, six months ahead of schedule), and losses by his party in spring and autumn by-elections for Parliament and in local council voting.

Perhaps his only bright moment came when residents of the Rock—Gibraltar—backed continued British rule and rejected ties to Spain. Results of the September 10 plebiscite: 12,138 to 44.

For De Gaulle, following his own star, 1967 was a year for losing friends and alienating people. By midyear he had seen NATO across the French threshold and had blackballed the British.

In July he outraged Canadian—and world—sensibilities by exhorting the separatists of Quebec (*Vive Québec Libre!*) he exclaimed in Montreal), and when the Prime Minister protested, De Gaulle returned to Paris. In September the French President visited Poland, stressed traditional ties, but irritated the Communist government by calling for more independence in Warsaw's foreign policy.

Then, in November, at his second news conference of the year, De Gaulle, in chiding Israel, spoke of the Jews as "an elite people, sure of itself and dominating." He drew epithets as anti-Semitic, senile, and cynical (De Gaulle had sided with the Arabs in the June war, cut off the shipment of jet fighters to the Israelis; some said he had hopes of displacing British influence in the oil-rich Moslem countries).

De Gaulle's anti-Americanism never wavered, and he repeatedly blamed Washington for most of the world's problems. He was irked by the ubiquity of the American investment dollar. And the Vietnam war, which he continued to oppose, was, no doubt, interfering with De Gaulle's program of building bridges to Eastern Europe, of creating a community of independent states from the Atlantic to the Urals.

To this end he got West German Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger to agree that German reunification would come *after* a general detente, and not as a precondition to an easing of East-West tensions. De Gaulle was doing his best to speed a breakdown of the blocs on both sides of an already crumbling Iron Curtain.

While thus engaged in global strategy, *le grand Charles* ran into trouble at home. In May, the major labor federations mounted a 24-hour general strike against De Gaulle's call for temporary authority to run the French economy by decree. And in October, farmers across the nation demonstrated—at times violently—in demand for higher prices and government protection against imports from other Common Market countries.

Across the Rhine, Chancellor Kiesinger was build-

ing a foreign policy based on close cooperation with Paris and a rapprochement with the East. Hopefully, this would lead to reunification and the spark that seemed to be lacking in West German society.

With affluence fairly secure—despite a slight recession—many West Germans given to introspection were deploring their country's materialism, bureaucratic thinking, and fossilized educational methods. The student riots—most dramatically in June at West Berlin's Free University, which led to the resignation of the mayor—were part of this syndrome.

At the other end of the political spectrum was the neo-Nazi NPD, which split early in the year, leaving the radicals in command. NPD made only small gains in state parliamentary elections during 1967 (by year's end it held seats in 6 of the 10).

Kiesinger started the year with agreement on exchange of embassies with maverick Rumania, in August reached an accord with Czechoslovakia on trade missions with limited consular functions. And it seemed likely that the ambassadorial breach with Yugoslavia, dating from Belgrade's recognition of East Germany in 1957, would soon be healed.

A deeper wound afflicted Greece and Turkey, allies under NATO for two decades, mortal enemies for centuries. The issue was Cyprus, ethnically Greek (80 percent of the population), geographically Turkish (80 miles off the southern coast), nominally independent.

Fighting between Turkish and Greek Cypriots (the latter bolstered by the Greek Cypriot National Guard) erupted in two villages in mid-November. Twenty-four Turkish Cypriots and 4 Greek Cypriots were killed. The Turks, fearing annihilation, called on Ankara.

Turkey massed forces, threatened to invade the island, and began reconnaissance flights over Cyprus. It demanded that Athens take off Greek Army units illegally stationed on Cyprus, remove the firebrand General George Grivas, the National Guard commander, compensate the Turkish Cypriot community, and guarantee the peace. Greece rejected the demands and war seemed imminent—a war Turkey could not lose.

But the forces of mediation intervened. Representatives of the United Nations Secretary General, NATO, and President Johnson (through Cyrus Vance, a former deputy defense secretary) began crisscrossing the air lanes from Athens to Ankara to Nicosia as the UN Security Council urged restraint.

By the beginning of December, the crisis was over. All troops above the limit set by the 1960 Cyprus independence guarantee (this included some Turks) would leave the island. Both ethnic communities would dismantle their fortifications, and all local military forces would be disarmed. The 4,500-man UN Peacekeeping Force would be expanded to prevent new clashes.

It was a victory for Turkey, a nearly total capitulation by Athens. But Greece had other problems.

For the Greeks, who gave the world democracy, lost it themselves in 1967. On April 21, five weeks before elections that promised to return a left-wing government, a clique of rightist Army officers deposed the interim government of Premier Panayotis Kanellopoulos. (A week earlier the Premier had dissolved Parliament following leftist riots, and scheduled elections for May 28.)

The junta, pledging to save Greece from Communism, began a roundup of about 6,000 dissidents, among them many of the left-wing politicians who had been expected to win in the May balloting.

The army claimed it had the support of twenty-seven-year-old King Constantine; one colonel said the coup had been staged with the King's knowledge "because we had to protect him from those who would accuse him of being the instigator." That curious bit of logic wore thin as the year went on and vanished in mid-December.

On December 13, the young monarch broadcast a call for his countrymen to join him in toppling the regime. But, though some divisional commanders joined him, the junta remained in firm control of the army, and the King, with his family and court, fled to Rome.

For the remainder of the year, and into 1968, the Athens regime sent emissaries to discuss the terms of Constantine's return to Greece. That day would come, but not before the King was assured he would rule—not simply reign as a puppet of the army.

Midway across the Mediterranean, Italian Premier Aldo Moro marked his fourth year in office in December. The stability engendered by the hardworking but generally colorless leader of the center-left coalition was reflected in the country's economy, which—pumped by the automobile and petrochemical industries—scored Western Europe's best growth rate for the second year.

At the other end of the Middle Sea, seventy-four-year-old Generalissimo Francisco Franco was doing his best to answer the question: After Franco, what? Pallid liberalization laws in December, 1966 (establishing popular election of 20 percent of the *Cortés*, or Parliament), and February, 1967 (religious freedom for Spain's 30,000 Protestants and 6,000 Jews), only seemed to whet Latin appetites for more freedom.

Winter manifestations featured workers demanding better pay, students calling for academic freedom, and truncheon-wielding police determined to restore the tranquillity of suppression. Asturian miners and Catalan separatists made known their resentment, and younger members of the Catholic clergy were suddenly discovered among the lists of those arrested in the crackdowns.

In November, Franco witnessed the inauguration of a tame *Cortés* consecrated to limiting democracy in Spain and to choosing a successor—either a king or a regent—who would follow in the Generalissimo's footsteps. But time was no longer on Franco's side, and it was uncertain that destiny would be kind to his creation.

**EARLY  
1968**

### *BRITAIN TIGHTENS BELT*

In mid-March, 1968, Britain announced its most stringent budget since World War II. The austerity budget, demanded by Britain's deteriorating economic position, called for a tax rise of \$2.2 billion (equal to about \$13 billion in terms of the United States budget, or some \$4 billion above what President Johnson asked in his call for a 10 percent surcharge on income taxes). A price rise of 6 to 7 percent was forecast in Britain, but the government's economic experts warned that wage rises must be held to 3.5 percent if the shaky economy was to regain its balance. The measures would lower the British standard of living about 1 percent. Harsh though the new economic strictures were, their announcement was cheered in Commons as necessary medicine.

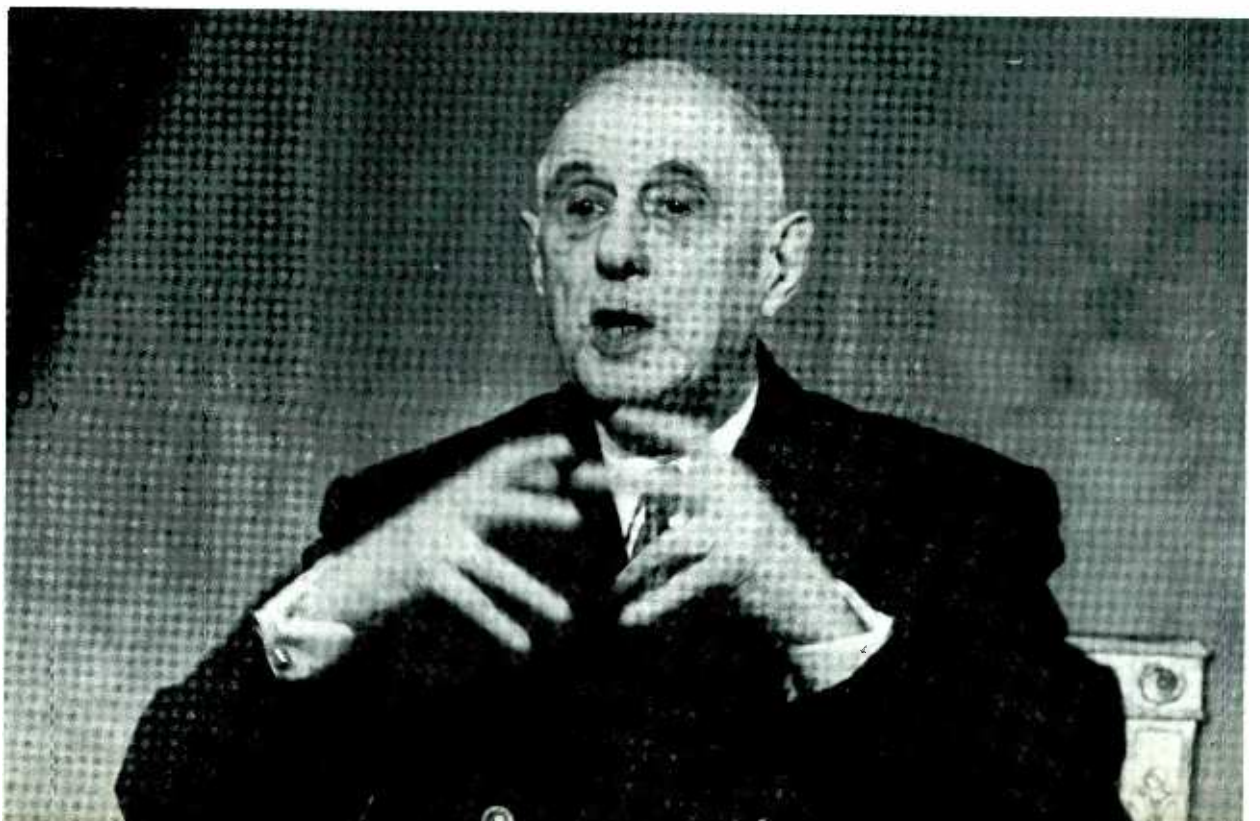
### *STUDENTS FLEX MUSCLES IN GERMANY*

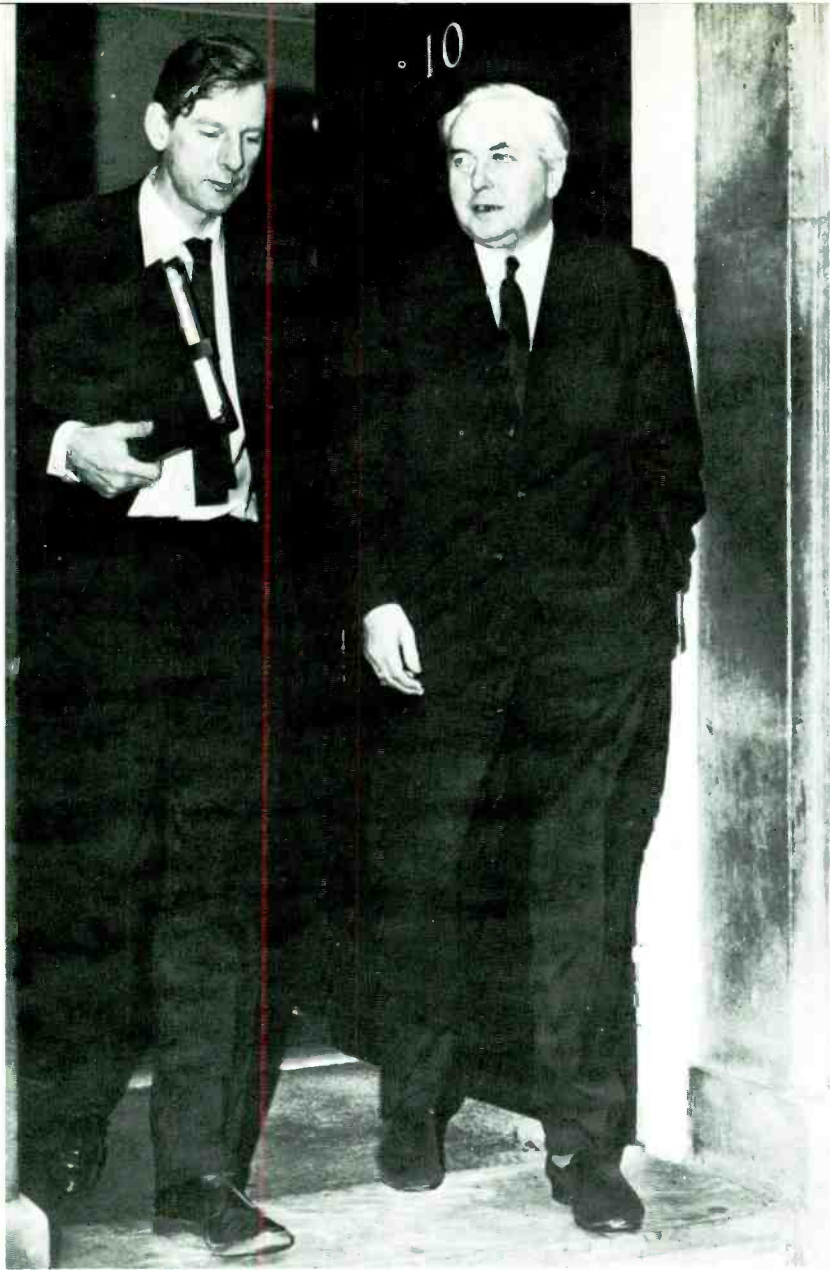
West German university students, noted for their postwar political lethargy, erupted with a bang in mid-April, when their left-wing leader—Rudi Dutschke—was critically wounded by a young would-be assassin who was infected with Hitlerite ideology. Student riots swept every major German city, notably in Berlin. The students were not Communist-oriented, though some were admirers of Mao Tse-tung. The prime object of their ire was the "establishment." To many German students, their nation's establishment was embodied in the conservative newspapers and magazines of press baron Axel Springer. Areas surrounding his publishing plants became focal points for student uprisings.

### *STUDENT-WORKER REVOLT PARALYZES FRANCE*

In Paris, at the end of April, French students paraded 1,000 strong in support of striking American students at Columbia University. Demonstrations at the suburban University of Nanterre mushroomed into a nationwide student revolt. Police charged student barricades in Paris and arrested 800 in violent clashes. The revolt, heavily influenced by French Communists, snowballed as millions of workers joined throughout the nation. By mid-May Paris and most of France was paralyzed. President De Gaulle hurried home from a Rumanian visit. The Government headed by Premier Georges Pompidou narrowly survived a censure vote on May 22. Two days later, De Gaulle addressed the nation on television promising to submit a broad reform program, notably on wages, social legislation, and education, to a June referendum. If not clearly approved, he said, he would "not much longer" remain as President.

French President Charles de Gaulle gestures dramatically to illustrate point during a news conference. Most of De Gaulle's points irritated one nation or another. Wags suggested a new French motto: "Liberté, égalité, sénilité."





Above: Looking cool beside harried aide, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson leads economic secretary Peter Shore from 10 Downing Street to the House of Commons. Economic woes beset Wilson on every side, but he remained supremely calm.

Below: Winegrowers at Valleraugue, in southern France, block train traffic with railroad ties during protest against government decision to resume imports of wine from Algeria. Observers felt this was in the nature of carrying coals to Newcastle.



Top right: Devaluation of sterling led one disgruntled Londoner, Fred Flowers, to translate the "minipound" into identifiable terms.

Center right: Former Greek Premier George Papandreu rests in Athens military hospital following army coup and his arrest. The seventy-nine-year-old politician's expected return to power in the May elections was forestalled by the army's power grab.



*Garrick Utley from Chicago, son of noted Chicago commentator, Clifton Utley, learned Russian in the Army and German in Berlin before he joined NBC News in Brussels in 1963. After a year's tour of duty covering the Vietnamese War he became NBC News Bureau Chief in Berlin from where he now covers West Germany.*

## Germany—1967: Change and Challenge

*Garrick Utley*

NBC News Berlin/Bonn Correspondent

DESPITE A WAR raging in Vietnam, and the attention and sacrifice it demands, Europe is the balance of power in the East-West scale. The fulcrum of this tenuous balance is still Germany, which more than two decades after its devastating defeat remains divided. The division of Germany is the open sore of contemporary Europe, and the main obstacle to the easing of East-West tensions which both the Soviet Union and the United States support.

In the 23 years of postwar recovery, Germans have been an inward-looking people, content to rebuild and enjoy a better standard of living. There was little choice in this. Both Germans, Communist and non-Communist, were committed to opposing power blocs militarily, economically, and hence politically. In 1967, however, West Germans showed a growing interest and initiative in solving their own problems.

Under its grand coalition government of Christian Democrats and Socialists, West Germany launched a new policy toward the east, an effort to establish diplomatic relations with the Communist east bloc countries. The diplomatic offensive is aimed at creating a better climate of trust between Germany and her former enemies to

the east, in the hope that it will eventually force the Communist regime in East Germany to ease its hard-line policy toward Bonn.

The east policy, however, has not had the hoped-for success. In 1967, Bonn did establish diplomatic relations with Rumania, and laid the groundwork for a similar step with Yugoslavia. But the efforts of Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger and Foreign Minister Willy Brandt received a cold rebuff from the other east European governments who stood by their Communist colleagues in East Germany.

Walter Ulbricht, the bearded East German leader, has demanded repeatedly, and fruitlessly, for twenty years that West Germany recognize him and his government. Raised in the Stalinist school of politics, Ulbricht follows the principle that the best line is a hard line. Ulbricht has demanded and won support from Moscow for his stand that West Germany must not be allowed to make diplomatic headway in Eastern Europe until it recognizes East Germany. The Bonn government refuses to recognize East Germany because it fears that would acknowledge the permanence of a divided Germany. Thus, in 1967, little progress was made toward healing the rift in Europe.

West Germany's new diplomatic offensive has been plotted mainly by Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, but it has been made possible by Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger, who has forced many of his skeptical Christian Democrats to support the new foreign policy. The spectacle of Kiesinger and Brandt working together in political harness is another example of changed conditions in Germany. Kiesinger was a Nazi functionary during the war, Brandt an active opponent of Hitler. Both, however, are political realists, and they have worked surprisingly well together in the coalition government.

The grand coalition completed its first year in power in December, 1967. It was formed in the hope that an alliance between the country's two largest parties could make the tough and often unpopular decisions that previous governments had avoided. For West Germany, despite its prosperity and its sense of Prussian order, faces several domestic problems. In 1967 the economic miracle, the ever-upward-spiraling prosperity, finally stopped and recession set in. It was not a serious recession by most standards, but for Germans it was a traumatic shock. The sight of unemployment queues, closed coal mines, and stalled production lines revived fears of the economic chaos and political turbulence of the 1920's and 1930's. Firm government measures eased the effect of the recession, and slowly revived the economy. These steps also helped restore faith in the government, which under former Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, had been popularly portrayed as weak and ineffective.

Democracy in Germany does not have a long or successful history. There are still groups that despise it,

and plead for a revival of the strong German nationalism of the past. Since World War II these groups have appeared in the form of a number of right-wing political parties. Some of these parties were banned for their Nazi sentiments, others simply died out. But the NPD, the National Democratic Party, has survived and grown to the point where it exercises significant political influence in West German political life.

Formed in 1965, the NPD has succeeded in attracting and organizing the right-wing support formerly divided among a scattering of splinter parties. Headed by the articulate and shrewd Adolf von Thadden, the NPD has enjoyed a string of electoral successes that worry most Germans, and shock non-Germans. The NPD has already won seats in 6 state legislatures, and hopes to win 40 or more seats in the federal Parliament in the national elections in 1969.

So far, the right-wing party has pulled from 6 to 9 percent of the votes. West German leaders say they are concerned but not overly worried by the NPD's rise. It is estimated that 12 to 15 percent of Germans sympathize with right-wing causes, and that as long as the NPD vote does not rise above this level, German democracy is safe. Nevertheless, the specter of a neo-Nazi-like party is disturbing, no matter how small it is. It is feared the NPD could grow rapidly if West Germany runs into economic difficulties, or Germans lose faith in their government. Accordingly, there have been demands for the banning of the NPD, but the Bonn government has refused, saying the Von Thadden-led party has operated legally, and to ban it might only strengthen its popular support.

For its part, the NPD has acted very cautiously to avoid a ban. Von Thadden insists his party is democratically run, and denies it is Nazi in its sentiments. The history of intraparty fights in the NPD, and the unmistakable tone of its demands, however, do not support his claims. For Von Thadden runs the NPD with an iron hand, and tolerates no opposition.

Von Thadden served as an officer in the German army in World War II, and was wounded twice. Now in his long and often fiery speeches he appeals to the nationalist sentiment which three times in the last century has carried Germany into war. His face often red with emotion, the NPD leader barks out demands for a reunification of all German people, including those living in Poland and Austria. He denounces German war reparations, demands an end to war-crimes trials, attacks the influx of foreign workers into Germany, and extols the purity of German womanhood. The list of demands and complaints goes on but the tone remains the same. Von Thadden aims at the oldest German fears and

prejudices. He and his party have firmly established themselves in Germany. Now they are trying to change Germany.

In 1967, West Germany also faced difficult problems, and uncomfortable choices with its western neighbors. Great Britain's second bid to enter the Common Market put Bonn's leaders squarely on the spot, torn between their desire to see Britain in the European community, and their interest in maintaining good relations with France. The foundation of German-French cooperation was laid by former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, and continued by Chancellor Kiesinger. It has not been a partnership of equals, as Germans rudely discovered when Charles de Gaulle demanded support from the Bonn government for his position against British entry. Although the German government did not openly agree with the French President's thinking, it did refuse to support a move by the four other pro-British common market countries to put pressure on France, and thereby assured De Gaulle's victory. The affair made Charles de Gaulle happy, but pleased few others in or outside Germany. It showed, however, the increasingly important and influential role Germany is playing in Europe.

West Germany's rise as a prosperous power has its price. The unfavorable American balance of payments, compounded by the cost of the Vietnam War, has forced the American government to demand that a rich West Germany pay the cost of stationing the over 200,000 United States servicemen in Germany. The American demands are of critical importance to Germany, and in fact all of Western Europe, which depends on American armed strength for its defense.

Bonn has agreed to make sizable contributions to the cost of keeping the American 7th Army in Germany, but the total bill is obviously too high. As a result, the United States in 1967 decided it would transfer a number of army and air force units back home to American bases in order to save money. Since Great Britain is planning to do the same, and Charles de Gaulle has already pulled French troops out of NATO, many West Germans feel they are being left to carry the brunt of the military burden in the defense of Europe.

What worries Germans more, however, is the fear that the United States, preoccupied in Asia, especially in Vietnam, has lost interest in Europe. Nevertheless, the American commitment to Europe and Germany remains. Above all it remains in Berlin. Despite the relaxation of tension in Europe, the basic problems have not changed. Europe is divided, so is Germany, so, too, is Berlin. There is still a Berlin Wall, and in 1967 the Communist East Germans continued to strengthen it.





Left: Black-garbed Archbishop Makarios, president of Cyprus, shares a laugh with Cyrus Vance, President Johnson's troubleshooter on the troubled island. Vance was instrumental in convincing the archbishop-president to accept a formula that ensured at least a tenuous peace.



Right: West German university students at Nuremberg stage a protest against the ultra-right-wing National Democratic Party, whose Bavarian section was holding a convention. One poster depicted Hitler and asked whether another such era was possible.

Below: Tall, young King Constantine dominates gathering of new government officials following the April coup. Among them are (front row, from left) Minister Without Portfolio Col. Georgios Papadopoulos, Premier Constantine Kollias, the king, Deputy Premier Lt. Gen. Gregory Spandidakis, and Agriculture Minister Georges Mathaiou. But Constantine could not dominate the junta, soon broke with the regime, and failed in a countercoup.





A policeman adds his restraining bit as a jet from a police water cannon blasts a mob of cross-carrying Berlin students in mid-April in 1968. About 3,500 demonstrators clashed with West Berlin police for four days in continuing protests of shooting left-wing student leader, Rudi Dutschke.

French police storm student barricades erected in the Latin Quarter of Paris during the May 1968 insurrections in France. Sparked by rebellious students, the uprisings spread to nearly all the working force of the country.





The Kremlin towers and walls blaze with lights as Moscow leads the Communist world in celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution's 50th anniversary. But the fairytale aura could not hide the cracks in the Red front.

# 10.

## The Soviet Sphere

THE COMMUNIST WORLD marked the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in November, and in many other ways 1967 was a jubilee year for the Soviet Union. Expansion was in the air: militarily, in the Mediterranean and along the banks of the Red Sea; scientifically, a probe of Venus; economically, more goods for the too-long-forgotten consumer; diplomatically, a Kosygin-Johnson meeting and new efforts at coexistence.

But as new paths were being blazed, old ties were going slack. Communist Party leaders around Eastern Europe, once the fanatical adherents of whatever policy thundered out of Moscow, suddenly were saying no to Kremlin edicts—and making it stick. In this fifteenth year after Stalin, the Communist monolith was crumbling rapidly, under the hammers of nationalism and economic reform.

In 1967 the spirit of nationalism surged—it had flickered fitfully since the war, in Yugoslavia (1948), East Germany (1953), Poland and Hungary (1956)—and spread rampant. And Rumania was its embodiment.

Bucharest started the year by arranging full diplomatic relations with West Germany—first of the East Europe capitals, Moscow excepted, to do so. This infuriated the Russians by its audacity, the Poles, who continued to worry about German resurgence, and East Germany's Walter Ulbricht particularly, since he was trying to use bloc recognition as a bargaining point with Bonn.

From that opening, the Rumanians pursued a foreign policy line that Stalin would have looked upon with unshirked horror. Balking at Kremlin leadership, Rumania:

- Refused to break with Israel in the June war and stood aloof from efforts to censure the Israelis at the United Nations.
- Refused to denounce Red China in the Moscow-Peking split, insisting that each nation had the right to follow its destiny.
- Refused to sign the Russo-American agreement

on limiting the spread of nuclear weapons, arguing that it would divide the world along have and have-not lines.

- Threatened not to renew its 20-year treaty of friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union when it expired in early 1968.

- Argued against the consultative congress called by the Russians for Budapest in March, 1968, and against the Communist summit session the Congress was expected to call for later in the year.

So egregious was the Rumanian attitude that when President-and-party-boss Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Ion Gheorghe Maurer met with Soviet leaders in mid-December, the Moscow session produced the iciest joint communiqué ever to come out of an officially friendly visit by Communist leaders.

Czechoslovakia, once a hotbed of orthodoxy, roiled in political and cultural ferment. Its writers and intellectuals portrayed new ideas in films and books, and the Czechoslovak pavilion at Expo 67 was among the most popular at the fair. But it was their public statements, reported by a more independent press, that dramatized their differences with the regime of President-party-leader Antonin Novotny.

Discontent came to a boil at the Fourth Congress of the Czechoslovak Writers Union, convened at Prague in late June. The writers attacked party policy, both foreign (anti-Israeli parroting of the Moscow line) and domestic (Novotny's economic foot-dragging), and questioned its control of the cultural world.

Ideological chief Jiri Hendrych denounced the liberals for their "demand of freedom for hostile views" and warned them against succumbing to "ideological and political infiltration from capitalist countries."

Upshot of their defiance was the expulsion of three writers from the union—which meant they could not publish in Czechoslovakia. But it was only a temporary setback for the "new-thinkers."

The Novotny faction, hidebound and unyielding,

came under progressively more outspoken criticism at three meetings of the party's Central Committee. And, at year's end, despite a hurried visit by Soviet party First Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, Novotny was on his way out as party boss. (The final committee session, following Brezhnev's trip, called for stepped-up investment in the consumer area at the expense of heavy industry.)

Though he would retain the Presidency when Alexander Dubcek, a liberal Slovak, took the party title in the first days of 1968, Novotny's hold as chief of state seemed tenuous indeed. (With Novotny's star waning, Hendrych was soon dismissed.)

It was in East Germany that the great economic success story—a "little miracle" compared to West Germany's—was being written in 1967.

Six years after the Berlin Wall stanching the flow of young skilled workers to the West, Ulbricht's regime had become something of a showpiece. And East Germany, having survived the payment of \$10 billion in war reparations to her Soviet "liberators," now boasts the highest standard of living in the Communist world.

The Wall had stabilized a work force that boosted East German production to a level second only to that of the Soviet Union in the East, fifth in Europe overall, and ninth globally. Trading with about 100 nations, it boosted commerce with the West by an estimated 10 percent in 1967 and did about \$750 million in trade with West Germany. (Still, its partners in Comecon, Communism's Common Market, accounted for three-quarters of all East German trade.)

The touchstone was economic reform, and Ulbricht pressed it in his New Year's message: plants would have to make a profit to stay in business. Production would count less than quality and efficiency; factory managers would have more to say, state planners, less. And the marketplace would be the testing ground.

The message was being received all over Eastern Europe, where a new generation of technicians and technocrats was moving up and demanding that orthodox old-timers move aside.

Nationalism, economic reform, and a demand for greater freedom of expression were the elements that kept East Europe aboil in 1967—and kept the Soviet Union scrambling to maintain control over its former satellites.

With China irrevocably out of the fold, the Kremlin sought to shepherd as large a flock as possible in this, the fiftieth anniversary year of the Bolshevik Revolution. Party leader Brezhnev dramatized the intensity of the ideological break in his keynote speech at the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses on November 3, attacking Mao Tse-tung for undermining socialist unity and exhorting "the best sons of the Chinese Communist party" to further resistance.

But there was no unanimity here, either: Albania supported China and North Vietnam, North Korea and

Rumania refused to take sides. (And Cuba, irked by Soviet arguments against exporting revolution throughout Latin America, sent a third-rate delegation to the Moscow festivities after announcing President Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado would attend.)

Economically, Moscow was flirting with capitalism. In April, the news agency Tass disclosed that the profit system had worked so well on a limited scale in factories the year before that it would be extended during 1967 to 390 state farms (there are 12,000 in the USSR). And by the end of 1968, incentives would be applied industry-wide.

In October, figures for 1967 showed that the more than 5,500 enterprises working under the incentive system had accounted for one-third of all production and 45 percent of all profits.

Consumers were getting a break, too, sometimes at the expense of investment in agriculture as a great debate raged within the Politburo. The country was also seeing a building boom, though it would be years before the critical housing shortage—victim first of the war, then of emphasis on heavy industry and armaments—would be eased to an appreciable degree.

Overseas, Soviet naval power plied the Mediterranean by mid-1967, outflanked NATO (see Chapter 9, WESTERN EUROPE), and was reported to be making headway at the foot of the Red Sea, following the British withdrawal from Aden.

The USSR, humiliated by implication in Israel's destruction of the Arab armies, recovered quickly. By pouring new planes, tanks, and guns into Alexandria and Port Said and taking a firm anti-Israeli stand at the UN, Moscow soon found a new glow to its image as protector of the Arabs.

The thousands of air miles logged by Kremlin leaders were not limited to "satellite" trouble spots, but included visits by President Nicolai Podgorny to Vienna and to Rome (and a Papal audience), Premier Kosygin to Paris, London, Rome (and the second Papal audience with a Soviet leader), and Glassboro, New Jersey (two meetings with President Johnson).

Moscow and Washington reached agreement on a treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons, a pact permitting establishment of consulates in their respective countries; further East-West accords were promised once the Vietnam War was over. The Kremlin was anxious to keep the international pot boiling, but not boiling over.

Despite all advances, 1967 was not an unalloyed success, and Soviet prestige was sharply dented by the defection of Stalin's daughter and the continuing travail of dissident intellectuals.

Svetlana Alliluyeva, who uses her mother's maiden name, was the Soviet dictator's only survivor (his two sons had died, one a prisoner of war, the other an alcoholic) and as such found herself a "state property."

In December, 1966, with the government's grudging

consent, she carried the ashes of her Indian husband to his family (leaving behind the grown son and daughter of a previous marriage). After two months there, Alliluyeva sought asylum in India.

New Delhi, concerned about Soviet reaction, put her off. And when Moscow pressed her to return, she scheduled a March 8th flight home.

On the 6th, however, she impulsively directed a taxi to the American Embassy and sought asylum there. After a stay in Switzerland, Alliluyeva arrived in New York in late April with the words "I have come here in order to seek the self-expression that has been denied me for so long in Russia."

The Kremlin lost propaganda points when she professed a faith in God that made it impossible for her to believe in Communism, and when she insisted that not all of the terrorism attributed to her father could have been the work of one man—that men still in positions of power in Russia had been guilty as well.

The product of Alliluyeva's self-expression was the well-received *Twenty Letters to a Friend*, a book of reminiscences published in October (see Chapter 22, BOOKS AND AUTHORS).

Within the Soviet Union, the cost of self-expression came high.

- A Moscow exhibit of Russian abstract and surrealist art was shuttered by authorities in January—an hour after it opened. Admirers of those styles were advised against trading Socialist realism for "empty formalistic exercises."

- On the same day, police broke up a demonstration by about 50 young people protesting the arrest of the editors of the underground journal *Phoenix 66*. They, in turn, had deplored the trial of the liberal writers Sinyavsky and Daniel and their sentencing of the year before. In September, one of the January demonstrators was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

There were occasional rays of hope. Poet Andrei Voznesensky, whose scheduled appearance in New York was delayed on three occasions, denounced censorship at the close of a poetry reading on a Moscow stage in July. He drew thunderous applause.

And a June issue of the Young Communist League's newspaper could assail bureaucracy in theatrical censorship—even if the editor who approved the article lost his job.

For the Soviet Union, fifty years after its explosive revolution, a new, more diffident one was already at work.



### *SATELLITES MOVE TOWARD GREATER FREEDOM*

During the first four months of 1968, the solid bloc of Soviet Communism, which had been cracked several times in the past decade, was chipped into several separate pieces. Most notable was Czechoslovakia. Alexander Dubcek was elected January 5 as First Secretary of the Czech Communist Party, to succeed Antonin Novotny. On March 30, Novotny was also replaced as figurehead president by a World War II hero, General Ludvik Svoboda. Party reforms were announced. They included greater civil and religious liberties, federal status for Slovakia, and increased trade with the West, limited private enterprise, and a new constitution. These were all areas in which Novotny's regime had lagged. When formation of the new Czechoslovakian government had been completed in April, the upheaval was hailed in many Western and Eastern countries as a new breath of badly needed freedom in Prague.

### *RIOTS SWEEP POLAND*

In March, widespread rioting broke out in several Polish cities. There was student and worker unrest over a Communist Party crackdown on cultural affairs. In Warsaw, tens of thousands of Poles battled police and militiamen. The Ministry of Culture was sacked March 11. The demonstrators' anger was touched off by a government ban on a classic Polish play that depicted Polish life under Czarist rule.

### *MOSCOW BOWS GRACEFULLY TO THE INEVITABLE*

Early in March, delegates from 67 national Communist parties met in Budapest. The Rumanian delegation walked out. Moscow let it go quietly, apparently preferring to keep only its most loyal members for the ideological war with China. The Soviets were thought to believe that dissident voices, like the Rumanians', might water down any Moscow-initiated responses to Peking.



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## Year of Trial and Transition

**Bill Brown**

NBC News Moscow Correspondent

RUSSIANS ALWAYS MARK the New Year with enthusiasm, but the dawn of 1968 must have been unusually welcome to the Soviet leadership. The fiftieth anniversary year of the Bolshevik Revolution was behind them, and they could now go back to full-time problem-solving in affairs of state and party.

Anniversary celebrations take time and they cost money. Whether they produce anything but a warm glow of self-adulation is open to debate. The year-long orgy of exaltation of the revolution and its heroes had been a diversion from the tasks at hand. Like all neglected problems, those facing the Soviets had not grown better through the year.

The new economic plan limped through 1967 slightly behind schedule. Only about half of the Soviet enterprises had been converted to the new system of decentralized planning, market orientation, higher profits and wages, and special incentives for workers and managers. There was stubborn and intransigent resistance from the bureaucrats, based in the main on a cordial dislike for any change that could alter their status in the overall scheme of the Soviet economy.

There were improvements, to be sure, in the consumer goods sectors but things were far from ideal. The press was full of customer complaints of shortages, poor

quality, bad or nonexistent service, and an overall lack of choice or selection.

The official position is that the problem now is with quality, not with quantity. That position, while not wholly accurate, has much merit. Granted, there is, and will continue to be for the foreseeable future, a shortage of passenger automobiles, but there is little realistic clamor for family cars. Most families simply cannot afford an automobile. But they can afford coffeepots, toasters, washers, dryers, refrigerators, radios, and television sets—and these still are nowhere near plentiful, although production is rising rapidly.

Clothing and food are abundant, even if the diet is somewhat uninspiring and some of the men's suits, for example, look as if they were made in the monkey house at the Moscow Zoo—or at least should be worn there. A good fit is not what a Muscovite gets when he buys a suit—it's what he has when he looks in the mirror. And you can still spot a foreigner at the Bolshoi by looking at his shoes.

The retailing system itself is in drastic need of overhaul, as officials sadly admit. As many as a million rustics flock to Moscow each day to queue up at GUM or the Central Department Store, not to buy luxuries but hopefully to pick up a few utilitarian items not yet available in the towns or villages. So much has been written about Soviet retailing procedures that anything else would be superfluous. It is doubtful that any other nation on earth save the most backward could devise a more laborious and time-consuming system for the distribution of goods.

The Soviet leaders, Brezhnev, Kosygin, and Podgorny, know this without any prompting from the West. They must have chafed from time to time during the revolutionary festivities over the urgent need to put the system in better order. There is no doubt that this is their purpose—despite the fact that the number one priority still goes, as it has historically, to greater development of the means of production, or industry.

There is a commitment to profitability, higher wages, and incentives, which sounds oddly like a capitalistic approach to the age-old problem. It is, but the rationale for it is simple. Since higher profits go to the enterprises and to the state rather than to investors as in private industry, there is no irreconcilable conflict with doctrine. Higher prices are inevitable, of course, but these will be more than offset by higher wages—while the theory of bonuses or incentive pay is a new recitation of the old dogma “to each in accordance with his merit.”

Thus the year ahead will be one of trial for the Soviet regime. That they are committed to far-reaching economic changes cannot be questioned seriously. Whether the plan, which is admittedly ambitious and not without defects, can be attained remains to be seen, and the long stage wait of 1967 did not improve the chances.

The Communist Party, meanwhile, is not without

problems of its own. Relations with Red China could scarcely be worse, although much of the friction has been carefully kept out of sight during the anniversary year. It would have been unseemly to mark the glorious revolution while squabbling like alley cats. Even with this discreet policy, there were numerous reports of border incidents along the Chinese frontier, and during the year the Red Chinese regime became known as "Mao Tse-tung and his group," a tacit withdrawal of national recognition.

Albania, of course, remained utterly contemptuous of the Soviets, while Cuba and North Korea edged perceptibly toward the world revolutionary posture of Red China. It can safely be assumed that the Soviets lost little sleep over these three, however. They were far more concerned with growing signs of independence in the East European bloc.

There were evidences everywhere of burgeoning independence in the bloc countries—nothing like a complete pullout, of course, but unmistakable signs that these nations were more and more determined to go their own way when their national interests did not square with those of the Soviet Union.

First Rumania and then Yugoslavia edged closer to the West by reestablishing relations with the Bonn government in Germany. This, despite an unending Soviet propaganda campaign warning of dangerous resurgence of Naziism, was cause for genuine concern. Russia knows full well that the enormously talented and productive West German industrial complex can gratify many needs in the bloc countries which now are satisfied only by the Soviet Union.

One can only speculate on how much closer to the West the Soviet Union would have inched itself in this past year were it not for two issues, one all-pervasive and the other a dangerous irritant.

The first, of course, is Vietnam where, according to the Soviet official view, the heroic and patriotic proletariat is fighting to stave off an imperialist aggressor, the United States. This issue alone has been enough to slow the transition to detente with the West over the past three years; this year it blocked westward movement completely. Altogether, that is, except for the dramatic example tossed up by the Middle East crisis and the abortive six-day war.

The view here, of course, is somewhat different than in the West. Officially, the condemnation of Israel as an aggressor state continues without letup. But during the crisis itself, and during Mr. Kosygin's hurried trip to the United States at that dark hour, the Soviets behaved in an altogether sober, restrained, and civilized manner.

Granted, the UN Security Council debate played its usual part in the Middle East crisis as at other times: the relatively minor role of providing a platform for the polemics of the aggrieved parties while the powers con-

ducted their serious business behind closed doors. Cynical as that view may seem, it is defensible in the light of events—and nobody knows better than the Soviets how to use the UN as a public stage in stalling for time while the real problem is quietly ironed out.

It must have galled the Soviets to watch from the sidelines while their Arab friends took an unmerciful pasting during those six days of fighting. It also must have given them pause to wonder whether the game of providing the Nasser gang with armaments was worth the candle, especially since traditional Arab ingratitude has impeded any real socialist progress in the Arab bloc.

But Vietnam remains the gnawing, corrosive problem. The balance of power in the world may be shifting dramatically, with China and her nuclear capability providing the new weight. It is only logical that the Soviets would move closer to the United States, hoping eventually to help create a supra police force to protect world peace and curb the threat of China on the rampage—with both the bomb and delivery capability.

Not while the Vietnam War goes on can the Soviets implement this policy, if in fact such is their intention. They are foreclosed from moving any closer to the United States by the weight of their own propaganda attack on the "imperialist war," if nothing else. There is, of course, a far greater reality to consider, that is, the shattering effect of any such rapprochement with the United States on the tenuous "unity" of the Communist family. Only on the question of support, moral or material, for Vietnam's heroic "freedom fighters" is there any real unity in the Communist world.

There can be no serious question that the Russians would like to see an end to the fighting in Vietnam, nor that they would like to see the end before any decisive American military victory or before the will and patience of the NLF and Hanoi give out. But it is not wildly unlikely that they would prefer a "made in USA" label on the peace to a continuation of the fighting.

For this reason, the Soviets tried quietly during 1967 to bring about peace talks despite frequent official denials that they were doing so, or that in fact they had any right to make such an attempt. The negative results of their efforts are known. And there the problem sits at year's end.

The Soviet desire for peace is prompted by national self-interest. Defeat of the Viet Cong and Hanoi would be a severe blow to the Communist cause, thus negotiation before defeat is much to be preferred. The Soviets may believe, as do others, that the United States cannot score a classic military victory in Vietnam, but it would be hard to believe that the Soviet leaders think the United States will lose militarily.

Equally as important, the Sino-Soviet situation is clouded and complicated by Vietnam. Above all, the Soviets do not want to see any direct Chinese interven-



tion—because they know what that would very likely mean to them and the rest of the world. Nor, one suspects, do they especially enjoy seeing the United States waste its substance in this painful and pitiful little war while China, the real threat to the world, including the Soviets, conserves and builds its military strength.

Economically, too, the Soviets are hurt by Vietnam. Every plane, whether or not it is obsolete, takes money out of the domestic economy. Every piece of war matériel, every pound of food shipped to Vietnam comes out of the mouths and pockets of the Soviet citizenry. The possible gains cannot now offset the already calculable losses.

The Soviets have proved masters of the saddle-point theory of gaining maximum objectives while risking only minimum losses. The saddle point for them in Vietnam has long since been passed. Dragging out the war any longer cannot add much additional tarnish to the United States reputation, which already has been blackened almost beyond recognition over much of the world. In fact, there seem forceful reasons to believe that the Russians would be delighted to see an end to the bitter struggle.

Perhaps some hope that the end is in sight was one factor in prompting the Soviets to press at year's end for a worldwide consultative meeting of Communist parties—a preliminary to a summit meeting in Moscow—perhaps next year. In any event, press they did. The leadership must now look back on this decision with mixed emotions.

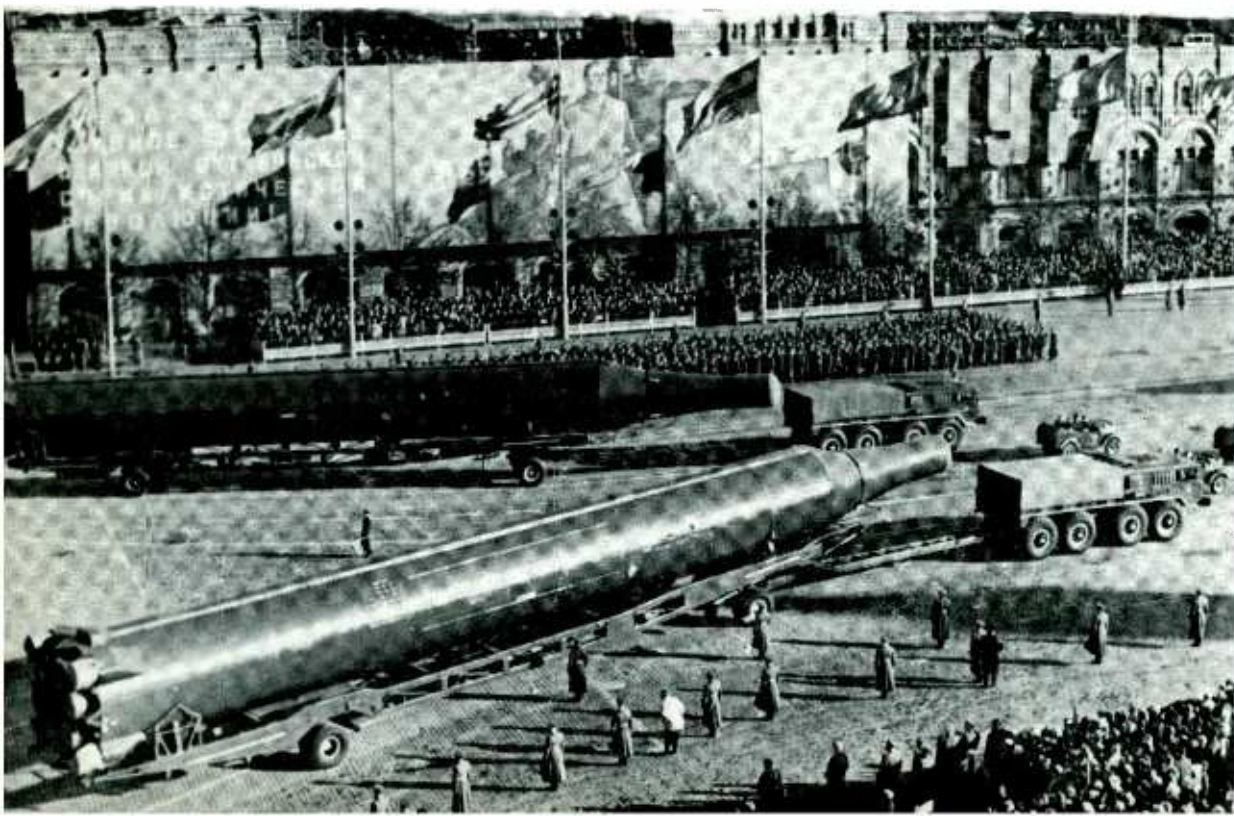
It went well at first. China, Cuba, and Albania promptly denounced the meeting and the “revisionists” who called it. There is reason to believe that the Soviets had hopes of securing through leadership and persuasion a statement of worldwide Communist aims that would prove unpalatable to the Chinese and thus further isolate

Mao and his followers. As for Cuba and Albania, they could do as they wished in the last analysis, or so the Russians may have reasoned in private. But as year-end drew closer things turned out for the worse. It became increasingly apparent that a substantial number of Communist parties would not attend the consultative meeting at all while others would be there merely as observers. Hopes for any solidarity, save in a ringing denunciation of the United States and other “imperialists,” began to dim. Yet the Soviets pressed on.

Perhaps they reasoned that just holding the meeting, with China and her noisome satellites absent was, in effect, a declaration of position and tacit evidence of a split. Perhaps they had a rabbit or two in their hats. Or perhaps dedication to the Lenin preoccupation with Communist unity was the driving factor.

In any event, the Soviets reached the end of a year of trial and transition with relief that at times seemed almost obvious. The leadership troika remained unshaken, and there was no solid evidence of any internecine tension or backstage maneuvering for position. Most of the world took official statements at face value as they related to internal Soviet affairs, at least, and that meant the world was watching the economic progress with real interest. How many times before had Soviet leaders announced a grandiose plan that never got off the runway? Too many to be forgotten, surely, but this new plan and this new leadership seemed sound, sensible, and realistic. Show us, the world seemed to say.

So did the Soviet citizens, and only a little less loudly. Now that the patriotic harangues and the personality glorifications of the anniversary year were behind, the time had come to get down to business. The stage wait was over.



ICBM's capable of being launched while orbiting the earth are shown for the first time, rumbling through Red Square during November 7 Bolshevik jubilee.



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## **“Who’s Afraid of Karl Marx?”**

**Frank Bourgholtzer**

NBC News Paris Correspondent

A RADIO PRAGUE COMMENTATOR tackled the question of prostitution in Czechoslovakia by stating, “We used to think that in a socialist society, the causes of such social problems as prostitution would be eliminated, and therefore the problems could not exist. No laws were passed to cope with it, and as a consequence it is growing in Czechoslovakia at an alarming rate.”

Coping with streetwalkers and B-girls is not the only area of life in the Communist world where Karl Marx’s scientific analysis has fallen short of reality. It isn’t even especially important. It is a curiosity, really, but a useful one because it makes it easy to see that Communists, at least non-Asian Communists, have at last given up the concept that they are in the throes of constructing a new Paradise. They are ready to accept the inevitability of a fallible society that started with Adam and Eve and the apple.

The process of modernizing Marx didn’t begin, of course, in 1967. The fact that this was the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution did, however, lend a certain watershed aspect to the trend.

Fifty years ago, not many people took Communists all that seriously. Not enough people took them seriously enough. After Lenin’s coup and Stalin’s consolidation, Communists became the bogeymen of the world—or, if

you were on the other side, the stainless-steel untouchable heroes. Too many people took them too seriously.

A certain perspective arrived with the fiftieth anniversary. The monolith of Communism, which always was more myth than matter, was publicly shattered. And all of anybody’s horses and men could never put Karl Marx together again into that image of divine right.

French Communists, in a conference recorded by secretaries in miniskirts and leaders in man-of-the-world business suits, adopted a policy of pliable tactics that would have been heresy a few years earlier.

Czech Communists played hosts at Marienbad to a conference between Marxists and Christians, at which the Godless and the God-fearing had a splendidly salubrious session not all attributable to the bracing baths.

Yugoslav Communists voted against a government bill in the parliament, of all things.

Rumanian Communists, supported by Italian Communists, continued to smile serenely at Moscow and say, clearly and evenly, Go to hell.

Cuban Communists contrived a public insult to the Russians in Moscow on that very fiftieth anniversary—by sending a second- or third-rate delegation.

Swedish Communists were repudiated by left-wing activists who wanted more violent anti-American demonstrations than the Swedish Communists considered respectable—in a preelection year.

In general, the Communists in countries where non-Communists are in control were in one or another stage of accepting the philosophy that they couldn’t beat ’em, so they might as well join ’em. Seizure of power remained the ultimate goal, but it no longer was necessary to pretend that Communists alone would ever be able to rule in France, or Italy, or anywhere else in Western Europe.

Communists in countries where they control the governments were, at the same time, more than ever squirming in their seats of power, trying to justify their claims of leadership. In every Communist country, there were economic problems, and in some the problems were spelling trouble.

All of these swirling currents in the world of Communism tended to be classified under a general heading of “liberal” tendencies. In Marxist-Leninist terms, they were “revisionist,” at least as the Chinese currently define Marxism-Leninism.

Yet, simultaneously with all this ferment, there was a pronounced tendency in 1967 toward repression of what a Westerner would think of as liberalism—freedom to say and do whatever individuals wanted to say and do. Not only were intellectuals in Russia under heavy police pressure. The same was happening in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other Communist countries.

Such behavior by supposedly sophisticated leaders is baffling to non-Communist Westerners, and even, sometimes, to Communists in the West. It doesn’t sur-

prise the people concerned, however, even though they usually pretend to be surprised and call for help in terms of freedoms which, for the most part, they've never had. The fact is that freedom of expression will certainly be the last area to be "liberalized" in any Communist regime, and probably never will be acceptable to Communists. Perhaps another way to look at it is the way a good Communist subconsciously looks at it. Take away the restrictions on expression and you have nothing left at all.

"Confidence," as the saying goes in Communist circles, "is splendid, but control is better."

A good Communist is suspicious of anything that he cannot control. This is why there is so much suspicion among Communists in power when it comes to so-called new economic thinking—transition to a "market economy." Planning is the essence of a Communist's thought. Permitting such imponderables as supply and demand to control distribution is frightening.

The new economics takes hold in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Russia—and with Bulgaria and the other experimenters—only to the degree that the men in power can contrive to maintain some control of it. These efforts at control tend to limit the benefits of new economic systems, but they don't necessarily entirely stifle the new methods.

Control of thoughts, of expression, is stifling. Good Communists regret this, but they have so far found no way to control expression without stifling it, and the consequence is, inevitably, that they will go on stifling it—as long as they are good Communists.

Good Communist. That became a question for 1967. What was a good Communist? As long as there existed, in the veiled future, the image of a perfect Communist man, an ideal, it was feasible to speak of a Communist as an entity. To call a man a Communist was to call him something definite, something unambiguous. Certainly a good Communist was a far cry from the ideal of the future—his own ideal—but at least he was definable in relation to that ideal. And he could be relied upon to react with Pavlovian predictability in standard situations.

Now that the ideal has been abandoned, and now that the monolithic character of world Communism has been fractured, it is necessary to wonder whether the stereotype of a Communist, himself, may long endure.

The Communist also is subject to change just by dint of that inexorable train of "life itself" which Marxists so dearly love. Communists are at least human enough to die, eventually, and they do spring from parents like other mortals. Old Communists are dying off, and newer, younger Communists are taking over. There is a lot of evidence that they just don't make them like they used to.

Rumania was an example of the surge of new blood, in 1967, but Rumania gave signs of being in this,

as in all other aspects, less than typical. Nicolae Ceausescu had himself installed as supreme ruler of the system, by acquiring the title of President to go with his power role as head of the party. This was a consolidation of position and prestige in the style of the old Stalinists, but Ceausescu represented a whole new generation in the Communist camp. A trip through Bucharest's Communist Party museum is an eye-opener. Photographs of the old days of the party show the old-time Big Names, especially that of the late Gheorghiu-Dej, omnipresent at every occasion. In one picture, looking like a wistful errand-boy, there is an out-of-focus young man with a big circle around his face, drawn in by the editors of the museum display. This is Ceausescu, whose rather more adult photos dominate the rest of the museum.

Ceausescu's contribution to the image of the new Communist is that of independence. Even though he carries on, really, a tradition begun by his elders, Ceausescu has gone further with it, and harder. It has been the Chinese who have broken the unity of Communist countries—if one puts the old example of Tito to one side—but it has been the Rumanians who have exploited the rift by refusing the demand to close ranks behind Moscow in response to the Chinese actions.

In hard fact, as a result, the old saw that a Communist was someone who twitched when Moscow pulled the string is gone, and Ceausescu is one who helped it to go.

Events in 1967 pointed the finger of significance at another Communist center, Czechoslovakia, where ferment of a different order seemed to be irrepressible. Irrepressible because it continued to be heard and felt even after quite stringent measures of repression were applied to the Czech writers, who were the outspoken leaders of the restlessness, just as Hungarian writers had been a decade earlier. The Czech agitation occurred, however, in the context of admitted shortcomings, in contrast to the Hungarian rebellion against an ironfisted and stubborn insistence on the old Stalinist order.

The pattern of alternative protest and carrot-and-stick response was, in reality, spelling the end of the reign for another of the old guard in Czechoslovakia, Antonin Novotny, who would be replaced by another Communist of the newer generation.

Aside from the burning issue of free expression, which was a losing battle, the issue in Czechoslovakia was economic, and in this sense more typical than the Rumanian rumblings, so far as the Communist-controlled countries were concerned. The Czechs, as well as the Hungarians, the Bulgarians—and even the Lieberman-led Russians—were destroying another of the classic recognition signals of a Communist. It used to be that you could count on a Communist behaving as though profit and pleasure were the two deadly sins. Not any more. Even old Nikita Khrushchev had tossed that out,

with the contemptuous label of "one-pair-of-pants Communism."

The new Communists with their new economics have had to cast their Marxism in altogether new molds. Take, for instance, the Hungarians, who in some ways have outdistanced the Czechs in their economic experimentation. One recent development in Hungary has been the granting of loans to individuals by the state-run banks in order to build small, one-family homes with private gardens. These are residential houses, with residential, not profit-making, gardens. The Hungarians are sensitive to charges that this is a reversion to bourgeois economics. Not at all, they retort. Isn't it merely realistic of the state to recognize that its task is to provide housing for the people as rapidly and efficiently as possible? Isn't it better to tap the savings and energies of the people themselves, rather than reduce wages and raise taxes in order to finance large-scale housing to the extent required? And if people are paying for houses themselves, isn't it only right for the Communist state to let them choose single-family "bourgeois-style" homes, if that's what they insist on having after the state has explained the advantages of multiple-dwelling apartments?

The reasonableness of this approach to Western democrats is irrefutable. That it is a new brand of Communist who applies it is remarkable.

There were other transmutations that appeared in 1967, if not for the first time, at least in an ascending line, an upward and forward, not a declining, trend. The attitude toward Germany was one. Rumania, the

rebel, became the first of the Eastern countries to re-establish diplomatic relations with the West Germans. There was a reaction, of course, which appeared to be an intensification of anti-German sentiment in some of the other eastern bloc countries, but there was no doubt in the mind of any realistic observer that the force of the classic anti-Germanism, which has put a lot of the steam in the East European propaganda ever since the war, was waning.

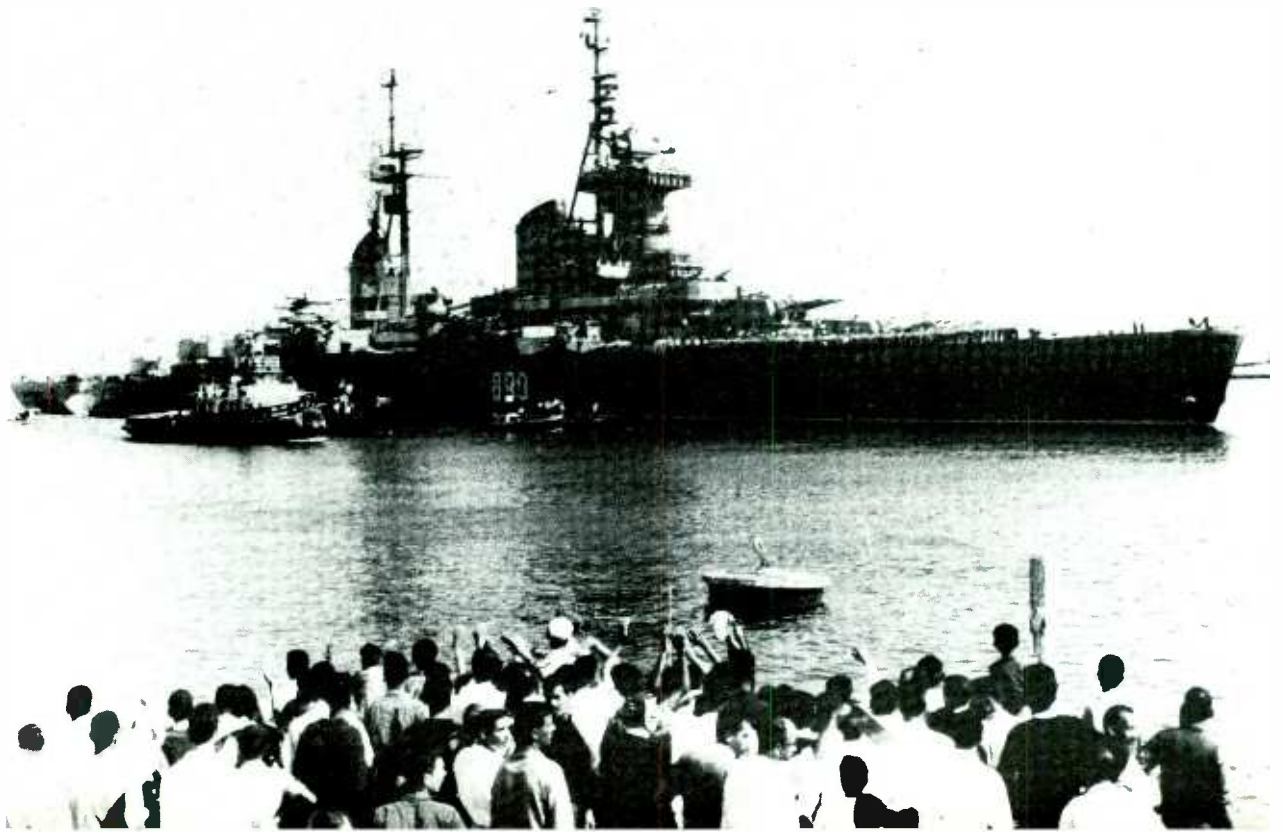
Tourist travel to Eastern Europe became still easier in 1967, with visa restrictions almost disappearing. For Yugoslavia, in fact, they did disappear.

Business arrangements between Western businessmen and Communist trading organizations not only were increasing, but they were leading to far-ranging changes in the organization of Communist commercial enterprises, and as a most significant consequence, to far-ranging changes in the Communist officials who, increasingly, consider themselves to be businessmen.

The bagful of oddities in Communist life, as observed in 1967, made it valid to question, in a way that it has not been sufficiently questioned until now, the identity of Communism, and of Communists. It made it clearer than it has ever been that, whoever they are, they aren't what they used to be. And whatever they mean in terms of potential impact on the lives and well-being of non-Communists, the meaning requires investigation.

Evidence was that among the most serious investigators into the new Communist identity were the Communists themselves.

*Below: Egyptians hail arrival of Soviet destroyer in Port Said October 27. The vessel was one of seven Soviet warships steaming into Egyptian ports in show of continuing support for the Arabs following their disastrous clash with Israel.*





Left: Chinese students, regarded approvingly by photo of Mao Tse-tung, prepare to board Moscow-Peking train in January. Summoned from European universities to take part in the Cultural Revolution, they had paused in Moscow long enough to battle with police outside Lenin's tomb.



Above: Disconcerted but not displeased, Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter, reacts at jammed New York news conference called to explain why she defected from the Soviet Union.



Left: Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev might be pondering the shape of things to come during Prague session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and government. Beside Brezhnev sits Alexander Dubcek, new Party leader replacing Antonin Novotny (fourth from left). Beyond Novotny, a concerned Walter Ulbricht, East German boss.

Bottom left: Pope Paul VI welcomes Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny to his private studio in Vatican City in January. It was the first papal audience for a Communist president.

Bottom right: Russian poet Andrei Vozneshensky reciting some of his works at an East Village theatre, New York, in May. One of the more liberal voices of Russia, he was yet permitted a speaking tour of the United States.





*Top:* East Germany's Leipzig boasts an international air and busy streets at Spring Fair time. More than 10,000 firms from 65 countries displayed their wares, pointing up increased trade across the rusting Iron Curtain.



*Left:* Soviet Colonel Yuri Gagarin buckles into a Red Air Force jet like the one in which he crashed to death on March 27, 1968. The thirty-four-year-old astronaut, whose 1961 space flight made him the first human to orbit the earth, received a state funeral with burial in the Kremlin wall.

*Bottom left:* The interior of an office in the Soviet Embassy in Washington after a predawn bomb blast on February 21, 1968. The bomb was placed or thrown onto the outside ledge of a window in this room.

*Bottom right:* A thoughtful smile masks tough determination as Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu departs Sofia, Bulgaria, after a March, 1968, summit meeting of Warsaw Pact leaders. Rumania bucked Soviet leadership and refused to sign an agreement on halting the spread of nuclear weapons.





Jubilant Israeli soldiers dance before the Wailing Wall. They were in the vanguard of troops who took the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem and with it the Wall.

## 11. The Middle East

ISRAEL UPSET THE BALANCE of power and redrew the map of the Middle East with its stunning victory over three Arab armies in June, 1967, but by the end of the year it was fashionable to shrug off the tiny nation's conquests. For the terrorist attacks continued, the refugee problem had been intensified, and there was not the smallest likelihood that any Arab leader would discuss a permanent settlement with any Israeli spokesman.

Nevertheless, the six-day explosion was inevitable by dint of the frustrations that had turned the Middle East into a tinder keg. Militant Arabs had been stymied in their 19-year efforts to drive out the Zionists and reclaim Palestine. And their border incursions thwarted Israel—mindful of Nazi extermination camps of only a generation before—in developing as a nation without hypersensitive attention to arms and vigilance.

As if it were needed, further fuel was added by the conflicting interests of the great powers. The Soviet Union, armorer to radical Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Algeria, backed a policy of upheaval. The United States, which supported Israel but also aided moderate Jordan and conservative Saudi Arabia, was preoccupied with Vietnam (which was incentive enough for the USSR). The United Nations offered the pathetic picture of an organization holding all the responsibility but none of the power for keeping the peace.

The first sparks of 1967 hit the tinder keg in April, with dogfights between Israeli and Syrian jets (Tel Aviv claimed six MIG's downed in a single battle over the Sea of Galilee). By mid-May there was smoke: on the 14th, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser began moving troops across the Sinai. On the 18th he demanded removal from the area of the United Nations Emergency Force, which had been acting as a buffer since 1956; U Thant complied (see Chapter 16, UNITED NATIONS). On the 22nd, Nasser closed the Strait of Tiran to Israeli shipping, cutting off the port of Elath

from important trade routes to Asia and Africa. On the 30th, King Hussein signed an agreement putting Jordanian forces under Cairo's command.

Israel girded for war. On June 1, Premier Levi Eshkol broadened his coalition government and gave the Ministry of Defense to General Moshe Dayan, a hero of 1956.

International diplomacy was activated: British Prime Minister Wilson hurried to Washington, where President Johnson was trying to unite the world's maritime powers in an effort to break the blockade. The UN Security Council convened in urgent session and U Thant himself made a flying trip to Cairo. From all this activity came—nothing.

Students of the Arab world will for years argue over Nasser's intentions. Certain points, however, are clear. He led a military establishment that included 80,000 Egyptian troops, 55,000 Jordanians, and nearly 70,000 Syrians. They surrounded a nation which, fully mobilized, could field between 250,000 and 300,000 men—and must protect frontiers on the north, east, and south. Nasser himself was under pressure: from Syria, which ridiculed him for hiding behind the UN Peace-Keeping Force; from Yemen, where Royalist forces aided by Saudi Arabia were chewing up an Egyptian expeditionary force; and at home, where the economy struggled fitfully against heavy arms expenditures and a rocketing birthrate (ironically, one of the first victims of the June debacle was to be birth control: government funds were channeled elsewhere).

Was Nasser merely mounting a gigantic bluff? Or was he looking for a war to unite the people behind him and a victory to ensure his position astride the Middle East? Arab militants had never forgotten that in 1956 it was Britain, France, and Israel against Egypt. Could three Arab nations warring on Israel alone reverse the decision? Their armaments were vastly superior to



those of 1956—Cairo and Damascus had received more than \$2 billion worth of Russian equipment, Jordan still relied on Western arms. The possibility of direct Soviet intervention might also have figured into Arab calculations, though the mischievous Russians quit encouraging Nasser after he closed the Strait of Tiran.

One Arab observer would later offer the following argument: Nasser was looking for a diplomatic victory—movement of troops across the Sinai, closing off the Strait of Tiran were elements of a bloodless charade. But, he added, with Middle East logic, “the Israelis panicked, and attacked.”

On the morning of Monday, June 5, Israeli jets wiped out the Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian air forces. Coming in across the Mediterranean and beneath defensive radar, they caught most of the Egyptian planes on the ground. The few fighters that managed to get aloft didn't stay up for long. (This wave of attacks would bring charges from Cairo that United States and British planes had supported the Israelis. Washington and London denied this, and the Soviets, shadowing the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, knew the denials to be true. The Israelis subsequently released a tape recording said to have been made of a conversation between Nasser and Hussein, in which the two leaders concocted the tale.)

On the ground, Israeli armored columns rolled across the Sinai, outflanking Egyptian units or wiping them out—as in the battle of Mitla Pass, a ferocious repeat of the 1956 campaign. By Thursday night the Sinai resembled a collection of desert junkyards of Russian-built guns and tanks. The Israelis were on the east bank of the Suez (the Egyptians had scuttled vessels to block it two days earlier) and were busy directing stragglers across the waterway; and they had reopened the Strait of Tiran by taking fortified Sharm el Sheik. In a tragic mistake that day, Israeli jets and torpedo boats attacked the USS *Liberty*, a communications monitoring ship 15 miles off the Egyptian coast; more than 100 American seamen were killed, or wounded.

Hopes that Jordan would stay off the battlefield proved futile and, following a Jordanian bombardment of Israeli Jerusalem, on Monday, Israeli forces moved against Hussein's well-trained army. On Wednesday, Jerusalem was reunified with the taking of the Old City, a district rich in relics precious to three major religions. Jordan accepted the cease-fire ordered by the Security Council, but Israeli units kept moving until they had occupied everything west of the Jordan River.

The Syrian front was relatively quiet until Thursday, when Israeli bombers pounded the Golan Heights, then infantry and tanks moved—almost straight up—to take the heavily fortified escarpment. Syria announced acceptance of the cease-fire on Friday but fighting continued into the next day. When it was over, the Israelis had cleared the heights, and they stood within easy strik-

ing distance—20 miles—of Damascus itself.

By late Saturday, Israel had redrawn the map of the Middle East. It now occupied territory three times its own size, with about 1 million inhabitants. Its armies had slain 20,000 Egyptians, 15,000 Jordanians, and 1,500 Syrians (Israel lost nearly 700 men in combat). Before those armies, nearly 200,000 west-bank Jordanians had fled across the river. About 14,000 would be permitted to return to their homes under a program announced in August; other refugees from Gaza would be allowed to find permanent homes in Jordan.

His armies in rubble, Nasser broadcast a *mea culpa* and resigned—a brilliant stroke that brought demonstration by thousands of Egyptians to whom he was the embodiment of Arab power and hope. Nasser promptly unresigned, took on the additional portfolio of premier, and began a purge of the military establishment. It reached as far as Field Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer, Nasser's comrade-in-arms for twenty years and a family friend as well, who was the Deputy Supreme Commander of Arab forces in the June war. But Amer and other discredited officers took action of their own. They joined in what appears to have been a plot to overthrow Nasser and take control of the country by way of the Army. Loyal intelligence officers acted first, however—arrests and Amer's suicide closed this postscript to the war.

Across the sands, happier scenes. The city of Jerusalem was one again, and observers watching as Jews worshipped at the Wailing Wall (theirs for the first time in 2,000 years) could have no doubt that at least this portion of the spoils of war would be retained. For the world now turned to the task of getting Israel to relinquish its newly won territory.

But Israel, for all the strain of administering the vast new holdings, remained adamant. Foreign Minister Abba Eban summed up his country's position: “Israel will not return to the political and juridical anarchy or to the strategic vulnerability from which she has emerged.” In 1956, Israel had pulled back from the Sinai, given up the Gaza Strip and Sharm el Sheik, under pressure from the United States and guarantees from the United Nations. Events leading up to the 1967 war had shown that neither her putative allies nor the world organization could be relied upon in a showdown.

If the Old City of Jerusalem was not negotiable—Israel's Parliament, the Knesset, moved to annex it despite UN condemnation—most of the June conquests were, but only, Israel insisted, within the framework of a general peace settlement hammered out in face-to-face negotiations with the Arabs. This the Arabs persistently refused.

Instead, they bided their time. While the UN debate was wearing down the calendar (in November the Security Council would adopt a British compromise calling for an end to Arab belligerency and an Israeli withdrawal—in no specific order), the Arab states met in

August at the Sudanese capital of Khartoum. The summit sessions insisted there could be no peace with the Zionists, but did quietly sanction third-party negotiations to effect an Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories. (Sensing there would be a softening of position, Syria had boycotted the meeting.) In November, King Hussein, visiting Washington, admitted that Israel was "a fact of life" and renounced any intention of destroying his neighbor to the west. Cairo grudgingly acknowledged Israel's right "to exist." But neither country showed haste to make for the conference table, and Cairo was in fact busily replenishing its arsenal.

By September, in fact, the Soviet Union had made good more than half of Egypt's losses in the Sinai, and with later-model jets, guns, and tanks at that. (The following month brought a United States announcement that arms shipments would be resumed on a limited scale to Israel, Jordan, and Lebanon, which, alone of Israel's neighbors, had stayed out of the war.) Moscow was doing more: it had called the General Assembly into special session in mid-June and, with Premier Alexei Kosygin playing lead trumpet, blared the Arab cause before the world. This campaign, though ineffective in securing condemnation of Israel's preemptive war, added luster to the Soviet image as shield of the Arabs against the imperialists.

Meanwhile something approaching normality—Middle East normality—returned to the area. Bridges across the Jordan carried trade between halves of the severed kingdom; schools on the west bank reopened in September after an abortive boycott. There were artillery duels across the Suez, dogfights over the Sinai, and new terrorist outrages from Jordan. (By October, 200 Syrian-trained infiltrators had been captured after crossing from Jordan.) On October 21st, Russian-built, Egyptian-operated missiles sank the Israeli destroyer *Elath* 13 miles off Port Said; 47 seamen died. Israel will know how to act, said Dayan, "step by step." Three days later, Egypt's Port Suez refineries, which processed about 80 percent of the country's crude oil, lay in flaming, smoking ruins, the victim of a retaliatory shelling by Israeli guns on the east bank of the canal. Dayan considered the account settled and the June ceasefire agreement still in effect. It was to remain a slender reed for the rest of 1967.

The economic impact of the war was felt throughout the area—and by some innocent bystanders as well. Closure of the Suez cut off a major source of Egyptian revenue, and the loss of tourism deprived Cairo of still another (the third leg on its economic tripod, the cotton crop, was crippled by a bad harvest). At Khartoum, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Libya contributed \$266 million to help tide Egypt over the rocky road to recovery (the sum was \$40 million less than Cairo's annual income from the Canal), and another \$111 million to Jordan. Israel's economy, already laboring under a slug-

gish growth rate of less than 2 percent, was strained by full mobilization and the need to maintain relatively large forces (for a nation of 2.7 million) long after the fighting. In November, Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir estimated that the war had cost Israel \$750 million, and that foreign fund-raising had produced about half that. Loss of the Suez also hurt the British: it cost London \$56 million a month in higher prices for Middle East oil and for shipping the oil. Drain of its hard-currency reserves was a factor in devaluating the pound (see Chapter 9, WESTERN EUROPE).

The June war also derailed Nasser's Yemen campaign—a five-year effort that pitted him against King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, who backed the old religio-royalist regime. At one point, more than 50,000 Egyptian troops were fighting for the republican cause, but at the Khartoum summit conference in August, a harried Nasser agreed to withdraw his units if Faisal would cut off aid to Imam Mohammad al-Badr. The last Egyptian soldiers were removed in early December, and the Imam's forces promptly moved to the gates of the capital, Saana, and laid siege. But it soon became evident that the Russians and Syrians (and even Red Chinese) were lending support to the republicans, and there was a good chance Faisal would step back into the fight sometime in 1968.

Nearby, British troops unceremoniously and un sentimentally pulled out of Aden in November after more than a century on the sandy foot of the Arabian Peninsula. Rioting, terrorism, and finally, insurrection had made life miserable for them all through 1967. And the late-June announcement that independence would be granted the following January only brought a spasm of anti-British violence: Aden police mutinied and killed 17 British soldiers. Soon, though, the violence was three-way, with rival Arab nationalist groups fighting for predominance and the British in the crossfire. London recognized the National Liberation Front in September, opened negotiations for a parting of the ways and in mid-November scheduled a new departure date. British troops hauled down the flag and were out by the end of the month. The new nation called itself the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, and a union with Yemen proper seemed not too far off.

The Arab-Israeli war did much to reshuffle the cards in the Middle East deck. Some of the "jokers" remained: the refugee problem (the Arabs rejected an Israeli solution because it, like all Israeli proposals, was linked to a general peace settlement) and the broader one of national development at peace in an area that spends more on arms than any comparable area of the developing world. But Israel was the dealer, sitting on a stack of chips won in the June fighting, and in the game of international poker, as in any other, betting against the house is generally unwise.

**EARLY  
1968**

### *BORDER CLASHES SHATTER ARAB-ISRAEL TRUCE*

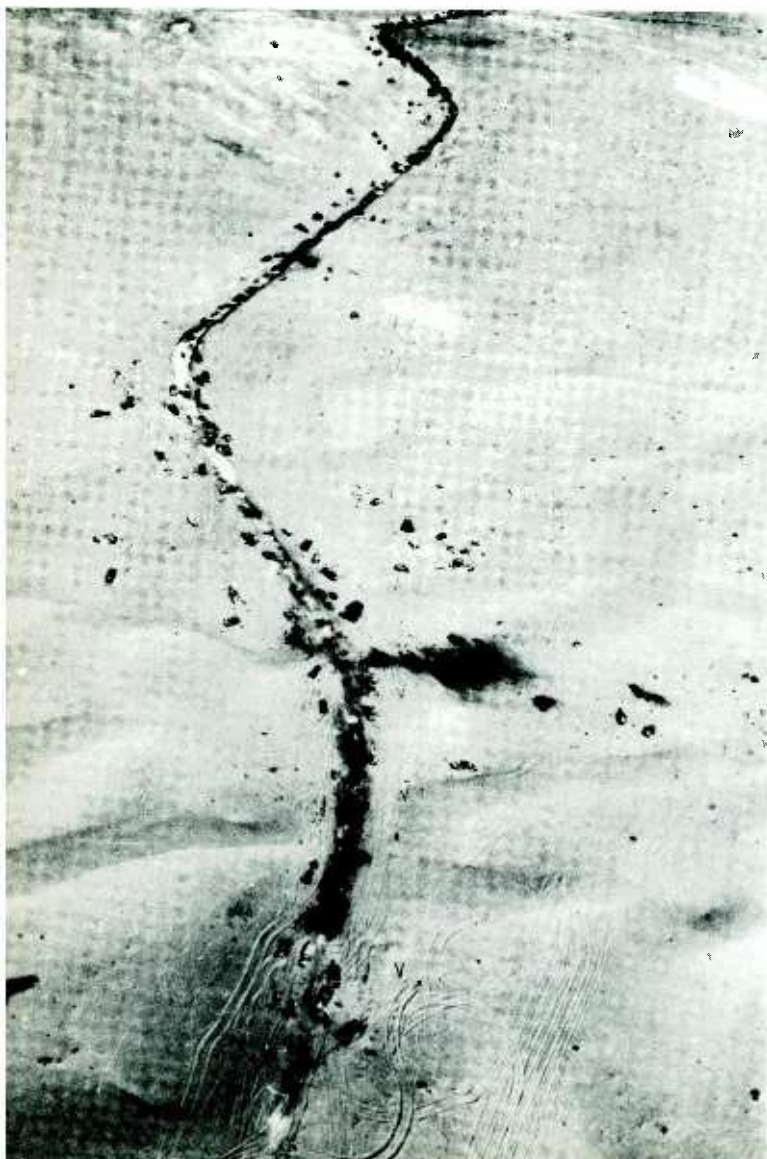
Any possible talks of peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors was drowned out in the crunch of artillery fire and the sporadic bursts of small-arms fire through the first four months of 1968. With Egyptian President Nasser calling for yet another war to annihilate Israel, and Arab saboteurs hopscotching newly won Israel frontiers, fighting was inevitable. There was a whole series of clashes between Israelis and Jordanians from January 1 to 13. On January 11, Israel expropriated 838 acres of the Jordanian (or Old) sector of Jerusalem. During January, Israel returned another 5,000 Egyptians, captured during the June war. Egypt returned 12 Israelis.

There were several Israeli raids-in-force against Jordan. On March 21, charging repeated border attacks by Jordanian terrorists, 15,000 Israeli troops struck across the river Jordan and routed King Hussein's forces. Three days later, the UN Security Council condemned Israel's action. On March 29, there was an Israeli-Jordanian artillery duel across the Jordan. It was followed by Israeli air strikes. The Security Council urged the sending of truce observers.

Efforts to unblock the Suez Canal could not be carried through, because of sporadic Israeli-Egyptian clashes across the waterway.

### *THE UN MAKES LITTLE HEADWAY*

The UN tried to set up peace talks, and chose Cyprus for a meeting between Israel and Egypt. But on March 7, Egypt rejected the idea of talks. The United Nations did not seem able to stop the fighting, and, on April 22, Secretary-General Thant turned his attention to other matters: he sent a fact-finding mission to investigate the condition of civilians in Israeli-occupied territories. There had been Arab charges of Israeli mistreatment.



Blasted Egyptian armored vehicles and tanks mark the trail through the Mitla Pass, gateway to the Suez Canal, after defeat by Israeli army in strategic June battle.



Left: Laughter before defeat comes during late-May visit by Egyptian President Nasser and Field Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer (seated, right) to airbase near Israeli frontier. Seized as leader of an anti-Nasser plot after the June defeat, Amer committed suicide.



Above: Evidence of battle and proof of new ownership are displayed by control point at Sharm el Sheik, which Israelis took from the Egyptians. The strategic post overlooks the Strait of Tiran.



Center left: As war clouds gather, Israeli infantrymen march during maneuvers in the Judean Hills. The picture was made at the end of May, as Iraq moved new troops into Syria and Egypt, and Lebanon massed forces on its southern border.

Bottom: Two-way traffic in the Sinai finds Israeli mechanized column heading for battle, Egyptian prisoners-of-war being trucked to the rear.



Above: Young victims of June war clamber across wrecked Allenby Bridge, leaving Israeli-occupied territory for Jordan. More than two weeks after the cease-fire, the flow of refugees was heavy over the Jordan River.

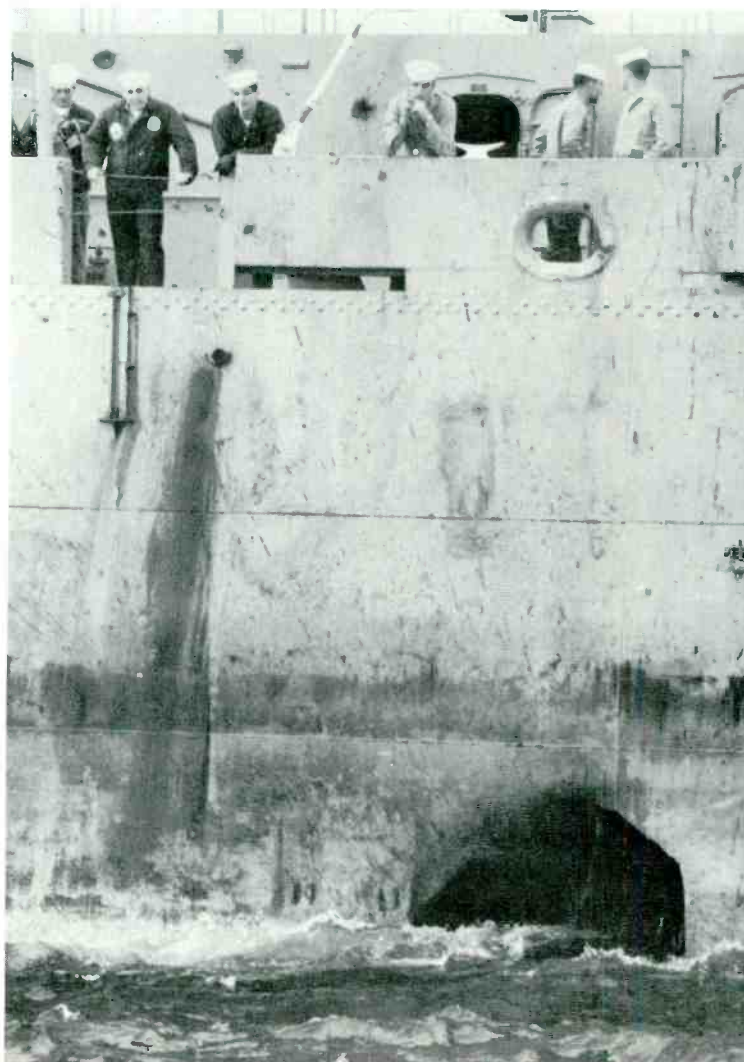


Above: Defense Minister Moshe Dayan chats with a civilian wounded during postwar clash on the Gaza Strip. Having superintended the war effort, Dayan was seeking reconciliation with Arab dignitaries and refugees in the Strip.

Below: The USS *Liberty*, victim of a tragic mistake, lies dead in the water off Egypt, a gaping hole in her side. The American monitoring ship was attacked by Israeli jets and torpedo boats in the belief she was Egyptian.



Above: Israeli officer focuses across the Suez Canal on burning oil-refinery installations. The fires were set by Israeli artillery October 24, following the sinking of an Israeli destroyer by Egyptian missiles.





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## Mideast: Conquest and Stalemate

*Alvin Rosenfeld*

NBC News Jerusalem Correspondent

IN 1967 THE MIDDLE EAST underwent its most radical change in the half century since the breakup of the Turkish Empire.

Israel, a small, new, European-style nation, became the most important single factor in the region which was the home of the Arab race and culture. This development brought dramatic changes and made other, even greater changes—social, political, cultural, economic—appear inevitable.

The Arab nations, which had driven the Western colonial powers from the area, found they could no longer seal themselves off from Israel, the only westernized country in their midst. The Israelis simply would not go away. The Arabs could argue that the Israelis did not belong there; the argument had become academic. The Israelis were present, not with a colonial regime but with a functioning society.

The old Arab weapons no longer proved effective in crisis. The Suez Canal remained closed, month after month, and the world managed to do without it. The days when Arab oil boycotts had set the world atrembling were over, and in 1967 an Arab oil boycott had to be abandoned as useless and self-defeating. The international constellation that had forced the Israelis to disgorge the conquests of the 1956 Sinai Campaign no

longer existed by 1967, and the United Nations could do nothing more effective than send a "special representative" to the area to search for peace. It might take a long time for the Arab world to adjust to Israel's reality, but that reality could no longer be ignored.

Within the Holy Land itself, a society based on traditional concepts and a rigid social structure came under the control of a small modern state. It was quite a change. The British, who had held Palestine from 1917 until 1948, had left the Arab society largely alone. From the time Palestine broke into pieces in May, 1948, until the six-day war, the Arabs had thrown a quarantine around Israel. The eastern half of Palestine was governed by the conservative monarchy of the Hashemites and bound by the strict rules of Arab caste and custom. The Arabs of the Gaza Strip were ruled by a stern Egyptian military administration interested only in maintaining immobility. Suddenly, in June, 1967, the Arabs of the conquered sections of Palestine were exposed to the demands and disciplines of a welfare society.

None of this meant that peace was around the corner. It did mean that, whether the Arabs approved or not, the Middle East could never return to the situation on the eve of the six-day war.

True enough, in the immediate aftermath of war, a misplaced and almost naïve hope had arisen within the Israelis. For a moment in June the Israelis, dazzled by the magnitude of their triumph, thought that peace might well be within their grasp, that at long last their pariah status might disappear and they might be accepted by their neighbors as legitimate. After all, every one of the bargaining cards was in their hands, the Arab defense forces lay in ruins. Israel's Prime Minister Eshkol evidently saw nothing quixotic in his mid-June statement that "we want Jews and Arabs to renew those bright days when together we contributed to human culture." That moment of hope did not last long.

The Arabs, reasonably enough, saw no point in negotiating from weakness. They concluded that it would be best to reconstruct their armies and repair their alliances, and then to see what could be done to get out of the fix they were in. But there were other motivations, deeper and more basic than the purely tactical, that dictated delay. A people to whom pride and "face" were of vast importance, a people who had had few military salves to their pride since the distant days of Saladin, could hardly be expected to swallow pride and lose face by seeking a loser's peace from a hated enemy and, what was worse, an alien, pigmy nation. That is, such a people could not do so unless its leaders made peace sound reasonable and proper. But leaders who had condemned and ridiculed Israel for two decades could hardly afford to tell their people the time had come to forgive Israel. There were one or two Arab politicians who talked of recognizing Israel's existence, but they were a thousand miles and more from Tel Aviv and unscarred by the

traumatic wounds of the struggle over Palestine.

Hussein, the hapless king of Jordan, showed some vague signs of willingness to come to terms with the enemy. He had reason enough to do so, for he had lost half his kingdom, his agricultural hinterland, his nation's tourist attractions; and he was burdened by many thousands of penniless new refugees. But apparently Hussein could not move without permission from Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. And Nasser needed time, time to restore his army, time to reconstruct his centers of power, and time to silence, if he could, new voices of opposition and/or discontent. As for Syria, the colonels who ran the Damascus regime had run out of Ba'ath Socialist dogma and could only train young men for hopeless guerrilla raids against Israel.

The Russians came to Nasser's aid. They began to replenish his armed strength and so restore and, indeed, increase their influence. The Soviets also took advantage of the situation to display new tactics and new power in the area. Soviet naval squadrons steamed across the Eastern Mediterranean, threatening the dominance of the Sixth Fleet in what had been an American lake; Soviet warships paid "good-will" visits to Port Said and Alexandria. Russian heavy bombers flew over Cairo in what some Israelis interpreted as a deliberate demonstration of Soviet ability to use Egyptian bases at will for their own strategic purposes. There was some evidence of Soviet intervention in the ever-festering Yemen affair, some evidence that the Russians were extending their influence to the Red Sea.

But the Russian goal was limited. The Soviets had no apparent interest in a new Arab-Israeli confrontation. Reality told them there was no chance of an Arab victory in the predictable future. Although they spurned an American effort to get them to work in tandem toward the goal of an equitable negotiated peace, by November they had grudgingly agreed to the UN Security Council's passage of a British-sponsored resolution calling not only for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories but also for an end to all belligerency and a "just and lasting" peace. A brilliant compromise designed to satisfy both the Arabs and the Israelis, the resolution did not say which—withdrawal or an end to belligerency—should come first and merely requested U Thant to send a representative to the region to work toward a "peaceful and accepted settlement."

The UN resolution and the facts of international politics placed the Middle East in a new position. For all the Russian support of Abdel Nasser, the Soviets did not really control Egypt. For all Israel's reliance on Washington, the United States could not really dictate Israeli policy. For the first time in centuries, the countries of the Middle East would have to work out their own problems with nothing more than a UN messenger to help out. The Great Powers could pressure and might try to persuade, but in the end the Arabs and Israelis

would have to settle their own future, no matter how long that might take.

The Israelis were left with problems aplenty, but none of these was insurmountable. They were concerned about the growing Egyptian arsenal of more sophisticated weapons, but they did not lose all hope that France might end its arms boycott, and were fairly confident that Washington would come to their aid if, indeed, the old French sources of supply remained dry. The Israelis faced renewed Arab sabotage attacks, but the guerrillas paid dearly in blood for almost every action and failed to establish secure bases within the conquered lands. Indeed, most of the saboteurs, although Palestinian in origin, came from Syrian training camps, and the conquered Arabs at home showed little or no desire to get involved and thereby to get hurt; the Israelis dampened any enthusiasm for resistance by blowing up the homes of suspected terrorists, imposing curfews, deporting troublesome Arab politicians, imprisoning more than a thousand alleged saboteurs. The strains on the frontiers and the task of holding so much territory compelled the Israeli army to lengthen the draft by six months to a full three years, but the disciplined population took the added burden without a whimper.

The Israeli economy absorbed higher security taxes without difficulty. The occupation costs were met in part by the sale of oil from the captured Sinai wells. The problem of the agricultural surpluses of the conquered lands was neatly solved by Jordan's willingness to accept almost anything that could be shipped. A bizarre situation thus developed. Although Israel and Jordan were officially at war, new bridges were built across the Jordan to replace those destroyed in the June fighting. Israeli and Jordanian clerks manned customs posts at the new border. Goods flowed in both directions. This was a far cry from the days when the only link between Israel and the Arab world was the Mandelbaum Gate in divided Jerusalem, and the only traffic permitted through that gate consisted of diplomats, UN personnel, and Christian tourists.

Clearly, the Israelis meant to stay in the conquered lands until the Arabs were ready to make peace. Clearly, too, they would not settle for the old boundaries but would insist upon frontiers more easily defensible. The question of Jerusalem, for Israel, was firmly settled; Jerusalem was reunited and would never be torn apart again. The Golan Heights, whence Syrian guns had pounded Israeli settlements in the valley below, were outside the scope of negotiations, although that hardly mattered since the fiery Syrians would be the very last to come to a peace table. The chances that Israel would leave Sharm el Sheik without the firmest of guarantees against a renewed Egyptian blockade of Israeli shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba were remote indeed. That Israel might give up the Gaza Strip and expose her villages to possible sabotage attacks was equally unlikely.

One hundred fifty thousand or more Arabs left the conquered lands for Jordan, the others began to get the point. The Arabs proved more than willing to sell to the Israeli tourists who, after being cut off from their neighbors for 19 years, swarmed all over the new lands. The Arabs themselves began exploring the cities of Israel and patronizing Israeli supermarkets, cafes, and hospitals. They exchanged their Jordanian and Gaza Strip car license plates for special Israeli plates when told to do so. They gave up a teacher-student strike in occupied Jordanian territory when it proved unavailing. Arab policemen went back to their jobs under Israeli supervision. Arab workmen invaded the Israeli labor markets and began learning of the wonders of the welfare state. Arab farmers began accepting the advice of Israeli agricultural experts.

The Arabs began having contact with Israeli officialdom. They had been accustomed to living in hereditary fiefdoms where everything from higher education to public position was the property of the establishment and where it paid to cultivate the establishment. They discovered to their surprise that the Israelis do not depend upon "notables," local men of prominence whose power stems from the greatness of their family clans or the extent of their land holdings or their nearness to king or governor, to influence officials. They found themselves dealing with a modern bureaucracy, cold and im-

personal, but efficient, generally fair and grounded in the belief that one man is like another. They were also surprised by Israel's readiness to let them go on visits to Jordan. Tens of thousands took advantage of the opportunity and returned to live under the conqueror.

It could not be said that the conquered Arabs were delighted with their lot. Some burned with anger. But they were leaderless, and they had to get along in the world as it was. Middle Easterners are adaptable people; they are accustomed to sudden changes of rulers. The Arabs of Palestine began to learn to cope with the new situation. In Jerusalem, eight months after the war, Arab schoolchildren were studying Hebrew with the consent of their parents; it was, after all, the practical thing to do.

All this left the Arab world in a most peculiar position. It was not ready—not yet—to make war, it was not resigned to making peace, it was unwilling or unable to recognize that there is no such thing as a *status quo*. With each passing day the Israeli hold on the conquered lands grew stronger, the practical links between Israel and the occupied territories grew more complex. Barring an unexpected break in the Arab no-peace front, an unlikely Arab military offensive, or a radical shift in Great Power attitudes, it was possible to conceive of the Israelis remaining just where they are for years or decades to come.

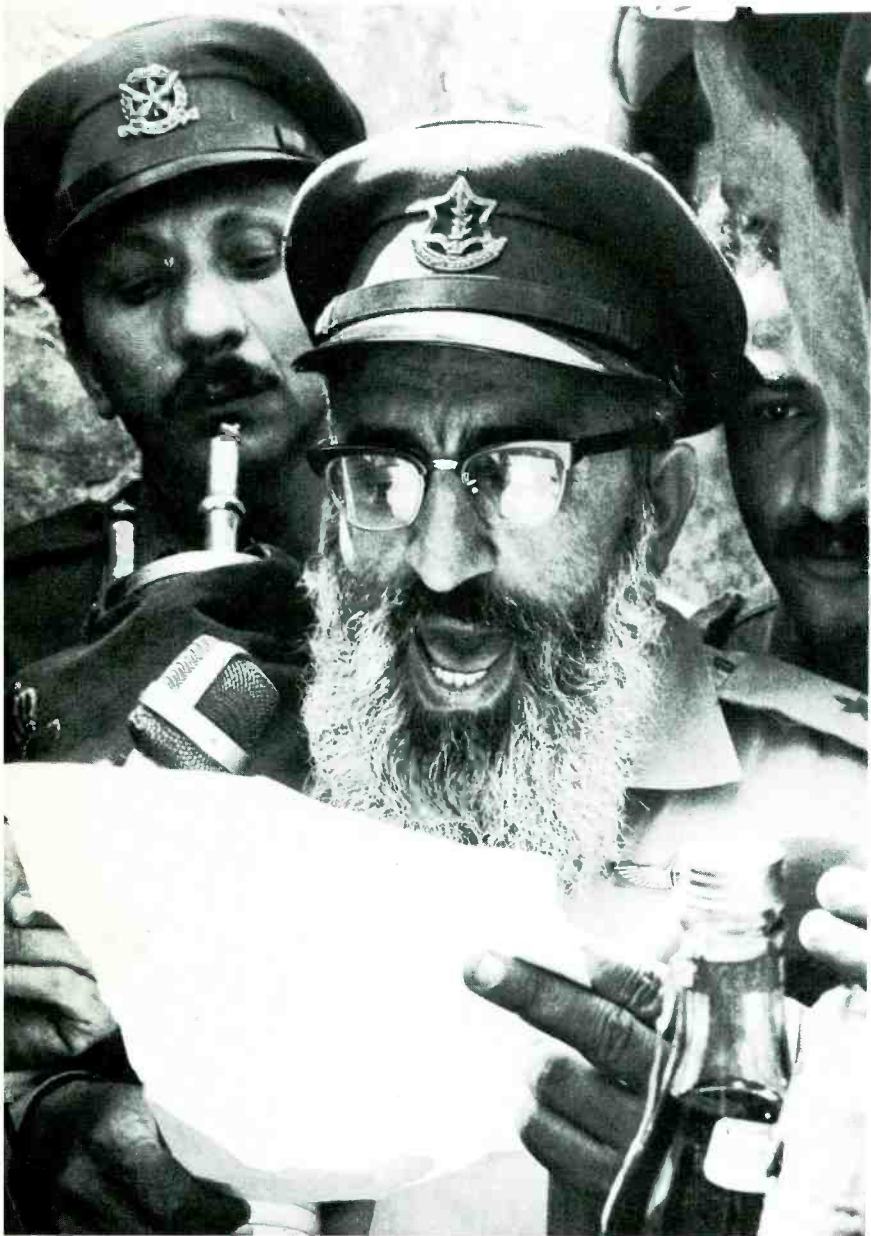
British Tommy calls for medical aid for his buddy, just hit by grenade fragments during Aden street clash. Arab nationalist groups triggered riots and terrorist raids, fought the British—and one another.



Grimly but firmly seated upon the Peacock Throne is the Shah of Iran, flanked by Empress Farah. The Shah crowned himself on his 48th birthday, having delayed the ceremony 26 years while Iran's economy developed. He once explained the delay: "It is no joy to be king of a nation of beggars."



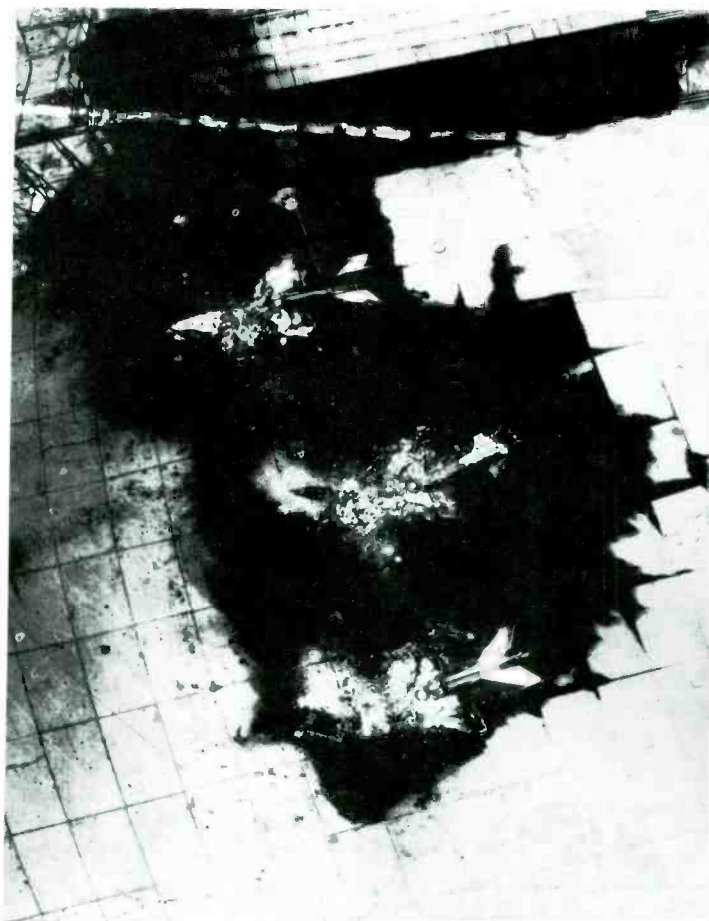




Above: Chief Israeli Chaplain Goren Shelomo reads a liberation statement in Old Jerusalem just after Israeli forces had freed the area of Jordanian troops. It marked the first time since the biblical period that the entire Holy City was under Jewish rule.

Right: An Israeli Navy torpedo boat patrols the Tiran Strait in June past the captured Sharm el Sheik fortifications. The Israeli victory here broke Egypt's blockade of the Israel port of Aqaba.

Below: Charred wreckage is all that remains of Egyptian Air Force jets following early-morning raid on base. Israeli bombers caught most of Egypt's military craft on the ground.



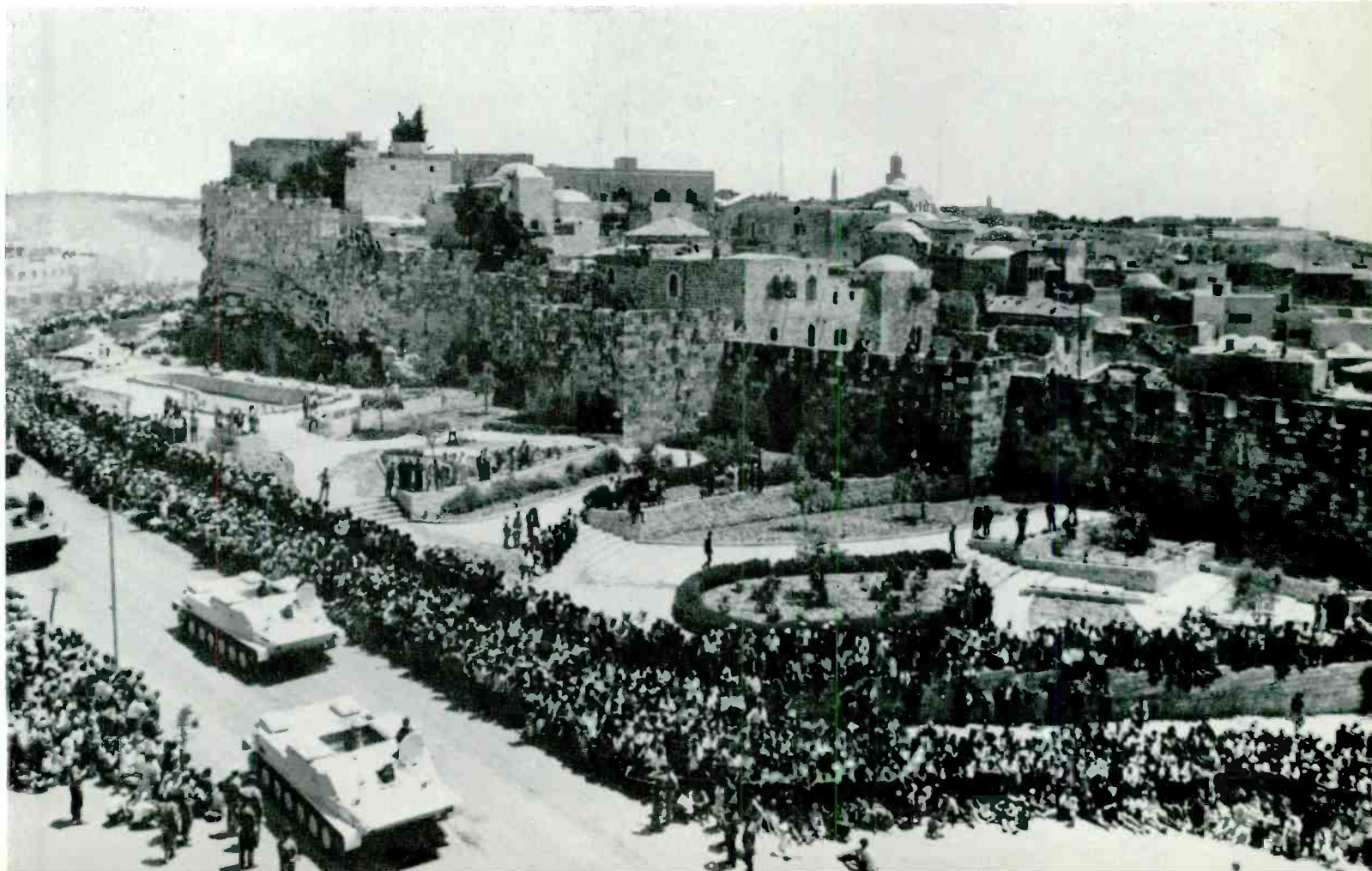


Above: Israeli armored units halt their Sinai Desert drive for a supply air-drop on the third day of their rout of the Egyptian forces. Israelis established complete air control in the first 8 hours of the war.

Below: Israeli mechanized units move through a crossroad in Jerusalem past a signpost pointing to the biblical city of Jericho. By the second day of the war Israeli troops had taken Jericho and most of Jordan west of the Jordan River.



Below: Captured Russian-built Egyptian tanks rumble past the walls of Old Jerusalem during Israel's 20th Anniversary parade on May 2. The UN had disapproved the parade as provocative, but it was held without incident.





Supposed opponents of Mao, wearing dunce caps proclaiming their crimes, are forced to ride, heads bowed, through Peking. Kangaroo courts and mass trials determined the guilty; acquittals were all but unknown.

## 12. Red China

MAINLAND CHINA STAGGERED THROUGH 1967 in the agonies of civil warfare that very nearly destroyed the cohesion of the world's most populous nation. Chaos at home triggered further withdrawal from an exasperated and nonplussed "outside" world. And the successful testing of a hydrogen bomb added less to China's standing as a great power than to her eminence as an international bogeyman.

The civil explosion was Mao Tse-tung's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which combined a mystical purification of society and a bald grab for power.

This weapon harnessed the frustrated energies of China's 150,000,000 teen-agers, youngsters whose careers were stultified by a barely creeping industrialization, entrenched bureaucrats, and limited opportunities for advanced education. For most, the future held little but going back to the farm.

Mao hungered after powers that had been taken from him following the disastrous Great Leap Forward. He sent his Red Guards against foreign and pre-1949 Chinese influences in the arts in the spring of 1966. In January, 1967, he expanded the front to include the farm and factory. And here he appears to have taken on more than he had expected. For, three weeks later, Mao was summoning an unwilling army to put down resistance that had sprung up across the nation.

From Sinkiang to Shanghai, from Mongolia to Canton, communes and industrial complexes became battlegrounds as the youthful Red Guards and their adult counterparts, the Red Rebels, fought to wrest control from the established party, government, and managerial leadership. In more than one case, the People's Liberation Army proved unreliable to Mao.

In the countryside around Shanghai, in January, 3 million peasants reportedly rose; in Heilunkiang Province in May, 100,000 workers attacked 60,000 Red Guards and "uncountable numbers" were killed; in Can-

ton, in August, the anti-Peking faction swarmed over ships loaded with arms for North Vietnam, seized the weapons, and turned them on the "Maoists." By late summer, fighting was reported in every province but Shansi, which also had seen fighting earlier in the year.

Both sides fought in Mao's name. There were no denunciations of the living embodiment of the Chinese Communist revolution, no attempts to depose the party chairman or his chosen heir, Defense Minister Lin Piao. There were only those with a stake in the *status quo*: the local officials who distributed bonuses to workers to secure their loyalty, and the modern Chinese warlords, military-party leader Wang En-mao of Sinkiang, Fangchan of Hopeh and Ulanfu, who had governed Inner Mongolia for twenty years. The specter of regionalism brooded over the combat.

Off the battlefield, it was a time of kangaroo courts for officials who had brought down the righteous wrath of the Red Guards, of mass denunciations for those who had "taken the bourgeois road"—such as head of state Liu Shao-chi—of suicides and uncertainty over who would be next.

The excess of this Frankenstein's monster disturbed even Mao. He and Premier Chou En-lai urged caution as early as February, warned Red Guards not to dislocate production schedules and to stay out of foreign embassy compounds. Finally, in autumn, when the army had helped restore a semblance of order—though eruptions continued to the end of the year—the young people were ordered to return to school and university, where 30 percent of the curriculum now entails a study of Mao's writings. They started back, slowly.

But not before Chinese xenophobia had further damaged her relations with the world community. Red Guards burned the British chancellery at Peking in August, following disorders in Hong Kong (see Chapter 13, THE OTHER ASIA), and Chinese diplomats in London

brawled with police; anti-Chinese riots raged through Rangoon, Burma, in June, and at least 50 persons were killed; Ceylon restricted its ethnic Chinese in August, after breaking up a Peking espionage ring; Prince Sihanouk dissolved the Cambodia-China Friendship Association on September 1, and stopped short of shutting down the Peking embassy only after pledges by Premier Chou.

India, Indonesia, and the Soviet Union expelled Chinese diplomats; crewmen from two Greek freighters were beaten by Shanghai mobs in August. Relations with Moscow hit a new low that month when Peking mobs sacked the Soviet embassy after Red Guards attacked a freighter at Dairen, threatened the crew, and damaged the vessel.

The Muscovite Communists were hated with a special bitterness as betrayers of the faith. This dated from Khrushchev's espousal of coexistence with the West. It splintered the Moscow-Peking axis and brought withdrawal of the Soviet technicians aiding China's industrialization. It also revived a long-dormant wrangle over former Chinese territories now occupied by the USSR as parts of Siberia. Peking's bluster about regaining the lost areas led Moscow to reinforce her Far East garrisons.

Elsewhere in the Communist camp, only Albania wholeheartedly followed China's beacon. The Communist parties of France, Italy, Japan, and North Korea voiced dismay at the excesses of the Cultural Revolution. Peking also had the qualified friendship of Pakistan (after making up for American withdrawal of military aid in the border war with India) and North Vietnam, dependent on China but also the USSR and nurturing centuries-old distrust of the giant to the north.

As for relations with the United States, there were, effectively, none. The Warsaw ambassadorial meetings represented the closest thing to contact, and these were on-again, off-again occurrences, mostly off. That Peking, for all its bombast, was on a collision course with Washington was unlikely in the short run—so long as American military power kept clear of Chinese frontiers, and China lacked the Soviet support that would be necessary in a major confrontation.

Still, many in this country were alarmed by China's explosion of a hydrogen bomb in June (Peking crowed: "the test has further broken the nuclear monopoly of United States imperialism and Soviet revisionism and dealt a telling blow at their policy of nuclear blackmail").

The Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy noted that China has made "rapid progress" in developing a thermonuclear warhead, and would be capable of launching a limited nuclear attack on the United States by the 1970's. At year's end, plans were in motion for establishing a "thin" antiballistics missile system here to counter this threat.

But at the moment China's military strength lies in

the nearly 3-million-man People's Liberation Army, not in her nuclear arsenal. And both the army and the warheads represent a menace more to India, Thailand, and Burma than to the United States.

On October 1, the 18th anniversary of the Communist conquest of the mainland, Mao's heir, Lin Piao, head of the army, which now governed most of China, observed that "an excellent situation prevails, both in China and in the whole world."

Lin's "excellent situation" had been bought at a fabulous price.

- Probably tens of thousands had died in the fighting, more thousands in the mopping-up of dissidents. And the outlook for 1968 was for further, if less spectacular, instability on the mainland.

- Foreign trade, industrial output, and transportation schedules suffered some dislocations. (Harvests reportedly were good, but there were food shortages in some parts of the country.)

- China's international standing had plummeted to new depths.

Nine days after Lin's address, the more pragmatic Chou En-lai observed to an audience of 100,000 in Wuhan that "such a world-shaking revolutionary movement of course exacts a certain price in certain places and in certain departments."

What was accomplished? The army was in command in most of the country, through the three-in-one provincial and municipal committees (of military, Red Guards, and reliable local officials). But the vilified Liu Shao-chi remained head of state, and presumably not without support in the country, though the party and the army had supposedly been cleansed of their "bourgeois" elements. And even the Cultural Revolutionary Group, which spearheaded the operation, was not immune: 11 of its 17 original members were ousted by internal purges.

If Mao felt more secure in the chair, less bound by reliance on the approval of others near the top, there was no evidence—in the way of deeds—by year's end. Perhaps 1968 would be a year of consolidation, since much remained in this area, with little external adventurism beyond skirmishes on the Indian frontier and heckling at Moscow's "betrayal" of Marxist-Leninist ideals.

Mao, who was billed as "indeed the Lenin of our time," in paeans to the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, turned seventy-four the day after Christmas. He appeared in reasonably good health, but the actuarial question inevitably must be raised: After Mao, what?

Would there be a new split among the heirs? The army turned out to have been less politically indoctrinated than Mao had thought, less subservient to Communist Party direction. It could prove to be more susceptible to one of Mao's most-quoted maxims: power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

Much of what is said or written about Communist China should be qualified by “on the one hand . . . on the other hand,” because our knowledge of events on the mainland is limited. China-watchers work through a prism of often-biased, inaccurate, or incomplete reports.

There are few “reliable,” i.e., Western or Japanese, newsmen on the China beat, and China is one enormous beat. Reports from provincial and Peking radio and newspapers must be monitored, diplomats and businessmen interviewed on their way out of China; and these reports must be sifted, distilled, and worked together into a composite of the whole.

The year 1967 gave rise to the *tatsepao*, or “large character papers”—the Peking wall posters that gave some indication of the turmoil in the country and the struggle within the government.

All these elements, plus the educated estimates of academicians, are worked together into a picture of events in China—not unlike a jigsaw puzzle. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, only somewhat tongue-in-cheek, said he wasn’t sure what was going on in China but that he doubted Mao did, either.

The outlook is for continued mist over the terrain.

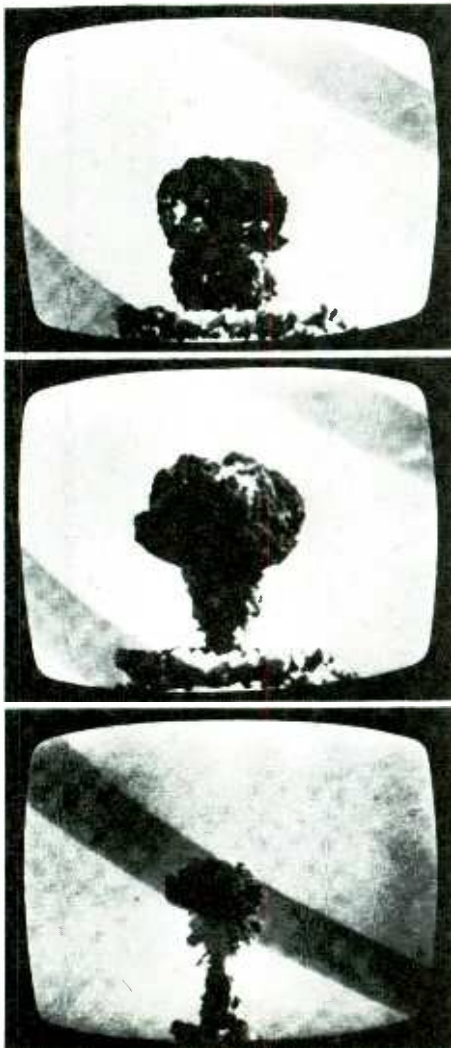
**EARLY  
1968**

### MAOISTS CONSOLIDATE HOLD

Official Communist Chinese news organizations reported in January and February, 1968, that political and military forces loyal to party Chairman Mao Tse-tung had established governing “revolutionary committees” in nine more administrative regions and cities of China. The Maoist cultural revolution, begun in 1966, and which threatened for a time to tear China apart, seemed to have triumphed.

*Left:* Communist China’s detonation of a nuclear bomb, seen here in film on Japanese television, electrified her neighbors and got the United States started on a limited antiballistic missile system.

*Right:* Sign of the times of rural Hunan is poster extolling the Cultural Revolution. But propaganda aside, the peasants of Communist China toil as they have for centuries.





A rare group photo, taken in May, of Red China's leaders as they receive 2 of their diplomats expelled by Indonesia. The English language caption, as supplied by the Red China Photo Service, begins, "The most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. . ." (center). The group includes from left: Premier Chou En-lai; Mao's wife, Chiang Ching; Politburo Member Kang Sheng, Chairman Mao, Defense Minister Lin Piao and the 2 diplomats.

Peking crowds gather at the capital's "front gate" to get the news, as posted by the Red Guards. Postscripts and slogans decorate the pavement. Wall posters represented a major source of news from Red China during 1967.





Above: A sea of Chinese during a Peking rally recalls Hitler's automaton legions. The New China News Agency reported that more than a million jammed the Heavenly Peace Gate Plaza to "celebrate and praise the Communist revolution and Mao Tse-tung thoughts."

Bottom left: Red Guards, some wearing antifu masks, march through Canton in January. At that point, there was still some discipline in the militant youth movement; it did not last long.



Bottom right: Members of the Peking legation battle London police in a reflection of the disorders in Hong Kong and xenophobia brought out by Communist China's Cultural Revolution.







Top: Beneath a portrait of Mao Tse-tung, Red Guards parade through the streets of Peking. This was only one of the thousands of demonstrations and marches across China that disrupted production and held the leaders up to international scorn.



Bottom: Soviet motor ship Svirsk, unloading at Chinese port of Dairen in August, bears anti-Russian slogans painted on hull by Red Guards. They read (from prow) "Chinese people shall win!" "Soviet revisionists shall perish!" "Hang to death Kossigin!"



*Welles Hangen, from New York City, worked on the Paris Herald Tribune, and at twenty-five was head of The New York Times Moscow Bureau before joining NBC as Cairo Bureau Chief in 1956. Three years later he opened NBC's Bureau in New Delhi, and then spent two years as correspondent in Germany before taking up his post in Hong Kong in 1966 as China-watcher. To prepare for the job, he studied Chinese.*

## Revolution on the Installment Plan

*Welles Hangen*

NBC News Hong Kong Correspondent

IN RUSSELL BAKER'S LISTING of the ten "too-manies" of 1967, he rightly included as being among the worst excesses of the past year, long-winded analyses of Mao's motives and the prospects for China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, a complete moratorium on China watching would destroy one of the world's fastest-growing industries and throw thousands of people out of work. It might even reduce the amount of useful information available about China. Therefore, with apologies to Mr. Baker, I shall venture a few remarks on what seemed to be happening in China in 1967 and what might happen in 1968.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution began in the mid-1960's as a Maoist campaign—perhaps the last in the Chairman's lifetime—to purge the Chinese Communist Party of men suspected of favoring Soviet-style goulash Communism above Mao's fundamentalist notions. Mao and his lieutenants soon found they could not effectively purge the party without trying to purify Chinese society as a whole. The roots of revisionism seemed to stretch deep into Chinese history and tradition. The Red Guards and other "revolutionary rebels" hastily organized by Maoist stalwarts were consequently told to "wage war on the four olds"—old ideas, old habits, old customs, and old traditions.

Turmoil reached a peak in the late summer and early autumn of 1966, then subsided, only to be given fresh impetus early last year when the Red Guards were turned into China's factories and farms. In the first quarter of 1967 China looked like a state in the throes of dissolution. When the campaign to overthrow the "capitalist roaders" began to falter, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was called in to support the revolutionaries, unify Maoist ranks, and overcome the resistance of entrenched officeholders and so-called "conservative" workers and farmers.

Like all armies, the PLA has proved to be a two-edged political instrument. Its leaders have betrayed an understandable preference for order over chaos. Directives from Peking to "support the Left" have been broad enough to allow local commanders to play favorites among rival "revolutionary rebel" organizations. No litmus test has been devised to distinguish genuine Maoists from the bogus variety. To complicate matters, the definition of Maoism has changed with changing pressures on the leadership in Peking. On March 3, 1967, Mao's designated successor, Defense Minister Lin Biao, declared, "Do not be afraid of disorder. Disorder will make it possible to distinguish the black elements." Eight months later Premier Chou En-lai told the nation, "It is necessary to stop all armed struggle and remove all defense works."

The army commanders who now control most of China must not be the only ones confused by the conflicting voices from Peking. The ardent young Red Guards have been told to confine their revolution to the classroom. Workers and peasants should practice a nondestructive kind of rebellion on their own time after working hours. Factory managers, teachers, and officials denounced a few months ago as "black gangsters" and subjected to public humiliation are now invited to return to their former positions. Most disconcerting of all, the new "revolutionary" administrative bodies, set up wherever the Maoists deem themselves to be in control, include so many familiar faces that they are often hard to distinguish from the discredited Communist Party provincial and district committees that ran China before the Cultural Revolution. Peking denies there has been any compromise with Mao's opponents in the countryside, but to the Chairman's militant supporters it must seem that the revolution has already been lost through a series of deals with the army and the old party power-holders.

The most maligned party chieftain of them all, Liu Shao-chi, still sits in his official residence in Peking, apparently unwilling to make a public confession of his "crimes." The great purge can hardly be reckoned a success as long as its prime target officially retains his posts as Chairman of the People's Republic and a member of the party Politburo. Teng Hsiao-ping, the party Secretary-General, clings to political existence with the

same tenacity, despite virulent attacks on him by the Red Guards and Maoist propaganda organs.

To dispose of all monsters and demons still lurking in the apparatus, the Maoists reportedly plan to convene the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party sometime before Peking's national day on October 1, 1968. Although the party constitution calls for a congress every year, the last session of the Eighth Congress was held in 1958. Since then there has been no party congress. The Ninth Congress, if it convenes, will be a rubber-stamp body composed of 7,000–8,000 appointed delegates, all reliable Maoists. The purposes will be to rewrite the party constitution along Maoist lines and restructure the party on the basis of provincial and district "revolutionary committees." The congress would also probably confirm Lin Piao's position as Mao's successor, and divest Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, and their cohorts of the last vestiges of power. This is admittedly a tall order but the Maoists can hardly settle for less.

In the meantime the leadership is concentrating on combating factionalism (now condemned as a "crime against the people"), promoting harmony between the army and the populace, and restoring transportation and production. In 1966 and the first part of 1967, the Red Guards and other Maoist "revolutionaries" were told that all the truths of Marxism-Leninism boiled down to one axiom, "Rebellion is justified." It now turns out that this was an incorrect reading. The tasks for 1968, as set out in the New Year's Day editorial of Peking's three leading journals, are to unify the country on the basis of Mao's "thought" and to "rectify the party organization and strengthen the party building." A similar editorial on January 1, 1967, made no mention of rebuilding the party organization, then already paralyzed by Red Guard rampages. Some China watchers feel it is now too late to revive the party's power and prestige. They foresee an inevitable process of disintegration leading to the emergence of regional power centers in China or an outright military takeover. My own hunch is that forces for national unity are still strong. Politically conscious Chinese must surely realize that a reversion to warlordism would spell the end of China's aspirations for great power status as well as cripple the drive for economic improvement. Forebodings of imminent doom, freely dispensed by many Western China watchers since the Cultural Revolution began, have generally proved exaggerated or groundless. It is time to get rid of wishful thinking in talking about Communist China.

Whatever the long-term prospects, there is general agreement that the Cultural Revolution has made China an even more introverted and paranoiac society than it was before 1965. Albanians are about the only foreigners who can walk the streets of Peking today with a reasonable feeling of security. The British embassy was burned down in August, and huge demonstrations have been staged outside a dozen other foreign missions in Peking.

One has the feeling that foreign affairs, including the Vietnam war, are viewed in Peking as distant echoes of Mao's theories. No doubt the Maoists enjoy America's predicament in Vietnam but they show no sign of wishing to complicate matters by intervening directly in the fighting. Protracted war in Vietnam conforms to the Mao-Lin doctrine: it saps American strength in other parts of the world and it embitters Soviet-American relations—all at modest cost to Peking. There are those in the Pentagon and perhaps elsewhere who believe the PLA is so preoccupied with settling quarrels among schoolchildren and seeing that the state gets its unfair share of the rice crop that it would be unable or unwilling to react effectively to an American invasion of North Vietnam. This too strikes me as wishful thinking. Chinese Communist forces gave a surprisingly good account of themselves in Korea at a time when other PLA units were engaged in mopping up remnant Kuomintang elements in China and subduing Tibet. There is no reason to assume that Chinese troops could not fight as well as or better in Vietnam. Moreover, the presence of American forces in North Vietnam could and probably would jolt Peking out of its introspection and reunify the country behind the Maoists.

Even in their distracted state, the Chinese Communists made remarkable progress during 1967 in perfecting their nuclear weaponry. On June 17, the first Chinese hydrogen bomb was exploded. China's seventh nuclear test in December seems to have misfired, but the fact remains that the Chinese are far ahead of where Western experts said they would be at this time. China's rapid strides in nuclear technology give the lie to stories of a complete breakdown of order on the mainland. Nor does China's performance in other fields support the thesis of progressive collapse propounded by many Western observers.

Foreign trade is one of the few areas where reliable statistics are available. They show that China's total trade with the rest of the world rose by \$600 million to \$4.3 billion in 1966, the first year of Cultural Revolution turmoil. Despite work stoppages and transportation breakdowns throughout much of 1967, China's overall foreign trade last year probably held very near the 1966 level. It may be argued that the nuclear program and China's exports abroad are sustained by enormous sacrifices imposed on the people of the mainland. This is probably true. But any regime that can enforce such draconian discipline on its people can hardly be said to have lost all control of the situation.

The Cultural Revolution has undoubtedly cost China dearly. The full economic impact is still to be felt. Nevertheless, the country's industrial plant, such as it is, is still largely intact. Rail communications are being restored. A record grain harvest of around 188 million tons was gathered in 1967. Perhaps more important, the managers, technicians, and skilled workers who en-

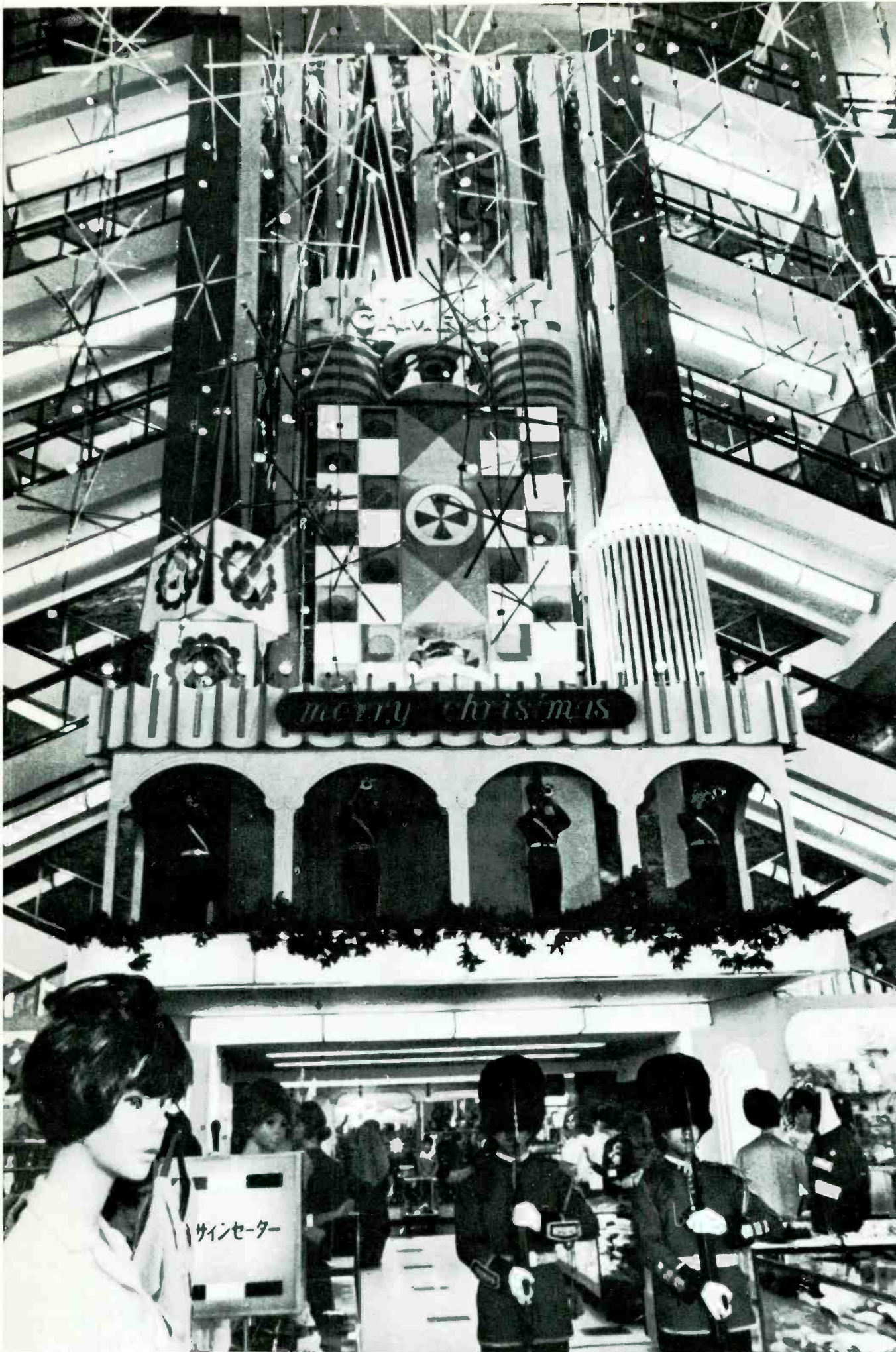
gineered the remarkable recovery from the Great Leap in the early 1960's are still around, bruised and indignant at the way they were mistreated by the Red Guards, but still ready to serve a regime that would reward their talents. Mao believes it is more important to be red than expert. Many of those around Mao, including even Lin Piao, give lip service to this principle but behave in surprisingly pragmatic fashion. Only in a few scattered localities has anyone tried to tamper with the peasants' private plots since the Cultural Revolution began. Free markets continue to flourish despite official disapproval. Incentive pay for workers has been cut or in some cases abolished but it could be quickly reinstated. Peking says Mao's thought enabled China to achieve a bumper harvest in 1967 but China's hard-earned foreign exchange goes for fertilizer plants to expand farm output. Mao says politics must be put in command. But when his followers in Hong Kong rose against the British last year, Mao gave them only verbal support. Later Peking put economics in command by resuming sales of food and water to Hong Kong and leaving the "patriotic com-

patriots" in the colony to fend for themselves. Even in Macao, where local Communists are in control, Peking has not made the Portuguese lower their flag. Mao says man is more important than weapons. But vast sums are poured into the nuclear program to produce more powerful weapons. The discrepancies between Maoist preaching and practice are legion.

No one should conclude from this that China will shortly become a sober citizen of the world or that the situation on the mainland will soon return to what is called normal. China will remain at odds with most of the world, especially the United States and the Soviet Union, for an indefinite period. Chaos and disorder may become endemic in large parts of the mainland. But, as far as I can see, there is no evidence that the Maoists have an incurable suicidal impulse. They are not without some traces of the practical sagacity for which their race is famed. Mao did not become the Red Sun in the East in order to preside over the liquidation of the Chinese empire.

Underscoring the ideological split with Moscow, Peking demonstrators drag caskets labeled Brezhnev and Kosygin past the Soviet embassy. At the height of the xenophobic frenzy, Albanian nationals were the only foreigners safe in the streets of China's major cities.





Tokyo department store, festooned for Christmas, bespeaks soaring Japanese economy, one of the strongest in the world.

## 13. The Other Asia

THE RUMBLINGS OF WARFARE within China echoed among her neighbors, and fighting flared in a broad 4,000-mile arc from Korea to India. But that told only half the story in 1967: there was a quieter one, of slow, steady growth toward national viability, out of the shadow of the Communist colossus.

The smaller nations of Asia no longer heeded the traditional Chinese injunction, "hear and tremblingly obey" that once ended all Imperial communications abroad. The irrational spectacle of events in China was part of the reason, the American presence that offered an alternative to Chinese suzerainty represented another.

That presence—as typified in Vietnam—is condemned by millions here at home and around the world. But it is counted a blessing by other millions, in non-Communist Asia. Among them is the Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew.

Lee, whose country, as part of Malaya, fought an eight-year war with British aid against Communist insurgency, insists the American presence is "buying time" for the development of fledgling Asian nations.

Carrying this offshoot of the domino theory one step further, Lee maintains that the American establishment in the Orient gave Indonesia the spiritual armor to overcome Communist power in the archipelago. And, the Prime Minister adds, had Jakarta gone Communist, Singapore would have been crushed between the hammer and the anvil—Indonesia and Red China.

But the American shield is less than omnipotent. With more than a half-million men in Vietnam and ancillary bases and another 50,000 in Thailand, it could not hope to be. One answer to the problem came out of a regional economic development and trade compact among a dozen Asian countries. Emphasis was on what the wealthier countries of the Orient could do to improve those less fortunate.

By 1967, industrialization had made Japan's econ-

omy one of the strongest in the world, with an unemployment rate of less than 1 percent of her 50-million-member labor force and production placing her among the top five in steel and electrical energy, first in shipbuilding with nearly half (47.5 percent) of the world's 1967 tonnage. South Korea was into her second Five-Year Plan after chalking up a 21.4 percent surge in production of mine and factory, and is becoming a bright new lure for foreign investment.

Formosa, where Chiang Kai-shek spins dreams of a return to the mainland, has its practical aspects as well: so healthy is its economy that it no longer depends on American aid.

There were danger spots as well in 1967. Indonesia sought a firm footing from which it could dig out of the billion-dollar deficit left by Sukarno. In February, he surrendered the last of his powers to General Suharto; India's population expanded faster than her ability to feed, educate, and employ them, and emergency shipments of grain from the United States and the USSR only scratched the surface of her desperate need; Pakistan was beset by heavy debts, diminishing exports, and rising prices (in April, Washington restored economic aid cut off during the 1965 war with India).

There were ancient racial and ethnic enmities—between India's Hindus and Pakistan's Moslems, between Malaysia's Chinese and her Malays.

And, playing on economic, social, and military frustrations was Peking, a menace of many means:

- In Burma, indigenous Chinese were being subverted to Peking's strategy.
- In Laos, antigovernment forces were being led by guerrillas trained in China.
- In India, the worst border fighting since 1962 erupted in the Himalayas.
- In Pakistan, a "bourgeois" government was aided with arms shipments.

The style changed from country to country, but almost invariably the result was the same: too much of the precious national product earmarked for defense and counterinsurgency, not enough to improve the lot of the impoverished—and this in turn created new frustrations for Communism to feed on.

And, as Lee of Singapore pointed out, the young nations desperately need time.

The British moved up the clock on Lee late in 1967, with the announcement of a phased pullout from nearly all their Far East establishments; Singapore had been the anchor of Britain's East Asian territories, but now the economic situation at home decreed the Lion must draw in its claws. The Prime Minister flew to London, emerged with little but good wishes and Godspeed.

It began to be asked, just how far would the United States go—its manpower supply and treasury drawn taut—to replace Britain east of Suez.

As long as America was a force in that part of the world, the smaller Asian nations could indulge in the luxury of snubbing Peking. In June, Burma restricted young Chinese militants, forbade the wearing of the notorious Mao buttons; in September, Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk, once China-prone himself, ordered Peking propagandists out of the country, and came close to severing diplomatic ties; by October, Indonesia had all but broken relations, in the wake of disorders at respective missions in Peking and Jakarta.

Elsewhere along the rim of China, there was trouble. Along the 38th parallel that divides Korea, a sharp spurt in border incidents was recorded; forays from North Korea were stepped up in Premier Kim Il Sung's program of reunifying the country under Communist domination. (Since the close of the Korean War, an average of about 70 Communist agents were killed or captured in the south each year until 1966, when the figure reached 106. In 1967, the number was 345.)

For Kim, the odds were not favorable. By controlling the means of communication in his country, the North Korean leader could convince his people that their brothers in the south were starving and eagerly awaiting "liberation" from across the DMZ. The opposite is closer to the truth.

South Korea boasted a burgeoning economy—considering that, at the time of partition, nearly all the country's industrial and mineral wealth lay north of the 38th parallel—while Pyongyang had been forced to defer the goals of its Seven-Year Plan, due in December, 1967, for another three years. Even this seemed optimistic in a country where watches and cameras are possessed by only the highest officials, and clothing and rice are in short supply for the man in the street.

(Too, there was no affection for Communism among South Koreans, who could never forget that the 1950 war came down from the north and left 2 million dead.)

But Kim, perhaps frustrated by Seoul's progress

while his own economy lagged, perhaps attempting to create a crisis atmosphere that would bring renewed aid from Moscow and Peking, decreed a step-up in activities against South Korea and its American ally (as part of the United Nations Command, the United States has about 50,000 troops in South Korea). With Kim's militaristic dynamism, 1968 threatened fresh outrages against the tenuous peace.

In Hong Kong, Pearl of the Orient, vestige of Britain's late empire, China's Cultural Revolution spilled over in ugliness and fury. Strikes in the colony's light-industry complex in early spring became anti-British demonstrations by May, battles with riot police and acts of terrorism—the planting of home-made bombs in public places and assassination of outspoken Chinese anti-Communists. The demonstrations often coincided with anti-British outbursts on the mainland.

The administration retaliated by shutting down pro-Peking newspapers, raiding Communist headquarters (in one sweep they seized a secret hospital containing a fully equipped operating room), and beefing up its contingent on the Chinese border with 700 tough Gurkha troops in July after the worst shooting incident (5 Hong Kong police killed, 11 wounded) since the Communists conquered the mainland.

By year's end, border tension had eased, and terrorism within the colony subsided. It was apparent that if Peking's plan had been to get the British administration to knuckle under—as the Portuguese had done in 1966 in nearby Macao—that plan was a failure. (The Chinese probably didn't push too hard: Hong Kong provided an entry point for much of Peking's precious foreign currency, and was itself an excellent customer, importing Chinese food and commodities at a rate of \$300,000 a day.) It was more likely that local Communists had taken a cue on their own from events on the mainland—and had overacted.

Further offshore, the Philippine Republic's Senate Defense Committee reported in May that the Communist Hukbalahap (Huk) movement had recovered from its defeat of a decade ago and now controlled areas in several provinces of the main island, Luzon.

In Thailand, insurgency flared in the poorer provinces of the northeast. Bangkok's reaction was twofold: it dispatched troops (with American advisers), and it sent economic teams in an effort to ease social and economic problems and dry out the Communist breeding ground.

While Hanoi and Peking were denouncing the Thais for permitting American jets to fly air strikes over North Vietnam from bases in Thailand, Bangkok announced in January that it would send a thousand-man combat battalion to South Vietnam—and had to turn away several thousand volunteers! The land of Anna and the King of Siam had made its choice. And the Thais, who have never known foreign domination, are regarded as wise political prognosticators.

Indian border troops engaged with Chinese units on the Sikkim-Tibet frontier, 15,000 feet up the Himalayas. Each side accused the other of incursions. The three-day exchange of artillery, mortar, and small-arms fire (September 11–14) represented the most serious clash since the Sino-Indian border war of 1962.

The year 1967 saw a step-up in the United States commitment in Asia, as exemplified in Vietnam but by no means limited to that tragic nation. It was also a year

of stepped-up commitment by the individual nations of the Far East to an Asian community paralleling that of Europe.

The threat from China was being counterbalanced by American support, which could be felt, and which was “buying the time” that Lee Kuan Yew and other nationalists need if they are to develop an Asian community.

**EARLY  
1968**

#### *NORTH KOREANS SEIZE UNITED STATES SHIP*

Americans were shocked and indignant when North Korea seized the United States Navy intelligence vessel *Pueblo* on January 23, 1968. The North Koreans claimed the 906-ton *Pueblo* had “repeatedly” violated their territorial waters, which Pyongyang set at 12 miles. Although the United States recognized only a 3-mile limit, the Pentagon said the *Pueblo* had taken special care to remain outside the 12-mile boundary.

The 83-man crew of the *Pueblo* was taken prisoner. One man subsequently died, apparently as a result of injuries sustained when he tried to blow up sensitive electronic gear as four North Korean patrol boats approached the *Pueblo*. Pyongyang trumpeted alleged confessions from the *Pueblo* crew; the United States moved more land, sea, and air forces into position for any possible flareup following the capture of the vessel. Negotiations for return of the *Pueblo* and her men were begun at Panmunjom, and through neutral capitals. But North Korea remained adamant against their return—unless the United States “confessed” that it was spying.

As a result of the *Pueblo* incident, President Johnson on January 25 called up 14,787 Navy and Air Force reservists. One week earlier, 31 North Korean terrorists filtered through the demilitarized zone at the 38th parallel and worked their way into Seoul, with the intention of assassinating South Korean President Chung Hee Park and blowing up key government buildings. The plot failed; its leader and many of his men were captured, and the rest fled.

#### *PRESIDENT CHUNG HEE PARK SEEKS UNITED STATES ASSURANCES*

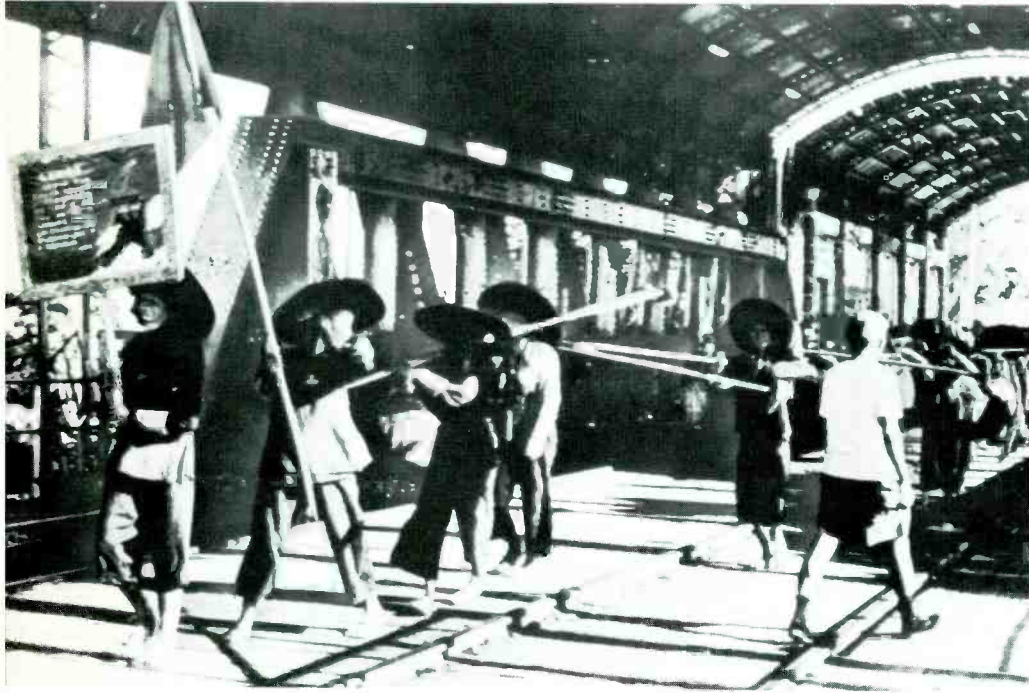
A jittery President Chung Hee Park, who had long been worried that the entire focus of United States–Asian attention was shifting from Korea to Vietnam, sought a meeting with President Johnson. The two met in Hawaii, April 16. Mr. Johnson assured the South Korean that the United States had every intention of backing its Seoul allies, and that the two countries would continue to act in concert at any threat of aggression from the north. Washington’s assurance came at a time when the number of North Korean raids across the DMZ picked up. Several American and South Korean soldiers were killed in terrorist attacks that occurred almost weekly during the spring.



The USS *Pueblo*, a Navy communications monitoring ship, was boarded by North Koreans January 23 and escorted to Wonsan. One of its 83-man crew was fatally wounded; the others were imprisoned in what became a blackmail-and-propaganda enterprise by Pyongyang.



*Below:* Prelude to a riot finds Chinese peasant women crossing bridge into Hong Kong at border town of Lowu. Flags and poster with quotation from Mao Tse-tung provided the inspiration for rioters who attacked British positions and burned an immigration office.



*Above:* Indonesian Lieutenant General Suharto checks his watch minutes before President Sukarno announced his abdication from power. Suharto, hero of anti-Communist forces that thwarted a Red coup, inherited Sukarno's authority and the title of acting president.

*Below:* Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, his wife beside him, ponders a newsman's question at Honolulu Airport en route home from visit to United States. Lee's dilemma: a pro-Western inclination, and a major Communist power too close for comfort.



*Above:* Hit by bomb fragment during Communist terrorist action, a Hong Kong policeman is aided by a fellow officer. The British colony was caught up in the backwash of antiforeign rioting on the China mainland.



Left: Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy is delighted by reaction of banana-gulping elephant at royal palace in Phnompenh, Cambodia. Looking on are Queen Mother Kossamak Nearireath and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian chief of state.

Below: North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung's new militancy threatened the tenuous peace at the 38th parallel with a new explosion that could bring in Communist China and the United States.



Below: Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi checks returns in February parliamentary election. Look of concern reflects her Congress Party's worst showing in the 20 years of Indian independence.

STATE VIDHAN SAHA		DATE 23-2-87										TIME 4:00 PM	
STATES & UNION TERRITORIES	No of SEATS	CON	SWA	CPI	CP(M)	SSP	JS	PSP	REP	IND	OTHER PARTIES	TOTAL	
ANDHRA PRADESH	187	81	14	4	3		1						
ASSAM	126	15								29		132	
BHAR	318										6	23	
GUJARAT	180	2	2										
HARYANA	81	29	2				9					4	
JAMMU & KASHMIR	75	27									1	52	
KERALA	133	15		17	52	15				1		23	
MADHYA PRADESH	298	167		1		10	77	9		13	12	121	
MADRAS	234	27	8	1	5	1		4		23		299	
MAHARASHTRA	270	4								3	18	67	
MYSORE	216	47	7	1		1	2	9		1		8	
ORISSA	140										19	56	
PUNJAB	104	33										2	
RAJASTHAN	184	66	36		4		1	7		5	17	58	
UTTAR PRADESH	425	33		2		6	19			8		133	
WEST BENGAL	280	104	1	13	17	7		4		7		4	
GOA, DAMAN & DIU	30												
HIMACHAL PRADESH	60	4									2		
MANIPUR	30	7		1		25					2		
TRIPURA	30	19											
TOTAL	3407	575										15	





*John Rich, from Cape Elizabeth, Maine, after newspaper reporting, covered the Far East for nine years with INS, based in Tokyo. He joined NBC there in 1950, during the Korean War. In 1957 he was correspondent in Germany, spent two years as Bureau Chief in Paris, and in 1962 returned to Tokyo and his present post.*

## The West Watchers

**John Rich**

NBC News Tokyo Correspondent

"IT ALL DEPENDS on what happens in Vietnam," said the Asian diplomat.

His remark reflects the prevailing atmosphere of 1967 among most of the non-Communist nations of Asia—an atmosphere of watching and waiting. It also reflects a concern growing among these nations over the inability of the United States to end the Vietnam War.

Most Asian nations around the periphery of Communist China enjoyed a hitherto unknown prosperity, yet they were troubled by the realization that it would all be nullified by an American disaster in Vietnam.

They watched American troop strength grow to more than half a million men. Then they saw China and Russia step up aid on the other side while North Vietnam sent more men into the south. The United States was frustrated militarily and, in Asian eyes, troubles on the home front made United States resolve seem doubtful.

The British announcement of a speeded-up withdrawal from Southeast Asia exacerbated their concern. The British commitment had dwindled sharply over the years, but the pullout, even before it took place, began to create problems. It was clear that the United States was hardly in a mood to fill the vacuum created by the departing British. Regardless of the outcome in Vietnam, the United States will be extremely sensitive about getting itself involved in similar situations in Asia.

The Great Cultural Revolution on the China main-

land, with its massive disruptions, had for the moment quieted previous fears of overt aggression by China. Yet, in many different lands subversion and guerrilla activity continue.

South Korea, one of the brightest spots in non-Communist Asia, is challenged by a stepped-up campaign of subversion and terrorism ten times stronger than the previous year.

The North Korean Communists became more active than at any time since the end of the Korean War. They launched an unprecedented number of attacks across the Demilitarized Zone and sent armed bands of terrorists down each coast by ship to strike inland and set up guerrilla bases for future operations. Their hope of stirring up a Vietnam-type guerrilla war among the staunchly anti-Communist South Koreans is probably overoptimistic. Yet, the South Koreans must divert attention from their prospering economy to strengthen their own internal security. They are considering plans to arm villagers or army reservists in order to counter the threat from the north.

Thailand continues to battle unrest in its northern provinces, although happily the Thai government during the year recognized the seriousness of the threat and finally began to exert the effort needed to meet it. The outcome, however, clearly depends on what happens in Vietnam.

British Hong Kong, which thought it had worked out a *modus vivendi* with China, suddenly began to experience fallout from the explosions of the Great Cultural Revolution. In familiar Red Guard pattern, the Chinese community in Hong Kong took to the streets in nasty rioting to remind the British forcefully of the uncertainty that their rule over the Crown Colony will last out the 99-year lease. Keeping a stiff upper lip, the British managed to keep the lid on, helped by the fact that Peking failed to give the Hong Kong Communists full backing. Nevertheless, the thriving economy of the tiny British enclave suffered serious reverses. Foreign investors have shown a wariness of putting money into such an obviously threatened city. Because of the bombs and rioting, tourism dropped off. As a final humiliation, Hong Kong underwent the British pound devaluation and began to consider what further damage it would suffer from proposed American measures to halt the dollar flow.

In Laos, the Pathet Lao, backed by strong North Vietnamese battalions, continued to chip away at that country's neutrality.

These were the clouds on the horizon at the end of 1967, which otherwise was a year of solid progress for the non-Communist nations of Asia.

Japan increased its gross national product by 12 percent. South Korea continued a rapid economic expansion and launched into a five-year plan that would

finally free it of American assistance. Formosa continued to set new records for expansion, as huge amounts of American capital poured in to take advantage of its low-priced but skilled labor force.

Thailand continued to prosper. Its currency remained stable and new industrial plants sprouted. The city of Bangkok, with its picturesque glass-encrusted temples, developed the traffic jams that are the hallmark of prosperity.

One of Southeast's Asia's most important nations—Indonesia—had a remarkably peaceful year in contrast to the bloodletting in 1966 in the wake of the abortive Communist coup. President Sukarno was effectively eased out, and the regime of General Suharto launched a level-headed effort to overcome the massive problems that Sukarno had left behind. Indonesia began to normalize relations with its neighbors, especially Malaysia and Singapore, paving the way for what could be productive regional cooperation in that part of the world.

The new government raced to solve monumental economic problems before its mandate of goodwill ran out. Already at the year-end, the Indonesian students showed signs of unrest.

The Chinese seemed effectively shut out in Indonesia, and the Russians were resigning themselves to the realization that they had bet on the wrong horse. An unfinished steel mill and a useless Soviet cruiser bore testimony to a billion-dollar Soviet investment in Sukarno gone wrong.

One area of painful concern to the West—especially to the United States—was the Philippines. In a part of Asia where economic progress has been the rule rather than the exception, the Philippines lags far behind. The people are still waiting for President Marcos to perform his miracle. He has failed to halt crippling government corruption or to eliminate violence from political life. The simple maintenance of law and order is a major problem, and the elections in the fall of 1967 were the bloodiest in the history of the young republic.

The Huks are back and a continuing problem, although for the moment more gangster than Communist. The Philippines continues to be run in nineteenth-century fashion by an oligarchy of a few dozen families. Ominously the gap between rich and poor widens rather than closes. It is too early to judge whether President Marcos' so-called "nation-building program" of "rice, roads, and schools" will succeed. Clearly America's former ward is in trouble.

There were other significant developments in two countries with which the United States has had difficult relations—Burma and Cambodia.

The irrepressible Prince Sihanouk continued to rail against the U.S.A., but for the first time he revealed publicly that in spite of his past deference to Communist

China, he is now being threatened by Communists within his own country.

The break was even more dramatic in Burma. When Chinese residents tried to use Red Guard tactics, General Ne Win cracked down. Relations with China deteriorated. Chinese technicians went home, and the projects on which they had been working came to a halt. But although Communist China is now aiding Burmese insurgents and openly urging them to overthrow Ne Win's government, this has still not frightened Burma over into the western camp.

Nowhere was there greater concern about the impending pullout of British forces than in Singapore. Severe economic dislocation was predicted. One of the ironic sidelights was a proposal by Japanese interests to take over the historic Singapore naval base and convert it into a shipyard.

Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, a consistent critic of the United States in the past, made a complete switch. He began publicly praising the American military effort in Vietnam and pointed out that because the United States is holding the line there, other Southeast Asian nations like Singapore are able to buy time to put their own houses in order, the better to be able to face Communist subversion. From Lee himself came the flat statement that the fate of Southeast Asia will be decided in Vietnam.

The remarkable Japanese continued to set the economic pace in Asia. In 1967 Japan began to pull ahead of the most advanced industrial nations of Europe.

Japan is now the world's second largest producer of motor vehicles and second to the United States in output of television sets. With 20 million sets in the home islands, the Japanese are the world's second most enthusiastic TV viewers. Japan built almost half of all the ships in the world. She produced 3,146,486 automobiles, almost half as many as were made in the United States. Her 60-million-ton output of steel is well above that of Great Britain or West Germany. The Japanese islands, burned and flattened in 1945, contain today the greatest industrial complex in Asia and the third largest in the world.

Japanese industry and industriousness are apparent in every country in Asia—taxicabs in South Korea, TV sets in Thailand, irrigation projects in Laos, Japanese watches outselling Swiss in Hong Kong, red motor scooters buzzing through Saigon traffic, washing machines and refrigerators in Malaysia, and Japanese engineers and salesmen everywhere.

In western industrial terms, Japan is the first Asian nation to reach major status, and because of it most of Asia looks to her as the model of achievement. The paradox is that Japan is moving ahead so rapidly that it is leaving the rest of Asia far behind.

Despite their prosperity, the Japanese are uncer-

tain and troubled about their future. The country is sharply divided and the nation engaged in what amounts to a Great Debate over the future. One might describe Japan as an economy in search of an ideology. The outcome of this soul-searching will certainly have a great impact on the future of Asia.

The Japanese have failed to reach a national consensus on vital issues such as self-defense, their attitude toward China, continued cooperation with the United States, and the maintenance of American bases in Japan.

Under the impact of continuing explosions on the Chinese mainland, the Japanese began to debate publicly the pros and cons of developing nuclear weapons. The technical capacity already exists in Japan. Sixteen nuclear reactors are completed or being built, and contracts have been let for a nuclear-powered merchant vessel.

On Vietnam, as on other things, the Japanese are divided. Businessmen earn close to 2 billion dollars annually from the conflict. The Japanese government assures American officials that it supports the United States position, although publicly it does little to explain to the people Japan's stake in the war. Japanese news media are highly critical of America's policy and so is much of the public.

A strong leftist opposition, claiming close to a third of the electorate, continues its anti-American stand and has begun to use obstructive tactics in Japan's Diet. Moderate Japanese are alarmed at the growing violence in the streets. This is led by the fanatical Zenkakuren students, who seem to consider themselves current custodians of the *kamikaze* spirit. These militant tactics promise major trouble between now and 1970 when the Japan-United States Security Treaty comes up for review.

The United States wants to maintain harmony with its largest overseas trading partner. Japan-United States trade amounted to 6 billion dollars in 1967. The United States is returning Iwo Jima and the Ogasawara (Bonin) Islands, captured during World War II, but this has only whetted the appetite of the leftists. They also demand the immediate return of Okinawa. This is now a major issue that will grow in importance during the coming year.

The Japanese government is not pressing for return of Okinawa or the removal of American bases. It realizes that Japan has been able to prosper under the protective umbrella of American security. The Japanese have not had to maintain extensive military forces. Unfortunately many Japanese do not yet realize the impracticality of a policy of unarmed neutrality in today's Asia. United States officials frankly warn the Japanese foreign office that the United States will not stay in Japan

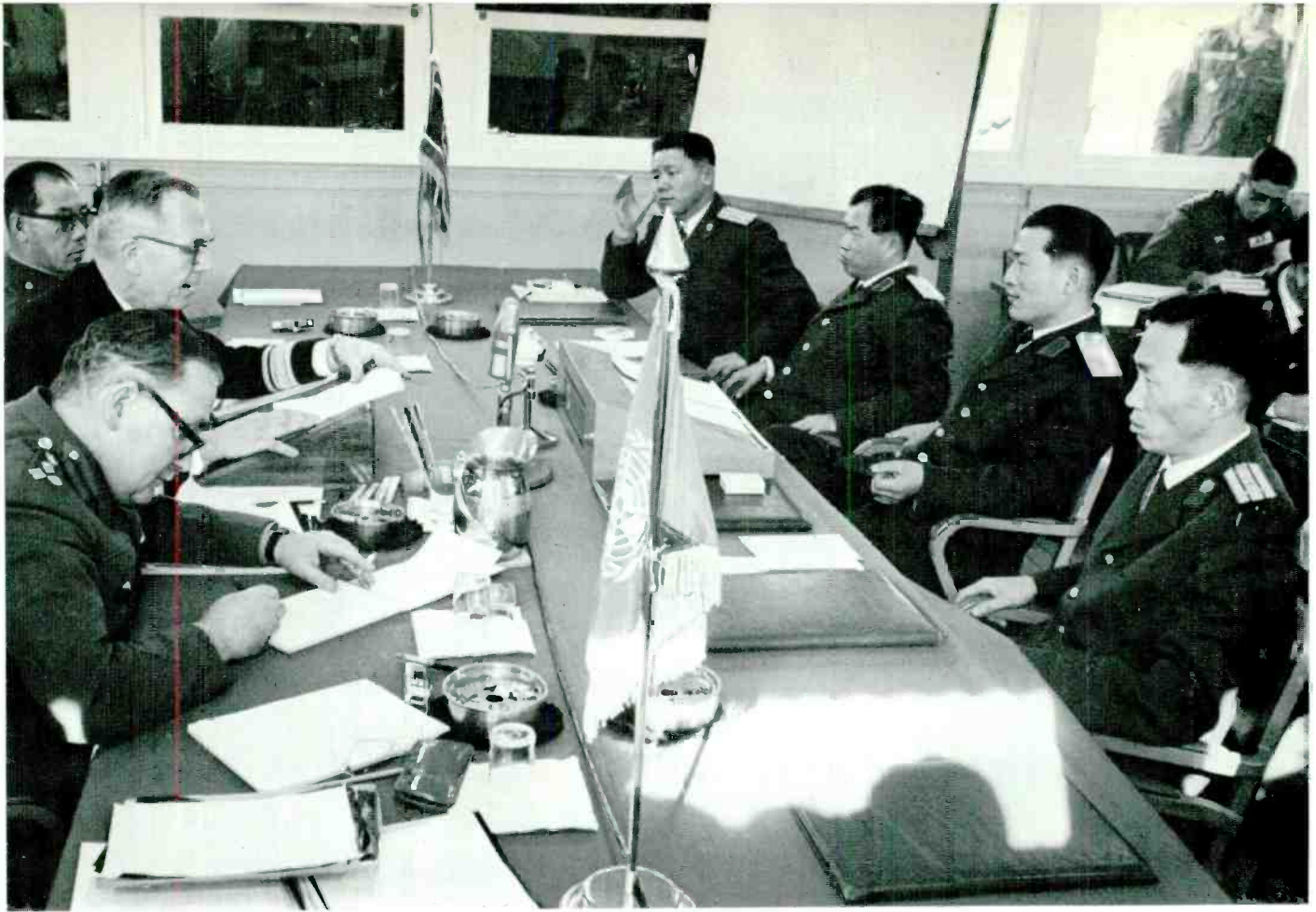
if it is not wanted. They are pressing the Japanese to decide the kind of Asia they desire and then work for it. As a nation that imports 99 percent of its crude oil and 98 percent of its iron ore, Japan ought to be vitally interested in a free and prosperous Southeast Asia, the source of much of its raw materials. Communist control of the Malacca Straits would be a harsh blow to the Japanese economy.

Japanese military involvement in Southeast Asia is out of the question. Japan's constitution, framed during the American occupation, bans war as an instrument of national policy. Its small but efficient military is known as a "Self-Defense Force," and may not be sent overseas. The most that other Asian nations can expect from Japan is economic assistance. Here Japan has been active, pledging 200 million dollars to the Asian Development Bank. But in the wake of the devaluation of the British pound, Japan's tight-fisted Finance Ministry fears a business recession, and for the moment at least is in no mood to increase Japan's overseas economic aid.

A major recent trend among non-Communist Asian nations is toward development of regional cooperative groupings. Press releases have begun to read like something from the Pentagon. There was ASA, then ASPAC, ADA, ASEAN, SEAMES, and others. For the moment most of them contain more structure than substance. But they should not be discounted. Five or six years ago such efforts had not been thought of. At the end of World War II most of these nations existed only as colonies. That list is long—Korea, Formosa, the Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Burma, Malaysia, India, and Pakistan. Viewed from this perspective their progress is even more impressive. This trend toward regionalism reflects a growing awareness of their mutual self-interests and a realization that the United States' deep commitment in Vietnam makes it less able to assist them.

Given time, the cooperative efforts now going on could help strengthen the entire non-Communist Far East. At the moment, however, all the above nations, except Japan, suffer from fragile economies, overdependence on marketing their raw materials, and an inability to defend themselves without outside help.

This is where America enters the picture. Only the United States can provide the protective screen they need to permit them to exist and develop as independent nations. This is their dilemma, and why, at the close of 1967, the eyes of their leaders turn toward Vietnam. They know the outcome there will deeply affect America's future presence and policies in Asia, and therefore will affect their own lives.



Rear Admiral John Smith, senior delegate of the UN Command to the Korean Armistice Commission, demands release of the *Pueblo* and her crew. Across the table at the Panmunjom peace village is North Korean General Chung Kuk Park (second from right). The table is set squarely on the 38th parallel between North and South Korea.

Kim Shin-jo (center background) as sole survivor identifies the bodies of 22 fellow North Korean guerrillas in Seoul. The infiltrators were slain by South Korean soldiers and police during attempt to kill President Chung Hee Park. Some had penetrated to within several hundred yards of the Presidential mansion; eight of the band were still being sought.





National and government leaders of East and Central Africa join for a historic picture prior to the opening of their summit conference at Kampala, Uganda, in December. From left, Lavale Ntaurishira, representing the president of Burundi; Rwanda President Grégoire Kayibanda, Uganda President Milton Obote, Central African Republic President Jean Bokassa, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister Egal of Somalia, Sudanese President Ismail el Azhari, Congo (Brazzaville) Foreign Minister Ganeo, and Congo (Kinshasa) President Joseph Mobutu.

## 14. Africa

AFRICA, LIKE ANCIENT GAUL, is divided into three parts. In 1967, while the Arab North remained stable, black sub-Saharan boiled with rebellion and factionalism, and the white-ruled South struggled to maintain a *status quo* that seemed dangerously at odds with destiny.

With tragic repetition, the nations of equatorial Africa, having only recently gained independence from Britain, France, and Belgium, reverted to divisive tribalism or fell prey to local dictators. Military coups and civil war bloodied the map, and there were few islands of progress.

White Africa—Rhodesia, the Union of South Africa, and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique—fought off black nationalist terror groups, the United Nations, and world opinion. The Salisbury government in Rhodesia drifted further from the British Commonwealth under tight trade restrictions, while South Africa, already out of the Commonwealth but still an important commercial partner of London, pressed a campaign to concentrate nonwhites in separate “nations” within its boundaries. The Portuguese army appeared to have the edge in guerrilla warfare in its colonies, and no general rising seemed likely for the time being.

But time did not seem to be on the side of the white colonist in Africa. He had departed the Moslem north in the mid-1950's and the black belt when independence roused the people of the equator. Now his domain was reduced to the south and the sovereignty of a miniscule minority over a teeming population. And both sides waited for history to catch up to arithmetic.

Most of Central Africa follows the gerrymandered colonial boundaries drawn with no regard for tribal or racial concentrations. And the post-independence period reflected the shortcomings of this system.

In Nigeria, once considered the most reliable of the emerging nations, civil war erupted in 1967, the result of ancient hatreds between the Ibos and the Hausas. The

southern Sudan saw a continuation of the decade-long battle between Moslem and Negro. Ethiopia stepped up attacks on its Eritrean secessionists. The border feud between Somalia and Kenya recalled the Macedonian irritant of the Balkans. In October mediation by Zambia closed the 4-year guerrilla war aimed at unifying Somali tribesmen in a greater Somalia; nearly 3,000 were dead in attacks on Kenya's Northern Frontier District.

(Somali nationalists rioted at Djibouti, French Somaliland, in March, following elections that rejected independence and allowed France to keep this vestige of her once-sprawling African empire; at least a dozen persons were killed.)

And, as in other regions where the military represents the only disciplined institution, and democracy has less than firm roots, Central Africa broke out in a rash of army coups in 1967.

In January, Togo's 1,200-man army threw over the government of Nicholas Grunitzky. In March, Sierra Leone, one of the last major African countries with a two-party system, underwent the first of a series of coups that left the army in control.

In April, Ghana, which had ousted dictator Kwame Nkrumah the year before, suppressed a rising by dissident army officers. In December, Dahomey's army turned out President Christophe Soglo following a general strike brought on by the government's austerity program. Soglo and army chief of staff Colonel Alphonse Alley were members of rival tribes. The President had come to power in a coup two years earlier.

In the previous two years—1965–1966—a total of seven Central African governments had been toppled by the military. Most of the coups were bloodless and not without certain comic-opera touches.

It was another matter in Nigeria and the former Belgian Congo. Nigeria, the one-time British territory whose 57 millions make it the most populous nation on



the continent, had seen coup and countercoup in 1966 and a massacre of Ibos by the northern region's Hausa tribesmen late that year. When demands for decentralization were turned down by Lagos, the Eastern Region, as the Republic of Biafra, declared independence on May 30th. Secession quickly led to civil war, and by November the death toll was estimated at more than 20,000.

Lagos charged that Western powers, with an eye to Biafran oil, were supporting the breakaway region. But, while some evidence of Portuguese aid appeared in Biafra (the central government had purchased Russian jets after being turned down by the United States and Britain), Washington and London generally took a hands-off attitude. Heavy fighting continued into early 1968 with no letup in sight, though the federal forces had the upper hand.

In the Congo, where tribal differences are compounded by an uneven distribution of natural wealth which is further complicated by foreign investors, independence in 1960 lit a fire that has never cooled.

It flared again in early July when white mercenaries and Katangan gendarmes rebelled against the central government in the rich eastern provinces of Orientale and Kivu. There were indications that the rising was an effort, in part, to prevent extradition to the Congo of former Premier Moise Tshombe, whose plane was hijacked over the Mediterranean in June and flown to Algeria. The Congo government, which earlier in the year had sentenced Tshombe to death *in absentia* for treason, said he had plotted the rebellion before his abduction.

While Tshombe languished in Algiers, the war saw-sawed. (President Johnson dispatched three cargo planes—for noncombatant use—at the request of President Joseph Mobutu, but two were shortly withdrawn after a Congressional uproar about getting involved in Congolese affairs.)

In early August the rebels captured Bukavu, capital of Kivu Province, but that was their highwater mark, and by November it was all over but a negotiated withdrawal to neighboring Rwanda. At about that time a new

mercenary column was invading Katanga from Angola, but this was an anticlimax (it was repelled by government troops) and an embarrassment to Lisbon, which had disclaimed any support for the rebels.

By year's end the Tshombe question remained unresolved. Extradition—and summary execution—could only stir up Katanga, where the exile had never lost his popularity.

Seldom have so many met so often and accomplished so little as in the worldwide furor over Rhodesia. Prime Minister Ian Smith, a former RAF pilot, had set his white minority ship of state into the wind—against UN sanctions, a British boycott of tobacco, and barriers erected in January by President Johnson that all but ended commerce with the United States. Smith found that it all added up to little more than an inconvenience.

Rhodesian industry received vital oil shipments from Portugal's colonies and the Union of South Africa, which also joined in tracking down black guerrilla units that slipped across the Rhodesian border from Zambia. (The African states, which had demanded that Britain use force to nullify Smith's 1965 declaration of independence, and which branded the sanctions farcical, seemed to be given tacit approval to more radical means of bringing down white rule.)

Neighboring South Africa, home of 3.5 million whites and 13 million others, drew up plans to create a number of "Bantustans," separate units of nonwhites where full civil rights would be exercised, and, in time, political independence.

In the short run, the dreaded apartheid laws would have to do in dividing the races—often members of the same family—and South Africa was condemned by the United Nations for introducing racial separation into its League of Nations mandate, South-West Africa (see Chapter 16, UNITED NATIONS).

Division, in theory and practice, was Africa's chief affliction in 1967. Unity and harmony were easy enough to prescribe, but the patient showed little likelihood of swallowing the medicine.

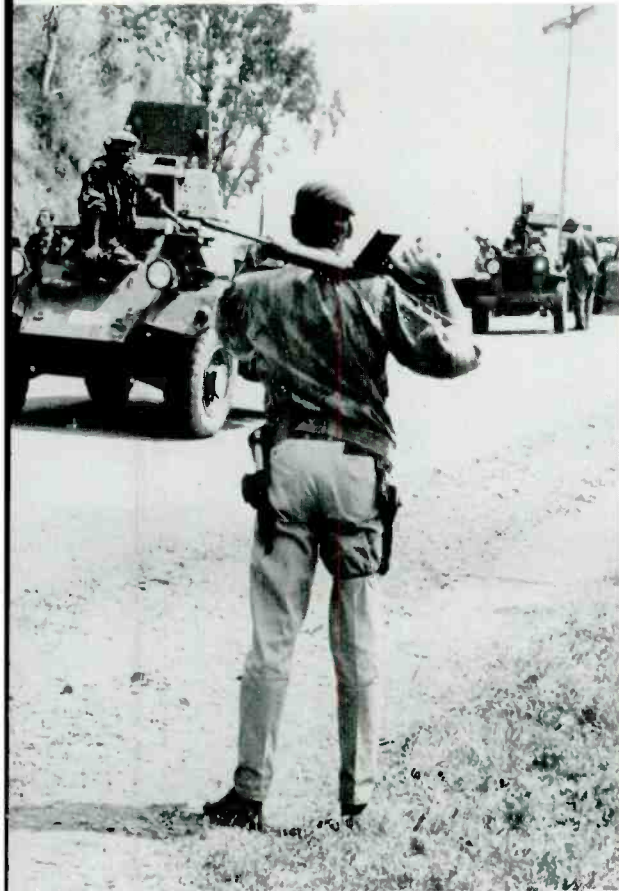


### RHODESIA DEFIES QUEEN ELIZABETH

The white minority government of Rhodesia, which had broken with Britain and declared itself unilaterally independent in 1965, broke one of its last ties with the mother country in March, 1968. Until then, Rhodesia had still pledged loyalty to the British Queen. But when Queen Elizabeth commuted the death sentences of three black Africans accused of murder, and ruled that they receive life terms in prison, Rhodesia's high court balked. The three men were hanged anyway, and one of the last shreds of British prestige in Africa vanished.

*Right:* Bearded Lieutenant Colonel C. O. Ojukwu, military governor of East Nigeria, is surrounded by military aides during April news conference at Enugu. Soon Ojukwu was the strongman of Biafra as the eastern region seceded from the Nigerian federation and a bloody civil war was on.

*Below:* Heavily armed white mercenary strolls through Bukavu in the eastern Congo after his unit took the city during flare-up of old Congolese enmities.



*Center right:* Residents of Djibouti, French Somaliland, pitch rocks at French troops during March disorders that followed a referendum in which the colony chose links to France.

*Bottom:* Europeans board truck during evacuation of Kisangani at the height of the Congo rebellion. They were flown out of the city in a United States transport plane which later ferried in government paratroops to protect remaining white residents.





Kenya soldier sights his Bren gun on neighboring Somalia, from which guerrillas carried out raids aimed at unifying large areas of Kenya under Somali rule.

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith and opposition leader P. M. Kudd (*left*) lead members at opening of Parliament in Salisbury. In Rhodesia, the color lines remained separate.



*Right:*

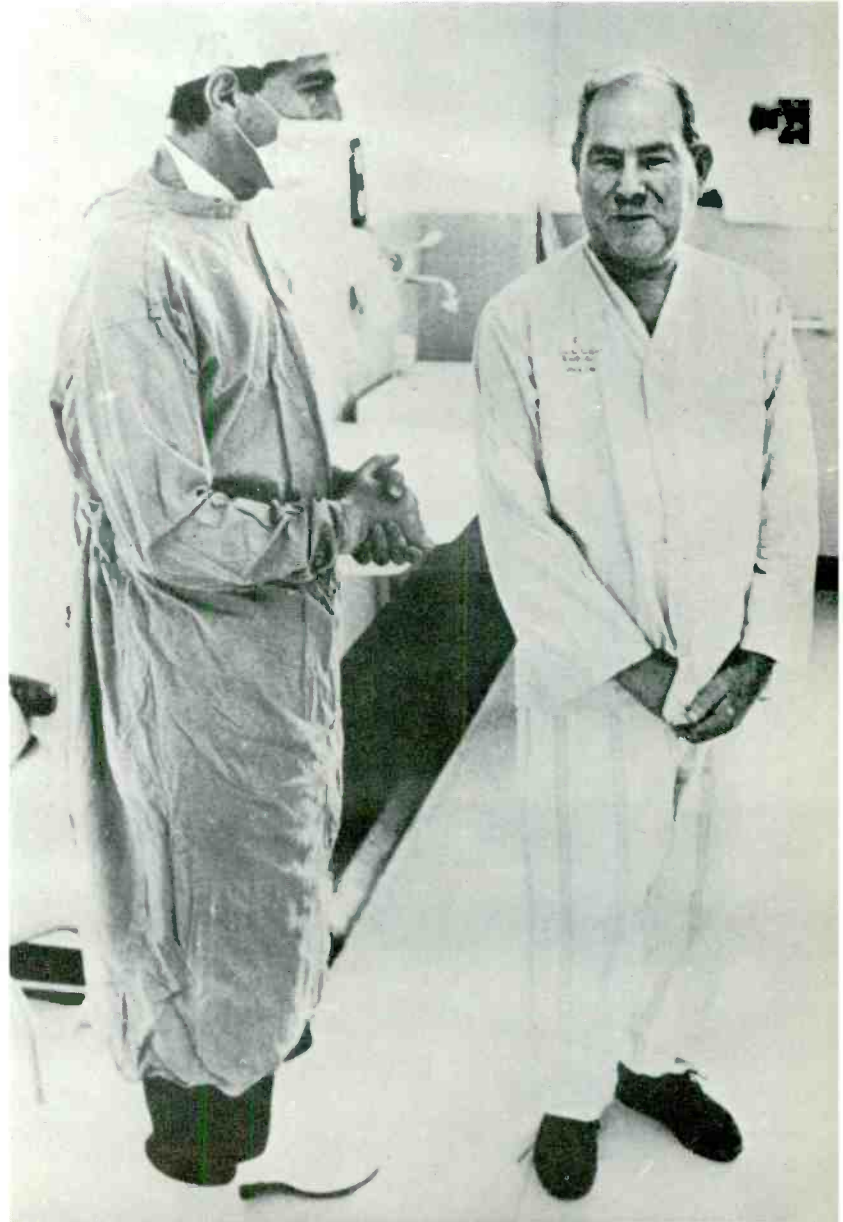
Vice-President and Mrs. Humphrey stroll through streets of Monrovia—as decorative as the dignitaries—during inauguration ceremonies for Liberian President William Tubman on New Year's Day.

*Bottom left:*

Former Congolese Premier Moise Tshombe leaves Algiers court in July after learning Algeria's supreme court had approved his extradition to his Congo homeland where he was under sentence of death for treason. Six months later he was still in Algiers.

*Bottom right:*

Dr. Philip Blaiberg, fifty-eight-year-old South African dentist, world's third and longest surviving heart transplant patient talks in hospital in Capetown with Surgeon Christiaan Barnard, team leader of operation. He was permitted to go home on March 16, 1968. As of May 1, he was thriving in this 120th day of transplant life.





The body of Communist guerrilla leader Ernesto "Che" Guevara lies in a Bolivian mortuary. Fidel Castro later canonized his former comrade-in-arms as a martyr to the hemispheric revolution.

## 15. Latin America and Canada

FOR THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA and their 240 million people, 1967 marked the beginning of a "decade of urgency." The phrase was President Johnson's—stressed at the conference of hemisphere presidents in April—but the urgency would have to be widespread if the lands south of the Rio Grande were to be dragged into the twentieth century.

Urgency—energy and commitment—is overdue in a region where per capita income is \$250 a year, where 2 percent of the people own two-thirds of the wealth, where the world's most explosive population boom adds more than 7 million new mouths a year.

The answer that came out of the spring meeting at Punta del Este, Uruguay, was a regional economic union, a high-powered Latin common market. The United States would help—beyond the billion dollars it was already pouring into the area each year—but only after its southern neighbors had shown more of a stomach for cooperation.

The plan, though more radical, was nothing new: in 1960, five nations formed the Central American Common Market, which successfully boosted trade among its members. That year also saw the organization of the Latin American Free Trade Area, which, after a strong start, bogged down: national interest came first.

Cooperation would have to come first, and in large doses, to meet the 1985 target date for complete economic integration. By that date, Latin America would have nearly 400 million people.

President Johnson, observing that despite the Alliance for Progress "the pace of change is not fast enough," insisted that "the assistance of my nation will be useful only as it reinforces your determination and builds on your achievements."

The Declaration of the Presidents of America, signed at Punta del Este by 18 heads of state (the lone holdout, Ecuador's Otto Arosemena Gómez, wanted the United

States to pledge more aid for the poorer countries), called for a beginning to be made in 1970.

Replacing LAFTA and the Central American union, the new program provided for a common currency, lower tariffs, and the free movement of capital and labor across national boundaries. Agriculture would be modernized and technology introduced to the backward nations; health facilities and educational systems would be advanced (in Brazil, for example, the infant mortality rate is 170 per thousand live births as against 24 per thousand in the United States; for all of Latin America, the illiteracy level is 65 percent).

But away from the enthusiasm of the arena, observers were less than sanguine. The problems were monumental, and many held it would be impossible to create the essential stability—it showed only sporadically in 1967, despite Washington's Niagara of aid, a total of more than \$6 billion since World War II in economic assistance, another \$900 million since 1950 for military hardware.

In many countries (Latin America is composed of nations at least as dissimilar as those of Europe) reform was spelled Communism by landowners, industrialists, and financiers who maintained excellent connections with the military.

Nationalism found spendthrift expression in a minor-league arms race: Washington was less than successful in 1967 in trying to confine a scramble for supersonic jet fighters by Argentina, Peru, and Chile, while France stood ready to supply all the matériel any prestige-conscious republic might want (the Declaration of the Presidents called for sharp cutbacks in the national arsenals).

There were such complicating disputes as landlocked Bolivia's demand for access to the Pacific across Chilean territory (Bolivia boycotted the Uruguay sessions because the subject was not on the agenda) that further stacked the cards against regional cooperation.

There was, too, subversion and guerrilla warfare, as Fidel Castro sought to export revolution and stir up local "Vietnams" in the backyard of the *Yanqui* imperialists. His program met with little success in 1967.

Castro convened the first session of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity in Havana on the last day of July. He promptly revealed a split in Communist ranks between the more conservative Moscow-oriented parties and those backing Havana's program of spreading unrest through the Latin world.

Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin, who was in New York in June for the UN debate on the Middle East, returned home by way of Cuba. The Russians, busily building trade relations with the Western Hemisphere, wanted Havana to play down the revolution theme. But Castro, in closing the OLAS conference less than two months later, condemned Communist nations that traded with his Latin targets, for "fighting and murdering guerrillas."

It was not a good year for revolution: in January, Venezuelan authorities seized six Castroite terrorists accused of plotting to assassinate high police officials. In May, the Venezuelans broke up a landing party and arrested a Cuban lieutenant. And in October, Ernesto (Che) Guevara, Argentine-born strategist of the Cuban revolution, was captured by U.S.-trained Bolivian soldiers, and killed. Before he was shot, Guevara described the Bolivian guerrilla movement as "*un fracaso*"—a shambles. After early successes, notably in ambushing inept army patrols, Guevara realized there was little support for a local Castroite uprising.

In addition to Venezuela and Bolivia, Castro was promoting guerrilla movements in Colombia and Guatemala, and was aiding subversive elements in other Latin American countries, according to a July report of the House Inter-American Affairs subcommittee. It added that Mexico—only Latin country to maintain trade and diplomatic ties with Cuba—and Uruguay were the main points of distribution for Castro agents and propaganda.

While the United States was under attack from one Caribbean island, it was drawing support from the voters of another. In a July referendum, Puerto Ricans had the alternatives of continued commonwealth status for the island, statehood, or independence. While more than 60 percent of the votes favored things-as-they-are, a record 38 percent backed statehood (the independence people boycotted the referendum as farcical, since it was not binding on the United States Congress).

Elsewhere in the Caribbean, Haiti's politics wended their Byzantine ways in 1967. President François (Papa Doc) Duvalier, plagued by plotters and what appeared to be paranoia, purged his cabinet and the army during the spring, dismissing 5 ministers, executing 19 officers, and ordering his son-in-law to return from exile to stand trial for conspiracy. For the ailing Duvalier, time seemed to be running out.

In Nicaragua, the Somoza dynasty continued its 35-year hold as Major General Anastasio Somoza Debayle easily won election as President (following in the footsteps of his father and brother). A prelude to the February balloting was the Managua riot of January 22; it left dozens dead and gave the Somozas the opportunity to brand the opposition as Communists.

It was brutally obvious that internal reform must predate full regional cooperation. And in each country, another set of problems:

- Chile's President Eduardo Frei Montalva ran a government with a minority in the Senate, and consequently took punishment from both sides. Frei planned major land reforms by 1972, settling 100,000 peasant families on 15 million acres now held in vast estates. The political left charged he wasn't moving fast enough; the right was horrified at his haste. Both blocs combined in January to deny him permission (under a nineteenth-century law) to go to Washington for talks with President Johnson.

- In Bolivia, the regime of René Barrientos Ortuño was beset by rioting students in the cities, striking tin miners in the Andes, and Communist guerrillas in the southern lowlands.

- Brazil inaugurated President Arthur da Costa e Silva in March. He was faced with the tasks of further curbing an inflation that had wrecked consumer buying power (though it was down to an annual price rise of 40 percent; it had been 71 percent in 1963); further breaking away from a coffee economy (despite sophisticated agriculture and an industrial plant that turns out more autos than the Soviet Union); striking inland from the coastal strip that is home to 90 percent of the country's 85 million people (inland there awaited enormous stands of timber, vast hydroelectrical potential, and untold mineral wealth).

Efforts were afoot, however, to solve some of the region's overriding handicaps. The eighth World Conference of the International Planned Parenthood Federation was set in Santiago, Chile, in April.

A radical event in a strongly Catholic area, it was recognition of the fact that advances in food and industrial production were being nullified by the rocketing increase in population.

The following month, the University of Salvador, a Jesuit school in Buenos Aires, began training 32 Latin-American doctors and medical researchers in scientific family planning.

International sore points were soothed: Panama and the United States reached accord on three treaties in June. The most important gave Panama new political and administrative rights over the Panama Canal, replacing the gunboat-diplomacy agreement of 1903, which had guaranteed the United States complete authority "as if it were sovereign of the territory." It followed two and a half years of negotiations brought on by riots that

led to a temporary break in diplomatic relations.

And in October, the United States formally ceded to Mexico a 437-acre strip at El Paso. The disputed land, known as El Chamizal, had been created by a shift in the course of the Rio Grande—in 1848.

For the United States these were relatively minor adjustments. But they represented much more to sensitive Latin peoples living in the shadow of the *Yanqui* giant—a neighbor whose prime export, by their thinking, had for long been the United States Marines. That giant seemed conscientiously trying to recast its image.

Canada marked her centennial in 1967. On July 1, Prime Minister Lester Pearson lighted a symbolic flame on Parliament Hill, Ottawa, to commemorate the 100th birthday of Confederation. Ten weeks earlier he had inaugurated Expo 67 in Montreal, a giant exhibition that ran six months and welcomed 51 million visitors; a smashing international success.

Amid the jubilee of union ran the specter of disharmony: French-speaking Quebec, which long had com-

plained of discrimination by anglophobe provinces, had spawned a separatist movement. It gained strength in 1967, though it still appeared that most *Quebeçois* preferred the *status quo*—with adjustments.

French President Charles de Gaulle capitalized on this fervor in a series of statements during his visit in July. And when he exclaimed, "*Vive Québec libre!*" the slogan of the separatists, De Gaulle triggered an explosion that led him to depart for France the following day. (Late in August, Paris pledged a "considerable increase" in its aid to Quebec, "to help the French of Canada to maintain and develop their personality.")

Two towers of political strength announced their departure from public life: Progressive Conservative Party leader John Diefenbaker, in September, after a younger man was chosen to head the party. And in December, Prime Minister Pearson, full of years (seventy-one) and honors (the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957) revealed he was calling it a career. Departure of the statesman-diplomat would create a considerable void.



#### PANAMA GETS TWO PRESIDENTS

On March 24, President Marco Robles of Panama was ruled out of office by the National Assembly. But, with National Guard (Panama's military force) support, he successfully defied the Assembly, and vowed to remain as President until the Supreme Court ruled on the validity of his impeachment and removal from office. Under Panama's Constitution, a President cannot succeed himself, but Robles was accused of trying to handpick his successor in the election scheduled for May 12.

The National Assembly named First Vice-President Max Delvalle (pronounce it "del-vy-yay") as President. The National Guard refused to accept him. Sporadic rioting and protest marches occurred in Panamanian cities as the Supreme Court deliberated through April—and Panama remained with two presidents.

#### CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER RETIRES, AND AN ELECTION IS CALLED

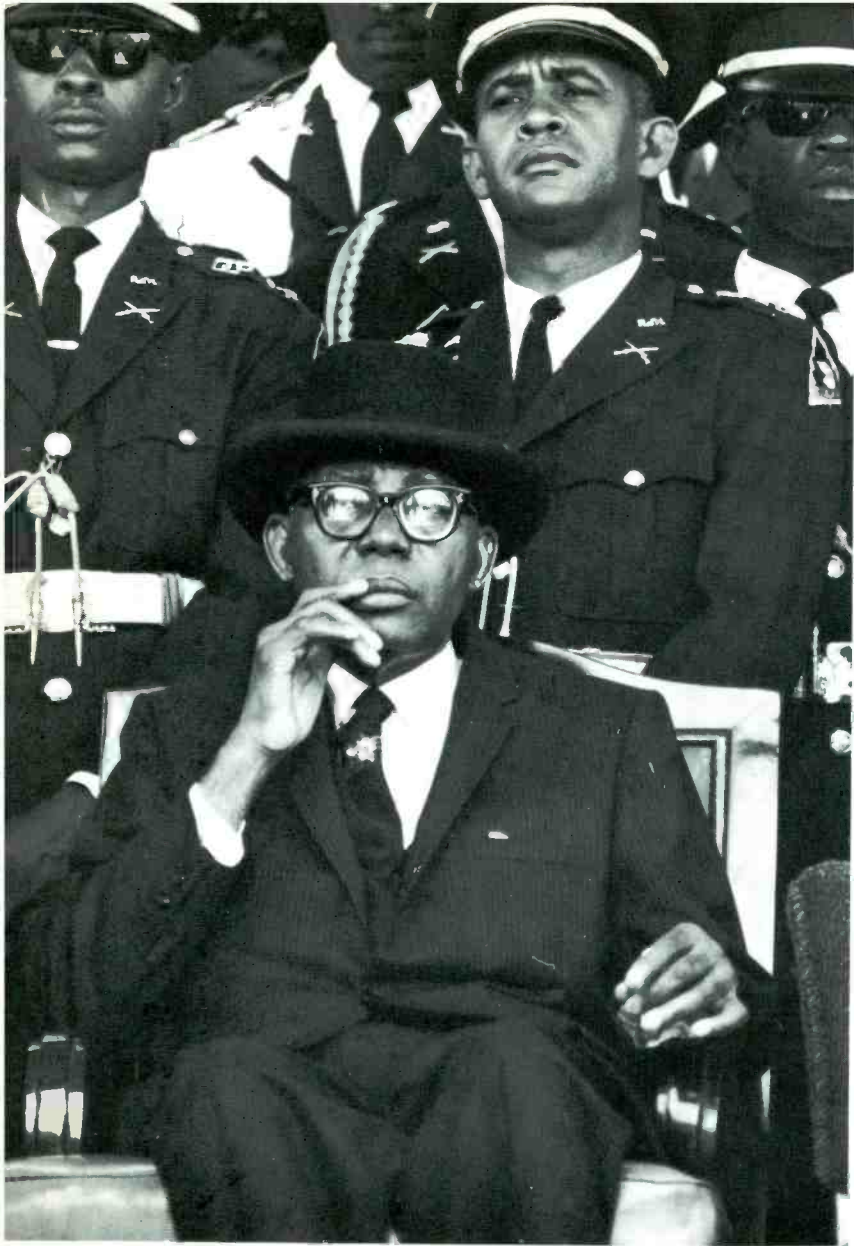
Liberal Prime Minister Lester Pearson retired April 18, 1968. Justice Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, a handsome bachelor and former law professor in his mid-forties, was elected head of the party. Trudeau called a nationwide election for June 25.

Meanwhile, in February, reform of Canada's Constitution was begun by a Federal-Provincial Conference. Linguistic equality throughout Canada was agreed to, and basic changes in the Constitution were studied.

Canada's new premier, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, a forty-seven-year-old bachelor, confers, before his April 20 swearing in, with outgoing Prime Minister Lester Pearson. Trudeau's swinging style brought him from a law professorship to Canada's highest post in two years.







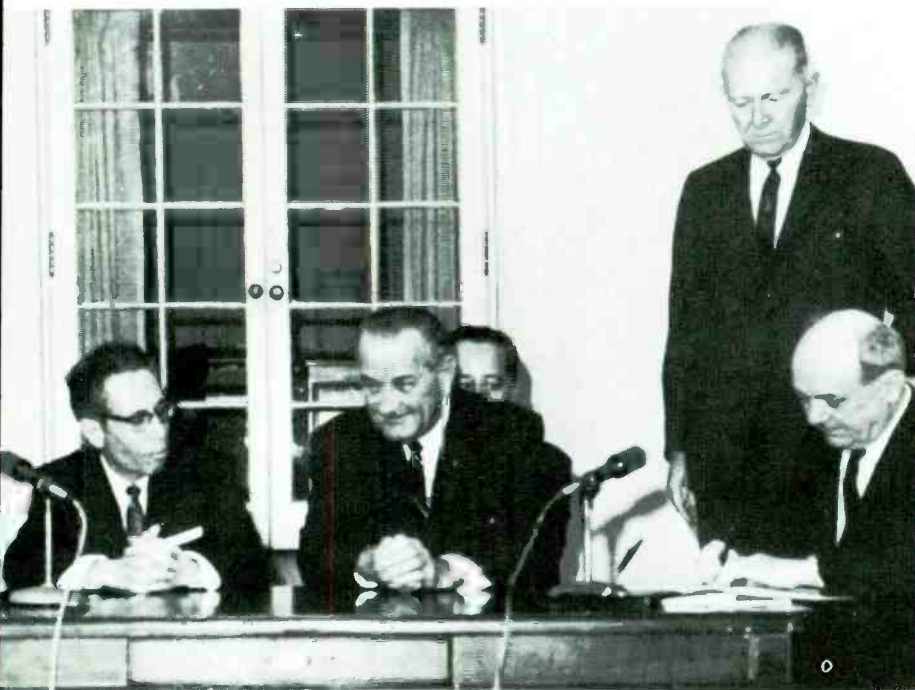
Left: A leader in constant fear for his life, President François "Papa Doc" Duvalier of Haiti sits outside his palace in Port au Prince surrounded by personal bodyguard.

Below: Flanked by Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado and Premier Fidel Castro, Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin waves good-bye to Havana. Kosygin, homebound from the United Nations, tried—but failed—to get Castro to drop his program of hemispheric revolution.



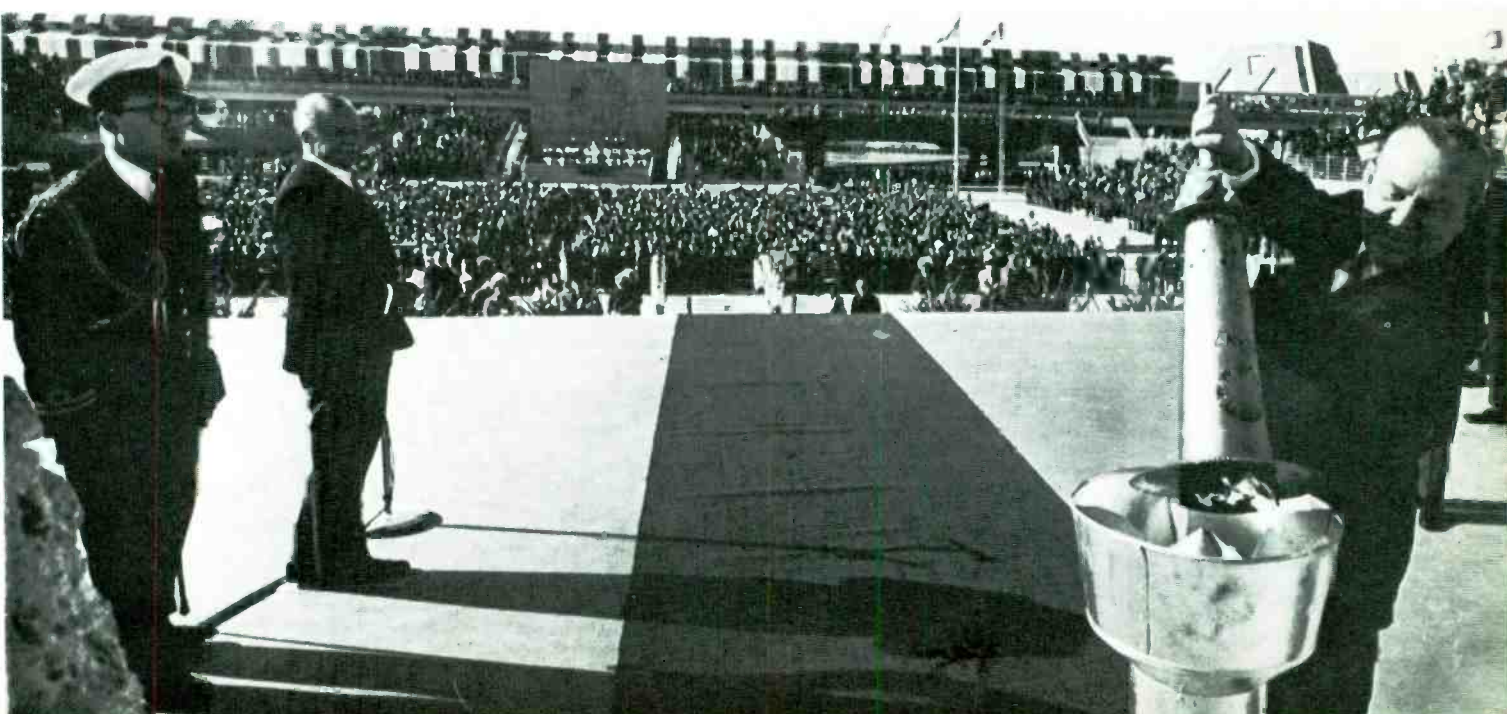
Right: At Punta del Este, Uruguay, a ruminative President Johnson listens as Ecuadorian President Otto Arosemena Gómez attacks United States policy and dents the facade of hemispheric accord. Making notes alongside Arosemena is Chile's Eduardo Frei Montalva.

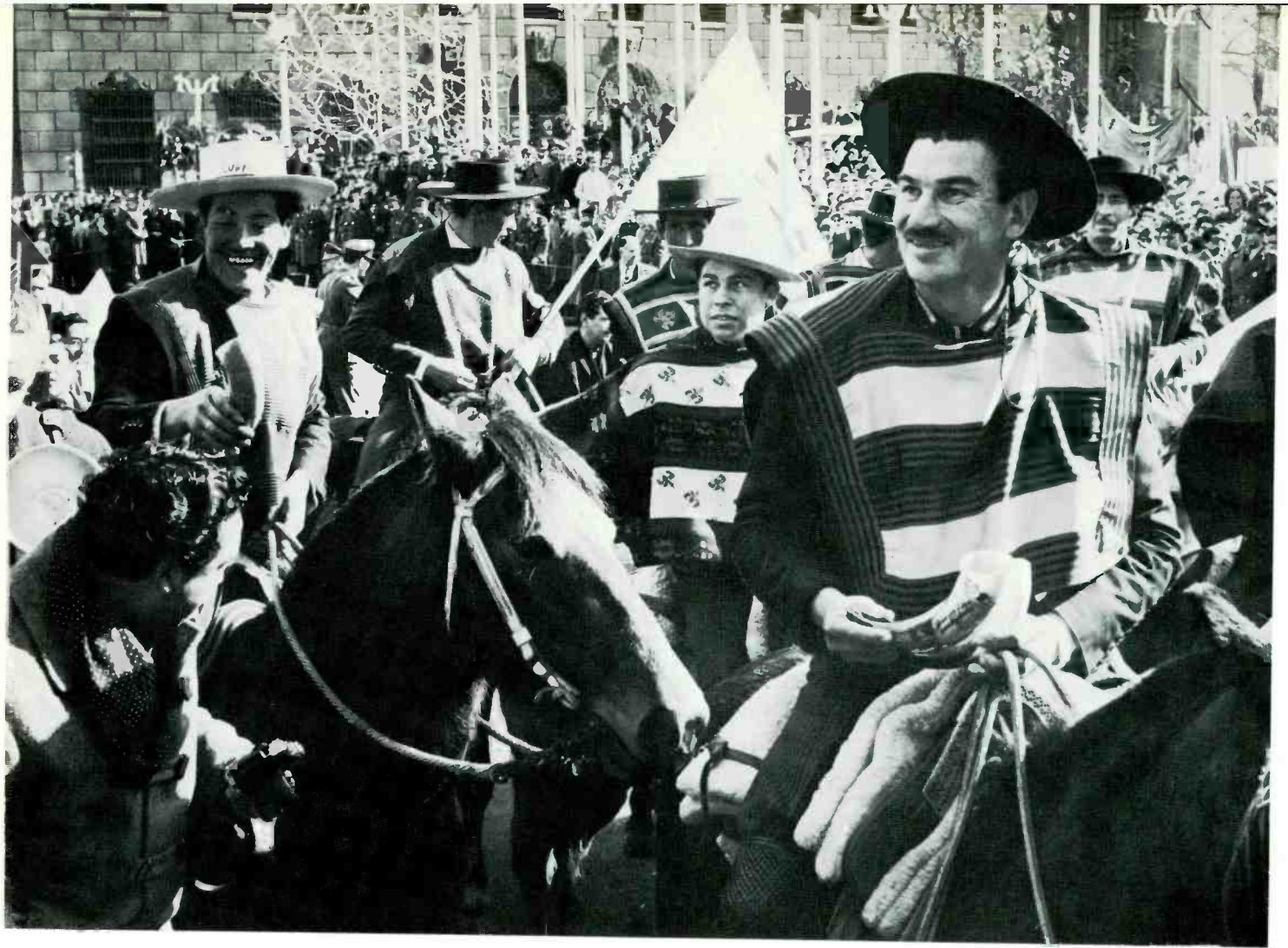
Right: United States black-power advocate Stokely Carmichael heads for Havana podium during conference of Organization of Latin American Solidarity. Carmichael pledged his movement's support for the Communist revolutionaries.



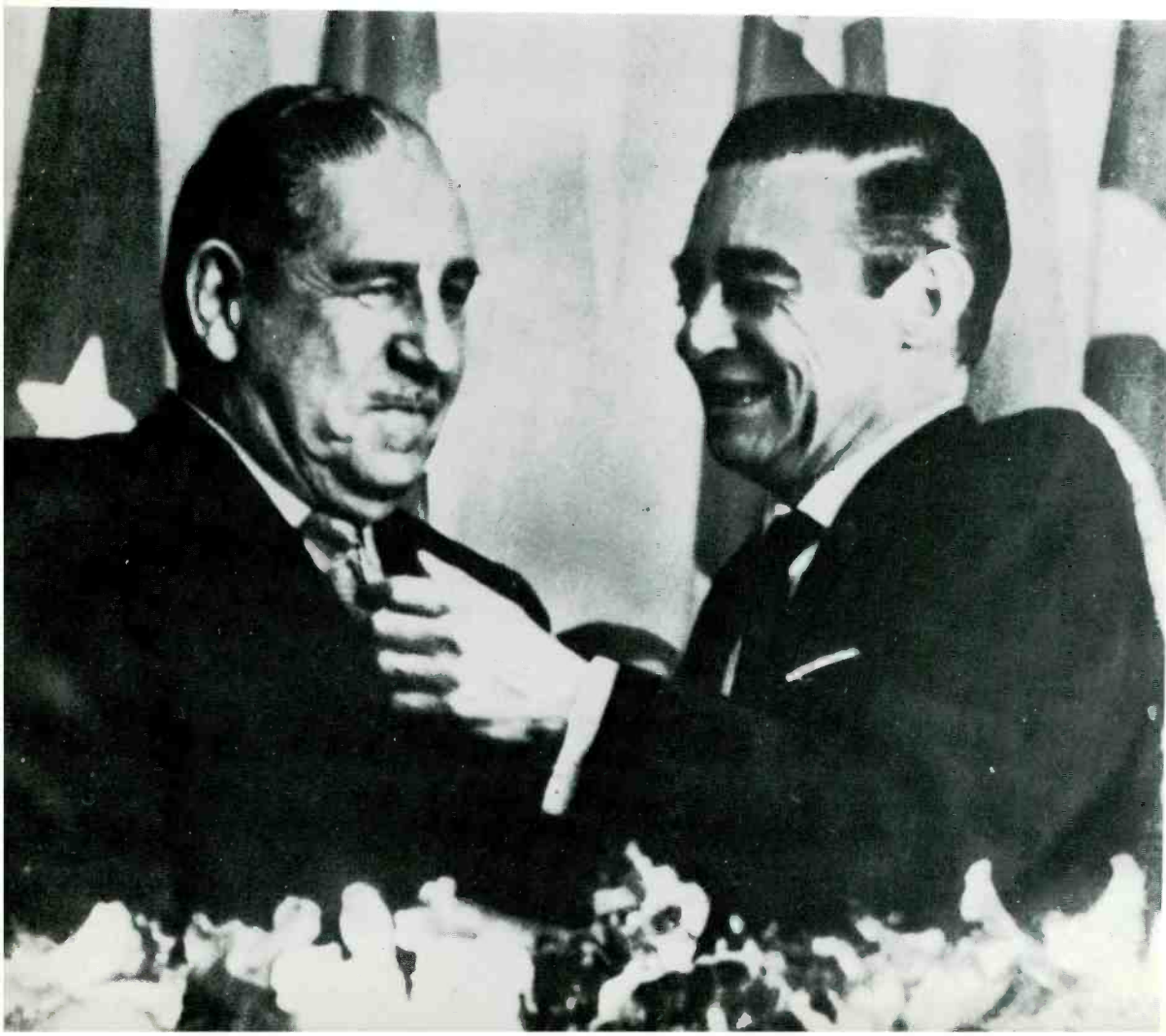
Left: An old grievance is eased as President Johnson and Mexican President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz sign the Chamizal Treaty ceding acreage along the Rio Grande River to Mexico. The presidents were flanked at the White House ceremony by Foreign Secretary Antonio Carrillo Flores and Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

Bottom: Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson lights the torch of Expo 67, officially opening the centennial celebration at Montreal. Record crowds responded to the six-month jubilee.

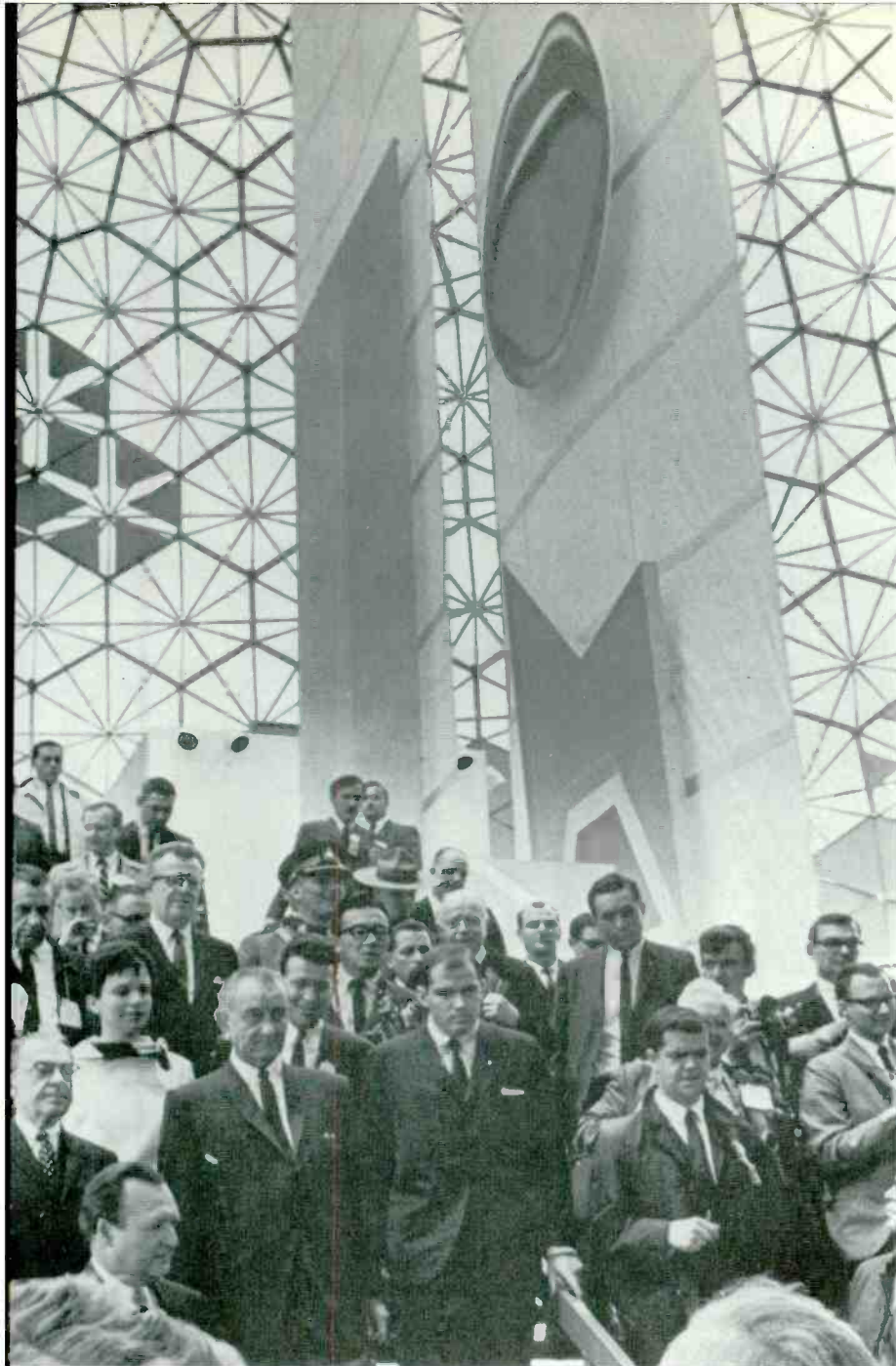




Above: Jubilant Chilean peasants head for ceremonial signing of a land-reform measure that will one day give these "cowboys" farms of their own. Redistribution of wealth was a major economic issue for most Latin American countries.



Left: Arthur da Costa e Silva, at his March inaugural as President of Brazil, is about to receive an abrazo from Senator Auro de Moura Andrade. The former army marshal took command of a nation whose problems matched its immense size.

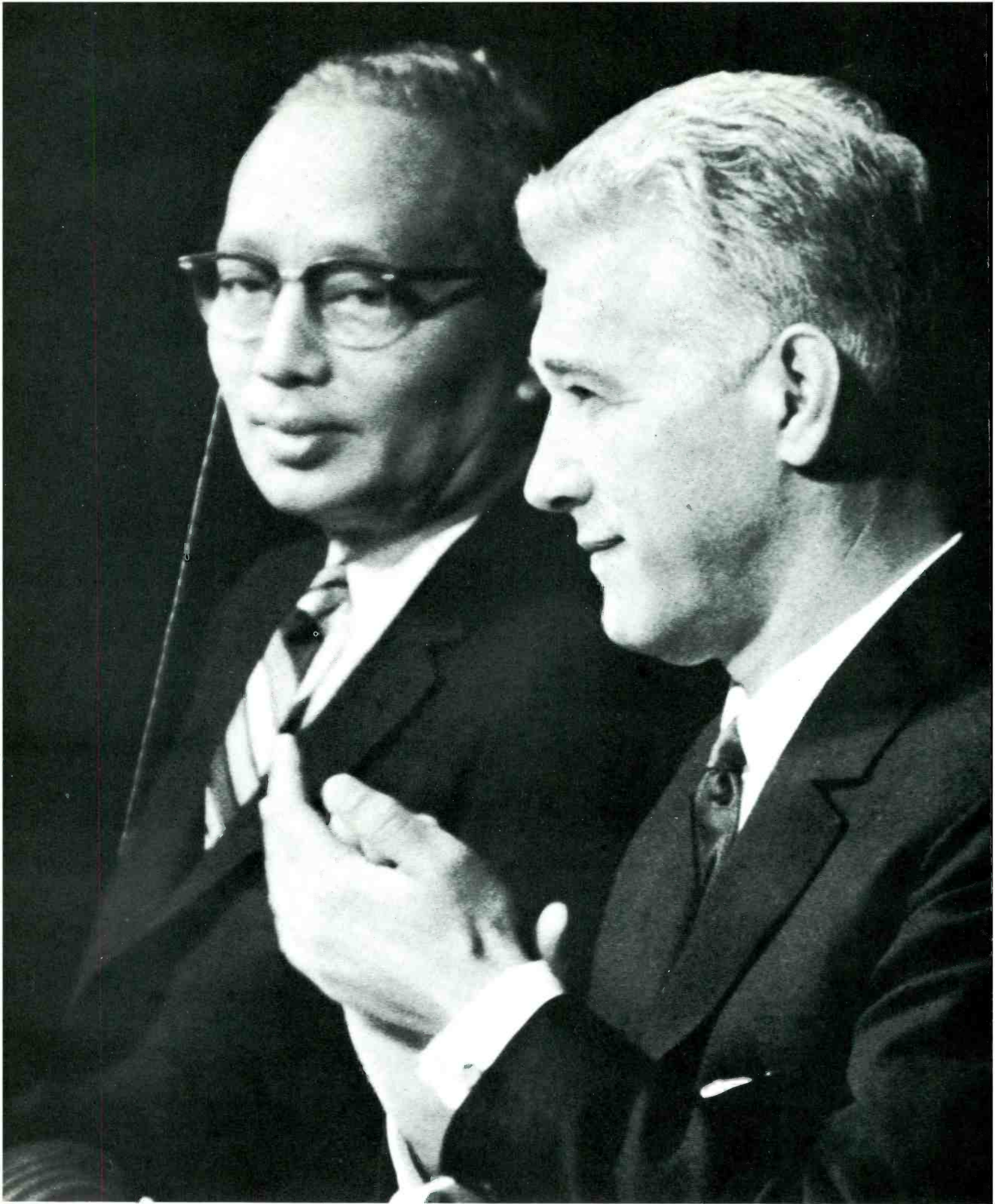


Above: Club-wielding police seize two students at University of Puerto Rico during San Juan disorders over referendum on relationship to the United States. Twenty-five persons were injured and one man—an innocent bystander caught in a crossfire between rival student groups and police—was fatally wounded.

Left: Engulfed by staff and newsmen, President Johnson visits the domed United States pavilion during a tour of Expo 67. He was accompanied by the bespectacled Paul Martin, Canadian external affairs minister.



Right: French President Charles de Gaulle triggers Gallic enthusiasm at Quebec City Hall, where he was accompanied by Province Premier Daniel Johnson. But De Gaulle stressed the Québécois' ties to France to an embarrassing degree, and had to be reminded the province was part of Canada.



With Secretary General Thant looking on, Rumanian Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu returns applause of the General Assembly after his election as President—the first in the UN's 22 years from a Communist country.

## 16. United Nations

AS A MICROCOSM of the global community, the United Nations in 1967 reflected all the world's problems and much of its impotence to solve them: Vietnam, the Middle East, Red China, ultrawhite South Africa, under-financing, and overpopulation.

The world organization did contribute toward peace during the year, most notably by the nonproliferation treaty and a solution to the Cyprus crisis. And, if its forum too often sounded like a propaganda soapbox, the observation of its 1950 United States ambassador, Warren Austin, was applicable—"when we stop talking, watch out."

At the opening of the 22nd regular session of the General Assembly in September, Afghanistan's Abdul Rahman Pazhwak offered a graphic reminder of just where UN's shortcomings lay. He recalled that nearly every international calamity had had "some advance notice from the collective utterance from this rostrum.

"Thus, if fools and folly rule the world, the end of man in our time may come as a rude shock, but it will no longer come as a complete surprise."

Secretary General Thant, in his annual report that same day—September 19, the day after the Assembly ended a special session on the Middle East conflict—remarked that "the international political situation has not only not improved, it has in fact deteriorated considerably." As particularly dangerous to world peace Thant cited the Arab-Israeli crisis and the Vietnam War.

Vietnam's anguish had long been keenly felt by the Burmese diplomat: it was a major factor in the despair that very nearly caused him to decline to seek a second five-year term the year before. In 1967, his travels and consultations represented the major UN effort toward finding peace there. But he could only report that until the United States ended its bombing of North Vietnam there would be no move to the conference table and Washington awaited evidence that such a halt would signal the start of talks.

In the Middle East crisis, Thant had come under attack for having acceded to the Egyptian demand for withdrawal of the 3,400-man UN peace-keeping force from its side of the Israeli frontier (Israel had never permitted UN soldiers on its territory). Thant, arguing that the troops had been stationed there with Cairo's consent and could not remain if that consent were withdrawn, ordered an evacuation.

Three days later, on May 22, Nasser shut the Strait of Tiran to Israeli shipping; two weeks after that, the war was on. (See Chapter 11, THE MIDDLE EAST.)

The Security Council convened urgently, ordered cease-fires. They were obeyed—after the Israelis had secured their military objectives.

Suddenly the Soviet Union was on the defensive. It had failed to have Israel censured as an aggressor, and it was coming under Arab attack for not having intervened to prevent the military rout. At Moscow's insistence, the Middle East question was passed to the General Assembly. There the Soviets would have a soapbox from which to preach for their Arab clients, who would be reassured that Moscow was, indeed, behind them.

The fifth special session of the General Assembly opened on June 17 with an array of 1 king, 1 president, 15 premiers, and 38 foreign ministers. After hundreds of speeches and torrents of diatribe it adjourned September 18, having reached unanimity on one point at least: placing the "grave situation in the Middle East" high on the agenda of the regular, 22d session that convened the following day.

Assembly debate on the Middle East ended October 13, and the issue went back to the Security Council. In a circular, chicken-and-egg debate, the Arab states insisted that the negotiations demanded by Israel could come only after a withdrawal from the territories won during the six-day war, while the Israeli delegate maintained there would be no withdrawal without face-to-face negotiating.

Late in November the council unanimously adopted a British resolution. It provided for eventual evacuation of the Israeli-conquered territories, called for an end to the Arab state of belligerency with Israel, and authorized the Secretary General to send a personal representative to the area to work out a long-range settlement. Thant chose Gunnar Jarring, Swedish Ambassador to Moscow, for the job. The UN's failure to make things happen—or not happen—in the Middle East was generally attributed to the lack of agreement between the United States and the USSR. Where the superpowers concurred, action followed. But even when there was no clash between Washington and Moscow, UN injunctions often were ignored. The Southwest Africa issue was a case in point.

In May, the General Assembly established an 11-member council to administer South-West Africa and guide it toward independence by June, 1968. The mineral-rich territory, German until the end of World War I, was held by the Union of South Africa under a League of Nations mandate.

The Union was not ready to part with it. Since the territory had been entrusted by the League and since the United Nations was not its legal successor, Prime Minister Balthazar Vorster refused to meet with the council. Nonetheless, the panel bravely wrote a request for transfer of the territory to the UN.

It got nowhere, of course, and in December the General Assembly condemned South Africa's recalcitrance, ordered it to yield, and asked the Security Council to "take all appropriate measures" to bring about a South African withdrawal from South-West Africa. It remained to be seen, perhaps in 1968, just what would come of the question.

Other problems to beset the world organization in 1967 were financial (Thant estimated in September that the UN needed almost \$100 million) and numerical (the Secretary General cited the independence of such "micro-states" as Nauru—pop., 3,000—and Pitcairn Island—pop. 88—and warned that their admission as full members might weaken the UN; he suggested a form of associate membership).

One new state was admitted: the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, formerly Aden, became the 123rd member in December, shortly after British troops withdrew. And one nonmember continued as such. The annual vote on seating Communist China and expelling the Nationalists: 45 in favor, 58 against, 17 abstentions (in 1966 it had been 46-57-17).

The Assembly for the first time named a Communist as its President: Foreign Minister Corneliu Manescu of Rumania. Premier Ion Gheorghe Maurer had pressed the nomination on President Johnson in White House talks in June. Manescu, representative of a regime that was leading the nationalist surge in Eastern Europe (see

Chapter 10, THE SOVIET SPHERE), said that the honor of his election had been "clearly addressed to my country."

The drive to contain the spread of nuclear weapons reached a milestone in August, when the United States and the USSR submitted identical texts of a draft treaty to the UN Disarmament Committee at Geneva. Hurdles remained: the question of international inspection, the unlikelihood that A-club members France and Red China would sign the accord, the doubts raised by India (in the shadow of Peking's nuclear umbrella), and Rumania (concerned about dividing the world into haves and have-nots).

But a start had been made (the previous year had seen agreement on a treaty barring nations from placing nuclear weapons in orbit around the Earth or establishing them on the Moon). And in October, Thant released a report that pointed up these urgencies:

A general atomic war (and the first use of nuclear weapons would doubtless trigger such a holocaust) would bring death to hundreds of millions of persons and an end to civilization in the areas involved. And, in addition to the five powers which already boasted nuclear arsenals, at least six states had such potential: Canada, Italy, Sweden, West Germany, Poland, and India.

In December, President Johnson sought to allay some fears on the part of the nonatomic powers by offering to throw open to inspection—once the treaty was implemented—all United States nuclear activities with the exception of those directly bearing on national security.

The United Nations helped on a more immediate threat to peace, in Cyprus. When clashes between the ethnic Greek and Turkish communities flared in mid-November, Ankara threatened an invasion to protect the Turkish Cypriot minority (see Chapter 9, WESTERN EUROPE). Pleas by Thant and a Security Council resolution urged restraint, as a three-pronged diplomatic task force headed for the area.

UN Undersecretary José Rolz-Bennett represented Thant, NATO Secretary General Manlio Brosio went on behalf of the Atlantic alliance of which both Greece and Turkey were members, former Deputy Defense Secretary Cyrus Vance was named as President Johnson's special envoy. They shuttled separately from Nicosia to Athens to Ankara.

Finally Thant's recommendations were agreed to in all three capitals, the machinery of war was dismantled, and the UN peace-keeping force enlarged and, if not all-out peace, at least a stalemate returned to the embittered island.

In any trouble spot, the best the UN could promise to do was keep the lid on: permanent peace was in the hands of the people.

**EARLY  
1968**

### *NUCLEAR THREAT DIMINISHED*

At the United Nations, early in March, 1968, the threat of nuclear war was diminished when the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain agreed to take immediate Security Council action in the event of a nuclear attack, or threatened nuclear attack, on any country that denounces the use of such weapons.

### *GOLDBERG RESIGNS*

The United States Ambassador to the UN, former labor lawyer and Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, resigned April 25. The resignation had long been rumored, and observers thought Goldberg had been smarting because he felt he had not been allowed enough scope. President Johnson, in announcing the resignation, was not lavish in his praise of Goldberg who, he said, was leaving the world body "for personal reasons." However, Goldberg denied any rift with the President, and he hailed Mr. Johnson's efforts toward peace in Vietnam.

Goldberg was replaced as UN Ambassador by former Under Secretary of State George Ball, 58.

### *SECURITY COUNCIL WARNS ISRAEL*

Late in April, the Security Council warned Israel against the advisability of holding a 20th Independence Day military parade through the Old (Arab) city of Jerusalem. Israel announced it would go ahead anyway, and carried off a massive parade on May 1, carefully guarded to avoid Arab outbursts.

UN Secretary General U Thant and Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser confer in Cairo during the heightening of tensions between the Arabs and Israel. The Secretary General's words could not forestall the Middle East war that was two weeks away.







With the Suez Canal as a backdrop, bereted UN observers explain to newsmen how the vital waterway is to be cleared of vessels scuttled during the June war. Fifteen foreign ships were trapped by the blockage, which had worldwide economic repercussions.

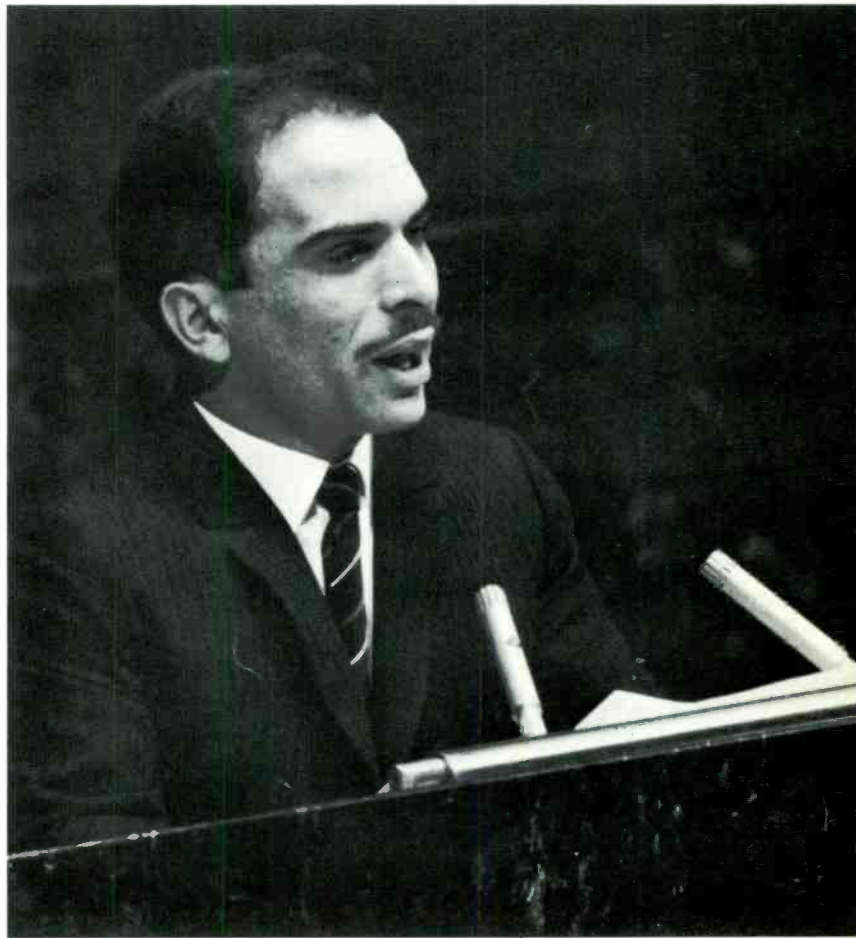


Chief United States delegate Arthur Goldberg gets last-minute word from aides before replying to accusation by Egypt. The charge: The United States had reneged on prewar promises to maintain the territorial integrity of all Middle East nations. Goldberg told the General Assembly that those nations needed to respect one another's rights to live in peace and security.

*Right:* Key members of the United Nations team on the troubled island of Cyprus, roving envoy José Rolz-Bennett and Finnish General Martola, survey town where 24 Turkish Cypriotes were killed in fighting with Greek Cypriot police patrols.

*Bottom left:* Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban grips microphone as if to emphasize his point during General Assembly debate on the Middle East. His major point: no withdrawal without face-to-face negotiations with the defeated Arab nations.

*Bottom right:* His country severed, his armies shattered, his throne in jeopardy, King Hussein of Jordan addresses the emergency session of the UN General Assembly. He demanded withdrawal of Israeli forces from captured territory and condemnation of Israel as an aggressor. He got neither.





*Pauline Frederick, from Gallitzin, Pennsylvania, began her notable career in Washington, D.C., as a feature-story writer. She joined NBC New York in 1953, and was soon appointed United Nations correspondent. From the UN she has reported on crises in Korea, Suez, Hungary, Cuba, and the Middle East. She has received thirteen honorary degrees, numerous awards, and for two straight years was the only journalist in a poll of the world's ten most admired women.*

## Peace Eludes the Peace-keepers

*Pauline Frederick*

NBC News United Nations Correspondent

WHEN THE UN CHARTER conference gathered in San Francisco in 1945, President Truman counseled the delegate that their task was not to make the peace of World War II, but to keep that peace once it was made. Of course, that peace will not be fully achieved until there is a settlement over Germany. But it is not this delay that has importantly affected the United Nations. Rather, repercussions from that war have burdened the world organization with responsibilities it was not equipped, nor intended, to face. Altered power relationships, the emergence of weak states from the collapse of old empires, and a frenetic emphasis on military power for security have created crisis conditions that needed peace-making before there could be effective peace-keeping. All this became particularly clear in 1967.

In that year it was demonstrated again in the Middle East that an armistice is no substitute for a settlement. The war in June became the third major conflict between Israel and the Arab states since Great Britain in 1947 gave up its League of Nations Mandate over Palestine and requested the UN to try to solve the problems in the volatile area. As was true of the first two wars,

the third erupted from unsettled grievances. The fragile machinery the United Nations had created to restrain the quarreling between acknowledged cousins over the ancient land of Canaan was swept away as truce lines were changed once more by force.

In November, the unresolved dispute between Greek and Turkish ethnic groups on the island of Cyprus threatened a new explosion in the eastern Mediterranean. Placed in possible jeopardy were the UN peace-keepers who had stood between the antagonists for more than three years and efforts of UN mediators who had been trying to persuade opposing politicians to come to the conference table.

Meanwhile, the cloud of the Vietnam War, which had been hanging over all UN activity for more than two years, grew blacker as military escalation took priority over observance of the Charter principle of "peaceful settlement" of international disputes. The organization itself remained helpless in the face of the mounting death and destruction while Secretary-General Thant asked in vain for the major member—the United States—to stop bombing North Vietnam in the interest of opening the way toward peace talks.

Even if the exercise of peace-keeping alone were sufficient "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," the future for this United Nations function grew dimmer because of power politics. When the Soviet Union took exception to the Congo policing, the organization became deadlocked over the planning and financing for another such force. The ostensible reason for Soviet objection was that only the Security Council and not the Assembly could authorize and assess for such an operation. But political motivation was obviously behind their attitude. The USSR believed the UN Congo troops had been used against Communism. The United States held to its ground that the UN should not be restricted if there was a deadlock in the Council on peace-keeping. The Assembly had residual power to authorize international policing.

In 1967 the special Committee of 33, set up by the 19th Assembly to try to find some common ground in the disputes over creation and financing of a peace-keeping body, met and talked about the issues, but, as usual, reached no agreements. The Scandinavian countries offered standby troops for an international force if it were created. There was no effort on the part of the debtors to make up the UN's deficit by voluntary contributions. They refused to pay for past peace-keeping because of political objections. Again, when the mandate for the Cyprus force was extended by the Security Council, Secretary-General Thant, as usual, had to ask for contributions to pay for the operation.

The political division in the big power ranks over peace-keeping was in each case the obstacle to United Nations efforts to try to turn the armistices in the Middle

East and Cyprus, and the war in Vietnam, into peace settlements.

The 1967 storm in the Middle East did not come without warning. The mounting hostility between the Israelis and the Arabs, with an April Israeli-Syrian air battle, became the most serious confrontation in the area since the Suez war in 1956. But there had also developed an increasingly disturbing factor in the situation. The Soviet Union, which had coveted influence in the Middle East since the days of Catherine the Great, had become an open ally of the Arabs, both inside and outside the UN, and a major source of arms for these opponents of the Zionist state. In addition, a post-World War II Russia was concerned with balancing in the area the power of its cold war opponent, the United States.

Support of the Soviet Union encouraged President Nasser of the United Arab Republic to demand withdrawal of the UN Emergency Force which had stood between Israel and Egypt for more than a decade. When that step was taken, hostilities followed almost inevitably.

The Security Council consultations over how to prevent war were deadlocked since the United States and the Soviet Union were supporting opposing clients. The two suddenly found common cause in trying to stop the shooting and contributed to unanimous cease-fire resolutions which were probably more effective than they might have been because of the quick Israeli victory. But once an uneasy new truce was established the old arguments over how to settle matters surfaced. The United States supported Israel's claim that the Arabs must end their belligerency and negotiate, while the Soviet Union backed the Arabs in their demands that Israel be condemned and forced to withdraw from the territory it had conquered. Through a Special Emergency session of the General Assembly and Security Council meetings, the stalemate persisted while new incidents kept the region in a high state of tension.

It was a deadlocked Council which shifted to the Secretary-General the task of trying to make peace where all others had failed. He was asked to designate a special representative "to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement. . . ." U Thant selected Gunnar

Jarring, Swedish Ambassador to Moscow and former UN delegate. But Jarring was being asked to try to turn a cease-fire into a peace settlement, a staggering undertaking in view of the failure of men, nations, and the United Nations in the past, and with the United States and the Soviet Union openly espousing opposing positions of the parties.

The Soviet Union remained on the sidelines when the breach of a cease-fire threatened Cyprus, perhaps content to watch the serious family quarrel in NATO between Greece and Turkey. A major diplomatic effort by representatives of Secretary-General Thant, NATO, and President Johnson succeeded in patching up the shaky armistice. The cease-fire was saved but there still was no real peace on the island.

The Vietnam War remained far beyond any peacemaking, if there were any serious efforts in this direction. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, who had hoped that a halt of the bombing might be tried to see whether talks would follow, showed his discouragement at his last news conference of the year. In fact, there were those who felt that this was the valedictory of the man who had succeeded Adlai Stevenson with high hopes that the United Nations could help to make peace in the world. On December 20, 1967, Goldberg told UN reporters, ". . . the greatest disappointment and frustration I have had in two and a half years is my inability . . . to have been more successful in trying to find the way to have the UN play a constructive role in making peace in Vietnam. And that is a great disappointment and a great frustration."

At the same news conference, the American UN Ambassador pointed to the greatest challenge facing the United Nations. He said: "We cannot be content simply to 'keep' what peace we have, and restore it when it is broken. We must devote our highest statesmanship to building the peace which we do not yet have. The United Nations this year has again demonstrated its capacity for peace-keeping. It has still to show equal capacity for peacemaking. Failing this, the world community and all its members, strong and weak alike, will remain dangerously insecure."

A thoughtful inspection of the year's events at the UN can only confirm that somber view.

The United Nations presence on strife-torn Cyprus, in the person of a Canadian soldier with his blue-and-white flagged vehicle. The settlement that averted war provided for expansion of the 4,500-man UN force.

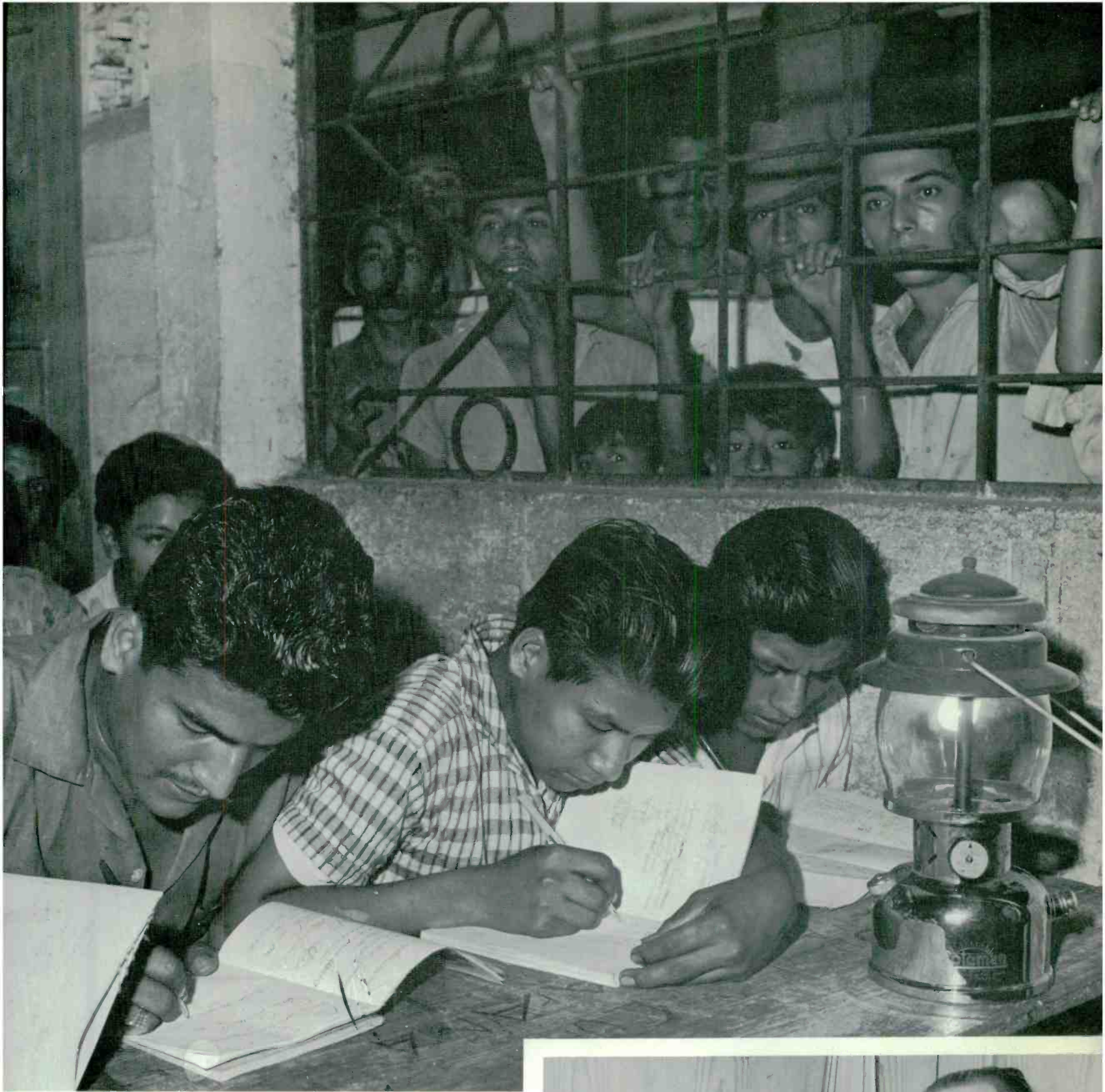




Above: The UN Security Council convenes in emergency session June 5 to order a cease-fire on the Arab-Israeli fronts. Ironically, an early roadblock to the resolution was Egypt's refusal to withdraw beyond positions occupied before the shooting started.

Left: George W. Ball, fifty-eight, named April 25, 1968, to succeed Arthur J. Goldberg as Chief United States Representative to the United Nations, addresses a Washington meeting shortly after his appointment.

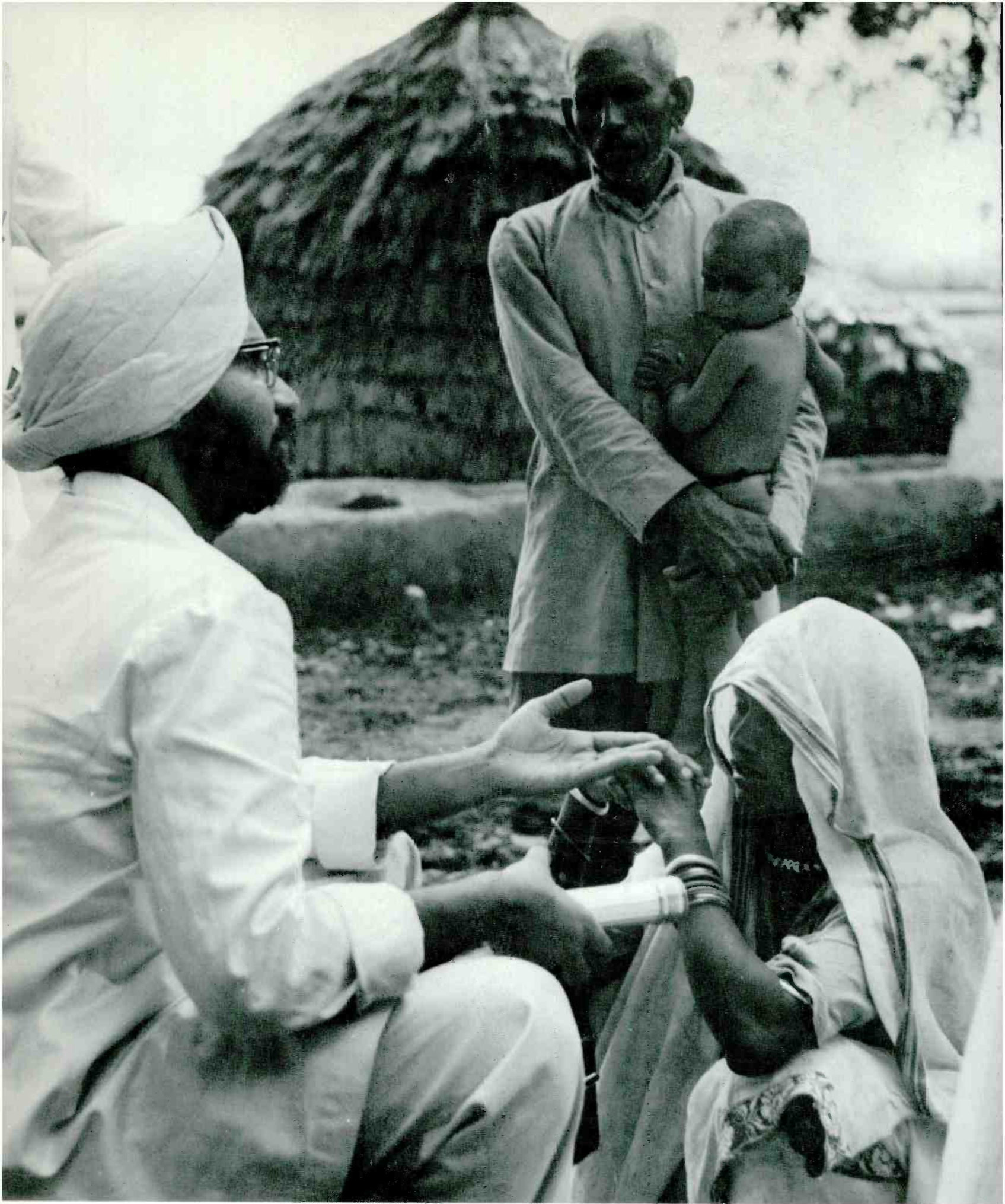




Above: In the Ecuadorian village of Milagro farmers work by lamp-light at their copybooks. They are part of an adult literacy project under a UNESCO development program.

Right: Secretary General Thant confers with the UN's "man in the Middle East," Gunnar Jarring. The former Swedish ambassador to Moscow was given the staggering task of working out a permanent settlement in a region torn by ancient hatreds and modern weapons.





An Indian doctor of the UN's World Health Organization tells a villager of Northern India that his wife is hopelessly blind from trachoma. The WHO Trachoma teams work village by village through the regions where the disease is endemic.



# NBC NEWS

picture book

## Guide to the 1968 POLITICAL CONVENTIONS and PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

edited by BEN GRAUER  
associate editor James P. Aldrich



## The Wild Year That Was—and Is

**Paul Duke**

NBC News Washington Political Correspondent

*Paul Duke from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, broke into journalism as an AP reporter in Richmond, Virginia. Later he covered Congress for the Wall Street Journal. He joined NBC in 1963 in Washington, D.C., as an editor and two years later became on-the-air correspondent. Since then he has covered a wide range of assignments, specializing in Congress and national politics.*

THE MIDSUMMER MADNESS OF THE POLITICAL CONVENTIONS can hardly surpass the preceding months of shock and surprise. The titanic events of 1968 not only have dealt the soothsayers a jarring rebuke, but they have produced the most topsy-turvy election year of the century.

Who would have guessed in January that Governor George Romney would withdraw from the Republican field before the first primary shot was fired? Or that upstart Senator Eugene McCarthy would launch a second Children's Crusade and display unexpected ballot-box pull in the early Democratic primaries? Or that Senator Robert Kennedy would reverse his decision not to run and enter the fray after all? Or that Governor Nelson Rockefeller would advance to

the water's edge, pull back, then finally make the plunge? Or that—shocker of shockers—Lyndon Johnson would utter the “no” that reverberated unbelievably 'round the world?

It all constituted proof that nothing is ever certain in politics, as well as love and war. But more than that, the year's series of thunderbolts have provided impressive evidence that the American political system built around two major parties is, for all its shortcomings, as robust and enduring as ever.

The Republicans obviously believe they are prepared to take over the stewardship of that system after eight years of Democratic domination. The polls and election gains since 1965 attest to the comeback of the Grand Old Party and the certainty that its candidate for the White House will be very much in the running in November. For the Republicans the challenge is plain: Since 1932 the GOP has possessed the Presidency only in the eight Eisenhower years and has controlled both houses of Congress in only four years.

The Democrats hope to persuade the electorate that they deserve to retain power primarily because of the party's domestic accomplishments over the years. Their challenge is the traditional pitfall of the victor: waning public support because of controversial issues and mounting intraparty frictions. True, the Democrats go into their convention rich in diversity. But the crucial question is whether the party can muster the large-scale support it has regularly received since 1932 from its popular front of intellectual liberals, labor, and Negro and ethnic blocs to assure another triumph.

Year of surprise that it's been, 1968 also poses one sizable imponderable in the third-party candidacy of George Wallace. Third parties have never made any headway in the United States, and there is no reason to think Wallace's bid will be any different. But Democratic and Republican leaders are concerned that Wallace's American Independent Party ticket could throw the election into the House of Representatives—something that has not occurred since 1824.

This guide, including Mr. Duke's article, was prepared and in press shortly before the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy in Los Angeles on June 5, 1968. This tragic event, of course, will profoundly affect many of the political developments discussed and projected in these pages.



Given a Wallace victory in four or five Southern states, it is possible that neither major party candidate will wind up with a majority of the 538 electoral votes. If this should happen, the House would decide the outcome on the basis of each state having one vote, with the party having a majority in the individual states determining how the votes were cast. If the 1969 House lineup remains as it is, the Democratic nominee probably would be reelected handily since the Democrats have the upper hand in 29 states and the Republicans in 18 (Illinois, Montana, and Oregon are evenly divided). But if the Republicans make new gains in Congressional races in November, some of the Democratic majorities may disappear. And, with Wallace hopeful of getting the votes of the states he carried, neither major party candidate might receive the 26 House votes needed for election.

The possibilities for chaos are endless. As one example, it would be theoretically possible for the 26 smallest states with only 59 of the 435 House members to unite and make the choice. The House itself could become embroiled in prolonged debate and maneuvering, forcing the Vice-President—officially chosen by the Senate—to take over as Acting President. Worst of all would be the temptation to indulge in the kind of deals and skulduggery that occurred when the House rejected the popularly elected Andrew Jackson for John Quincy Adams in 1824.

The principal design of the Wallace candidacy is to capitalize on white-voter dissatisfaction arising from the government's desegregation policies and the big-city rioting. These topics assuredly will figure prominently in the fall campaigning, even if they are not always openly discussed. In a larger context, the entire range of problems plaguing the cities looms as one of two predominant issues. The other, of course, is the Vietnam War, the divisiveness it has created, and the American role in preserving the peace. Not since 1940, when the world was on the brink of a second holocaust, has the nation been so torn and perplexed over its course.

President Johnson cited this disunity as the reason for his decision not to seek another term. "I have concluded that I should not permit the Presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year," said Mr. Johnson when he spoke to the nation the night of March 31. Coupling his withdrawal with a new appeal to North Vietnam for peace talks, Mr. Johnson seemed to be making an unprecedented gesture to prove his devotion to peace.

Friend and foe alike applauded the President for a courageous step. Senator Frank Church of Idaho said Mr. Johnson was "making the supreme sacrifice to further strengthen his search for peace." Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee said it was "the greatest contribution toward unity the President could have made." Senator Jacob Javits of New York commended Mr. Johnson for lifting the Presidency to its "highest and most proper place—far away from politics." Mrs. Johnson denied reports she had urged her husband to retire, but she smilingly admitted she felt "ten pounds lighter, ten years younger, and full of plans."

Not all the reaction was so kind. Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon said Mr. Johnson had become "the political fatality of his own policies." It was noted, too, that the President had announced his withdrawal at a time when speculation was growing that he might be denied renomi-

tion by his party, a repudiation that last happened in 1884 to James Garfield.

Inevitably there were suggestions it was all a plot on the President's part to win renomination without campaigning, despite Mr. Johnson's declaration that the decision was "completely irrevocable." Indeed, some of the President's friends refused to rule out the possibility that he might eventually wind up being renominated. Appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press," Governor John Connally of Texas reasoned that progress toward peace in Vietnam or a deadlocked convention might well produce a draft for Mr. Johnson. Success at the Paris peace talks would immeasurably boost the President's prestige and encourage a draft.

However, few people believed this would occur. For one thing, history was against it. For another, the near-miracle events necessary for it to happen seemed unlikely to occur. And finally, any reversal by Mr. Johnson would open him to the charge that he was guided by a Machiavellian motive in announcing he would not run, in effect reopening the credibility gap. For the most part, Washington observers were inclined to take the President at his word and to believe he was sincere about quitting.

Even so, Mr. Johnson could prove to be a persuasive and dominant figure at the Democratic convention, defying the popular myth that a President loses his political power once he becomes a lame duck. It has not always been necessarily so. Theodore Roosevelt hand-picked William Howard Taft as his Republican successor in 1908 after he blunderingly promised early in his term not to seek reelection; Harry Truman helped to put over Adlai Stevenson at the Democratic convention in 1952.

The candidate most likely to benefit from any presidential power play was Vice-President Humphrey. If Mr. Johnson were flying high in the popularity polls at convention balloting time, there were many who felt he might well put over Humphrey's nomination. As it was, much of the organized support that was destined for Mr. Johnson quickly became Humphrey's. President George Meany of the AFL-CIO gave the Vice-President the labor federation's endorsement without waiting for a formal motion of approval.

Humphrey also picked up support in surprising places. One was in the South, where his name was anathema to party leaders ten years ago because of his identification with civil-rights fights dating back to the 1948 convention. Yet, by accepting the Vice-Presidency under Mr. Johnson and by building bridges to the business community, Humphrey gained substantial early support. Two young senators from the midlands, Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota and Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, took charge of the campaign organization which, unlike Humphrey's abortive effort in 1960, did not lack for money this go-round.

Much of Humphrey's support undeniably stemmed from opposition to Senator Kennedy. In the South many delegates viewed the Vice-President as the lesser of all evils. In the North many party leaders in the bigger states and cities acknowledged they felt more comfortable with Humphrey than anyone else being mentioned. Still, the Vice-President faced formidable problems, mainly relating to image. In the eyes of many voters he continued to exist as a radical reformer, a windy orator and, more lately, as a stooge for Mr. Johnson. Balancing this was a newer profile of a wiser, more mature man who had been loyal to his

chief under frequently trying circumstances.

Senator Kennedy also has had image problems. Brash, unscrupulous, untrustworthy—these were the descriptives frequently applied by Kennedy-haters. His entry into the race after McCarthy's surprise showing in New Hampshire roused old cries of opportunism. In addition, Kennedy faced the accusation that he was striving to perpetuate a dynasty in a country that possessed no law for family succession.

Kennedy set out hoping to prove himself in the primaries just as his brother did eight years before. In many ways his campaign seemed a replay of 1960 when John F. Kennedy won with wide support from young people, women, and Negroes. Such old New Frontiersmen as Theodore Sorenson, Kenneth P. O'Donnell and Pierre Salinger clamored aboard the newest Kennedy campaign van. Lawrence O'Brien resigned as Postmaster General to join up. In running, the Senator placed on the line one of the most remarkable success records in American politics. Since 1946 when John Kennedy won his first primary, the clan had gone through twenty-four primaries and general elections without defeat. Robert Kennedy showed formidable pulling power by starting off with impressive victories in his first two primaries in Indiana and Nebraska.

The big thing going for Kennedy obviously was his name and the belief that he was the rightful heir to his brother's legacy. His youth offered him the chance to try to bridge the generational gap and to be the spear-carrier for the growing legions of alienated youth demanding a more righteous society. Kennedy's principal theme was that the United States had abused its role as a world power under Mr. Johnson and must turn its resources toward solving its internal problems.

Senator McCarthy talked in much the same vein while dwelling more heavily on his dissent with Vietnam policy. Underfinanced, disorganized, and disregarded, McCarthy started out as an underdog going nowhere. He pulled into the limelight by polling 42 percent of the vote in New Hampshire's March 12 primary and by winning Wisconsin's April 2 primary with a 57 percent margin. He made these showings despite a dry, unexciting speaking manner and a campaign staff run by amateurs. In the Indiana and particularly Nebraska primaries his totals did not indicate he was gathering new followers.

But McCarthy turned out to have unexpectedly valuable assets. While his campaign structure was top-light, it was bottom-heavy. His early courage in challenging Mr. Johnson enabled him to gain the support of thousands of college students who rallied to his side to ring doorbells, distribute literature, and run local headquarters. McCarthy's crowds displayed little of the frenzy of Kennedy's, but hardly anyone disliked the man from Minnesota. In idle moments McCarthy composed poetry along the campaign trail, and it seemed fitting that his traveling companion at times should be the poet, Robert Lowell, and his Indiana primary headquarters should be located in the James Whitcomb Riley room of an Indianapolis hotel.

While the Republicans were less dramatically affected by Mr. Johnson's withdrawal, they were nonetheless affected. Moderate GOP leaders, dismayed by Governor Rockefeller's refusal to become an active candidate on March 21, seized the news as one more opening to prod the

New Yorker into running. As these leaders saw it, Mr. Johnson's decision meant a brand-new game in which the Republican prospects no longer seemed so bright. Why, they suggested, take a chance on Richard Nixon when Rockefeller would be more likely to beat the Democratic challenger?

The never-quit Rockefeller promoters, led by Kentucky's Senator Thruston Morton, swung back into action. They immediately organized a national committee to mobilize grass roots support for the Governor; the backers included four other national chairmen besides Morton, including Barry Goldwater's running mate, former Representative William Miller of New York. Rockefeller himself gave the committee his blessing and finally announced as a candidate on April 30.

The paradox of Rockefeller, as James Reston of *The New York Times* observed, was that he stood a better chance of unifying the nation than of unifying the Republican Party. The Democrats almost unanimously felt he would be the strongest GOP candidate, but many Republicans preferred someone whose party credentials were impeccable. Moreover, Rockefeller faced a problem much like that of 1964—the inability of the moderates to form a cohesive force behind one candidate. To some extent, it was the failure of the moderates to stick their necks out that prompted George Romney to remove himself from the race on February 28.

Besides the new threat from Rockefeller, Nixon also was confronted in early May with an intensification of activity in behalf of Governor Ronald Reagan of California. Reagan stepped up his speechmaking schedule across the country, permitted local campaigns to be launched in his name, and gave every indication of a man who found the Presidential waters enticing. F. Clifton White, a leading aide to Goldwater in 1964, was brought in to take soundings and to advise Reagan on his course. On May 20, Rockefeller emerged from a meeting with Reagan to remark that there was "no important ideological gulf" between him and the Californian, making it pretty clear to those who had been speculating on a Rockefeller-Reagan "dream ticket" that the New York half had no objections.

These developments might eventually add up to a crisis for Nixon, but he still entered the race as the favorite. More relaxed, more philosophical, Nixon campaigned as a man who would be a logical choice between the Rockefeller and Reagan wings of the party. Nixon's flawless style frequently conveyed the manner of one who had learned from past mistakes. When Rockefeller and Nixon spoke to the nation's newspaper editors in Washington in mid-April, Rockefeller's speech was poorly received because he talked from an overdramatic text. Nixon, on the other hand, ad libbed his remarks and poked fun at himself—a new trait—to accompanying applause.

Nevertheless, so much has already happened in this cataclysmic year that few would be surprised if further surprises occurred. The rule of unpredictability is certainly nothing new for an election year. In 1884, the Democrats reached out and nominated Grover Cleveland, even though he had never made a public speech on any subject. In 1940, the Republicans turned to an unknown, Wendell Willkie, who had voted Republican only once in his life.

So, in a year governed by surprises, it still is possible that history will repeat in unexpected ways in 1968.

## Presidential Elections— A Capsule History

ON NOVEMBER 5, 1968, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE will go to the polls for the 46th time in our history to choose electors to name the President and Vice-President of the United States.

This year, as in the past, there could be surprises. A candidate could receive a larger popular vote than his opponent and still lose the election in the electoral college. Or, a third-party candidate could draw off so many votes that no one would receive a majority, and the election could be decided by the House of Representatives.

There were no surprises in 1789 or 1792 when George Washington won the nation's highest office. There is no accurate record of the popular vote in those years, but Washington was named to his first term by receiving 69 electoral votes. The runner-up, with 34, was John Adams and he became Vice-President.

At first, the idea of political parties was viewed with disdain by most Americans because they were thought to promote internal unrest and constant dissension. But within our first decade, rival factions developed to offer differing views on national issues.

### *POLITICAL PARTIES DEVELOP*

Our first parties were the Federalists (the party of Washington, Adams, and Hamilton) and the Republicans (the party of Jefferson and Madison). To confuse present-day readers, Jefferson's party—the Republicans—soon became known as the Democratic Republicans—the formal name during the Presidency of Andrew Jackson.

The Federalists were on top for the first twelve years of the nation's existence. But in 1796, Federalist John Adams had as his Vice-President a member of the opposing party, Thomas Jefferson. That was a situation which obviously required change.

In 1801, the electors met again, and this time the balloting produced our first tie vote. Jefferson and Aaron Burr each received 73 votes from the electors. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where Jefferson was named President. Burr, as runner-up, became Vice-President, but this time both men belonged to the same party. However, the experience led to the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment, which provides that the electors must vote separately for the offices of President and Vice-President.

The year 1804 produced the nation's first real landslide. Jefferson received 162 electoral votes to 14 for Federalist Charles Pinckney.

Four years later, with Jefferson holding to the two-term traditional limit, the party's nominee was his former Secretary of State, James Madison. He also beat Pinckney, but his margin of victory was less.

### *CLINTON vs. THE "HAWKS"*

In 1812, the nation was at war against Great Britain. A peace faction of the Democratic Republicans, formed to

oppose the "War Hawks," nominated DeWitt Clinton of New York for President, and the Federalists supported him. Although the war was unpopular in the East, men like Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun reflected the views of the South and West, and Madison was returned to the White House.

There was talk of secession from some Federalists in New England, but before the next Presidential election, a peace treaty had been signed, and Madison's party was spared the embarrassment of a war unpopular in some sections of the country.

In 1816, the Federalists were severely beaten at the polls. Their nominee, Rufus King, received only 34 votes to 183 for Madison's successor, James Monroe. In reality, that election killed the Federalists.

In 1820, Monroe won his second term by an almost unanimous vote. Only one electoral ballot was cast against him. The Federalists failed to select an opponent.

Four years later, there still was no opposition party to select a candidate and the old system of nomination broke down. The caucus of the Democratic Republicans refused to follow a recent pattern and select the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, as their Presidential nominee. Instead, they chose William Crawford of Georgia, but the caucus was poorly attended, and other candidates were entered by state legislatures and informal public meetings.

### *THE HOUSE DECIDES*

Adams, Henry Clay, and Andrew Jackson were nominated in those unorthodox ways, and the vote was widely split among the four. Jackson won a plurality of the electoral and popular vote, but again the election was decided by the House of Representatives. Adams and Clay worked out a deal, which gave Adams the Presidency and Clay became Secretary of State.

Obviously, with the Federalists gone, there was room for at least one new political party. Jackson formed one of his own, retaining the label "Democratic Republicans." President Adams' followers took the name "National Republicans." Adams lost, and Old Hickory began the first of his two terms in 1828.

Four years later, Jackson's party began referring to themselves simply as "Democrats." This time he defeated Henry Clay, the nominee of the National Republicans. For the first time, there was a distinct third-party candidate, John Floyd, nominated by the Anti-Masonic party. He received only 11 electoral votes.

The year 1832 also saw the demise of the National Republicans. Groups of anti-Jackson men began to organize a new major party, the "Whigs." In Revolutionary times, this was a resistance group against the authority of the King. At first, the Whigs offered only resistance to Jacksonian policies but soon evolved a program of their own and gave the Democrats real competition for two decades.

In 1836, Democrat Martin Van Buren defeated Whig William Henry Harrison and two other Whig candidates,

This chart, going back to the turn of this century, tells who won and who lost and by what margins. Note that in "modern times," no President has won in the Electoral College while trailing another candidate in the popular vote. Other points: the large number of Electoral College "landslides" in these seventeen elections; the close race for Electoral votes in 1916; the razor-thin popular vote lead of John F. Kennedy over Richard Nixon in 1960; and the record Electoral College total for Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964.

## THE NATIONAL TICKETS—1900-1964

YEAR	CANDIDATES	PARTY	ELECTORAL VOTE	POPULAR VOTE	VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND PARTY
1900	WILLIAM McKINLEY	REPUBLICAN	292	7,219,530	THEODORE ROOSEVELT—R
	WILLIAM J. BRYAN	DEM., PEOPLE'S	155	6,358,071	ADLAI E. STEVENSON—D, PE
	JOHN G. WOOLLEY	PROHIBITION	0	208,914	HENRY B. METCALF—PR
	EUGENE V. DEBS	SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC	0	94,768	JOB HARRIMAN—SD
1904	THEODORE ROOSEVELT	REPUBLICAN	336	7,628,834	CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS—R
	ALTON B. PARKER	DEMOCRATIC	140	5,084,491	HENRY C. DAVIS—D
	EUGENE V. DEBS	SOCIALIST	0	402,400	BENJAMIN HANFORD—S
	SILAS C. SWALLOW	PROHIBITION	0	258,536	GEORGE W. CARROLL—PR
	THOMAS E. WATSON	PEOPLE'S	0	117,183	THOMAS H. TIBBLES—PE
1908	WILLIAM H. TAFT	REPUBLICAN	321	7,679,006	JAMES S. SHERMAN—R
	WILLIAM J. BRYAN	DEMOCRATIC	162	6,409,106	JOHN W. KERN—D
	EUGENE V. DEBS	SOCIALIST	0	420,820	BENJAMIN HANFORD—S
	EUGENE W. CHAFIN	PROHIBITION	0	253,840	AARON S. WATKINS—PR
1912	WOODROW WILSON	DEMOCRATIC	435	6,286,214	THOMAS R. MARSHALL—D
	THEODORE ROOSEVELT	PROGRESSIVE	88	4,126,020	HIRAM JOHNSON—PRO
	WILLIAM H. TAFT	REPUBLICAN	8	3,483,922	NICHOLAS M. BUTLER—R
	EUGENE V. DEBS	SOCIALIST	0	897,011	EMIL SEIDEL—S
	EUGENE W. CHAFIN	PROHIBITION	0	206,275	AARON S. WATKINS—PR
1916	WOODROW WILSON	DEMOCRATIC	277	9,129,606	THOMAS R. MARSHALL—D
	CHARLES E. HUGHES	REPUBLICAN	254	8,538,221	CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS—R
	A. L. BENSON	SOCIALIST	0	585,113	G. R. KIRKPATRICK—S
	J. FRANK HANLY	PROHIBITION	0	220,506	IRA LANDRITH—PR
1920	WARREN G. HARDING	REPUBLICAN	404	16,152,200	CALVIN COOLIDGE—R
	JAMES M. COX	DEMOCRATIC	127	9,147,353	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT—D
	EUGENE V. DEBS	SOCIALIST	0	917,799	SEYMOUR STEDMAN—S
	P. P. CHRISTENSEN	FARMER-LABOR	0	265,411	MAX S. HAYES—FL
	AARON S. WATKINS	PROHIBITION	0	189,408	D. LEIGH COLVIN—PR
1924	CALVIN COOLIDGE	REPUBLICAN	382	15,725,016	CHARLES G. DAWES—R
	JOHN W. DAVIS	DEMOCRATIC	136	8,385,586	CHARLES W. BRYAN—D
	ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE	PROGRESSIVE, SOCIALIST	13	4,822,856	BURTON K. WHEELER—PRO, S
1928	HERBERT HOOVER	REPUBLICAN	444	21,392,190	CHARLES CURTIS—R
	ALFRED E. SMITH	DEMOCRATIC	87	15,016,443	JOSEPH T. ROBINSON—D
1932	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	DEMOCRATIC	472	22,821,857	JOHN N. GARNER—D
	HERBERT HOOVER	REPUBLICAN	59	15,761,841	CHARLES CURTIS—R
1936	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	DEMOCRATIC	523	27,751,597	JOHN N. GARNER—D
	ALFRED M. LANDON	REPUBLICAN	8	16,679,583	FRANK KNOX—R
1940	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	DEMOCRATIC	449	27,244,160	HENRY A. WALLACE—D
	WENDELL L. WILLKIE	REPUBLICAN	82	22,305,198	CHARLES L. McNARY—R
1944	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	DEMOCRATIC	432	25,602,504	HARRY S. TRUMAN—D
	THOMAS E. DEWEY	REPUBLICAN	99	22,006,285	JOHN W. BRICKER—R
1948	HARRY S. TRUMAN	DEMOCRATIC	303	24,105,695	ALBEN W. BARKLEY—D
	THOMAS E. DEWEY	REPUBLICAN	189	21,969,170	EARL WARREN—R
	J. STROM THURMOND	STATES' RIGHTS DEM.	39	1,169,021	FIELDING L. WRIGHT—SR
	HENRY A. WALLACE	PROGRESSIVE	0	1,156,103	GLEN TAYLOR—PRO
1952	DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER	REPUBLICAN	442	33,824,351	RICHARD M. NIXON—R
	ADLAI STEVENSON	DEMOCRATIC	89	27,314,987	JOHN J. SPARKMAN—D
1956	DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER	REPUBLICAN	457	35,581,003	RICHARD M. NIXON—R
	ADLAI STEVENSON	DEMOCRATIC	73	26,031,322	ESTES KEFAUVER—D
1960	JOHN F. KENNEDY	DEMOCRATIC	303	34,221,485	LYNDON B. JOHNSON—D
	RICHARD M. NIXON	REPUBLICAN	219	34,108,684	HENRY CABOT LODGE—R
1964	LYNDON B. JOHNSON	DEMOCRATIC	486	43,126,218	HUBERT H. HUMPHREY—D
	BARRY M. GOLDWATER	REPUBLICAN	52	27,174,898	WILLIAM E. MILLER—R

Hugh White and Daniel Webster. But in 1840, Harrison ousted Van Buren from the White House with 52 percent of the popular vote to 46 percent for the incumbent. However, Harrison's term was brief. He died in office April 4, 1841, and was succeeded by Vice-President Tyler.

The big issue of the times was western expansion. Tyler tried to annex independent Texas, but Congress rejected the move, because Eastern Democrats feared that the spread of cotton-growing into Texas would drag slavery along with it.

### NARROW VICTORY FOR POLK

The Democrats in 1844 added Oregon to expansionist aims with the idea of balancing a southern state with a northern one, and the move won popular support. James K. Polk was the Democratic nominee, and he narrowly defeated Whig candidate Henry Clay with a popular vote of 49.6 percent to 48.1 percent.

Another third party sprang up in 1848, which endorsed the distribution of free land to settlers and became known as the Free Soil Party. Its nominee was former President Martin Van Buren. The Democrats named Lewis Cass and the Whigs, Zachary Taylor.

It was a generally dull campaign, but Van Buren managed to take enough Democratic votes from Cass to give Taylor the White House. He was the first career soldier to occupy the executive mansion. However, for the second time in a decade, a President died in office. Taylor was succeeded by Vice-President Millard Fillmore in July, 1850.

An attempted compromise of the slavery question in that same year was upheld by the major parties in the Presidential elections of 1852. The Democrats won votes from the Whigs in the South by their stronger endorsement of the compromise, and the Democratic candidate, Franklin Pierce, was the winner over the Whig, Winfield Scott, with 50.9 percent of the popular vote to 43.8 percent, with Free Soilers taking the rest.

## NEW COALITION—THE G.O.P.

A struggle over the question of slavery in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, the waning power of the Whigs, the growth of superpatriotic groups, antisouthern sentiments, and other factors led to the formation of a new political coalition at Jackson, Michigan, on July 4, 1854. This led to the birth of the Republican Party.

To combat this new force, the Democrats in 1856 took the conservative road and chose James Buchanan, an experienced politician with "safe" views, to be their leader. They campaigned on the issue that the conservatives must rally to save the Union from the certain destruction that would follow if a sectional party like the Republicans should win.

The remnant of the Whigs and the Southern super-patriots joined to nominate ex-President Fillmore.

The Republicans' first Presidential candidate was John C. Frémont, known as the "Pathfinder" because of his western explorations. He captured all the northern states but six and received 114 electoral votes.

Had he been able to carry Pennsylvania and either Illinois or Indiana, he would have been elected. Fillmore was able to carry only one state, Maryland. Buchanan and the Democrats were the victors but with only 45 percent of the popular vote. The new Republican Party had high hopes for 1860.

In Chicago, the GOP nominated their first successful Presidential candidate, Abraham Lincoln. Two years before, Lincoln had lost a Senate race in Illinois to Stephen Douglas. Now the two men were running for the Presidency, but the Democrats were badly split on the slavery issue. Douglas was nominated after most Southern delegates had withdrawn from the convention. The pro-slavery bloc nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. In the election, Lincoln won a majority of the electoral vote, but he received only 40 percent of the popular vote. Together, his opponents might have won, but running separately, they lost.

## A REPUBLICAN ERA

For the next two decades, the nation had Republican Presidents. Ulysses S. Grant served two terms, followed by Rutherford B. Hayes for one, and the ill-fated James A. Garfield.

In the 1876 election, Hayes's opponent, Samuel J. Tilden, received almost 300,000 more popular votes than Hayes and emerged with 184 electoral votes—just one short of the number needed for election at that time. Many of the electoral ballots for Hayes were in dispute, so Northern Republicans bargained with Southern Democrats, and the Democrats were granted several concessions in exchange for their support of Hayes. Finally, he was elected with the necessary 185 votes.

In 1884, the Democrats won their first Presidency in 28 years. The Republican nominee was James G. Blaine, whose mother was a Catholic. The Democratic Party nominated the reform Governor of New York, Grover Cleveland, who won the support of reform elements in the GOP. The campaign featured an excess of mud-slinging. Again the popular vote was close, but Cleveland beat Blaine in the electoral college by 219 to 182.

In 1888, there was another of those elections in which the candidate with the edge in the popular balloting was the loser. Republican Benjamin Harrison trailed Cleveland in popular returns, but won easily in the electoral college.

Cleveland was back to try again in 1892, but this time he won a clear victory over Harrison.

## A GREAT ORATOR—BORN TOO SOON

In 1896, the free coinage of silver was the principal issue for rural voters, and Populist sympathizers among the Democrats, mainly in the South and West, clinched the nomination for the fabled orator William Jennings Bryan. Perhaps radio and television might have helped elect Bryan, but he was born too soon. Twice he challenged the Republican candidate, William McKinley, and twice he lost.

Following McKinley's assassination in 1901, Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt moved into the White House, and he was the obvious choice for the GOP Presidential nomination in 1904. The Rough Rider piled up an impressive ballot margin over his Democratic opponent, Alton B. Parker.

In 1908, William Howard Taft was T.R.'s own choice to succeed him. Again, William Jennings Bryan was the unfortunate Democratic victim of the Republican steamroller.

Two years later, Roosevelt and a group of Midwestern Progressives were already becoming disenchanted with Taft's conservatism.

Roosevelt announced his new political program, the New Nationalism, and spelled out a series of reforms designed to help the workingman and the poor farmer. At the Republican convention in 1912, T.R. found the Conservatives loyal to Taft in firm control, so he walked out to found the Bull Moose Party and run for President on his own.

## LANDSLIDE FOR WILSON

The Democrats nominated the former President of Princeton University, an ex-Governor of New Jersey, the Liberal Woodrow Wilson. In the Electoral College, Taft received only 8 votes. Roosevelt captured 88, and Wilson won a landslide victory with 435, although he failed to win a clear majority of the popular vote.

In 1916, a reunited Republican Party nominated Charles Evans Hughes to run against Wilson. Hughes resigned from the Supreme Court to make the race, and for a few hours on election night it seemed he might be the winner. The vote was close in both the popular and electoral columns but Wilson was the winner with 277 to 254.

Following the war, the American people seemed to want "healing and normalcy," and they overwhelmingly chose Republican conservative Warren G. Harding over Democrat James Cox. The Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate in 1920 was the young Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In 1923, when President Harding died, his scandal-ridden administration was taken over by Vice-President Calvin Coolidge, and he was the Republican nominee in 1924. The Democratic convention was unable to agree on either Alfred E. Smith or William McAdoo. After a record number of ballots—103—the party selected compromise candidate John W. Davis.

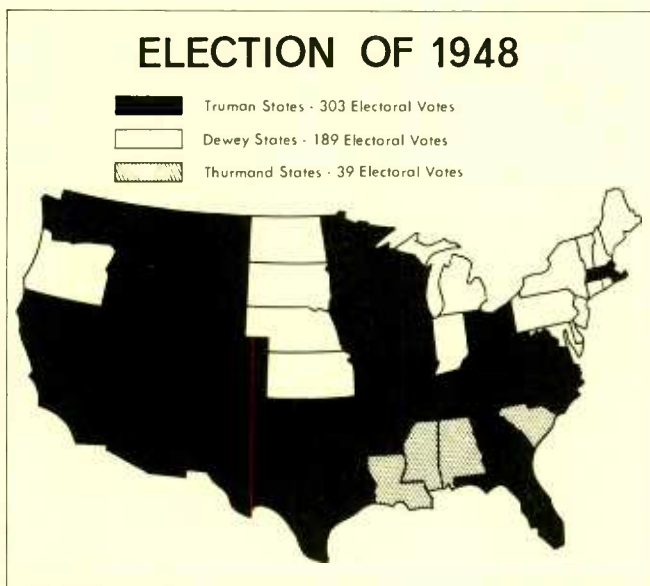
A third party, the Progressives, nominated Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, and he received nearly 5 million votes. Coolidge, however, was the easy winner.

With the country in general prosperity, the Republicans expected to keep the Presidency. In 1928, they nominated the efficient, self-made businessman and noted humanitarian, Herbert Hoover. The Democratic candidate was Alfred E. Smith, the first Catholic to try for the White House. Hoover won a landslide Electoral College victory with 444 to 87.

### THE ROOSEVELT ERA

Four years later, Hoover was to be on the losing end of a similar unbalanced election result. The Great Depression had arrived, and many of the groups which formerly supported the Republicans swung to the Democratic side in despair and dismay. In 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt won the first of his record four terms in the White House. He defeated, in order, Hoover, Alfred Landon, Wendell Willkie, and Thomas E. Dewey. In electoral votes, Roosevelt's victories were always landslides. Dewey, with 99, scored the highest against the unbeatable F.D.R.

In 1948, the Democrats nominated the seemingly weak Vice-President Harry Truman to run against the last Republican loser, Dewey. Some Southern Democrats even bolted the convention and the party in a bitter struggle over a strong Civil Rights plank. They formed the States' Rights ticket led by J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.



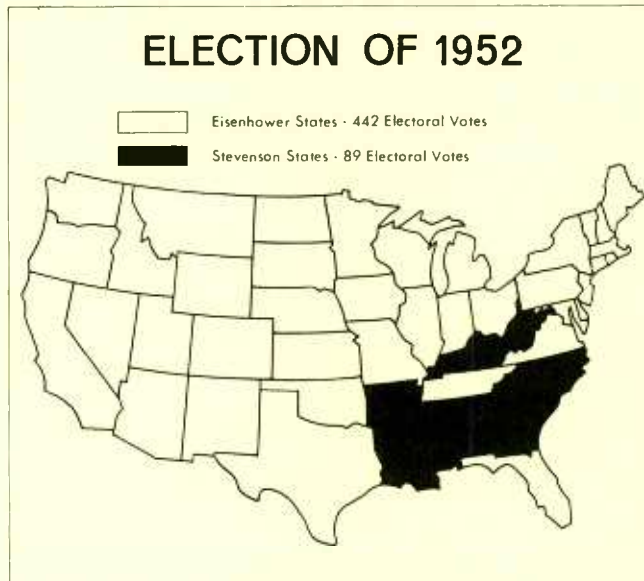
Many pollsters and other political experts forecast that the Democratic split would lead to Dewey's certain victory, but they were in for a surprise along with millions of voters. Truman won an easy victory in the popular and electoral vote. In the latter column, Truman captured 303 to 189 for Dewey and 39 for Thurmond.

This capsule history of past elections was intended as a quick refresher course for readers long separated from their history textbooks. Now, as this chronicle enters the 1950's, we are in the era most of us remember so well.

Many families were touched in various ways by the Korean conflict, which is still in the news today as border

incidents bring new casualty reports. There was the shock and outcry when President Truman fired General Douglas MacArthur and the "old soldier" returned to tumultuous welcomes in cities across the country.

By 1952, Americans were losing patience with this war which seemed to be no more than a holding action with no chance of real victory.



### REPUBLICAN REVIVAL

There were scandals in the Truman Administration involving bribery and favoritism, and they gave the Republicans fresh ammunition to use against the Democrats in an attempt to convince voters it was "time for a change." For the first time in twenty years, the GOP believed it would put its candidate in the White House.

To end the war and "clean up the mess in Washington," the Republicans turned away from staunch party leaders like Senator Robert A. Taft and nominated a man they were certain could win Democrats and independent voters alike—General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

He was a military hero but his personality displayed none of the Prussian-like qualities often associated with professional soldiers. He was genial, diplomatic, and fatherly. His optimistic point of view inspired voters to have confidence in him.

When President Truman announced in 1952 that he was giving up the burdens of the Presidency, he urged Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois to become the Democratic candidate.

Stevenson attempted to make the campaign a high-level debate on the problems facing America. He was witty and urbane, and he attracted the support of many intellectuals, but while his eloquence was appreciated, most Americans felt that "likeable Ike" would somehow find a solution to the war and run the government in a decent fashion.

### THEY LIKED IKE

The election was a great personal triumph for Eisenhower, who ran far ahead of his party. Conservative Republicans were pleased because he picked Senator Richard

Nixon for his running mate. Nixon was well known for his pursuit of Communists and Communist sympathizers in government.

A cease-fire did come in Korea. In 1956, despite the President's two serious illnesses, he was renominated and reelected. Again, Governor Stevenson had the misfortune to run against one of the most popular Presidents in this century. Perhaps at another time, the nation would have chosen Stevenson for President, but the competition was too strong.

After two terms, Eisenhower was ineligible to remain in the White House. The Republicans selected the obvious "man with experience," Richard Nixon, who had served the Administration as Vice-President for eight years.

The Democrats had a number of potential candidates including Senators Hubert Humphrey and Lyndon Johnson. But the young Senator from Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy, proved to be a political giant killer.

He was a Catholic—only the second in history to run for the Presidency. Many said his religion would be an issue and would cause his defeat. But Kennedy entered several primary elections and won.

The Kennedy wealth was impressive and so was the political organization it was able to support. But the man was more impressive. He was not only young and handsome with great energy and an attractive family, but he was witty and charming and showed an amazing ability to parry questions and debate issues with force.

#### THE T.V. DEBATES

Many Americans still insist that it was the television debates—the first in history between rival Presidential candidates—that gave John F. Kennedy the Presidency. In that first important confrontation, the "man with experience," Richard Nixon, appeared uneasy and a bit flustered. The nation watched and awarded the decision in that first round to Kennedy.

Civil rights and the space race with the Soviet Union were the principal issues of that 1960 campaign. Both candidates were moderates on racial questions and believed this country could do better in the struggle against international Communism.

When election time came, the nation had a difficult time making a choice. For hours, the decision was in the balance. Finally, Kennedy won in the closest vote of modern times. His margin over Nixon was only about 112,000 votes. In Hawaii, for example, the Democratic plurality was a hair-like 115 votes.

Many observers believed that Kennedy's selection of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson as his running mate helped keep large numbers of Conservative Democrats from switching to Nixon.

The new Administration, brought the nation through the Cuban missile crisis and a confrontation with the Soviet Union. We were becoming more deeply involved in South Vietnam, but resistance to the war at home was relatively weak. Progress was made in school integration and other Civil Rights matters. And most of the nation seemed to enjoy watching the young family in the White House and following the activities of the entire Kennedy clan.

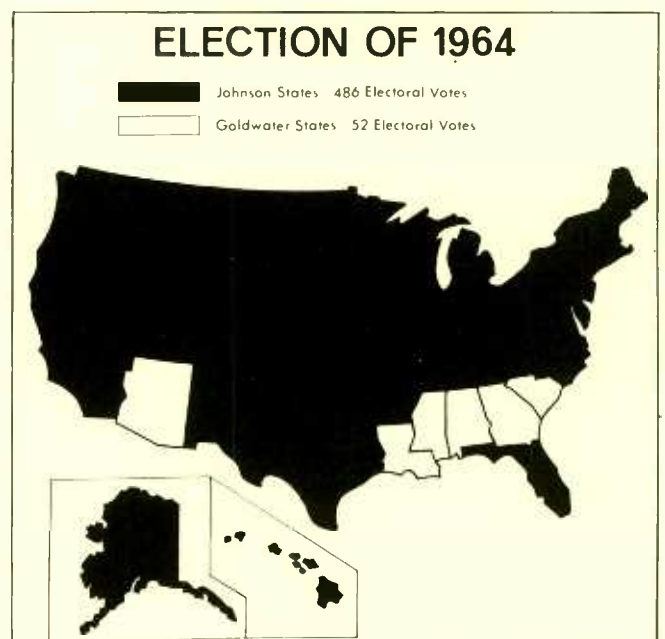
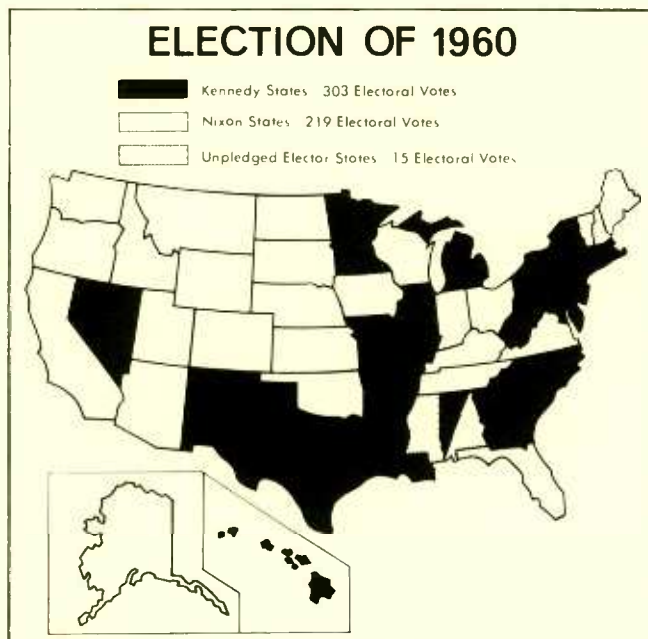
An assassin's bullet brought that era to a crashing, chilling end. Suddenly, Lyndon Johnson was President.

#### THE JOHNSON STYLE

Mr. Johnson's political aims were similar to those of the late President, and he moved ahead with old Kennedy programs and new ones of his own. In personality, the two men were quite different, and their choices of friends and advisors were reflected in many White House changes a few months after Lyndon Johnson became President. But the new Administration was generally regarded as progressive and the President as an experienced leader with many friends in Congress.

In 1964, there was no contest for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Everyone knew the candidate would be the President. He chose Senator Hubert Humphrey as his running mate—a gesture to solidify the backing of Labor and northern Liberals.

The Republican Party found itself in the firm control of Conservative party workers. Quietly, they had been accumulating convention support for Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona.



The Conservatives argued that Republicans could never win a national election by being a "me too" party. They said Goldwater offered "a choice, not an echo."

An opposition to the Senator from Arizona never really materialized, although it appeared for a time that Governor William Scranton of Pennsylvania might rally Goldwater opponents to his cause. But at the convention in San Francisco, Goldwater won on the first ballot with just a few hundred votes going to Scranton and Governor Rockefeller.

Vietnam and social reforms advocated by the Democrats were the major issues of the campaign. Democrats accused Goldwater of being "trigger-happy" in the struggle against Communism, of wanting to end Social Security payments and farm subsidies, and they charged that his program to end violence in the streets was a bid for a white backlash vote.

## A JOHNSON LANDSLIDE

True or not, the nation was not ready for the Goldwater brand of Republicanism. President Johnson led the Democratic Party to its greatest national victory since 1936. He amassed the largest vote of any Presidential candidate in history. The Republicans won only six states.

In this brief review of Presidential elections, we have seen parties come and go, great convention battles, neck-and-neck elections and landslides. No doubt some candidates deserved to win but lost—and the nation may have suffered as a result. Historians may judge some of the winners as ineffectual or misguided Presidents who deserved to lose. But this unique political system has somehow preserved our form of government and our nation. That, after all, is the only test, the only justification for the political methods of a people.

## Political Conventions—How They Work

THE MEN WHO SET UP OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT, who wrote the rules and regulations, would be amazed if they could see a modern political convention. They never conceived of a convention system or even of political parties as they now exist.

The delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 had various theories on the best way to choose a President. Most felt that he should be appointed by the legislature and be accountable to it because the people could not always be trusted to select the best or right man for the job. Others feared that the larger states could dominate any popular vote by their bigger populations.

At first, every state delegation to the convention supported the election of the President by the Congress, creating a system similar to that in Great Britain in which Parliament selects the Prime Minister.

But two Pennsylvania delegates, James Wilson and Gouverneur Morris, held out for direct public election of the President, and their resolve finally won others to their cause and produced a compromise. Neither Congress nor the people would directly elect the President. Instead, a group of electors would choose both a President and Vice-President. The individual receiving the highest number of votes—a majority of the electoral votes cast—would become President. The next highest vote-getter would become Vice-President. If there was no majority, the Senate was to choose the President from the five leading contestants. Later, this power, plus the authority to break a tie, was transferred to the House of Representatives.

Each state would select its electors in its own way in the manner set by its legislature, and states would be entitled to one elector for each United States Senator and Representative.

The system worked only briefly. In 1788 and 1792, George Washington was the electors' unanimous choice for President, and for both terms, John Adams served as Vice-President.

But there would not always be a Washington in such a harmonious atmosphere. By 1796, rival political factions were

growing. John Adams, a Federalist, and Thomas Jefferson, an anti-Federalist, were candidates for President, and they led a group of 13 men receiving electoral votes. So Adams became President and Jefferson, Vice-President, even though they belonged to rival groups.

Obviously, this was going to be a problem, so in 1804, the Twelfth Amendment was ratified providing that the electors must vote separately for President and Vice-President. In this way, both could be members of one party.

### "KING CAUCUS"

Still there was no satisfactory means for political parties to agree on a candidate to support in the Electoral College. The first answer to the problem was the closed meeting of the party's members in Congress—the caucus (from the Greek word *Kaukos*, a drinking cup).

Supporters of Andrew Jackson invented the term "King Caucus" when their candidate was unable to win the endorsement of party leaders in 1824, but the caucus had ruled supreme from 1800 on, and nomination by the majority party had meant winning the Presidency.

Jackson, Henry Clay, and John Quincy Adams all campaigned without the benefit of "King Caucus" in 1824, and none won a majority of electors. The election was thrown into the House, and Adams won. The caucus system faded.

In 1828, Jackson tried again and this time was nominated by a combination of state legislative caucuses, public meetings, and unofficial conventions of the people. All but two states had changed to direct popular election of members of the Electoral College. The time was ripe for development of a convention system.

A minor political group, the anti-Masonites, led the way by meeting in Philadelphia in 1830 to select their nominees. The National Republican Party held its convention in 1831, and the Democrats, the following year. Jackson, the first President nominated by a party convention, succeeded in imposing the two-thirds rule for selection of nominees, and it continued until 1936.



## FIRST G.O.P. CONVENTION

By 1840, the national convention had become the accepted means of putting candidates and platforms before the voters. The new Republican Party, formed in 1854, held its first nominating convention in 1856. But it was not until 1860 that the general public was admitted in large numbers to these party meetings. Those who attended the GOP convention in Chicago in 1860 saw Abraham Lincoln win the Presidential nomination.

The 29th Republican National Convention will convene Monday, August 5, 1968, in Miami Beach, Florida. It will be the first major party nominating convention ever held in Miami Beach, and the first GOP convention ever held in the South.

The 35th Democratic National Convention will begin August 26 in Chicago's International Amphitheater. The city has been the site of 14 Republican and 9 Democratic conventions.

The major parties have different formulas for deciding how many delegates each state may send to the convention and how many votes each state may cast.

The Republicans, for example, base the number of delegates on a variety of factors including whether the state voted for Senator Barry Goldwater in 1964, elected a Republican United States Senator or Governor, or Republican House candidate. In all, there will be 1,333 delegates to the 1968 Republican convention and each one is entitled to a single vote. Thus, 667 votes will be required for nomination.

The Democratic National Committee approved a formal convention call authorizing 5,611 delegates and alternates—believed to be the largest contingent in the history of political conventions. There will be 3,099 delegates casting 2,622 votes—with half-votes permitted in some states.

The Democratic National Committee also adopted a policy statement requiring each state to guarantee Negroes full participation in the delegate-selection process, and said no formal loyalty oaths would be required of delegates "in the absence of credentials contest or challenge."

The challenge clause could lead to lively fights over the seating of all-white delegations from some southern states where new Democratic groups loyal to the national party are forming and planning to seek seats at the convention.

## SELECTING THE DELEGATES

The present system of choosing delegates to the national conventions by preferential primaries in some states, and by state conventions and district caucuses in others, is haphazard and inconsistent. Critics say the system must be unified and standard across the country, but defenders contend that it works and that the United States is so large and diverse in practices that a single neat, logical formula would not work.

Three constitutional amendments have been introduced in Congress in recent years to nominate the Presidential candidates in a single national primary in all states. As yet, the idea has failed to win the necessary support. One reason, perhaps, is that a single national primary would force all possible candidates into the open rather than permitting them to remain on the sidelines waiting for a draft or some lesser indication of their national popularity. Another reason might be

that a single national primary could produce scores of candidates—the favorite sons states or regions—and a party vote splintered among several contenders.

Most states use the convention system to select their delegates to the national conclave. Most are held in the spring of the convention year. In some states, district delegates are selected at meetings held separately from the state convention. Sometimes, district delegates are elected in a primary while the delegates at large are picked by a state committee. As we have noted, the variations are many and complicated.

## PRIMARIES—TWO TYPES

This year, there were Presidential primaries in fifteen states. There are two types, sometimes held separately and sometimes at the same time.

(1) The Presidential Preference Poll. Names of prospective Presidential nominees are printed on the ballot, and the voter may mark his preference. The polls may or may not be binding on the convention delegates from that state.

(2) Voters choose the actual delegates to go to the national conventions. In some cases, delegates are elected by slate, and in others, individually. They may be listed as pledged to a certain Presidential candidate, "favorable" to one, or not pledged at all.

In the primary system, again, there is no single rule for the Presidential preference poll. In some states, the consent of the candidate is required; in others, it is not required but the candidate may withdraw his name within a certain time.

In 1959, Oregon modified its primary in an attempt to give the people of the state a chance to vote on all nationally recognized candidates. The Oregon secretary of state places on the ballot the names of all persons who are generally advocated or recognized as candidates in national news media. He has "sole discretion" in the choice of names, but candidates may withdraw. The poll is binding on the delegates selected.

Since 1964, three states—Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Massachusetts—have changed their primaries in the direction of the Oregon system. In Massachusetts, the chairmen of the state's political parties submit the list of candidates to the secretary of state.

Despite great interest in state primaries by the public, news media, and winning candidates, voices are heard every four years insisting that the results mean little or nothing. Detractors point to the write-in victory of Henry Cabot Lodge in New Hampshire in 1964. He beat both Governor Nelson Rockefeller and Senator Barry Goldwater but failed to win in any other state.

Primaries seem to have a negative force, however, and losses can kill off a candidate's chances. In 1960, Hubert Humphrey's hopes were destroyed in West Virginia, and in 1964, Rockefeller's defeat in California probably assured the nomination of Goldwater.

It is often possible to avoid the primaries and win the top spot on the ticket. Wendell Willkie did it in 1940 and Thomas E. Dewey in 1944.

It could be a different story this year, but convention choices are rarely surprising on the record books. In the last

These charts list all the major party conventions and Presidential nominees. Note the degree of unanimity in both party conventions since 1900, with all but 4 Republican candidates nominated on the first ballot, and all but 5 Democrats selected in the initial vote.

The Democrats, however, hold the record for the total number of ballots necessary to select a nominee. The top number for the Republicans since 1900 was 10. The Democrats have exceeded that three times with 43, 46, and the marathon 103 in 1924.

## REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS, 1856-1964

YEAR	CITY	PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES	NO. OF BALLOTS	WINNER'S PERCENT-AGE ON FIRST BALLOT 1900-1964
1856	PHILADELPHIA	JOHN C. FREMONT	2	
1860	CHICAGO	ABRAHAM LINCOLN	3	
1864	BALTIMORE	ABRAHAM LINCOLN	1	
1868	CHICAGO	ULYSSES S. GRANT	1	
1872	PHILADELPHIA	ULYSSES S. GRANT	1	
1876	CINCINNATI	RUTHERFORD B. HAYES	7	
1880	CHICAGO	JAMES A. GARFIELD	36	
1884	CHICAGO	JAMES G. BLAINE	4	
1888	CHICAGO	BENJAMIN HARRISON	8	
1892	MINNEAPOLIS	BENJAMIN HARRISON	1	
1896	ST. LOUIS	WILLIAM MCKINLEY	1	
1900	PHILADELPHIA	WILLIAM MCKINLEY	1	100
1904	CHICAGO	THEODORE ROOSEVELT	1	100
1908	CHICAGO	WILLIAM H. TAFT	1	71.6
1912	CHICAGO	WILLIAM H. TAFT	1	52.1
1916	CHICAGO	CHARLES E. HUGHES	3	25.7
1920	CHICAGO	WARREN G. HARDING	10	6.6
1924	CLEVELAND	CALVIN COOLIDGE	1	96
1928	KANSAS CITY	HERBERT HOOVER	1	76.9
1932	CHICAGO	HERBERT HOOVER	1	97.6
1936	CLEVELAND	ALFRED M. LONDON	1	89.4
1940	PHILADELPHIA	WENDELL L. WILLKIE	6	10.5
1944	CHICAGO	THOMAS E. DEWEY	1	100
1948	PHILADELPHIA	THOMAS E. DEWEY	3	39.7
1952	CHICAGO	DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER	1	49.3
1956	SAN FRANCISCO	DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER	1	100
1960	CHICAGO	RICHARD M. NIXON	1	100
1964	SAN FRANCISCO	BARRY GOLDWATER	1	66.6

## DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS, 1832-1964

YEAR	CITY	PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES	NO. OF BALLOTS	WINNER'S PERCENT-AGE ON FIRST BALLOT 1900-1964
1832	BALTIMORE	ANDREW JACKSON	1	
1835	BALTIMORE	MARTIN VAN BUREN	1	
1840	BALTIMORE	MARTIN VAN BUREN	1	
1844	BALTIMORE	JAMES K. POLK	9	
1848	BALTIMORE	LEWIS CASS	4	
1852	BALTIMORE	FRANKLIN PIERCE	49	
1856	CINCINNATI	JAMES BUCHANAN	17	
1860	BALTIMORE	STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS	2	
1864	CHICAGO	GEORGE B. McCLELLAN	1	
1868	NEW YORK	HORATIO SEYMOUR	22	
1872	BALTIMORE	HORACE GREELEY	1	
1876	ST. LOUIS	SAMUEL J. TILDEN	2	
1880	CINCINNATI	WINFIELD S. HANCOCK	2	
1884	CHICAGO	GROVER CLEVELAND	2	
1888	ST. LOUIS	GROVER CLEVELAND	1	
1892	CHICAGO	GROVER CLEVELAND	1	
1896	CHICAGO	WILLIAM J. BRYAN	5	
1900	KANSAS CITY	WILLIAM J. BRYAN	1	100
1904	ST. LOUIS	ALTON S. PARKER	1	67.9
1908	DENVER	WILLIAM J. BRYAN	1	89.3
1912	BALTIMORE	WOODROW WILSON	46	29.7
1916	ST. LOUIS	WOODROW WILSON	1	99.9
1920	SAN FRANCISCO	JAMES M. COX	43	12.2
1924	NEW YORK	JOHN W. DAVIS	103	2.8
1928	HOUSTON	ALFRED E. SMITH	1	66.7
1932	CHICAGO	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	4	57.7
1936	PHILADELPHIA	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	Acclamation	100
1940	CHICAGO	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	1	86.1
1944	CHICAGO	FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT	1	92.3
1948	PHILADELPHIA	HARRY S. TRUMAN	1	76.8
1952	CHICAGO	ADLAI E. STEVENSON	3	22.2
1956	CHICAGO	ADLAI E. STEVENSON	1	66
1960	LOS ANGELES	JOHN F. KENNEDY	1	52.9
1964	ATLANTIC CITY	LYNDON B. JOHNSON	Acclamation	100

1968

## CONVENTION AND ELECTORAL VOTES BY STATE

STATE	DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION VOTES	REPUBLICAN CONVENTION VOTES	ELECTORAL VOTES
ALABAMA	32	26	10
ALASKA	22	12	3
ARIZONA	19	16	5
ARKANSAS	33	18	6
CALIFORNIA	174	86	40
COLORADO	35	18	6
CONNECTICUT	44	16	8
DELAWARE	22	12	3
FLORIDA	63	34	14
GEORGIA	43	30	12
HAWAII	26	14	4
IDAHO	25	14	4
ILLINOIS	118	58	26
INDIANA	63	26	13
IOWA	46	24	9
KANSAS	38	20	7
KENTUCKY	46	24	9
LOUISIANA	36	26	10
MAINE	27	14	4
MARYLAND	49	26	10
MASSACHUSETTS	72	34	14
MICHIGAN	96	48	21
MINNESOTA	52	26	10
MISSISSIPPI	24	20	7
MISSOURI	60	24	12
MONTANA	26	14	4
NEBRASKA	30	16	5
NEVADA	22	12	3
NEW HAMPSHIRE	26	8	4
NEW JERSEY	82	40	17
NEW MEXICO	26	14	4
NEW YORK	190	92	43
NORTH CAROLINA	59	26	13
NORTH DAKOTA	25	8	4
OHIO	115	58	28
OKLAHOMA	41	22	8
OREGON	35	18	6
PENNSYLVANIA	130	64	29
RHODE ISLAND	27	14	4
SOUTH CAROLINA	28	22	8
SOUTH DAKOTA	26	14	4
TENNESSEE	51	28	11
TEXAS	104	56	25
UTAH	26	8	4
VERMONT	22	12	3
VIRGINIA	54	24	12
WASHINGTON	47	24	9
WEST VIRGINIA	38	14	7
WISCONSIN	59	30	12
WYOMING	22	12	3
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	23	9	3
CANAL ZONE	5	0	0
GUAM	5	0	0
PUERTO RICO	8	5	0
VIRGIN ISLANDS	5	3	0
TOTAL	2622	1333	538
VOTES NEEDED TO WIN	1312	667	270

This chart shows the power of each state and territory to help select the nominee at the party convention and to elect the slate in the Electoral College. Electoral votes are directly related to each state's population; however, at the convention the vote allocations are modified by party formulas.

The Electoral votes of the 12 most populous states are enough to elect. These 12 states, in order of Electoral votes, are: New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Texas, Michigan, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Florida, Indiana, and North Carolina. At the Democratic Convention those 12, plus one other—Missouri—are needed to reach a winning total. The Republican convention would require the votes of still one more state: Wisconsin.

forty years, the major parties have nominated 20 men for President, 16 on the first ballot. It appears that most delegates have been firmly committed to a candidate before the convention opens.

### THE CONVENTION

Setting up a national political convention is no easy task and takes months of preparation. Sometime during the year before the convention, the national chairman of each party appoints an arrangements committee. This committee, usually headed by the national chairman, recommends the various officers for the convention such as the temporary and permanent chairmen, keynoter, and secretary. It is traditional that the national chairman designate a resolutions or platform committee, subject to the approval of the arrangements committee and later the convention itself.

The Republican arrangements committee also takes charge of the housekeeping details of the convention—housing, badges, tickets, program, press arrangements, and so on. Democrats have, in the past, left these functions to an appointed staff.

The national chairman of each party officially opens the national convention. The next step is generally the approval of the slate of officers recommended by the national committee, but nominations from the floor are permitted, and occasionally the selection of a temporary chairman has provided an early test of the strength of rival factions.

Usually, the temporary chairman, who serves for the first day or two of the convention, delivers the keynote address. Republicans separated these two functions for their 1952, 1956, and 1960 conventions but combined them again in 1964 when Oregon's Governor Mark Hatfield delivered the keynote address.

This "get out there and sell" speech may be just oratory, but it can also play a key role in a convention. When the late Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky was the keynoter in the 1948 Democratic convention, his address was credited with stirring a spirit of victory in a defeatist atmosphere. He won the nomination for Vice-President.

### WORK BEHIND THE SCENES

For the first two or three days of the convention, speakers fill the convention hall with words of welcome, addresses praising the Founding Fathers, the principles of the nation, and the virtues of the party and its leaders. Meantime, committees are at work performing the vital tasks which must be completed before the business of nominating candidates can be accomplished. The decisions of these committees must be hammered out of disagreements and rivalries, for they may determine the outcome of a contest for the Presidential nomination and influence the fortunes of the party for years to come.

The major committees are Credentials, Permanent Organization, Rules, and Resolutions (the Platform). Up to 1960, both parties provided for one delegate from each state and territory on each standing committee except for Resolutions, which had two delegates, a man and a woman, from each state. In 1964, both parties expanded major committees to include a woman from each state.

Although the official selection of the committees takes

place during the opening session of each convention, state delegations often appoint their members well in advance of the convention. The committees—especially those on Resolutions—begin their work before the convention opens.

### *Credentials Committee*

Some of the bitterest battles in recent conventions have centered on the seating of contested delegations, and victories for one group or another often indicate which potential nominee is in control of the convention. Before the convention opens, the National Committee draws up a temporary roll of delegates. This list is referred to the Committee on Credentials, which rehears the claims of contesting delegations and makes recommendations to the floor. The convention itself is the final judge of all such disputes.

### *Committee on Permanent Organization*

This committee recommends permanent convention officers. The slate of temporary officers is usually made permanent, confirming the original proposals of the National Committee. The Committee on Organization must also select a permanent chairman, and the man who wields the gavel can be a power in any convention. There have been many instances in which personalities or issues have been ignored by the chairman who refuses to recognize a speaker from the floor.

### *Rules Committee*

This group submits a set of permanent rules based on those of the House of Representatives and usually similar to those of previous conventions.

Some major problems of the committee in past conventions have included unit rules, loyalty oaths, and roll calls. The Democratic convention still operates under the unit rule. This permits the majority of a state's delegation to cast the state's entire vote, regardless of the leanings of the minority, providing the delegation has been instructed to do so by a state convention. The Republican convention does not recognize such instruction from a state group.

In 1952 and again in 1956, a loyalty oath was a stormy issue at Democratic conventions. The majority insisted on a pledge that would bind the delegates to see that the nominees of the national convention would appear on state ballots under the Democratic symbol. In 1952, delegations from three states—Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana—refused to comply with the oath and were first ruled out of voting at the convention but were finally seated and permitted to vote. In 1956, the loyalty pledge was modified to say it was "understood" that a state Democratic Party would cast their election ballots for the nominees selected by the convention.

Roll calls are a vital part of the convention machinery but they can be used to bargain for time or even stall the pace of the meeting. At Republican conventions, roll calls must be taken upon the request of six state delegations. The Democrats require eight delegations to ask for a roll call.

### *Resolutions Committee*

This committee drafts and presents a platform to the conven-

tion. The challenge is to report a platform all party candidates can accept and use in their campaigns. For this reason, platforms are often attacked as meaningless. The late Wendell Willkie described them as "fusions of ambiguity."

Despite the efforts of platform committees to solve their differences behind closed doors, some issues are so controversial that they spark an open fight on the convention floor. Some examples in this century have been planks dealing with the League of Nations, Ku Klux Klan, Prohibition, civil rights, extremism, and Presidential control of nuclear weapons.

### *Selecting the Candidates*

Once the committee reports have been approved, the convention moves on to pick the nominees. The secretary calls the roll of states in alphabetical order. Each state may place a name in nomination, second a previous nomination, yield the floor to another state, or pass. Nominating speeches are limited to 15 or 20 minutes and represent political oratory at its peak. Traditionally, the name of the candidate is not mentioned until the end of the speech, but the identity of the nominee is no secret to anyone listening. After the nomination, there is an expected, previously arranged demonstration which may last for several minutes. Each nomination is followed by seconding speeches and then the convention is ready to vote.

The roll of states is called once more. Ordinarily, the first ballot produces courtesy votes for favorite sons, but more often than not, a candidate is selected on this first ballot.

The exceptions have set records. In 1880, it took the Republicans 36 ballots to agree on James A. Garfield as their man. The all-time mark was set in 1924 by the Democrats. There were 103 ballots before the convention broke a deadlock between Alfred E. Smith and William McAdoo by nominating John W. Davis.

To nominate a candidate for Vice-President, the convention goes through the same nomination and balloting procedures. However, in recent conventions, the Presidential nominee and his close advisors have expressed a preference for a running mate, and the convention has quickly confirmed the choice.

Once the nominees have been selected, the Presidential candidate, who may not even attend the convention, arrives to make his acceptance speech and present a united front with his running mate and various party factions standing side by side.

Then it's on to the campaign wars.

### *CONVENTION REFORMS*

In 1964, the Republican convention in San Francisco heard welcoming speeches by no fewer than six local and state officials. This and some other events of that convention led former President Eisenhower to urge Republicans to make reforms in procedures. The result was a committee headed by Wisconsin National Committeeman Robert Pierce.

After several meetings, the committee came up with 17 pages of recommendations for streamlining a convention, and some of these will be in effect this year. The committee called for shorter and fewer speeches, fewer nondelegates on the convention floor, and other means of reducing turmoil and confusion.

There seems little doubt the reforms were spurred by criticisms from those who had watched the proceedings on television. This year, when the conventions may be seen in various foreign countries via satellite, and widely viewed in color at home, the parties are expected to move their conventions along with speed. Efficient organization can present a "good image" to the voting public.

The power of television—its impact on our political life—has been both praised and criticized. Defenders say that political phonies eventually are exposed if they appear before the impersonal cameras for any length of time. But critics hold that television also might prevent a good man from attaining high office simply because his on-camera appearance or personality does not happen to be as attractive as a competitor's public front. They ask: "Could Lincoln have been elected if he had to appear on TV?"

Since no answer is possible, we can only admit that television has added new problems to the lives of professional politicians and to the operations of our political parties. It has given the candidates huge audiences never before possible. What they say and how they say it still must be judged by the voters.

## The Contenders—and Their Credentials

FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN voluntarily cancelled his lease on the White House in 1952, the doors of the Pennsylvania Avenue residence appear wide open, awaiting the arrival of new occupants in 1969.

President Eisenhower lived there for eight years—the maximum length of the lease. President Johnson, who would be eligible to stay on for another four years, stunned the world March 31 with his announcement: "I shall not seek and I will not accept the nomination of my party as your President."

Until that shocking moment on nationwide television,

the thirty-sixth President of the United States appeared to be an all-but-certain candidate for renomination and reelection. Traditionally, an incumbent President, with his prestige and power, can demand and receive renomination by his party regardless of his popularity at the moment.

If only because a President remains a major political force until he gives up the office, any list of possible successors would have to include the man in the White House, especially if he is eligible to stay.

Besides, American politics is full of surprises.



DEMOCRATS

*LYNDON B. JOHNSON*

Born: August 27, 1908, Stonewall, Texas.

Education: Southwest Texas State Teachers College, B.S., 1930. Georgetown Law School, night law school courses, 1935.

Family: Married Claudia Taylor, November 17, 1934.

Two children: Lynda Bird, March 19, 1944; and Luci Baines, July 2, 1947.

Religion: Christian Church.

Military: Lieutenant Commander, United States Navy, December, 1941–July, 1942, when members of Congress were recalled by President Roosevelt. Awarded Silver Star.

*Public Life*

In 1937, at the age of twenty-nine, he was elected to the United States House of Representatives in a special election to fill a vacancy. Johnson first tried for the Senate in another special election on June 28, 1941. He ran second in a 29-man field, narrowly losing to W. Lee (Pappy) O'Daniel. Johnson tried again in 1948, when O'Daniel retired, and won a runoff primary by only 87 votes. There were charges of fraud, but Johnson went on to win the November 2 election, easily defeating the Republican candidate, Jack Porter. When Johnson ran for a second Senate term in 1954, his victory was no surprise.

Democrats in Congress were quick to realize his leadership potential. Two years after entering the Senate, he was elected Majority Whip. During the first two years of the Eisenhower administration, he was Minority Leader, and then became Majority Leader following the 1954 elections.

Despite his interest in the 1960 Democratic Presidential nomination, Johnson did not enter any primaries, and did not announce his candidacy until six days before the Democratic National Convention opened in Los Angeles. Johnson was nominated by his friend, House Speaker Rayburn. But on the convention roll call, Johnson received little support outside southern and border states.

The day after John F. Kennedy received the nomination, most observers were surprised when he announced that he had chosen Johnson as his running mate. But later, many experts agreed that without Johnson on the ticket, Kennedy

would have run much worse in the South—and might not have won the election.

Under President Kennedy, Vice-Presidential responsibilities were expanded even further than they were by President Eisenhower for Vice-President Nixon.

On November 22, 1963, Johnson was riding several cars behind President Kennedy in the motorcade through Dallas when the President was assassinated. Less than an hour after Kennedy's death was announced, Lyndon Johnson took the oath as President aboard the Presidential jet Air Force One.

Johnson's major legislative victory of 1964 was the passage of the Civil Rights Act proposed by Kennedy in 1963. But his most important independent program was the "war on poverty."

The next Democratic National Convention, meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in August, 1964, nominated Johnson for his first full term as President without opposition. He selected Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota as his running mate.

Johnson defeated his Republican opponent, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, by 15,951,083 votes—the largest popular vote plurality in the history of the country.

*HUBERT HUMPHREY*

Born: May 27, 1911, Wallace, South Dakota.

Education: Denver College of Pharmacy, degree in 1933. University of Minnesota, B.A., 1939. Louisiana State University, M.A., 1940.

Family: Married Muriel Buck, September 3, 1936. Four children: Nancy, Hubert Horatio III, Robert, and Douglas.

Religion: United Church of Christ (Congregationalist).

Military: During the 1940's Humphrey tried many times to enlist in the Navy, but was rejected for medical reasons.

*Public Life*

Humphrey's name first appeared on a ballot in June, 1943, when he ran for Mayor of Minneapolis. But he was defeated by the incumbent, Marvin Kline. But two years later, Humphrey tried again, and this time he was the winner. Humphrey was reelected in 1947.

In 1948, he ran for the United States Senate against Senator Joseph Ball, and, receiving united labor support, defeated the Republican incumbent. Humphrey was reelected to the Senate in 1954 and again in 1960.



During these years, his eyes were on the White House. At the 1952 convention, Humphrey's name was placed in nomination for the Presidency, but he released the Minnesota delegation after the first ballot.

In 1956, Humphrey surprised the experts by announcing his candidacy for the number two spot on the ticket—something politicians seldom do. Presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson left the choice to the convention, but Senator Estes Kefauver won second-place billing on the second ballot.

In 1959, Humphrey became the first candidate formally to announce his availability for the 1960 Democratic Presidential nomination. He entered two major primaries with Senator John F. Kennedy—in Wisconsin and West Virginia—but lost both races to the next President.

In 1964, in a move unprecedented in American politics, President Johnson appeared before the Democratic convention to announce that Humphrey was his choice for Vice-President and asked that he be nominated. Said the President: "This is not a sectional choice, a way to balance the ticket. This is simply the best man in America for this job."

Under President Johnson, the role of the Vice-President continued to be expanded beyond the single job awarded by the Constitution—that of presiding over the Senate. Humphrey has served as the chairman of many national councils and has represented the President on many foreign trips.

Humphrey's zeal in carrying the "message of our Administration and our party" to various groups—especially United States policies in Vietnam—strained his relations with many Liberal Democratic groups, but Humphrey said in 1966: "I've never left the Liberals even though some are disappointed in me. Liberals have a great emotional commitment. . . . If you do something to displease them, their respect becomes cynical."

After President Johnson announced he would not seek reelection, it was assumed that Humphrey would enter the contest, and he did on April 27. He stressed the need for national unity and for political leadership of "maturity, restraint, and responsibility."

#### ROBERT KENNEDY

Born: November 20, 1925, Brookline, Massachusetts.

Education: Milton Academy, Milton, Massachusetts. Harvard University, B.A., 1948. University of Virginia Law School, L.L.B., 1951.

Family: Married Ethel Skakel, June 17, 1950; ten children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Military: United States Naval Reserve, 1944–1946.

#### Public Life

Unlike most political leaders and possibly because of his family's background and position, Robert F. Kennedy moved directly into government service after graduation from law school bypassing other careers. In 1951, he became an attorney in the criminal division of the Justice Department. (Just nine years later, he would be top man—Attorney General.)

In 1953, he moved to the Senate Investigations Subcommittee, chaired by Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin,



and was assigned as assistant to Chief Counsel Roy Cohn, but he resigned after six months when Democratic Senators walked out of the Subcommittee in protest against McCarthy's investigative methods.

After a few months' service with the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government, Kennedy returned to the Investigations Subcommittee as minority counsel. When the Democrats took control of Congress in 1955, Kennedy became Chief Counsel and staff director for Chairman John McClellan of Arkansas.

When Senator McClellan began looking into labor racketeering in 1957, and was appointed chairman of a Select Committee, Kennedy followed him over as counsel. The investigation centered largely on the Teamsters Union and was partly responsible for the expulsion of the Teamsters from the AFL-CIO. Kennedy won nationwide publicity on television—as a few others had done—for his sharp questioning of committee witnesses.

In 1960, Kennedy left the Committee to run his brother's campaign for President.

#### The Young Attorney General

A few weeks after John F. Kennedy won the Presidency, the former Justice Department attorney was appointed Attorney General. It was the first time a President had appointed a brother to his Cabinet, but at thirty-five, Robert F. Kennedy was not the youngest ever to hold the office. Richard Rush received the appointment in 1814 at the age of thirty-three.

The Justice Department took a strong role in promoting civil rights during Robert Kennedy's term as department chief. After violence broke out in Alabama in May, 1961, involving Negroes and white "freedom riders," Kennedy worked for new regulations banning segregation in bus terminals and on interstate buses. The Department also stepped up prosecution of cases involving voting rights and school desegregation.

In the fight against crime, six of the eight measures he recommended to Congress became law, but a bill to authorize the Attorney General to use wire tapping in a wide range of cases never emerged from committee hearings.

Despite the shock of his brother's assassination, Robert Kennedy continued as Attorney General under President Johnson, helping to steer the 1964 Civil Rights Act through Congress.

In the months before the political campaign of 1964, many observers noted the popularity of Kennedy in public-opinion polls and believed that President Johnson might



Top: Tension rises at a platform committee hearing as Negro delegate George A. Parker (extreme left) challenges Senator Barry Goldwater (at lectern) on his civil rights stand. Goldwater said he would, as President, enforce the new civil rights law.



Above: Senator Barry Goldwater (right), the Presidential nominee, raises hands in a victory pledge with Representative William Miller, just after Miller had accepted the Vice-Presidential nomination. The ticket carried only six states in November.

Center right: Heading the New York Delegation, Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller sits with hand on private communications system as the convention starts. New York Senator Jacob Javits is at right. Rockefeller led the liberal wing's opposition to Goldwater.

Supporters of Senator Barry Goldwater turn loose the traditional demonstration on the convention floor. Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois has just offered their favorite's name as candidate for President.



AUGUST: DEMOCRATS AT ATLANTIC CITY



A cloud of steam rises from a symbolic beehive amidst the Utah delegation as the convention nears the opening hour. Aware of the TV audience-potential, various delegations used similar stunts as eye-catchers.



Above: President Johnson, gavel in hand, calls time on the demonstrating delegates so he can tell them his choice for Vice-President. With him are his wife and daughters Luci (left) and Lynda.

Center left: President Johnson and his running mate Senator Hubert Humphrey stand shoulder-to-shoulder and greet the delegates who have just named them as the party's ticket for November.



Left: A corner of the convention hall blossoms out in banners and balloons as the demonstration gets under way for the nomination of President Johnson. He had been nominated in speeches by two governors, Connally of Texas and Brown of California.



choose him as a running mate. But shortly before the convention, the President announced that no Cabinet officer would be considered for the post, and there were many reports of a Johnson-Kennedy feud.

### *Kennedy vs. Keating*

On August 25, 1964, Kennedy announced he was moving to New York to run for the Senate seat held by Senator Kenneth Keating, a Republican. Despite "carpetbagging" charges against Kennedy, a former voting resident of Massachusetts, the nominating convention of New York Democrats selected him over United States Representative Samuel Stratton.

The campaign was heated, with Kennedy concentrating a major share of his fire at Presidential nominee Barry Goldwater, and on election day, Kennedy defeated Keating, but with only 53.5 percent of the total vote cast, a much smaller plurality than President Johnson piled up in carrying the state.

Kennedy's stand on Vietnam has been probably the most controversial point in his Senate career and had caused many opponents of President Johnson's policies to urge Kennedy to run for the Presidency this year.

In March, 1967, a group of antiwar Democrats announced plans to start a write-in campaign for Kennedy in the New Hampshire primary, but Kennedy refused to endorse the move. He also refused to allow his name to be placed on the New Hampshire ballot.

But the surprising showing of Senator Eugene McCarthy in New Hampshire on March 12 probably helped Kennedy reassess his chances against President Johnson. On March 16, Senator Kennedy announced he would challenge the President for the nomination.

The tragic assassination of Senator Kennedy threw large uncertainties over the campaigns, especially the Democratic, coming at the close of the spirited primary races in which, essentially, Kennedy had triumphed over Senator McCarthy.

The minority groups and antiwar youth who had chosen Kennedy were now left with the question of shifting their loyalties over to Senator McCarthy, or to Vice-President Humphrey—or to some dark horse.

Even more important was the question of where Kennedy's convention delegates would go. Front runner Humphrey probably would pick up enough of that support to assure his nomination. It was also possible that Humphrey and McCarthy would achieve a working coalition to unify the party on the ideals personified by the crusading young Senator from New York.

### *EUGENE McCARTHY*

Born: March 29, 1916, in Watkins, Minnesota.

Education: Watkins Parochial School, Watkins, Minnesota, 1930. St. John's Prep, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1932. St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, A.B., 1935. University of Minnesota, M.A., 1937.

Family: Married Abigail Quigley, 1945; four children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Military: None. In 1944, McCarthy worked as a civilian for the military intelligence division of the War Department.



### *Public Life*

While teaching economics and education at St. John's University in the early 1940's, he supported the drive of Hubert Humphrey, Orville Freeman, and other Liberals to purge the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party of Communist influence.

With the DFL's support in 1948, McCarthy ran for Congress, defeating the Republican incumbent, Rep. Edward Devitt, and won re-election in 1950, 1952, 1954 and 1956.

In 1958, he announced he would seek the endorsement of the DFL party to run against incumbent Senator Edward Thye, a Republican. He finally won the party's nomination against stiff opposition from Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, Ambassador to Denmark in the Truman Administration and another member of the DFL's "inner circle." McCarthy was elected and returned to the Senate for a second term in 1964.

Last November 30, he decided to challenge the Administration's position on the Vietnam War because of what he termed: "plans for continued escalation . . . and the absence of any positive indications or suggestions for a compromise or negotiated political settlement."

McCarthy announced he would enter several Presidential primaries. In the first campaign of the year, in New Hampshire, student volunteers turned out in great numbers to help a candidate few people had heard of a few months earlier. The results fooled many poll-takers, who rated McCarthy's popularity somewhere between 11 and 30 percent of the total vote. On March 12, he received 42.4 percent against 49.5 percent write-ins for President Johnson.

Suddenly, McCarthy was a political figure to be reckoned with.

### *GEORGE WALLACE*

Born: August 25, 1919, Clio, Alabama.

Education: University of Alabama Law School, LL.B., 1942.

Family: Married Lurleen Burns, May 23, 1943, she died May 7, 1968. Four children.

Religion: Methodist.

Military: United States Army Air Corps, 1942-1945. Discharged as a flight sergeant.

### *Public Life*

After military service, Wallace was appointed an assistant attorney general of Alabama, earning \$175 per month. In 1946, he was elected to the state House of Representatives,



and in the six years he served there, was twice voted an outstanding legislator by fellow Representatives.

At the 1948 Democratic national convention, he led an unsuccessful floor fight against a strong Civil Rights platform submitted by northern Democrats.

While an Alabama state judge from 1953–1959, he sentenced a white man to life imprisonment for slaying a Negro—the first such conviction in the state for several years.

In 1958, Wallace and State Attorney General John Patterson both qualified for the Democratic gubernatorial runoff primary, edging out twelve other candidates. But Patterson won the final runoff, tantamount to election in November.

In 1962, Wallace tried again for the governorship—this time on a militant segregationist platform—and this time he was backed by the Ku Klux Klan, which had sided with Patterson four years earlier.

In May, 1962, Wallace was the front-runner in a seven-man contest, and in the runoff and general election was an easy winner.

In 1963, he resisted the Federal Government in several civil-rights actions. He made national headlines when he stood in the schoolhouse door at the University of Alabama to bar the admittance of two Negro students. After a second confrontation involving federal officials, Wallace stepped away from the door and the two students were registered. By 1966, 396 Negro students were enrolled in various branches of the University.

When Wallace, in October, 1965, failed to get legislative approval of a bill allowing him to seek a second consecutive term as governor, he backed his wife, Lurleen, for the post. She won the May, 1966, Democratic primary, defeating nine other candidates, and then defeated her Republican opponent, Representative James Martin, with 63.4 percent of the vote.

In the 1964 Presidential campaign, Wallace tried to win support as an independent candidate with the aim of splitting the two major parties and throwing the election into the House of Representatives where southern Democrats could bargain for important concessions on civil rights.

He entered three Presidential primaries in the north. In Wisconsin, he won 33.9 percent of the total Democratic vote cast; in Indiana, 29.9 percent; and in Maryland, 42.7 percent, which he hailed as a great victory.

Wallace continued his campaign despite suggestions that his candidacy might harm the chances of conservative Republican Senator Barry Goldwater. Then, on July 19, 1964, just four days after Goldwater was nominated, Wallace withdrew from the race, saying he had “conservatized both national parties.”

Forming a national organization to run for President is not simple. In some states—notably Ohio and Idaho—it is so difficult to get on the ballot that the Wallace forces are challenging the qualifying laws in court. But campaign aides are confident Wallace will be on the ballot in at least thirty-six states, possibly as the candidate of the American Independent Party.

## REPUBLICANS

### *RICHARD NIXON*

Born: January 9, 1913, Yorba Linda, California.

Education: Whittier (California) College, A.B., 1934. Duke University Law School, LL.B., 1937.

Family: Married Thelma Catherine Patricia Ryan, June 21, 1940. Two children, Patricia and Julie.

Religion: Quaker.

Military: United States Navy, 1942–1946. Discharged with rank of lieutenant commander.

### *Public Life*

In 1946, Nixon was completing his service with the Navy in Baltimore. Herman Perry, a California banker and family friend, persuaded Nixon to return to California and run against Democratic Representative Jerry Voorhis. In the campaign for the House seat, Nixon accused Voorhis of being “soft on Communism.” On November 5, 1946, Nixon won the election by 15,000 votes.

In 1948, Nixon won both parties’ nominations for reelection and returned to the House. There he encountered what he later called his first major political crisis. He received national credit—and much criticism—for spearheading the investigation that led to the conviction of Alger Hiss for perjury.

In 1950, Nixon ran for the United States Senate against Democratic Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas. The key issue in the country was Communism and internal security. Critics called Nixon’s campaign “dirty and ruthless,” but he won an easy victory.

Shortly after he had won the Republican nomination for President in 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower selected Nixon to be his running mate, and Nixon was nominated by acclamation in Chicago.



Early in the 1952 campaign, there were charges that Nixon had accepted about \$18,000 from California backers as a supplement to his salary as Senator. On nationwide television, Nixon denied that he had ever used one cent for his personal expenses and added that the donors never received special consideration.

General Eisenhower backed the Vice-Presidential nominee, and following their election and the first four years of the Eisenhower Administration, Nixon was renominated in 1956 by unanimous vote, and both men were reelected.

#### *Nixon as "Assistant President"*

President Eisenhower's three illnesses brought the role of Vice-President into greater prominence, and he assumed both ceremonial and executive duties for the President. Nixon visited 56 countries, including Russia, where he engaged in the famed "kitchen debate" with Premier Khrushchev.

In 1960, Nixon won the Republican Presidential nomination on the first ballot—the first Vice-President to do so since Martin Van Buren 124 years before. Nixon chose Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge as his running mate.

The campaign against Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts featured for the first time four nationally televised debates. Republicans were disappointed in Nixon's showing in the first one, blaming a recent knee injury, poor makeup, and poor lighting.

Nixon was defeated by the smallest vote margin of this century—112,803 popular votes. Kennedy carried 23 states while Nixon carried 26, but Kennedy won more electoral votes, 303 to 220.

In 1962, trying to reestablish himself politically, Nixon ran for Governor of California against the Democratic incumbent, Edmund G. Brown. But Governor Brown defeated Nixon by about 300,000 votes.

In 1964, Nixon worked to unify the Republican Party, speaking for Presidential candidate Goldwater and other nominees in thirty-six states. In the 1966 Congressional and gubernatorial campaigns, Nixon continued to campaign for Republican candidates, building a reserve of goodwill among GOP chiefs and workers.

Despite a "loser image," a Nixon nomination for President in 1968 showed popularity among Republican voters in various polls, and Governor George Romney's withdrawal from the New Hampshire primary left Nixon virtually unopposed for the GOP nomination.



#### *NELSON ROCKEFELLER*

Born: July 8, 1908, Bar Harbor, Maine.

Education: Lincoln School of Columbia University Teachers College, 1917–1926. Dartmouth College, A.B., 1930.

Family: Married Mary Todhunter Clark, June 23, 1930. Five children. Divorced in 1962. Married Mrs. Margaretta Fitler Murphy, May 4, 1963. Two children.

Religion: Baptist.

Military: None.

#### *Public Life*

Rockefeller's early career was business, mainly in enterprises connected with family interests. He held various positions in the management of New York's Rockefeller Center and invested in business and agriculture in Latin America.

Rockefeller has served in both philanthropic and profit-making organizations operating chiefly in the Western Hemisphere. In 1940, President Roosevelt established the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and named the thirty-two-year-old Rockefeller as its head.

Rockefeller left government service in 1945 but returned in 1950, when President Harry Truman appointed him chairman of the International Development Advisory Board, which drew up the principles of the "Point Four" program for technical assistance abroad.

Other government posts included service as Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and President Eisenhower's Special Assistant for Foreign Affairs.

In 1958, New York State GOP leaders said polls showed Rockefeller was the party's most popular potential candidate for Governor, and he edged out former GOP National Chairman Leonard Hall for the nomination.

Rockefeller, as an underdog in the race against Governor Averell Harriman, began a massive handshaking campaign, taking liberal positions and pledging to end "bossism" in state government. In the November election, Rockefeller defeated Harriman with 54.7 percent of the vote.

Immediately after his election, Rockefeller was spoken of as a possible rival to Vice-President Nixon for the GOP Presidential nomination in 1960, but Rockefeller insisted he would not compete for the honor. He did say he would accept a draft, although he considered it unlikely.

#### *The Rockefeller-Nixon Coalition*

At the 1960 convention, Rockefeller emerged as the unofficial spokesman for GOP liberals, and Nixon met with Rockefeller at the Governor's Fifth Avenue apartment to discuss and agree on a list of fourteen specific positions on national and international issues. Senator Barry Goldwater, speaking for conservatives, called the agreement a "surrender" on the part of Nixon and referred to it as "another Munich."

In 1962, Rockefeller was renominated for Governor and his opponent was Robert Morgenthau, United States Attorney for Southern New York. Rockefeller won the election, but this time his edge was a smaller 53.1 percent of the total vote, possibly because of a state Conservative Party candidate.

After this victory, Rockefeller was considered the leading contender for the 1964 Republican Presidential nomina-

tion, despite his 1962 divorce. In 1963, he announced his candidacy and entered several primaries.

In New Hampshire, he won only 21 percent of the vote, placing third to write-in winner Henry Cabot Lodge. But Rockefeller won the West Virginia primary (in which he was the only candidate) and then, in a surprise victory, the Oregon primary against Senator Barry Goldwater. But, Goldwater went on to edge Rockefeller in the California primary and win the party nomination.

In 1966, New York State Republicans renominated Rockefeller for a third term as Governor. He was opposed by Democrat Frank O'Connor, Liberal Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and Conservative Paul Adams. Rockefeller was regarded as an underdog as the campaign began, but the fact that four candidates were running probably helped Rockefeller to win. He polled only 44.6 percent of the total vote while O'Connor received 38.1 percent. Liberal candidate Roosevelt polled 8.4 percent, probably hurting O'Connor's chances, and Conservative Adams received 8.5 percent, probably taking most of them from Rockefeller dissidents.

#### *Rockefeller Available*

In 1968, as in 1960, Rockefeller turned aside early requests from some Republicans that he become an active candidate for the Presidential nomination against Richard Nixon, but Rockefeller insisted that he was available for a draft at the convention.

Rockefeller's statement was made on March 21, shortly before President Johnson announced that he would not seek or accept the Democratic nomination, but Rockefeller continued to play a waiting game.

Then, on April 30, he reversed himself and entered the GOP race. He said that recent events had "revealed in most serious terms the gravity of the crisis we face as a people." He was "deeply disturbed by the course of events, the growing unrest and anxiety at home, and the signs of disintegration abroad."

#### *RONALD REAGAN*

Born: February 6, 1911, Tampico, Illinois.

Education: Dixon High School, Dixon, Illinois. Eureka College, Eureka, Illinois, B.A., 1932.

Family: Married Jane Wyman, January 25, 1940. Two children. Divorced in 1948. Married Nancy Davis, March 4, 1952. Two children.

Religion: Christian Church.

Military: Commissioned 2nd lieutenant, United States Cavalry Reserve. Active duty during World War II. Discharged with rank of captain.

#### *Public Life*

The world first saw and heard Ronald Reagan as a popular film actor in the late 1930's and early 1940's, but behind the scenes, Reagan was always active in political causes.

At first, he was attracted to the liberal cause and joined a number of organizations, including the Americans for Democratic Action and the United World Federalists. For five consecutive terms, he served as President of the Screen Actors Guild, but in that capacity he was one of the leaders



of the film industry's purge of actors and others accused of being Communists.

In 1950, Reagan supported Democratic Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas in her controversial race for the Senate with Richard Nixon. But in 1952, he backed General Eisenhower for the Presidency, and repeated his support for Eisenhower in 1956 and for Nixon in 1960. Two years later, Reagan made his political switch official. He changed his party affiliation from Democratic to Republican and swung to conservative groups and causes.

During Senator Goldwater's campaign for the Presidency in 1964, Reagan appeared on nationwide television to deliver a modified version of his favorite speech (often called "The Speech"), and he concluded with an appeal for donations to the Goldwater campaign. The speech was a great success, and it drew more contributions than any other single speech in United States political history.

In 1966, backed mainly by conservative groups, Reagan announced his candidacy for Governor of California. He said his chief campaign issues would be crime, high welfare costs, and student unrest.

Reagan's main competition came from former San Francisco Mayor George Christopher, although there were three other GOP hopefuls. Reagan scored an impressive victory over all four with 63.4 percent of the vote in the primary.

During the campaign against Democratic incumbent Governor Pat Brown, Reagan projected a more moderate image than Goldwater had in 1964. Brown's most effective charge probably was that Reagan lacked the qualifications and experience to be governor, but Reagan answered that it was time for some ordinary citizens to bring some common sense to all the problems that had been created by the professional politicians.

On November 8, 1966, Reagan soundly defeated Brown with 57.7 percent of the vote, and helped many other GOP candidates to victory.

As Governor, Reagan pledged to put California's "fiscal house in order." He called for a 944-million-dollar increase in tax revenues—a record for any state—but said this did not represent his philosophy and regretted "the circumstances that make it necessary." Reagan claimed many economies, however, and promised to "whittle away at the costs that can be cut without a change in the law."

He has been involved in controversies over funds for the University of California and economies in health and welfare programs.

## FAVORITE SONS AND DARK HORSES

There are those waiting in the wings, the dark horses, the favorite sons, the hopefuls, who know that nothing is beyond the realm of possibility in American politics.

Some have been mentioned as compromise candidates for a Presidential nomination or as Vice-Presidential choices.

### DEMOCRATS

*Senator Birch Bayh, Indiana.* Born: January 22, 1928. Married. One child. Won Senate seat in 1962 and must face reelection this year. One of his party's attractive "new faces." Possible choice as Democratic convention keynoter. Alienated some state Democrats because he supported a Negro for mayor of Gary in 1967.

*Representative Hale Boggs, Louisiana.* Born: February 15, 1914. Married. Four children. Has been House Democratic whip and is in line to succeed Representative Carl Albert as Democratic Majority Leader. Boggs is a liberal Southerner who has served more than twenty years in the House.

*Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, California.* Born: April 21, 1905. Former Governor of California, 1958-1966. Defeated both former Senator William Knowland and Richard Nixon in races for the state house, but lost in 1966 to Governor Ronald Reagan by nearly a million votes. Brown is a liberal and retains a personal following among many California Democrats.

*Senator Frank Church, Idaho.* Born: July 25, 1924. Married. Two children. Went to the Senate in 1957. He is one of the leading Senate "doves" on Vietnam and may face difficult 1968 election campaign for his seat unless the course of the war is altered in a significant way. But Church could be a Vice-Presidential candidate on a "peace ticket."

*Governor John Connally, Texas.* Born: February 27, 1917. Married. Three children. Once served as Congressional secretary to Representative Lyndon Johnson. Managed Johnson's Presidential campaign in 1960, became Navy Secretary in 1961, and Governor in 1963. He is a middle-of-the-roader.

*Senator J. William Fulbright, Arkansas.* Born: April 9, 1905. Married. Two children. First went to the Senate in 1945. Now Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and leading critic of the Administration's Vietnam policies. Faces renomination and reelection contests this year, but has been mentioned as a possible running mate for Senator Robert Kennedy or other peace-minded nominee.

*Senator Henry Jackson, Washington.* Born: May 31, 1912. Married. Two children. He was a serious prospect for the Democratic Vice-Presidential nomination in both 1956 and 1960. Has been one of the leading Senate Democratic "hawks" on Vietnam.

*Senator Mike Mansfield, Montana.* Born: March 16, 1903. Married. One child. His age might be against him as a nominee, but he has been Senate Majority Leader since 1961 and has backed most Administration aims. He is a mild critic of United States Vietnam policies.

*Senator Edmund Muskie, Maine.* Born: March 28, 1914. Married. Five children. Served as Governor from 1955 to 1959, and Senator since that time. He is viewed as a potential future majority leader in the Senate because of his skilled handling of legislation. Could be a compromise candidate for the Vice-Presidential nomination.

*R. Sargent Shriver, United States Ambassador to France.* Born: November 9, 1915. Married. Five children. Brother-in-law of Senator Robert Kennedy. First Director of the Peace Corps, and first Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. His role in Great Society programs could earn him the backing of pro-Johnson forces as a compromise candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

### REPUBLICANS

Among Republicans, two men are often mentioned as Presidential "material," if not this time, for some future election year. They are proven vote-getters, attracting Independent and even Democratic support. They are classed with the party's "bright, young men."

*Senator Charles Percy, Illinois.* Born September 27, 1919, Pensacola, Florida. Married. Five children. Known for his talent in business, beginning in college days. At the age of twenty-nine, following the death of the President of Bell & Howell, an old friend and sponsor, Percy was elected his successor. In politics, Percy served the Republican Party in the late 1940's and 1950's as fund-raiser and platform advisor. In 1963, he became a candidate for the first time, running against incumbent Democratic Governor Otto Kerner. But in the 1964 election, Percy lost. His opponent probably was helped by the Johnson Presidential sweep over Goldwater.

For his second try at political office, Percy selected as his target a three-term veteran of the Senate, Democrat Paul Douglas, a man some observers believed would be impossible to beat. But Percy won with 55 percent of the vote. It was his first election victory, but an impressive one. On August 13, 1967, Percy said he would be a "favorite son" candidate for President if it would help unite the party in his state.

*Mayor John Lindsay, New York.* Born: November 24, 1921. Married. Four children. This Liberal Republican is a winner in a Democratic city. He has stated he is "absolutely not" in the running for a place on the GOP ticket.

As a Congressman from 1959 to 1965, Lindsay was a maverick who supported many programs of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. He served as vice-chairman of the Kerner commission on civil disorders. Lindsay's frequent visits to ghetto areas have been credited with preventing large-scale riots. His actions in city transportation and sanitation strikes won national attention, and probably sympathy and admiration from citizens in other areas.

On Vietnam, Lindsay has said: "Bombing solves nothing. . . . We've got to work things out on a diplomatic level."

Here are other Republican hopefuls, potential dark horses, and favorite sons, listed in alphabetical order.

*Senator Edward Brooke, Massachusetts.* Born: October 26, 1919. Married. Two children. The first Negro to serve in the United States Senate since Reconstruction. He considers himself conservative in economic questions, a moderate on civil rights, and favors limitations on the war in Vietnam.

*Governor John Chaffee, Rhode Island.* Born: October 22, 1922. Married. Six children. A Republican in a heavily Democratic state, he is an outspoken advocate of a progressive GOP platform, and was a supporter of Governor George Romney for the Republican Presidential nomination. He is a moderate on civil rights, and supports the Administration's position on Vietnam with reservations.

*Governor Daniel J. Evans, Washington.* Born: October 16, 1925. Married. Three children. One of the few Republican challengers to upset a Democratic incumbent in the 1964 elections, he has fought the John Birch Society and other right-wing elements, and has aroused the opposition of conservatives. Liberal on civil rights. Believes the United States should continue to press for a negotiated settlement of the war.

*Representative Gerald Ford, Michigan.* Born: July 14, 1913. Married. Four children. GOP House leader since 1965. He is an internationalist, a conservative on domestic economic questions, a moderate on civil rights, and a "hawk" on Vietnam, supporting military escalation and bombing of the North.

*Senator Mark Hatfield, Oregon.* Born: July 12, 1922. Married. Four children. If the Republicans are looking for a "peace candidate" on their ticket, he would be a youthful, handsome, and articulate choice. Although a "dove" on the war, he once suggested a blockade of North Vietnam to prevent supplies from reaching there. Liberal on civil rights and economic issues.

*Senator Jacob Javits, New York.* Born: May 18, 1904. Married. Three children. An eighteen-year Congressional veteran known as an eloquent spokesman for liberal Republicanism. Considers himself well qualified for the number two spot on the ticket. Liberal on civil rights and economic matters. Proposes "phasing out" the United States commitment in Vietnam.

*Governor Claude Kirk, Florida.* Born: January 7, 1926. Married. Four children. First Republican Governor of Florida in ninety-four years. Won national attention by hiring a private detective agency to wage war against crime. Moderate on civil rights, opposing extremism and violence on either side. In a 1967 statement on the war, Kirk said: "When you're in a fight, you're supposed to win."

*Governor John Love, Colorado.* Born: November 29, 1916. Married. Three children. He came out of political obscurity to win the governorship in 1962, and immediately followed through on his pledge to cut state income taxes by 15 percent. He was reelected in 1966, despite increases in other state taxes. Moderate on civil rights and economic issues. Says he doubts the Vietnam war can be won by military means alone.

*Senator Thruston Morton, Kentucky.* Born: August 19, 1907. Married. Two children. An early supporter of Dwight Eisenhower and one of that Administration's staunchest supporters in the Senate. Former GOP National Chairman. Middle-of-the-roader on economics and civil rights. Says he believes total military victory in Vietnam would mean war with China. Favors a "disinvolvement."

*Governor George Romney, Michigan.* Born: July 8, 1907, in Mexico. Married. Four children. In November, 1967, Romney became the first major announced candidate for the GOP Presidential nomination, but withdrew before the March primary in New Hampshire when polls showed he was running behind Richard Nixon. He is still mentioned as a possible Vice-Presidential candidate. Romney is a liberal and refused to back Presidential nominee Goldwater in 1964. He made a now-famous statement on Vietnam in September, 1967, when he charged he had been "brainwashed" by United States officials there during an official visit. Romney opposes both military escalation and United States withdrawal, favoring a "peace with amnesty."

*Governor Raymond Shafer, Pennsylvania.* Born: March 5, 1917. Married. Three children. Served as Lieutenant Governor with Governor William Scranton in 1962. With Scranton ineligible to run for another term, Shafer won his support to try for the top job in 1966. In the primary, Shafer defeated Harold Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota, and George Brett, a dentist. In the November, 1966, general election Shafer's opponent was Democrat Milton Shapp, electronics manufacturer. Shafer ran on a liberal Republican platform and won with 52.1 percent of the vote. He supports present United States policies in Vietnam.

*Senator John Tower, Texas.* Born: September 29, 1925. Married. Three children. When Lyndon Johnson was elected Vice-President in 1960, he was forced to resign his Senate seat. Seventy-one candidates, representing every shade of political philosophy, entered the race to fill the seat in an April, 1961, special election. Tower, an ex-college professor, led the field with 31.5 percent of the vote. In a runoff election in May, 1961, Tower narrowly defeated conservative Democrat William Blakely with 50.6 percent of the vote. In 1966, Tower won reelection for his first full term. He considers himself a "progressive conservative," but his voting record is among the most conservative of all Senators. He voted against the 1964 Civil Rights Act and opposed Medicare. On Vietnam, he has been in favor of bombing every major military target and blocking sea supply routes.

*Governor John Volpe, Massachusetts.* Born: December 8, 1908. Married. Two children. In 1960, while Senator John F. Kennedy won a landslide vote for President in his home state, Republican John Volpe won the Governor's race against Democrat Joseph Ward with 52.5 percent of the vote. But in 1962, Volpe lost to Democrat Endicott Peabody by only 5,431 votes. In 1964, and again in 1966, Volpe won the contest for Governor and is now serving the state's first four-year term. Volpe is liberal on taxing and spending and race relations. He backs United States policies in Vietnam.

# The 1968 Presidential Campaign

THIS YEAR'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN REALLY STARTED ROLLING on November 30, 1967, and the man who switched the engines on was Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota. He announced that he would enter at least four Presidential primaries to carry his dissent over the President's Vietnam policies to "the people of the United States."

It was obvious even before that surprising challenge to President Johnson from a member of his own party that Vietnam probably would be *the* issue of this Presidential election. Each potential candidate would be expected to state his views on the war and to suggest ways of ending the national frustration over our inability to win a military victory.

Almost to a man, the seekers of the Presidency call for a new direction in United States foreign policy. Senator McCarthy says that American eagerness to police the world must be curbed.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy said, even before he announced his candidacy: "I think that what we're doing at the present time in Vietnam is a mistake. I think that the course we're following is an error."

Vice-President Hubert Humphrey at first defended the Johnson Administration's conduct of the war and argued that the United States is fighting to protect American national interests. But shortly before he became an official candidate, Humphrey called for concentration on "the arts of peace" and the building of "peaceful bridges" to Communist China.

## *Republicans on Vietnam*

On the Republican side, former Vice-President Richard Nixon had long taken a hard line on the war, saying: "I think this enemy must know not only that he cannot win militarily, which he must now rapidly be convinced of, but that he cannot win because of a division in the United States and that he is not going to get a better deal from either this administration or the next one."

But President Johnson's announcement on March 31 that he was withdrawing from the race drastically reshaped the war issue and threw his political friends and enemies into confusion.

Thereafter, Nixon said little about Vietnam, especially as the Paris talks were getting underway, on the ground that he did not want to interfere with delicate peace negotiations.

Governor Nelson Rockefeller seemed to stake out a position less hawkish than that associated with Nixon but less "dovish" than those of Senators McCarthy and Kennedy. He deplored the excessive "Americanization" of the war and stressed that there could be "no purely military solution." Rockefeller even hinted that the Communist-led Viet Cong would have to be accepted into a coalition government in the South. He said that no group could be excluded "that seeks its objectives through the political process rather than by wrecking it through force or subversion."

Governor Ronald Reagan took a hard line on the war. Commenting on the Paris negotiations, he said: "We must not give in. Whatever the cost, the United States must honor

its pledge to uphold the sovereignty and independence of South Vietnam. If this cannot be done at the negotiating table, then we must return to the fighting."

## *THE EARLY CAMPAIGN*

### DEMOCRATS

From the moment President Johnson announced he was dropping out of the race for the White House, it was clear that this year's Presidential sweepstakes would be something like the main feature at Hialeah—a card with any one of six, seven, or even eight entrants a possible winner.

On the Democratic side, Senator McCarthy grabbed a surprise early lead. In the nation's first primary in New Hampshire, on March 12, he defeated a write-in campaign for President Johnson by taking 20 of the 24 delegates to the Democratic national convention. McCarthy received 42.4 percent of the popular vote in the party primary to the 49.5 percent write-in vote for the President.

Some experts credited McCarthy's victory to antiwar sentiment, and to general dissatisfaction with the Administration. There was also the issue of the tax surcharge in a state where citizens will not approve a broad-based tax. McCarthy based his opposition to the surcharge on the economic grounds that the tax might take effect in the fall just as the economy might be expected to dip.

There were also the mistakes of the Johnson managers with their numbered pledge cards and comments that McCarthy was an "appeaser" and that a significant vote for him would be "greeted with cheers in Hanoi."

### *McCarthy's "Children's Crusade"*

Another likely element in the McCarthy victory was the vast outpouring of student volunteers who found their prayers had been answered—at last, they had a candidate they could support. Using a university study of New Hampshire voters, they set out on foot and by telephone to espouse their new cause. They had better voter lists than the Johnson forces.

Something also would have to be said for the character of the man himself. Voters said they liked him because he did not "talk like a candidate" and that he "told it like it is and not the way the people in Washington want us to believe." His background as a college professor made him attractive to students and teachers alike and to many intellectuals outside the universities. Senator McCarthy's humor has something of the quality of the late Adlai Stevenson's except that McCarthy is less inclined to make himself the butt of his jokes.

The McCarthy bandwagon continued to roll in Wisconsin, where he entered the April 2 primary, but again he was unopposed by an active contender. He received 57.6 percent of the vote to 35.4 percent for President Johnson.

In two less important primaries, in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, McCarthy again made a handsome showing but, as before, there was really no active competition.

### *McCarthy vs. Kennedy*

It was not until the Democratic primary in Indiana on May 7 that McCarthy and the second man to enter the party's race, Senator Robert Kennedy, were offered to the voters for a clear choice and both men campaigned throughout the state for votes.

Kennedy developed a new style for Indiana. With rare exceptions, he no longer invoked the memory of his late brother. Instead, the Senator spoke of his own record and frequently went so far as to repudiate some of the policies of the Kennedy Administration, saying that times have changed.

In his speeches, Kennedy was no longer the aggressive candidate whipping up his audience with rhetoric. His approach was calm and reasoned.

The Senator's personal appearance, too, was more conservative. His famous shock of hair, though still rather full, had been clipped shorter and shorter.

Advance polls predicted a Kennedy victory and they were correct. He won about 42 percent of the Democratic primary vote to 31 percent for Governor Roger D. Branigin, the Hoosier favorite son. McCarthy was third with 27 percent.

Kennedy obviously was in search of another West Virginia, which had helped his brother's campaign—a conservative, clannish state where he could demonstrate his popularity with voters. Since Governor Branigin was not a serious candidate for the Presidency, his presence in the race only served to scramble the meaning of the results. To some, he was a stand-in for Vice-President Humphrey and the Administration program. To others, Branigin was a popular state leader.

Perhaps it was an inconclusive victory for Kennedy, but it was, nevertheless, a win over the McCarthy forces which the Kennedy side badly needed if it was to offset the early McCarthy primary gains.

### *Kennedy Takes Nebraska*

The next major confrontation between the two candidates was in Nebraska on May 14. There, Democrats gave Kennedy his first relatively solid victory. Unlike his showing in Indiana, Kennedy won by a bare—but clear—majority of the vote. In the Hoosier primary, Negroes and blue-collar workers made up the hard core of his support. Obviously, in Nebraska, his appeal would have to reach many other groups in order to win 51 percent of the vote. McCarthy wound up with 31 percent.

There was a clumsy and disorganized write-in campaign in behalf of Vice-President Humphrey, but it was unimpressive. It produced only 8 percent of the vote, or 14 if one were to add the write-ins for President Johnson.

Kennedy failed to shake off McCarthy as a contender, and Humphrey continued as a main force in the background. Since the Vice-President's name was not entered in any of the primaries, he could stand back and hope that the other active candidates would cancel out each other.

Humphrey concentrated his efforts on the single most important quest of the candidate—the search for delegate votes at the national convention. In mid-May, Humphrey strategists believed they could count on enough support to

put the Vice-President within 200 votes of winning the Presidential nomination.

### *Humphrey's Key to Victory*

They were confident of strength in certain sections—notably in the South, the border states, and the small Western states. They began to center on the five populous non-primary states which Humphrey considers the key to the nomination—Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, and New Jersey. Humphrey traveled to all those during the first weeks of his campaign.

One early survey gave the Vice-President more than 1,100 convention votes but cautioned that this was not a forecast of the first ballot because some of the delegates might be siding with favorite sons. A total of 1,312 votes is required for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

The fourth man in the Democratic contest, former Governor George Wallace of Alabama, remained a problem and a question mark to the principal contenders. Various national public opinion polls showed his support probably ranged between 10 and 15 percent of the electorate.

While his wife was living, the fact that Lurleen Wallace was Governor of Alabama meant that George Wallace could count on a political base to use for his Presidential campaign and the reality of the statehouse grip on campaign funds. But at her death, the office and the power passed to Lieutenant Governor Albert Brewer, who did not enjoy the full trust of the Wallace inner circle.

Wallace also was disturbed by the prospect that Nixon, if nominated by the Republicans, could cut heavily into the Deep South's conservative vote, which otherwise might go to a State's Rights, Dixiecrat candidate. Like many other contenders, he was also left without a major target when President Johnson withdrew from the race, and he also feared the support that Vice-President Humphrey could draw from friendly southern Governors and Senators.

### *Another 1824 Election?*

Although Wallace's chances of getting the Democratic Presidential nomination were too remote to consider, there was always the possibility that his candidacy on the American Independent Party ticket could deprive either major party candidate of the necessary 538 electoral votes for the Presidency. In that case, the election could be thrown into the House of Representatives for the first time since 1824.

If the House lineup should remain about the same as it now is, the Democratic candidate probably would be elected since the Democrats control the House and each state would be entitled to one vote.

Should the Republicans sweep the elections this fall, the situation would be reversed. If the GOP should gain control of the delegations of twenty-six states, Congress might well elect a Republican to the Presidency. And of course, the twenty-six states might well be the smallest in population. Whichever party wins, such a decision might well thwart the will of the majority.

### REPUBLICANS

Richard Nixon was a hard man to catch in the early



months of the campaign. He finally had some competition from Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, who was at first a reluctant contender.

But Nixon had the organization and was actively seeking delegate votes when other GOP hopefuls were awaiting a draft or other sign of large party support. In New Hampshire, Nixon received 79 percent of the Republican vote. Rockefeller had 11 percent on write-ins.

In Wisconsin, Nixon ran up 81.3 percent of the GOP primary ballots. There, Governor Ronald Reagan of California received nearly 11 percent, Harold Stassen 6 percent, and Rockefeller not quite 2 percent.

In Indiana, Nixon's showing was strong—again with a Republican rival. And in Nebraska, the former Vice-President got 70 percent of the total. Reagan showed surprising strength with 23 percent, and Rockefeller received only 5 percent.

### Nixon's Early Edge

Early in May, a survey conducted by *The New York Times* indicated that 725 of the 1,333 delegates already picked or expected to attend the convention in Miami Beach were leaning or committed to Nixon. This number is 58

## 1968 ELECTION CALENDAR

STATE	REGISTRATION DEADLINE	VOTING HOURS		U.S. SENATORS TERMS EXPIRE	GOVERNORS TERMS EXPIRE	CURRENT LINEUP U.S. HOUSE SEATS
		A.M.	P.M.			
ALABAMA	Oct. 25	8-7*		HILL (D)**		5-D; 3-R
ALASKA	None	8-8		GRUENING (D)		1-R
ARIZONA	Sept. 23	6-7		HAYDEN (D)**	WILLIAMS (R)	1-D; 2-R
ARKANSAS	Oct. 16	8-7:30		FULBRIGHT (D)	ROCKEFELLER (R)	3-D; 1-R
CALIFORNIA	Sept. 12	7-8		KUCHEL (R)		21-D; 17-R
COLORADO	Oct. 16	7-7		DOMINICK (R)		3-D; 1-R
CONNECTICUT	Oct. 12	6-8		RIBICOFF (D)		5-D; 1-R
DELAWARE	Oct. 19	7-8			TERRY (D)	1-R
FLORIDA	Oct. 5	7-7		SMATHERS (D)**		9-D; 3-R
GEORGIA	Sept. 16	7-7		TALMADGE (D)		8-D; 2-R
HAWAII	Oct. 15	7-5:30		INOUE (D)		2-D
IDAHO	Nov. 2	8-8		CHURCH (D)		2-R
ILLINOIS	Oct. 8(†)	6-6		DIRKSEN (R)	KERNER (D)**	12-D; 12-R
INDIANA	Oct. 7	6-7		BAYH (D)	BRANIGAN (D)#	5-D; 6-R
IOWA	Oct. 26	8-8		HICKENLOOPER (R)**	HUGHES (D)**	2-D; 5-R
KANSAS	Oct. 15(†)	6-7*		CARLSON (R)**	DOCKING (D)	5-R
KENTUCKY	Sept. 7	6-6		MORTON (R)		4-D; 3-R
LOUISIANA	Oct. 5	6-8		LONG, R. (D)		8-D
MAINE	Nov. 5(†)	Varies-8				2-D
MARYLAND	Oct. 7	7-7		BREWSTER (D)		5-D; 3-R
MASSACHUSETTS	Oct. 5	10-8				7-D; 5-R
MICHIGAN	Oct. 4	7-8				7-D; 12-R
MINNESOTA	Oct. 15	7-8				3-D; 5-R
MISSISSIPPI	July 2	7-6				5-D
MISSOURI	(†)	6-7		LONG, E. (D)	HEARNES (D)	8-D; 2-R
MONTANA	Sept. 26	8-8			BABCOCK (R)	1-D; 1-R
NEBRASKA	Oct. 25(†)	8-8				3-R
NEVADA	Sept. 28	8-7*		BIBLE (D)		1-D
NEW HAMPSHIRE	(†)	Varies-8		COTTON (R)	KING (D)	2-R
NEW JERSEY	Sept. 27	7-8				9-D; 6-R
NEW MEXICO	Oct. 7	8-7			CARGO (R)	2-D
NEW YORK	(†)	6-9		IAVITS (R)		25-D; 15-R; 1-Vacant
NORTH CAROLINA	Oct. 26	6:30-6:30		ERVIN (D)	MOORE (D)#	8-D; 3-R
NORTH DAKOTA	None	7-7		YOUNG (R)	GUY (D)	2-R
OHIO	Sept. 25	6:30-6:30		LAUSCHE (D)		5-D; 19-R
OKLAHOMA	Oct. 25	7-7		MONRONEY (D)		4-D; 2-R
OREGON	Oct. 5	8-8		MORSE (D)		2-D; 2-R
PENNSYLVANIA	Sept. 16	7-8		CLARK (D)		14-D; 13-R
RHODE ISLAND	Sept. 7	Varies-9			CHAFEE (R)	2-D
SOUTH CAROLINA	Oct. 12	8-7		HOLLINGS (D)		5-D; 1-R
SOUTH DAKOTA	Oct. 16	8-7		McGOVERN (D)	BOE (R)#	2-R
TENNESSEE	Oct. 5	9-7*				5-D; 4-R
TEXAS	Jan. 31	7-7			CONNALLY (D)**	21-D; 2-R
UTAH	Oct. 30	7-8		BENNETT (R)	RAMPTON (D)	2-R
VERMONT	Nov. 2	6-7		AIKEN (R)	HOFF (D)**	1-R
VIRGINIA	Oct. 5	6-7				6-D; 4-R
WASHINGTON	Oct. 5	7-8		MAGNUSON (D)	EVANS (R)	5-D; 2-R
WEST VIRGINIA	Oct. 12	6:30-7:30			SMITH (D)#	4-D; 1-R
WISCONSIN	Oct. 23(†)	6-8		NELSON (D)	KNOWLES (R)	3-D; 7-R
WYOMING	Oct. 21	9-7				1-R
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	Sept. 21	8-8				

\*Voting hours vary in these states with polls generally closing earlier in smaller towns and rural areas.

\*\*Senators and Governors who have announced their retirement.

#Governors ineligible to succeed themselves.

†Registration deadlines vary by localities.

This year, 34 Senators' terms expire, as 1/3 of the Senate faces the voters every two years. At least 5 Senators have announced their retirement.

The terms of 21 Governors are expiring. Four, as indicated in the chart, are prevented by state law from being reelected.

The party line-up in the U.S. House of Representatives as of June 1 was 247 Democrats and 187 Republicans with one vacant seat—that denied to Adam Clayton Powell of New York.

The party line-up in the U.S. Senate was 64 Democrats and 36 Republicans.

The party line-up of State Governors was 24 Democrats and 26 Republicans.

## PERCENTAGE OF VOTE BY GROUPS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS—1952-64

(ESTIMATED FROM NATIONAL SURVEY BY THE GALLUP POLL)

	1952		1956		1960		1964		NET SHIFT, 1960-1964	
	DEM. %	REP. %	D %	R %	D %	R %	D %	R %	D %	R %
NATIONAL	44.6	55.4	42.2	57.8	50.1	49.9	61.3	38.7	+11.2	-11.2
MEN	47	53	45	55	52	48	60	40	+8	-8
WOMEN	42	58	39	61	49	51	62	38	+13	-13
WHITE	43	57	41	59	49	51	59	41	+10	-10
NON-WHITE	79	21	61	39	68	32	94	6	+26	-26
COLLEGE	34	66	31	69	39	61	52	48	+13	-13
HIGH SCHOOL	45	55	42	58	52	48	62	38	+10	-10
GRADE SCHOOL	52	48	50	50	55	45	66	34	+11	-11
PROF. & BUS.	36	64	32	68	42	58	54	46	+12	-12
WHITE COLLAR	40	60	37	63	48	52	57	43	+9	-9
MANUAL	55	45	50	50	60	40	71	29	+11	-11
FARMERS	33	67	46	54	48	52	53	47	+5	-5
21-29 YEARS	51	49	43	57	54	46	64	36	+10	-10
30-49 YEARS	47	53	45	55	54	46	63	37	+9	-9
50 YEARS & OLDER	39	61	39	61	46	54	59	41	+13	-13
PROTESTANT	37	63	37	63	38	62	55	45	+17	-17
CATHOLIC	56	44	51	49	78	22	76	24	-2	+2
REPUBLICANS	8	92	4	96	5	95	20	80	+15	-15
DEMOCRATS	77	23	85	15	84	16	87	13	+3	-3
INDEPENDENTS	35	65	30	70	43	57	56	44	+13	-13
EAST	45	55	40	60	53	47	68	32	+15	-15
MIDWEST	42	58	41	59	48	52	61	39	+13	-13
SOUTH	51	49	49	51	51	49	52	48	+1	-1
WEST	42	58	43	57	49	51	60	40	+11	-11

SOURCE: THE GALLUP POLL

### TOTAL POPULATION OF VOTING AGE

FROM: BUREAU OF CENSUS

	1960	1964	1968
TOTAL	108,458,000	113,931,000	119,478,000
NUMBER VOTING	68,839,000	70,642,000	?
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTING	63.5	62.0	?

This year, with our continued growth in population, it can be expected that more Americans than ever before will go to the polls. Based on the 1964 percentage, almost 75 million will vote on November 5. But will the percentage of voters increase or decrease?

Some nations try to force their citizens to vote by imposing penalties on nonvoters, and there have been calls for similar action in this country. But those who object say that voting is a privilege to be exercised by informed citizens and that to force the disinterested to cast ballots would serve no good purpose.

### PARTY AFFILIATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "IN POLITICS, AS OF TODAY, DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF A REPUBLICAN, DEMOCRAT, OR INDEPENDENT?", BASED ON NATIONAL SURVEYS BY THE GALLUP POLL IN THE YEARS INDICATED:

	REP. %	DEM. %	IND. %
May, 1968	26	46	28
1967	27	46	27
1966	27	48	25
1965	25	49	26
1964	25	53	22
1960	30	47	23
1950	33	45	22
1940	38	42	20

### U.S. VOTING-AGE POPULATION BY COLOR, SEX, AND AGE GROUPS

As of July 1968 (in 1,000's) With Percentage of Voting-Age Total  
Source: Bureau of the Census Official Estimates

AGE	WHITE		NONWHITE		TOTAL		COMBINED TOTAL							
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE								
21-34 inc.	15,954	13.2	15,852	13.2	2,078	1.7	2,231	1.9	18,032	15.2	18,084	15.3	36,115	30.5
35-59 inc.	24,594	20.5	25,766	21.5	2,729	2.3	3,118	2.6	27,322	23.0	28,885	24.0	56,207	47.0
60 and over	10,984	9.2	13,954	11.6	1,021	0.9	1,197	1.0	12,005	10.0	15,151	12.5	27,156	22.5
TOTALS	51,532	42.8	55,572	46.3	5,827	4.9	6,546	5.5	57,359	48.2	62,120	51.8	119,478	100.0

This chart shows that if everybody over twenty-one registers and votes in the 1968 election, some 120 million could go to the polls. In reality less than 2/3 of the total do actually vote, but the percentages indicate accurately what current voting potential each group possesses. Negroes comprise about 90 percent of the nonwhite group. Voting age is twenty-one or over in all 50 states except Alaska (19), Georgia and Kentucky (18), and Hawaii (20).

more than needed to win the nomination. But the newspaper pointed out that the survey was completed before Rockefeller's surprising primary victory in Massachusetts.

Nixon continued to deny that he had the nomination "locked up," and said that much could happen before the Republican convention. He and his backers were obviously concerned at the total received by Reagan in Nebraska and the talk of a possible Rockefeller-Reagan ticket.

The possibility of some kind of Rockefeller-Reagan coalition grew in weight when the two Governors met in New Orleans on May 20. Rockefeller said he had given "no thought" to Reagan or anyone else as a running mate in November because: "I'm too far from the nomination myself."

One source in the Rockefeller camp said there was no attempt to make immediate arrangements for a joint ticket, but it was a form of "insurance" against the possible need to make a deal at the convention in August.

When a reporter asked Rockefeller if he believed there was a "gulf of ideology" between the New York and California Governors, Rockefeller answered: "No. I wouldn't say today that there is."

However, in the past, the positions of the two men on Vietnam, civil rights, and the role of the federal government have been significantly different.

At the New Orleans meeting, Governor Reagan declined to appear for a joint photograph and repeated that he was unwilling to accept a second spot on the ticket.

#### *A Shift in Voter Loyalty?*

In any case, Nixon foresaw a new voter coalition helping the Republicans in November. He said that liberals and black militants are joining the "New South" in adopting traditional Republican thinking. This new alignment of political elements was described by Nixon as comparable in importance to the Democratic coalition under Franklin D. Roosevelt thirty-five years ago. That winning combination included organized labor, minority groups, and the solid South.

The "New South," said Nixon, is no longer bound by a "racist appeal" or one-party voting habits and is pressing forward with industrial development.

The new "black militant," he said, is stressing black private enterprise rather than "handouts or welfare."

As for the "new liberal," Nixon said, he wants participatory democracy with more "personal freedom and less government domination."

That group of voters plus long-time Republicans attuned to individual freedom and enterprise, could, in Nixon's estimation, assure the return of the Republican Party to national power.

#### *THE POLLS*

EVERY POLITICAL CANDIDATE SEEMS TO BE INTERESTED in the polls—especially if they show him to be leading the competition. His enthusiasm is likely to be cool if they show him trailing. It's probably fair to say that all major candidates for national offices at least look at the public opinion surveys.

To present a sample, a Gallup poll released April 20 showed Richard Nixon leading three Democratic hopefuls—

Senators Kennedy and McCarthy and Vice-President Humphrey—by a few percentage points. But Nixon failed in the poll to register a simple majority. His plurality nationwide ranged between 41 and 43 percent.

A Gallup poll released April 27 asked supporters of the three leading Democrats to choose between his two rivals. This survey indicated that if McCarthy were to drop out of the Presidential race for any reason, Vice-President Humphrey and not Senator Kennedy would be the chief beneficiary.

#### *Rockefeller Gains Support*

A Harris survey published May 7 claimed that Governor Nelson Rockefeller would be a stronger candidate on the GOP ticket than Richard Nixon. According to the poll, Rockefeller ran 8 percent ahead of Senator Kennedy whereas Nixon had a 2 percent edge. However, both Republicans ran 2 percent behind Vice-President Humphrey as the Democratic nominee. Rockefeller ran 2 percent ahead of McCarthy, but Nixon trailed the Minnesota Senator by the same margin.

In mid-May, both Gallup and Harris reported that Kennedy appeared to be slipping in voter support with Rockefeller and Humphrey leading, and Nixon and McCarthy running well.

Another Gallup survey on May 11 indicated that both Nixon and Rockefeller were more popular than their leading Democratic rivals. Again, no single candidate had a clear majority of the vote. The possible national vote for Wallace as a third-party candidate ranged between 14 and 17 percent, and 10 to 12 percent of those polled were still undecided.

In a poll of Democratic voters by Gallup later in May, Humphrey had surged into the lead over McCarthy and Kennedy. The survey showed:

Humphrey	40 percent
Kennedy	31 percent
McCarthy	19 percent

In still another Gallup survey later in May, it was reported that the enthusiasm generated by this year's leading Presidential candidates was faint compared with that found in earlier Presidential years. No one today, it was said, reached the high favor found for Lyndon Johnson in 1964, for Nixon and John F. Kennedy in 1960, or for Eisenhower and Stevenson in 1956 and 1952.

This may be another indication of the fragmentation of the major parties this year, or the fact that the campaign was still young.

But as one pollster put it: "We are in the business of polling the electorate, not the delegates" [to the conventions]. He refused to predict the outcome of the nominations based on public opinion surveys. Obviously, at that time, the conventions were still weeks away and much could happen.

#### *REAPPORTIONMENT*

At least 17 states, which collectively send to Capitol Hill more than half the members of the House of Representatives, will be using new Congressional redistricting plans for the first time in this election.

Rural Losses—Suburban Gains

Another 10 states are considered possible targets for redistricting ordered by the courts before the elections.

The 17 states using the new plans are: California, Florida, Indiana, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Washington, and West Virginia.

This activity can be traced to the United States Supreme Court's 1964 *Wesberry vs. Sanders* decision extending the "one-man, one-vote" principle to Congressional districts. In past years, Congressional redistricting was an issue only during the first two years following each census.

With some districts wiped out by population shifts and new ones created, the big question for political candidates and their parties naturally was the effect of redistricting on election results.

In brief, studies indicate that, in many northern states, reapportionment has begun to weaken the power of Republicans in the legislatures of those areas. However, the growth of suburban representation may give the GOP a chance to recoup losses from rural districts.

Experts say that the areas where the Democrats stand to lose the most are the cities and suburbs of the southern states. The base of Democratic power in the South has been mainly rural, and recent Republican gains have been in the growing metropolitan areas of the South. It may be years before the Southern Republicans are able to win majorities in the areas' legislatures, but the GOP, at least, will be a factor in future elections.

1966 HOUSE ELECTION RESULTS

This highly informative chart lists the Democratic and Republican contenders in each of the 435 Congressional Districts in 1966, with the total votes and the winner's percentage. All minor party candidates are also listed, where their vote exceeded 3 percent of the total vote in that district.

In the case of New Jersey and New York, where the Conservative and Liberal

parties played a significant role, their candidates and vote are recorded, whatever their percentage.

Redistricting, which occurred since the 1966 elections in districts in 17 states, is indicated before such districts by a (\*)

CONG. DIST.	DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE	TOTAL	REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE	TOTAL	WINNING %
<b>ALABAMA</b>					
1	FINCH	30,474	EDWARDS	58,515	65.8
2	WHALEY	40,832	DICKINSON	49,203	54.6
3	ANDREWS	61,015	—	—	—
4	NICHOLS	51,863	ANDREWS	36,953	58.4
5	SELDEN	68,486	—	—	—
6	PERRY	37,131	BUCHANAN	64,435	63.4
7	BEVILL	73,987	SHERRER	40,972	64.4
8	JONES	65,982	MAYHALL	25,404	72.2
<b>ALASKA</b>					
At Large	RIVERS	31,867	POLLOCK	34,040	51.6
<b>ARIZONA</b>					
1	RIGGS	49,913	RHODES	102,007	67.1
2	UDALL	66,813	McGINNIS	45,326	59.6
3	SENNER	43,219	STEIGER	57,145	56.9
<b>ARKANSAS</b>					
1	GATHINGS	Unopposed—No vote canvass		—	—
2	MILLS	Unopposed—No vote canvass		—	—
3	TRIMBLE	74,009	HAMMERSCHMIDT	83,938	53.1
4	PRYOR	86,887	LOWE	46,804	65.0
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>					
*1	STORER	77,000	CLAUSEN	143,755	65.1
*2	JOHNSON	131,145	ROMACK	53,753	70.9
*3	MOSS	143,177	FEIL	69,057	67.5
*4	LEGGETT	67,942	McHATTON	46,337	59.5
*5	BURTON	56,476	MACKEN	22,778	71.3
*6	GRIM	40,514	MAILLIARD	132,506	76.6
*7	COHELAN	84,644	CHAMPLIN	46,763	64.4
*8	MILLER	92,263	BRITTON	48,727	65.4
*9	EDWARDS	97,311	DURKEE	56,784	63.2
*10	LEPPERT	70,013	GUBSER	156,549	69.1
*11	SULLIVAN	77,605	YOUNGER	113,679	59.4
*12	BARRON	31,787	TALCOTT	108,070	77.3
*13	STARKE	56,240	TEAGUE	116,701	67.5
14	WALDIE	108,668	NEWMAN	83,878	56.4
*15	McFALL	81,733	VAN DYKEN	61,550	57.0
*16	SISK	118,063	WHITE	47,329	71.4
*17	KING	76,962	CORTUM	49,615	60.8
*18	HAGEN	76,346	MATHIAS	96,699	55.9
*19	HOLIFIELD	82,592	SUTTON	50,068	62.3
*20	FRESCHI	46,730	SMITH	128,896	73.4
*21	HAWKINS	74,216	HODGES	13,294	84.0
*22	CORMAN	94,420	CLINE	82,207	53.5
*23	O'CONNOR	45,141	CLAWSON	93,320	67.4

\*Redistricted since 1966 election.

CONG. DIST.	DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE	TOTAL	REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE	TOTAL	WINNING %
*24	McNALL	46,115	LIPSCOMB	148,190	76.3
*25	CAMERON	63,345	WIGGINS	70,154	52.6
*26	REES	103,289	TEICHER	62,441	62.3
*27	HOWARD	49,785	REINECKE	93,890	65.3
*28	SHERMAN	81,007	BELL	211,404	72.3
*29	BROWN	69,115	OROZCO	66,079	51.1
*30	ROYBAL	72,173	O'BRYANT	36,506	66.4
*31	WILSON	92,875	SMITH	53,708	63.4
*32	ODELL	34,609	HOSMER	139,328	80.1
*33	DYAL	89,071	PETTIS	102,401	53.5
*34	HANNA	127,976	LAMAGNA	101,410	55.8
*35	LENHART	69,873	UTT	189,582	73.1
*36	GODFREY	44,365	WILSON	119,274	72.9
*37	VAN DEERLIN	80,060	VENER	50,817	61.2
*38	TUNNEY	83,216	BARRY	69,444	54.5

**COLORADO**

1	ROGERS	92,688	PEARSON	72,732	56.0
2	McVICKER	86,685	BROTZMAN	95,123	51.7
3	EVANS	76,270	ENOCH	71,213	51.7
4	ASPINALL	84,107	JOHNSON	59,404	58.6

**CONNECTICUT**

1	DADDARIO	100,447	BONEE	71,353	58.0
2	ST. ONGE	90,298	GOLDBERG	69,402	56.2
3	GIAIMO	86,029	SALMONA	67,226	53.1
	(AM IND) COOK	8,730	—	—	—
4	IRWIN	89,709	SIBAL	86,337	51.0
5	MONAGAN	96,801	PETRONI	67,094	59.1
6	GRABOWSKI	79,865	MESKILL	81,907	48.9
	(IND) MINOT	5,731	—	—	—

**DELAWARE**

At Large	McDOWELL	72,132	ROTH	90,961	56.0
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**FLORIDA**

*1	SIKES	55,547	—	—	—
*2	FUQUA	71,565	HILL	22,281	76.3
*3	BENNETT	72,038	—	—	—
*4	HERLONG	70,155	—	—	—
*5	—	—	GURNEY	75,875	—
*6	GIBBONS	50,772	—	—	—
*7	HALEY	64,498	LOVINGOOD	37,586	63.2
*8	REYNOLDS	43,275	CRAMER	105,019	70.8
*9	ROGERS	76,328	—	—	—
*10	VARON	51,636	BURKE	80,989	61.1
*11	PEPPER	62,195	—	—	—
*12	FASCELL	62,457	THOMPSON	47,226	56.9

Am Ind—American Independent Ind—Independent

\*Redistricted since 1966 election.

CONG. DIST.	DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE	TOTAL	REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE	TOTAL	WINNING %
<b>GEORGIA</b>					
1	HAGAN	53,413	CARSWELL	38,619	58.0
2	O'NEAL	54,487	—	—	—
3	BRINKLEY	42,424	MIXON	26,255	61.8
4	MACKAY	54,889	BLACKBURN	55,249	50.2
5	LINSEY	36,751	THOMPSON	55,423	60.1
6	FLYNT	74,175	JONES	35,048	67.9
7	DAVIS	65,614	CHAPIN	35,383	65.0
8	STUCKEY	60,059	MATTINGLY	17,926	77.0
9	LANDRUM	61,930	—	—	—
10	STEPHENS	54,141	SIMKINS	28,547	65.5

#### HAWAII

At Large	MINK	140,880	CARROLL	67,281	67.7
At Large	MATSUNAGA	140,110	KEALOHA	62,473	69.1

#### IDAHO

1	WHITE	65,446	McCLURE	70,410	51.8
2	BRUNT	33,348	HANSEN	79,024	70.3

#### ILLINOIS

1	DAWSON	91,119	REED	34,421	72.6
2	O'HARA	83,471	BIXLER	57,629	59.2
3	MURPHY	83,857	MANION	77,442	52.0
4	RYBACKI	48,673	DERWINSKI	125,365	72.0
5	KLUCZYNSKI	85,770	KILTZ	66,735	56.2
6	RONON	84,128	DeCARO	63,374	57.0
7	ANNUNZIO	82,962	DAY	19,650	80.9
8	ROSTENKOWSKI	94,631	LESZYNSKI	63,377	59.9
9	YATES	96,746	STOREY	64,875	59.9
10	JIRKA	58,376	COLLIER	132,650	69.4
11	PUCINSKI	105,996	HOELLEN	102,244	50.9
12	STERN	40,502	McCLORY	90,483	69.1
13	McCABE	50,107	RUMSFELD	158,769	76.0
14	McCLEARY	51,385	ERLENBORN	130,442	71.7
15	BOYER	39,123	REID	102,018	72.3
16	WHITEFORD	33,274	ANDERSON	89,990	73.0
17	HUGHES	50,350	ARENDS	104,240	67.4
18	CASSIDY	57,100	MICHEL	80,293	58.4
19	SCHISLER	71,050	RAILSBACK	77,895	52.3
20	WOLFE	62,343	FINDLEY	102,609	62.2
21	GRAY	103,128	BECKMEYER	80,382	56.2
22	SATTERTHWAITE	55,818	SPRINGER	96,453	63.3
23	SHIPLEY	95,156	JONES	73,463	56.4
24	PRICE	82,513	GUTHRIE	32,915	71.5

#### INDIANA

*1	MADDEN	71,040	HARRIGAN	50,804	58.3
*2	McFADDEN	71,825	HALLECK	97,161	57.5
*3	BRADEMAN	75,321	EHLERS	59,731	55.8
*4	HAYES	54,331	ADAIR	94,457	63.5
*5	ROUSH	76,176	BOWMAN	72,873	51.1
*6	NICHOLSON	63,342	BRAY	124,087	65.7
*7	TIPTON	67,135	MYERS	79,864	54.3
*8	DENTON	90,887	ZION	94,924	51.1
*9	HAMILTON	89,392	LEWIS	76,661	53.8
*10	STATON	54,515	ROUDEBUSH	94,428	63.4
*11	JACOBS	65,624	OAKES	52,096	55.7

#### IOWA

1	SCHMIDHAUSER	60,534	SCHWENGEL	64,795	51.3
2	CULVER	76,281	JOHNSON	65,079	54.0
3	TOUCHAE	48,530	GROSS	79,343	62.0
4	BANDSTRA	61,074	KYL	65,259	51.7
5	SMITH	72,875	MAHON	46,981	60.4
6	GREIGG	53,917	MAYNE	73,274	57.4
7	HANSEN	44,529	SCHERLE	64,217	59.0

#### KANSAS

1	HENKLE	44,569	DOLE	97,487	68.6
2	WILES	50,336	MIZE	85,128	62.8
3	RAINEY	51,108	WINN	60,107	52.9
4	GERLING	39,625	SHRIVER	86,944	68.7
5	BASS	55,933	SKUBITZ	86,944	60.9

#### KENTUCKY

1	STUBBLEFIELD	57,736	NICHOLSON	24,085	70.6
2	NATCHER	51,311	FORD	35,770	58.9
3	BLUME	46,240	COWGER	66,577	59.8
4	CHELF	56,902	SNYDER	66,801	53.9
5	HARTER	21,452	CARTER	65,596	75.4
6	WATTS	58,182	HENDREN	31,266	65.0
7	PERKINS	65,522	SEE	29,541	68.9

\*Redistricted since 1966 election.

CONG. DIST.	DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE	TOTAL	REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE	TOTAL	WINNING %
<b>LOUISIANA</b>					
1	HERBERT	68,523	—	—	—
*2	BOGGS	90,149	LIMES	41,209	68.6
*3	WILLIS	46,533	LYONS	31,444	59.7
4	WAGGONNER	48,345	—	—	—
*5	PASSMAN	38,660	—	—	—
*6	RARICK	86,958	HALL	26,599	76.6
7	EDWARDS	34,855	—	—	—
*8	LONG	33,183	—	—	—

#### MAINE

1	KYROS	81,302	GARLAND	72,984	50.4
	(I) MAYNARD	7,098	—	—	—
2	HATHAWAY	85,956	FOLEY	65,476	56.8

#### MARYLAND

1	BYRD	28,025	MORTON	69,940	71.4
2	LONG	79,963	McHENRY	35,476	69.3
3	GARMATZ	56,980	—	—	—
4	FALLON	57,572	SIGLER	19,930	74.3
5	MACHEN	55,676	HOGAN	47,703	53.9
6	FINCH	29,637	MATHIAS	72,360	70.9
7	FRIEDEL	61,959	ROSENSTEIN	19,584	76.0
8	HANSON	59,568	GUDE	71,050	54.4

#### MASSACHUSETTS

*1	—	—	CONTE	109,370	—
*2	BOLAND	95,985	—	—	—
*3	PHILBIN	128,664	MILLER	51,646	71.0
*4	DONOHUE	137,681	—	—	—
*5	TSAPATSARIS	47,377	MORSE	140,702	74.8
*6	PARENT	66,675	BATES	127,744	65.7
*7	MACDONALD	119,543	HUGHES	40,930	74.5
*8	O'NEILL	102,104	—	—	—
*9	McCORMACK	87,879	—	—	—
*10	HARRINGTON	92,516	HECKLER	96,675	51.1
*11	BURKE	141,465	HOFFORD	47,705	74.8
*12	HARRINGTON	80,473	KEITH	98,372	55.0

#### MICHIGAN

1	CONYERS	89,808	ROSS	16,853	84.2
2	VIVIAN	62,536	ESCH	65,205	51.0
3	TODD	62,984	BROWN	68,912	52.2
4	MARTIN	37,177	HUTCHINSON	78,190	67.8
5	CATCHICK	40,435	FORD	88,108	68.5
6	WENKE	41,695	CHAMBERLAIN	85,669	67.3
7	MACKIE	60,408	RIEGLE	71,166	54.1
8	CLUNIS	36,967	HARVEY	85,657	69.9
9	DONGVILLO	46,266	VANDER JAGT	92,710	66.7
10	EVANS	41,410	CEDERBERG	85,754	67.4
11	CLEVENGER	65,875	RUPPE	70,820	51.8
12	O'HARA	84,379	DRISCOLL	45,199	65.1
13	DIGGS	80,660	DANIELS	12,393	83.0
14	NEDZI	77,851	KENNEDY	52,490	59.7
15	FORD	72,987	YEMEN	34,619	67.8
16	DINGELL	71,787	DEMPSEY	42,738	62.7
17	GRIFFITHS	90,541	HARRINGTON	40,334	69.2
18	MERRILL	48,627	BROOMFIELD	102,501	67.8
19	FARNUM	57,907	McDONALD	76,884	57.0

#### MINNESOTA

1	DALEY	56,547	QUIE	109,312	65.9
2	CHRISTENSEN	47,899	NELSEN	93,855	66.2
3	WALKER	64,861	MACGREGOR	122,775	65.4
4	KARTH	91,271	MAXWELL	79,667	53.4
5	FRASER	86,953	HATHAWAY	58,816	59.7
6	OLSON	76,439	ZWACH	80,710	51.4
7	DAVISON	49,388	LANGEN	84,914	63.2
8	BLATNIK	116,969	—	—	—

#### MISSISSIPPI

1	ABERNATHY	47,359	(I) ALEXANDER	14,700	68.8
	(I) DRUMMOND	6,805	—	—	—
2	WHITTEN	53,620	WISE	10,622	83.5
3	WILLIAMS	71,377	—	—	82.4
	(I) SANDERS	15,218	—	—	—
4	MONTGOMERY	52,138	McALLISTER	26,027	65.3
5	COLMER	58,080	MOYE	24,865	70.0

#### MISSOURI

*1	KARSTEN	62,143	SHARP	35,053	63.9
*2	MILIUS	52,527	CURTIS	102,985	66.2
*3	SULLIVAN	59,014	McCRACKEN	23,953	71.1

(I) Independent

\*Redistricted since 1966 election.

CONG. DIST.	DEMOCRATIC		REPUBLICAN		WIN-NING %
	CANDIDATE	TOTAL	CANDIDATE	TOTAL	
*4	RANDALL	54,330	NAVE	34,952	60.9
*5	BOLLING	46,674	SALYERS	29,641	61.2
*6	HULL	55,418	LEIMS	40,185	58.0
*7	SKELTON	52,421	HALL	86,626	62.3
*8	ICHORD	61,128	ROGERS	44,035	58.1
*9	HUNGATE	68,472	SCHROEDER	55,405	55.3
*10	JONES	48,985	BRUCKERHOFF	31,263	61.0

**MONTANA**

1	OLSEN	67,123	SMILEY	64,925	50.8
2	MELCHER	50,308	BATTIN	76,015	60.2

**NEBRASKA**

*1	CALLAN	89,363	DENNEY	93,828	51.2
*2	FELLMAN	46,235	CUNNINGHAM	83,082	64.2
*3	HOMAN	42,920	MARTIN	115,893	73.0

**NEVADA**

1	BARING	86,467	KRAEMER	41,383	67.6
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**NEW HAMPSHIRE**

1	HUOT	56,740	WYMAN	72,869	56.2
2	BARRY	32,835	CLEVELAND	66,179	66.8

**NEW JERSEY**

*1	PIARULLI	61,469	HUNT	68,248	51.3
			(C) HAYDEN	916	
2	McGRATH	65,494	SANDMAN	72,014	51.5
			(C) ERICKSON	991	
*3	HOWARD	81,382	COLEMAN	72,043	52.7
4	THOMPSON	82,271	CHANDLER	63,730	56.2
5	JEFFERSON	41,476	FRELINGHUYSEN	108,375	70.8
			(C) WRIGHT	3,300	
*6	DUBROW	48,738	CAHILL	106,406	66.9
			(C) McWEENEY	2,857	
*7	HAMER	51,204	WIDNALL	101,253	66.4
8	JOELSON	80,725	DeMARCO	51,784	59.6
*9	HELSTOSKI	74,320	OSMERS	71,756	50.9
10	RODINO	71,699	HARRIS	36,508	64.3
			(C) ELLIOTT	2,702	
*11	MINISH	64,023	FELZENBERG	44,803	58.3
*12	ALLEN	37,790	DWYER	116,701	73.9
			(C) SHERSHINGER	3,387	
13	GALLAGHER	90,488	SWAYZE	35,486	71.8
14	DANIELS	87,741	McSHERRY	36,828	68.0
			(C) MESSINA	4,536	
*15	PATTEN	81,959	STROUMTSOS	59,706	57.0
			(C) WASILEWSKI	2,236	

**NEW MEXICO**

<input type="checkbox"/> At Large 1	MORRIS	140,057	COOK	110,441	55.9
<input type="checkbox"/> At Large 2	WALKER	126,984	DAVIDSON	124,536	50.5

**NEW YORK**

*1	(D-L) PIKE	101,963	CATTERSON	58,296	58.9
			(C) CRACHI	12,731	
*2	(D-L) CORSO	49,749	GROVER	79,649	54.7
			(C) CAMPBELL	14,820	
*3	(D-L) WOLFF	81,959	DEROUNIAN	81,122	50.3
*4	(D-L) STEADMAN	46,555	WYDLER	86,677	59.7
			(C) SERRELL	10,035	
*5	(D-L) TENZER	88,602	(R-C) BRENNAN	86,356	49.9
*6	REDLEAF	45,621	(R-L) HALPERN	91,526	59.0
			(C) WEISS	17,863	
*7	(D-L) ADDABBO	93,758	MERCOGLIANO	34,644	64.9
			(C) CARPENTER	16,070	
*8	(D-L) ROSENTHAL	115,310	GOWLAN	36,573	69.6
			(C) JULIEN	13,726	
*9	DELANEY	75,915	(R-C) HAGGERTY	56,754	53.5
	(L) GREEN	9,182			
*10	(D-L) CELLER	76,439	ROSENBERG	16,702	82.1
*11	BRASCO	39,386	FELDMAN	12,200	70.6
	(L) JOHNSON	4,174			
*12	(D-L) KELLY	87,651	WALTON	29,390	72.7
*13	MULTER	95,511	GRAVINA	28,750	61.9
	(L) CHANIN	20,557	(C) SPADARO	9,463	
*14	(D-L) ROONEY	43,142	NADROWSKI	13,482	76.2
*15	CAREY	52,919	(R-C) RYAN	40,181	56.8
*16	(D-L) MURPHY	71,889	(R-C) BIONDOLILLO	53,346	57.4
*17	(D-L) WILSON	67,334	KUPFERMAN	69,492	47.7
			(C) CALLAHAN	8,818	
*18	POWELL	45,308	WALSH	10,711	74.0
	(L) PRIDEAUX	3,954	(C) CHASE	1,214	

(D) Democratic (R) Republican (C) Conservative (L) Liberal  
 \*Redistricted since 1966 election.  
 New Mexico is divided into two districts for the 1968 election.

CONG. DIST.	DEMOCRATIC		REPUBLICAN		WIN-NING %
	CANDIDATE	TOTAL	CANDIDATE	TOTAL	
*19	FARBSTEIN	53,581	(R-C) DELROSSO	24,340	57.8
	(L) MORRISON	11,349	(I-S) WEINSTEIN	3,502	
*20	(D-L) RYAN	74,215	HARLOWE	20,560	74.8
			(C) WELER	4,479	
*21	(D-L) SCHEUER	63,173	SIEGEL	12,414	83.6
*22	GILBERT	40,787	RODRIQUEZ	10,603	74.2
	(L) ROSARIO	3,552			
*23	(D-L) BINGHAM	84,540	GROSBERG	21,735	73.4
			(C) QUINN	8,949	
*24	RYAN	42,291	(R-C) FINO	80,882	63.9
	(L) HAGAN	3,412			
*25	(D-L) OTTINGER	106,952	MARTIN	88,769	54.1
*26	HUTNER	39,203	REID	107,031	69.3
			(C) GANTS	8,159	
27	(D-L) DOW	79,424	MILLS	74,816	47.2
			(C) ROLAND	13,946	
28	(D-L) RESNICK	84,940	FISH	78,258	50.3
			(C) HERVEY	3,578	
*29	CONNERS	91,174	(R-L) BUTTON	107,671	53.3
			(C) MULLER	3,280	
*30	(D-L) HALL	61,216	KING	113,759	65.0
*31	(D-L) BISHOP	36,273	McEWEN	75,680	67.6
32	CASTLE	36,195	(R-L) PIRNIE	94,331	72.3
33	(D-L) EWING	45,761	ROBISON	88,378	65.9
34	HANLEY	90,044	HANCOCK	62,559	55.1
	(L) BALABANION	4,900	(C) SOULER	5,903	
35	(D-L) STRATTON	93,746	DUGAN	48,668	65.8
36	THOMAS	37,129	HORTON	110,541	67.3
	(L) FEDER	6,048	(C) DETIG	10,493	
37	HED	46,201	CONABLE	104,342	67.7
	(L) BALTER	3,683			
38	LEROY	35,785	GOODELL	82,137	67.2
	(L) SCHWARTZ	2,546	(C) MURPHY	1,695	
39	(D-L) McCARTHY	95,671	(R-C) PILLION	87,230	52.3
40	(D-L) LEVITT	54,303	SMITH	85,801	61.2
41	(D-L) DULSKI	92,222	(R-C) SCHWAB	28,491	76.4

**NORTH CAROLINA**

*1	JONES	43,539	EAST	27,434	61.3
*2	FOUNTAIN	36,849	GARDNER	19,888	64.9
*3	HENDERSON	33,809	—	—	—
*4	COOLEY	46,673	GARDNER	60,686	56.5
*5	GALIFINIAKIS	46,035	STEELE	40,729	53.1
*6	KORNEGAY	42,677	BARNWELL	40,000	51.6
*7	LENNON	40,512	—	—	—
*8	PLUMIDES	22,465	ONAS	56,382	71.5
*9	BINGHAM	46,882	BROYHILL	80,989	63.3
*10	WHITENER	52,117	YOUNG	40,741	56.1
11	TAYLOR	72,855	HARVEY	65,187	52.8

**NORTH DAKOTA**

1	HOFFNER	33,694	ANDREWS	66,011	66.2
2	REDLIN	46,993	KLEPPE	50,801	51.9

**OHIO**

*1	GILLIGAN	62,580	TAFT	70,366	52.9
*2	ANDERSON	42,367	CLANCY	102,313	70.7
*3	LOVE	53,658	WHALEN	62,471	53.8
*4	MILHBAUGH	37,855	McCULLOCH	66,142	63.6
*5	SHOCK	26,503	LATTA	80,906	75.3
*6	RENO	35,345	HARSHA	74,847	67.9
*7	—	—	BROWN	81,225	—
*8	BENNETT	38,787	BETTS	78,933	67.1
*9	ASHLEY	83,261	KUEBBELER	53,777	60.8
*10	MOELLER	52,258	MILLER	56,659	52.0
*11	HENDERSON	38,206	STANTON	86,273	69.3
*12	SHAMANSKY	39,140	DEVINE	70,102	64.2
*13	WOLFE	36,751	MOSHER	69,862	65.5
*14	MADDEN	52,646	AYRES	77,819	59.6
*15	VAN HEYDE	38,805	WYLE	57,993	59.9
*16	FREEMAN	55,775	BOW	87,597	61.1
*17	SECRET	59,031	ASHBROOK	73,132	55.3
*18	HAYS	73,657	WEIR	41,165	64.1
*19	KIRWAN	86,975	LEWIS	34,037	71.9
*20	FEIGHAN	63,629	McLEOD	20,034	76.1
*21	VANIK	81,210	COLEMAN	18,205	81.7
*22	CALABRESE	56,803	BOLTON	71,927	55.9
*23	CLARK	37,489	MINSHALL	102,513	73.2
*24	PELLEY	43,418	LUKENS	61,194	58.5

\*Redistricted since 1966 election.  
 (I-S) Independent Socialist



Hippie hangout is this alfresco meeting place in New York's East Village, the Atlantic Seaboard's answer to the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco.

## 17. The Youth Revolt

THE DIFFERENCE between rebellion and revolution is success, and 1967 provided new evidence that the rising of the young was indeed a revolution.

War, bigotry, and what these young people saw as an all-consuming materialism galvanized undergraduates into a massive reform movement (the collegians of only a dozen years before were part of the Silent Generation; they would hardly recognize their younger siblings) that had branches around the world. Demonstrations against antiquated teaching methods, political rigidity, and a hundred social issues flared not only in the United States but in Latin America, Eastern Europe, West Berlin, Rome, Madrid, and Tokyo. Nineteen sixty-seven was a year of students to the barricades.

In America, they reflected the malaise of concern and uncertainty that beset much of the country's adult population. Their elders, in turn, adopted much of the style and many of the attitudes of youth into "grown-up" entertainment, language, and behavior. The American culture was becoming youth-oriented at a constantly increasing pace.

But for all the trappings, there remained a serious division in values between young and old—or merely older. The Generation Gap—a 1960's phrase for a condition that went back at least as far as Adam and Cain—described a breakdown in communication between father and son; there was one, also, between older and younger brother. For, in an age of speeded communication, rapid transit, and shorthand language, generations no longer were measured in terms of 20 or 25 years, but in 7 or 10. And the language of one did not necessarily equate with the symbols of any other.

"Hung up" and "uptight" were youth's diagnoses of their elders, and "you can't trust anyone over thirty" came to be its principal maxim (if much of its philosophy sounded like telegraphese, it was a symptom of the times).

The breakdown in lines between constantly shrinking generations might have seemed odd in light of the proliferation of the media (network television and national magazines, to mention only two). But communication was based on constantly changing language and symbols, and listeners were employing ever-new values in translation.

There was, too, the American State: the corruption, pollution of air and water, decay of the cities, and the treatment of minority groups. Where adult promise and performance diverged, young people's demonstrations filled the breach. The Vietnam War provided the lightning rod for much unrest in 1967. Militant young people (accompanied by aging angry young man Norman Mailer) stormed the Pentagon in the climax of an October protest; New York's hippie community laid siege to the midtown hotel where Secretary of State Dean Rusk was speaking in November. And by the end of the year the President of the United States was keeping his travel plans secret to forestall unseemly demonstrations (he canceled an appearance in upstate New York when word of the schedule leaked). Throughout the year there were campus demonstrations against recruiters for the armed services and in-town protests against the Dow Chemical Company, which manufactures the napalm used in Vietnam.

The new year brought lengthening casualty lists and widened the credibility gap (in 1967 American English put severe strain on use of the word "gap") between Administration assessment and battlefield reports. This served to demonstrate further the split between youth and what they regarded as the establishment.

Distrust deepened in the spring, when the story broke of how the Central Intelligence Agency has been subsidizing the National Student Association for 15 years. The young people of America would have gone unrepresented at most international youth conventions



during that time had it not been for the CIA funds. And there was no real proof that the cloak-and-dagger boys had corrupted anyone in the process. But all this was looked upon as, at best, immaterial; many collegians felt that NSA, and themselves by implication, had been tainted.

For the young men of the United States, the establishment was represented by the Selective Service System, which literally held the power of life and death, by deferment or induction. Perhaps inevitably the system was unfair, and there was mounting demand during 1967 for overhauling or replacing the draft. With 2 million young men turning eighteen each year and with military demands reaching just about half that number, it seemed the wait was a prolonged agony since draft calls summoned the eldest—the twenty-six-years-olds. There was also the issue of deferring students while drafting those whose poverty or academic inadequacies kept them off campus. Some Congressional voices suggested a random choice, or fishbowl system, geared to taking the younger men first.

Many, to be sure, supported the war, refused to burn their draft cards, instead readily reported for induction. There were many who did not feel themselves alienated from society, and many who worked to improve that society from within rather than attacking it on police barricades.

But there were many again who simply dropped out and turned in on themselves. Across the country dozens of rural outposts sprang up, concentrations of young people in exile on their own soil. They worked at gardening and handicrafts and lived by their own set of rules, removed from the pressures and dictates of the mainstream.

Their big-city kin filled San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury and New York's East Village and comparable districts in dozens of major American cities, and in shared pads learned early the mysteries of sex and drugs. Love was the theme of the flower people, Make Love Not War was their maxim, but innocence made them fair game for vicious predators.

The mainstream was being desiccated: idealists were dropping out, minority groups felt more and more alienated by establishment indifference. Respect for authority plummeted, and with that came a sharp rise in crime, mostly among young people (see Chapter 19, CRIME). Also apparent was a desire to shock, to offend, to jar "square" America—by language, dress, and behavior. That the hippie used a new scale of values was evidenced by the underground press, which was anything but underground. About 80 of these newspapers flourished on a diet of iconoclasm so profound that Republican Joe Pool called their very existence "a nationwide conspiracy to contaminate and ruin the youth of America." The Texas Democrat planned a Congressional investigation.

To many middle-class adults, the hippies (largely from middle-class homes) all seemed to dress alike, to wear their hair and flowers alike, to cultivate the unkempt air of a ransacked apartment. On the drug scene, LSD was on the way out in 1967, the victim of well-publicized warnings about often-fatal "bad trips" and evidence that its use could dangerously alter the chromosomal pattern of future generations. New chemical mind-expanders appeared on the scene faster than the Food and Drug Administration people could analyze them. But marijuana remained in vogue, and evidence of its more general use startled conservative campus administrators.

Those in favor of legalizing marijuana argued that its use was nonhabituating, at least not physiologically, and did not leave any direct aftereffects. And, they added, the adult world, which annually pours billions into tobacco, liquor, pep pills, and tranquilizers, was hardly in a position to preach.

The year 1967 also saw a spiritual, psychedelic, but nonnarcotic influence among the young (and some of their elders), in the smiling, gnomelike, dhoti-garbed person of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. The Indian guru was preaching inner peace through meditation, and his campus appearances across the nation were swamped. More than 5,000 students signed up as "converts," and his regimen was accepted by many more as the answer to *Tune In, Turn On, Drop Out*. For the Maharishi urged a return to the mainstream, and many were giving up pot and would soon find their way back into society.

That society, if it had not capitulated to the values of its young, was rapidly taking on their secondary characteristics. The rhythms of acid-rock and the raga, the swish of miniskirts and beads were important symbols of "making the scene." Films lionized the antiheroes of the rising generation, and were but a single facet as the media fastened on the youth market—and through it to adult consumers. Itself, this market represented enormous wealth and offered the certainty of success with older Americans. Radio and television commercials zeroed in on them, and a spate of magazines catered to their concerns: dress, autos, sports, travel. What little adult counterattack existed was expressed in slogans like *Don't Turn Your Back on Anyone Under Thirty*, or *Caution, Young People Around*. The great American middle class, from which all bounty flows, had succumbed to the siren song of youth, blared over stereo from a psychedelic watering hole.

What does 1968 hold for America's rambunctious generation? A national election year, it probably will see considerable channeling of the protest fervor into more traditional outlets. From segments of both major parties were candidates (for 1968 and beyond) with "youth appeal"; on the Democratic side, as challenges to the establishment, men such as the wry, professorial Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota (he announced for the

Democratic nomination in November) and Senator Robert Kennedy of New York (a logical heir to the mantle of his martyred older brother); on the Republican side there were New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, New York Mayor John Lindsay, and Senator Charles Percy of Illinois.

Youthful involvement probably would revitalize our political system for some time to come. Participation in a national campaign would doubtless hit the youngsters like a dose of sulfur and molasses. After all, it has the same effect on adults.



Above: A group of Boston University students hold statement with more than 6,000 signatures of support for President Johnson, following issue of campus newspaper demanding his impeachment. For the President, there were few instances of backing from the campus generation.

Left: Ironic "endorsement" is offered by pickets at Princeton University. They're protesting an appearance by former Alabama Governor George Wallace, who was putting together a Presidential campaign.



New York's Greenwich Village hippies take to swabbing down a local street as part of a springtime lark and, perhaps, to counter their reputation of loathing soap and water.

An oft-repeated confrontation, between hippie and police, finds young man taunting sergeant with marijuana cigarette. This tableau was captured during a flower-power demonstration at New York's Bellevue Hospital. Hippies demanded an end to alleged use of "mind-contracting drugs" on mental patients.



Abandoned to San Francisco's cold, damp August weather, a lone hippie sits forlornly in Golden Gate Park, attended only by man's best friend. Climate and approaching school year had driven many of the flower children away.



Tribal markings of the flower children decorate the face of a young hippie in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. The emergence of the flower people and flower power was one of the youth movements of the year.

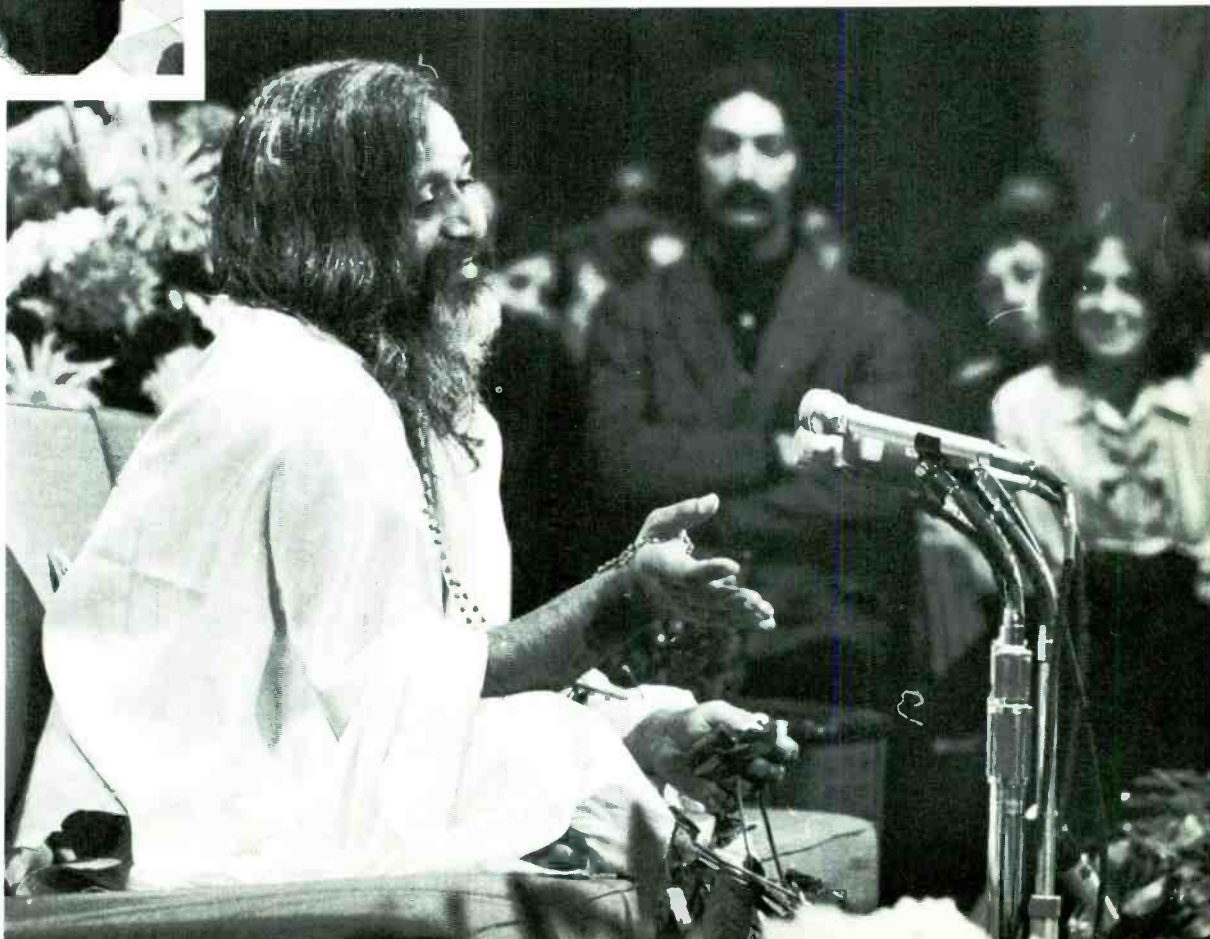


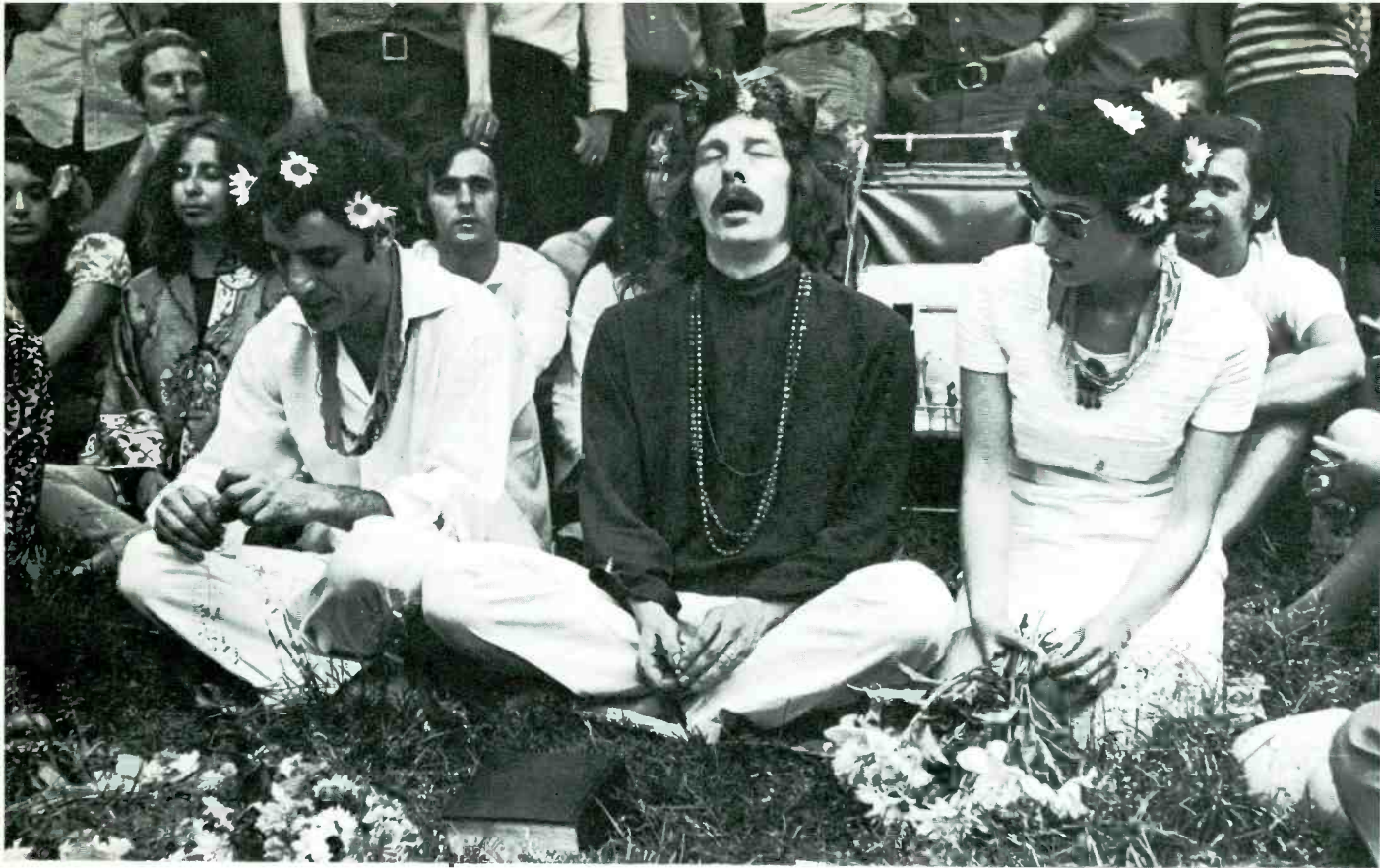
Above: New York hippies taking their ease at a Greenwich Village café operated by the Salvation Army (portrait of founder, General William Booth, hangs at left). House manager called it "a simple ministry." The café offered free coffee and sympathy.



Below: Maharishi Mahesh Yogi lectures on Transcendental Meditation at the Harvard Law School forum. The Indian guru scored notable success in retrieving society's dropouts and inspiring others who had lost direction.

Above: Spirit of rebellion against authority is rampant in these Drew University seminary students, staging a musical sit-in outside the office of university President Robert Oxnam. They charged Oxnam with ruling the New Jersey institution in "a thoughtless and autocratic manner" and demanded his resignation.







*Opposite top:* A hippie wedding in New York's Central Park in June, complete with beads and flowers. It inspired a mass of similar manifestations under the guidance of guru leaders.

*Opposite bottom:* Charles Artman, self-proclaimed Boohoo (priest) of the San Francisco hippie set, leads a streetcorner happening in Haight-Ashbury. Exotic raiment and unkempt hair were part of the hippie denunciation of "square" society and search for self-expression.

*Top:* Only a double strand of rope separates screaming demonstrators and Army MP's at the Pentagon, October 21. At several points, the lines were breached.

*Right:* A balladeer and prophet of the young-folk singer Bob Dylan. Glimpsed in his dressing room at a memorial concert for folk singer and composer Woody Guthrie.





The Pope and the Patriarch join in prayer for world peace during Pope's visit to Istanbul, Turkey, in July, 1967. This was the first time a Roman Catholic Pope had entered and prayed in an Eastern Orthodox church.

## 18. Religion

THE DIALOGUE of Christian ecumenism, which had reverberated largely through theologians' Gothic halls in recent years, and then had reached outward to churches all over the world in 1966, bounced off the walls of parish meeting rooms in 1967. The faithful, with voices born of the new religious liberalism, spoke out in favor of a Christian brotherhood that had eluded church leaders for a millennium.

The Vatican Councils gave impetus to the movement. In the first session, during a debate on liturgy in 1963, Pope John XXIII quoted the ancient Church maxim: "Only one art, but a thousand forms." The work of the saintly John was carried on by Pope Paul VI. In 1966, he met with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Reverend Michael Ramsey, and they outlined the problems that lay ahead. Then, the worldwide Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, in January, 1967, brought Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox Christians closer.

Much work remained. There were differences in doctrine, tradition, church life, and history. At the same time, there was a new spirit of cooperation, even conciliation. Dogmas once held sacred were reexamined for validity. In the United States, Catholic Brother Gabriel Moran of Manhattan College, and others of the "new wave" of theologians, called for allowances for new explanations of old truths—and for the admission that there could be new revelation as well. If Christian religions were to grow, they could grow *toward* each other, and not be separated by doctrinaire beliefs that perhaps were not sacred after all.

The whole pattern of religious groupings came under scrutiny. Many church groups, in the United States and abroad, began to realize that the ecumenical movement could not be fitted into any one organizational form if it was to accomplish its purpose. Instead, it must cut across confessional and interconfessional lines. In 1967, discussions aimed at promoting Christian unity and, in

some cases, church unions, were held among Protestant bodies in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. In Canada, Protestants and Catholics agreed to train their clergymen at five major ecumenical centers. In Australia, the country's two major Lutheran sects merged.

The new advisory council of bishops set up by Vatican Two had a singular impact on United States Catholics. American Catholicism, which had grown to power and prestige by shepherding millions of immigrant peasants and artisans, had come of age—and educated second-, third-, and fourth-generation Catholics were demanding a greater role in church affairs. Questions that formerly were taboo, like the pastor's conduct of the parish school, suddenly became subjects of a lively give-and-take.

There was a revolution brewing in Catholic education in America. In New York State, a proposed new constitution, which took six months to draft, was defeated at the polls largely because it would have done away with a long-standing bar to state aid for religiously affiliated schools. Catholics were lined up on *both* sides of the question—something that would have been almost unthinkable a generation before. In St. Louis, 149-year-old Jesuit-run St. Louis University re-formed its board of trustees to give a majority of the seats to laymen. It was said to have been the first time in American history that control of a major Catholic university was vested in laymen. Other major Catholic universities, like Fordham and Notre Dame, brought in more laymen.

In April, in Germany, the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation completed five years of joint discussion. Reformed and Lutheran theologians from 11 European countries took part. Results were watched closely on this side of the Atlantic. In June, more than 40 liturgical specialists from the United States, Canada, and Europe met in Holland to



form a society for liturgical exchange. The specialists had Catholic, Orthodox, Lutheran, and Reformed affiliation.

During the year, there were several meetings between spokesmen for the Vatican and the Eastern Orthodox Church. The climax came in July, when Pope Paul journeyed to Istanbul for a meeting with Patriarch Athenagoras. The visit was returned in October. The two churches lifted mutual excommunications that dated back a thousand years, and the Pope and the Patriarch pledged themselves anew to continuing efforts aimed at ending the schism that had been the first big breaking apart of Christianity.

The other big rent in Christianity—the Protestant Reformation—was marked by Lutheran and other Protestant denominations on October 31. It was the 450th anniversary of the day when Martin Luther nailed his 95 Theses to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, Saxony. For the first time in four and a half centuries, some Catholic dignitaries took part in the Protestant observances. What would have been shunned as heretical even a quarter of a century ago, was not only permitted but welcomed in the new spirit of ecumenism sweeping the Christian world of 1967.

In the big cities and, more noticeably, in the small towns of America, mixed marriages that had once been looked upon with about as much favor as shotgun weddings, were greeted with new benevolence. There was a great exchange of clergymen, and even the sign over the door was no longer a clear indication of the form of worship inside a given church.

The exchange of pulpits reflected a growing informality in religion. There was also a new interest in religious subjects, though not always in formal religion. Rectors of seminaries thought the new interest might have been fostered by the uncertainties of the nuclear age and the impersonality of technology. Many churches in the United States became more deeply involved in social action. Housing and slum clearance were often

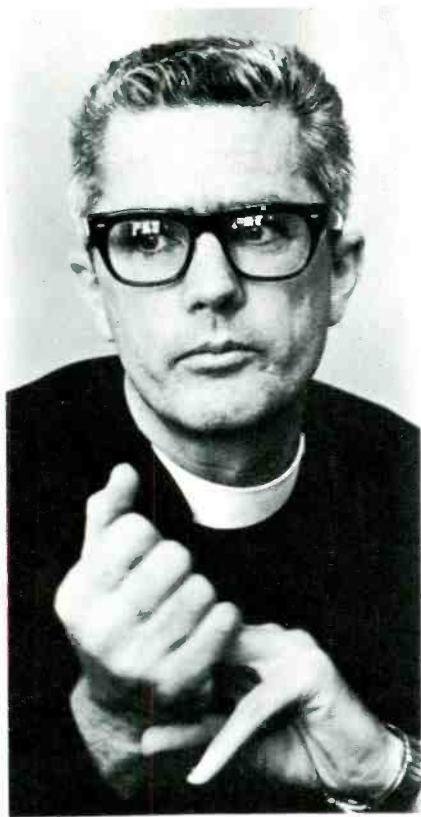
prime topics at parish meetings. The Most Reverend Horace W. B. Donegan, Episcopal Bishop of New York, declared that the city's mammoth Cathedral of St. John the Divine, building for three-quarters of a century, would not be completed while he was in charge of the see because the money might better be spent to help poor people. His Catholic opposite number, Francis Cardinal Spellman, died of a stroke at the age of seventy-eight on December 2, and the priests of the archdiocese immediately set to work on a petition beseeching Pope Paul to give them an advisory voice in the naming of a successor. Such a move had been unheard of before.

Jewish groups, meanwhile, were continuing their worldwide drive against anti-Semitism. On the criminal front, a number of ex-Nazis were convicted of crimes against the Jewish people. But to many people, the sentences meted out—notably in West Germany—seemed mere slaps on the wrist compared with the enormity of the crimes involved. In June, there was deep concern in Jewish communities throughout the world followed by relief and pride when Israeli armies demolished Soviet-equipped Arab forces in just six days of lightning war.

As the year ended, it was evident that progress toward ecumenism had been made on a worldwide scale. Conciliation, which had replaced a recent aura of sentimentality, seemed to provide a firmer foundation on which to build a closer Christian brotherhood. There was optimism that the willingness of young theologians to challenge the most basic teachings of Christianity could open new avenues of cooperation. Even the "human" quality of religious truth was questioned. Christianity has taught that Jesus was human as well as divine. But some religious leaders wondered whether the divine aspect had not been overemphasized, making it difficult for people to relate. It seemed probable that, in 1968, there would be more stress on the human nature of God. Since it is easier to define "human" than "divine," the prospects for agreement among the religions appeared better than ever.

If parishioners cannot come to the church, the church will come to them. Mobile churches, like the one shown here in England, became more common as various religions made greater efforts to reach out to people.





Above: Typical of the unrest and the search for different ways within the Catholic Church is the Rev. James Drane, who wrote a series of articles on the church's position on birth control. Fr. Drane was suspended by his bishop, the Most Rev. Albert Fletcher of the Little Rock, Arkansas, Diocese. Fr. Drane appealed to the Vatican.



Above: Pope Paul presents Orthodox Patriarch Athenagoras with a sixteenth-century crucifix during their meeting in October in the Pope's private library at the Vatican.



Below: President Johnson seated beside the casket at Francis Cardinal Spellman's funeral at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, December 7.



Pope Paul VI visits the Shrine of the Virgin Mary at Fatimá, Portugal, May 13. Kneeling to kiss his ring is Sister Lucia, one of three children before whom the Virgin Mary was said to have appeared at Fatima in 1917.



Above: Catholics and Jews pray together for perhaps the first time in Spain's history. Historic service came in Madrid's Santa María Church in February, after Catholic Spain passed a law granting minority religions freedom of worship.



Above: Sign of the times: control of a major Catholic university passes into the hands of laymen. Daniel Schlafley, a Catholic layman, becomes chairman of the St. Louis University board of trustees in January, 1967. Move gave laymen control of the previously all-clergy board. The Very Rev. Paul Reinert (right) remained president of the Jesuit university.

Right: Youngsters rock in the aisle of historic Old South Church in Boston. It was part of attempt to translate Christian concepts into young people's idioms. Churchmen tried to prove that old church ways are not incompatible with modern ideas.





Joseph (Joe Bananas) Bonanno looks straight ahead as he arrives for a hearing at Federal Court in New York. The alleged Cosa Nostra bigwig surfaced in the New York area after a disappearance of three years.

## 19. Crime

THE NATION'S CRIME RATE, which had been rising for several years, reached alarming proportions in 1967. Crime in the streets became a major problem all across America—in middle-class and high-income areas as well as in slums. Wanton crimes, often committed by teenagers, struck fear into men, women, and children. Not since the Middle Ages had people felt so prone to attack in their own neighborhoods.

Crime in the streets had become so prevalent as far back as 1964 that it was a national issue in the Presidential election that year. Both major party platforms expressed concern and proposed remedies. But the problem continued to be attacked piecemeal by local, state, and federal agencies. In the 1966 State of the Union Address, President Johnson sounded a call for a war on crime. The call was applauded, but it went largely unheeded in Congress. Finally, in February, 1967, Mr. Johnson sent Congress a special message, "Crime in America." The message called for a \$350 million program that would stress correction and rehabilitation, study whether punishment really deterred crime, and bring about improvements in the police and the court and correctional systems. The federal government would have paid 90 percent of the bill. Although the special message seemed to catch the mood of the people, and of Congress, the national lawmakers—displaying the cantankerousness that was a hallmark of the first session of the 90th Congress—could not bring themselves to vote the funds (see Chapters 1, THE PRESIDENCY, and 2, CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION). The lack of Congressional action was even more surprising in view of the fact that the only major objections to the President's program concerned the proposals to ban most wiretapping and electronic "bugging." The Supreme Court eventually shelved the eavesdropping issue for the year (see Chapter 3, SUPREME COURT).

As Congress debated what to do about the growing

crime menace, the Federal Bureau of Investigation was compiling a chilling set of statistics. By year's end, the FBI reported that the nation's rate of major crimes in 1967 was 16 percent higher than in 1966. Worse yet, the increase in crime in cities with populations of 500,000 or more was 23 percent.

Part of the increase was directly attributable to the "long, hot summer" of rioting in many of the nation's cities. The FBI noted a "rising number of arrests for offenses against public order." But accurate figures were difficult to compile. Methods of recording crime statistics had been changed for 1967 in Detroit, New York, Kansas City, and Baltimore, and the 1966 figures for those cities were not comparable with the new ones. Detroit was the scene of a major insurrection during the summer of 1967 (see Chapter 6, CIVIL RIGHTS: THE GHETTO REVOLT).

Still, crimes of violence—some of them related to the summer's rioting—rose 15 percent. The FBI reported that, in the violent-crime category, there were 27 percent more robberies in 1967. There were 12 percent more murders; 9 percent more rapes, and 8 percent more aggravated assaults. Property crimes increased 16 percent; auto thefts rose 17 percent, and burglary and larceny involving \$50 or more were higher by 16 percent. The incidence of armed robbery alone spurted 30 percent. A disproportionate share of the increase came from teen-age crime. Arrests of people under 18 rose 8 percent in 1967, while arrests of adults rose only 3 percent.

To a large degree, auto thefts and assaults were a teen-age province. President Johnson said that fifteen-year-olds committed more serious crime than any other single age group. Much of that crime was local. Because of it, many women in the nation's major cities were afraid to walk the streets alone at night, even in "respectable" areas. Husbands and neighbors provided

escorts. Neighborhood vigilante groups were formed. Businesses that employed large numbers of women in the evening—banks, insurance companies, and airlines—provided regular escorts to transit points at quitting time. New York City, which had already begun the practice of having a policeman ride “shotgun” on every single subway train between 8:00 P.M. and 4:00 A.M., enhanced protective measures in 1967 by starting to equip its buses with two-way radios. The National Association of Real Estate Boards instituted an anticrime program as part of its nationwide effort to “Make America Better.” A feature of the program was a “light-the-night” campaign aimed at having homeowners leave lights burning all night outside their houses.

Traditionally, crime had been thought of as peculiarly “city” problem. But the FBI said there was a 13 percent increase in crime in rural areas in 1967, compared with a 16 percent increase in big cities, and a 17 percent rise in cities that had populations between 25,000 and 500,000.

Although much public concern—and fear—was generated by small-time crime directed against individuals, sometimes indiscriminately, big-time crime appeared to have become more of a deep-seated menace in 1967 than ever before. The Mafia, the Syndicate, and other large and highly organized criminal “corporations” had learned their lessons well from the 1930’s and 1940’s. No longer did their leaders fall victim to convictions for federal income tax evasion when all other efforts to bring them to justice failed. The Justice Department and district attorneys in the larger cities pointed out that big crime had become “respectable” by 1967, with ill-gotten gains invested in so many legitimate businesses that many criminals had become rich through legal enterprises. They had undertaken them originally only as sidelines or “covers.” Semiliterate Mafia chieftans were sending their sons to college. Many majored in business or accounting. No longer could a common thug aspire to rise through the criminal ranks on brawn alone.

But the Mafia had its troubles. An internal power struggle kept getting unwanted (for the Mafia) publicity. The old leaders were dying off, and the fights for control of Mafia “families,” particularly in New York and California, recalled the old brass-knuckles-and-cement-bathtub days more than they did the modern-era image of big-time criminals with college degrees.

In May, federal authorities said they believed Joseph (Joe Bananas) Bonanno had regained his Mafia eminence in the East. Bonanno was the victim of an alleged gangland kidnapping two and a half years before. But through the efforts of his son, Salvatore, he was said to have battled his way back to control of the lucrative narcotics “highway” that runs from Montreal to New York City.

In March, an incident that might or might not have been related to Bonanno’s fight for power graphically demonstrated what happens to those who cross the Mafia. The FBI and state and local police in New Jersey uncovered the bodies of two alleged Mafia victims, crudely buried on a farm owned by a just released convict, Joseph Celso, in Jackson Township, 50 miles from Times Square. It was later reported that federal agents acted on information supplied by Harold (Kayo) Konigsberg, a reputed Mafiosi then serving a 10-year prison term and awaiting sentencing on other charges. Only weeks later, Konigsberg was sentenced in New York to 10 to 30 years on two counts of extortion.

In June, Robert Morgenthau, United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, sent grand juries digging into reports that two Mafia “families” controlled 90 percent of the commercial garbage disposal in New York’s Westchester County. Morgenthau told of the owner of a small Westchester luncheonette whose bill for garbage collection had risen from \$8 to \$100 a month in two years since the Mafia took control of the carting.

In 1967 also, a throwback to medieval penal techniques was uncovered in Arkansas. After reports of malpractices at Arkansas state prison farms, Governor Winthrop Rockefeller commissioned the state police to make a thorough investigation. The preliminary report they compiled contained enough, said one state official, “to put several people in the electric chair.” Bodies of prisoners who had “disappeared” from the farms were dug up from unmarked graves on the farms. Many bodies showed possible evidences of torture. Beatings were still frequent. Governor Rockefeller brought in the state’s first professional penologist to run the system. But the reforms the new man instituted were so sweeping that, by year’s end, the penologist, Thomas Murton, was under fire and his job was in jeopardy. Despite Murton’s efforts, *The New York Times*, after a two-month survey of the Arkansas prison system, reported “prison officials yielding to the darkest strains of the human spirit,” and “inmates trapped in a nightmare of cruelty and fear.”

As 1967 ended, Americans were agreed on two things: the crime rate was soaring, and something must be done about it. Efforts were pushed on the local level, through social workers, slum clearance projects, and greater community participation by the police. Many states mounted anticrime campaigns in cooperation with local agencies. And the federal government did what it could through antipoverty programs and the Justice Department. But there was still no concerted effort on the part of all three levels of government. This despite the fact that, next to civil rights, most people considered crime the nation’s Number One domestic problem.



Top: American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell, forty-nine, lies dead of a sniper's bullet in Arlington, Virginia, August 25. A dismissed party member was charged with the shooting. Refused burial in a National Cemetery because mourners would not remove Nazi armbands, Rockwell was cremated.

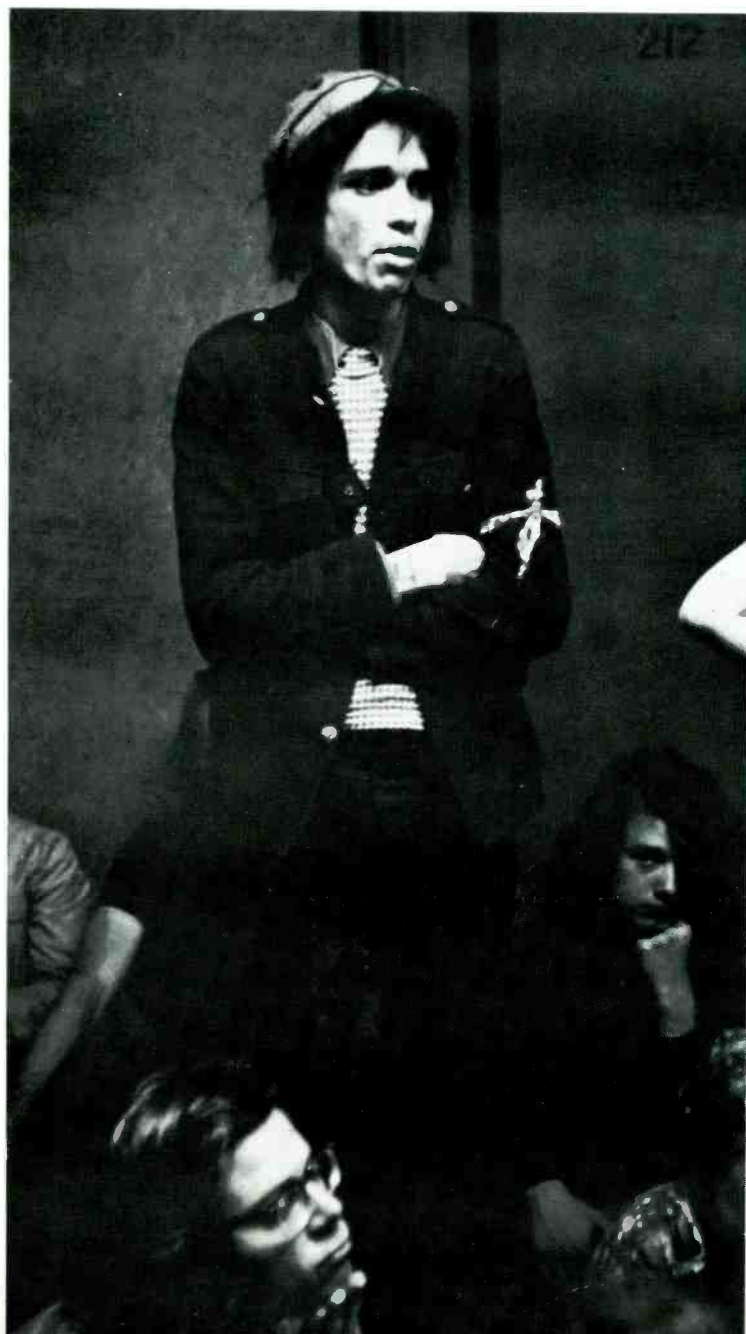
Center: Lynn, Massachusetts, police capture Albert DeSalvo, thirty-five, after his escape from Bridgewater Hospital for the Criminally Insane, February 24. DeSalvo claimed to have terrorized the area for two years as the Boston Strangler, but he was sentenced to life imprisonment on unrelated charges.



Bottom: The issue of Crime in the Streets becomes so far-reaching that "Meet the Press" devotes a special 90-minute edition to the problem, February 19. Six members of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement probed the question.





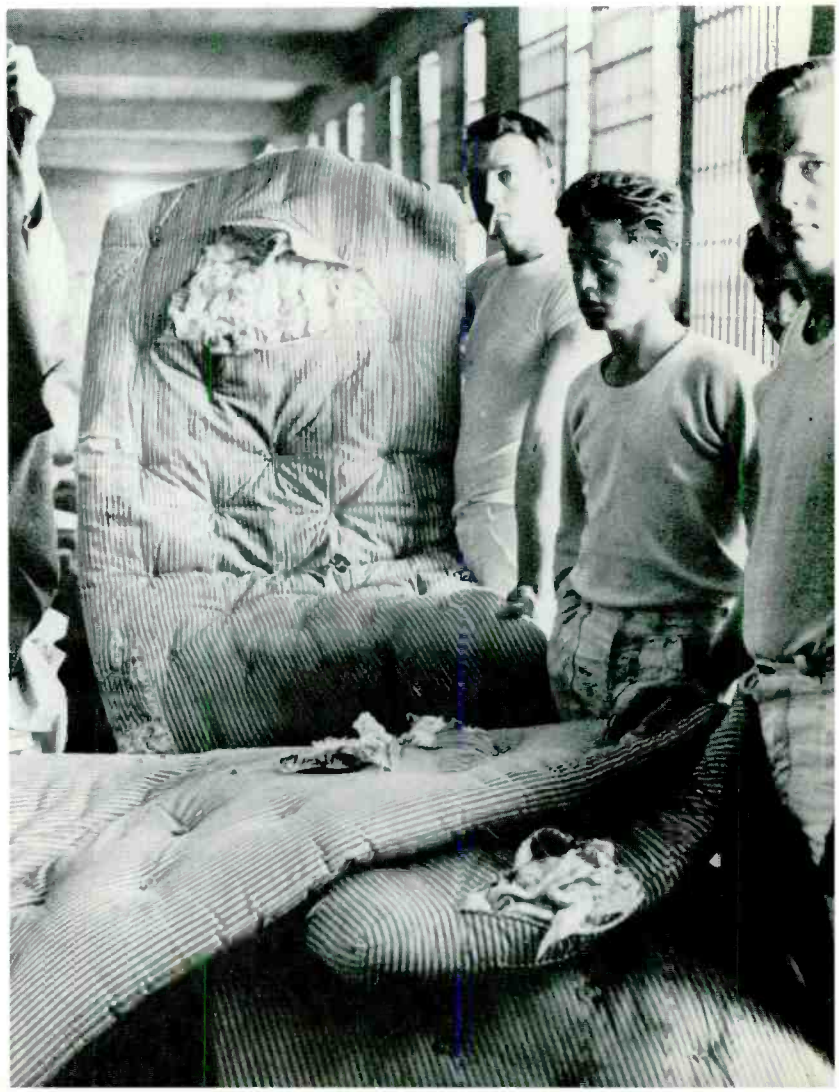


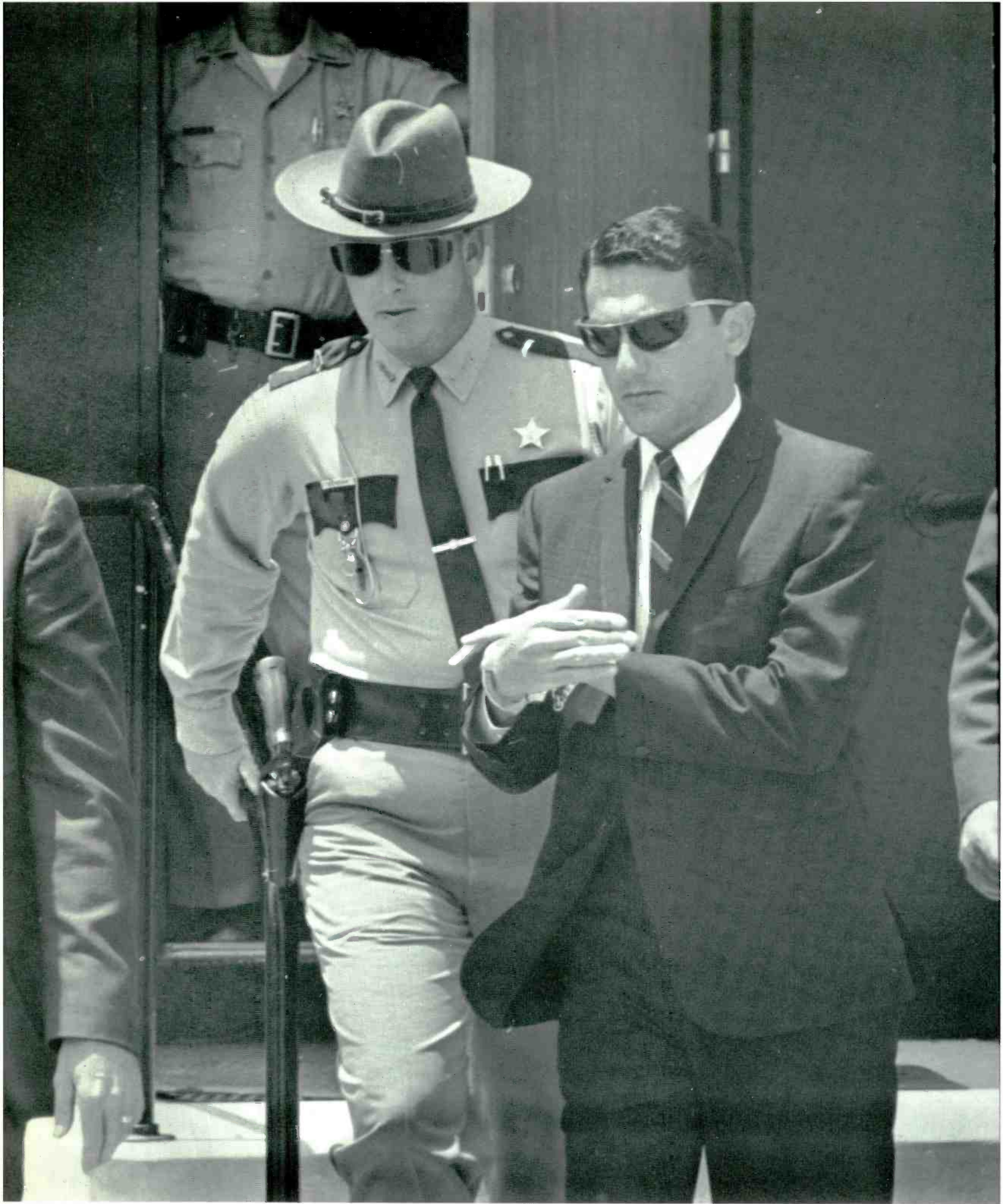
Top: Donald Ramsey, accused of so-called hippie slaying in Manhattan, is taken to police station. Police charged him with killing runaway socialite Linda Fitzpatrick, above, of Greenwich, Connecticut, and James "Groovy" Hutchinson, left, of Central Falls, Rhode Island, and Manhattan's East Village. Their battered nude bodies were found in a boiler room of a tenement noted for hippie parties.



*Above:* Crime detection techniques included increasing use of hidden cameras, as in this bank in Cincinnati, Ohio, where a man wearing a woman's black wig is holding three tellers at gunpoint. The photo served to identify the robber to police.

*Right:* Inmates at Tucker Prison Farm in Arkansas show torn mattresses as sign of conditions they live with. A sensational investigation of the prison brought disclosures of beatings, torture, and murder.





Dr. Carl A. Coppolino is led handcuffed from a Naples, Florida, court in April after being found guilty of murdering his former wife Carmela. He was convicted for using a lethal drug formerly considered impossible to detect.

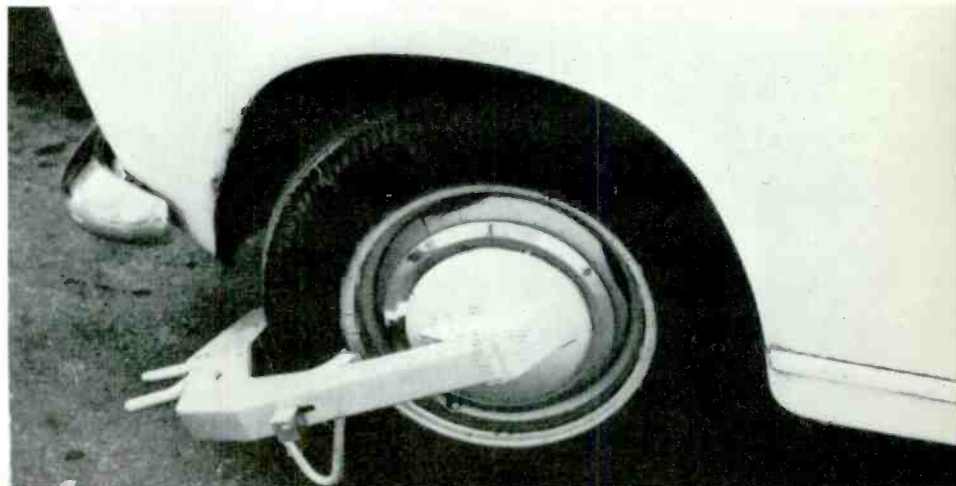


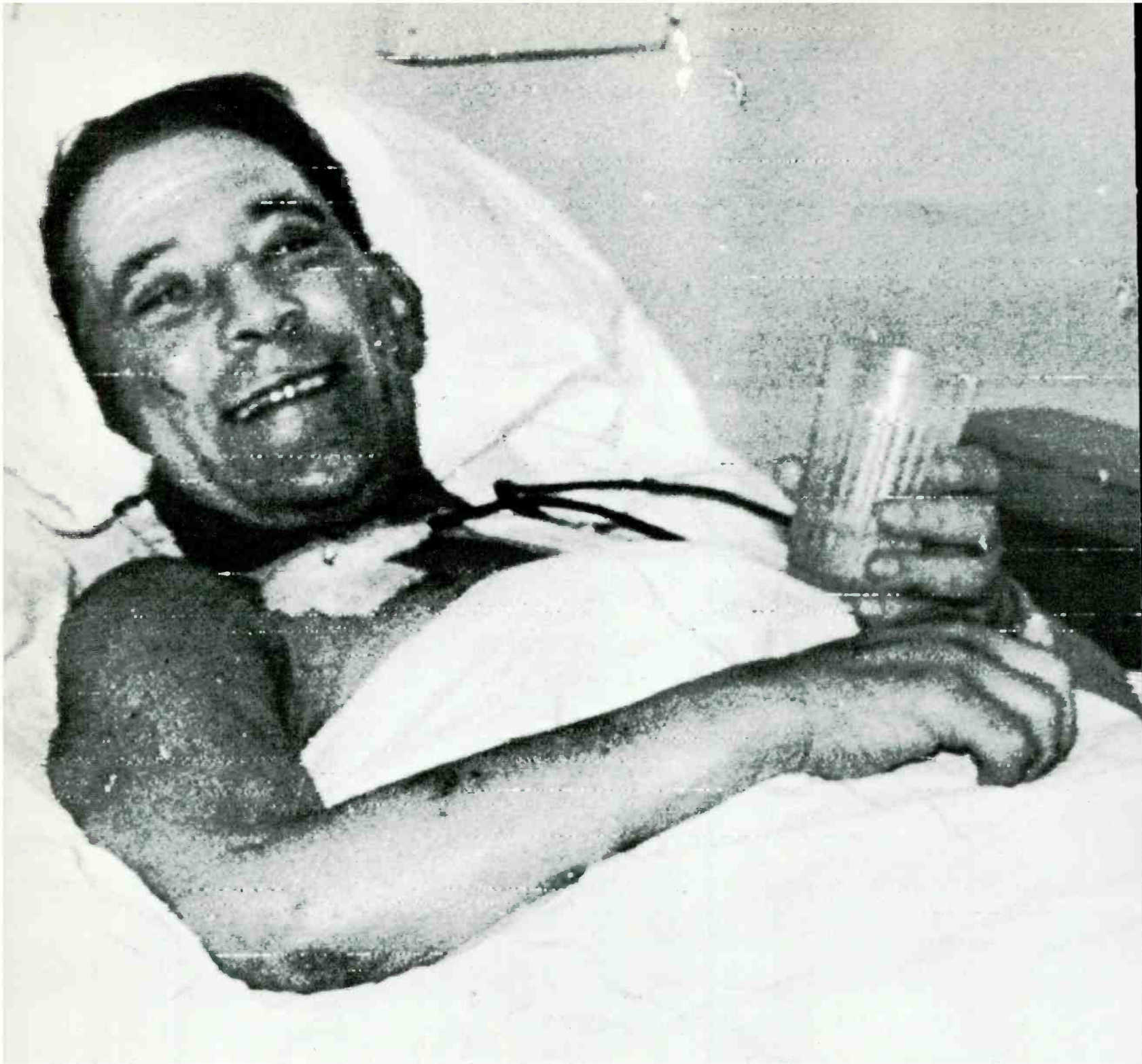
Left: Mrs. Linda Caldwell of University Heights, Chic, is carried to ambulance, after being held hostage for two days by a rejected suitor. Robert Batch wounded her, then shot himself to death.

Below: A state trooper stands watch in March as FBI officers dig a New Jersey farm for bodies of gangland slayings. They declared the two bodies found were Casa Nostra victims.



Right: No towaways here! Police can now clamp an illegally parked car with this device called the Denver Stopper, from its city of origin. Motorists cannot drive their autos away until their fine is paid and police release the clamp.





The world's first heart transplant patient, Louis Washkansky, smiles from his hospital bed in Johannesburg, South Africa, after the operation. He died of complications eighteen days later, but doctors called the actual operation a success.

## 20. Medicine and Science

ON DECEMBER 3, as the year drew to its close, the world was startled with the exciting pronouncement from a South African hospital that a human heart had been transplanted from one human body to another. The news meant another breakthrough in medicine's dynamic and never-ending search for tools, techniques, and knowledge that will both prolong human life, and keep man healthier.

The heart transplant was performed by a highly skilled surgical team lead by Dr. Christiaan N. Barnard. The recipient of the heart was fifty-five-year-old Louis Washkansky, dying of an incurable heart ailment. The donor was a twenty-five-year-old woman killed in a traffic accident. Washkansky died 18 days after the heart surgery. But the initial success of the heart transplant clearly established that a long-sought medical goal now was within reach.

A few days later, surgeons in Brooklyn transplanted a heart from the body of an infant who had died of brain damage, to another infant born with a critically damaged heart. The second heart transplant patient died within hours. But, once again surgery and medicine had combined to achieve what was once believed totally impossible. Doctors agreed that though both patients died, medical science had gained tremendous knowledge that would be put to use in future heart transplants.

Medical science was more effective in keeping patients alive who had undergone kidney transplants. So far, more than 1,200 have been performed throughout the world. Since January 1, 1965, the survival rate has been 65 percent when donor and recipient are related.

The ability to keep transplant patients alive is based upon a continued gain in knowledge of how to suppress the immunological attack which the recipient's body mounts against a transplanted organ. The American Medical Association reported, at year's end, that:

"A non-pharmacologic approach to immunosup-

pression, the use of anti-lymphocyte serum, recently has become increasingly successful in transplant surgery. Lymphocytes are one type of white blood cell; they are believed by many investigators to be the specific agent which carries the body's immunologic assault against foreign tissue. Anti-lymphocyte serum is obtained from animals immunized against human lymphocytes. Injected into the recipient of a transplanted organ, the anti-lymphocyte antibodies selectively suppress the immune reaction."

Cancer research continued to follow several patterns during 1967. In one experiment, two University of Chicago cancer researchers treated cancer by selectively starving tumor cells of essential amino acids, thus prolonging the lives of a number of patients. Another team of investigators worked out the intricate molecular structure of the enzyme ribonuclease, a protein. Ribonuclease works within the cell to break down ribonucleic acid, thus exerting a control over a cell's growth. Experiments are continuing on how this knowledge may be used to fight cancer.

For the first time since accurate records were begun, the death rate from leukemia, a cancerous infection of the blood-forming organs, dropped in 1967. The National Cancer Institute said it hopes eventually to isolate the virus that causes leukemia in lower forms of life, then utilize this knowledge to cure leukemia in man.

Cigarette smoking came under ever-increasing attacks by concerned health officials. In 1964, the U.S. Surgeon General had first reported that smoking *can* cause lung cancer. In 1967, he cited a powerful link between cigarette smoking and "death from coronary heart disease." Cigarette smoking also was linked to high blood pressure, emphysema, and even the common cold. Late in 1967, the federal government noted that for the first time in decades the percentage of young people taking up smoking had begun to decline. In part,

this was viewed as a response to the increasing education of the public to the dangers inherent in cigarettes. At the insistence of the Federal Communications Commission, the broadcasting industry was required to give prominent attention to the dangers of cigarettes. Suddenly, television viewers, used to seeing only the delights of cigarette smoking extolled, saw inserts styled like the commercials that warned of the deadly, death-dealing aspects of cigarettes.

Medical science also made remarkable strides during the year in virology and immunology. A measles (rubeola) vaccine proved so effective that doctors announced the disease may, for all practical purposes, be eliminated from the United States within a few years. A mumps vaccine was licensed toward the end of the year, and clinical trials were well underway on a vaccine against German measles (rubella), a disease that may produce deformed babies if a woman is infected during the first few months of pregnancy.

Medicine found, to its dismay, that the struggle against venereal disease is far from over. Gonorrhea became more prevalent in the United States during 1967 than it had been for the preceding two decades. One reason appeared to be the spread of gonorrhea through untreated women; another, the evolution and spread of a strain of gonorrhea resistant to penicillin, and a third, that several new strains of gonorrhea were introduced by servicemen returning from Vietnam.

Military medicine made remarkable strides during the year. The Pentagon reported that soldiers wounded in combat had a better chance for survival than in any previous war. Two factors were cited: one, the use of speedy transportation, especially helicopters, to rush the wounded to well-equipped hospitals; the second, continued advances in treating injuries, preventing deaths from shock, loss of blood, and infection, and in surgical procedures.

While medicine was developing new drugs, new chemicals, and new treatments to cure old and stubborn diseases, science also gave considerable attention to using nature to cure man's ailments. For example, it was found that victims of angina pectoris, one of the most painful of all heart diseases, responded remarkably to physical exercise.

At year's end, the government reported the results of a survey which showed that up to one-third of all Americans are suffering from some degree of malnutrition. There was only a slight relationship between the disorder and income. For the survey found that among well-to-do and high-income families, malnutrition was a common disorder caused by an unbalanced diet that featured too many starches, too much sugar, and too few proteins and minerals.

Science made little progress in determining the causes of aging, but much emphasis during the year in gerontology was placed upon the social and economic

problems confronting old people. In 1967, more than 20 million Americans were over the age of sixty-five. Medicine's chief concern was the study of the multiple and chronic diseases that afflict the aged, and how to prevent overlapping effects when several drugs are taken simultaneously by older people.

The "pill" or oral contraceptive continued to come under close study. Though both the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, in 1963, and the World Health Organization, in 1966, found no particular evidence relating oral contraceptives and thromboembolic (blood clot) diseases, a new survey by the Medical Research Council of Great Britain demonstrated a definite link. Approximately 3 per 100,000 women annually who use oral contraceptives will develop thrombosis or embolism. This, however, compares with a traffic mortality rate among women of the same age group of 6 per 100,000.

The government became greatly concerned during 1967 with one aspect of medicine—the tremendous spurt in medical costs. In 1965, the Social Security Act was amended to provide medical care, known as Medicare, to the aged, and financial assistance to the states for medical aid to the needy. During 1967, 19 million persons were receiving Medicare, and 37 states had adopted Medicaid programs covering 7.3 million persons.

There was no doubt that rising medical costs were directly related to the fact that the government was paying a large share of medical bills, both to doctors and hospitals. In 1966, hospital costs jumped 16.5 percent, as compared with 6.6 percent the year before Medicaid. Overall medical costs in 1966 rose 6.6 percent, compared with 2.5 percent the year before. Medical costs leaped another 7.6 percent in 1967.

There was no indication, as 1968 began, that medical cost increases were slowing down. As a result, the Senate began looking into the swift increases, and indicated that before spring ended there would be a major probe of medical costs, with doctors and hospitals alike examined to see why costs shot up so rapidly the moment the government began helping to pay medical bills.

While medicine continued to make remarkable strides in 1967, science generally was making almost explosive progress on other fronts.

In studying the Earth, scientists had long held that its age was somewhere between 4 and 4½ billion years. But a Russian geologist, V. I. Baranov, after years of research found striking evidence that the earth probably is about 6 billion years old.

It also was discovered that man, and his predecessors, have been around much longer than anyone had previously believed. An ancestor to both man and monkey, the "hominidae," presumably first appeared on earth about 14 million years ago. But Louis Leakey, a noted anthropologist, found hominidae-like bone fossils approximately 20 million years old in East Africa. The

oldest known fossils of man heretofore discovered were about 1,750,000 years old. But in 1965, a bone was discovered in Kenya, Africa, that after detailed study was classified in 1967 as a primitive form of man himself. That bone is about 2½ million years old. Traces of life forms far older than anything previously known were discovered during 1967 when scientists at Ames Research Center found forms of amino acids, one of the building blocks of life, 3.1 billion years old.

Astronomers continued intensive study of one of the most intriguing puzzles in the universe: quasars. Some theories suggested these are staggeringly large objects, others that they are, comparatively, quite small; some that quasars may be 8 billion light-years from the earth. But one distinguished astronomer, W. H. McCrea of Sussex, England, advanced a theory that won reasonably wide acceptance. He produced evidence suggesting that quasars are young galaxies with a few tremendous stars, and filled with gas and dust that interferes with light emissions. In February, French astronomers were able to confirm their suspicions of a tenth moon belonging to the planet Saturn. They named the moon, which is the one closest to the planet, Janus.

Depths continued to intrigue scientists during the year. Two caves competed for the honor of being the deepest known yet to man. Kenneth Pearce led a caving team on an expedition to the bottom of the Gouffre Berger in France, and reached a depth of 3,736 feet. The expedition could see, but did not penetrate, another fifty feet down. Meanwhile, in the Gouffre de la Pierre St. Martin, on the French-Spanish border, an expedition reached a depth of 3,779 feet. In the United States, the Cave Research Foundation mapped some 55 miles of underground passages in the Flint Ridge cave system of Kentucky. Cavers believe the Flint Ridge cave may possibly be a continuation of the 46-mile-long Mammoth Cave, which is nearby.

Although less was said publicly about the world's

population explosion in 1967 than had been the case over several years, the number of people in the world continued to expand. By projecting growth figures, scientists estimated that world population, presently 3.43 billion people, will double by the year 2000. An increasing number of scientists are becoming certain that man cannot survive on Earth for many years with a population that large. Studies revealed that while it may be temporarily possible to feed such a population, the tremendous consumption of natural resources would upset the delicate balance of life forces. This, coupled with the continuing pollution of the Earth's environment caused by man, might bring on another ice age, according to some scientists, or, conversely, result in an increase in the Earth's temperature, melting the polar ice caps and raising all oceans by another 300 feet. Such a depth would wipe out almost every major city in the world today. Other scientists fear that by-products of man such as factory smoke, automobile exhaust gases, atomic wastes, leftover traces of millions of tons of pesticides, poisons, and similar pollutants may deteriorate the atmosphere as we know it today, resulting in a cataclysmic destruction of all air-breathing forms of life.

The severity of air pollution in 1967 was described by the Surgeon General in these words: "The threat to health, in my opinion, constitutes the primary impulse for the control of air pollution in the United States." Studies linked air pollution to such crippling and killing diseases as lung cancer, chronic bronchitis, asthma, pneumonia, emphysema, and the common cold. The ten American cities with the greatest severity of air pollution, as rated by the Public Health Service in 1967, were: first, New York; second, Chicago; third, Philadelphia; fourth, Los Angeles-Long Beach; fifth, Cleveland; sixth, Pittsburgh; seventh, Boston; eighth, Newark; ninth, Detroit, and tenth, St. Louis. Together these top ten centers held 12 percent of the nation's population.

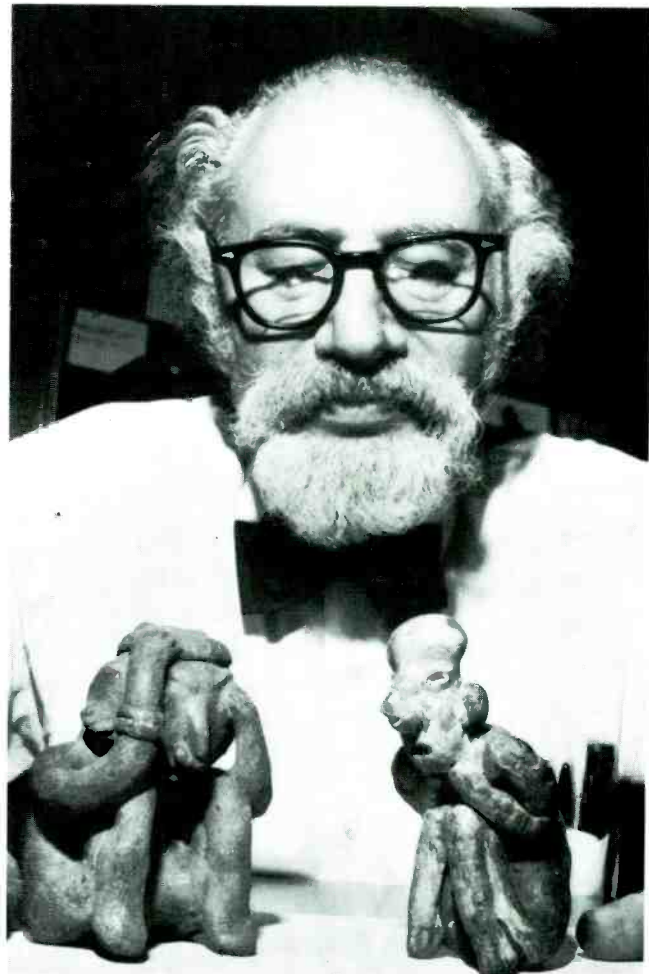
At RCA Laboratories in Princeton, New Jersey, scientists measure the characteristics of a 10-watt argon laser. The tightly controlled non-widening beam of light will be used by NASA in earth-to-space tracking and communications.



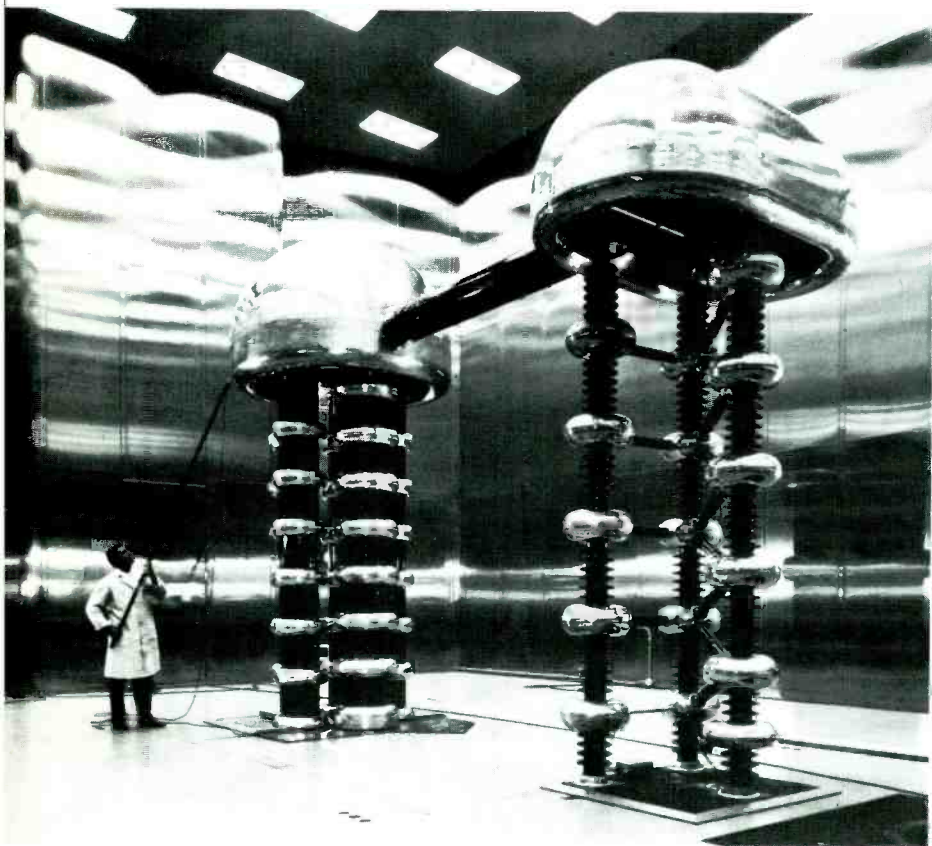




Above: Nobel Prize winners for medicine in 1967 include Sweden's Professor Ragnar Granith (*in center*), flanked by U.S. co-winners Professors George Wald (*left*) and Haldan Keffer Hartline, and children. All are concerned with vision and light reception.



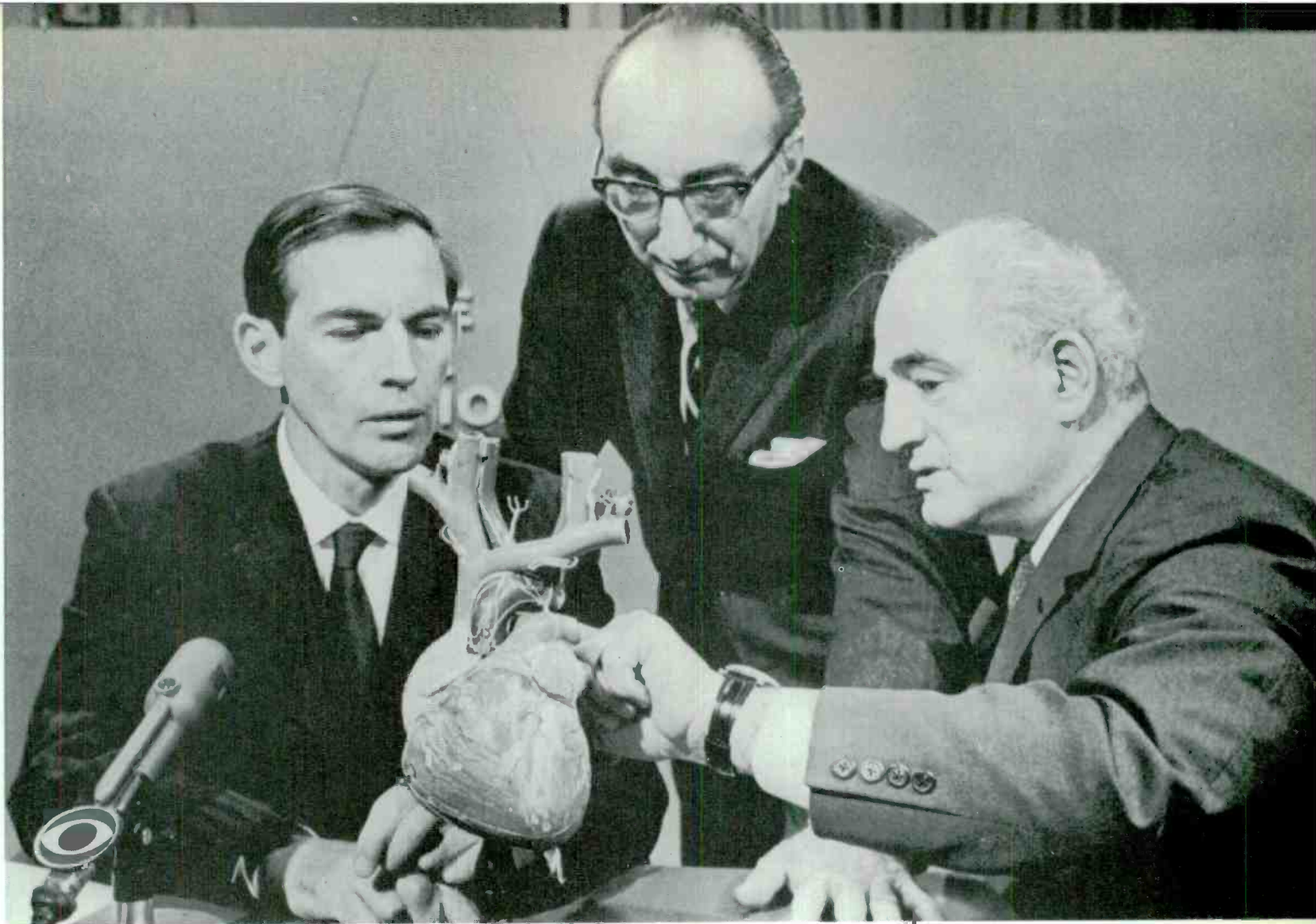
Above: Dr. Abner Weisman of New York Medical College combines archaeology with medicine as he displays clay figures he dug from grave sites in Central and South America. He claimed the figure at left was "a depressive, an anxiety case," while the other showed a "man with an asthmatic attack."



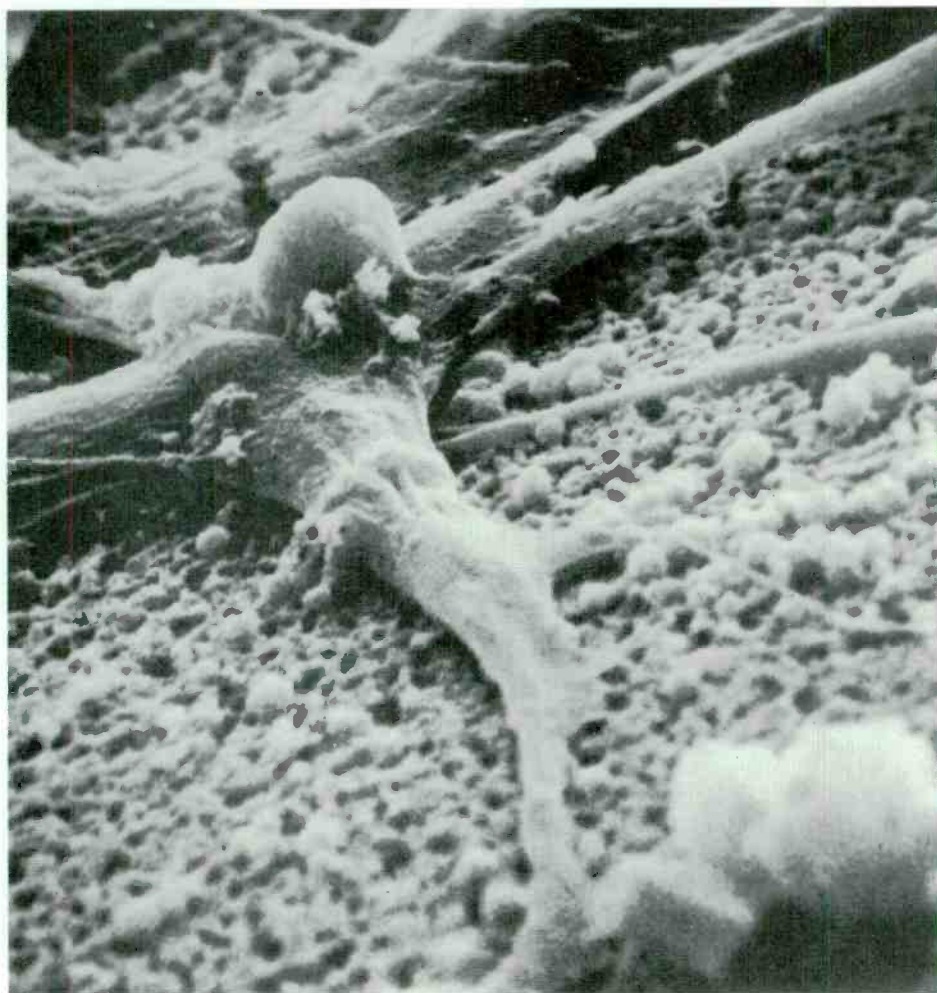
Left: In midyear United States Steel installs the nation's most powerful electron microscope. The accelerators seen here speed the electron beam at nearly the speed of light. Metallurgists will be able to study particles of steel only 8 billionths of an inch apart.

Below: Space satellites show vastly expanding possibilities in earth meteorology. This photograph taken by NASA's ATS I in September plainly shows from 22,000 miles up the location of four hurricanes over the Pacific.





Above: Top heart surgeons of the world discuss the heart transplant operation. Dr. Christian N. Barnard, of South Africa (*left*), first performed the operation successfully. Dr. Michael De Bakey of Houston (*center*) and Dr. Adrian Kantrowitz of New York are pioneers in the development of mechanical heart aids.



*Left*: The world's first three-dimensional observation of a malignant cancer cell, here magnified over 3,000 times. The picture was taken on a Stereoscan electron microscope at the Chester Beatty Research Institute in England.



One answer to the population explosion—and it resembles early cliff-dwellings. At Expo 67 it was called Habitat. Its basic unit, a precast concrete block that is finished off with windows and utilities. Architect Moshe Safdie uses the roof of one unit as the patio of another.

## 21. Art and Architecture

DURING THE YEAR, there was nationwide evidence that the United States had not undergone a new cultural explosion, but actually was living in one. Judged by statistics alone, the national interest in art was overwhelming. There was a sharp increase in the attendance at museums, at art galleries, at traveling art displays, and in the purchase of paintings, ranging from the lowliest of the unknowns selling his colorful output on a sidewalk, to the National Gallery's purchase of a Leonardo.

The National Council on the Arts proposed the biggest federal subsidy for the support of the arts ever sought in the United States. Early in the year, Congress appropriated more than \$17 million for a three-year program. Then, the National Council urged an additional \$139 million. Here in part, is what the Council wanted the money for: setting up 50 permanent professional dramatic companies around the nation, experimentation in the visual arts, aid to museums, orchestras, and dance groups, and assistance to individual composers and playwrights, novelists and poets, sculptors and painters.

In the almost 500 years since Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) not a single one of his oil paintings had ever existed outside of Europe. Only 15 paintings are fully accepted by all critics as authentic Leonardos, and some believe only 9 actually were painted in their entirety by him. One, however, which all critics have accepted as genuine, was a portrait of Ginevra de Benci, painted in Florence between 1474 and 1480.

Today that portrait hangs in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. The gallery acquired the painting in private negotiations with Prince Franz Josef II of Liechtenstein, one of the wealthiest men in the world. The purchase price was not revealed. However, it is presumed that the National Gallery paid between \$5 million and \$6 million for the painting, making its purchase the costliest in the history of art. The picture is a portrait which often has been compared to the Mona

Lisa. Measuring 15 $\frac{1}{8}$  by 14 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, it is painted in a combination of tempera, resin, and oil on a panel of Italian poplar wood.

The Museum of Modern Art in New York drew record crowds with a magnificent showing of Picasso's sculpture. More than 200 items were placed on exhibit. Other artists who made critical news by the size of the crowds that enjoyed them were such figures as: Aubrey Beardsley, Edgar Degas, Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, Henry Moore, Jackson Pollock, Raphael Soyer, Gilbert Stuart, and Andrew Wyeth. All were shown in major retrospectives at various times during the year.

Here is a partial listing of some of the major art exhibitions during the year:

**RODIN.** The Los Angeles County Museum of Art put 69 of his works on display on the fiftieth anniversary of the French sculptor's death. It included bronzes, plasters, and ceramics. The exhibition was scheduled to tour other areas in the West.

**AUBREY BEARDSLEY.** This nineteenth-century British artist and illustrator enjoyed a rebirth of critical popularity. The Gallery of Modern Art in New York presented a major show of his illustrations, drawings, and prints.

**JEAN AUGUSTE DOMINIQUE INGRES.** The Fogg Art Museum, at Harvard University, assembled a collection of more than 100 watercolors, drawings, and oil sketches on the centennial of the artist's death.

**PAUL KLEE.** The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum of New York jointly with the Pasadena, California, Art Museum brought together some 150 works, including gouaches, watercolors, oils, drawings, and prints, for a tour of several major American cities.

**VINCENT VAN GOGH.** Ninety works of this master, painted between 1881 and 1890, were shown in Paris, then were taken on a tour of museums in Philadelphia, Dallas, Toledo (Ohio), and then to Canada.

ANDREW WYETH. Three cities—New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—saw what was described as the most comprehensive exhibition of the work of a living artist. More than 200 of his drawings and paintings were organized for this exhibition. The Wyeth exhibition was by far the most popular in the United States during the year. It drew record crowds wherever it was shown.

As always, controversy swirled around the world of contemporary art. Almost every innovation that was hailed as the wave of the future by some critics was denounced as garbage by others. There was no doubt, however, that so-called “pop” art continued to attract wide attention, both in exhibits and sales. The “pop” could include almost anything. In terms of sculpture, for example, museums put on display such objects as old automobile fenders, multicolored boxes, and assemblages of squares, tubes, and spheres, lighted both from without and within, as examples of great modern art.

While the purchase of original paintings reached record proportions during the year, the average American continued to buy his art largely in the form of reproductions. One art form that made amazing strides in terms of popularity was the photographic blowup, usually about 3 feet by 4 feet. The most popular subjects were movie actors and actresses, ranging from cinema heroes of the present to film stars of the silent era.

A new trend in the field of sculpture appeared in 1967. The Corcoran Gallery in Washington put on display three works by Tony Smith, Barnett Newman, and Ron Bladen. Each work, a huge form, was built in the courts of the museum. In keeping with the trends of the '60's, the works were both geometric and abstract. What made the works unique was that the Corcoran Gallery had commissioned them for exhibition, not for acquisition. One of the largest sculpture exhibitions ever shown in the United States was a presentation of the Los Angeles County Museum titled *American Sculpture of the Sixties*. Some of the works were so large they dwarfed mere people.

Two events during the year seemed to summarize the world of architecture, and both were developments in other lands. One was attractive, a guide to tomorrow; the other was a sad commentary on the past.

Perhaps the most significant development during the year was Canada's international exhibition, Expo 67 (see Chapter 15, *LATIN AMERICA AND CANADA*). To some critics, the exhibition might eventually prove the dominant architectural force for the decade of the 1960's. In effect, the exhibit achieved an overall sense of environmental development, as well as scoring notably with such individual concepts as R. Buckminster Fuller's three-quarter sphere structure, built for the United States exhibit, and the suspended “tent” designed by Frei Otto for West Germany. Fuller used his familiar geodesic design, then covered the tubular steel structure with

transparent acrylic. After the exhibition, the 200-foot-high structure was given to McGill University.

The “tent” designed by Otto utilized a series of steel towers to hold a translucent skin, with a series of steel-and-timber platforms inside. Other national pavilions that won attention for their unusual charm were structures erected by Japan and Cuba, and the building of the Western Provinces of Canada.

From the standpoint of the future, however, perhaps the most intriguing development at Expo 67 for the average visitor was the “Habitat 67” apartment development. This multi-structured series of 70- to 90-ton boxes was, in effect, a delightful grouping of apartments, each of which utilized the adjacent lower apartment for an outdoor terrace or walkways.

But if Expo 67 was a happy event, from the viewpoint of architects, in Japan an announcement brought a sense of grief both to the Japanese and much of the world. A syndicate announced that because it no longer was financially profitable, the famed Frank Lloyd Wright Imperial Hotel would be demolished, and a more profitable building erected on the site. Demolition plans then proceeded on schedule. “Bulldozer and profit” progress, was the way one critic decried the destruction not only of the Imperial Hotel, but of numerous fine neighborhoods and buildings throughout the United States. When Rockefeller Center, for example, announced its first expansion, the area that faced demolition was a neighborhood of small stores and distinguished cafes. If there were cheers over the expansion of the center, they were confined to the offices of financiers who contemplated erecting just another huge office building in the midtown area of Manhattan, and the destruction of another neighborhood.

The concept of “tear down and rebuild,” however, did not proceed without opposition. Indeed, what startled some observers during the year was the growing concern and even hostility with which neighborhoods and even whole cities came to the defense of unusual historic buildings or sites, which “progressive builders” were eager to destroy in a search for real estate profits. The counterargument was that a nation needs its past, and the musty pages of history, still alive in the world of brick and stone, are more important to all men's souls than to a few men's dreams of profit.

The opposing challenges of renewal and preservation met head on in New York City, and the resolution, for once, seemed a happy one. New York's historic sports and public arena, Madison Square Garden, was to be replaced. In the process one of the city's great landmarks was doomed, the noble Pennsylvania Station with its lofty ceilings and Greek colonnades. A new complex, known as Madison Square Garden Center, took its place. The new Madison Square Garden, a serene limestone circle, was a natural package for an arena without columns. To the east, the architects, Charles Luckman Associates,

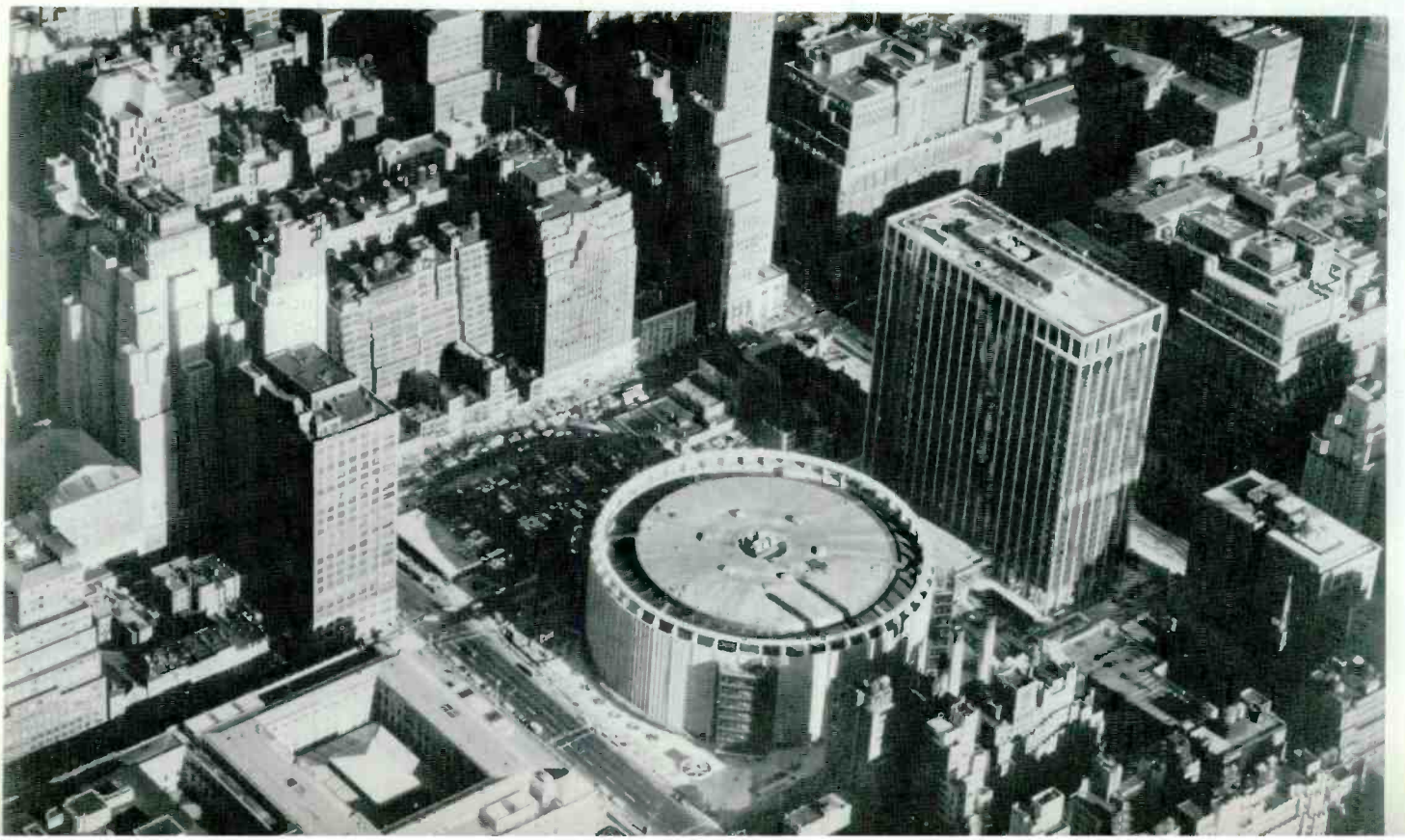
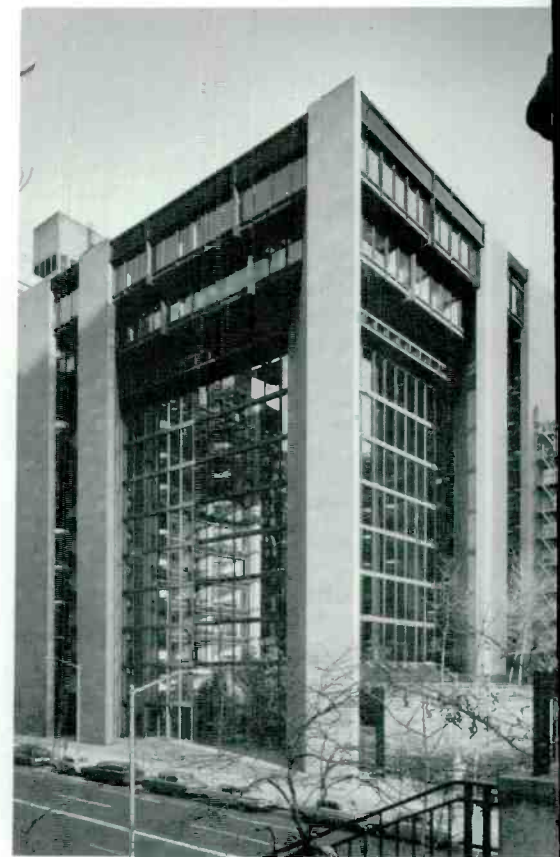
set a 29-story office building with a broad connecting mall between. The contrasting lines of the two huge buildings formed a handsome and impressive new architectural unit on the New York scene.

During the year, work was completed on one of the most unusual architectural concepts since the Air Force Academy was built in Colorado. This, too, was a Colorado triumph. The National Center for Atmospheric Research, designed by I. M. Pei, was completed at Boulder, Colorado, during the year. It was a remarkable blend of massive, yet vertical, lines with strong horizontal tones that matched the mighty surrounding Colorado mountains.

One of the most intriguing new structures completed in New York City was the unique Ford Foundation Building. The building, as usual a massive structure, broke from the standard pattern of office buildings by creating an inner court 10 stories high. The court was located at one corner, and filled with greenery. Both the passersby and those who work within the building have a constant, if different, view of nature introduced into the formidable and cool setting of midcity. One critic called this "a new and representative" building, though most architects doubted the building would gain many adherents among those who build office structures more for profit than for a sense of space and beauty.

A Tokyo landmark, the Imperial Hotel, designed in 1923 by Frank Lloyd Wright, is demolished to make room for "more profitable" buildings.

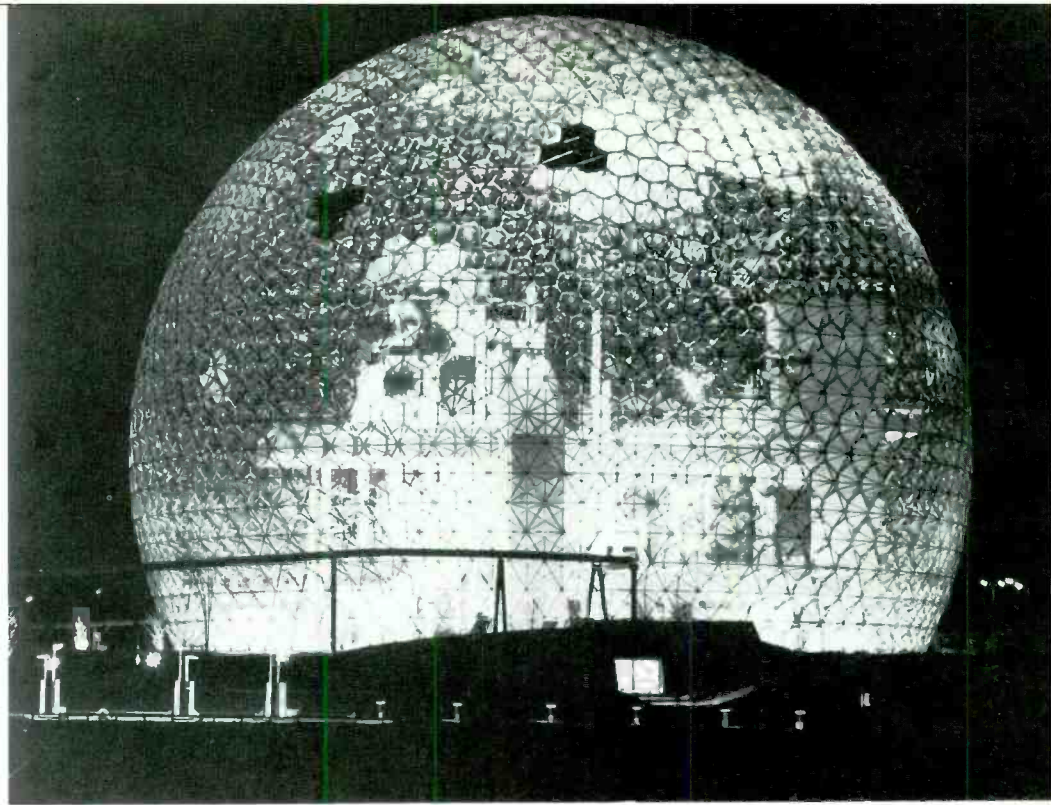




*Opposite top right:* The new headquarters of the Ford Foundation is dramatized by eleven floors of glass on the east and south sides, inside of which a small forest grows, with trees over a hundred feet high. Architect: Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo and Associates.

*Opposite top left:* Interior garden of the Ford Foundation building on New York's East 42nd Street. As a unit it forms a third of an acre terraced park with pool.

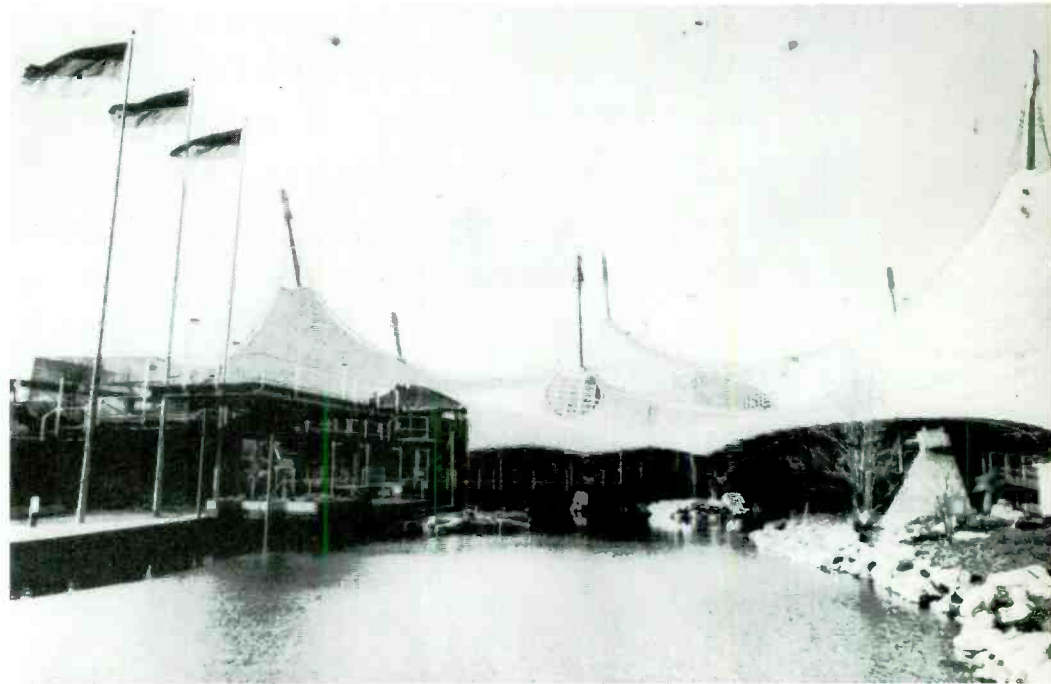
*Opposite bottom:* New York's new Madison Square Garden, fourth of that historic name, with its companion office building on right. Between the two a wide mall leads to the Pennsylvania Station below. Architect: Charles Luckman Associates.



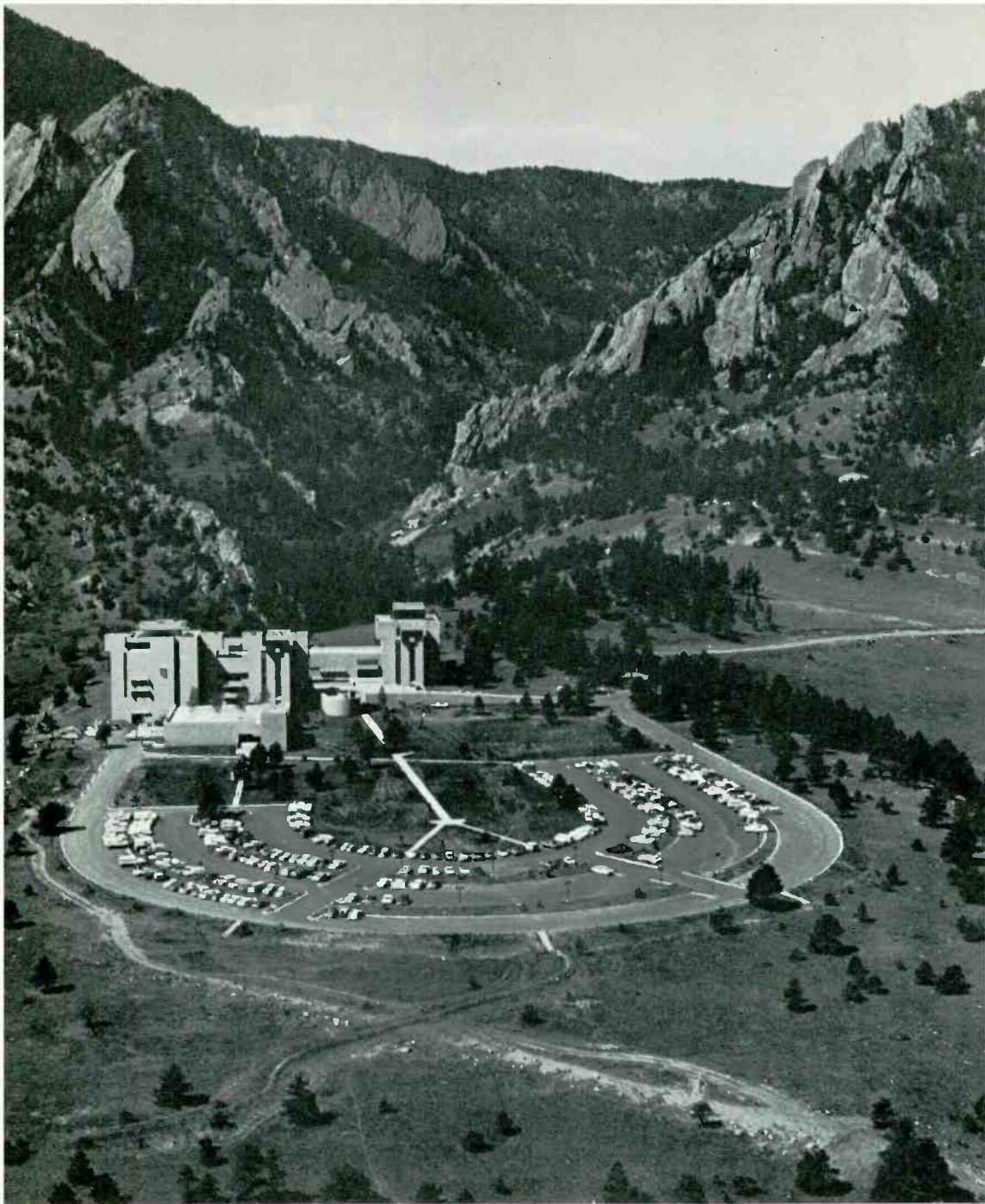
*Top:* R. Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome reaches 20 stories into the sky at Montreal's Expo 67.

*Center:* West Germany's Exhibit at Expo 67 features a translucent "tent" suspended from steel towers, with displays on steel and timber platforms inside. The architect: Frei Otto.

*Bottom:* Samuel Paley Park in New York City's midtown east is one of the first vest-pocket parks to be placed "where the people are." Only 42 by 100 feet, this tiny oasis features such major park elements as a "water wall" and pool, a lawn, and shade trees. Designed by Zion & Breen Associates.

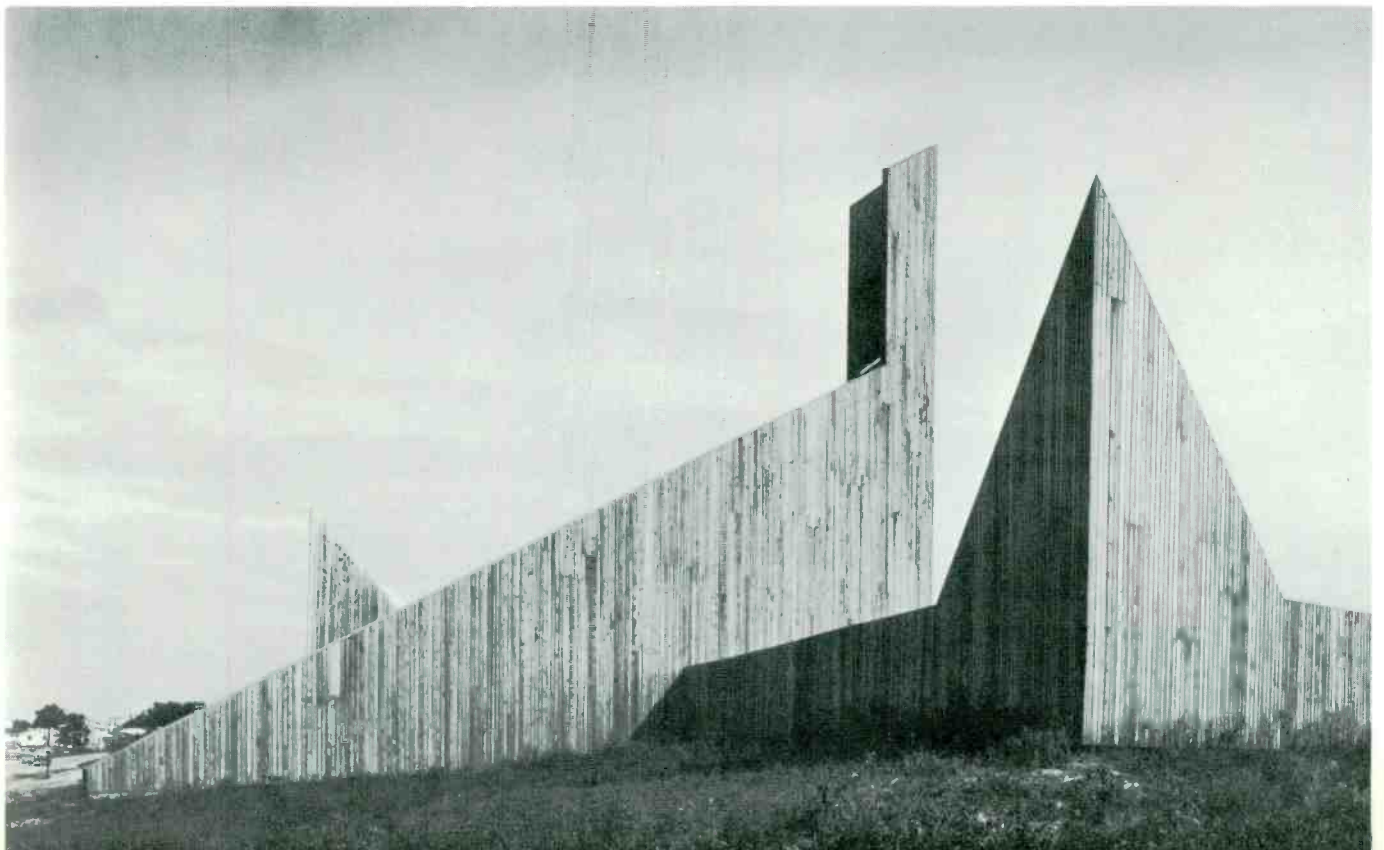


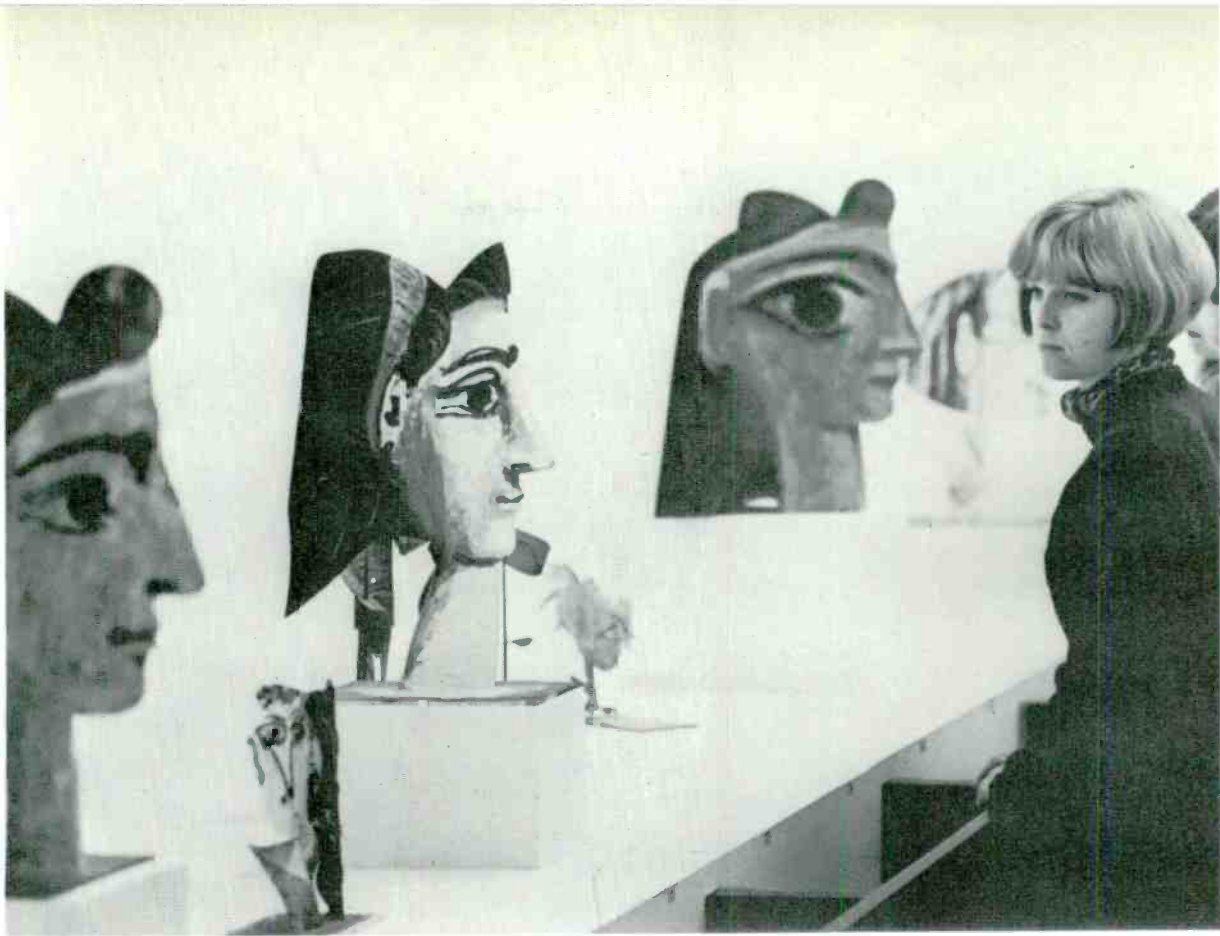




*Left:* Under the massive backdrop of the Colorado Rockies, the National Center for Atmospheric Research built its laboratory, masterfully designed by I. M. Pei to fit the surroundings.

*Bottom:* A bold example of the new architecture for houses of worship: the Covenant United Presbyterian Church, Danville, Illinois. Architect: Crites and McConnell.





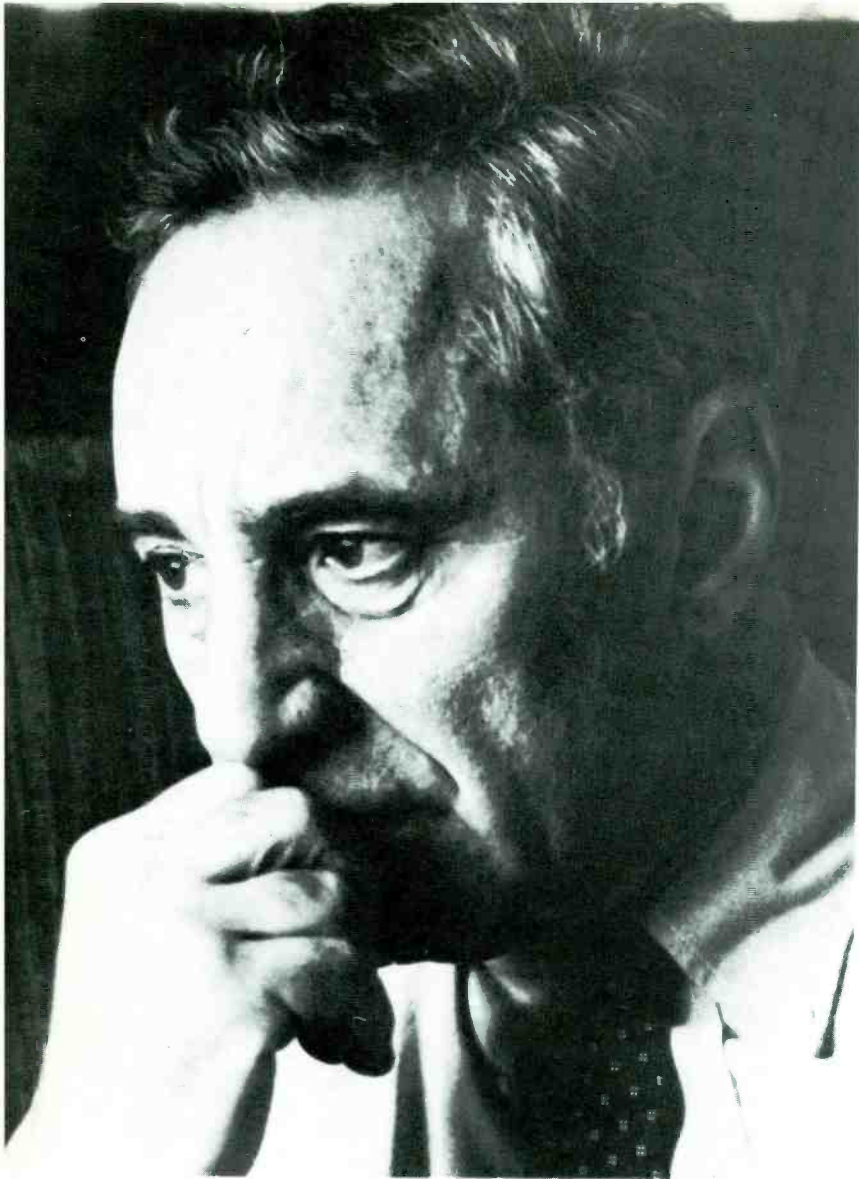
Picasso evokes ever-renewed amazement at the depth of his development as an artist. These are variations on his woman's "head" theme at his sculpture exhibition in New York's Museum of Modern Art.



Above: For the first time in history, a United States gallery acquires an oil painting by Leonardo da Vinci. His "Ginevra de Benci," painted between 1474 and 1480, was bought by the National Gallery of Art in Washington for over \$5 million.

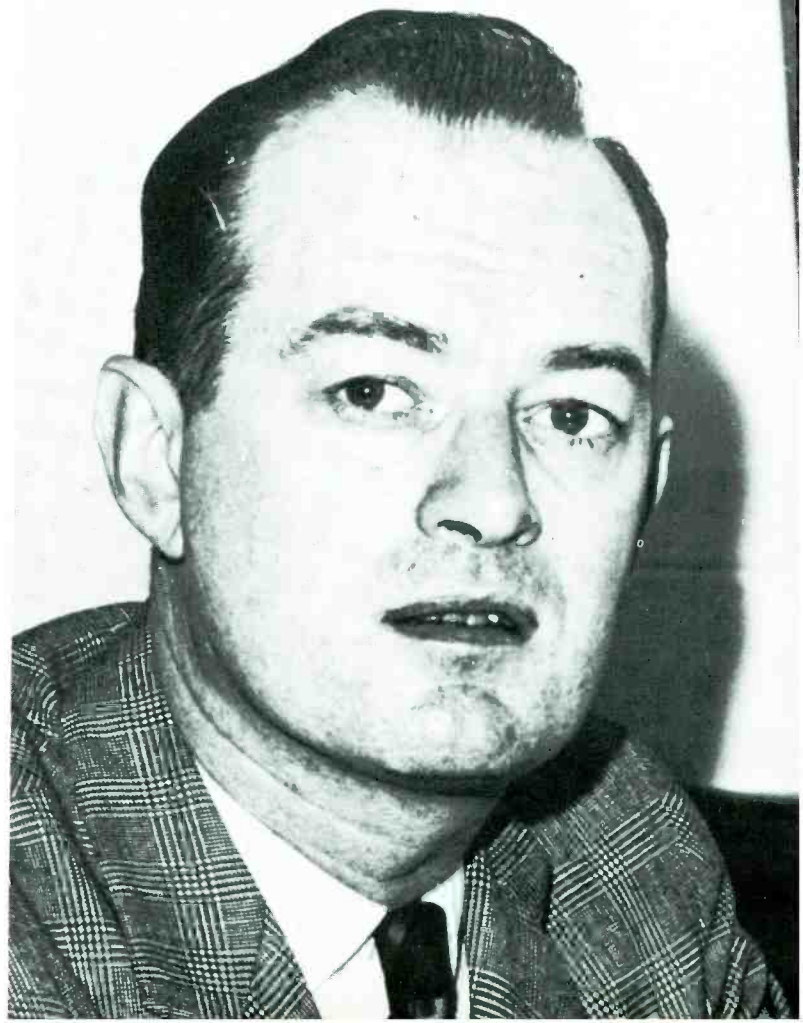
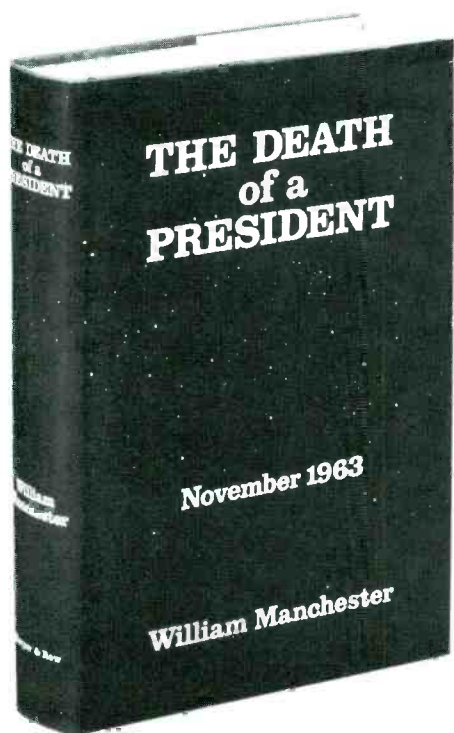
Right: The International Campaign, launched by UNESCO, for restoring the art of Florence damaged during the November, 1966, floods was notably successful throughout the year. Here in the Bargello Museum scientific cleaning is applied to Fiorentino's "La Maddalena."





Elia Kazan, author of the number one fiction best seller, *The Arrangement*. Kazan was a newcomer to hardcover writing, but hardly a neophyte. His theatre writing and stage and screen direction had won him plaudits for years. Stein and Day.

William Manchester's *The Death of a President* generated enough controversy before publication practically to guarantee it top spot on the non-fiction sales list. Harper & Row.



## 22. Books and Authors

IN AN AGE WHEN RADIO and television, sometimes referred to as the visual communication arts, play such a dominant role in American life, it is interesting to note that the nation's desire for reading material has not diminished.

In 1967, the United States book industry published 28,762 titles. *Publishers' Weekly* says this represents, after adjusting for the new UNESCO counting standards, a small increase over the previous year, while the volume of book sales for the year rose by 8 percent over the previous year. Americans, said one observer, may be looking more, but they also are reading more than ever before in history. Although it is difficult to draw comparisons because of differing standards for judgment, the citizens of the Soviet Union are even more voracious readers than those in the United States. The USSR reported the publication of 72,977 new books "and pamphlets." Just what is meant by pamphlets is not entirely clear, though presumably by pamphlets the Russians mean what the United States industry refers to as paperback books.

Great Britain's readers obviously are fond of the printed page. They had 26,358 titles to choose from during the year; 21,045 were new, and 5,313 reprints.

In France, noted for its high degree of intellectual literacy and curiosity for generations, a special survey revealed that 57 percent of the population had never read a book, outside of school. Informed observers say this figure would be "substantially higher" for the United States.

What were Americans reading in 1967? The greatest sales among hard-cover books continued to be non-fiction. And the most headlined book of the publishing year, was, far and away, William Manchester's *Death of a President*, often referred to as the "authorized version" of President Kennedy's assassination. Manchester was chosen by the Kennedy family to write of the President's terrible death. Despite bitter arguments between

the Kennedys and Manchester, threats of lawsuits and countersuits, the book became an immediate best seller and was well received by both critics and historians. More than 500,000 copies of the book were sold.

The leading fiction of 1967 was by a "first" author, the film and theatre writer and director, Elia Kazan. His *The Arrangement* was on *Publishers' Weekly's* best-seller list for 10 straight months, and during March of 1967 was selling at the rate of about 12,000 copies a week. The book sold 212,500 copies through stores, plus additional thousands as a book club release. The movies naturally snatched up Kazan's novel of intrigue, success, and lust among the Beverly Hills set.

Second-place sales went to *The Confessions of Nat Turner*, William Styron's story of a Negro leader of a slave uprising in Virginia. In addition to distribution by book clubs, more than 110,000 were sold through bookstores.

Tying for second place was *The Chosen*, by Chaim Potok, the story of a boy who rebels against the ultra-Orthodox life of his father, a Hassidic rabbi in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. *The Chosen* was Potok's first novel. Another "first novel" which just made the top ten best-seller list for the year was a highly controversial book, *The Exhibitionist*. At its best, *The Exhibitionist*, by an author writing under the pseudonym of Henry Sutton, is mediocre writing. But its stress on sex, bordering on the pornographic, is overwhelming, and often in remarkably dull taste. *The Exhibitionist* made news when Random House refused to distribute the book for Bernard Geis. Sales during 1967 were 62,980.

For the first time in almost 20 years, Thornton Wilder produced a novel, *The Eighth Day*. Beautifully constructed, highly praised, the novel, set in the early years of the century, was sixth on the fiction list. *Topaz* by Leon Uris, an ever-popular writer, though given poor reviews, made the top ten list with sales of 104,000. Irving Wallace, another popular writer, was eighth on

the best-seller list with *The Plot*. Sales about 80,000.

Although few best-seller lists even mentioned Johnny Carson, the host of the NBC "Tonight" show, as a best-selling author, his little book of quips and cartoons, *Misery Is a Blind Date*, turned out to be the number two nonfiction seller of the year, with a total sale of 179,000. Among other surprises of the year was a book of poems, *Stanyan Street and Other Sorrows*. The author, Rod McKuen, was well known as an author of popular songs, but when he assembled a manuscript of what he termed "love words . . . for music," he found publishers beating a swift retreat from his efforts. McKuen published the book himself and later made arrangements for distribution by Random House. The book closed the year with sales of 137,542.

Two other books of the type that normally do not make any best-seller lists, actually turned up among the top ten of the nonfiction, hard-cover publications. They were *Better Homes & Gardens Favorite Ways with Chicken*, and *Phyllis Diller's Marriage Manual*. Each had sales of about 125,000.

When Svetlana Alliluyeva, the daughter of Stalin, defected to the West, every major publisher immediately began looking for the inevitable book. Harper & Row was the successful publisher of her memoirs, *Twenty Letters to a Friend*, paying a record of \$325,000 for the rights. The book barely failed to make the top 10 best-selling list, with some 120,000 copies sold in hard cover. Among other books from world figures, former President Dwight Eisenhower's *At Ease*, subtitled *Stories I Tell to Friends*, had sales of 86,000.

No best seller, but by critical agreement the outstanding book of the year on foreign affairs was George F. Kennan's *Memoirs 1925-1950*. This personal record of a brilliant diplomat's years was hailed as "most impressive" and "magnificent history." Another eloquent volume, this on current affairs, was Jonathan Kozol's *Death at an Early Age*. Taking his home city of Boston as an example, Kozol described in lucid and frightening terms the lifelong effect of bigoted and indifferent teaching on Negro schoolchildren.

Cookbooks continued to prove perennially popular, and a look at some of the better sellers explains why publishers find a manuscript on cooking so attractive. Two Better Homes & Gardens books, *So Good with Fruit*, with sales of 89,000, and *Jiffy Cooking*, with 122,000, were among the top sellers. *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* by Julia Child had sales of 131,414 copies in 1967, its seventh year, and *America Cooks*, edited by A. Serrane, sold 80,000 copies.

Among the paperback best sellers of the year, one was as predictable as summer sunshine, the other as startling as a soft and warm spring day after a week of bitter cold rain. Topping the fictional list of best sellers was Jacqueline Susann's preoccupation with the defloweration of virgins, drugs, and the theatre in *Valley of the Dolls*. Published in July, it reached 7,200,000 copies in

print in the United States and Canada. A half-million copies rolled off the presses for a first printing when the book was released in England. *Valley of the Dolls* was predictable. But the startling paperback was in the non-fiction field, the relatively high-priced Sierra Club's *In Wildness Is the Preservation of the World*. The book was released in September, and promptly began selling at the rate of more than 50,000 a month at \$3.95 a copy. It is a combination of wilderness photographs by Eliot Porter, with text from the writings of Thoreau.

The number two fiction and nonfiction sellers in soft covers were somewhat unforeseeable. *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, and *The Tolkien Reader* (the three titles considered as one), all by J. R. R. Tolkien, captivated mass market readers. In 1967, Tolkien books were selling at between 250,000 and 400,000 copies each for the year. If *Psycho-cybernetics*, by Dr. Maxwell Maltz, showed up as a surprising number two nonfiction seller, one need only translate this compounding of high-sounding syllables to read "know yourself" to understand its continuing popularity. Since 1964, cumulative sales have reached 750,000 copies with approximately 325,000 sold in 1967.

Obscenity, as a legal problem, continued to disturb book publishers throughout 1967, with little help from the courts. Since 1957, the Supreme Court of the United States has found three elements involved in obscenity. Those are:

1. Whether, taken as a whole, the dominant theme is of "prurient interest."
2. Whether the publication is completely without any "redeeming social importance," and
3. Whether the material is "patently offensive" under what it describes as contemporary community standards.

In 1966, the court added what well may be a fourth guide to obscenity, that is, whether or not a book, or publication, is promoted with "the leer of the sensualist."

There were no landmark cases testing obscenity in 1967, but the high court did overturn findings of obscenity in three cases, and suggested that at least two new guidelines might be considered in future obscenity rulings, that is, whether the publication might affect juveniles, and whether, in dissemination, a publication assaults individual privacy, or, in other words, makes it difficult for the average person to avoid exposure to a theme of obscenity.

There are two certainties, as far as obscenity is concerned, in the opinion of most publishers: first, that some of the less ethical of publishers are pushing to the utter limits of acceptance by the public books which are written, disseminated, and read as frankly salacious or pornographic literature, with virtually no redeeming value; and second, that an increasing body of public opinion is growing restive and angry with the near total concern by some publishers, especially in the paperback field, with sex.

All of which led one publisher to the firm opinion that either the industry itself had better begin a general cleanup campaign, or face new restrictions by the courts and by the legislatures of the nation.

The book industry had its problems in 1967: rising costs, shrinking profit margins, and distribution problems. In terms of finances, the book industry story was quite clearly revealed on Wall Street. In 1966, the combined averages of publishers' stocks outperformed the market. In 1967, these same stocks tumbled, then made slow and sometimes disappointing recovery toward the year's end.

Despite the voracious appetite of Americans for paperbacks, this segment of the industry had its problems, too. The largest single factor facing paperback publishers, according to Leonard M. Forman of Pocket Books, was simply an overabundance of books, and limited space to sell them. He pointed out that the average dealer stocked 110 pocket books for display sales. But between 260 and 270 new titles were released every month. This meant the average book could be displayed for roughly ten days to two weeks. But this also meant that large numbers of paperbacks did not even see the light of day, while the best sellers dominated the display cases.

Here are the top sellers for 1967 in hard-cover books, and for paperbacks, according to *Publishers' Weekly*:

#### FICTION

1. *The Arrangement* by Elia Kazan
- 2-3. *The Confessions of Nat Turner* by William Styron
- 2-3. *The Chosen* by Chaim Potok
4. *Topaz* by Leon Uris
5. *Christy* by Catherine Marshall
6. *The Eighth Day* by Thornton Wilder
7. *Rosemary's Baby* by Ira Levin
8. *The Plot* by Irving Wallace
9. *The Gabriel Hounds* by Mary Stewart
10. *The Exhibitionist* by Henry Sutton

#### NONFICTION

1. *Death of a President* by William Manchester
2. *Misery Is a Blind Date* by Johnny Carson
3. *Games People Play* by Eric Berne, M.D.
4. *Stanyan Street and Other Sorrows* by Rod McKuen
5. *A Modern Priest Looks at His Outdated Church* by Father James Kavanaugh
6. *Everything But Money* by Sam Levenson
7. *Our Crowd* by Stephen Birmingham
- 8-9-10. *Edgar Cayce—The Sleeping Prophet* by Jess Stearn
- 8-9-10. *Better Homes & Gardens Favorite Ways with Chicken*

- 8-9-10. *Phyllis Diller's Marriage Manual* by Phyllis Diller

#### PAPERBACKS

1. *Valley of the Dolls* by Jacqueline Susann
2. *The Hobbit; The Lord of the Rings Trilogy; The Tolkien Reader*; by J. R. R. Tolkien
3. *Games People Play* by Eric Berne
4. *The Adventurers* by Harold Robbins
5. *The Source* by James A. Michener
6. *The Medium Is the Massage* by Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore
7. *In Cold Blood* by Truman Capote
8. *Understanding Media* by Marshall McLuhan
9. *Peanuts* books by Charles M. Schultz
10. *Up the Down Staircase* by Bel Kaufman

While the book publishing industry was thriving, America's newspapers continued to run into economic anemia, frequently a fatal disease. And fatal it was to New York City's newest newspaper, the *World Journal Tribune*. It died in May, 1967.

The *WJT* was born in 1966 through a merger of the Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram and Sun*, the Hearst *Journal-American*, and the John Hay Whitney *Herald Tribune*. The newspaper was born deep in fiscal trouble. Under union contracts, more than 7 million dollars was paid out in severance payments. Then, even before it began publishing, the newspaper was hit by a massive strike that kept it closed for 20 weeks.

Once on the streets, the newspaper sold remarkably well, gaining a daily circulation of about 700,000 and close to one million on Sundays. But advertising revenue remained low. When a substantial new contract was signed between newspaper unions and the New York *Daily News*, the *WJT* quietly succumbed. The management said it could not hope to meet union warnings for the same contract granted to *Daily News* employees. In 1900, New York City had 15 daily newspapers. In 1967, there were 3 major dailies left.

Unions also caused problems for other newspapers throughout the nation. There were 30 strikes in the United States. The Toledo *Blade* and *Times* were shut down for five months. In an effort to find relief from the pressure of mounting labor costs, the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee held hearings on granting newspapers at least a partial exemption from antitrust laws. No decision was reached.

The American Bar Association and newspapers were involved in a major conflict on the "Reardon" report, a legal study of fair trials and free press. The ABA wanted "lawyers, police and law-enforcement agencies . . . punished if they disseminate extrajudicial statements to the news media." The American Civil Liberties Union urged newspapers to guard against prejudicial pre-trial publicity, but was equally concerned with any loss of

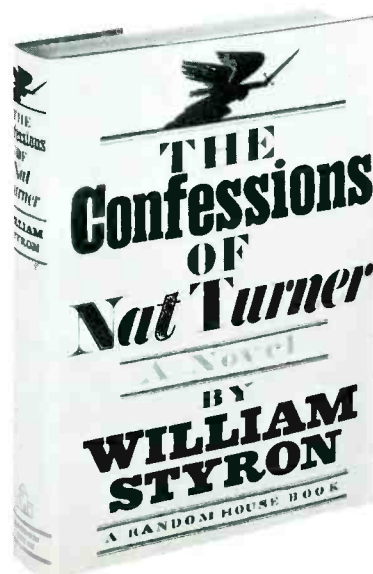
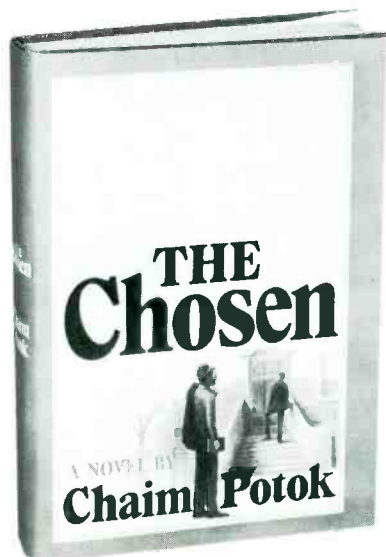
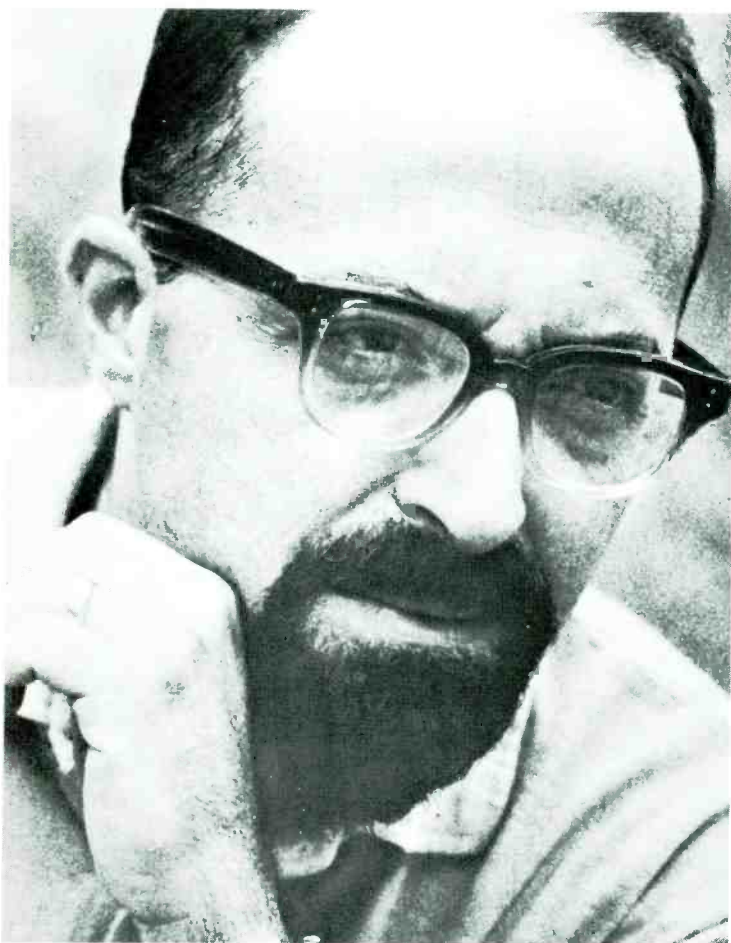
freedom of the press. Of the 1,754 newspapers published daily in the United States, collectively they enjoyed a 2 percent increase in circulation, reaching a total of 61,397,252. With over 2 million daily circulation, the New York *Daily News* was the largest in the nation. The *Wall Street Journal*, which had pushed into the number two spot in 1966, reached a daily circulation of over one million.

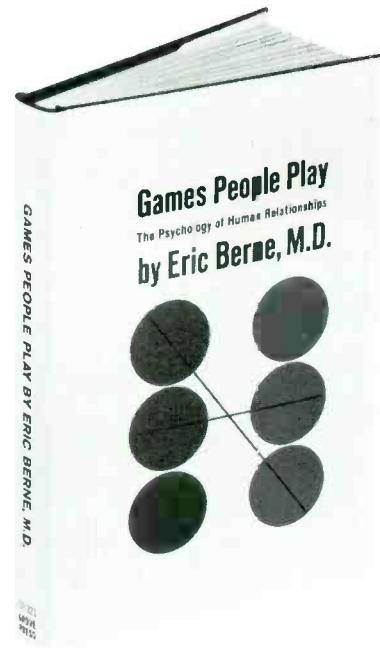
In the magazine field, the most outstanding event was the death of a man who was largely responsible for the modern news weekly—Henry R. Luce. With the late Briton Hadden, he founded the eminently successful

*Time* magazine in 1923, later founded *Fortune* and *Life*. There was violent battle among women's magazines for circulation leadership. Among the leaders: *McCall's*, with 8.7 million; *The Ladies' Home Journal*, with 6.9 million circulation, though it led the field in advertising; *Family Circle*, 8.6 million, and *Woman's Day* with 7.35 million. The specialized publication, *TV Guide*, reached a circulation of 12.7 million. The old and respected *Harper's Bazaar* celebrated its 100th anniversary. And the amazing *Reader's Digest* continued to grow, with a staggering circulation of 17.2 million issues per month.

As in so many best sellers, Chaim Potok's *The Chosen* is set in Brooklyn—among the now-dwindling Hassidic Jewish community of Williamsburg. Simon & Schuster.

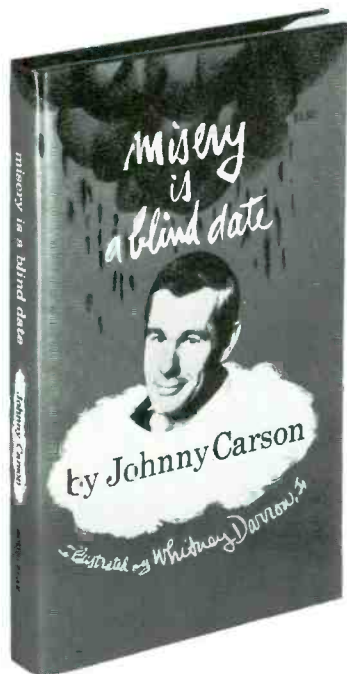
William Styron had been wanting to write Nat Turner's story for many years. The basis for the book is a brief "confession" read at the former slave's trial after a revolt in pre-Civil War Virginia. Random House.





Dr. Eric Berne showed that not all "games" people play are amusing. Some are damaging, even deadly. The work rode crest on a wave of "know yourself" books. Grove Press.

A "sleeper," Johnny Carson's *Misery Is a Blind Date* turned out to be the number two nonfiction best seller. Low price and author's name were two big factors in sales. Doubleday.







Leon Uris: *Topaz*.  
McGraw-Hill

Catherine Marshall: *Christy*.  
McGraw-Hill



Thornton Wilder: *The Eighth Day*.  
Harper & Row



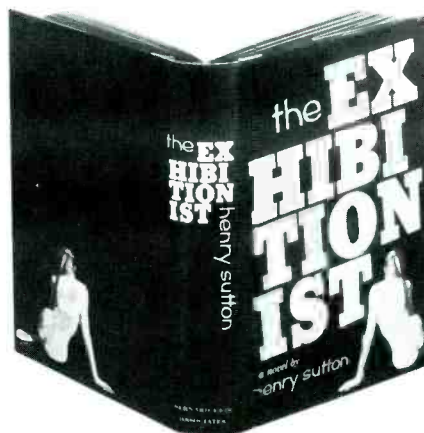
Ira Levin: *Rosemary's Baby*.  
Random House



Irving Wallace: *The Plot*.  
Simon & Schuster



Mary Stewart: *The Gabriel Hounds*.  
William A. Morrow, Inc.

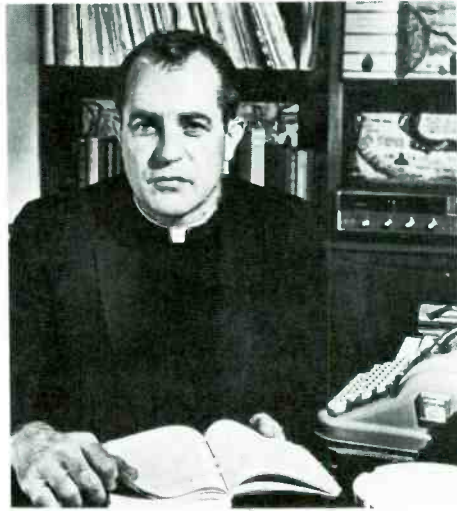


Henry Sutton: *The Exhibitionist*.  
Bernard Geis



Rod McKuen: *Stanyan Street and Other Sorrows*.  
Random House

The Rev. James Kavanaugh:  
*A Modern Priest Looks at His Outdated Church*.  
Trident Press



Jess Stearn:  
*Edgar Cayce—the Sleeping Prophet*.  
Doubleday

Sam Levenson:  
*Everything But Money*.  
Simon & Schuster



Phyllis Diller's *Marriage Manual*.  
Doubleday

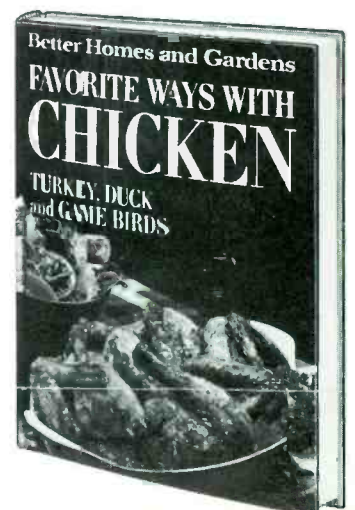


Stephen Birmingham:  
*Our Crowd*.  
Harper & Row



George Kennan: *Memoirs 1925-1950*.  
Atlantic-Little Brown

No best-seller list is complete  
without a cookbook.  
Meredith Press





John Wood as Guildenstern and Brian Murray as Rosencrantz in Englishman Tom Stoppard's success, *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*.

## 23. Theatre, Music, and Dance

THE YEAR WAS NOT a bright one for Broadway. One critic, viewing it at mid-season, called it "depressing"—another, "meager." A notable fact was that the most vital plays turned up among the London imports. The off-Broadway scene was brighter, with more original plays and musical productions than ever before, and with a definite upbeat in creativity and courage.

What was noticeable during the season was that Broadway plays, like most forms of art, looked for the sensational as much as for thoughtful content to attract audiences. Like the movies, Broadway, and notably off-Broadway, turned increasingly to explicit sex scenes, and once taboo themes. Homosexuality, lesbianism, incest, and rape, all found a home on the New York stage. Unlike the movies, however, these themes were handled by thoughtful craftsmen and for mature audiences. There was no problem with the censor, and few suggested that Broadway ought to come under the heavy hand of official examination.

The outstanding critical and public success among the year's dramas was *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*. The play revolves around the lives of two strolling characters whom Shakespeare, in his enigmatic way, brought to life briefly in *Hamlet* and then dismissed. The play was a British import, written by Tom Stoppard and directed by Derek Goldby. Brian Murray and John Wood scored brilliantly as Rosencrantz and Guildenstern respectively.

Another challenging play from Britain was *The Homecoming* by Harold Pinter. It zeroes in on the members of a lower-middle-class family tigerishly determined to preserve their identity. There is an unexpected visit from America by a brother and his wife, whom the unmarried brothers promptly seduce and who, in turn, emasculates them. The critics and the public found the play sordid, yet fascinating, and somehow deeply touching.

One of Pinter's earliest plays, in fact his first full-length effort, *The Birthday Party*, also was imported from London. Less well organized than *The Homecoming*, it showed the roots of this young Englishman's strikingly modern sense of dialogue and vivid imaginative power. A prize-winning off-Broadway actor, James Patterson, drew strong notices for his handling of the central role.

Another British play that scored on Broadway was Peter Shaffer's *Black Comedy* presented with his shorter, less effective piece, *White Lies*, in a double bill directed by John Dexter. Shaffer pinned his farce on an ancient Chinese theatre trick: actors weaving about a normally lighted stage which is presumably plunged in darkness. In this case the blown-fuse apartment contained not only furniture lifted from a visiting neighbor, but one girl friend too many. Lynn Redgrave as the new girl friend, Geraldine Page as the castoff, and Michael Crawford as the boy scored in their roles.

Another of Eugene O'Neill's posthumous plays was exhumed from his legacy of manuscripts and brought to Broadway. *More Stately Mansions* is a rambling story of the struggle of a possessive mother and an ambitious son. Ingrid Bergman, appearing in person on Broadway for the first time in twelve years, was handsome and commanding, but greater praise went to Arthur Hill as her son, and particularly to Colleen Dewhurst playing the shrewd and understanding wife.

One of the hits of the season was the presentation of four one-act plays by Robert Anderson to form an evening of sparkling comedy, liberally laced with sex, under the title *You Know I Can't Hear You When the Water's Running*. In the first of the plays, Martin Balsom portrays an actor so desperate for a job that he even auditions briefly in the nude. Balsom's performance generally was highly praised, along with those of George Grizzard and Eileen Heckart under Alan Schneider's direction.

If there is one thing Broadway is famed for it is musical comedy, the theatre's hardy perennial. The year had only three examples that were favorably received, and none of them really added luster to this genre. The earliest entry was *Hallelujah Baby!* with music by Jules Styne and a book by Arthur Laurents that sketched, with mild irony, a Negro singer's bouts with prejudice. Its star, Leslie Uggams, was outstanding. *Illya Darling* featured the scintillating Greek actress, Melina Mercouri, who won as much attention for her continued hostility toward the Greek military dictatorship as she did for her acting in the musical play based on the film, *Never on Sunday*. *How Now, Dow Jones*, with book by Max Schulman and music by Elmer Bernstein and Carolyn Leigh was a year-end entry on Broadway. The fragile story line of a boy (Anthony Roberts) and a girl (Brenda Vaccaro) caught in the Wall Street maze was given a certain dash and energy by George Abbott's veteran directional hand.

Off-Broadway continued to produce an exciting mixture of the poorly written and the powerful, the confused and the evocative, the gruesomely obscene and the brilliant. Among the best of the early season's off-Broadway productions was Lanford Wilson's *The Rimers of Eldritch*, a moving look at the spiritual blight of a small town, as well as John Herbert's *Fortune and Men's Eyes*, a drama that courageously and candidly probed the problem of homosexuality in prison.

One off-Broadway play which aroused storms of controversy was a curious parody on *Macbeth* by a California campus activist, Barbara Garson. This was *Mac-Bird!* which adapted the Shakespearean plot to the assassination of John F. Kennedy in order to mock President Johnson. While many considered the script outrageous, the vigorous staging by Eby Roy Levine was lauded and the production prospered.

There was also ringing box office success, off-Broadway scale, for the rude, abrasive, yet somehow winning comedy, *Scuba Duba* by Bruce J. Friedman. The play deals with a mother-fixated liberal floundering in a French villa, and his ideological conflicts when his wife makes off with a Negro skin diver. The direction by Jacques Levy, and Jerry Orbach's frenzied performance in the lead helped organize the weird doings.

Quite another dish was *You're a Good Man, Charlie Brown*, a musical based on the beloved "Peanuts" comic strip, with music and lyrics by Clark Gesner. Many felt it was the best musical on or off Broadway. Later in the season came another musical, *Hair*, taking its title from that leading symbol of the generation gap. With book and lyrics by Gerome Ragni and James Rado, this noisy and boisterous confection was slated at year's end for graduation uptown.

A small but vital adjunct to the off-Broadway scene in 1967 was the ultrareaxed milieu known as off-off-Broadway. The name is fittingly descriptive; the typical

setting being some place where people gather, but without fixed seats or a formal stage, such as a studio, coffee-house, or cafe.

The downtown area was freckled with scenes of off-off activity. Many were ill-considered or simply inept, but some showed originality and spirit, like the Judson Poets' Theatre, with its production of a musical, *In Circles*, based on Gertrude Stein's writings, or the American Place Theatre at St. Clement's Church with *La Turista* by Sam Shepard, directed by Jacques Levy who later did *Scuba Duba*.

The most vigorous and creative of these efforts came from a group known as the Cafe La Mama Experimental Theatre Club. Their best offering was a play by Rochelle Owens titled *Futz*, dealing in abstract style with a backwoods community that persecuted a farmer for bestiality. Director Tom O'Horgan made the play an exercise in theatre movement, light, and sound and won an Obie, off-Broadway parallel to the Tony Award, as did actor Seth Allen. Plaudits went to performances by John Bakos as Futz and Beth Porter as his girl friend.

Elsewhere uptown there was increasing activity in the field of repertory. The APA-Phoenix Theatre showed new strength in a string of fine revivals, especially George Kelly's *The Show-Off* with Helen Hayes, and a presentation of the Erwin Piscator adaptation of Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. The Lincoln Center Repertory Theatre, now under the single-handed direction of Jules Irving, after Herbert Blau's departure, was still struggling to find itself, despite the splendid theatrical resources of the Vivian Beaumont Theatre. There was much interest, but mixed praise, for its revival of Lillian Hellman's play, *The Little Foxes*, which could hardly be called a home-grown product since it had an outside director, Mike Nichols, and guest stars like Anne Bancroft, E. G. Marshall, Margaret Leighton, and George C. Scott. Perhaps the Lincoln Center's best production of the year was a revival of Brecht's *Galileo* directed by John Hirsch with Anthony Quayle in the title role.

The world of music continued to be dominated in the year 1967 by events centering about the Metropolitan Opera Company and its magnificent new opera house at Lincoln Center which had opened the preceding fall. First of all, early in the year, the Metropolitan Opera warned that it faced a grave financial crisis. The top orchestra chairs and box seats were boosted in price to a record \$15.50. At the same time, the Met suspended its touring organization, the Metropolitan Opera National Company, because of its huge deficit at home. The National was readying its third reason under the leadership of its director from the beginning, Risë Stevens. Their tours had been well received and there was widespread dismay. The vacuum created by this sudden action was quickly filled, however, by the energetic Boston opera

producer, Sarah Caldwell, who was able to whip together a new group, the American National Opera Company, in time to open tour in September. Part of the credit for the speedy development of this successor group was certainly due to the National Council on the Arts and its prompt action in making a federal assistance grant of 350 thousand dollars available to a replacement when the Metropolitan dissolved the National company.

Meanwhile, the Metropolitan opened the second season at its splendid new house with a sure-fire Verdi standby *La Traviata*, introducing their new soprano, Montserrat Caballé as the Violetta. The choice of opera helped counterbalance the disastrous opening night of the year before which had premiered Samuel Barber's overblown *Antony and Cleopatra*.

New productions at the Met for the year included Gounod's *Romeo et Juliette*, returning after an absence of 30 years, a *Walküre*, a *Hansel and Gretel*, and a dashing and stylish *Carmen*, all of which followed a gorgeously fantastic *Magic Flute* with masterful scenes and costumes by Marc Chagall.

In Canada, Expo 67 (see Chapter 15, LATIN AMERICA AND CANADA) proved to be one of the most exciting musical events of the century. In sequence, Expo brought to Montreal such magnificent opera groups as the Bolshoi of Russia, La Scala of Italy, the Stockholm Royal Opera, and the Vienna and Hamburg State Opera. The Bolshoi proved to be the most spectacular, bringing with it masses of performers and giant sets, but the strongest entry in this operatic sweepstakes was Milan's venerable La Scala, with its superbly finished productions of Verdi and Puccini delivered in inspired performances by singers who breathed the tradition of the house of Verdi and Toscanini.

Matching the magnificent opera presentations at Expo 67 was a festival of symphony concerts and chamber music recitals, including appearances by the Montreal, Melbourne, and Toronto Symphonies, the New York, Los Angeles, and Czech Philharmonic Orchestras, the Zagreb Soloists, and the Berlin Philharmonic Octet. Many of the opera companies and musical groups toured the United States as well, marking numerous first appearances in this country.

The musical year was highlighted by two centennials, one an expression of local pride, the other a world observance of a towering conductor-genius. Alaska, noted as a vigorous new state, but still imbued with a mystique of a pioneer country, celebrated the Centennial of its purchase from Russia by the presentation of a historical opera *Toyon of Alaska* by Willard Stright.

The world observance was for the centennial of Arturo Toscanini's birth. Although dead a bare ten years, his fame and unique power as a conductor had grown to a legend. In his native Italy, his birthplace in Parma was made a shrine, and President Saragat eulogized him

at La Scala, his musical home for many years. In the United States, the memory of the fabulous man was honored by TV documentaries and a year-long radio series on NBC, issues by RCA Victor of previously unreleased recordings, and countless memorial concerts.

In popular music, 1967 was the year in which rock 'n' roll moved so securely into the saddle in America, the home of jazz, that a teen-age listener to American radio might well wonder, not if jazz was dead, but indeed if it ever existed at all. But jazz certainly existed, and was alive and as full of argument as ever. The argument within the jazz world was to what extent this form of music could disassociate itself from the traditional values of jazz and, ignoring harmony, patterns, and even time, leap into the world of abstract art and formless sculpture. The great proponent of free jazz forms, John Coltrane, died during the year. The younger *avant-garde* artists lacked Coltrane's time-honored skills, and thus, unlike Coltrane, who could say he had played both traditional jazz and *avant-garde* and won respect from both schools, found themselves frequently scored and scorned by jazz buffs. As one expressed it: the *avant-garde* often rejected the great jazz of the past, not because it was restrictive, but because it was too difficult to learn. Instant disharmony and disaccord with music were so much simpler.

It is no accident that a major source in 1967 of new groups in the forefront of rock sounds was San Francisco, the origin point of the first beatniks—their poetry, flower power, and the psychedelic bus. From the Bay area now came the rock music, complete with weird costumes and flashing lights, of Big Brother and the Holding Company, Moby Grape, and The Grateful Dead.

One of the year's key events was the renewal in June of the Monterey Pop Festival in California. This time practically all of the *avant-garde* groups got together in three days of relentless rock. The guest list gives an instant perception of their special world: The Animals, The Jimi Hendrix Experience, Simon and Garfunkel, The Jefferson Airplane, The Association, Country Joe and the Fish, and Ravi Shankar. Monterey was only a mid-year rallying point for these groups and other practitioners of the electronics-abetted new rock music which, measured by recording sales and radio plays, dominated the land. First, in consideration of their group role as *paterfamilias*, are the Beatles. Their output slowed to one major hit record, "Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band," a collection of songs that seemed to have a beginning and end with an occult theme laced with irony. Most of the year, the Beatles were off on personal pursuits including meditations and consultations with Indian gurus. The tragic death of Brian Epstein, who discovered and managed them, occurred in midyear.

The beat of the new rock came on so strong that it spawned new periodicals of analytical criticism such as

*Crawdaddy* and *Rolling Stone*, and the magazine *Jazz* changed its name to *Jazz and Pop*. There were few exceptions to the rock triumph in the list of top 10 best-selling single records. A little English girl named Lulu hit the head of the list singing the theme of the motion picture "To Sir, with Love," and a simple country ballad by an unknown girl, Bobbie Gentry, "Ode to Billie Joe" soared to the heights. Carrying on a gallant rearguard action, Frank Sinatra joined with his daughter Nancy to score with "Somethin' Stupid."

And among the more expensive LP albums also, some of the diehard lovers of melody had their innings. The sound tracks of three movies competed strongly for favor among the top 10. They were, *Dr. Zhivago*, *A Man and a Woman*, and an evergreen from the year before, *Sound of Music*. Three Herb Alpert and His Tijuana Brass albums also were on the list, "SRO," "Whipped Cream and Other Delights," and "Going Places." But the best-selling albums of all were still examples of basic rock, albeit already faintly outmoded: the 1966 quartet discovery, the Monkees.

If the greatest recording market continued to be for popular music, there was still a tremendous demand for classical music. And it would appear that the brilliant conductor of the New York Philharmonic, Leonard Bernstein, was everywhere during the year. Three of the most popular classical albums were conducted by Bernstein. They included: Mahler's Symphony No. 8, played by the London Symphony; Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*, by the Vienna Philharmonic, and the New York Philharmonic's "How a Great Symphony Was Written," featuring Beethoven's magnificent Fifth Symphony with spoken illumination by Bernstein. The brilliant American pianist, Van Cliburn, was featured in two outstanding classical records. One was "My Favorite Chopin," and the other, Tchaikovsky's great Piano Concerto Number 1.

The year in dance was chiefly one of consolidation and maturing of existing groups. One new company, after some years of organization, made its debut; the estab-

lished companies made special efforts to strengthen their repertoires.

The new company was the Harkness Ballet, founded and supported by a wealthy patroness of the arts, Rebekah Harkness. There had been several years of preparation including tours of the United States and Europe before the Harkness opened in New York in the late fall. Artistic direction was placed in the hands of a Canadian choreographer, Brian Macdonald. The repertoire was largely contemporary rather than classical. There was a new version of "Firebird," costly in sets and costumes, and a sumptuous setting of Agnes de Mille's "Golden Age." The critical response ranged from warm to icy.

Among the established companies, the American Ballet Theatre honored itself by presenting the first full-length "Swan Lake" to be given by an American company, largely re-creating the 1895 original under David Blair's staging. Among its new productions, the American Ballet introduced "Harbinger," a first ballet by a new choreographer, Eliot Feld, to music by Prokofiev. It was a leading success.

The New York City Ballet gave the world premiere of a new work, "Jewels," by its fabulously talented director, George Balanchine. The evening-long ballet, without story, evoked the characteristics of three gems—emeralds, rubies, and diamonds—to music respectively by Fauré, Stravinsky, and Tchaikovsky. The result was a dance diadem of radiant splendor.

Over at the City Center, the Joffrey Ballet, newly ensconced as resident ballet company, offered a stunning psychedelic ballet, "Astarte," with choreography by Joffrey, mod music, and even *avant-garde* film. *Time* magazine considered it important enough to give it a cover story.

To Alwin Nikolais, creator of the "total theatre" ballet, who does the music for his works as well as the costumes and lighting, went credit for the most "far out" contributions of the season. His "Imago," subtitled "The City Curious," was an ode to the metropolis, and "Junk Dances" by his pupil Murray Louis whirled satire on the op art scene.

Wall Street widows give a boost to customers' man Anthony Roberts in the musical *How Now, Dow Jones*.





Top left: Always-exciting Melina Mercouri in *Illya Darling*, the musical stage adaptation of *Never on Sunday*, the film that brought her to the attention of American audiences.

Top right: Larry Blyden and Irene Dailey in one of the four one-act plays lumped under the title *You Know I Can't Hear You When the Water's Running*.

Bottom: The Royal Shakespeare Company's Vivien Merchant, Paul Rogers, and Ian Holm (rear) teamed to win for Harold Pinter's *The Homecoming* the Tony and Drama Critics' Circle Awards as best play of the year.







Left: Arthur Hill, Ingrid Bergman, and Colleen Dewhurst in Eugene O'Neill's *More Stately Mansions*—the story of a possessive mother and an ambitious son.

Below: *Hello, Dolly!* was given a new birth on Broadway with an all-Negro cast, headed by Pearl Bailey. Her co-star was Cab Calloway.





Right: Country people and their morality are searchingly examined by off-off Broadway playwright Rochelle Owens in *Futz*. John Bakos plays Cy Futz, Beth Porter is his girl friend Marjorie.

Bottom left: William Devane, left, as Ken O'Dunk and Stacy Keach in the title role of *MacBird!* in Barbara Garson's bitter satire on President Johnson. *Macbeth* formed its basis. Outrageous though some critics said it was, the satire played to sellout houses.

Bottom right: A relaxing scene from *Scuba Duba*, the wild comedy starring Brenda Smiley and Jerry Orbach.

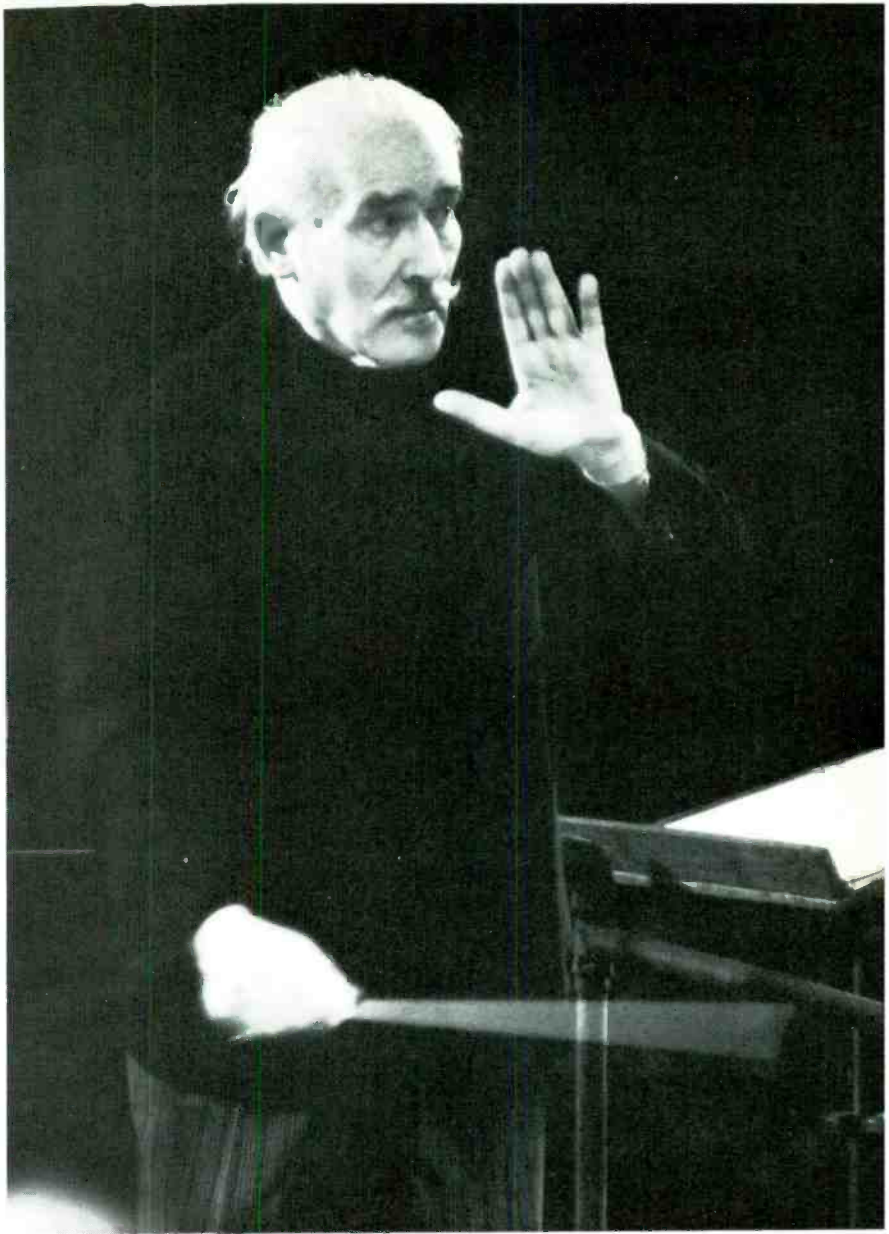


Right: Alan Weeks, Leslie Uggams, and Winston Dewitt Hemsley bring down the house in *Hallelujah, Baby!*—a personal triumph for Miss Uggams.



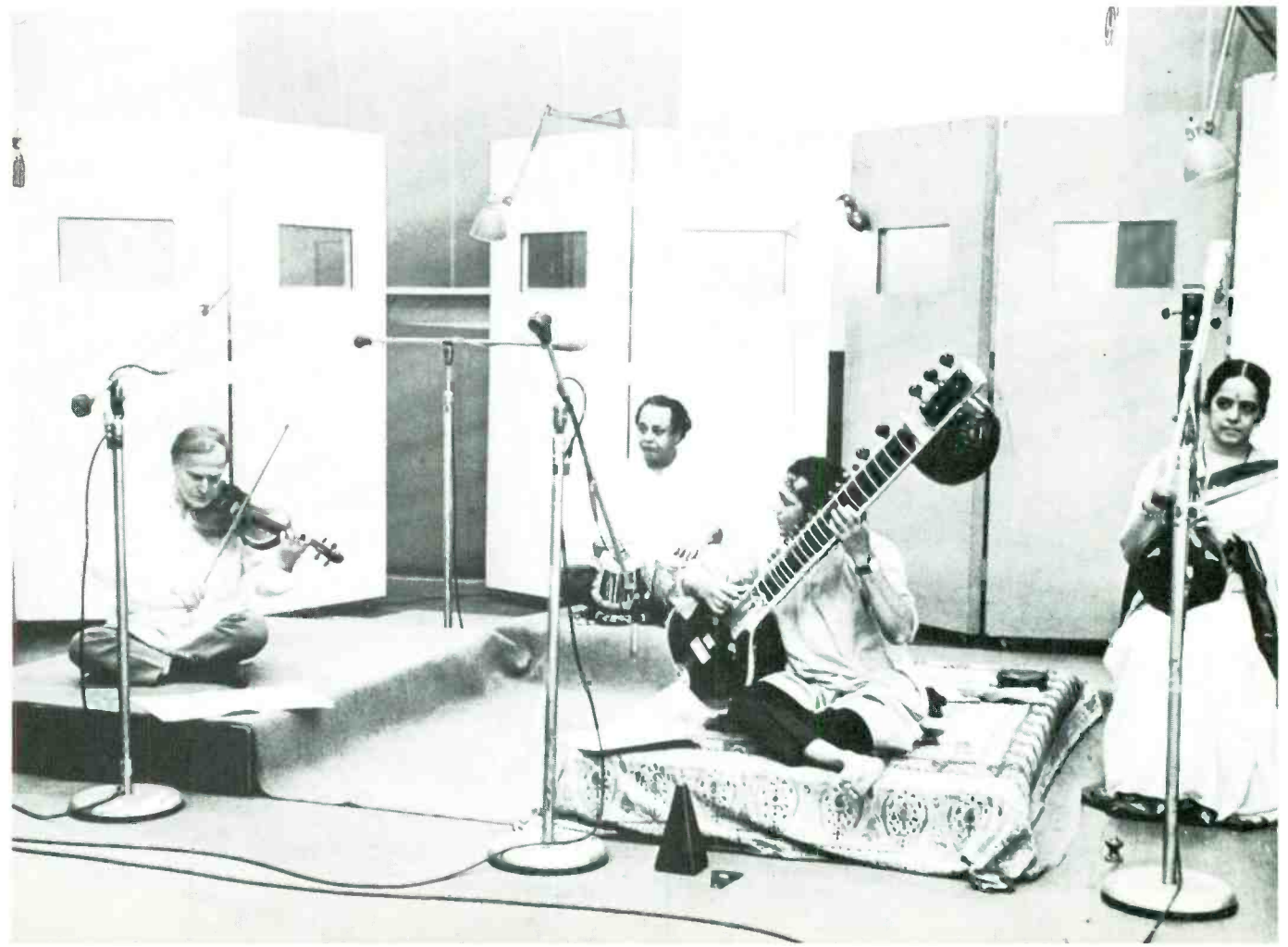


The generation gap is symbolized by the title *Hair*—liberally on display in this scene from the musical.



*Right:* Arturo Toscanini's hundredth birthday would have been March 25, 1967. The Maestro, seen here conducting the NBC Symphony in 1954, was an even larger legend ten years after his death than during his remarkable lifetime.

*Bottom:* A strange duo, but they made music—and money. Violinist Yehudi Menuhin and sitarist Ravi Shanker collaborate to record *West Meets East*. Alla Rakha plays the tabla in the background.





*Left:* Grace Bumbry breathes fire into the new *Carmen* at the Metropolitan Opera House.

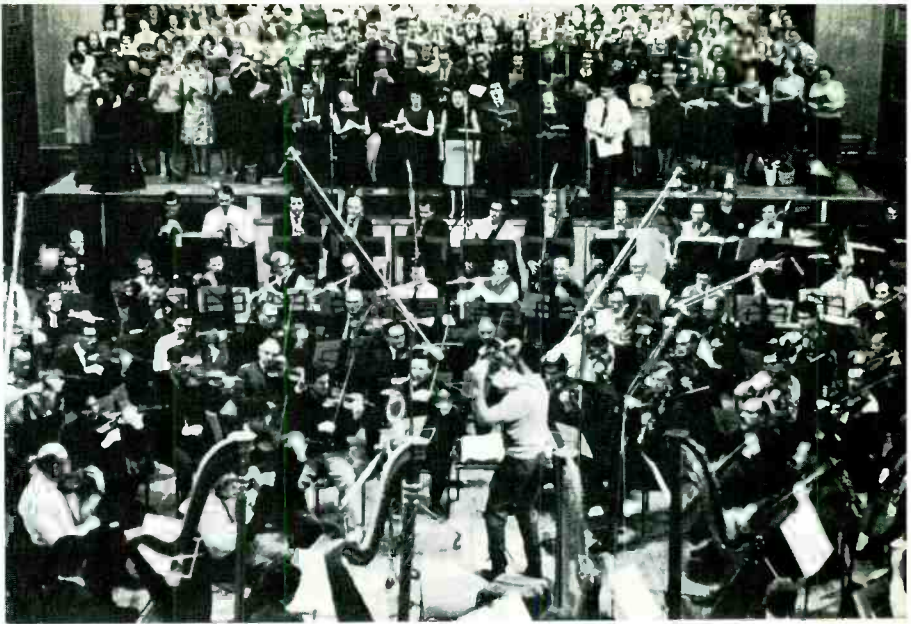
*Bottom left:* Nicolai Gedda as Tamino in Mozart's *Magic Flute* at the Metropolitan Opera. Breathtaking scenery and costumes were by Marc Chagall.

*Bottom right:* John Reardon, Marie Collier, and Christine Mannon in Marvin David Levy's operatic version of O'Neill's tragic trilogy *Mourning Becomes Electra*.

*Opposite top left:* Pianist Vladimir Horowitz, whose recordings were not lost among the outpouring of pop music during the year.

*Opposite top right:* Leonard Bernstein, conductor of the New York Philharmonic, leads the London Symphony and choir while recording Mahler's *Symphony No. 8*. It was the year's top classical seller.





Right: Peter Tork, Micky Dolenz, Mike Nesmith, and David Jones as "The Monkees" ham it up in their television series, a mixture of the quartet's rock music and slapstick.

Bottom: The "grand old men" of rock: Beatles Ringo Starr, John Lennon, Paul McCartney, and George Harrison.





Jim Morrison and The Doors open the way to a psychedelic world of pop music.



The Mothers of Invention, who play a staggering variety of instruments and write their own music. They are (rear, from left) Ray Collins, Jim Black, head Mother Frank Zappa, Arthur Tripp, and Roy Estrada. Kneeling: Bunk Gardner, Jim Sherwood, Ian Underwood. Reclining: Don Preston.

One of the Harkness ballet's most winning productions: the "Golden Age," presumably set backstage at the Paris Opera in 1860.



Martha Graham kneels at center in "Dancing Ground." One of the ageless Miss Graham's most lyrical works, it was presented at the Mark Hellinger Theatre on Broadway.

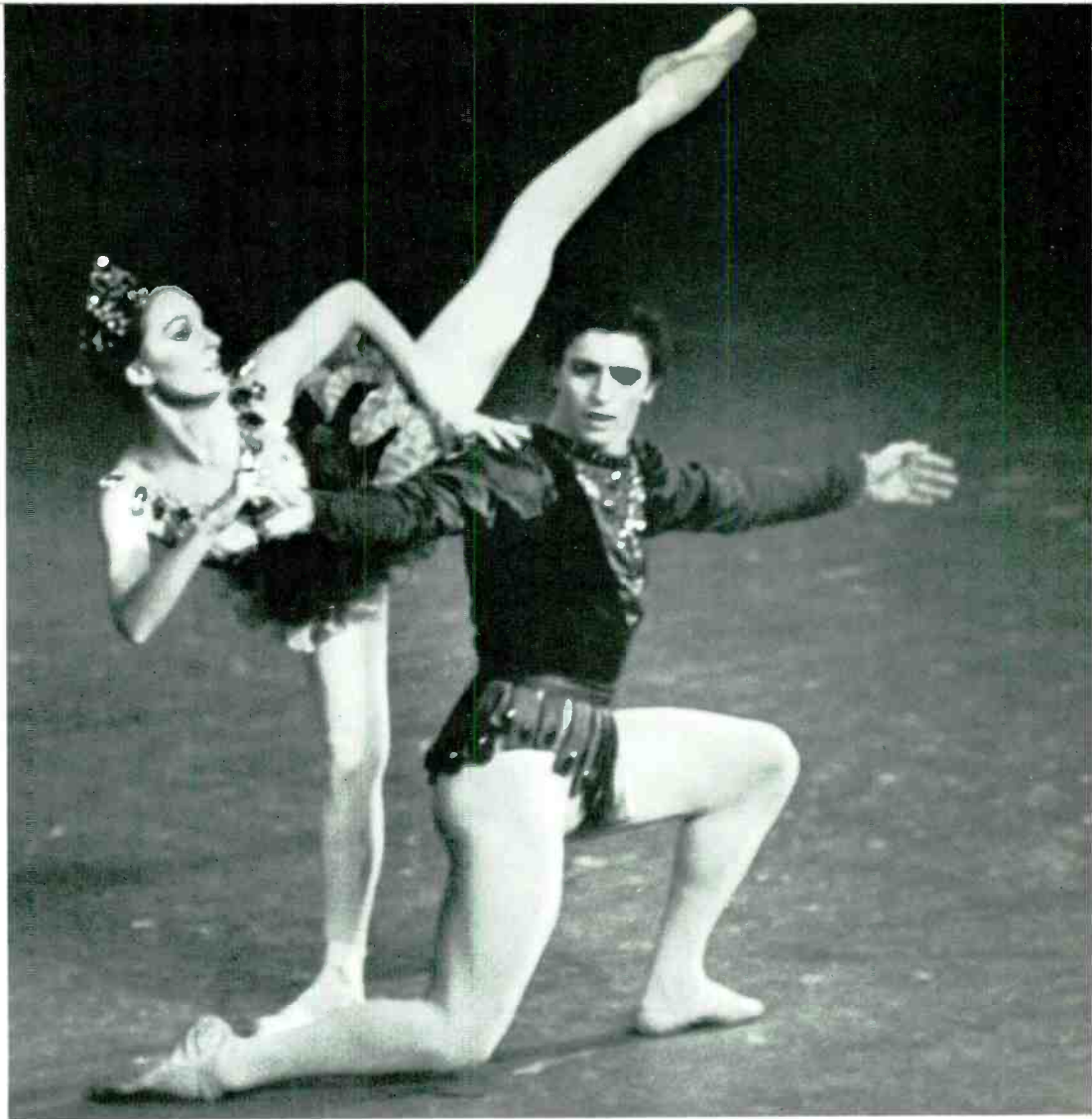


Right: Edward Villella supports Patricia McBride in an arabesque in "Rubies," the second jewel in George Balanchine's three-part triumph.

Center left: Robert Joffrey's "Astarte," a "psychedelic ballet," billed as the first "multi-media production" ever done by a major company, presented by the Joffrey Ballet at the New York City Center.

Center right: Murray Louis and Phyllis Lamhut in "Junk Dances." This typical Louis creation was a crossbreed between pure dance and oldtime vaudeville.

Bottom: "Imago," an example of an Alwin Nikolais fantasy. He did the choreography, composed the score, designed the costumes and props, and splashed it all with his own imaginative lighting.







Poitier again, this time with Rod Steiger as the bigoted southern police chief of *In the Heat of the Night*.

## 24. Movies

MOVIEMAKERS, FROM THE MOST PRESTIGIOUS to the most threadbare, seemed determined to make 1967 memorable for preoccupation with sex and sadism. Studios reached new plateaus of realism in handling both subjects. No aspect of sex, whether incest, lesbianism, homosexuality, or normal love, escaped detailed study. Violence was never more realistic.

Surely the most representative of the major pictures of 1967 was Arthur Penn's *Bonnie and Clyde*. The film was created around what in real life was the short-lived, sordid, and little-known criminal careers of two vicious young killers of the 1930's, Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow. But the film idealized their lives, took much of its sparkle from the real-life exploits of another 1930's criminal, John Dillinger, and turned murder into a sensual delight.

*Bonnie and Clyde* appeared destined to take its place alongside a handful of great movies over the years that have set new patterns and pointed to new directions. Yet, as often has been the case with such movies, their techniques turn out to be more impressive than their truths. A case in point is the D. W. Griffith classic, *Birth of a Nation*. Brilliant in concept and execution, *Birth of a Nation* was marred by its distorted picture of degraded racism and bigotry. In a sense, *Bonnie and Clyde* contains the same seeds of distortion.

*Bonnie and Clyde* won high critical praise for its fearless use of color, its juxtaposition of beauty and hate, its harrowing realism in gory killings, and its mundane dullness in a family relationship.

It was inevitable that Hollywood, of all the communication centers, would react promptly to the national preoccupation with the civil-rights struggle and its emotional and sociological implications. The two best films in this area presented in the central role, and probably by no coincidence, the same superbly disciplined Negro actor, Sidney Poitier.

First to come was Norman Jewison's *In the Heat of the Night*, a carefully directed, splendidly photographed film of racism in the South hung on a threadbare mystery plot. A Negro stranger is arrested in a Deep South town as a murder suspect. He turns out to be a Philadelphia homicide expert on a visit to his family, and he helps the bigoted small-town police chief solve the crime. Poitier's brilliant performance was beautifully matched by Rod Steiger as the police chief who is forced to learn new dimensions of human understanding in a taut 24 hours.

Late in the year a film quite different in style attracted particular attention from the critics and the public alike. Along with Poitier, *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* brought together two of the all-time screen favorites, Katharine Hepburn and Spencer Tracy, in what was to be the final film of Tracy's splendid career. Directed by Stanley Kramer, the film presents Poitier as the brilliant young Negro doctor whom daughter (Katharine Houghton) introduces to the Tracy-Hepburn household as her fiancé. Critics were divided on the validity of attacking the miscegenation theme with such an exotic and glamorized example, but there was no denying the skill and finish of the picture's direction and performances.

But the real blockbuster of critical acclaim came at the very end of the year—*The Graduate*, directed by Mike Nichols. It was only his second effort, following his prize-winning *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* In the setting of a typical affluent California suburb, the film sketched the overnight maturing of a young boy graduate surrounded by the vapid banalities of his parents' comfortable life. From his seduction to his final self-assertion, Dustin Hoffman gave a remarkable performance as the boy, warmly aided by a beautiful newcomer, Katharine Ross, as his seducer's daughter whom he finally wins. But it was Nichols' direction that gave

elegance and wit to the whole production, including some of the most explicit sexual scenes of the year.

Among other films of the year that were notable for their contribution or critical reception were:

*Camelot*, the film version of the musical by Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe. It starred Richard Harris and Vanessa Redgrave. *Camelot*, as a stage musical, was reportedly the late President Kennedy's favorite.

Another musical that was notable for its spirit and style was *Thoroughly Modern Millie*, starring Julie Andrews, Mary Tyler Moore, and Carol Channing. The setting of the 1920's was executed with verve and accuracy, and the film's theme song was one of the best of the season.

An entrancing musical that some critics hailed as perfect whimsy was *Doctor Dolittle* starring Rex Harrison, Samantha Eggar, and Anthony Newley.

Among distinguished European films of the year was the grand prize winner at the Venice Film Festival, Luis Bunuel's *Belle de Jour*. Critics hailed it for its masterful photography, brilliant action, and combination of the shocking and the truth. Its theme was the story of an apparently happy young wife who found sexual satisfaction only through pain and degradation. Accordingly, she spent her afternoons in a brothel. Although the subject was salacious, the treatment was sympathetic. The Cannes Festival award-winning film was a Swedish production, *Elvira Madigan*, based on the story of a young army officer who left his wife and children to spend one magnificent, tragic summer with a tightrope dancer.

A novel, but not unique, approach to converting a rousing stage success into a successful movie was employed in the filming of Peter Weiss's *The Persecution and Assassination of Marat, as Performed by the Inmates of the Asylum Charenton, Under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade*. Not surprisingly, the title was abbreviated to *Marat/Sade*. The cameras never moved from one room in the nineteenth-century Paris asylum. The film scored brilliantly in revealing the tension and unity that both bind, yet separate, acting and reality.

Underground movies began achieving both wider acceptance and some degree of commercial success. Andy Warhol's *The Chelsea Girls* was in this category. Warhol produced a diptych effect by showing the film with two 16mm projectors simultaneously, one silent, the other in sound.

*Portrait of Jason*, by Shirley Clarke, was, in effect, a two-hour interview with a male prostitute, a film that plumbed some of the depths of Negro turmoil. It, too, came from the "underground" and was a commercial success.

The year 1967 was, in one impressive respect, a fortunate year. As one critic said, it produced more exceptional films than any year of the previous decade. Among them were:

*Blow Up*, the first film produced by Michelangelo Antonioni, of Italy, outside his home country. It is the story of a London photographer who takes a picture of lovers in the park, and accidentally becomes a witness to a murder. Its elliptical story is how the photographer discovered the gap between "swinging London" and reality. *How I Won the War* was a British film directed by Richard Lester, the American who directed the two Beatle films. This was a brilliant antiwar comedy about a British platoon, commanded by a thick-headed, friendly lieutenant who in six years kills off all his men except the platoon coward.

*Closely Watched Trains*, from Czechoslovakia, won both commercial and critical success. The story was an effective portrayal of the grimness of the Nazi occupation told through the personal experiences in sex, love, job, and status of a country railroad employee. *Accident*, written by Harold Pinter and based on a novel by Nicholas Moseley, suffered some of the defects of *Bonnie and Clyde*—better by far in many of its parts than in the sum of the entire film. The theme of *Accident* is the affairs a female student at Oxford has with two dons before she winds up engaged to another student.

*Up the Down Staircase* was adapted from a hilarious book by Bel Kaufman that dealt with the excitement, the humor, and the turmoil of a slum school in New York. The film was the first starring role for Sandy Dennis. She portrayed the inexperienced young teacher who falls in love with the school and her profession. The film was chosen as the official United States entry of the 1967 Moscow Film Festival.

*The Battle of Algiers* was a documentary-style account of the guerrilla war waged by Algerian rebels against the French. It won enthusiastic critical applause at the New York Film Festival. *The Family Way*, with John Mills and Hayley Mills, was another widely acclaimed film that handled the subject of a marriage night with sensitivity and understanding.

What is interesting in reviewing the major films of the year is how producers, both in the United States and abroad, avoided subjects that dealt head-on with the most critical problems of the year—the ghettos, poverty in the cities and rural slum conditions, the hard-core unemployed, the migration of illiterate and ill-prepared black and white farmers to the cities, race riots, or the war in Vietnam. For the public, these issues were not ignored. But they were explored, often brilliantly, by television and radio. The movies dealt with other subjects.

Chiefly, the movies turned increasingly to sexual themes as the courts further removed the shackles of censorship. Indeed, a quick look at the motion picture advertisements on one day in *The New York Times* would suggest that every film was a more lurid production than the previous one. Ads were liberally sprinkled with

such phrases as: "Much more explicit sexually than the book." "Uses sex the way Chaplin used compassion."

It was not so much the use of sex, or brutality, that disturbed thoughtful critics of contemporary movies, rather their concern was with the way movies advertised their sexual themes and controlled admission to theatres. Few voices suggested that censorship should be reim-

posed. But there were strong suggestions that states might institute movie review boards, then require exhibitors to regulate the implications of their advertising, and sharply restrict movie audiences to, for example, those eighteen and older where themes were considered too mature and salacious for younger minds.



"Doctor Dolittle," Rex Harrison, takes an advanced lesson in animal languages, taught by his parrot. Here, the good doctor converses with sheep.

Dirk Bogarde and Jacqueline Bessard in *Accident*, Harold Pinter's screen adaptation of Nicholas Meseley's novel.



Robert Blake and Scott Wilson, as two twisted killers, in the movie version of Truman Capote's chilling *In Cold Blood*.





Mary Tyler Moore and Julie Andrews dance to make a cranky elevator work in *Thoroughly Modern Millie*, the 1920's musical romp.



Top right: Nurse Bibi Andersson and patient Liv Ullmann in Ingmar Bergman's haunting *Persona*.



Center right: Inmates Paul Newman as Luke and George Kennedy as Dragline try to elude a posse in *Cool Hand Luke*.

In *Marat/Sade*, Patrick Magee as the Marquis de Sade muses in chair while Glenda Jackson as Charlotte Corday sits on the bathhouse drainboards. The Herald is Michael Williams.



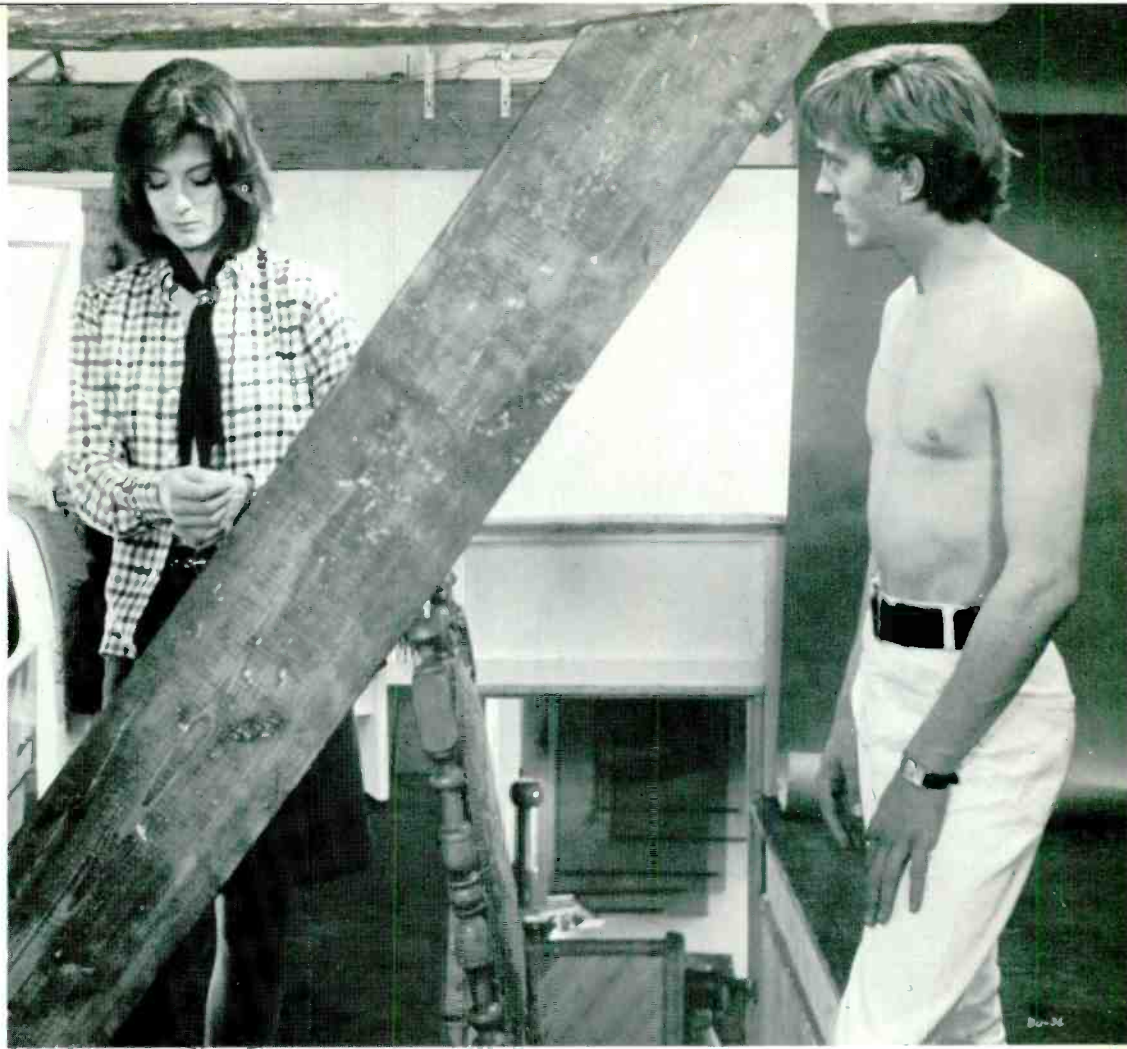
Top right: Vanessa Redgrave prepares to leave David Hemmings' apartment in *Blow-Up*, and he wants her to jot down her phone number.

Center left: Anne Bancroft and Dustin Hoffman. He's *"The Graduate"*; she introduces him to the world of adult sex.

Center right: Yves Montand and Ingrid Thulin in a confrontation from *La Guerre Est Finie*.

Bottom left: Milo O'Shea and Barbara Jefford as Leopold Bloom and his wife Molly in Joseph Strick's production of James Joyce's monumental *Ulysses*.

Bottom right: *"Bonnie and Clyde"* and their gang race from a bank holdup. *"Bonnie"* is Faye Dunaway. *"Clyde"* (Warren Beatty) is in the straw hat. That's *"C.W."* (Michael Pollard) at left, and Clyde's ex-con brother, *"Buck"* (Gene Hackman) next to *"Bonnie."*





A Korean elder switches on educational television. During the year, educational television grew by leaps and bounds in underdeveloped countries. Even in the United States, seven to ten million pupils are taught partly by instructional television.

## 25. TV and Radio

TELEVISION AND RADIO continued to follow predictable paths during the year, both in the United States and abroad. By the year's end, the number of television sets in use throughout the world was estimated at more than 209 million. And the number of radio sets, ranging from tiny transistors carried by teen-agers to the beaches, to the finest of FM stereo receivers, was placed at close to 600 million. More than one-third of the television sets, roughly 78 million, were in the United States, and 15 million of them, almost 1 out of 4, were color sets.

And what attracted audiences? Apparently, the same programs in one country as another, and the United States continued to make programs for viewing at home that found wide acceptance in other countries.

"Bonanza," one of the top-rated TV westerns in the United States, was seen during the year in no less than 77 countries, making this single program the most popular in the world. "Bewitched," a light fantasy comedy, was seen in 70 countries, and "Perry Mason," a detective series, in 64 different nations. In fact, American programs proved so popular worldwide, that to protect their own television interests, quotas were imposed on United States programs by such countries as Canada, Japan, Australia, and England.

TV Networks in the United States reported receiving from advertisers in 1967 \$637 million for talent and programs. This was apart from charges for network time. The networks took pride in producing an increasing number of specials, ranging from super entertainment programs featured only once, to massive coverage of congressional hearings that focused on critical events in current history. An estimated 285 specials were produced.

Motion pictures continued to grow in rank among the most popular shows on television. But the insatiable appetite of television for outstanding movies meant a growing shortage for television. This led both CBS and ABC to work out arrangements for the production of motion pictures that would be shown first in theaters,

then exclusively on their networks. NBC took a different approach, commissioning movies that would be shown first on the home television screen, then in the nation's theatres.

The growth of movie popularity on TV was linked to another deeply significant trend: longer shows, replacing the familiar half-hour and hour formats. The movement was plainly toward more specials, or extended presentations, making a single event for the family to center the evening on, rather than a nightly schedule freckled with 5 or 6 of the regular-length shows to choose from. However, with an eye on the convention and election year ahead, and the enormous special costs this coverage would entail, the networks were not rushing into announcing any giant new plans for long-format presentations, but it was felt that they were seriously pondering the depth of the trend.

Apart from the upward surge of movie popularity and the long-format trend, the other significant development was the unmistakable increase in frequency and depth with which the networks reported and integrated world events.

News dominated the nonentertainment side of the television, and the networks spent millions to bring swift coverage of such developments as the Arab-Israeli war, the Johnson-Kosygin meeting in New Jersey, United Nations crisis meetings, critical developments in Washington, besides massive day-after-day coverage of the war in Vietnam.

One sign of the news upbeat was the inception by ABC of a nightly half-hour news roundup, matching NBC and CBS. The communications satellites, Early Bird over the Atlantic and the newly installed Lani Bird over the Pacific, were used increasingly on the networks to bring extended on-the-spot coverage of Middle East and Far East events. This traffic was indeed two-way as viewers in Europe and Asia were shown, via satellite, actualities of UN debates and the Glassboro "summit" meeting.



With this emphasis on news and public affairs coverage, many distinguished documentaries and special studies were offered to the public. The networks scored brilliantly in presenting in-depth coverage of virtually any subject without fear and without favor. This listing of a selected few will serve to indicate the range of subjects and approaches undertaken by the network.

A four-hour-long ABC program on Africa, one of the most expensive color programs of the year, brought extensive praise from critics and public. It was presented on one night. A similar-length program, also successfully received, the CBS examination of the Warren Report on President Kennedy's assassination, was presented an hour at a time on successive nights.

An NBC documentary made next-day newspaper headlines. This was the hour-long look at the former Soviet Premier, "Khrushchev in Exile," based on exclusive films, audio tapes, and a remarkable close-up interview of Khrushchev in retirement. Another NBC documentary, a close look at the Kennedy investigation being carried on by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, turned out to be so controversial and critical that NBC offered Garrison a half-hour rebuttal.

Continuing the list, there was praise for ABC's documentaries on the South Pole and on Vietnam, for the CBS Specials on iconoclast Eric Hoffer and on Red China with Morley Safer, and for the NBC documentary on the Negro GI, "Same Mud, Same Blood," as well as their special titled "An Evening at Tanglewood."

The educational network NET was the American focus in late June for one of the most unusual and portentous programs of the year—a two-hour program titled "Our World." Using satellites, it had been placed as the first round-the-world live telecast. Because of the Arab-Israeli crisis, Russia and four other East Europe nations withdrew at the last minute. Nevertheless, 14 nations cooperated, and the program dealing largely with world problems of population and food, was seen via satellite simultaneously in 30 nations.

The world of television documentaries suffered a tragic loss in 1967 with the death of Ted Yates, an NBC producer-director-reporter. He was fatally injured while producing a documentary on the Arab-Israeli war. His outstanding program for the year was a 3-hour, 3-part study called "The Battle for Asia."

The three networks competed vigorously in the fields of sports coverage, and certainly professional sports were never given greater exposure. *Broadcasting* magazine made a special study of the cost of televising sports programs during the year and found that the industry was paying close to \$50 million for the rights to professional and college football, almost \$30 million to cover major league baseball, and about \$13 million to cover hockey.

The accolades for fine television productions were almost equally divided among the three networks. The era when the "big two" dominated the awards and the

applause changed, in due course, to the era of the "big three." And, for the first time, a noncommercial television network, National Educational Television (or NET), began to get widespread attention for some of its productions.

In the field of comedy, three of the most highly applauded shows were "Bewitched," on ABC; "The Lucy Show," on CBS; and "Get Smart," NBC. In the dramatic series, the critics especially liked NBC's "Star Trek," CBS's "Mission: Impossible," and ABC's "The Avengers." On noncommercial television, "NET Playhouse" was given considerable attention. In the field of musical-variety series, two CBS entries, "The Smothers Brothers" and "The Carol Burnett Show," and two from NBC, "The Dean Martin Show" and "Rowan and Martin's Laugh-in" found themselves in high favor.

Among the dramatic specials which scored heavily with audiences and critics were ABC's *Luther*, NBC's *Elizabeth the Queen* and *The Investigation*, NET's *Uncle Vanya*, and CBS's *Do Not Go Gentle into That Good Night* and *Dear Friends*. Among the top music-variety specials which won wide audiences were *Herb Alpert and the Tijuana Brass* on CBS, *Bob Hope Christmas Special* on NBC, and *Five Ballets of the Five Senses* on NET.

Outside of the soap operas (there were 12 of them on the 3 networks), the daytime programs that particularly appealed to critics were "Camera Three" on CBS, NBC's "Today," ABC's "Discovery," and the independently syndicated program "The Mike Douglas Show."

Toward the close of 1967, NBC President Julian Goodman summarized the role of broadcasting in the United States in these words: "Commercial broadcasting service [has] created and become the nation's basic communications medium. Beyond that, commercial broadcasting is the broadest, most effective, most accepted educational force in the country, the one with the greatest impact on our national life." Few would disagree, though certainly broadcasting has its critics.

One area in which critics jumped on television was coverage of the frustrating problem of riots in American cities. For example, Representative Harley O. Staggers (D., W.Va.), chairman of a House Communications Subcommittee, urged a Congressional probe of the handling of race riots, particularly, whether or not early coverage was responsible for turning minor disturbances into full-scale riots. But the answer came, in part, from Senator Warren G. Magnuson (D., Wash.), who replied that riots "were not the creation of the news media who, on the whole, amid incredible difficulties, strove to tell the whole story with balance, objectivity, and without condescension of trying to protect the public from the true dimensions of the grim episode."

Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, in answering a charge that his network gave more attention to Negro militants than to voices of

reason and moderation, pointed out that during a period of major urban troubles during 1967, CBS presented appearances by 15 militants, as opposed to 65 moderates and officials. Stanton, along with ABC and NBC, vigorously protested the suggestion that the networks ought to be guided by an official federal code.

While TV was digesting these challenges, radio, particularly local radio stations, were demonstrating their adaptation to a new role in American life. Obviously, radio no longer felt, as it had for some years, that it was a neglected stepchild of broadcasting, but rather that its role was unique, invaluable, and permanent. Radio's method of meeting and finding a satisfactory position in broadcasting came about through what is known within the industry as "vertical" programming, or the devotion by a particular station for a substantial portion of its broadcast day to a single form of entertainment.

Virtually eliminated were the old 15- and 30-minute programs devoted to a variety of entertainment forms, ranging from comedy to opera, and from news to documentaries. As examples of "vertical" programming, in New York City WMCA and WABC concentrated almost entirely upon a rock 'n' roll format built around rock 'n' roll music and aimed at keeping teen-age ears tuned in. WINS, the Westinghouse Broadcasting outlet, offered all news, and only news, 24 hours a day, a format subsequently adopted by the CBS radio flagship, WCBS. WNBC emphasized talk, programs in which on-the-air personalities talked via telephone to listeners on any and every conceivable subject fit for airing.

WJRZ in the New York area, and WJJD in Chicago discovered that vertical programming of country and western music could find a substantial audience among the sophisticates of the big cities. One vertical program that failed was a Los Angeles station that offered only want ads.

What happened to network radio in 1967? It turned increasingly to news and special events, though NBC continued its popular weekend entertainment potpourri known as "Monitor." CBS news was the cornerstone of that network's service.

At year's end ABC announced a new form of programming, what it described as a four-network operation. By this, ABC meant that, beginning in 1968, it would feed four different five-minute newscasts each hour, each tailored to a distinctive audience, thus broadening its service to stations on the theory that a rock 'n' roll station with a teen-age audience would use a news format differ-

ent from that of an FM station featuring classical music.

At the end of the year, this is the way *Variety* summed up radio:

"While the radio station operators of America are a predominantly conservative group, radio itself is a dynamic medium which cannot resist change. The past two decades have seen several revolutions, the result of which has been unparalleled prosperity for the medium as a whole, if not for all its component parts. Paradoxically, the giants of American broadcasting—the major networks—have played a secondary role in this transformation. They may yet gain the initiative."

All was not honey and roses in the broadcasting industry. For the first time in its history, AFTRA, the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, called its 18,000 members out on strike against the three networks. The networks during the two weeks of the strike remained on the air only by utilizing managerial personnel and showing a heavy diet of previously taped programs.

A new commercial television network made a brief appearance in the United States during 1967, the United Network, successor to the ill-fated Overmyer Network. UN began broadcasting in May, succumbed to financial ills in June. However, the Kaiser Broadcasting Corporation announced late in the year that it hoped to put a limited new network into operation by 1970.

In the field of noncommercial television, PBL, the Public Broadcast Laboratory, began its first programs in a two-year series financed by a \$10 million grant from the Ford Foundation. PBL's announced aim is: to demonstrate the full potential of educational television on a network basis. Judging by critical reports, PBL has been only partially successful, though some observers feel that it has not yet really found its stride.

For the first time, television viewers discovered they were watching commercials devoted to the dangers of cigarette smoking, as well as the pleasures. Under an order by the FCC, broadcasting stations were required to give substantial time to the hazards of cigarette smoking. Certainly the most effective anticigarette commercials were produced for the American Cancer Society.

In the technical field, color was the big word for television. NBC alone broadcast more than 4,700 hours of color television. The ownership of color sets continued to increase dramatically. Approximately 25 percent of all households had one color television set by the end of the year, with approximately 15 million estimated in use.



Top left: Hailed by critics, ABC's *Africa* was a four-hour marathon that nevertheless held audiences enthralled with its pictorial and editorial insights into the onetime "dark" continent.



Top right: Martin Balsam and Maureen Stapleton are shown *Among the Paths to Eden*, adapted for ABC by Truman Capote from his short story.



Center: Inspector Lewis Erskine (Efreem Zimbalist, Jr., left) visits the cell of prison escapee Gerald Spain (Paul Mantee) to dig out a lead to his fellow fugitives on ABC's "The FBI."

Bottom left: "The Flying Nun," a series in the *Mary Poppins* vein, starred Sally Field as the flying Sister Bertrille. Marge Redmond is shown as Sister Jacqueline in the ABC production.

Bottom right: As unlikely a pair of investigators as ever walked through a cathode tube, Patrick Macnee and Linda Thorson starred as John Steed and Tara King in the British-background action series, "The Avengers," on ABC.





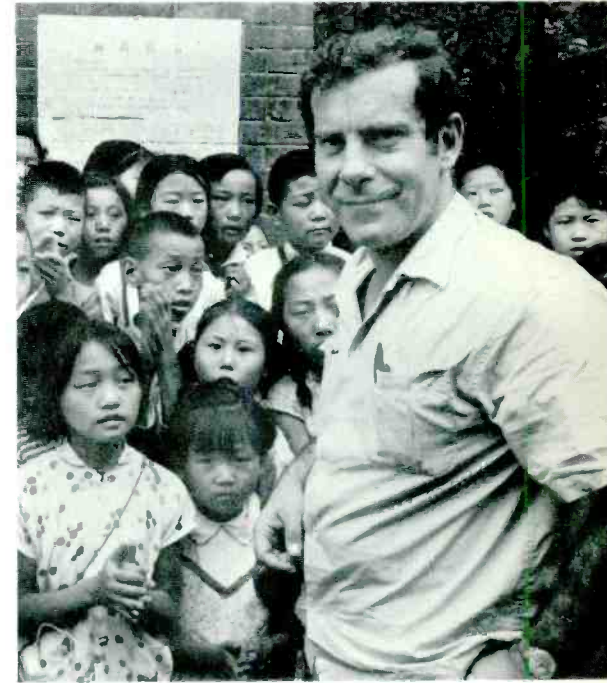
Top left: On the CBS three-night examination of "The Warren Report," an expert rifleman, at the same height and angle as the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository, fires at a target moving along a test track at the same speed as President Kennedy's car in Dallas.

Below: Original television drama, thought by many to be a thing of the past, was tellingly demonstrated again during 1967 by such productions as Loring Mandel's *Do Not Go Gentle into That Good Night*, a 90-minute production on CBS. Melvyn Douglas (right) and Shirley Booth (center) starred. Almira Sessions was featured.



Center left: Martin Landau, disguised as Hitler, and Barbara Bain, set out to foil a neo-Nazi plot in CBS's "Mission: Impossible."

Center right: The scene is Sian, a city in western China seldom visited by Westerners. The children are curious about Morley Safer, as seen in CBS's *Morley Safer's Red China Diary*. Safer, a Canadian, spent three weeks in China, and brought out the first raw, uncensored film ever gathered there by a United States news organization.



Bottom: Jim Nabors, as "Gomer Pyle—USMC," is torn between Elizabeth MacRae (left) and Carol Burnett in this episode of the CBS series.





Top: NBC news correspondent Frank McGee (with sunglasses) and film crew on patrol in Vietnam with a largely Negro platoon. McGee spent nearly a month in Vietnam, reporting and writing the story of Negro GI's in combat, *Same Mud, Same Blood*.



Center left: "Star Trek," the science-fiction adventure series on NBC, starred William Shatner and Leonard Nimoy.

Below: "The Dean Martin Show," a perennial weekly hit on NBC.

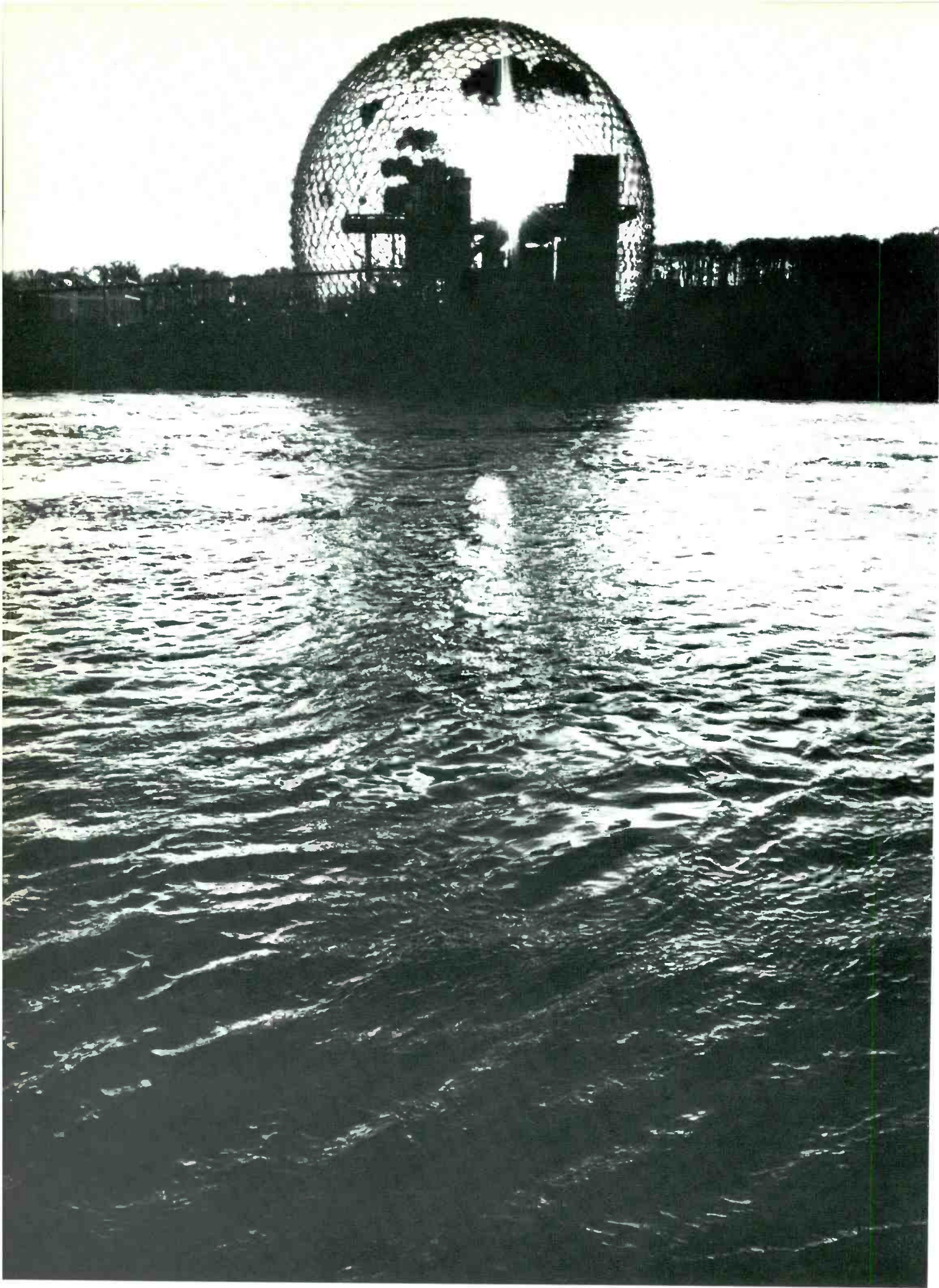




Above: "Khrushchev in Exile—His Opinions and Revelations" was a television first. The NBC special presented the former Soviet leader's views in retirement. The program included exclusive films, still pictures, and tapes of Khrushchev's voice.

Right: Dame Judith Anderson as the Queen and Charlton Heston as Lord Essex ponder what to do about warring Ireland in this scene from *Elizabeth the Queen* on NBC.





All roads led to Canada's Expo 67, and all eyes focused on Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome, the 200-foot sphere housing the United States Exhibit.

## 26. Travel and Recreation

NINETEEN SIXTY-SEVEN was a "go" year for America. Despite the problems caused by the war in Vietnam and racial strife at home, Americans traveled in record numbers both within and outside of the United States.

Second only to travel within this country was the popularity of Expo '67, Canada's centennial "World's Fair" as a mecca for American sightseers. An estimated 140 million Americans traveled within the United States, and spent 26 million dollars. Expo 67 attracted slightly more than 50 million visitors in six months, the largest number of persons ever to attend an international exhibition in a six-month period.

But even as tourism hit new peaks, officials on the local, state, and national levels concerned with America's outdoor resources suddenly discovered that the primitive freedom of camping and hiking in areas far removed from the pressure of cities was becoming fantastically popular. For example, the United States Forest Service recorded 5 billion recreational visits to national forests during the year, and noted that the use of national forests alone was increasing at five times the annual rate of the nation's population. An estimated 140 million visitors were recorded by the nation's National Park System, an increase of almost 10 percent over 1966.

Outdoor organizations enjoyed an unparalleled membership boom. The Sierra Club was a typical example. Originally its outdoor activities and membership were confined to northern California. By the end of 1967 it had become a national organization with a membership pushing 75,000. New outdoor organizations were founded throughout the nation. An example was PATH (Protectionists and Trail Hikers), an outdoor and conservation club for teen-age boys and girls, established in the New York metropolitan area as an experiment in co-ed outdoor-oriented organizations.

Inevitably, as millions sought to escape the well-marked highways, the crowded cities, the jammed air-

ports, and the tension of the times for the mountains, the lakes, and the deserts, friction developed between the nature-lovers and those to whom land still was visualized in nineteenth-century terms of exploitation and development. This was highlighted by growing attacks upon such organizations as the United States Forest Service, the Corps of Engineers, and private builders and developers, especially lumber and mining interests.

The fights spilled over into national advertising campaigns, into the courts, and into the state and federal legislatures. Basically, the argument was how much of America's natural resources should be left in a primitive, or semi-primitive state, or how much these resources should continue to be "tamed" and "developed." Outdoor-oriented groups argued, with increasing vehemence, that the rising pressure for outdoor enjoyment from a nation with 200 million, and pushing toward 300 million in the next quarter century, made it mandatory that state and federal agencies must become more concerned with protecting and expanding primitive resources, or inevitably they will be gobbled up by civilization.

There is no reason to foresee an early end to the warfare between conservation and outdoor groups, on the one hand, and techno-industrial developers on the other. Indeed, the bickering can become only more intense as population expands, resources diminish, and men continue to argue over whether what is left shall be viewed as an economically exploitable resource, or whether its untamed existence is, of itself, important to the spirit of man.

While Americans were making increasing use of the land during the year, they were, in turn, making substantially less use of the high seas, as indeed were all travelers throughout the world. Toward the year's end, the great Cunard liner *Queen Mary* made her last run as a cruise ship, ending up in permanent dock at Long Beach, California, as a floating hotel and exhibition hall.



To replace the *Queen Mary*, the largest passenger vessel built since World War II was launched in England for Cunard, the *Queen Elizabeth II*. Transportation experts believe she will be the last great passenger ship built in the world.

The obvious reason, of course, is the continued expansion of aviation as the dominant means of travel in the jet age. Existing models of planes had been modified to meet the passenger pressure so that by midyear the "stretch" DC-8 with its 20-foot-longer fuselage and its passenger load up from 180 to 235 was frequently available. But planners were hard at work on new generations of aircraft. For example, Boeing was developing its 747 model, scheduled for delivery in 1969—a subsonic long-haul plane that will seat nearly 500. In America and Europe, manufacturers were approaching the order-taking stage on a new concept in aircraft—the "airbus," a large-capacity jet for short and medium hauls. The competing domestic versions were the Lockheed L-1011 and the Douglas DC-10. Both were tri-jets with two engines under the wings and a third in the tail, but with longer range than the European models, designed for one-stop coast-to-coast service, carrying approximately 350 passengers. The manufacturers were looking eagerly for lusty orders, as well as a more attractive name than "airbus," for these planes that would be in the air by 1971.

One great civil aircraft controversy was definitively resolved in 1967: the supersonic transport or SST. At the turn of the year, the Federal Aviation Administration finally chose to certify the movable-wing Boeing 2707 over the Lockheed design. In April, President Johnson gave fiscal confirmation by authorizing the construction of two prototypes—306 feet long and designed to carry 300 passengers at 1,750 miles per hour and to be ready for tests in 1971 with a target date for service in 1975. In the international SST race, this would put the United States a full four years behind the somewhat slower Anglo-French entry—the Concorde—whose test flights were now scheduled for the fall of 1968 with delivery in 1971. The Soviet Union's TR-144, as far as anyone could learn, was scheduled to fly a little later.

But while technology in 1967 was concerned primarily with bigger and faster and, hopefully, more economical aircraft, planners still were stymied over how these huge planes, with their massive loads, will be handled at airports. Air travelers in the United States encountered increasing delays and frustration from congestion both in the air and on the ground. One of the more troublesome examples was the situation at Chicago-O'Hare International Airport. An average of more than one plane every minute either landing or taking off was registered during the year. But the majority of landings and takeoffs were during the peak travel hours in the morning and evening.

In the New York area, officials were busy throughout the year seeking a site for a third major airport to

serve the huge megalopolis. But where once suburban areas welcomed airports, now each proposed location put up a bitter struggle to escape the "honor" of being chosen as an airport site, fearful of the transportation crush on the ground, and the noise and pollution of the air travel industry.

To most experts, the answer to future travel in the United States again must rest, in part, on the railroads. Long-distance travel will continue to be the chief interest of aviation, but for lesser distances there is one good reason to believe travelers may yet return to the railroads—high-speed, short-distance travel.

The railroads willingly continued to abandon long-distance service during 1967, but experimented with a variety of short-haul services. One of the most promising was an experiment conducted by the newly merged Pennsylvania and New York Central railroads, known as the Penn-Central. Penn-Central ordered 50 high-speed, self-powered passenger railroad cars that could travel at speeds of up to 150 miles an hour. The railroad hoped to use these in the heavily traveled Atlantic corridor, especially between Washington, D.C., and New York City. Another example of railroad thinking was adopted by the Atlantic Coast Line. It began building a series of double-deck railroad cars that would carry automobiles on the top deck and passengers on the lower.

Americans, however, showed no desire during the year to reduce their almost fanatic love of, and dependence upon, the automobile for commuting, pleasure, and business travel. The nation's highways were busy as never before, and there was no end to the rising volume of highway use. It was estimated that one out of every two Americans made recreation trips by car during the year, for a total of 160 billion miles.

In an effort to help resolve the massive problems caused by the automobile, the federal government created a Department of Transportation. The first new Secretary of Transportation was Alan Boyd, a former member of the Civil Aeronautics Board. Among other problems faced by Boyd was some way to reduce the nation's 50,000 traffic deaths a year. Another, how to keep traffic moving without converting the last open spaces between cities into one vast concrete highway. Much hope for a solution was contained in a new rapid transit system under construction in the San Francisco Bay area, a fully automated and integrated system that promised to move more people faster and with fewer problems than any other form of transportation in history.

In 1967, there was another spurt in pleasure boating. Lake and rivers were crowded with pleasure craft, ranging from simple canoes to yachts. Indeed, the use of pleasure boats had reached such proportions that many recreation areas near large population centers were placing a flat restriction on the number of craft admitted, and others prohibited gasoline motors because of water pollution from engine discharge.

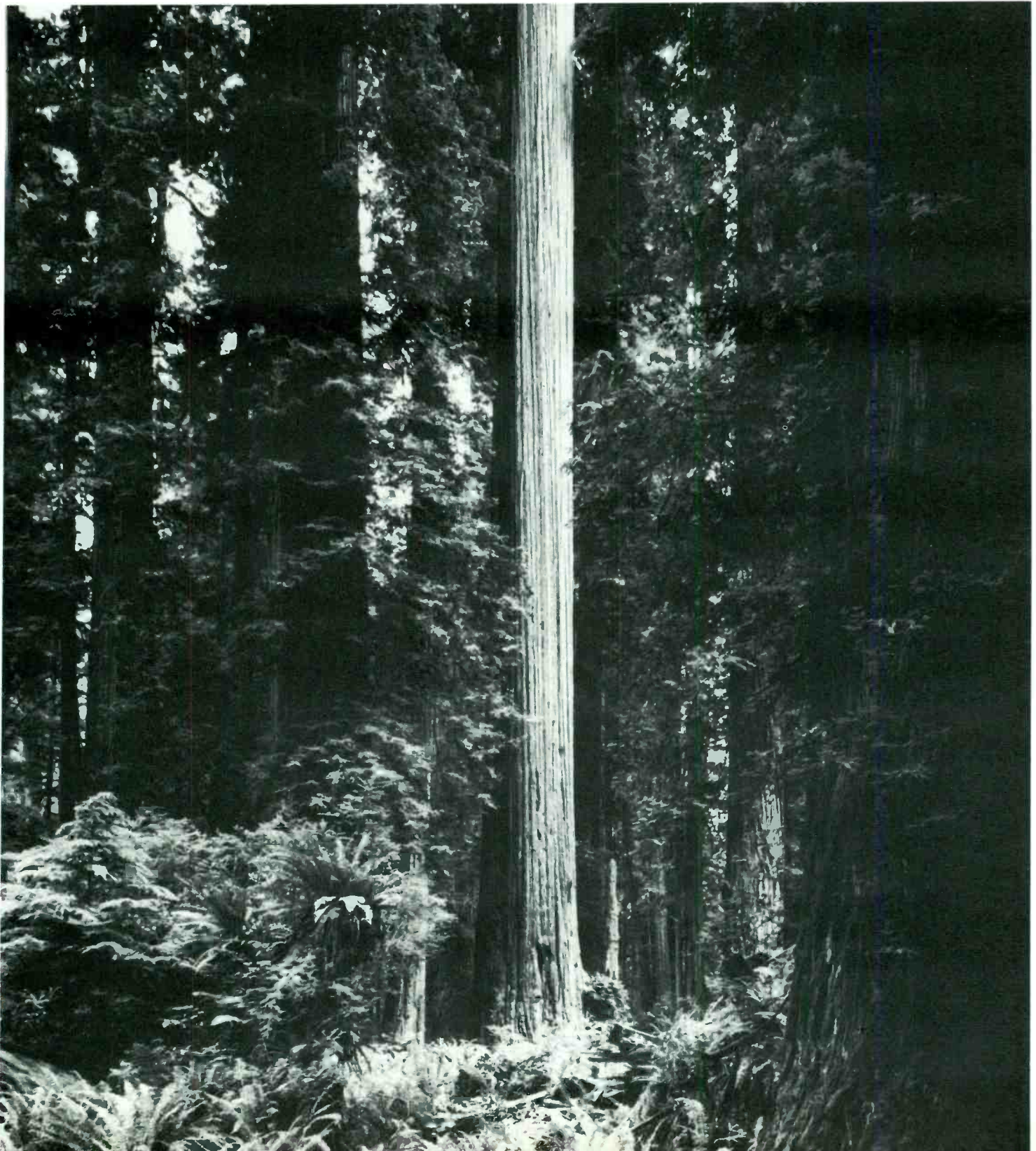
The horse continued to make an amazing comeback. By the end of the year, estimates placed the number of pleasure horses in the United States at anywhere from 5 to 7 million, the greatest number in the nation's history. The bulk of animals were owned by suburbanites with land enough to support only a few animals. A billion-dollar industry had grown up to cater to horses, their owners, and riders.

If the greatest single phenomenon of travel and recreation in 1967 was the way Americans turned to the

woods and waters in record-breaking numbers, this fact was not ignored by city fathers. A prime example of the concern of the cities for those who could not escape the boundaries of streets and sidewalks was New York City. The city closed Central Park every Sunday to automobile traffic, leaving it an oasis for the walker, the bicyclist, and the horseback rider, safe from the perils of the automobile, and, for a few hours, immune from the noise of horns and the exhaust fumes of thousands of engines.

Herbert Gordon

A conservation battle rages over proposals for a National Redwoods Park in California. These Coast Redwood trees are in the Jedediah Smith Redwoods State Park, in the northwest part of the state, proposed for the National Park.

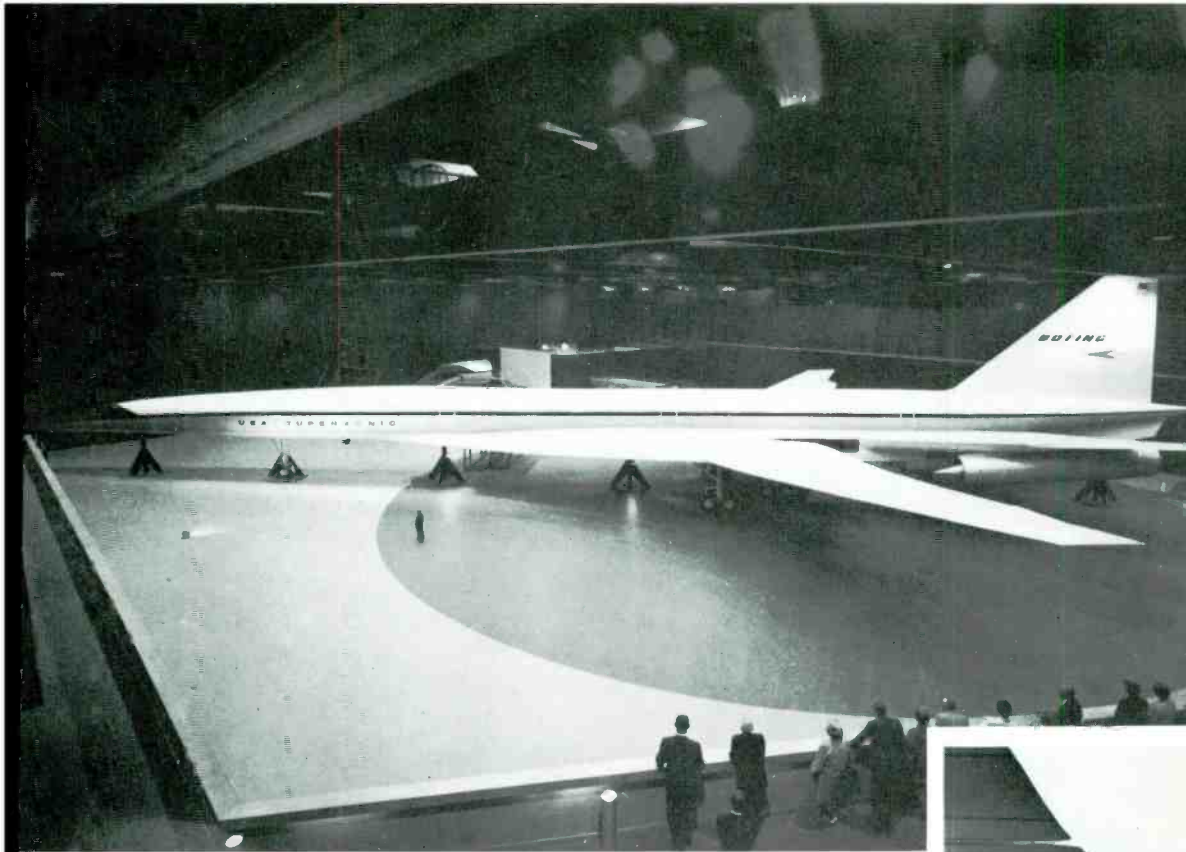




Portrait of a fading Queen. The British liner *Queen Mary* leaves New York harbor for her last passenger-carrying transatlantic voyage. The *Queen Mary* became unprofitable to keep in service; she was sold to become an exhibition ship in Long Beach, California.

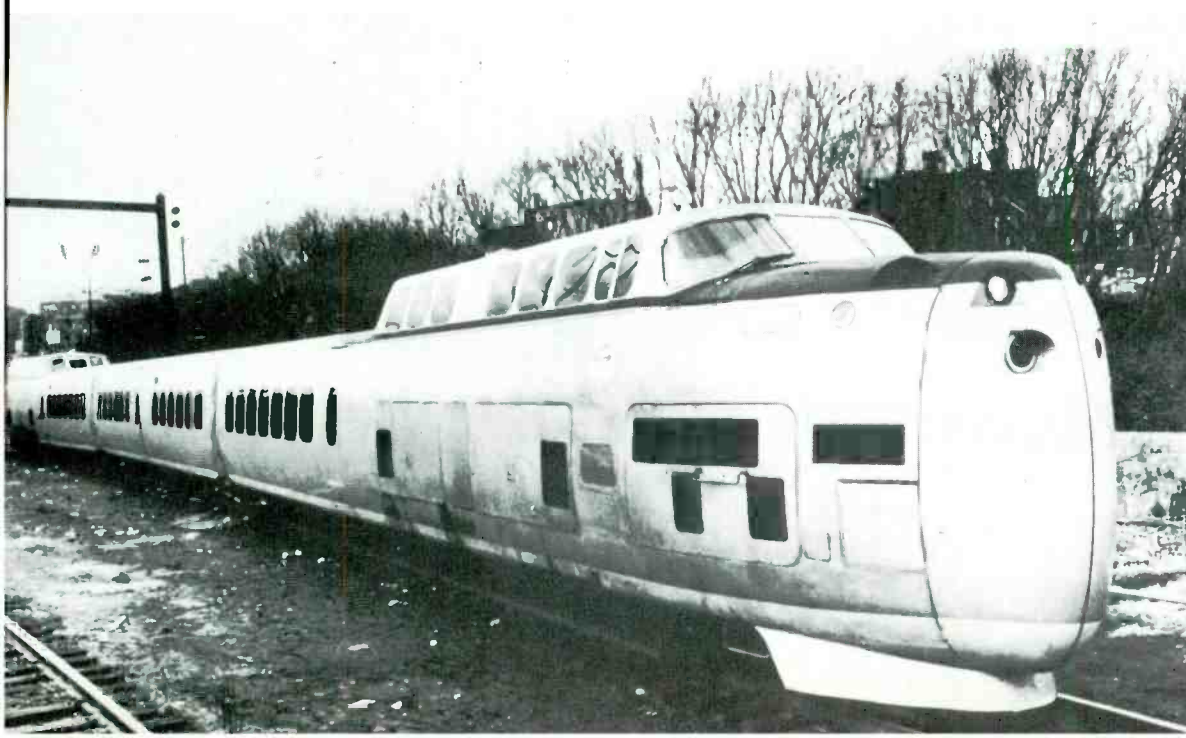
No end in sight for the yachting boom. Luxury craft jam piers at Fort Lauderdale's Bahia Mar basin in Florida, where year-round living on the water is a commonplace.



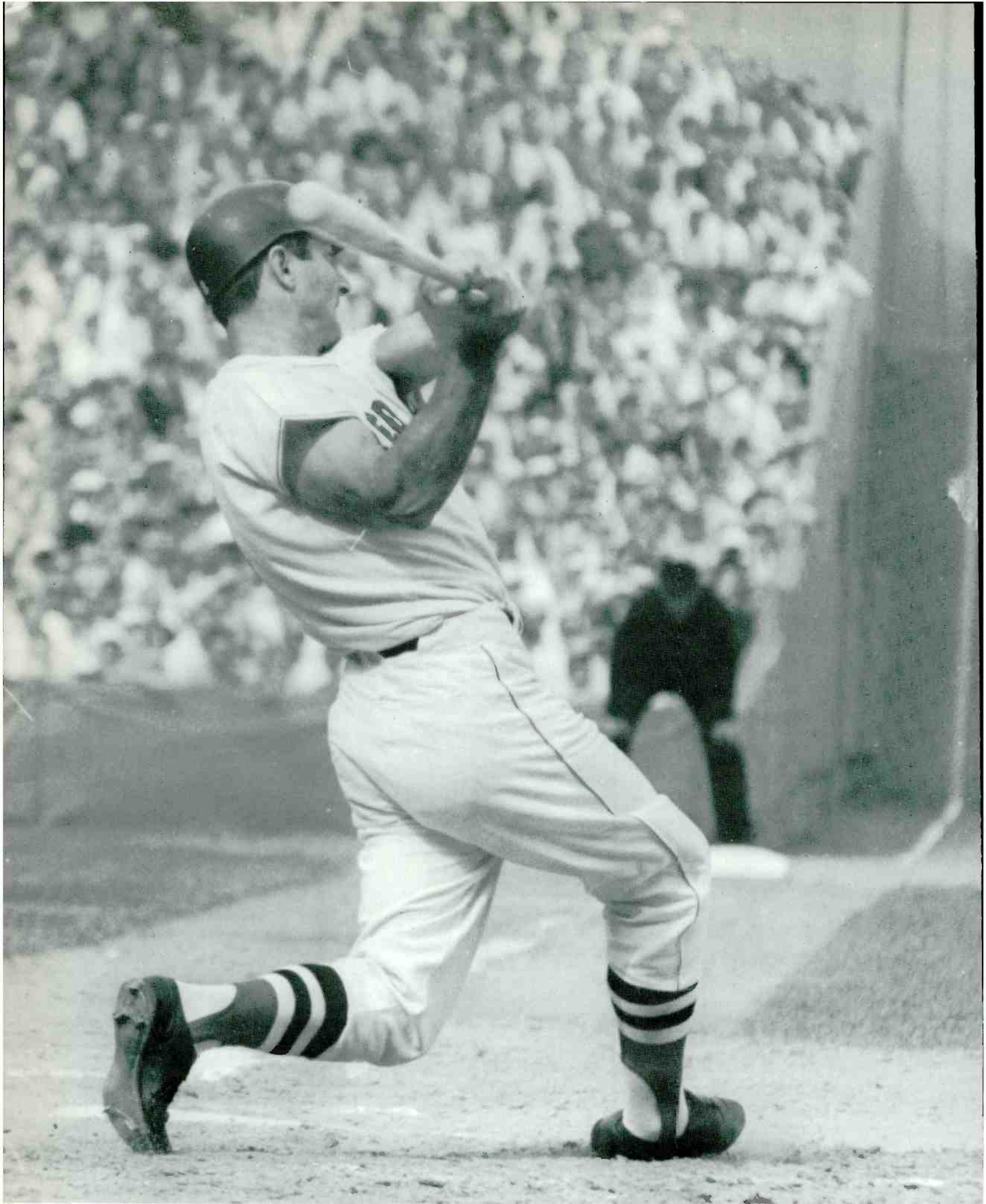


The look of the future in transportation—a mockup of the Boeing SST, or SuperSonic Transport, scheduled to fly at speeds of 18 hundred miles an hour.

Inside the Boeing SST; room for up to 350 passengers. And, above them, space to stow the luggage they carry right on board with them. At supersonic speeds, hardly time for an in-flight movie!



Under a federally aided grant, experimenters try out gas-turbine train in attempts to regain dying passenger traffic. This train, testing for high-speed service between New York and Boston, has clipped off over 160 miles an hour.



Carl Yastrzemski demonstrates the power that earned the Red Sox slugger the triple crown and Most Valuable Player awards.

## 27. Sports

IN 1967 YASTRZEMSKI meant baseball and Lombardi meant football. Carl Yastrzemski dominated baseball like he had never heard of Ruth, DiMaggio, Mantle, and Mays. He lifted his Boston Red Sox from a 100-1 shot to an American League pennant. Lombardi, guiding his aging Green Bay Packers in what was to become his last year as head coach, took an unprecedented third-in-a-row NFL championship. In other major 1967 sports developments, Jack Nicklaus broke professional golf's money-earned record, and Cassius Clay, probably the fastest heavyweight champion in boxing history, was stripped of his title for refusing to be inducted into the armed forces.

Sports stars of 1967 were finally recognized as are their counterparts in the television and motion picture fields when the newly created Academy of Professional Sports balloted professional athletes and announced before a nationwide NBC-TV prime-time audience the Players of the Year in eight professional categories. In baseball, winners were Yastrzemski, American League, and Orlando Cepeda of the National League champion St. Louis Cardinals. Football recipients were the AFL's Daryle Lamonica, Oakland Raiders, and NFL's John Unitas, Baltimore Colts. Wilt Chamberlain of the Philadelphia 76ers was the pro basketball player of the year while in golf it was Nicklaus. Bobby Hull of the Chicago Black Hawks got the award as hockey player of the year, and in horse racing the jockey to get most of the votes was Willie Shoemaker. And to no one's surprise or objection, Yastrzemski was voted by the nation's sportswriters and sportscasters as the "Professional Athlete of the Year."

The 1967 baseball story was one of form reversal. The St. Louis Cardinals ran away with the championship by 10½ games in the National League where the races are usually tighter, while the Boston Red Sox, bouncing up from a ninth-place finish in 1966, were one of four teams (with Chicago, Minnesota, and Detroit) in conten-

tion for the pennant as the American League headed into the season homestretch. The Red Sox, on the strength of popular Yaz's great hitting, won the championship on the last day of the season by defeating the Minnesota Twins. When, a few hours later, the California Angels knocked the last hope away from the Detroit Tigers, the Red Sox had the pennant won, and Boston broke out in a demonstration that will probably survive as the greatest argument against the city's staid reputation.

Yastrzemski, of course, topped his league in batting, runs batted in, and home runs, and was named most valuable player.

In the World Series, the Cardinals and Red Sox matched victories as Jim Lonborg for Boston and Bob Gibson for St. Louis pitched splendidly. Tied in games won at three each, the two clubs went into the final game at Boston's bulging Fenway, and Gibson, winning his third Series game, pitched the Cards to a 7-2 win and the world championship.

Red Ruffing was the only new member added to Baseball's Hall of Fame. Mickey Mantle and Eddie Mathews passed the 500 mark in home runs, and managers Harry Walker of Pittsburgh, Billy Hitchcock of Atlanta, Wes Westrum of the New York Mets, Sam Mele of Minnesota, Joe Adcock of Cleveland, and Alvin Dark of Kansas City all departed. Gil Hodges switched managerial jobs—from Washington to the Mets.

In Anaheim last July, the All-Star game attracted the largest television audience in history when it reached the eastern half of the country in prime evening time. The game was a thriller as well as the longest ever played as Tony Perez of Cincinnati ended it all with a home run in the 15th inning. The Nationals won, 2-1.

Late in the year, in an effort to eliminate the controversial spitball, a new baseball rule stated that a pitcher could not put his fingers to his mouth before delivering his pitch. The consensus among players, however, was that the effective spitball pitchers would find

a way to throw the dippy-doodle pitch without arousing an umpire's suspicion.

Before Vince Lombardi left his field job as head coach of the Green Bay Packers to concentrate on the front office general managership, he led his burly charges to an unprecedented third successive NFL championship. While Green Bay had only a mediocre (for the Packers) regular season with 9 wins, 4 losses and 1 tie, the aging team showed it was all there when it was needed as they defeated the Los Angeles Rams, 28-7, for the Western Conference championship. Many pro football experts thought the Rams were the best in the NFL. In a thriller won in the last few seconds of play, the Packers then defeated the Eastern champion Dallas Cowboys, 21-17, as quarterback Bart Starr sneaked across the Dallas goal line for the winning touchdown.

The Oakland Raiders, meanwhile, under new head coach John Rauch and newly acquired quarterback Daryle Lamonica, ran through the American Football League season with a record 13 wins and only 1 loss. In the AFL championship game, the Raiders easily defeated the Eastern champion Houston Oilers, 40-7.

The Super Bowl was held in the Miami Orange Bowl before a capacity audience, and Green Bay again dominated the AFL with a 33-14 win over Oakland. Starr, as was the case against the Kansas City Chiefs in the inaugural Super Bowl, was the main difference.

Shortly thereafter, Lombardi announced his retirement. A comedian at the New York football writers dinner later suggested that Lombardi, known as a tough coach, had got his team up for the strong finish by threatening to come back as coach next year if the Packers did not win.

Professional football continued to increase in popularity with the American public as both attendance and television ratings reached record numbers.

Expansion was part of the pro football picture, too, as the NFL went to 16 teams with the addition of the New Orleans Saints. The league then divided for the first time into four divisions within two conferences (Eastern and Western). The American League agreed to expand to 10 teams in 1968 by granting a franchise to Cincinnati. The club was named the Bengals, and Paul Brown, who had directed the Cleveland Browns to pro football prominence, was named head coach.

Southern California, led by the greatest running back of the year, O. J. Simpson, finished at the top of the college football polls. The Trojans made it by one point-after-touchdown as they defeated UCLA in their last game, 21-20, knocking the UCLANS off the top of the list. A week before, USC had suffered a 3-0 upset defeat at the hands of Oregon State.

Following USC in the Associated Press and United Press International polls were Tennessee and Oklahoma. In 4th place in the AP and 6th place in the UPI tallies was Indiana, the surprise team of the year.

Indiana was predicted to finish at the bottom of the Big Ten Conference but finished with a remarkable 9-1 record and earned a Rose Bowl bid. It was the first time Indiana had a Rose Bowl invitation, and it secured for coach John Pont recognition as coach of the year.

In the AP poll, Notre Dame, predicted to be the team of the year, finished 5th, Wyoming 6th, Oregon State 7th, Alabama 8th, Purdue 9th, and Penn State 10th. The UPI listed Notre Dame 4th, Wyoming 5th, Indiana 6th, Alabama 7th, Oregon State 8th, Purdue 9th, and UCLA 10th.

Gary Beban, the UCLA quarterback, won the Heisman Trophy, and was followed in the voting by Simpson, Leroy Keyes of Purdue, and Larry Csonka of Syracuse.

Jack Nicklaus during the professional golf year earned \$188,998.08 in official tournaments, setting a one-year record.

The twenty-seven-year-old Ohioan had another record—a 72-hole score of 275 to win the United States Open championship by 4 strokes. The previous record was a 276 set by Ben Hogan in 1948.

Though Nicklaus had a fantastic year, he did not completely overshadow Arnold Palmer. Palmer finished second to Nicklaus in the United States Open and second in earnings for the year.

Nicklaus and Palmer teamed for the United States to retain the World Cup (formerly the Canada Cup) in Mexico City. Palmer took individual honors with a 276 while the Palmer-Nicklaus combined score was 13 strokes better than the second-place finishers, New Zealand.

Don January, with a 69, defeated Don Massengale by 2 strokes in an 18-hole playoff for the PGA championship. They had tied after 72 holes with scores of 281.

The United States pros retained the Ryder Cup in the biennial series by turning back the British.

At Augusta, Gay Brewer, who had once parked cars at the course, won the Masters championship by edging Bobby Nichols by one stroke, 280 to 281. Roberto de Vincenzo of Argentina scored first in the British Open.

Nicklaus came back to take the World Series of Golf and its \$50,000 first prize. This money, incidentally, is not counted as "official" earnings.

The big story in boxing was Cassius Clay, the heavy-weight champion, being stripped of his title when he refused to be inducted into the armed services. Contending he was a minister of Islam, he refused to take the traditional one step forward in Houston in April. Clay, or Muhammad Ali, as he preferred to be called, was convicted by a jury of violating the United States Selective Service laws by refusing to be drafted and sentenced to five years in prison and fined \$10,000. He appealed the verdict and remained free on \$5,000 bond.

Earlier he had defended his heavyweight championship twice, defeating Ernie Terrell in 15 rounds and knocking out Zora Folley in 7. The day he refused induc-

tion, his title was vacated by the New York State Athletic Commission and the World Boxing Association.

Shortly thereafter, an 8-man tournament to provide a successor was organized. Jimmy Ellis, Clay's one-time sparring partner, reached the finals by stopping Leotis Martin and outpointing Oscar Bonavena of Argentina. He was to meet Jerry Quarry who had eliminated Thad Spencer and Floyd Patterson. Joe Frazier, a highly ranked heavyweight contender, refused to take part in the elimination tournament.

In the middleweight division, Nino Benvenuti of Italy captured Emile Griffith's championship but Griffith repossessed it later in the year. Carlos Ortiz, the lightweight champion, retained his title with a decision over Panama's Ismael Laguna.

Dick Tiger held on to his light-heavyweight title with a decision over José Torres and a 12th-round knockout over Roger Rouse. Curtis Cokes continued as the welterweight champion.

Damascus emerged as the four-legged athletic hero, taking horse-of-the-year honors by winning the Woodward. What was billed as the race of the decade featured Dr. Fager and the fabled Buckpasser, 1966 champion. With Willie Shoemaker riding, Damascus won by 10 lengths with Buckpasser second and Dr. Fager third.

In 1967, Damascus won 12 of his 16 races and earned \$817,941, the most money won by a thoroughbred in one year. Earlier he had won the Preakness and the Belmont Stakes.

The Kentucky Derby, first jewel in the triple crown, was won by Proud Clarion with Damascus finishing third.

Big Wilt Chamberlain and the Philadelphia 76ers, long frustrated by the perennial champion Boston Celtics, finally won it all in the National Basketball Association. The 76ers finished first in the regular Eastern Division season with a record 68 wins and 13 losses. The Celtics, champions for eight straight seasons, were eliminated by Philadelphia in the semifinal round of the playoffs. In the final round, Wilt and teammates defeated the western champion San Francisco Warriors, 4 games to 2.

Another professional sports war developed with the formation of a rival league, the American Basketball Association. Rick Barry, San Francisco's scoring champion, jumped leagues to the ABA's Oakland franchise, coached by his father-in-law and former college coach, Bruce Hale. However, a court ruled he could not play for any team other than San Francisco during the 1967-1968 season, and Barry chose to sit out the season. The competition for talent between the two leagues, however, made salaries and bonuses rise.

Bill Bradley, the former Princeton hero who went to Oxford following graduation, returned and joined the New York Knickerbockers for a reported four-year, half-million-dollar package. New York crowds welcomed

him by filling Madison Square Garden for his first few games.

The college basketball scene was dominated by Lew Alcindor, UCLA's seven-foot-plus sophomore. He led his team to their third National Collegiate title in four years as they won 30 games in an undefeated season.

Southern Illinois, meanwhile, listed as a small-college team, was big enough to capture the National Invitation Tournament. Led by Walt Frazier, they defeated Marquette, 71-56 in the N.I.T. final.

Alcindor, Houston's Elvin Hayes, and Bobby Lloyd of Rutgers were the most frequently mentioned in all-America polls.

Jim Ryun far and away supplied the track and field thrills in 1967. In the Amateur Athletic Union national championships he lowered the mile record to an incredible 3 minutes 51.1 seconds.

Two weeks later Ryun set a new world mark of 3 minutes 33.1 seconds for 1,500 meters. Bob Seagren, meanwhile, proved that man has not yet reached top heights in pole vaulting as he cleared 17 feet 7 inches but two weeks later Paul Wilson bettered the record by three-quarters of an inch.

Playing for the last time under the six-team setup, the Chicago Black Hawks finished first in the National Hockey League. Bobby Hull, scoring 52 goals, and Stan Mikita winning the scoring title with 97 points, were the Chicago standouts. However, in the Stanley Cup playoffs, the experienced Toronto Maple Leafs won the championship.

The NHL then doubled its size to 12 teams, taking in Oakland, Los Angeles, Minnesota, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis.

A. J. Foyt won his third Indianapolis 500 and the United States Auto Club's national title for a record fifth time.

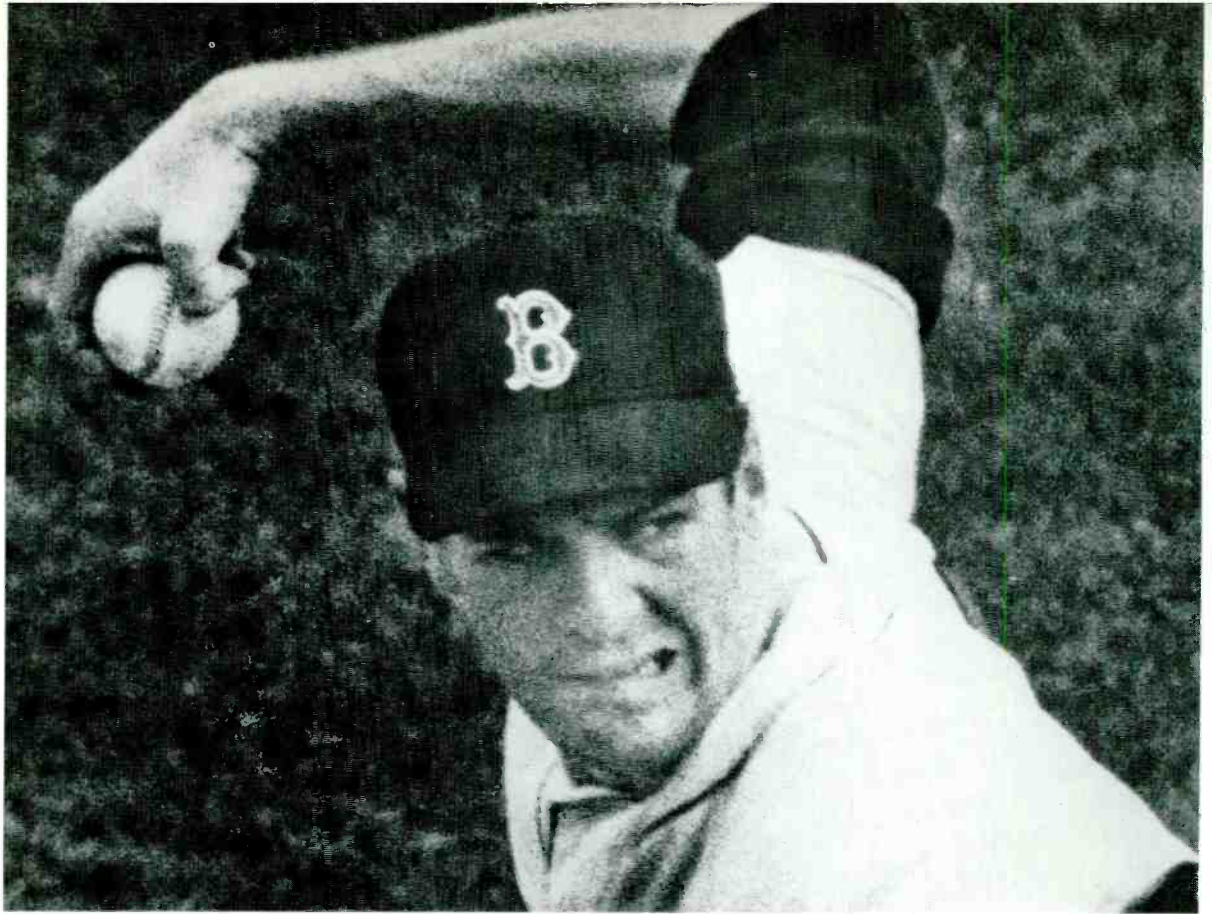
Mario Andretti was voted the Driver of the Year, winning the Daytona 500, the Sebring 12-hour Grand Prix of Endurance, and more races (7) on the USAC circuit than any other driver.

Denis Hulme was the outstanding international competitor winning the world road-racing championship.

Australia's John Newcombe and Mrs. Billie Jean King, of California, were the world's top amateur tennis players in 1967, winning the United States and Wimbledon championships. The United States, meanwhile, was once more shut out of the Davis Cup challenge round when the American players were eliminated by Ecuador. It was Australia once again in the challenge round, defeating Spain, 4-1, winning the Cup for the 15th time in 18 years.

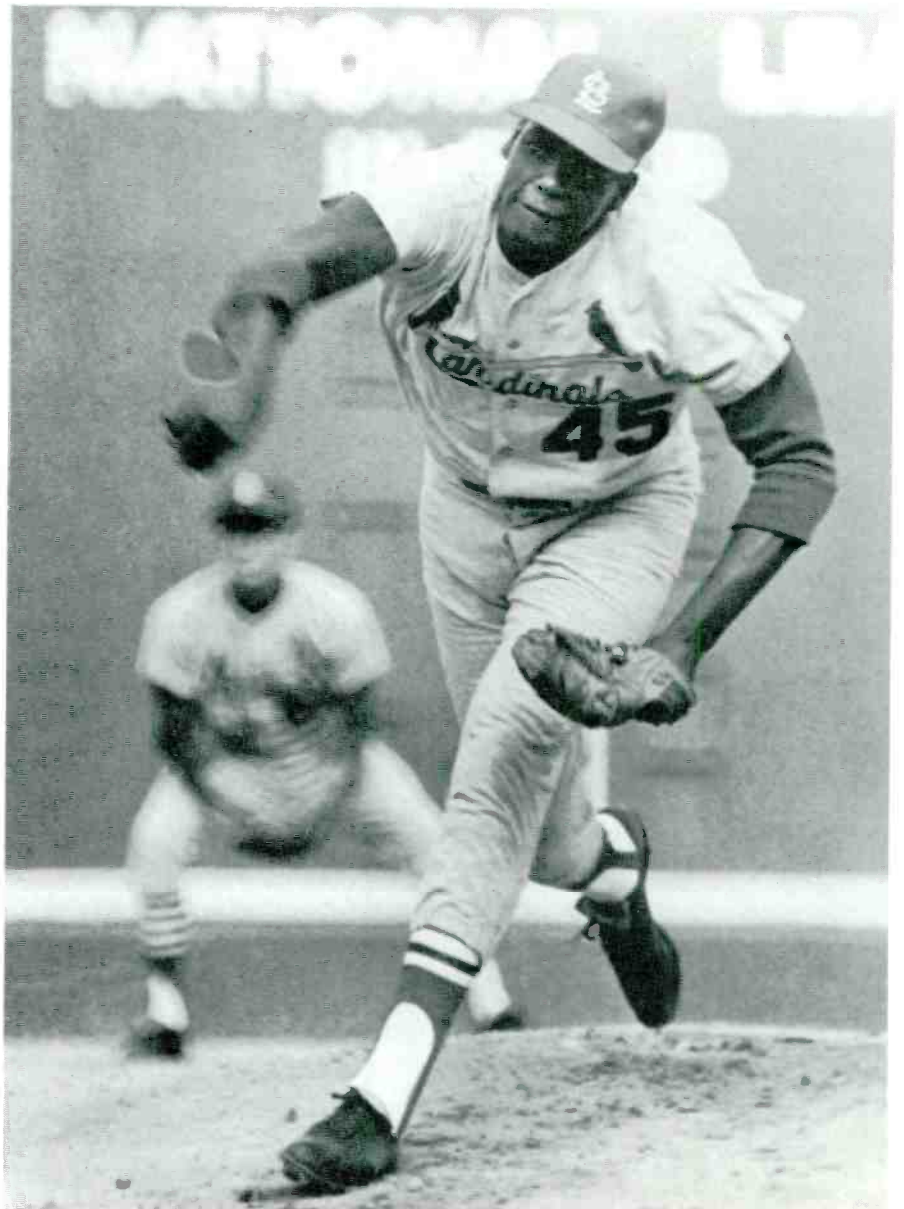
In yachting, America's *Intrepid* literally sailed away from *Dame Pattie*, the Australian challenger, to retain the America's Cup in four straight races.

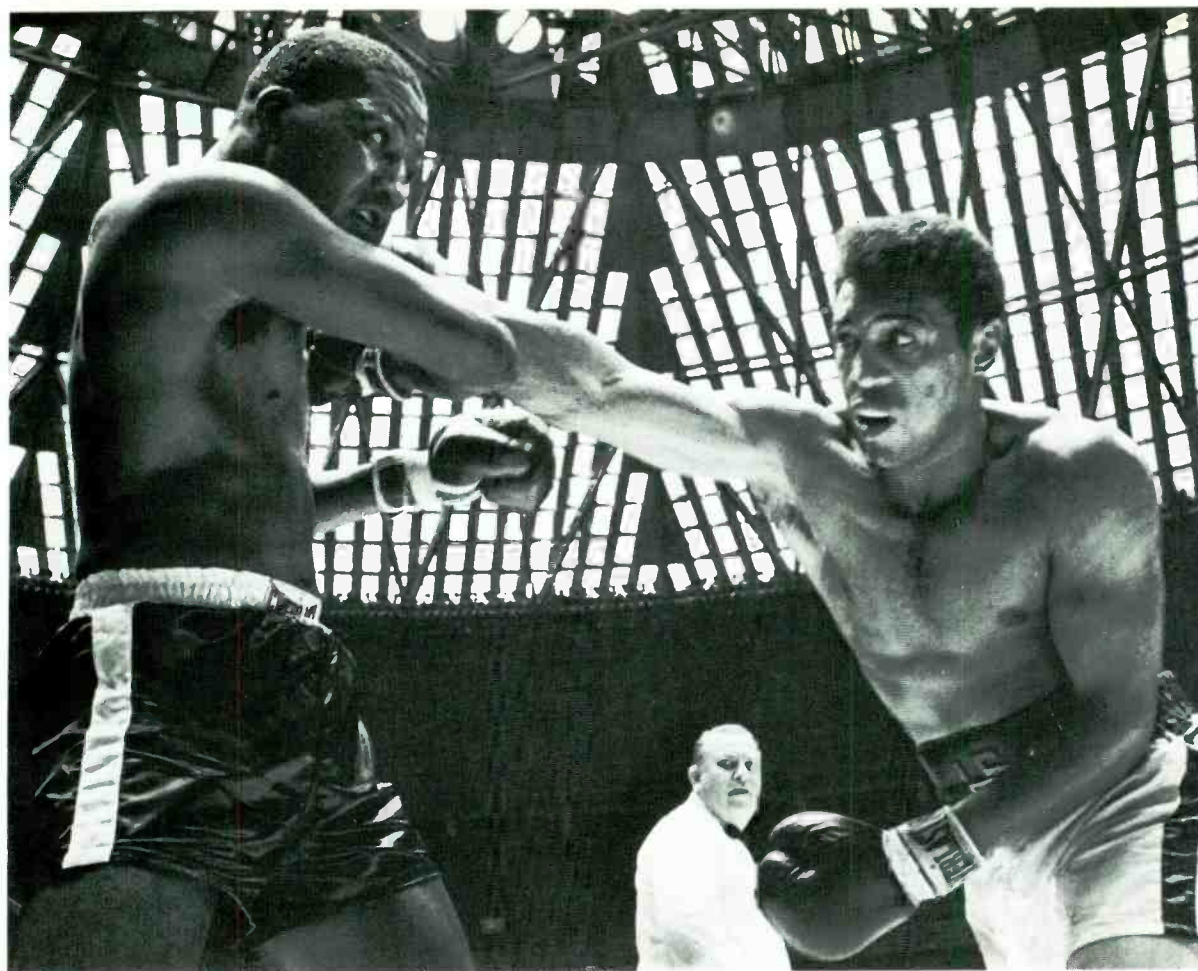




Above: Red Sox pitching star Jim Lonborg snarls as he unleashes a pitch to Cardinals' Bob Tolan in eighth inning of second World Series game. The previous Cardinal hitter, Julian Javier, had spoiled Lonborg's bid for a no-hitter with a two-out double. Lonborg won, 5-0.

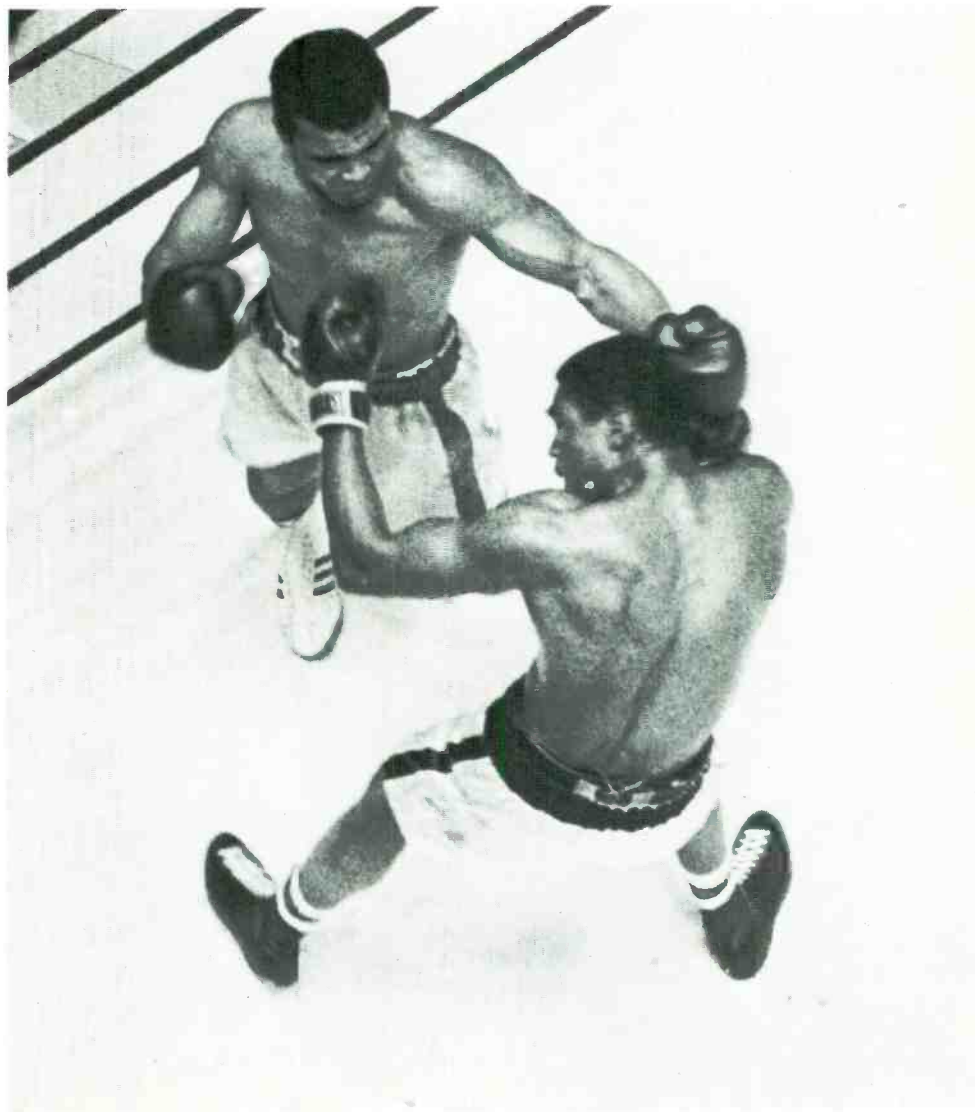
Right: Cardinals ace Bob Gibson breaks off a curve ball as his first pitch in the final game of the 1967 World Series. Final score: 7-2. It was Gibson's third win over the Boston Red Sox in the October classic.





Above: Jimmy Ellis (*right*) lunges at head of Leotis Martin before scoring a ninth-round technical knockout in first bout of eight-man tournament to find successor to Cassius Clay as heavyweight champion. Ellis was once Clay's sparmate.

Clay lands to the head of Ernie Terrell on way to a unanimous 15-round decision in heavyweight title fight at Houston's Astrodome.





*Sandy Koufax, from Brooklyn, New York, began his spectacular career with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1955. During his dozen years as a Major League pitcher he achieved outstanding records on the field and received most of the major baseball awards. When arthritis forced his retirement, at the close of the 1966 season, he began a new career with NBC as a sportscaster.*

## The View from the Broadcaster's Box

*Sandy Koufax*

NBC Sportscaster

IF I'M TO SURVIVE in the sportscasting business I'll have to be a better broadcaster than I am a prognosticator. Last year in the *NBC News Picture Book*, I picked the Baltimore Orioles to repeat as American League champions, and I thought the Pittsburgh Pirates, with then newly acquired Maury Wills, were man-for-man the best team in the National League.

I was consistent in one way, however. Both my choices finished in sixth place. The Orioles won 76 games, lost 85 and finished  $15\frac{1}{2}$  games behind the Boston Red Sox. Pittsburgh at least broke even with 81 wins and 81 losses but they were  $20\frac{1}{2}$  games behind the St. Louis Cardinals at season's end.

The selections therefore prove that:

(a) I'm not a good handicapper, or

(b) the view from the broadcast box is not equal to that from the dugout.

Who figured the Cardinals to run away with the usually tight National League race by  $10\frac{1}{2}$  games, and who thought the Red Sox, in ninth place the year before, would last through a torrid four-team battle to win the pennant on the last day of the season? It's the American League that should have the one dominant team year after year, and it's the National League that has the tight scramble each season.

The Cardinals were paced by a couple of new heroes, Roger Maris, a former Yankee, and Orlando Cepeda, a former Giant. The Red Sox, 100-to-1 shots before the season started, needed victories over Minnesota in the last two games under their rookie manager, Dick Williams. They got them and won the closest pennant race in the league's 67-year history. Jim Lonborg won 22 games for Boston but it was Yaz's year.

In 1967, Carl Yastrzemski did everything a baseball player could be expected to do. He hit 44 home runs, batted .326, drove in 121 runs, and led the league (or shared the lead) in all three categories. He played his outfield position like an infielder, scooping up hits to his side and very often throwing out base runners. He played with what colleague Joe Garagiola describes as "inner conceit." He felt he could not do wrong and he was right. With only one dissenting vote, he was named the league's most valuable player.

Yastrzemski hustled over the last few weeks of the season like only a man in his superb physical condition could hustle. Can he go a full season playing as hard as he did those weeks, and what generally is in store for him in 1968?

There's absolutely no question but that Carl will continue to be the outstanding slugger and mainstay of the Boston Red Sox but the big factor is simply this: will the situations develop for him as they did last season? Carl has to have the men on base before he can drive them in. This circumstance frequently presented itself during 1967.

The psychological aspect of whether he can "get up" again to match his 1967 performance is less a problem than most people think. It's all a matter of pride—pride in one's self—that provides the motivation necessary to repeat as the year's greatest performer. In fact, I'd say there's more of a chance that Yastrzemski can stay up there than that he can let down.

One factor that could lessen his output, however, is that Carl definitely will be pitched to differently this season. Last year he was a pull hitter and a mighty successful one. But you might recall that in previous seasons he tended to hit to the opposite field. Though the pitchers knew this toward the end of the season, any adjustment they might have made was ineffective judging by Carl's closing charge. But with the entire winter to think about Yaz and his bat, I daresay the American League pitchers will be trying to be more careful.

If I had to select a 1968 American League finish I'd say it would be Baltimore, Minnesota, Boston, and Detroit, in that order.

The Pittsburgh Pirates would be my National League choice. Jim Bunning, acquired in a trade with the Phillies, should give them what they need to win the pennant. Bunning is a strong finisher who completes a good percentage of his starts, and that gives a boost to not only the pitching staff but to the entire ball club.

Jim can be expected to start some 40 games.

And, with the Pirates not losing any stars over the winter, they should be a strong contender for the pennant. The St. Louis Cardinals have got to be a factor to repeat as NL champions but I believe the Pirates have a better ball team.

The team I'm most qualified to judge, I suppose, is the Los Angeles Dodgers. They lost a couple of hard competitors in the winter trades.

Their loss of Ron Perranoski will weaken the bullpen. As a relief pitcher, Ron was good all of the time, unlike most relievers who have their bad days as well as good ones. While Phil ("The Vulture") Regan is great, for instance, he is not the consistent specialist Perranoski is. Actually, few are. Ron, as far as I'm concerned, is baseball's best relief pitcher and should be a tremendous help to the Minnesota Twins.

John Roseboro's departure from Los Angeles is another Dodger loss. He is not only the greatest catcher in baseball, he's an exceptional man. He has a rare talent and a steadying, commanding attitude that any ball club needs.

Tom Haller, acquired by the Dodgers from the San Francisco Giants in return for Ron Hunt and Nate Oliver, is as good a replacement for Roseboro as the Dodgers could have hoped for. But Roseboro will be a tough act to follow.

Personally speaking, Roseboro was the perfect receiver for me. Not so much that we got along so well, but we thought alike, and it was the kind of pitcher-catcher relationship that gave us both confidence.

When we agreed on a pitch it was as if he or I were endorsing each other's decision. It made for a minimum of indecision on the mound, a very important factor in baseball.

It's not often that such archrivals as the Dodgers and Giants trade players, and it's a move that I don't condone. I, as well as many others, feel strongly on maintaining such natural rivalries. It's not that simple to discard a feeling simply by changing uniforms. I wouldn't doubt that Jackie Robinson felt that way when he retired rather than switch from a Dodgers to Giants uniform. But, of course, catchers must be experienced before they can help a major league club, and with Roseboro gone, the Dodgers had to go for the best possible even if he was a Giant.

Zoilo Versalles, coming over from the Twins, should provide the Dodgers with the much-needed shortstop. Zoilo should have a good year despite his faltering 1967 season. His 1966 performance, even with a torn muscle handicap, was a creditable one and, of course, he was the league's most valuable player in 1965.

Al Ferrara, a Brooklyn-born outfielder, should have a good 1968, too, and help the Dodgers with some runs-batted-in.

While discussing this piece I was asked to comment

on an assertion by Don Drysdale that a problem the Dodgers faced in 1967 was one of adjustment not unlike the one they faced in 1958 when they moved west from Brooklyn. That is, said Don, that the team couldn't easily adjust to the new circumstances of 1958, new locale, new homes, while in 1967, he said, they found it tough adjusting to the loss of Sandy Koufax and Maury Wills.

That this could have been a factor is possible. However, the bigger loss had to be Maury and for the following reason. The Dodgers of late were a one-run team and they actually geared their attack to getting Wills on base and eventually seeing him score. And for Maury it was a daily contribution, while I came up every fourth game and not always with a winning effort, I might add. The loss of Wills was a big factor, especially for a team like the Dodgers.

Over in the American League, the Twins could run into a bit of a problem without Versalles if his replacement's performance is not up to Zoilo's. However, with Perranoski and Bob Miller in their bullpen they take a giant step forward. The bullpen is the major factor in the overall quality of the starting pitcher staff.

A few paragraphs back we examined Yastrzemski and his contributions to baseball last year, so let's say a few words about Vince Lombardi of the Green Bay Packers, a name that should be synonymous with football whenever that sport and 1967 are mentioned.

I was surprised when Vince left his field job to concentrate on the general managership, although it had been rumored and written that he would. I really thought he would stay on as the Packer head coach. But it's a good bet that he'll still be pretty much in the field picture. Certainly that's not said to take anything away from Lombardi's successor, Phil Bengtson. It's said simply because I don't believe that Vince will be able to work apart from the field operation.

Bengtson, I'm sure, will be a fine head coach and will get the respect of his players, but it will be impossible for him or anybody to fill Lombardi's shoes completely. There will have to be some loss in discipline and some loss in enthusiasm. But if there is a team of athletes in this world that can still win even with something taken away, it's the Green Bay Packers.

Basically, the key ingredient necessary for a head coach in football, or a manager in baseball, is to know his players, get them to do what they do best, and then turn them loose to do their job. However, the two major American sports differ widely when it comes to the manager-head coach role.

In football, the coaches must get their team "up" just once a week, while in baseball it's every day, a more difficult task. Also, in baseball, it's much more of an individual effort—a pitcher against a hitter. Football of necessity is wholly a team effort. In baseball, too, there is obviously less emphasis on strategy. There are no end

sweeps with pulling guards, no screens, and no varied offenses where all 11 men on the team have certain jobs to perform in order to make the plays work. Thus a man like Lombardi, who learned what each of his players did best and then got them to do it as a unit, deserves all the credit he got.

If I had to choose one baseball manager who came close to Lombardi from the standpoint of wise approach to his game and the handling of his players, it would be Walter Alston, manager of my former team, the Los Angeles Dodgers.

There have been lots of words spoken and written about baseball being too slow a game and suggesting changes to speed it up. I don't believe the game should be hurried. You've just got to like the game as it is.

On the question of eliminating the four outside pitches on an intentional base-on-balls, my answer is that it should not be done. Although it's rare, there is always the possibility of an important run scoring should the pitch get away from the catcher. Or maybe the batter decides to swing if the pitch is not quite as far outside as it should be.

The game of baseball is still a healthy one even though 1969 will be its centennial year. The NBC Major League baseball ratings in 1967 were the highest they have ever been, and according to the commissioner's office the combined 1966-1967 stadium attendance was a two-year record.

Which brings us to the question of television and sports. There's no question but that television has been a great boon to sports and I see no reason to worry about the overemphasis of television on sports.

It has and is creating followers in all sports, sports that up to now had only a hard-core following, such as road racing, skiing, hockey, soccer. It's well known that television lifted professional football to its lofty status,

and there's no argument that it saved the life of the American Football League.

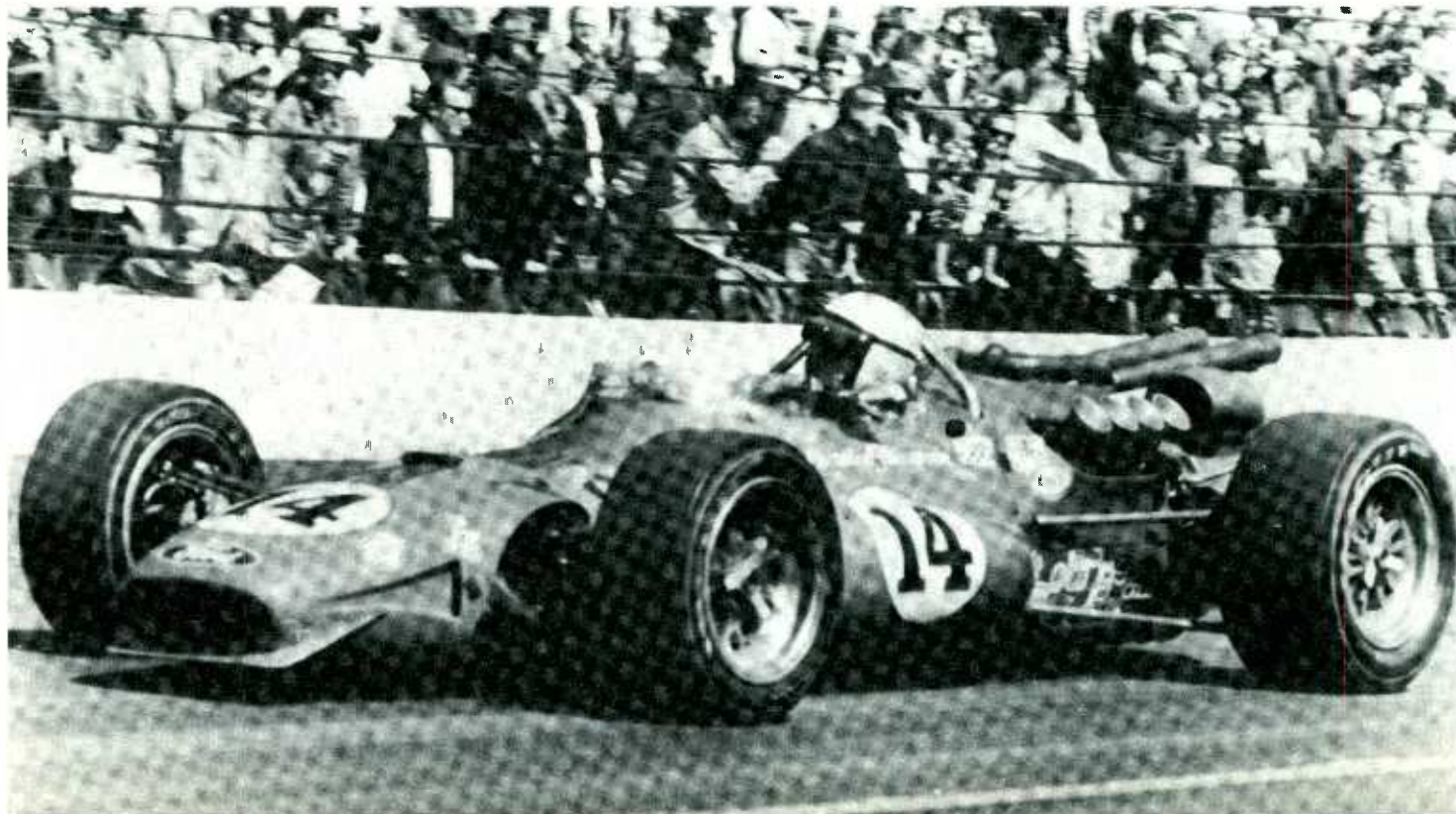
It has also made golf. It's made for more and better pros through the enriched purses and additional tournaments, more fans who streak to the golf tourneys to see people like Arnold Palmer and Jack Nicklaus, and it has made more weekend golfers out of people who once thought the game belonged to the wealthier people who had the free time. In pre-TV days you can remember when the top professional golfer earned perhaps 20 or 30 thousand dollars. Today you read about Palmer and Nicklaus earning over 200 thousand dollars a year.

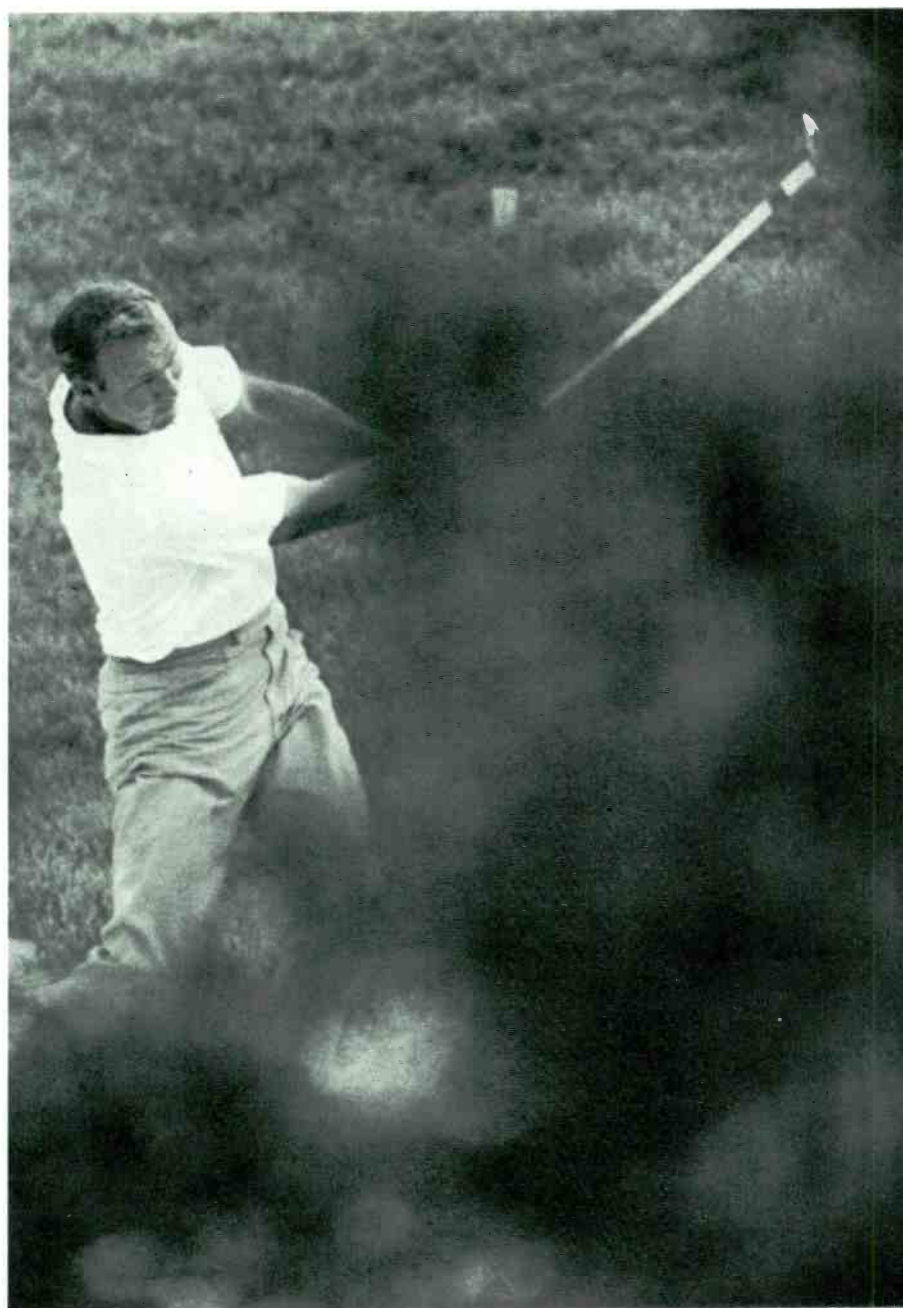
I'd like to see even more use made of television in sports. I still can't understand why people can't see more road games of their home teams on TV. Except in two-team cities where one team is always at home and the live gate needs some protection, there's no reason why a fan can't see his team when they're traveling.

As for the actual TV techniques in covering events, I've got only one suggestion and it concerns golf, a game I "quit" three or four times a year. But in watching the top tournaments on TV I get the impression that there's too much emphasis on covering the putting.

I'd prefer to see more of the drives and the shots out of sand traps. I'd like to see closeup studies of the grip, the stance, the follow-through. These are the key factors of the game as I see it, not the putting. After all, in golf, there are no great catches, no double plays, no breakaway runs. This is a game where there's one man up at a time, and we have the opportunity of studying him and him alone.

Sports is in its golden era right now. Baseball, football, hockey, basketball are all expanding into new cities, and the potential athlete faces a greater opportunity to make it into the major leagues than ever before.

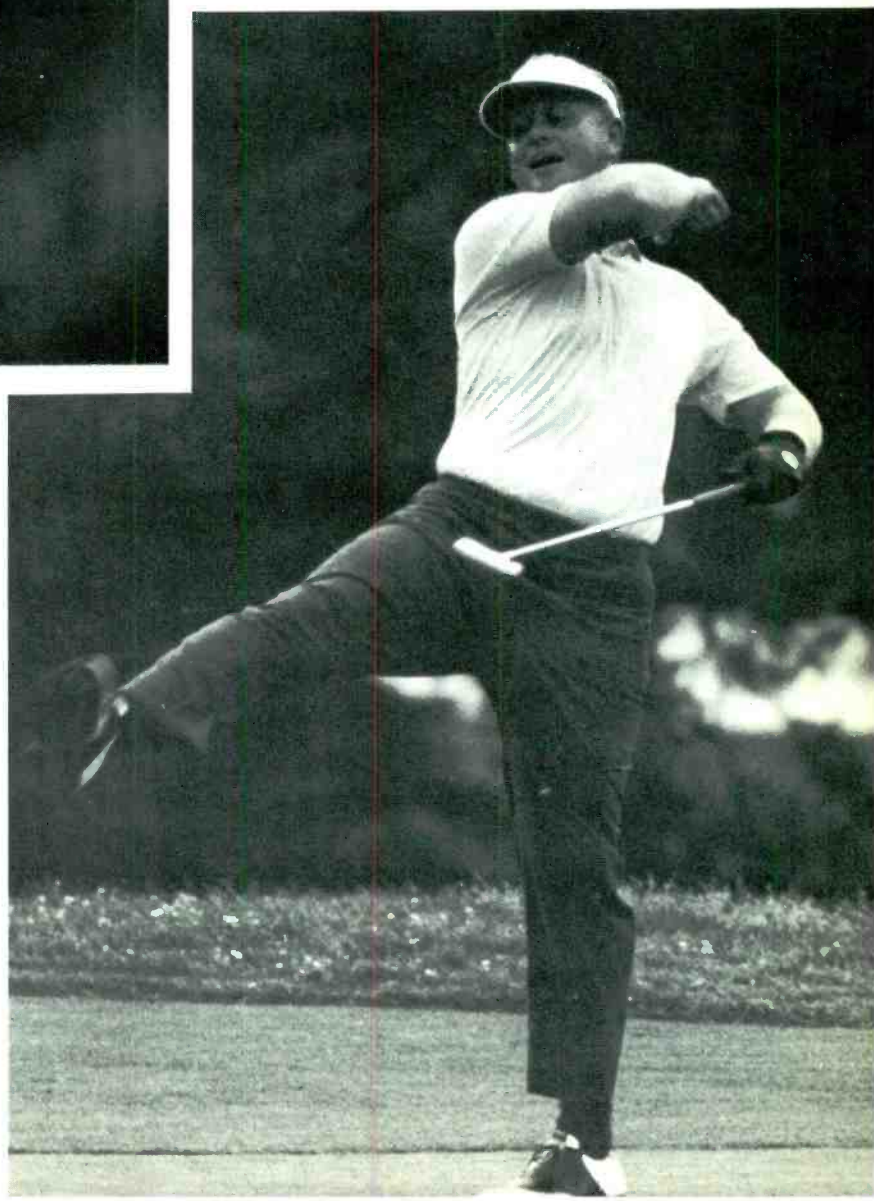




Arnold Palmer powers an iron shot out of the rough in second round of United States Open. At the end of 36 holes he led Jack Nicklaus by one stroke but the end of the final round found him four strokes behind the champion with a 279.

*Opposite:* A. J. Foyt streaks toward the finish line to win his third Indianapolis 500 after following Parnelli Jones for the greater part of the race. Jones then took the United States Auto Club's national title for a record fifth time.

*Right:* A joyous Jack Nicklaus leaps with delight after sinking a 22-foot, final-green putt to win the United States Open at Baltusrol. Nicklaus shot a record 275 to take the title on his way to a one-year official earnings record of \$188,998.08.

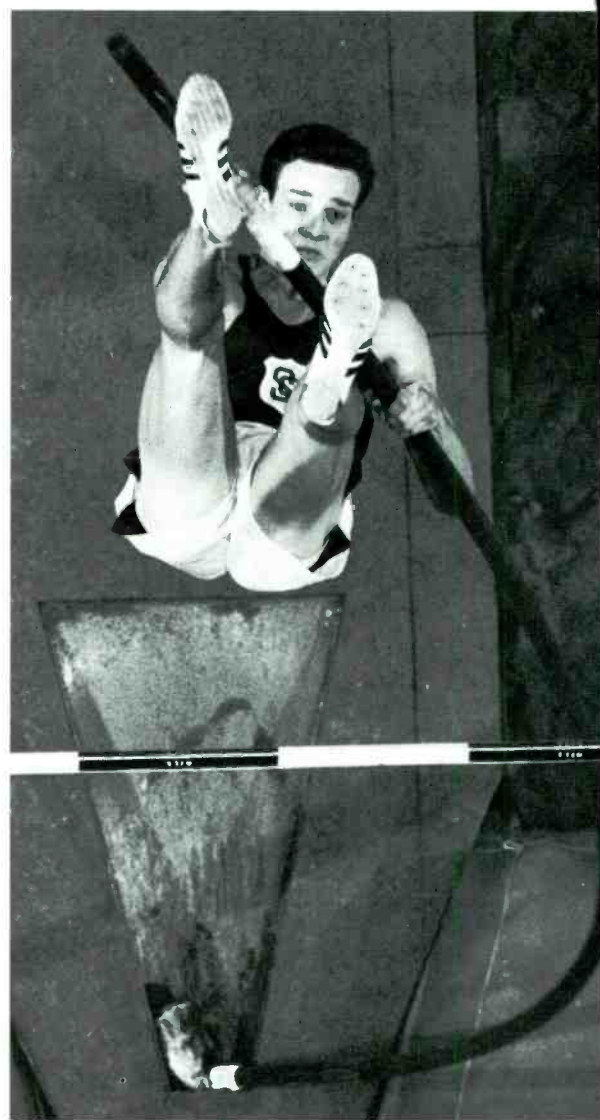
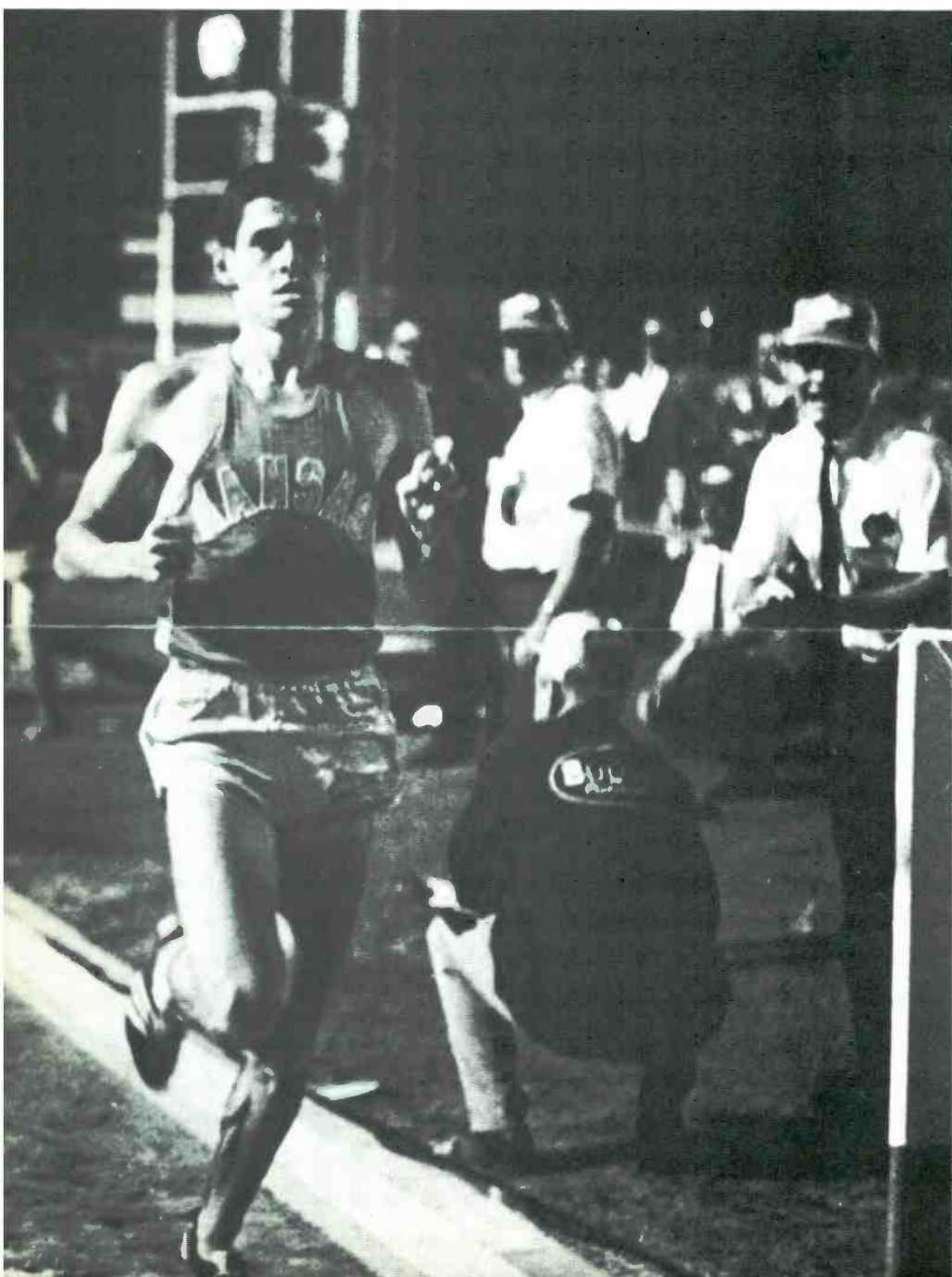




*Left:* Bob Seagren, of USC, vaults to a height of 17 feet, 2 inches at the Los Angeles Invitational only to have leap nullified when pole fell into pit. Seagren later set a short-lived world record of 17 feet, 7 inches.

*Bottom left:* Kansas' Jim Ryun crosses the finish line with no challengers in sight, setting a new world record for the mile at the National AAU championships. Ryun's time was an incredible 3:51.1.

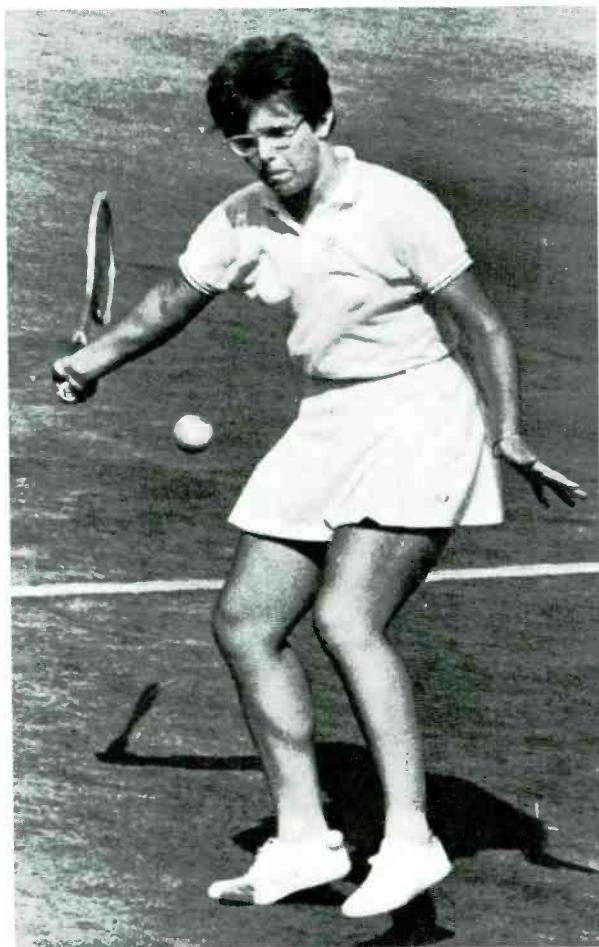
*Bottom right:* Paul Wilson, Seagren's USC teammate, clears the bar at 17 feet, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches, at the National AAU championships, thereby eclipsing by  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch the record set by Seagren two weeks earlier.





Damascus leaves rivals far behind on way to a 10-length Woodward Stakes victory. The win, over such as Dr. Fager and Buckpasser, established the Willie Shoemaker mount as horse of the year.

Mrs. Billie Jean King sets to swat a point at the Forest Hills United States championships. Mrs. King took both the United States and Wimbledon crowns, becoming the first American girl in nine years to do so.



Australian challenger *Dame Pattie* lags behind America's Cup defender *Intrepid* as the United States yacht sails away to four straight victories.





British designer *Mary Quant* (right), who popularized the miniskirt, pushes it further with the micro-miniskirt.

## 28. Fashions and Fads

TWO THINGS WERE CERTAIN in fashions in 1967. First—women of all ages found miniskirts to their liking. The short skirt, exposing as much leg as a woman's whim might dictate, became a universal dress for the young, and, slightly modified, for the not-so-young. Second—the American male, spurred by the social revolt of the young, and lured along by skillful designers, began to make changes in his daily dress that could lead to a whole new world for men's apparel.

The minidress first emerged in England, and was closely linked with swinging Carnaby Street, in London. For the first year or two of its life, the miniskirt was the mark of flirtatious daring. Then, boom: national costume. Even schools, which for the previous two years, laid down strict and stringent rules to keep a schoolgirl's dress at knee level, suddenly surrendered. Despite dire warnings from the bluenoses that miniskirts would herald a wild new lasciviousness, schools continued to teach math, biology, science, English, the humanities. Boys and girls continued to struggle for high grades under the impetus of a driving educational system. Life changed relatively little because of the new mode of dress.

After the startling national acceptance of the miniskirt, the next most apparent aspect of the world of fashion was price. The high price of mink tumbled, and this, as one critic expressed it, "became the year when the sable became the rich woman's knockabout uniform. Mink—that was for working girls." And affluence, generally, spread everywhere in the world of fashion.

When Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy flew off to visit ancient ruins in Cambodia, she was accompanied by a wardrobe in trunk after trunk filled with clothes from her favorite designer, Valentino, of Rome. Valentino will charge a mere \$1,395 for a simple woolen daytime dress. He reserves his \$5,000 garments for evening wear. In New York City, Ohrbach's, a famed cash-and-carry

store which finally opened charge accounts, sold Valentino copies for mere hundreds of dollars.

Both Stanley Marcus, president of the swank Neiman-Marcus department store of Texas fame, and Jacques Kaplan, head of the Fifth Avenue fur salon, Georges Kaplan, agreed that during 1967, more people spent more money than ever before on expensive clothes and furs. Neiman-Marcus had no trouble selling a one-of-a-kind \$75,000 black mink coat. Kaplan sold hundreds of minks in the \$1,500 class. There was no end of customers. Among other shoppers was a mother who bought her twenty-one-year-old son an \$1,800 mink coat as a birthday present.

Middle-range clothes jumped sharply in price. Best & Company, a New York department store, jumped the top price for its higher quality dresses from \$200 to \$350. A store executive said women who used to buy one coat every two years were now beginning to buy a new coat a year.

In 1967, fashion excitement came from youth. And, in fashion, emphasis was not always on quality or workmanship, but often on the design that would catch a youth-oriented buyer's fancy. This brought about a reverse snobbery among many wealthy women, who bought cheap clothes in great quantities. Rich, chic Mrs. Robert F. Kennedy, wife of New York's Democratic Senator, bought quantities of skirts on a single shopping expedition, the skirts varying in price from \$12 to \$18. She matched these with an almost equal number of coordinated tops at \$8 to \$12.

Usually the smartest styles were set by a store new in terms of popularity, the boutiques, small shops with both a personal and intimate touch. Many department stores added boutique departments. Mod boutiques had a definite psychedelic swing in garish and wild colors and offbeat decorations.

The overall look appealed to the young in heart

and body. But this also created a problem for the older woman who didn't feel that miniskirts, fancy stockings, and way-out colors were her desire or taste. Designers attempted to offer the mature woman some relief with suits, the shirt, and shirtwaist dresses in classic tailoring. In midwinter, designers also came up with the "midi" and "maxi" dresses, the former mid-calf length, the latter ankle-length. Both were an answer to the ubiquitous "mini." But whether they would win any wide degree of popularity among the more mature women remained to be settled by trends in 1968.

Early in the year, gaudy, uninhibited, wild colors were the key to a smart wardrobe. The psychedelic color craze lasted through spring and well into summer. At the same time, some Paris designers showed clothes with a strong African flavor, but this mood was short-lived, though it left its imprint on accessories. Fall saw a swing away from brilliant colors to understated blacks, grays, and blues.

A long effort by American manufacturers to promote shorts, bermudas and culottes for city, business, and school wear, suddenly began to pay off. Culottes, especially, began showing up for office and school wear. To many new adherents, the attractive culotte met their need for a dress in the style of a miniskirt, but without the embarrassment often a problem with the tiny skirts. At the same time, women took to body stockings, or full length tights, as virtually standard with whatever the fashion world came up with, a micro-miniskirt, a plastic dress, or a dress primarily of holes.

Boots were tremendously popular, knee-high, thigh-high, or calf-high. They were made of fine leather, imitation leather, and fabrics. And the popular shoe was one that would have delighted a turn-of-the-century doctor. They were square or round, not pointed, with what those doctors would have referred to as a "sensible height." The high heel, once the ultimate of the fashion world, had all but disappeared.

This was a year, too, when changes in established uniforms became an international preoccupation. The Paris gendarmes gave up their lead-weighted capes, so colorful to wear, and so deadly when rolled up and used as a club. London policewomen were given a chic new look, along with stewardesses of British European Airways who finally replaced their navy blue suits with navy pinafores and jackets, topped with a bright red cape. Britain's Brownies and Girl Guides (Girl Scouts in the United States), ended the year in bright new uniforms.

Perhaps this desire for a new look, connotating a new freedom and a new mobility, all suggesting a desire for an active life, prompted the continuing pressure within a number of Catholic orders for a change in the habit worn by nuns. To some traditionalists, replacing the bulky garments, often a heritage from the Middle Ages, with a modest but modish garb, was something to regret. But the Catholic Church, itself, with few exceptions, willingly

accepted proposed changes in traditional dress.

There was an obvious Russian influence in the world of fashion, especially in coats. They were trimmed with fur, and were popular in Cossack styles. Despite the vexatious problems evoked by the war in Vietnam and its growing unpopularity, the military look became increasingly a fashion hit. Coats, capes, and doughboy jackets, with plenty of brass buttons and epaulets, were on display everywhere. Even the hippies turned to uniforms: old military styles, discarded police, and even foreign military jackets became almost *de rigueur*. This, along with the paisley shirt and levis, was the "in" costume among the offbeat young. The fashion world sparkled in the incongruous linkup between metal and denim. Aluminum harnesses, huge, light metal bracelets, ankle chains, in addition to a startling array of bizarre chain belts, decorated the fashion pacesetters. The metal decorations were set off against a background of simple dresses, sometimes little more than wraparounds, of denims in colors that followed the season, from gaudy in spring to demure fall grays and blacks.

Hair styles continued to feature long tresses, both for boys and girls. But even as boys' hair became longer, toward the end of the year a new influence was apparent among women—the 1930's look, a by-product of the tremendously influential motion picture, *Bonnie and Clyde* (see Chapter 24, MOVIES). Curls were back, as well as the "bobbed hair" styles of the Depression era.

In 1966, the paper trade introduced paper fashions as a gimmick. In 1967, paper clothes suddenly became a booming business. Paper boutiques offered everything from slippers to sports clothes. One manufacturer introduced paper bathing suits as a gag. But they sold. Fragile as they were, paper clothes were designed to be worn but once, then tossed away.

In terms of makeup, beauty editors emphasized the natural look, despite a sort of subcultural popularity of weird, way-out makeup. The ideal was hailed as a rosy skin, sheer face powder, pale and glossy lips and, as the year drew to a close, an increasing acceptance of false eyelashes for both day and night wear. The popular look was a somewhat fragile luster by day, and a luminescence at night.

If 1967 was the year of the total miniskirt triumph, it was also the year men's styles really woke up from their century-old slumber. Most American men, as they have for generations, resisted innovations in styles, but there were signs of profound changes to come. The infection began with the turtleneck sweater-turned-shirt. In white lisle, it became, first among the jet set and then as a commonplace, a substitute for the dress shirt for formal night wear (with dinner jacket or "tuxedo" that is; no one has yet reported a turtleneck with white tie and tails!). Then it appeared in colors, either psychedelic or subdued, for street and office wear, especially in the under-thirty Madison Avenue set.

Next came the Nehru jacket with its stand-up collar and slim elegant line, either long for town or short for country and sports. It even appeared in formal figured silk for evening wear. Another development was the wide use of the Edwardian jacket with shaped waist, slanting pockets, side vents, and truly narrow pleatless trousers. Color came on big in shirts, ties, and accessories, and most shops were showing, while some men were already wearing, long gold neck chains with engraved medallion pendants for day and evening.

Two famed designers for women were now turning out elegant lines of high-style clothes for men: Pierre Cardin of Paris and Bill Blass of New York. Top women's

shops were fostering their designs with specially created men's boutiques filled with capes and tunics, wild felt hats right out of Paris or Milan, suede jackets with massive hardware-like buttons and fittings, all heavy with color or texture, everything coming on strong.

The danger of being charged with effeminacy or weirdness was long since down the drain. Not even great courage was needed now for a man to be entirely different in his dress from the traditional two- or three-button standard male. All that was needed now was an extra measure of imagination and money. The stores and the audience, especially female, were ready and waiting.



Some credit the Beatles with starting the whole swing off into sartorial space. Ringo Starr moves the image along in a brocaded Nehru-collar jacket, as he stands with Swedish actress Ewa Aulin of Candy.



The plain grays, blacks, and browns of men's suits give way to color and bold design. The Earl of Snowden, husband to Princess Margaret, wears a striped topcoat and matching trousers.



*Barbara Walters, from Boston, Massachusetts, began her television career in New York as a writer. She joined NBC-TV in 1961 and was assigned to the "Today" show as a behind-the-scenes writer-reporter. Based in New York she has reported for "Today" on the Mod scene from England and folk art from Portugal as well as delivering her own radio commentaries on "Monitor" and "Emphasis."*

## The Voice of the Turtleneck

*Barbara Walters*

Of NBC's "Today," "Monitor," and "Emphasis"

"EENY, MINI, MIDI, MAXI," I said to myself (for who else would listen?), sometime around the middle of 1967, and decided then and there not to write another word about fashion. I knew that the fate of women's hemlines interested me not at all and that I would be no happier with the midi length skirt than I had been with the mini, so why bother to explore the matter further? Yet here I am writing another fashion story. Well, not really "another" . . . this is a very special fashion story for it is about *men's* fashions, and no look at the fashion year 1967 would be complete without some comment about the revolution in male attire. For a revolution it was, and what it represents is today being argued about not only by fashion editors, but by sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists, who rarely waste their time on frills and frivolities.

Nineteen sixty-seven was the year when the turtleneck shirt came into its own. It was also the year of the Mao or Nehru jacket, of men's fur coats, of side zippers, of beads and necklaces worn by serious gentlemen who were neither flower children nor homosexuals. It was the year in which designers of women's clothes turned to designing men's clothes as well. It was the year chic women's specialty shops like Bonwit Teller and Henri Bendel in New York and I. Magnin in Los Angeles opened boutiques for men and found they couldn't keep

up with the sales. It was the year in which even a most conservative man let his sideburns grow and tucked a colored kerchief into the pocket reserved for years for the plain white handkerchief. The gray-flannel automations sported striped and colored shirts, and even Lyndon Johnson bought himself a trio of turtleneck shirts. No one was immune to the revolution.

In the immediate past years, we had seen the birth and demise of the Mod look for men. The exaggerated Edwardian jackets, the wide floral ties, the stovepipe pants caught on only with the young. The older man stuck to the same uniform he had been wearing with few variations for almost fifty years. So why now is he so willing to swap a tie for a row of beads, a colored shirt for plain white, a turtleneck in place of the open collar?

One fascinating answer that has been suggested is that the sexes are becoming blurred—that as women began to dress like men with short hair and pants suits, men began to dress more effeminately with necklaces and medallions, bright shirts and fitted jackets. Charles E. Winick, Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the City College of New York and author of *The New People*, has this to say about the desexualization of American men and women. "Contemporary men may wear gaily colored clothing, perfumes and jewelry as one reflection of their increasing tendency to become the objects, rather than the initiators of courtship. Today's preferred shape for both men and women is loose fitting and formless and expresses and reinforces our blurring of maleness and femaleness. Clothing further deepens the internal conflict and confusion of each sex in fulfilling its role."

Dr. Winick goes on to note that "after all the jokes about who wears the pants in an American family, there is suddenly nothing to smile at. Over 45 million pairs of trousers are now bought by women each year, four times as many as ten years ago. As for men, their purchases of fragrance-containing preparations come to three times as much as women spend on perfumes, toilet waters and colognes."

It is true that with the shortage of domestic help after World War II, men had to help with the dishes and learn how to diaper the baby, and the most masculine of men must occasionally have shuddered at the sight of themselves puttering around in aprons. It is also true that homosexuals are accepted in today's society as never before. In some settings, especially among those who used to be called the "Jet Set" and are now called the "Beautiful People," the homosexual is courted and admired as the perfect escort to a whole new breed of neuter women. Thus, Dr. Winick's theory of the blurring of the sexes in fashion as well as fact has won much popular acclaim. Dr. Winick sees one related area, however, that has not become sexually blurred, and that is the sequence in which men and women put on their garments. "Most

American women," he says, "get into their brassiere before their panties or girdle, but the typical man dons his shorts and then his undershirt." It isn't very much to go on, but I for one say, *Vive la difference*.

And here my comments would end if I felt that the desexualization of the sexes was the answer to the male fashion revolution of 1967. But I do not. For the theory, though valid and glib, does not hold up when one asks why the change occurred in 1967? Why not in 1965 or 1952? Surely the sexes were blurred then, too. As a matter of fact, men were most involved with housework and presumably feminine chores in the 1940's when so many GI's went back to school while their wives went to work to support them. But the '40's and '50's saw men uniformly dressed, no longer in khaki to be sure, but in regimental gray flannel, their hair cut short, their shirts pure white, their ties pure sincerity. No revolution in male attire was possible then, but something happened in 1967 to allow for the change. To be more precise, something happened in 1964, 1965, and 1966.

That "something" was the so-called "hippie" movement. Behind the long hair, the beards, the sloppy clothes, the flowers, and the beads was the philosophy, simple in its basics, that the prevailing American values were as stiff and outmoded, as hypocritical and obsolete as a button-down shirt and tight tie in August. Wearing anything or everything he felt like wearing made the hippie feel that he had cut his bonds with tradition and could, in short, "do his own thing."

Concurrent with the hippie movement came the great emphasis on civil rights in this country. And from the Negro society, newly proud of its African heritage, came a joy in color and texture. The imitative zoot

suiters of the 1940's were literally "doing their own thing" in the 1960's.

The final influence was also a product of both the hippie and the civil-rights philosophy—an attention to and respect for the Eastern religions. From India's Mahatma Gandhi came Martin Luther King's reverence for nonviolence. And from India, too, came the hippie's interest in music and meditation. So it was no accident that the Indian Nehru jacket, and later the Chinese Mao jacket, should be introduced in the male fashion vocabulary.

Sure, there were the inevitable copycats who raced out to buy the newest fashion fad, but the original inspiration was fresh. Men seemed to be saying in their choice of wardrobe, "Let me be myself if only occasionally"; "Let me express myself if sometimes foolishly"; "Let me do my own thing."

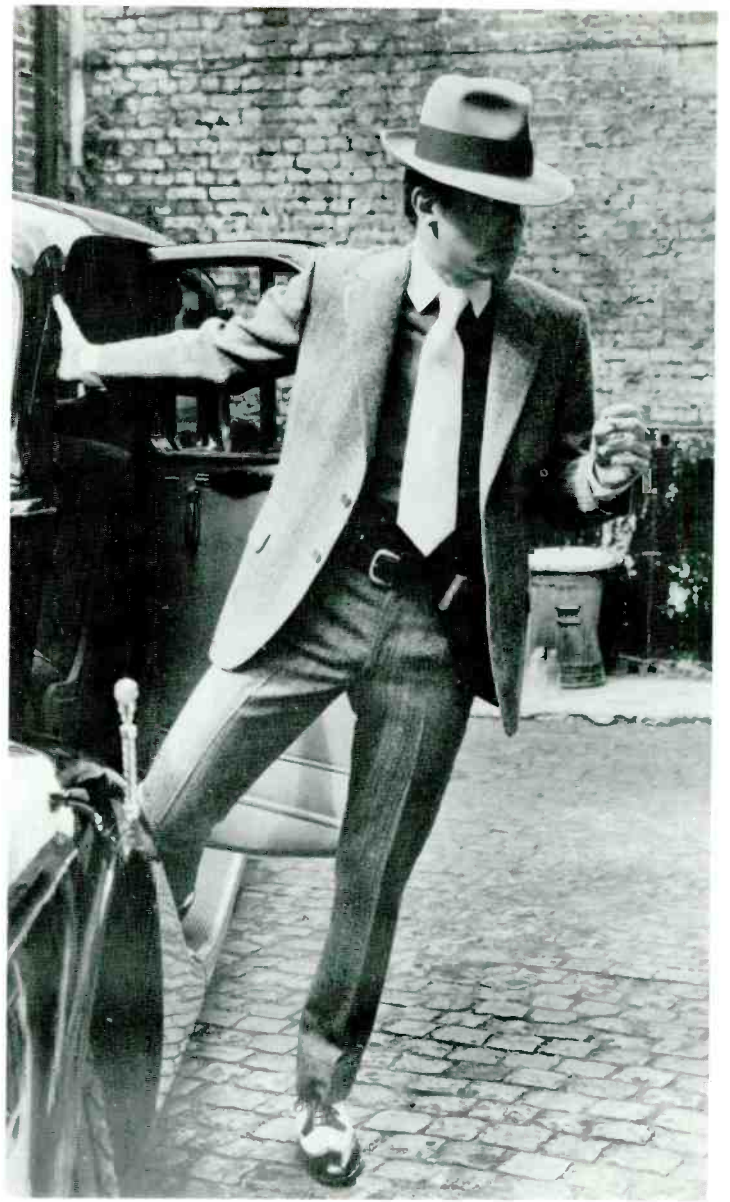
And finally the revolution trickled down, or squirted up, to Dad, whose sense of security had already been challenged, if not completely destroyed, by his son's rebellion. Dad began to feel, if only through osmosis, that there might be values other than his own worth listening to, that maybe it was important not only to find out what his son was like, but what he *himself* was really like. If other ideas could be accepted, why not long hair, beards, colored shirts, or beads? On the other hand, why not a crew cut and a black suit if that goes with the mood? Fashion reflects the morality of its era more than any other social expression for it is quick to be produced and distributed. These days, as American men question seriously the values of their society, they can question, too, the clothes they wear to express themselves. For it is no longer true that clothes make the man. These days, the man makes the clothes!

And for the men, long-haired fur coats, like this dark-gray unshorned nutria. It's double-breasted and trimmed in black leather.



He wears the turtleneck, she wears the tie. Actor Jordan Christopher and his wife, the former Sybil Burton, are resplendent in dinner jacket with white turtleneck, and white coat and spangled collar and tie.





Opposite page:

Opposite top left: Designer Theadora Van Runkle, who sparked a new trend with her clothes for *Bonnie and Clyde*, shows off a dark blue velvet smock, lion coat, dark tights, and a fall of shoulder-length red hair. Said Theadora: "This is a Fun Look."

Top right: The look of the thirties, sparked by *Bonnie and Clyde* fashions, brings back wide lapels, broad-brimmed hats, and two-toned shoes for men.

Bottom left: Members of religious orders partook of the new 1967 freedom in thought and dress. Sister Germaine Habjan, of the Glenmary Mission, wears a miniskirted habit while singing folk songs in Chicago's depressed areas.

Bottom right: Twiggy, the seventeen-year-old English model whose name became synonymous with the wide-eyed childish look, designed her own idea of what the well-dressed Indian maid should wear.



Top left: While some designers moved to uncover as much of the figure as possible, Jacques Tiffeau offered this Russian-inspired cape-coat. A hood tops it off, the coat covers fur-trimmed pants ending just above the knees, which are tucked into thigh-length boots.

Top right: Dinah Shore departs from the mini tradition with the midi-length dress, here with ruffled dickey.

Bottom: The trend goes African in the collection of British designer Simon Massey. The name is different, though; the short dress is called a mini-Khanga.





Applying mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, J. D. Thompson breathes life into fellow power-line worker Gilbert Champion in Jacksonville, Florida. Minutes after Champion had brushed a live wire, Thompson shouted happily, "He's breathing!"

## 29. Disasters

DISASTER WORE MANY FACES, and in 1967 took its own accounting. In many cases, the ancient holocausts of nature—earthquake and typhoon—were matched by the new calamities of man, whose jet plane crashes, and mass insecticide poisonings gave evidence of the not unmixed blessings of our technological age.

In the back of a truck traveling a bumpy mountain road in Colombia, the contents of a sack of parathion, a highly toxic insecticide, leaked into sacks containing flour. The contaminated flour was baked into bread for the families of Chiquinquirá on the morning of November 25. More than 600 persons became ill, 77 of them died; 73 of the dead were children. Two months earlier, a similar tragedy had struck Tijuana, Mexico, killing 17 persons, most of them small children.

Tragedy must be measured, at times, by yardsticks other than stark numbers. When a Delta Air Lines DC-8 returning from a training flight struck a motel and a cluster of houses at Kenner, Louisiana, March 30, a total of 18 persons died. But nine of the victims were members of the senior class of Juda, Wisconsin, High School. They'd come to visit New Orleans on their graduation trip. Their bodies and their surviving classmates made the sorrowful trip home to a stricken town that had known them all from childhood.

In Brussels on May 22, fire swept L'Innovation, the Belgian capital's second-largest department store. Unnoticed at its beginning in a small closet, the blaze enveloped all five stories of the 70-year-old building—and more than 1,000 shoppers and employees—in little more than ten minutes. Panic claimed many lives: those who were trampled, those who jumped from the upper stories of the pyre. At first, only 40 bodies were found; it was not until June 8, more than two weeks later, that police announced the true horror: 322 persons had died. It was Europe's worst fire since 1881, when the Ring Theatre in Vienna burned and about 650 persons were killed.

(Nine days before the holocaust, a Peking-oriented Communist youth group began picketing L'Innovation's display of United States-made merchandise. They distributed handbills warning that the group had "means" of halting the display. But despite this threat and the inevitable rumors, Brussels' police chief insisted he could find no evidence of arson.)

Death in a combat zone represents a calculated risk. But it was an accident, not enemy action, that killed 134 American seamen and fliers and injured 62 more. It happened July 29 aboard the carrier *Forrestal* in the Gulf of Tonkin, minutes before her jets were to lift off for a raid on North Vietnam. The fuel tank of one of the A-4 Skyhawks burst and ignited. Flames engulfed the crowded flight deck, detonating bombs, rockets, and fuel tanks. Two destroyers drew alongside to hose down the blaze, two other carriers dispatched medical personnel, removed the *Forrestal's* injured. The 76,000-ton carrier, her deck pocked by gaping holes, limped toward the Philippines, 21 of her 80 planes destroyed, 42 others damaged. It was the worst United States naval disaster in a combat zone since World War II.

Calamity rode these paths as well:

At least 200 persons died and 1,000 were injured on the western coast of India on December 11. The quake's epicenter was fixed near Konya, 75 miles south of Poona; tremors were felt for 500 miles.

Other disasters:

*Earthquake:* Temblors wracked Venezuela's capital, Caracas, and the nearby towns of La Guaira and Macuto on July 29. A total of 277 persons were reported killed. On the same day, 10 persons were killed and 100 injured by quakes in neighboring Colombia.

Colombia's capital, Bogotá, had suffered extensive damage earlier, when on February 9 a series of temblors killed 100, injured 420, and was felt as far away as Quito and Caracas.

On July 22, the first of two series of quakes struck Anatolia, Asian Turkey. The northwest suffered first—83 deaths, more than 100 injuries, most of the destruction in the town of Adapazari, 80 miles southeast of Istanbul. Four days later, tremors rattled the eastern provinces, killing 112 and injuring at least 200.

Yugoslavia: 80 percent of the town of Debar, near the Albanian border, was destroyed November 30; 20 died, more than 200 were injured.

Indonesia: 26 died when an area of several villages in East Java was struck on February 20, and 37 died at Madjene in southern Celebes on April 11.

*Plane Crashes:* The highest death toll for the year was recorded April 20, when a Britannia airliner owned by the Globe Air Charter Company of Zurich crashed into a hill near Nicosia during a thunderstorm. Ironically, the plane, bound from Bombay to Cairo with Swiss and German tourists, had been diverted to Cyprus because of bad weather over Cairo. Of 130 aboard, 124 perished. In chronological sequence, these air tragedies:

March 5. Brazilian Varig DC-8, flying Beirut-Rio, crashed into a house in a fog while attempting to land at Monrovia, Liberia; 48 of the 89 on the plane were killed, as were 5 in the building.

March 5. Lake Central Airlines propjet, Columbus, Ohio, to Toledo, crashed near Kenton during a storm; all 38 aboard were killed.

March 9. A TWA DC-9, flying New York-Dayton, collided with a Beechcraft twin-engined plane near Urbana, Ohio; all 21 aboard the jet were killed, as was the pilot of the smaller craft.

June 3. A chartered DC-4, carrying British tourists on a holiday to the Costa Brava of Spain, crashed into Mount Canigou in the Pyrenees, 25 miles southwest of Perpignan; all 88 aboard perished.

June 4. A British Midland Airways Argonaut, carrying British vacationers home for Majorca, crashed in the center of Stockport, 4 miles from the Manchester Airport; of 84 aboard, 72 died.

July 19. A Piedmont Airlines Boeing 727 collided with an off-course Cessna 310 near Henderson, North Carolina. The toll: all 79 on the jet, including Secretary of the Navy-designate John McNaughton, his wife, and one son, and 3 aboard the Cessna.

September 5. A Soviet-built Ilyushin 18 Czechoslovak airliner, flying Prague to Havana, crashed after take-off from Gander, Newfoundland, following a refueling stop; of the 69 persons aboard, 34 perished.

November 4. An Iberia Air Lines Caravelle, flying Malaga to London, crashed during a rainstorm near Fernhurst, 40 miles from London; all 37 aboard were killed.

November 20. A TWA Convair 880, flying to Cincinnati, crashed moments before landing at destination; the third passenger plane crash at Greater Cincinnati

Airport in two years. The toll: 67 of the 82 persons aboard the jet.

*Maritime:* The disaster that cost a single life but affected thousands of others occurred March 18, when the *Torrey Canyon*, a 974-foot tanker loaded with 118,000 tons of Persian Gulf crude, went aground on Seven Stones Reef, at the western entrance to the English Channel. Leakage quickly polluted a 120-mile stretch of British beaches and 55 miles of France's Brittany coast. The slick defied anticoagulant and detergents, threatened bird population and sea life. Efforts to refloat the tanker led to an explosion that killed a member of the salvage crew and split the tanker in half, resulting in further leakage of the crude oil. Finally, RAF jets bombed and fired the hulk. (In a postscript, a Liberian government inquiry [the *Torrey Canyon* sailed under Liberian registry] found the ship's captain solely responsible for the calamity, charging that, while in the dangerous waters, he kept the vessel on automatic pilot and failed to reduce speed from the maximum 15.75 knots and that he ignored a warning that the tanker was dangerously close to Pollard's Rock. The board recommended he be deprived of his master's certificate.)

At least 60 persons were drowned on May 4, when a riverboat capsized on the Blue Nile near Singa in east-central Sudan.

A Soviet fish-processing ship went down in the North Sea off Jutland on February 28 after springing a leak during a gale. The toll: 57; 22 crewmen were rescued by another Soviet vessel.

The tanker *Circe*, Greek-owned, Liberian-registered, exploded and burned 100 miles south of Toulon, France, on May 23. Only one of her 39-man crew survived.

*Storms and Floods:* In less than two months, from January 22 to March 19, about 1,300 persons died in eastern Brazil; 894 perished the first two days, when heavy rains in the states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo were followed by floods and landslides; rains flooded the city of Rio the following month, with resulting mud slides that brought down the homes of slum dwellers; rockslides and landslides triggered by new rains in March devastated two cities north of coastal São Paulo.

Monsoon-born floods in Karachi and the Lyari River region of Pakistan left 100,000 homeless, 19 dead; 12 inches of rain fell from July 24-26.

Heavy rains flooded portions of west-central Portugal, November 25-26, killing more than 450; especially hard hit were the slum districts in and around Lisbon.

A 150-foot wall of water cascading from a storm-shattered dam inundated three villages in central Java on November 27; nearly 150 perished.

Typhoon Billie hit Japan's Honshu and Kyushu Islands July 9, left 347 dead or missing.

Typhoon Carla battered Taiwan, October 17–18, killing about 70 persons.

Hurricane Beulah killed 46 persons in slashing across the Caribbean, Mexico, and southern Texas, September 7–23, with winds of 160 mph; it was one of the three worst storms reported in the Western Hemisphere. (President Johnson declared the Rio Grande Valley a major disaster area after a flight over a portion of the river, which had risen to a record 20 feet.)

Mexico City's first snow in more than a quarter of a century killed 18 persons in the capital and environs, left 12,000 homeless; January 8–11.

Record snowfall on January 26–27 (23 inches in 26 hours) paralyzed Chicago and other parts of the Midwest, was blamed for at least 80 deaths in five states. On February 8, snowstorms from Boston to Maine resulted in 18 deaths.

A rash of tornadoes—at least 48 were counted—swept through Chicago and northern Illinois April 21, killing 52 persons. Hardest hit was the Chicago suburb of Oak Lawn, where 29 perished and 500 were injured.

Floodwaters inundated the Alaska cities of Fairbanks and Nenana August 14–16, after five days of record rains on nearby rivers. Damage was estimated at between \$150–200 million, and President Johnson declared the state a disaster area.

*Rail and Highway:* In what is believed to have been the worst recorded highway disaster, two buses carrying Roman Catholic pilgrims collided January 6 on a mountain road, plunged into a gorge 45 miles south of Manila; 87 died, 62 were injured.

A double-decker commuter train collided with a gasoline truck at a grade crossing in Langenweddingen, East Germany; 82 died, most of them children.

Silver Bridge, a 40-year-old span across the Ohio River between Point Pleasant, West Virginia, and Hannuga, Ohio, collapsed December 15. The span had been loaded with rush-hour and holiday-shopping traffic; 45 died.

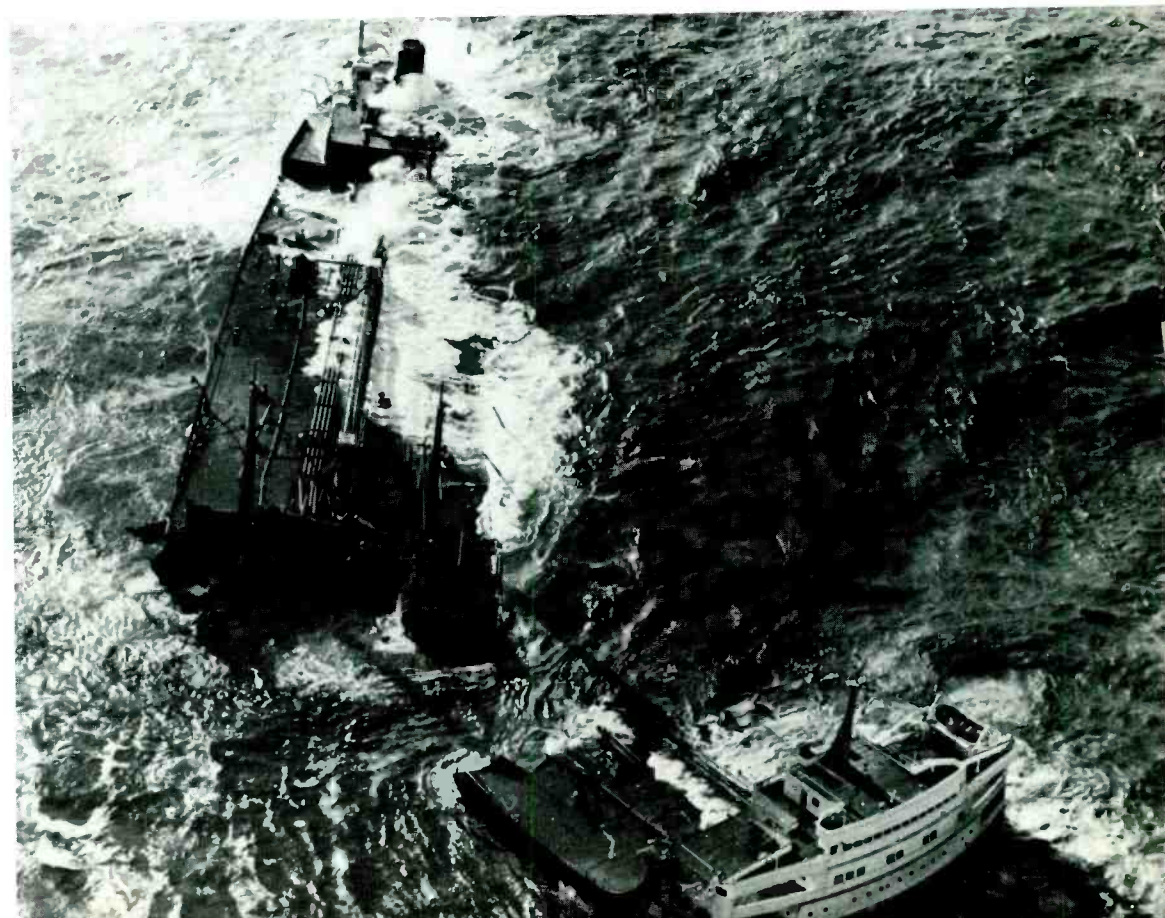
*Fires:* Flash fire trapped and killed three American astronauts in their Apollo space capsule during ground tests at Cape Kennedy on January 27. The victims were Virgil (Gus) Grissom, Edward White, and Roger Chaffee. Another victim: America's space program, all but adjourned for the year (see Chapter 8, SPACE).

Fire raced through a locked barracks of a prison work camp near Jay, Florida, July 16; 37 convicts perished.

Hundreds of fires blackened vast wooded sections of western United States and Canada in August and early September. A combination of drought, lightning, and human carelessness was blamed for blazes that destroyed more than 100,000 acres of timber in Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Washington, California, and British Columbia and caused enormous losses in the area's wildlife.

Another form of disaster growing out of deep social unrest, afflicted the United States in 1967. Urban racial riots claimed more than 100 lives and hundreds of millions of dollars in property damage (see Chapter 6, CIVIL RIGHTS: THE GHETTO REVOLT) and gave warning of much more to come.

Abandoned but not forgotten, the giant American tanker *Torrey Canyon* spews oil toward the beaches of southwestern England and northern France. Grounded on a reef off Land's End, in March, split in two by battering waves, she was finally sent to the bottom by the RAF.





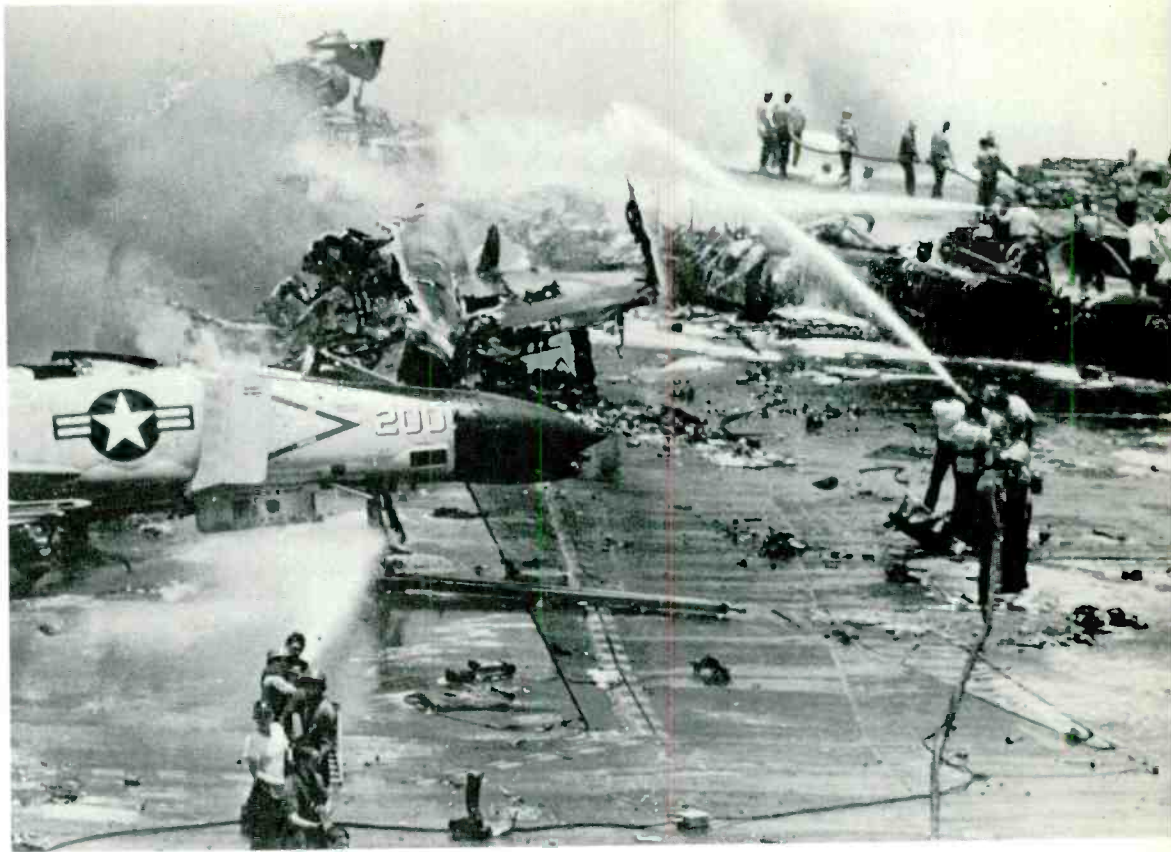
Grounded shrimp boats, a displaced tree, and an intrepid sightseer bespeak the intensity of Hurricane Beulah, which roared out of the Gulf of Mexico in September to batter the Texas coast near Port Isabel.

Stunned and mud-spattered, parents lead youngsters from Belvidere, Illinois, High School, wracked in April by a tornado. The winds ripped most of the letters of the school name from their moorings.



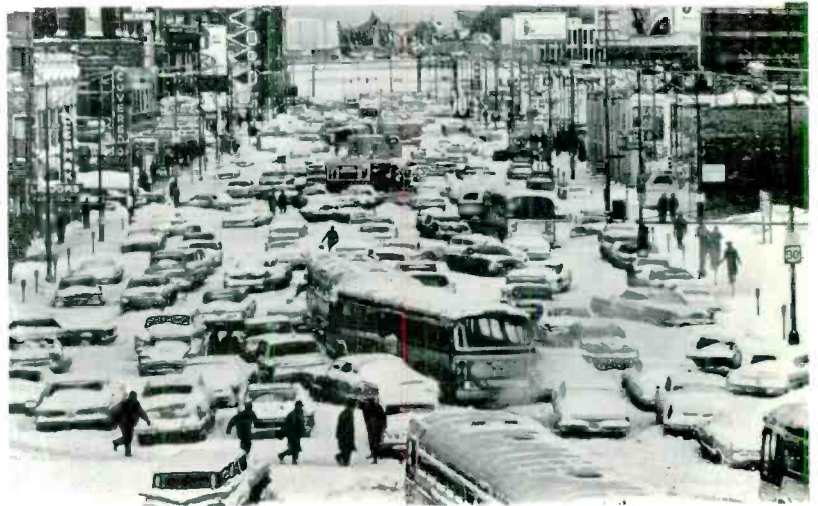


Top left: Man slides to safety and woman is carried away from burning Brussels department store in May. Death toll made it the worst of its kind in the twentieth century.



Top right: In the Gulf of Tonkin, in July, crewmen battle flames on the flight deck of the *Forrestal*, ripped by explosions and fires that killed 134 Navy men. Accident, not enemy action, triggered the disaster.

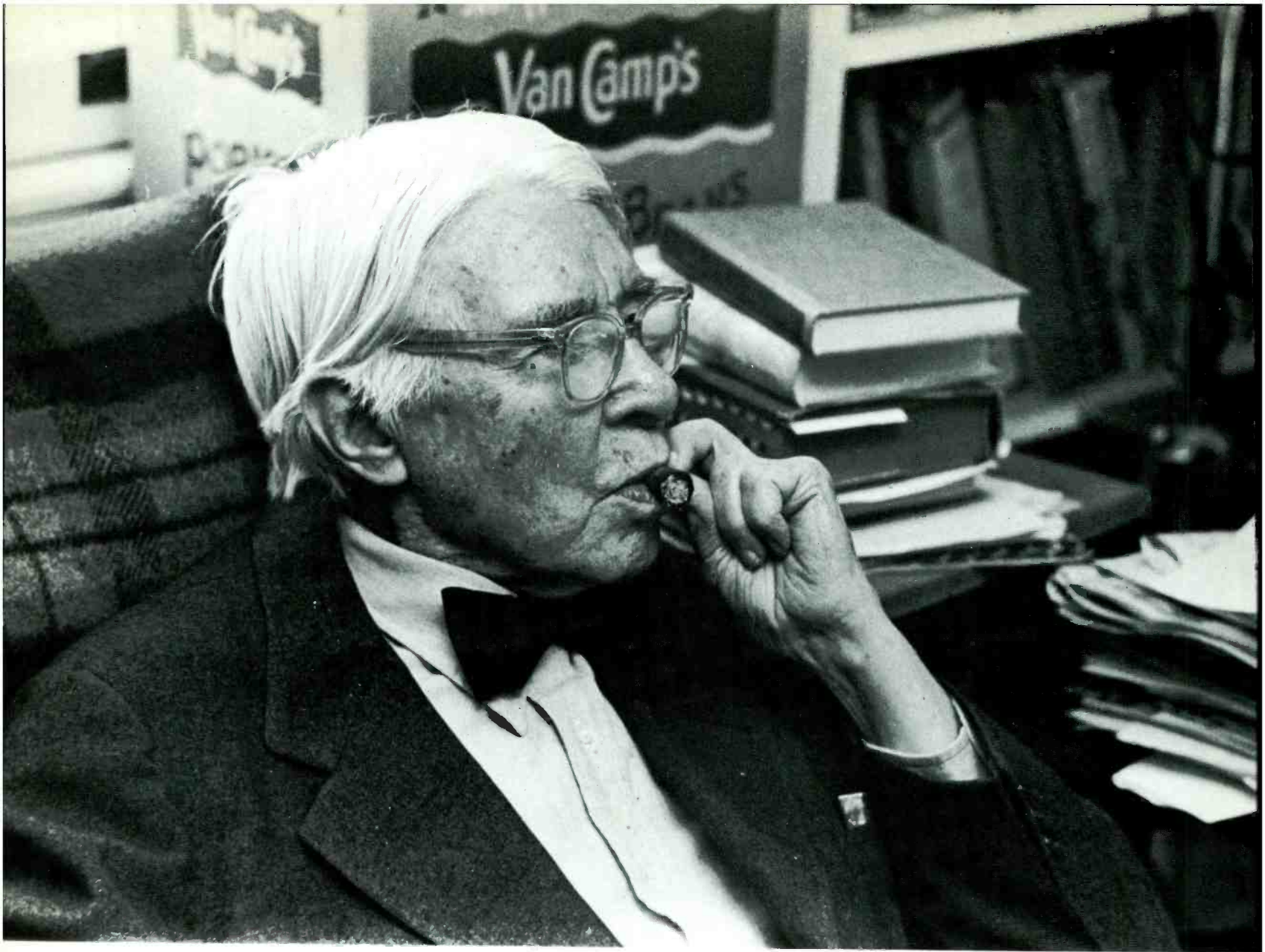
Right: Chicago gives ample evidence that, the bigger the town, the more easily it can be humbled by Nature. The Windy City became the Snowbound City during record January storms.



Bottom left: Rescue worker at upper left helps remove victim while another worker clammers among wreckage of two buses that plunged into a ravine south of Manila in January. They were carrying Roman Catholics on a pilgrimage.

Bottom right: Tail section of jetliner lies amid debris at Kenner, Louisiana, motel. Plane crashed, killing eighteen, during attempt to land at New Orleans International Airport in March.





Carl Sandburg, eighty-nine, poet and Pulitzer-Prize-winning biographer of Lincoln.

## 30. Obituaries

TWO OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED POETS of the first half of the twentieth century died in 1967.

Carl Sandburg died at the age of eighty-nine in the small community of Flat Rock, North Carolina. Sandburg was both poet and biographer. Among his best-known poems were "Chicago," "Prayers of Steel," and "Fog." He was the author of what certainly ranks as one of the great biographies of all time, his life of Abraham Lincoln. In 1940, Sandburg was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for *The War Years*, and another in 1950 for his *Complete Poems*.

Only a year younger than Sandburg, John Edward Masefield, England's poet laureate, died at his home in the English village of Abingdon. He was eighty-eight. Masefield was best known for his poems of the sea, including "Sea Fever," and "Cargoes," and for his long poems, such as *The Everlasting Mercy*. Early critics were shocked at the coarse language he used in his serious poetry.

Among other distinguished authors, poets, and songwriters who died during the year were:

Langston Hughes, brilliant Negro poet, novelist, and playwright. He was sixty-five. Among his best-known works, which portrayed a sharp, realistic picture of Negro life in America, were *The Weary Blues*, and *Not Without Laughter*.

Woody Guthrie, who referred to himself as a simple folk singer. He composed most of his own songs during a career that spanned the Depression, good times, and three wars. Through his music he sang of the majesty and the injustice, the beauty and the ugliness of the United States. Among his most popular songs: "This Land Is Your Land," and "So Long, It's Been Good to Know You." He was fifty-five.

André Maurois, French author of numerous novels, biographies, and works of history. He first attracted attention with a book based on his experiences during

World War I. His biographies included studies of Dumas père and Dumas fils, George Sand, Proust, Byron, and Disraeli. He also wrote histories of the United States and Great Britain. He was eighty-one.

Ilya Ehrenburg, Russian author, twice winner of the Stalin Prize for literature. He first achieved fame within Russia for directing a propaganda campaign against the Germans during World War II. His novels were described as socialist-realist. Among them, *The Thaw*, which drew official criticism for its discussion of Communist problems in a provincial setting, and *The Ninth Wave*, which won a Lenin Prize for literature. He was seventy-six.

Elmer Rice, who fathered a whole school of dramatic realism in the 1920's. He was a powerful and prolific playwright and will be remembered for his *The Adding Machine*, *Counsellor-at-Law*, and especially for *Street Scene*, which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1929. He died in Southampton, England, after suffering a heart attack on a transatlantic liner. He was seventy-four.

Carson McCullers, a novelist and playwright whose stories were marked by a haunting loneliness and insight. Her play, *Member of the Wedding*, was an outstanding success. She died in Nyack, New York, at age fifty.

The theatrical world lost a member of its most beloved performers during 1967.

Mischa Auer, known best for his roles as a comedian and delightfully dour character actor during the 1930's and 1940's, in such films as *My Man Godfrey*, and *Three Smart Girls*. In Rome; age sixty-two.

Bert Lahr, who was featured in vaudeville, burlesque, radio, television, Broadway, and movies, from the 1930's until his death. Best known as the Cowardly Lion in *The Wizard of Oz*, and for his role as a hobo in the Broadway production of *Waiting for Godot*. In New York; age seventy-two.

Jayne Mansfield, the sexy, voluptuous film star who



played alluring but dumb blondes in such popular movies as *The Wayward Bus*, and *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?* She died in an automobile accident at New Orleans; age thirty-five.

Paul Muni, star of both movies and Broadway. Often billed as Mr. Muni, he won an Academy Award in 1936 for his role in *The Story of Louis Pasteur*; and a Tony Award in 1956 for his role in *Inherit the Wind*. In Santa Barbara, California; age seventy-one.

Claude Rains, a British actor who won fame as the invisible man in the film of the same name, and who was featured in such stage hits as *Darkness at Noon*, and *The Confidential Clerk*. In Sandwich, New Hampshire; age seventy-seven.

Ann Sheridan, an actress for more than 30 years; starred in numerous films, including *The Man Who Came to Dinner* and *King's Row*; popular on television. In San Diego, California; age fifty-one.

Stuart Erwin, beloved for his comedy characterizations of a well-intentioned bumbler. He died in Beverly Hills, California, at age sixty-four.

Charles Bickford, who spent more than 40 years of his life as an actor on the stage and in films, *The Song of Bernadette*, and *Johnny Belinda*, and in the television series, "The Virginian." In Hollywood; age seventy-eight.

Jane Darwell, who began her acting career in the silent movies, and last played in *Mary Poppins*. In 1940 she won an Academy Award as Ma Joan in *The Grapes of Wrath*. In Hollywood; age eighty-seven.

Vivien Leigh, the British actress whose two greatest roles were as Scarlett O'Hara in *Gone With the Wind*, and as Blanche in *A Streetcar Named Desire*. She won Academy Awards for both roles. In London; age fifty-three.

Spencer Tracy, who also won two Academy Awards for his roles in *Captains Courageous*, and *Boys' Town*; an actor for almost 40 years; in Beverly Hills; age sixty-seven.

Basil Rathbone, whose roles in Sherlock Holmes movies made him virtually synonymous with this famed fictional detective. In New York; age seventy-five.

James Dunn, whose memorable performance in the film, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*, earned him an Academy Award in 1946. In Santa Monica, California; age sixty-one.

Nelson Eddy, singer and actor, was idolized by a generation of moviegoers for his costarring roles with Jeanette MacDonald in a series of Hollywood musicals, including the *Girl of the Golden West*, *Bitter Sweet*, and *Naughty Marietta*. In Miami Beach; age sixty-five.

Evelyn Nesbit Thaw might normally not be thought of as a stage personality. But she was a Floradora Girl in the early years of this century when her husband, Harry Thaw, murdered architect Stanford White in one of the "crimes of the century," for insulting his wife. She died in Santa Monica, California; age eighty-two.

Two legendary figures of the world of opera died in 1967. Geraldine Farrar was one of the great soprano stars of the Metropolitan Opera, in the Toscanini period and until the 1920's. Her popularity made her one of the fabulous personalities of her era. She died in Ridgefield, Connecticut; age eighty-five.

Mary Garden, the Scottish soprano, was one of the great opera primadonnas, from her history-making debut as a substitute in *Louise* in Paris in 1900 on to the thirties. She died in her home city of Aberdeen, Scotland; age ninety-two.

Zoltán Kodály, one of the greatest of modern composers was best known for his "Háry János Suite," but his contribution was also significant in his extended studies of Hungarian folk music. He died in his native Budapest; age eighty-four.

Paul Whiteman, the "King of Jazz" became for America and the world the leading figure in the popular music world in the 1920's. His New York concert in 1924 which premiered George Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue" marked a turning point in popular music history. He died at his home in Doylestown, Pennsylvania; age seventy-seven.

The year marked the passing of two famous artists, both deeply evocative of their age. Edward Hopper painted silent streets and deserted country homes with a lyrically realistic brush. He died in New York; age eighty-four.

René Magritte was a Belgian surrealist painter whose canvasses expressed with their smoothly finished scenes of fantastic desolation the anonymity of modern life. He died in Brussels; age sixty-eight.

The United States lost one of its most powerful and best-known Roman Catholic leaders with the death of Francis Cardinal Spellman. He had been the Archbishop of New York since 1939, and a member of the College of Cardinals since 1946. Every Christmas for more than 15 years prior to his death, the Cardinal visited American troops overseas as Vicar General of the Armed Forces. In New York; age seventy-eight.

Death came to some of the great figures of both international and domestic politics. Among them:

Konrad Adenauer, the remarkable Chancellor of West Germany from 1949 to 1963; he was credited with leading the reconstruction of Germany after World War II. At Rhondorf, Germany; age ninety-one.

Earl Clement Attlee, from 1945 to 1951 the Prime Minister of Great Britain. A Labour Party leader, he was called the father of the welfare state in England. In London; age eighty-four.

William C. Bullitt, the first United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union where he served from 1933 to 1936; Ambassador to France, 1936 to 1941. At Neuilly, France; age seventy-six.

Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury under President Roosevelt from 1934 to 1945. He was

credited with conceiving "lend-lease," a plan under which the United States was able to give destroyers to Britain in crucial days of World War II. At Poughkeepsie, New York; age seventy-five.

Shigeru Yoshida, Premier of Japan from 1946 to 1954. Like Adenauer, he led his country's remarkable postwar recovery. In Oiso, Japan; age eighty-nine.

Other distinguished or celebrated personalities who died during the year included:

Sir Normal Angell, English journalist and author. Wrote *The Great Illusion*, winner of the 1933 Nobel Peace Prize. At Croydon, England; age ninety-four.

Claude A. Barnett, a Negro newspaperman, who founded the Associated Negro Press. In Chicago; age seventy-seven.

Martin Block, a disk jockey on New York radio for more than two decades, host of the "Make Believe Ballroom." In Englewood, New Jersey, age sixty-four.

Primo Carnera, the Italian prizefighter who lasted less than a year as world heavyweight champion in 1933-1934; a giant of a man who was a pawn in the hands of underworld boxing manipulators. In Sequals, Italy; age sixty.

Charles Darrow. If little known by name, millions knew him through a game he invented, "Monopoly." In Ottsville, Pennsylvania; age seventy-eight.

Dave Dreyer, another man best known for what he gave the public: such songs as "Cecilia," "Me and My Shadow," and "Back in Your Own Back Yard." In New York; age seventy-two.

Eddie Eagan, an athlete who won two Olympic gold medals, one for boxing in 1920, and one as a member of the United States bobsled team in 1932. In New York; age sixty-nine.

Mischa Elman, a distinguished Russian concert violinist who performed in concerts around the world for almost fifty years. In New York; age seventy-six.

Jimmy Foxx, baseball player with the Philadelphia Athletics 1925-1945, his 534 home runs made him third highest in baseball. In Miami; age fifty-nine.

Casimir Funk, biochemist, discovered (and named) vitamins in 1912. In Albany; age eighty-three.

John Nance Garner, Vice-President during Franklin D. Roosevelt's first two terms, 1933 to 1941. In Uvalde, Texas; age ninety-eight.

William Francis Gibbs, naval architect; his proudest accomplishment was the liner *United States*. In New York; age eighty-one.

Florence Jaffray Harriman, an early crusader for social welfare and reform; United States minister to Norway from 1937 to 1940; awarded the first Citation of Merit for Distinguished Service by President Kennedy.

In Washington, D.C.; age ninety-seven.

Henry J. Kaiser, who created a multibillion-dollar corporate empire following his success as a shipbuilder during World War I. In Honolulu; age eighty-five.

Colonel Vladimir Komarov, the Soviet cosmonaut who was killed in an accident while returning from his second trip into outer space. In the Soviet Union; age forty.

Alfried Krupp, German industrialist. Last of the family to head the giant Krupp steel empire. In Essen, Germany; age fifty-nine.

Henry Luce, a publisher who headed a magazine empire that included *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, and *Sports Illustrated*. In Phoenix, Arizona; age sixty-eight.

Eleanor Wilson McAdoo, daughter of President Wilson. She married Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury in a White House ceremony in 1914. At Montecito, California; age seventy-seven.

Marshal Rodion Y. Malinkovsky, Soviet Minister of Defense from 1957 to 1967, and a hero of World War II. In Moscow; age sixty-eight.

Hermann J. Muller, whose discovery that X rays can cause inherited genetic damage won him a Nobel Prize in 1946. In Indianapolis, Indiana; age seventy-six.

J. Robert Oppenheimer, the physicist in charge of the development of the atomic bomb in 1943. In 1953, his security clearance was withdrawn by the government, but within another 10 years he won the \$50,000 Fermi award from the Atomic Energy Commission. In Princeton, New Jersey, age sixty-three.

Clementine Paddleford, one of the nation's top writers on food, food editor with the now-defunct New York *Herald Tribune* from 1940 through 1966. In New York; age sixty-seven.

Dorothy Parker, witty, biting humorist known for her poetry, essays, and short stories. In New York; age seventy-three.

George Lincoln Rockwell, a founder and leader of the Hitlerian American Nazi Party. He was killed by one of his former party members in Arlington, Virginia; age forty-nine.

Jack Ruby, nightclub owner who leaped to fame as slayer of Lee Harvey Oswald, purported assassin of President Kennedy. In Dallas, Texas, age fifty-five.

Sir Malcolm Sargent, one of Britain's foremost conductors. In London; age seventy-two.

Béla Schick who developed the Schick Test for diphtheria. In New York; age ninety.

Holland M. Smith, the Marine Corps General nicknamed "Howlin' Mad" by his men. He commanded the Marines in the Pacific in World War II. In San Diego; age eighty-four.



J. Robert Oppenheimer, sixty-three, physicist, led team that developed the atom bomb.



Claude Rains, seventy-seven, actor, first "Invisible Man" in films, star of stage hit *Darkness at Noon*.



Bert Lahr, seventy-two, comedian, actor, best known for roles in *Wizard of Oz* and *Waiting for Godot*.

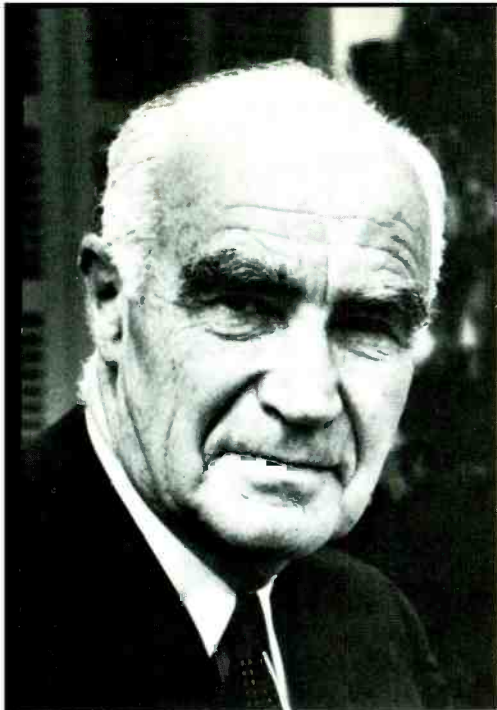


Henry J. Kaiser, eighty-five, industrialist, first won fame as World War II shipbuilder.



Paul Muni, seventy-one, actor, played Clarence Darrow in *Inherit the Wind*, Louis Pasteur in films.





Henry R. Luce, sixty-eight, founder of Time-Life publishing empire.



Spencer Tracy, sixty-seven, actor, winner of two Academy Awards for *Captains Courageous* and *Boys' Town*.



Dorothy Parker, seventy-four, author, poetess, critic whose biting humor was her trademark.



Paul Whiteman, seventy-seven, orchestra conductor, popularized the large jazz orchestra in the 1920's, introduced Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue," which became "Pops" Whiteman's theme song.



Mary Garden, ninety-two, prima donna operatic soprano, famed for roles in *Salome* and *Louise* and many "retirements."

Opposite: John Masefield, eighty-nine, England's Poet Laureate.

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