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**APOLLO 11,
MAN'S GREATEST
JOURNEY**

NBC NEWS

picture book of the year

edited by Ben Grauer

1969

Original articles by NBC News correspondents around the world

Foreword by Henry Steele Commager

400 photographs

HIGHLIGHTS OF
NATIONAL AND WORLD
EVENTS FROM JUNE 1968
THROUGH JUNE 1969



NBC NEWS PICTURE BOOK OF THE YEAR: 1969

**Covering the year from June 1968
through June 1969**

**edited by BEN GRAUER
foreword by Henry Steele Commager**

This third NBC News annual coverage of the highlights of national and world events continues to present in text and photographs the most significant happenings in the world today and the activities of its most newsworthy personalities. Here you will see in action the Republican and Democratic political campaigns and the attendant Chicago antiwar demonstrations, the election and inauguration of Richard Nixon to the presidency, the departure of President Lyndon Johnson, the battles in Congress over the ABM program, the Abe Fortas episode, the continuing war in Vietnam and the Paris peace talks, civil rights discord and the activities of the Black Panthers, the defeat of de Gaulle, the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops, the Arab-Israeli confrontations, Soviet-Chinese border clashes, the Nigerian-Biafra civil war, and Nelson Rockefeller's Latin-American trips.

On the space horizon, this year's annual covers the flights of Apollo 8, 9, and 10. For the Apollo 11 moon-landing mission, there is a special 16-page supplement with text by Peter Hackes and extraordinary photographs of the three astronauts, Neil Armstrong, Mike Collins, and Buzz Aldrin, shots of the blast-off, first steps on the moon, the planting of the American flag and other moon activities by the astronauts, the return flight, and the elated demonstrations of the American people.

Among the graphic, on-the-spot photographs of the domestic scene this book covers the college campuses caught in the grip of rebellious and rioting students, race tensions in the public schools, teen-age drug addiction, the assassination trials of Sirhan Sirhan and James Earl Ray, every branch of major sports in thrilling action shots, best-selling books, prize plays, movies, television and radio programs, unusual fashion trends, concluding with obituaries of famous people.

There are many original articles by NBC News correspondents around the world: Herbert Kaplow, Garrick Utley, Kenneth Bernstein, Alvin Rosenfeld, Welles Hangen, Richard Valeriani, Pauline Frederick, Irving R. Levine, and Barbara Walters.

This magnificent volume of history in the making will not only delight every member of the family, but it will serve as an invaluable reference work for every student of history and sociology.

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**NBC NEWS
PICTURE BOOK OF THE YEAR:
1969**

NBC NEWS

PICTURE BOOK

edited by **BEN GRAUER**

OF THE YEAR:

1969

EVENTS OF MID-1968 TO MID-1969

CROWN PUBLISHERS, INC.

NEW YORK

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CONTENTS

Introduction	vii
Foreword: Year of Reckoning by <i>Henry Steele Commager</i>	ix
Acknowledgments	xi
Photograph Credits	xi

Part 1 National and International

1. The Presidency	3
<i>Herbert Kaplow: Transition of Power</i>	13
2. Congress and Legislation	17
3. Supreme Court	27
4. Politics and Parties	33
5. Vietnam	45
6. Civil Rights	55
7. The Economy: Business and Labor	65
8. Space	71
9. Western Europe	83
<i>Garrick Utley: France After De Gaulle</i>	87
10. The Soviet Sphere	93
<i>Kenneth Bernstein: The Shaken Monolith</i>	96
11. The Middle East	103
<i>Alvin Rosenfeld: The Danger Grows</i>	107
12. Red China and The Other Asia	113
<i>Welles Hangen: Red China at the Twenty-Year Mark</i>	120
13. Africa	125
14. Latin America and Canada	131
<i>Richard Valeriani: Neither Alliance nor Progress</i>	137

15.	United Nations	141
	<i>Pauline Frederick: Councils of Insecurity</i>	147
Insert:	<i>Peter Hackes: Apollo 11—Man’s Greatest Journey</i>	1A

Part 2 Life in America

16.	Education: Youth in Revolt	151
17.	Religion	161
	<i>Irving R. Levine: Pope Paul Chooses His Path</i>	168
18.	Crime	171
19.	Medicine and Science	177
20.	Art and Architecture	185
21.	Books and Authors	191
22.	Theatre, Music, and Dance	199
23.	Movies	213
24.	TV and Radio	223
25.	Travel and Recreation	231
26.	Sports	237
	<i>Curt Gowdy: Sports Goes Big Time</i>	247
27.	Fashions	251
	<i>Barbara Walters: The Aftermath of the Pill</i>	256
28.	Disasters	259
29.	Obituaries	267
	Index	273

INTRODUCTION

THIS IS THE THIRD IN A SERIES of annual volumes that was begun in 1967. As in the first two, our purpose is to set forth, in words and pictures, the significant events of an extraordinary twelve months: a digest of our times from July 1968 to July 1969. Again, as last year, we have carried our chronicle forward beyond the original plan, this time to include an account of that most extraordinary event of all: man's first step onto the moon. And again we find the public increasingly involved in the news—and more than ever seeking an understanding of its complexities.

This chronicle of events actually is not prepared with the intent to appraise their effect on all of us. Rather, our thought is to sort events out, show relationships, and thus present, we hope, a record of the year for reference—and, if the reader wishes—for his own reflection and appraisal. Yet, after being immersed in these chapters and pictures, I cannot restrain some words of overall review and judgment which may be of interest to the reader as he sets out.

The recurring phenomenon of the period was protest—Dissent and Demonstration. There was clamorous manifestation and public disorder in almost every quarter of the globe, and from almost every population level or ethnic group. We first spoke of this new factor as significant in the introduction to the 1968 book. In a year it had grown to lusty maturity, and bedeviled the Establishment almost everywhere. Perhaps it was a good time to be young. Certainly it was not an easy time to be old.

For these twelve months were filled with conflict and contrasting trends. The period began with a flare-up of bloody racial violence in Cleveland (which, despite everyone's fears, turned out to be the worst that the year brought). That same month Pope Paul's long-awaited dictum on birth control was proclaimed, only to raise questioning reactions, even dissent, in some sections of the clergy. Then in August, along with the blandness of the Republican Convention in Miami and the violence

on the Democratic Chicago scene, came the spectacle of Soviet brute power invading and crushing the Czechs.

So it went through the year—television images (flashed from space) of a trio of astronauts, grinning through bristling chins with a sign, "keep those cards coming, folks"; of U.S. Olympic trackmen on the victor's stand, arms raised in Black Power defiance; of a new President, solemn and restrained at his inauguration as he stressed the need for peace and racial reconciliation; of battle and death scenes in Vietnam; of peace-talk delegates weaving cautious words outside the Paris conference room; of students rioting on campuses from Cambridge to California.

By tradition, the student took the lead. Campuses in New York and San Francisco and Mexico City and Paris revolted against what they claimed was the insulation of their teachers from "the real world." They revolted against their curricula for the same reason, against the war in Vietnam, against defense activities on the campus. Latin-American youths, in a contagion of riots, demonstrated against a leading U.S. visitor, and thus against the U.S. Undergraduates in Japan stormed onto Tokyo campuses, some protesting their government's drift to the right, others a drift to the left; and in Africa the youth of Zambia demonstrated for tribal dress and against miniskirts.

One must be cautious in gauging the deep or lasting effect of this highly visible phenomenon. Experts will differ, but the evidence seems to indicate that public demonstration has been seized upon as a technique for "instant communication" by special-interest groups. They use it for sudden, attention-getting blows upon the Establishment or the status quo. At this level, it may be counted successful. For example, after the past year's uproar on the campus, we now see revisions in many university programs and policies, and in the makeup of their boards of trustees. Dissent has brought the *beginnings* of change.

But along with all this visible—and audible—clamor, the text and pictures of this year's book also reveal the deeper and continuing themes of public concern: the struggle at home to implement democracy fully, the dilemma of nuclear expansion as an answer to threats from abroad, the drive to find personal expression amidst mechanization, the widening search for knowledge of the physical world and of the inner self.

In all these arenas, broadcast journalism, notably by TV, continues to grow in importance and influence. In 1966 we marked a milestone when surveys showed that for the first time more than 50 percent of the nation was turning to TV as their primary source of news. To realize how that figure has grown, we have only to think back to the key political events of the past year; the conventions, the campaigns, the elections; or most recently to the weekend when the world watched the Apollo flight. The broadcast coverage given these events, especially by the three major networks, and the almost universal audience that was served gives a measure of broadcast news today, both in its ability to inform and in the responsibility it bears.

One special factor must be considered in viewing the dynamism of news developments today: the use of communications satellites. They have become the workhorses of the space age. Just seven years ago, Telstar, the first experimental communications satellite, was placed aloft over the Atlantic. Now, with satellites ringing the global skies, America and Europe are linked as a matter of course for important events, and Asia is added on key occasions. During the Apollo 11 flight, a reported audience of half a billion, of nearly every land and race, were eyewitnesses to the epochal landing on the moon. These mutual experiences, shared by multitudes across so many national boundaries, are surely working toward a world community, at least at the level of awareness and interest.

This is not in the least to say that ideological clashes are dying, or that national self-interests are dissolving. Our pages are full of too many examples that prove the opposite. But apart from the political effect, if any, of international broadcasts of big news stories is the day-to-day impact of TV in the field of social change. Here its role is plainly seen as a leading and pervasive circulator of new approaches in manners, dress, attitudes, race relations: in short, of the changing life-styles of today, which also form an increasing part of the content of these annual reviews.

In this year's book we have again followed the plan of organization of previous issues. The basic thought is that, given a certain time period under review, events are best understood by the subject or area to which they

relate, rather than the date on which they occur. A major story may arise and dominate the news, submerge for months, and then surface anew. Handling it by topic rather than time-span seems clearly more useful in understanding it, especially in our tightly knit, fast moving times.

Therefore, we have divided our review into some thirty chapters, each given to a major area of public interest. The first fifteen chapters are concerned with national and international affairs; the second half of the book, headed "Life in America," is concerned mainly with social and cultural developments in the U.S., with the addition in their respective areas of events abroad which may have had special interest to Americans. Two chapters in this section, Books and Authors (Chapter 21) and Obituaries (Chapter 29) cover the period beginning January 1968 instead of July 1968. This makes their material, which is frequently used for reference, contiguous with the same chapters in last year's volume.

A number of the chapters, with their factual text and news pictures, are accompanied by articles, mainly by NBC News correspondents. These editorial pieces are included as an extension of the objective chapter-text. Many were written while these men were on overseas assignments. They bring on-the-scene observations and interpretations by skilled journalists concerning their special areas of news interest.

This edition of our annual, along with its reportorial text and news photos, carries an introductory essay titled "Year of Reckoning" by Professor Henry Steele Commager, in which this noted chronicler of American affairs has expressed, in summary fashion, his opinion on major news developments of the year. Although his views as presented here are entirely personal, we are happy to have this interesting and vigorous expression of opinion by one of the nation's most honored historians.

The year we chronicle here was truly extraordinary. The assignment of selecting and summing up its major events and movements in words and pictures was a challenging one. As it is completed, a strange feeling arises from scanning the struggles and achievements that are reported here. Although there is a dominant note of dissent and turmoil, there are strong underlying themes of clarification and affirmation. I hope this book, in telling the story of these twelve months, will bring to its readers—especially the young people—a sense of these contrasting forces in our times.

BEN GRAUER

August 1969
New York

YEAR OF RECKONING

by Henry Steele Commager

THE YEAR 1968–69 MIGHT BE CALLED a Year of Reckoning. It was a year when major crises and dramatic opportunities caught up with us. It is by no means clear that we caught up with them.

At last the mounting protest against the folly, cost, and futility of the war in Vietnam crystallized and reached some kind of a climax. Public opinion—or the more articulate segment of it—turned decisively against the war and against the Johnson administration. First Senator McCarthy, then Senator Robert Kennedy, led an opposition crusade that forced the administration to end the bombing of North Vietnam and to launch a search for peace. For the first time in American history, public opinion toppled an incumbent administration. The war, to be sure, did not come to an end, but perhaps it came to the beginning of the end.

At last discontent with parties and party machinery came to some kind of climax. Senator McCarthy broke away from the Democratic party organization and led a crusade—not entirely a children's crusade—against his own chieftain. Senator Kennedy took courage from McCarthy's courage and made a bid for the Presidential nomination, which he might well have won; assassination put an end to that dramatic bid and saved the party regulars for the time being. The shambles of Chicago exposed the Democratic party, as well as Chicago, in all of its vulgarity and brutality; and if there was no sweeping reform of the party, there was a promise of reform. Meantime, regularity triumphed among the Republicans at Miami, and, as if to vindicate tradition, triumphed at the polls as well. The whole campaign and election, however, contributed much to disillusionment with the mechanics of the American electoral system and stimulated a search for reform—a search which has not so far found anything. Exposure of the crashing dullness of Miami and the sickening brutality of Chicago on television was in a substantial part responsible for this chapter in the history of American political education.

At last the smoldering resentment of the Negro and his friends against second-class citizenship, third-class education, and fourth-class welfare broke out into something like open rebellion. There was disorder and violence in cities across the land, and these were enacted before the horrified gaze of millions of television viewers here and abroad. The white community and the government hurried to make gestures of reparation: some real, some merely token. More important, black radicals seized leadership of the crusade for civil and political rights, ousting their quondam white allies and shoving aside the organizations that had rallied behind the Reverend Martin Luther King, and made the movement at once more extreme, more violent, more uncompromising, and more segregationist.

At last a realization that we were systematically destroying our environment came home to substantial numbers of the American people: magnificent forests, like the California Redwoods, ruthlessly cut down; streams and lakes hopelessly polluted; DDT and other pesticides killing off fish and bird life—most of this just so some corporations could make a little more money. A common pattern bound all these separate outrages together: we in America were upsetting the balance of nature that had evolved over millions of years and that, once destroyed, might never be restored. Television told the story—not as fully or as elaborately as it deserved to be told, but sufficiently to dramatize the sobering fact that this generation had failed more egregiously in its fiduciary obligation to posterity than had any previous generation in our history.

At last, too, came a realization that we were destroying not only nature, but our cities, and that much of what had once passed as urban renewal was misguided. More and more it became clear that neither flight to the suburbs or garden cities, nor giant impersonal housing complexes supplanting familiar neighborhoods, was the answer to the problem of the city; that if we were to save

our cities, we would have to take our stand in them and defend them. Television launched no crusades here, but perhaps these would have been superfluous: the spectacle of city slums, city crime, city traffic—and city politics—that was presented every day on the television screens was itself an education.

At last came a realization that the military-industrial complex against which President Eisenhower had warned the American people eight years earlier was a reality that threatened the effectiveness of the political system, the integrity of the constitutional system, and the peace of the nation and of the world. For the first time, the importunate demands of the Pentagon were seriously challenged and, if not frustrated, then moderated. The various Senate hearings on aspects of war and of the requirements of defense, elaborately spread onto television screens, contributed not a little to the education of the public in this arena. As yet, opponents of the military take-over of public policy and the public economy were not successful, but the tocsin had been sounded and the battle was joined.

At last students and scholars alike awoke to the danger to the whole academic enterprise of too close a reliance of the university on military and industrial research. Student revolt, in itself not very important or very effective, received rather more than its normal share of television attention, and excited rather more indignation than it in fact deserved. But television, and especially Educational Television, carried on here a vast educational campaign which did something to instruct the American people in the true nature of the University.

At last there was some realization, even in the highest quarters, that the Cold War against the Soviets and Communist China had pretty well exhausted whatever usefulness it might once have had, and that if persisted in uncritically, it would lead either to bankruptcy or to disaster. More and more, America's former allies and associates were rejecting her Cold War policies, and there seemed to be some danger that the United States would, in the end, find herself isolated in the world community. Overtures toward a more cooperative relationship with the Soviets foundered on the rock of the brutal invasion of Czechoslovakia, and hopes of a rapprochement with

China foundered on the American war in Vietnam. So, notwithstanding a widespread recognition that the Cold War policies of the three major powers were misguided, little progress was made in reversing them.

It was not just a year of disillusionment. For most Americans the greatest development of the year was not in politics or the economy or education, not indeed in global space, but in outer space. In the exploration of the universe, America built upon the thinking of scientists over the centuries and on the work of scientists and technologists in every Western country, but the ultimate achievement—the landing of men on the moon—was an American achievement. Surely it was the greatest sheer technological achievement in the history of man. What will come of it is still unknown and even unsuspected. But at the very least it can be said that competition with other nations in outer space is better than military conflict on earth; at the most, it can be said that penetrating outer space may unlock secrets of the nature of the universe of incalculable significance to man. The incomparable achievement of the lunar landings, dramatized for all Americans—and for all the world—what can be achieved in the solution of great and difficult problems when technology, industry, the resources of government, the genius of scientists, and the courage of men combine in a common enterprise.

The whole story of the exploration of outer space, from its beginnings a decade ago to its exultant triumph in July of 1969, was presented by television with a thoroughness, a comprehensiveness, a clarity, a judiciousness, and a skill that can only be called spectacular. Just as the landing of man on the moon showed what men could do when their best talents were enlisted for the task, so the coverage of this chapter of history showed what television could do when its talents and resources were enlisted and organized for a significant task. The conclusion in both cases was the same: If we can do this well when we put our minds and our hearts to it, why do we not do so in all matters of importance to mankind, at all times?

Amherst, Massachusetts
August 1969

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B. G.

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- ABC: 208tr, 225tr, b, 226
FRANK ADAMS: 271bl
BERT ANDREWS: 202b, 204c
JOHN ARMS: 190
MORLEY BAER: 164tl, 188b
BALTIMORE SUNPAPER: 196bl
JERRY BAUER: 195tr
BROOKHAVEN NATIONAL LABORATORY: 182b
LARRY BURROWS: 195br
CBS: 227, 228tl, tr
CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY: 182t
COLUMBIA RECORDS: 207tl
CUNARD LINE: 230
ESSA: 183t
F. M. ESQUIVEL: 188c
FRED FEHL: 207tr, 209
FRIEDMAN-ABELES: 202t, c, 203tl, 204b
TOGE FUJIHIRA: 165b
DOUGLAS GILBERT: 166t
ALEX GOTFRYD: 195bl
PHILIPPE HALSMAN: 194tr
EDGER HOLCOMB: 182c
ISRAEL INFORMATION OFFICE: 105b
ELEANOR LAMBERT: 253bl, 255br
GEORGE LEAVENS, TIME INCORPORATED: 189b
FRED MCDARRAH: 32, 37t, b, 38t, 41t, c, 42tl, 43t, 47, 52b, 54, 58, 59tl, tr, 156b, 164tr, 170, 187tl, bl, 207bl, br, 234t, 257br
NORMAN MCGRATH: 189tl, tr
GENE MEYER: 187tr
HERBERT MIGDOLL: 211tr, b
HELEN MILLJAKOVICH: 194bl
MONSANTO: 233b, 235b
NASA: 70, 74t, c, b, 75t, b, 76tl, tr, b, 77, 78, 79, 80t, b, 81t, b, A1, A4, A5, A7, A9, A10, A11, A13, A14, A16
NBC: 208tl, 222, 228bl, br, 229, 271tl, lc, cr, 272tr, cl
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES: 167b
NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY: 174c
NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION: 225tl, c, 671
NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY: 112, 116tl, tr, b, 117t, c, b, 118t
NEW YORK CITY BALLET: 210
NEW YORK PHILHARMONIC: 206
NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE: 69b
PENN CENTRAL: 233c
PICTORIAL PARADE: 95t, b, 98t, b, 110t, 111tl, 272bl
POLICE DEPARTMENT, CITY OF NEW YORK: 175c, b
ERIC POLLITZER: 187br
PORTUGUESE INFORMATION SERVICE: 128t
HARVEY SABINSON: 198, 201, 203tr
SHERPIX: 221b
PETER SIMON: 194tl
SOUTH AFRICAN INFORMATION SERVICE: 129b
EZRA STOLLER: 184, 188t
MARTHA SWOPE: 204t, 211tl
UNITED NATIONS: 144t, 145t, b, 146t, b
C. VARDEU: 195tl
GIFFORD WALLACE: 203b
WARNER BROTHERS: 220tr
DALE WHITNEY: 195bc
ERNEST C. WITHERS: 167t
YESHIVA UNIVERSITY: 166b
UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL: 9t, 10t, 11t, 12b, 22bl, c, 23b, 26, 30t, 31b, 36b, 44, 48t, bl, br, 49t, b, 50t, b, 51, 52tl, tr, 53t, 59b, 60c, 61c, 63b, 86b, 90b, 99, 101c, b, 102, 105tl, 118c, bl, 119tl, 127t, cr, 136t, b, 139, 140, 142l, c, r, 143c, b, 144b, 153, 154tr, tl, 157t, 158t, b, 159t, 160, 163tl, 174tl, 241t, c, b, 243t, 246tl, c, 258, 262tr, 263tr, 265t, b
WIDE WORLD: 2, 8t, b, 9b, 10b, 11c, b, 12t, 15, 16, 20tl, tr, b, 21t, c, b, 22t, br, 23t, 24t, b, 25t, c, b, 29, 30b, 31t, 36t, 38bl, br, 39t, b, 40tl, tr, b, 41b, 42tr, b, 43b, 48c, 53b, 60tl, tr, b, 61t, b, 62t, b, 63t, 64, 67r, 68t, c, b, 69t, 82, 85, 86t, 88, 89t, b, 90t, 91t, b, 92, 98c, 100t, b, 101t, 105tr, 106t, cr, cl, b, 110b, 111tr, b, 115, 118br, 119tr, b, 122l, r, 123t, b, 124, 127cl, b, 128cl, cr, b, 129t, 130, 134l, r, 135tl, tr, b, 136c, 143tl, tr, 144c, 150, 154b, 155t, b, 156t, 157b, 159b, 163tr, b, 164b, 165t, 167c, 174tr, b, 175t, 176, 181t, c, b, 183b, 233t, 234bl, br, 235t, 236, 242tl, tr, b, 243b, 244t, c, b, 245l, r, 246tr, b, 250, 253t, bc, br, 254l, tr, bl, br, 255l, tr, 257t, bl, 262l, br, 263br, 264l, r, 266, 271tl, br, 272tl, cr, bc, br

Notes on the Endpapers

Front:

Man on the Moon

This epochal photograph documents the placing of the U.S. flag on the moon on July 20, 1969, within the hour of man's first footsteps beyond Earth. Command Pilot Neil Armstrong is standing at the flagstaff on left; the Lunar Module Pilot, Air Force Colonel Edwin Aldrin, Jr. is on right. At the top is the television camera they have just set up to scan their movements for a watching world. Lengthened shadows of the astronauts and the Lunar Module nearby lie on the powdery surface already marked with their footprints. The picture was made from film exposed by a 16-mm data acquisition camera mounted on the Lunar Module.

Back:

Reaching for Life

As fellow troopers aid wounded buddies, a paratrooper of A Company, 101st Airborne Division, guides a medical evacuation helicopter into a gap in the heavy foliage for a pickup of casualties. The unit was on a five-day patrol into a North Vietnamese-controlled area west of Hue. This prize-winning photograph was taken in mid '68 by an A.P. combat photographer.

These two pictures were taken a year apart. One marks a crowning achievement for man, the other a continuing struggle. Between them, in the pages of this book, is the chronicle of another year of man's struggles and achievements.

PART 1
NATIONAL AND
INTERNATIONAL



President Johnson and President-Elect Nixon discuss a nation in transition. For the most part, the transition went smoothly, though there were disputes over the handling of foreign policy.

1. The Presidency

LYNDON JOHNSON AND RICHARD NIXON represented the changing mood of the country. This became apparent in the twelve months beginning in mid-1968.

Mr. Johnson was an unpredictable innovator. Mr. Nixon entered the White House quietly, cautiously and less dramatically than his predecessor.

"Let us continue," said Lyndon Johnson.

"Bring us together," implored Richard Nixon.

Sick at heart over three assassinations, riots at home, and a war in Asia, the country wanted a leader who was not flamboyant. It wanted a man who would step back, reflect, and perhaps consolidate gains made in recent years.

President Johnson apparently did not see this program as his task. He told the nation of his plans to retire to private life when his term ended in January 1969.

Now that Lyndon Johnson had decided not to run again for the Presidency, he seemed determined to cast aside partisan politics and concentrate on building a statesmanlike record in the remaining months of his term.

Deeply disturbed over the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, the President ordered Secret Service protection for all presidential candidates. He urged Congress to ban mail-order sales of weapons, and said he wanted a law requiring registration and licensing of weapons and gun owners. He pressed his diplomats in Paris to get the Vietnam peace talks moving. He cautiously avoided endorsing any Democratic presidential candidate, even though it was apparent that Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey would have to be considered a serious contender.

But the politics he now shunned brought down a close friend and adviser, and smeared that record. On June 26th, President Johnson announced the resignation of Chief Justice Earl Warren, and he nominated Associate Justice Abe Fortas as Warren's successor. Congressional Republicans, scoring a "lame duck" President for making such an important nomination, began to build their case against Fortas. During the Senate Judiciary

Committee's hearings in mid-July, Fortas conceded that he advised the Administration while sitting on the Court; he disclosed he had called a businessman to complain about what he considered exaggerated claims concerning the cost of the war in Asia, and the Justice acknowledged that he had accepted \$15,000, supplied from a fund started by former law partners, to conduct a series of lectures at American University.

On September 25, when the nomination reached the Senate floor, Republicans began a filibuster. Five days later, the Democratic leadership failed to bring the debate to an end, and on October 2 President Johnson, calling the Senate action "tragic," withdrew the Fortas nomination.

But there were successful days for Lyndon Johnson during those last months of 1968. On June 28 he signed into law the 10 percent surcharge he believed needed to finance the war. On July 1 he signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, announcing that "in the nearest future" the United States and the Soviet Union would begin talks on limiting their arsenals of offensive and defensive weapons. Later, he would urge the Senate to return to Washington, after the political conventions, if necessary, in order to ratify the proliferation agreement.

During those preconvention summer months Mr. Johnson visited all five Central American capitals; he conferred with South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu in Honolulu, and whenever the opportunity arose he defended his war policies as "just . . . reasonable . . . firm."

In early August the President congratulated Richard Nixon for receiving the Republican Party's presidential nomination, praising him for supporting the Administration's stand on the war.

Days before the Democrats held their Chicago convention, Mr. Johnson's attention was drawn away from Asia and to eastern Europe. "The Soviet Union and its allies," he told his nationwide radio and television audience, "have invaded a defenseless country to stamp

out a resurgence of ordinary human freedom. It is a sad commentary on the Communists' mind that a sign of liberty is deemed a fundamental threat to the security of the Soviet system." The President labeled "patently contrived" the Soviet rationale for the invasion of Czechoslovakia. He appealed to Moscow and its allies to withdraw their troops, and he instructed United States Ambassador George Ball to bring the matter up in the United Nations. The next day, the President reported that Washington and Moscow had agreed to open bilateral disarmament conferences, but it was clear that the Czech crisis stood in the way of early progress at these talks. And despite Mr. Johnson's pleas to Congress, Capitol Hill was in no mood to ratify the nonproliferation treaty.

Lyndon Johnson reluctantly decided to stay away from the Democratic Convention in Chicago, even though the party endorsed his Vietnam policy and nominated his Vice-President. The decision was a shrewd one—in the light of the turmoil that developed in Chicago. In the early days of the campaign, the President endorsed the Vice-President's candidacy, hailing Humphrey's "courage, common sense, and compassion to the cause of America." In October, he delivered his first full-scale campaign address on radio, linking the Republican Party with "reaction and inaction," lauding the Democrats' "progressive leadership." Mr. Johnson attacked third-party candidate George Wallace as a "false prophet of fear" who sought to divide "our country and our people, to set them against each other in mutual fear and suspicion." Speaking in Appalachia on October 26 and in New York on the following day, the President warned that Richard Nixon would "reverse the tide of progress in America." On election eve, Mr. Johnson and the First Lady appeared with Vice-President Humphrey at a rally in Houston's Astrodome. This sparse campaigning was in sharp contrast with Mr. Johnson's election-year habits. Whenever there was a major development in Vietnam, he scrupulously avoided partisanship, taking care to brief all three presidential candidates.

The President was quick to congratulate Mr. Nixon on his victory, pledging cooperation during the transition of Administrations. On November 11 the President-elect emerged from a White House meeting with the President, declaring that Mr. Johnson and his Secretary of State could "speak for the next Administration" with regard to policy concerning the Vietnam war. But the transition was not always smooth. President-Elect Nixon later told newsmen it was essential that he agree to any foreign-policy decision made by the outgoing government. The President bristled over these remarks, saying he and he alone would make any decisions "between now and January 20." In early December the President warned the incoming Administration against risking recession by trying to end inflation too abruptly, and he hoped that Mr. Nixon would recognize "inadequacies" in civil rights.

In late November the Saigon government ended its

boycott of the Paris peace talks, a move the President believed opened a "new and hopeful phase in the negotiations." But, Mr. Johnson warned the public, and apparently the new Administration, "We must expect both hard bargaining and hard fighting in the days ahead."

The President's years of defending the American space program bore fruit on Christmas Eve when Astronauts Borman, Lovell, and Anders became the first men to orbit the moon. And almost a year of frustration and humiliation was ended that month when the North Koreans released the crew of the USS *Pueblo*. Mr. Johnson called the crew's detention "totally unjustified."

In January the outgoing President ignored tradition and delivered a State of the Union Address to Congress. Interrupted frequently by applause, Mr. Johnson cited the accomplishments of his Great Society program, and appealed to the legislators to give Richard Nixon their understanding and help.

Hours after the inauguration of Richard Nixon, and without attending any of the six inaugural balls, Lyndon Johnson flew home to his Texas hill country to teach, and perhaps write about a Presidency marked by tragedy, failure, accomplishment, and irony.

Keenly aware of the political and racial divisions in his country, Richard M. Nixon seemed to approach his job with cool professionalism. His Inaugural Address was restrained and somber, underscoring the need for reconciliation between the races, and international peace. With some exceptions, his Cabinet was made up of efficient, quiet technicians. Recognizing the difficulties a Republican President would have with a Democratic Congress, Mr. Nixon appointed some Democrats to his Administration. He even abolished patronage in the Post Office Department, a move that brought cries of pain from both parties on Capitol Hill. But two days after his inauguration, Richard Nixon was given a warning that the Democrats would take a close look at his program and personnel. Early Wednesday morning, January 22, 1969, the President stood by as Chief Justice Warren gave the oath of office to eleven Nixon Cabinet members. Standing in the rear of the East Room was Interior Secretary-Designate Walter Hickle, whose nomination was delayed by Senate Democrats. Hickle was sworn in two days later.

After only seven days in office, the President held his first news conference, broadcast live on radio and television. It was here that some of the contrasts between the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh Presidents were most dramatic. Unlike his predecessor, Mr. Nixon announced well in advance his intention to hold a full-dress conference, giving the media adequate time to prepare for the event. The ground rules were simple and clear. The President did not open with a formal statement; he ad-libbed, did not use notes, and faced his inquisitors without the use of props, not even a podium.

On February 6 Richard Nixon met one of the greatest challenges of his young Administration. Democrats, liberal Republicans, and big-city residents had vigorously

opposed the Johnson Administration's \$9.4 billion Sentinel Antibalistic Missile System. Mr. Nixon ordered a halt to acquisition of sites and further construction until the Pentagon conducted a review of all major weapons systems. For the next month pressure was intense either to continue the ABM system as originally conceived, junk it altogether, or substantially modify it. On March 14 Richard Nixon announced his decision: he'd go ahead with a revised ABM system called Safeguard. The sites would be moved away from the major cities like Boston and Chicago, and the cost would not exceed \$5 billion. The so-called compromise swayed some of the undecided votes, but many liberals and moderates continued their opposition.

The President wasted no time in assuring traditional allies of his fidelity. On February 17 he announced that New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller would make a series of trips to Latin America to consult with leaders "on the development of common goals and joint programs of action which will strengthen Western Hemisphere unity." On February 23 Mr. Nixon embarked on an eight-day, 10,000-mile trip to five European nations. Declaring a need for a "new spirit of consultation . . . and confidence," the President visited Brussels, London, Bonn, Rome, Paris, and the Vatican. Throughout his trip he emphasized his intention to listen to rather than lecture European leaders. The President was received with warm enthusiasm, generally; in Rome with wild demonstrations. His trip to Paris seemed especially productive; after what the White House called "unprecedented" talks with Charles de Gaulle, the French President declared, "We are enchanted with your visit. It is a success." On April 28 Richard Nixon would express "deep regret" over De Gaulle's resignation, saying, "I have greatly valued the comprehensive exchanges of view it has been my privilege to have with you."

The President seemed to be taking a moderate, at times conciliatory, approach to other international issues. He urged Senate ratification of the nonproliferation treaty. He said that "our attitude toward the Soviet Union is not highhanded . . . rather conciliatory," and on May 14 Mr. Nixon proposed an eight-point peace plan for South Vietnam that included provisions for mutual withdrawal of forces and supervised elections. Later, meeting with South Vietnamese President Thieu on Midway Island, the President announced that 25,000 men of the American forces would be leaving Vietnam. On June 28 the President announced his intention to make a trip to five Asian nations and Communist Rumania, which had opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Nixon paused during those early days of his Administration to pay tribute to the late Dwight Eisenhower. He proclaimed March 31 as a national day of mourning for the former President, and he attended the burial services on April 2 in Abilene, Kansas.

Before the general's death, President Nixon had had the deep satisfaction of giving his daughter Julie in marriage to David Eisenhower, grandson of the thirty-fourth President. The young couple (both were twenty years old) were married at the Marble Collegiate Church in New York on December 22, 1968.

As midyear arrived, there were varied views of President Nixon's position. At first it had appeared the new President was steering a moderate course in domestic affairs, but at the conclusion of his first six months in office he seemed to some to be moving toward the conservatives. He cut back domestic spending about \$2.9 billion, asked for an extension of the surcharge, trimmed the activities of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and warned college officials to "have the backbone" to stand up to student demonstrators.

In the wake of disclosures that Supreme Court Justice Fortas had received \$20,000 from a foundation backed by jailed financier Louis Wolfson, the President announced that the Johnson appointee was resigning. Mr. Nixon said he'd take his time replacing Fortas, but six days later he announced a successor to Chief Justice Warren: Warren Earl Burger, a federal judge who had the reputation for being tough on law and order and moderate in civil rights.

The conservatives appeared to have the greatest influence in matters dealing with the departments of Justice and of Health, Education, and Welfare. After weeks of struggling among the major factions in the Administration, the government announced a significant modification of Lyndon Johnson's desegregation guidelines, and civil rights leaders complained that Richard Nixon was a captive of South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond.

The most dramatic liberal-conservative struggle came over the appointment of Dr. John H. Knowles as Assistant Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs. Welfare Secretary Robert Finch, who was losing the battle over school desegregation, wanted the liberal Boston physician for the job. Senate Republican leader Everett Dirksen and the American Medical Association opposed Knowles. After five months of controversy over the affair, the President said he would accept the recommendation of his Cabinet officer. Finch then formally recommended Knowles, confident he had won the battle. But during a cruise down the Potomac one sweltering Washington evening, Senator Dirksen convinced the President of the advisability of rejecting the Knowles recommendation. Secretary Finch was faced with the humiliating chore of announcing that he was withdrawing his request. Ironically, on June 29, Finch announced the appointment of Dr. Roger O. Egeberg of California as the nation's top health official. Egeberg is a liberal Democrat who voted for Hubert Humphrey, and the nomination was *not* cleared with Dirksen or the AMA.



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PRESIDENT NIXON'S first act of office on Inauguration Day, January 20, 1969, was officially to nominate the twelve members of his Cabinet. The Senate confirmed his nominations that same day with the exception of Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel, whose nomination was approved by a 73-16 vote of the Senate on January 23, with his swearing-in following the next day. The other eleven members were sworn in on January 22 at 8:00 A.M. in the White House. Chief Justice Earl Warren administered the oath of office. Mr. Nixon, presiding at the ceremony, said that, in view of the early hour of the ceremony, an appropriate term for the group was "a working Cabinet."

(The dates in parentheses indicate the year in which the Department first reached Cabinet status. The principal career activity of each member before entering public service is indicated.)

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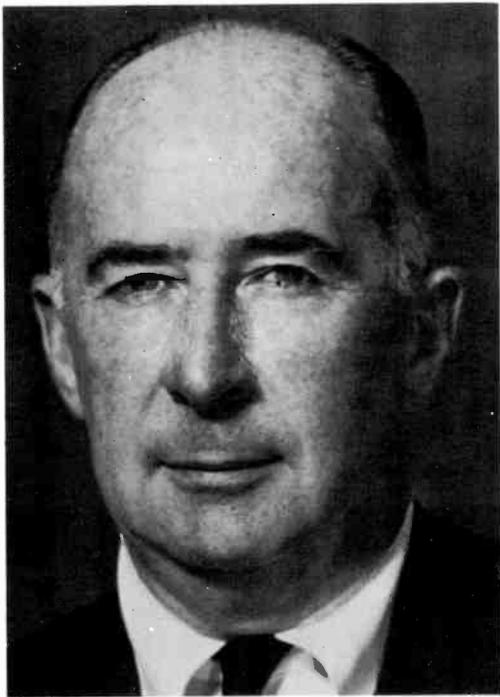


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PRESIDENT NIXON'S CABINET

1. Department of State (1789): Secretary, William P. Rogers, fifty-five, of Maryland, born in Norfolk, New York. Lawyer.

2. Department of the Treasury (1789): Secretary, David M. Kennedy, sixty-four, of Illinois, born in Randolph, Utah. Banker.

3. Department of Defense (1949), combining Army (1789) and Navy (1798): Secretary, Melvin R. Laird, forty-seven, of Wisconsin, born in Omaha, Nebraska. Became state senator at age twenty-four.

4. Department of Justice (1789): Attorney General, John N. Mitchell, fifty-six, of New York, born in Detroit, Michigan. Lawyer.

5. Post Office Department (1829): Postmaster General, Winton M. Blount, forty-eight, of Alabama. Contractor.

6. Department of the Interior (1849): Secretary, Walter J. Hickel, fifty, of Alaska, born in Clafin, Kansas. Builder.

7. Department of Agriculture (1889): Secretary, Clifford M. Hardin, fifty-four, of Nebraska, born in Knightstown, Indiana. Educator.

8. Department of Commerce (1903, as Commerce and Labor): Secretary, Maurice H. Stans, sixty-one, of Washington, D.C., born in Shakopee, Minnesota. Investment banker.

9. Department of Labor (1913): Secretary, George P. Shultz, forty-nine, of Illinois, born in New York City. Economist and educator.

10. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1953): Secretary, Robert H. Finch, forty-four, of California, born in Tempe, Arizona. Lawyer.

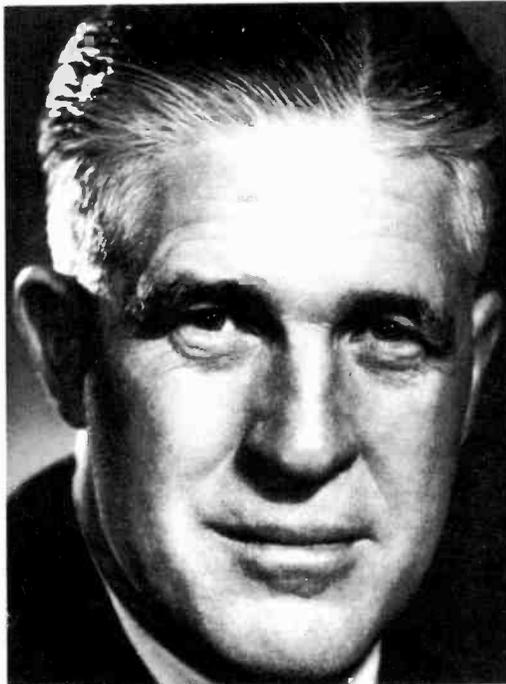
11. Department of Housing and Urban Development (1966): Secretary, George W. Romney, sixty-two, of Michigan, born in Chihuahau, Mexico. Industrialist.

12. Department of Transportation (1966): Secretary, John A. Volpe, sixty-one, of Massachusetts. Builder.

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President Johnson breaks with tradition and appears in person for his farewell State of the Union address on January 14, and members of Congress show their appreciation to the departing Chief Executive by frequent, unrestrained applause.

President Nixon in his Inaugural Address on January 20 reaffirms the new Administration's desire to bring unity to the nation. Lyndon Johnson listens intently. Vice-President Spiro Agnew and former Vice-President Humphrey sit at Mr. Nixon's left.





The major decision of the young Nixon Administration is announced to a nationally televised news conference as President Nixon says the government has decided to go ahead with the Safeguard Antibalistic Missile system.



Former President Eisenhower and his wife are serenaded by the Army Band at Walter Reed Hospital in Washington, where he spent most of the last year of his life. It was Mr. Eisenhower's seventy-eighth birthday.



The President and Mrs. Nixon, accompanied by daughters Tricia and Julie, leave the White House for the first of six inaugural balls on January 20. Tricia's escort is Douglas Rogers, son of the Secretary of State. Julie stands alongside her husband, David Eisenhower, at left.



Julie Nixon and David Eisenhower at the reception following their marriage on December 22 at New York City's Marble Collegiate Church.

A London Bobby shows amusement as President Nixon gives him an inscribed ballpoint pen during his travels to major European capitals in February.



The President confers in May on his Vietnam peace plan with General Creighton Abrams, United States military commander in Vietnam, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General Earl Wheeler, right.



President-Elect Nixon confers in December with Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan at the Hotel Pierre in New York.





Dr. Roger Egeberg, at the right, meets at the White House with the President and Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch after his appointment by the President to the post of Assistant Secretary of HEW. Finch had originally chosen Dr. John Knowles for the post, who was opposed by the AMA.

President Nixon and Jordanian King Hussein inspect an honor guard of United States troops on the South Lawn of the White House during the Arab leader's visit in April to the United States.





Herbert Kaplow from New York City joined NBC News in 1951 and became an NBC News Correspondent based in Washington in 1954. He has covered almost every major racial and political story since then, and was the first American reporter to enter Cuba after the "Bay of Pigs" incident. His coverage of Richard M. Nixon's political life while he was Vice-President and in his campaigns for the Presidency supply notable background for his present White House assignment.

Transition of Power

Herbert Kaplow

NBC News White House Correspondent

HE WAS EUPHORIC. The two years of campaigning had succeeded. He had survived a final drive by Ronald Reagan, and now the nomination was his.

Richard Nixon stood on the patio of the Key Biscayne Hotel, talking effusively to the reporters and campaign aides he had invited to lunch. It was just two days after he had won the Republican presidential nomination for the second time. Occasionally he spoke of his victory in a sober, analytical manner. More often, his comments were punctuated with laughter and expressions of delight.

After the lunch, he made a short speech. He spoke, for a time, of the Key Biscayne Hotel being the site of his meeting with Jack Kennedy after the 1960 election. The Republican nominee said he looked ahead to the campaign of 1968. He spoke briefly of the accommodations that would be available to reporters covering him; he hoped they would be suitable. Then, the candidate swung around, sat down at a piano, and played "Home

on the Range" and "The Missouri Waltz," finishing with a flourish and broad smile.

It was one of Richard Nixon's happiest days. He had come all the way back from the degradation of his November 1962 California news conference. It was, he knew, one of the most remarkable political comebacks in American history. And he knew, too, that this time he could win. The Democrats were in disarray, and the Lyndon Johnson years had inspired in the American people a clearly discernible desire for change.

Three months later it was over.

Early on the morning of November 6, the tabulations showed Nixon winning California, and it was over. In his suite in New York City's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, the winner accepted his election with the expected satisfaction, but with more restraint than he had accepted his nomination three months before.

He had reached the Presidency weaving his way between the right and left. In seeking the nomination, he had maneuvered between Reagan on the right and Nelson Rockefeller on the left. He felt, from the beginning, that Reagan was the far more formidable challenger. It was the early enlistment in the Nixon cause of such southern conservatives as Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina; Howard (Bo) Callaway, a former Republican congressman from Georgia; and Charlton Lyons, a powerful Louisiana political figure, that held firm the Nixon strength when Reagan made his final drive for the nomination.

In the election, Nixon maneuvered between George Wallace on the right and Hubert Humphrey on the left. The Wallace candidacy drove Nixon more to the right than he had intended to go. They were mostly Nixon votes that the former Alabama governor was draining away.

The strongest force of all, however, was the one that had worked through so many American political campaigns. Again it was "time for a change." Nixon early recognized the political fallibility of the incumbent Administration. He sensed the political burden growing out of the frustrations of Vietnam, the racial and campus disorders, crime, and the personal unpopularity of Lyndon Johnson. It was a change to a quieter time that Nixon sensed in the desires of the American people.

He carried it off, and won. But only barely. For, by the peculiar turn of political events in 1968, Hubert Humphrey became the underdog, and, by November 5, he, rather than Nixon, represented the "change." The Nixon theme had become almost too familiar.

The President-Elect retired again to the seclusion of Key Biscayne. He had already contemplated the formation of a Nixon Administration, but most of his time he had been occupied with winning the election. Now he was to build his Administration.

First, the people. Competence, not glamour, was to be emphasized. And there was to be an ideological bal-

ance attuned to the "Bring Us Together" theme of the Nixon years.

The first appointments were widely applauded. Henry Kissinger was named Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; Paul McCracken, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers; Democrat Charles Yost to be United States Ambassador to the United Nations.

The Cabinet choices were regarded as "gray and dull" by some, but as competent and well-intentioned men by most. There was criticism that no black man had been named to the Cabinet, but the Administration responded that it had tried to induce black men to assume high positions, and it promised that it would incorporate more black men and other members of minority groups into responsible positions than any other Administration had done.

And while President-Elect Nixon, at work in the Hotel Pierre in New York City, gathered a government around him, he also studied what he knew would be the first priority of his Presidency: an end to the war in Vietnam. He had skirted the issue in the campaign, when he had commented only in the briefest and most general way, explaining that he didn't want to say anything that might jeopardize peace negotiations. The self-imposed moratorium, if commendable for not "undercutting" negotiations, also kept the Republican presidential aspirant from being impaled politically on such a sharp issue.

But now he was President, and Vietnam was his first priority. There no longer could be a Vietnam moratorium for Richard Nixon. The new President understood he had a certain maneuverability his predecessor did not enjoy in dealing with the problem. Most of the American people, regardless of earlier beliefs about United States policy, by this time wanted the United States to disengage. And they were ready to give the new President time to achieve the disengagement.

Almost since the first moments of his Presidency, Richard Nixon was preoccupied with Vietnam. He accelerated attempts to ease out of the war. The process had been started with President Johnson's "bombing pause." Now, the new President was signaling further American actions aimed at inducing the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese to negotiate a settlement. But the incentives were not attractive enough yet, after his first six months in office, to win the sort of response that would propel negotiations forward from a near standstill. But he had to keep trying.

The new President established inflation as second only to Vietnam in the problems requiring his urgent attention. At about 6 percent a year, the inflationary rate in 1969 was about twice the "normal." Just as he saw the Vietnam war impinging on so much his predecessor wanted to do, so too did the new President see inflation eroding his plans. Though he knew that money was vital to help cure the domestic ills of the nation, he decided that the American dollar had to be stabilized, or at least

a major new start be made against inflation, before a full-scale Nixon attack could be begun against those other domestic problems.

Six months after becoming President, a few slight signs appeared suggesting that progress was being made in the fight against inflation. They weren't all that the Administration had hoped, and the Nixon economics team wasn't ready to proclaim victory, but there were a few encouraging signs.

Except for inflation, it was on the domestic front that the Nixon Administration moved slowest. The Nixon men blamed inflation for most of the slowness; the economy, they said, had to be "cooled off" before large amounts of federal money could be unleashed for welfare reform, revenue sharing, and other projects the President nurtured to help solve domestic problems. Then, too, it was the President's preoccupation with Vietnam that led to there being little movement in the domestic area in the first months of the Nixon term. His attentions were concentrated on that "Number One priority, ending the war," and the rest had to wait.

But there was more to it. Richard Nixon preferred to deal with foreign issues. He fancied himself an expert; he felt more comfortable coping with foreign problems; he had chosen that expertise to carry him to the Presidency. Though he was aware of the problems at home—the decaying cities, rural poverty, campus disorders, racial strife—there emerged little from the first months of the Nixon Presidency to show that he could alleviate those pressures.

The new President, however, was a deliberate man, choosing to move cautiously. He went into office unencumbered by promises. He believed that the American people had been victimized by too many promises, that their hopes had been falsely raised, and that much of the disenchantment with the "system" resulted from "overpromising." And he vowed not to repeat it.

He accumulated a staff of domestic "experts" to whom he left the chore of drawing up a comprehensive program—Arthur Burns, Daniel P. Moynihan, John Ehrlichman, Robert Finch, John N. Mitchell, Donald Rumsfeld, and others. He let them debate among themselves, while himself remaining detached and welcoming the lower-level dialogue. Then, on the few issues he did resolve in his first months in office, the new President would retreat to the solitude of Key Biscayne or Camp David or his second-floor White House study to make his decision.

For Richard Nixon, so totally involved in matters of public and political life, is, by nature, a private man, introverted, shy, uncomfortable, even after all the years, in the public glare. But he also has confidence in his judgments.

Richard Nixon, after the first six months of his Presidency, left few clues as to the stamp his Administration would leave on history. He spent those first months organizing an administration, but not leading it in any

discernible direction. He showed little of the “visionary Presidency,” seeming, instead, determined to solve the immediate problems, and later to take on the others as they developed. He did not pretend to nurture awesome ambitions for the nation he was leading; he seemed to feel it would be accomplishment enough to resolve the day-to-day problems in a responsible manner. And that, he felt, would win him a favorable judgment by history.

In the days immediately preceding the Republican Convention, in the isolation of Montauk, Long Island, I asked Nixon what he would most like to innovate as President, what he would most like to do that would be “his own” contribution. Though he didn’t seem ready for the question, after a few moments of deliberation he answered that he would like to adapt our institutions, particularly those of government, to modern life. He felt they had become obsolete and were not responsive to the new needs. He believed this obsolescence was the cause of much of the disenchantment in the country. It

was the feeling of people that government was getting away from them, that it was all “getting too big.”

Some time after he was in the Presidency, I put the same question to a Nixon aide who had been with the President for about two years. He, too, thought for a while before answering as to what the new President would like most to accomplish, something that would be identifiable as his own. He said that Nixon, as long as he had known him, had talked of the need for reaching some sort of meaningful understanding with the Soviet Union. He said the President long had felt that was fundamental to world peace.

Perhaps these two goals constitute the Nixon “vision.” Certainly, achieving either would win him good marks in history. Certainly, resolving some of the immediate, inherited problems—Vietnam, inflation, the urban and racial and campus problems—would win a favorable judgment by history.

Lyndon Johnson chats with newsmen in Stonewall, Texas, two days after his presidential terms ended on January 20. Following the tumultuous days in the White House, the former President seems to enjoy returning to his beloved Texas.





Perched on a table, Senator Everett M. Dirksen, (R., Illinois) minority leader of the Senate, predicts on March 15, 1969, that Congress will eventually approve President Nixon's modified proposal for the Safeguard ABM system.

2. Congress and Legislation

FROM JUNE 1968 TO JUNE 1969, "economy" remained the watchword of both the Ninetieth and the Ninety-first Congresses. Moreover, as the lawmakers prepared for the national conventions and the 1968 elections during the summer of 1968, the mood of thrift was reinforced by the nation's dollar crisis. Most economists agreed that the solution lay in fiscal austerity in Washington.

Accordingly, Congress not only enacted President Lyndon B. Johnson's long-sought tax increase; it also exacted an additional anti-inflationary concession from the Administration by successfully tying the tax hike to a mandatory \$6 billion cut in federal spending and the imposition of a federal employment ceiling. Typically, the "mandatory" reductions in expenditures began to be watered down when the shoe started pinching politically sensitive toes. Legislation was quickly enacted to exempt farm subsidies from the spending cuts. Similar exemptions were sought for Medicaid and other pet programs. Despite this, however, actual federal outlays were estimated to have been reduced by at least \$3 billion by the time the session ended on October 14, 1968.

With the traditional coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats leading the way, the foreign-aid program became a principal victim of the economy ax. Congress refused altogether to approve requested appropriations for the International Development Association and the Asian Development Bank. It did approve \$375 million for military aid abroad, \$300 million for the Development Loan Fund, and \$336.5 million for the Alliance for Progress. The final foreign-aid appropriation of \$1.76 billion plus \$724 million for related purposes was the smallest in the twenty-one-year history of the program.

Congress even managed to trim \$5.2 billion from President Johnson's requested defense appropriation. Despite the cut, the \$71.87 billion voted by Congress was the largest defense allocation in history. Of the total, \$25.5 billion was earmarked for the war in Vietnam. More than a billion was for testing, development, and initial construction of the Sentinel Antiballistic Missile system.

Even though President Johnson made known his intention not to seek reelection as early as March 1968, most of the Administration's bills were acted upon by Congress before the final gavel fell in October. A landmark housing program—one of the largest ever—was approved as the lawmakers voted \$5.3 billion to provide 1.7 million new or rehabilitated housing units over three years. Congress also passed the first major gun-control law in thirty years, following the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. The law fell short of demands for nationwide gun registration and licensing of all gun owners, but it did ban interstate mail-order sales of rifles, shotguns, and ammunition.

In education, the last session of the Ninetieth Congress extended federal aid to colleges and universities for three years with an authorized appropriation of \$7.3 billion. It also passed poultry inspection laws, a truth-in-lending act and measures to ensure gas pipeline safety and protection against radiation from television sets and other electronic devices.

On the negative side, Congress virtually eliminated a request by President Johnson for \$245 million for an expanded food-stamp program for the poor. The request was slashed to a mere \$15 million for 1969, while the food-stamp program was extended through 1972.

In conservation, the Ninetieth Congress settled a long and bitter controversy by voting to establish a 58,000-acre Redwoods National Park in California. It also created the 505,000-acre North Cascades National Park in Washington, made provision for a nationwide system of trails and scenic rivers, and passed the \$1.3 billion Central Arizona water-resources project.

An eventful six-week session followed the political nominating conventions in August. In the Senate the conservative bloc chalked up two major victories when it blocked the nomination of Abe Fortas to be Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court with a brief filibuster that forced President Johnson to withdraw Fortas's name. The same bloc of senators forced the laying aside of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty with

Russia after the Republican presidential nominee, Richard M. Nixon, declared his opinion that action on the treaty would not be timely in view of the Soviet takeover of Czechoslovakia.

The postconventions session ended with an old-fashioned political donnybrook over a Democratic-sponsored bill to suspend regulations of the Federal Communications Commission so as to allow the three major presidential candidates to debate on television without the requirement that equal time be granted to minor party hopefuls. The House divided on the bill pretty much along political lines as the two major candidates made known their positions. Mr. Nixon, the apparent front-runner in the presidential race, said he was willing to debate Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey, the Democratic candidate, but Nixon said he would not debate with George Wallace, candidate of the American Independent Party. Humphrey, with more to gain from a debate, favored passage of the bill. The measure was finally forced through the House on October 9 after a twenty-seven-hour filibuster, the longest since 1854, was staged by Republicans. During the debate, Republican leader Gerald Ford of Michigan noted that Mr. Humphrey and his running mate, Maine Senator Edmund Muskie, had opposed similar legislation in 1964 when they were in the Senate and President Johnson was the front-runner in the election campaign. Representative James G. O'Hara, for the Democrats, countered by saying of Mr. Nixon, "One can lead a warrior to battle, but you can't make him fight."

After the House passage, the debate bill was sent to the Senate, where it was quickly killed by a conservative coalition led by the influential Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R., Illinois). The Democrats then gave up the hopeless battle, and the Ninetieth Congress adjourned.

THE NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

Although Republican Richard M. Nixon had won the Presidency in the 1968 election, the Ninety-first Congress that convened on Capitol Hill on January 3, 1969, differed little in political complexion from the previous Congress. Both houses remained firmly in Democratic control. In the House, the elections had produced a net shift of only four seats to the Republicans. In the Senate the GOP had picked up five.

As the new Congress organized itself, Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts stunned the senior chamber by seizing the job of Democratic majority whip from Senator Russell Long of Louisiana. The smoothly engineered Kennedy coup was generally regarded as the opening gun in a Kennedy bid for the Presidency in 1972. On the Republican side, Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania fought off the opposition of a midwestern block to win the post of GOP whip.

In the House, Representative Shirley Chisholm (D., Brooklyn), took her newly won congressional seat to become the first black congresswoman since the founding of the Republic. Another "freshman" was the veteran Representative Adam Clayton Powell (D., Harlem), who had been denied his seat since 1967. This time the House voted to seat Powell after fining him \$25,000 for alleged abuses of payroll and travel funds. The House action was cast into doubt when the Supreme Court ruled in June 1969 that Powell's original exclusion had been illegal.

Congress merely marked time as the new Nixon Administration began formulating its legislative program. A flurry of headlines was stirred up in January and February by the Senate's Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, headed by Senator George S. McGovern of South Dakota. In public hearings, a group of doctors told the committee that malnutrition was responsible for the high rate of infant mortality in some sections of the country, and was causing brain damage to millions of children who survived their hungry infancies. Subsequently the committee visited migrant labor camps in Florida, and discovered that government food programs were not reaching those in greatest need. It also toured a slum just fifteen blocks from the White House, and saw hungry, flea-ridden children and rats as big as cats.

New codes of conduct for congressmen went into effect in 1969. Under the Senate code, members for the first time were required to file an accounting, open to public inspection, listing honorariums from writing and speaking and any contributions they received other than campaign contributions. The senators were also required to file a sealed statement of their business interests, property holdings and debts, a copy of their federal income-tax return, and a list of their clients and business associates. However, the sealed information was not available to the public, and could be opened only by majority vote of the Senate Select Committee on Standards and Conduct.

In the House, members were required to report their interest in any company doing "substantial" business with the government or subject to federal regulation. In addition, representatives for the first time were required to report outside income or fees exceeding \$1,000 or capital gains higher than \$5,000.

With its own new ethics code in effect, Congress reacted with righteous indignation in May, 1969, when *Life* magazine disclosed that Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas had accepted—and eleven months later repaid—a \$20,000 fee from the family foundation of Louis H. Wolfson, a stock manipulator who was later sent to prison. Congressional halls resounded with fervent protests—mostly from the same lawmakers who had successfully fought to block Fortas's nomination to be Chief Justice in 1968. Representative Robert Taft, Jr. (R.,

Ohio), demanded that Fortas be impeached. Senator Robert P. Griffin (R., Michigan) warned of more Fortas revelations unless the judge either quit or explained himself. Even Fortas's friends in the Senate suggested that he owed an explanation to the Senate Judiciary Committee. But after maintaining a discreet silence for several days, Fortas finally resigned from the high court.

As the session wore on, two major issues began to dominate debate on Capitol Hill. These were the question of deployment of the new Safeguard Antiballistic Missile System and the issue of tax reform.

The ABM debate started early in the session and quickly ballooned to national proportions. The question was whether or not the United States needed a new generation of missiles capable of protecting the nation's then existing missile installations from a surprise enemy attack.

Proponents of the Safeguard ABMs, principally in the Defense Department, argued that the system was defensive in nature, and necessary to protect America's vaunted retaliatory-strike ability. They reported that the Soviet Union was already deploying its own ABMs, and said similar action by the United States would probably strengthen Washington's hand in any negotiations to limit armaments.

Foes of Safeguard were many of the nation's scientists, pacifist groups, and liberal congressmen, including many members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. They warned that the Safeguard deployment would mark another upward spiral in the dangerous arms race, and claimed it would obstruct and complicate United States-Soviet disarmament talks. In addition, it was charged, the United States already had sufficient retaliatory capacity in the Minuteman missiles, Polaris submarines, and conventional bombing planes. Moreover, the Polaris submarines were already being replaced with more modern Poseidons. Besides, said some, the Safeguard system couldn't work, couldn't be tested except under an actual attack, and could easily be overwhelmed by an enemy that allocated extra warheads per target or sent in a sufficient number of decoy missiles.

The position of President Nixon became clear in March when the chief executive announced for a limited deployment of Safeguard ABMs. He asked for \$900 million to start work on a \$6 billion to \$7 billion system, with the rate of deployment to be reviewed regularly with an eye to the arms-control climate.

Additional fuel was poured on the fiery ABM argument in May when it was revealed that the Defense Department's \$6.6-billion estimate for the construction of Safeguard did not include an additional \$1.2 billion for the development and production of atomic warheads for the new missiles. Senate critics, led by Senator Kennedy, warned that the final cost of Safeguard might easily be double the Defense Department estimates.

Congressional criticism of the military was further aroused by a series of incidents that included the accidental sinking of a nuclear submarine at its dock in San Francisco Bay and the discovery that development costs of the giant C-5A transport plane had been vastly underestimated. Also in May, Senator Kennedy took the unusual action of publicly criticizing as "senseless and irresponsible" the bloody, though successful, battle by United States troops to capture Apbia Mountain in South Vietnam. At least fifty-five Americans were killed in the fight, and hundreds were wounded, but the mountain was abandoned by the United States forces shortly after its capture. Two weeks after Kennedy's blast, Senator Everett M. Dirksen took the floor to answer the criticism with a speech said to have been cleared in advance by the White House. Dirksen said Kennedy was undermining the morale of our troops in Vietnam, and added that Kennedy's speech reflected unfavorably on the judgment and competence of American field commanders. Kennedy was not in Washington on the day of the Dirksen speech, but the absent Democrat was defended by Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the majority leader, who declared that Kennedy "had a right to say what he did."

The issue of tax reform began to take shape in February when the House Ways and Means Committee opened public hearings on the subject. Attention was quickly focused on the many loopholes in the nation's income-tax laws. It was revealed that tax-exempt foundations were being organized at the rate of 2,000 a year and that such foundations already owned tax-free property worth over \$20 billion. Former Treasury Secretary Joseph W. Barr testified that 176 Americans with income of more than \$200,000 annually had paid no taxes at all in 1967. Of these, at least twenty-one had income of a million dollars or more. The loopholes, according to Secretary Barr, were the so-called "farm loss write-off," real-estate deductions, oil-depletion allowances, charitable deductions, and tax-exempt bond investments.

Congressional supporters of tax reform were led chiefly by liberal Democrats. They gained the leverage they needed when President Nixon asked for extension of the 10 percent tax surcharge enacted the previous year by the Ninetieth Congress and due to expire on June 30, 1969. The reformers tied the two issues together, saying they would not vote for the surcharge extension without the reforms. They were quickly joined by a group of generally conservative colleagues who were less interested in tax reform than they were in killing the surcharge.

With the surcharge extension still very much in doubt, both houses passed stopgap legislation in mid-June that authorized employers to continue withholding the surcharge from wages. A crucial hurdle was leaped by the Administration supporters on June 30 when the



Witnesses differ sharply in May 1969, during testimony on the Safeguard ABM system before the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee. Donald F. Hornig, left, science adviser to former President Johnson, and Dr. Gordon J. MacDonald, center, of the University of California at Santa Barbara, criticize the ABM plan. Dr. Eugene Wigner, right, of Princeton University, says the ABM system is necessary.



Yippie leader Jerry Rubin presents a bizarre appearance when he arrives with a toy gun, in October 1968, to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee. The committee probed the street disorders that occurred during the Democratic national convention in Chicago the preceding August.



Deputy Defense Secretary David R. Packard tells the Senate Disarmament Subcommittee on March 26, 1969, that the Safeguard ABM system would provide the Soviet Union with incentives to negotiate nuclear-arms limitations.



Representative Wright Patman (D., Texas), chairman of the Senate-House Economics Committee (center facing camera), scolds William McChesney Martin, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, for the Board's high interest policy. Martin (back to camera) appeared before the committee in February 1969.

Opposite: Senator J. William Fulbright (D. Arkansas) tells newsmen in Washington, on April 3, 1969, that a Hanoi announcement of readiness to negotiate is a step in the direction of ending the war in Vietnam.



President-Elect Richard M. Nixon confers in New York City with Representative Wilbur Mills (D., Arkansas) on December 6, 1968. Mills is the powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.



Representative Gerald Ford, left, and Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican leaders, respectively, of the House and Senate, defend defense policies of the Nixon Administration after a conference between congressional leaders and the President.

Two sons of United States senators make their debut as freshman congressmen in the Ninety-first Congress in January 1969. They are Barry Goldwater, Jr., left (R., California) and James W. Symington (D., Missouri). Goldwater's father is the Republican from Arizona and Symington's father, Stuart, is the Missouri Democrat.





A newcomer to the Ninety-first Congress is Senator Robert Packwood, thirty-six-year-old Oregon Republican. Packwood unseated the veteran Democrat Wayne Morse in the 1968 election.



Senator Edward M. Kennedy confers in Alaska with traveling companions during his much-publicized tour of Indian and Eskimo villages in April 1969. The trip was in Kennedy's capacity as chairman of the Senate's Indian Education Subcommittee.

Senator Barry Goldwater (R., Arizona) cautions his fellow lawmakers against "dangerous lowering" of defense outlays during testimony before a Senate-House subcommittee in June 1969.





The old and the new stand with President Nixon, as retiring Chief Justice Earl Warren waves good-bye to the position he held for sixteen years. At right, incoming Chief Justice Warren Earl Burger stands close to the President, who described him as a man of "unquestioned integrity."

3. The Supreme Court

THIS WAS A COURT YEAR in which changes in Court personnel made as much news as the decisions that were handed down.

It began on June 13, 1968, when Earl Warren announced that he had decided, at the age of seventy-seven, to step down as Chief Justice of the United States. Warren, who had held the position since 1954, said he was retiring solely because of age, and asked that his resignation take effect on appointment of a successor.

The announcement stirred much resentment in conservative ranks—especially among those who felt that Richard Nixon had a good chance of becoming President. They saw Warren's move as calculated to assure a successor appointed by President Johnson who would follow the liberal tradition of the so-called "Warren Court," which had produced so many judicial milestones.

Warren had been a party to the 1954 opinion outlawing school desegregation, the one-man-one-vote opinions of 1964 leading to reapportionment of state legislative and congressional districts throughout the nation, and the 1966 opinion outlining rules for questioning of criminal suspects.

The progressive tone of the Court during Warren's term as Chief Justice had led some members of the far right to go so far as to call for his impeachment, because, they felt, he was undermining America and "interpreting" the Constitution, rather than following its strict dictates.

When President Johnson announced that he would nominate Justice Abe Fortas as Chief Justice to succeed Warren, the criticism became stronger on all sides.

Some felt it was not proper for President Johnson, as a lame-duck President, to have the right to nominate a new Chief Justice when his term had so little time to run. They called on Johnson to hold off, so that the new President, whoever he might be, would have an opportunity to make a choice of his own.

But the outgoing President refused to heed such calls, and announced that he would nominate Abe Fortas,

then an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, to succeed Warren as Chief Justice.

At that, the criticism grew stronger on all sides. Charges of cronyism erupted almost immediately. Fortas had been a personal friend and adviser of Lyndon Johnson ever since early New Deal days. Some observers of the judicial scene felt his closeness to the White House had already inhibited his effectiveness as Associate Justice.

Then it was learned that Justice Fortas had accepted a \$15,000 fee for conducting a law seminar at American University for nine weeks. The money had been collected from five wealthy contributors; one of them had a son appealing a federal criminal conviction; others had connections with corporations involved in litigation with the federal government.

Republican senators began a filibuster aimed at blocking full Senate confirmation of Abe Fortas. The move was successful. President Johnson withdrew the Fortas nomination on October 2, and Warren agreed to stay on.

When Richard Nixon was inaugurated as President, it was Chief Justice Warren who administered the oath of office. The new President asked Warren to continue in office until the end of the June 1969 Court term, while he searched for a replacement.

The search was an arduous one. During his campaigning Richard Nixon had more than once intimated that he thought the High Court had strayed too far from the Constitution in its interpretations and opinions under Chief Justice Warren. Now, as President, he had a chance to move the Court in a new direction by his choice of the man who would head it.

The man he finally chose was Warren Earl Burger, a judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. Burger, a native of St. Paul, Minnesota (born September 17, 1907), had been floor manager for Harold Stassen in 1952 at the Republican

National Convention, then switched his votes to Eisenhower. He had once been Assistant Attorney General, in charge of the Justice Department's criminal division, and had been a United States judge since 1956.

Burger was considered a moderate on civil rights, an advocate of "law and order," and in opposition to any broadening of the rights of suspected criminals, as had been happening in recent Supreme Court decisions.

President Nixon called Burger "qualified intellectually, qualified from the standpoint of judicial temperament, and above all qualified because of his unquestioned integrity."

At any rate, the new conservative tone of Congress and the nation's "law and order" mood was reflected by quick Senate approval (74-3) of the Nixon nomination. Warren Earl Burger became the fifteenth Chief Justice of the United States.

Meanwhile, the furor over Justice Abe Fortas had died down for only a little while. In May of 1969, an article in *Life* magazine said Fortas had received a fee of \$20,000 from a charitable foundation set up by financier Louis Wolfson, who was jailed for violating securities laws. The *Life* story said that Fortas's former law firm had represented Wolfson in some of his securities cases. Fortas himself had abstained when the Supreme Court considered—and refused to review—the Wolfson decision.

Fortas issued a statement denying any wrongdoing, saying he had returned the \$20,000 some time later. But public and congressional criticism grew until there was talk of impeachment proceedings and, on May 15, Fortas announced his resignation from the Supreme Court. It was the first resignation under the pressure of public criticism in the Court's 178-year history.

Flushed with their victory, Court critics then tried to go after Justice William Douglas, long a liberal thorn in conservative hides. Investigators charged that he, too, had accepted foundation fees. But the fiery Douglas fought back, and the incident seemed closed, although Chief Justice Warren, before retiring, suggested that Supreme Court Justices should all agree to rules regarding outside income for federal judges. The rules had been set in the spring of 1969 by a federal judicial conference, but did not apply to Supreme Court Justices.

In the field of judicial decisions, the Supreme Court ruled on items ranging all the way from the right of Congress to exclude a member to the legal right of LSD champion Dr. Timothy Leary to bring marijuana into the country.

Perhaps the most spectacular decision—in its challenge to Congress—was the ruling in June of 1969 that Adam Clayton Powell had wrongly been deprived of his seat in the House of Representatives in 1967. Powell, a Negro congressman from Harlem, had been excluded by vote of the House after charges of irregularities in use of federal funds while chairman of the House Education

and Labor Committee, and because of a contempt conviction in a case involving nonpayment of a defamation judgment against him by a Harlem woman.

Powell's attorneys charged that he had been unconstitutionally deprived of his seat because he had satisfied all the requirements of the Constitution regarding membership in the House. Furthermore, he said, the move by the House deprived his constituents of a representative duly elected by them.

By the time the Court ruled in 1969, Powell had been reelected and seated in the next session of Congress, though he had lost his seniority and consequently his chairmanship. The Court decision did not touch on those points, and if it had, it was questionable whether Congress would have followed the ruling. Foes of Powell recalled something President Andrew Jackson had once said of a Supreme Court decision that seemed to him to infringe on the separation-of-powers doctrine. Said Jackson: "Very well, the Court has made its decision—now let the Court enforce it."

In the field of personal rights, the Court reversed, on November 19, 1968, the gambling conviction of Peter Recanik of Lorraine, Ohio, because police had entered his premises without sufficient cause to believe the law was being violated, and on June 3 reversed the conviction of John Sabboth of Los Angeles, who had been arrested for importing cocaine. The Court ruled that customs agents were required by federal law to announce their authority and purpose before opening a closed door—even though it was unlocked—to make their arrest.

One week later, on June 10, an opinion handed down did give police officers support, however. The Court ruled that policemen did have the right to stop and frisk persons for weapons when such action seemed necessary for the safety of the policemen and others present.

The right of peaceful protest was upheld in several decisions, including the right of schoolteachers to criticize the school system publicly, even if the criticism was false. The Court ruled in that case (June 3, 1968) that teachers are protected by the First Amendment principle that encourages criticism of public officials' acts. But the Court made a point of emphasizing the word "peaceful" when speaking of protests. It rejected the appeal of eight students of Bluefield State College in West Virginia who had been suspended for taking part in an unruly demonstration. Justice Fortas made it clear the Court would protect the right of political expression only if the students' conduct did not disrupt discipline or interfere with others' rights.

In 1969 the Court made several landmark decisions affecting welfare clients, servicemen, and the use of marijuana. On April 21, in a 6-3 decision, the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the one-year residency requirement for welfare beneficiaries in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia. The majority opinion, written by Justice Brennan, called it unconstitu-

tional for a state to require a waiting period for welfare grants for "the purpose of inhibiting migration by needy persons into that state." He said it inhibited a citizen's right to travel. Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch estimated that the ruling—plus the Court's knockout of the "man-in-house" rule in 1968—would affect as many as three hundred thousand families across the country, since more than forty states had similar laws. He also predicted that it would make a national minimum-welfare standard inevitable.

On June 2, 1969, the Court in effect changed the military court-martial system by ruling that a serviceman who committed a crime outside a military base in the United States could not be tried by military court-martial. The ruling applied to acts committed in peacetime, but it cut deeply into the assumption that military personnel should be tried by military, not civilian, courts.

Dr. Timothy Leary, called by many the "father" of the psychedelic drug movement, was involved in a unanimous decision on May 19, 1969. The Court ruled that his conviction for bringing marijuana from Mexico to Texas and failing to pay taxes on it was unconstitutional. The ruling was that the Marijuana Tax Act—making it a federal crime to possess marijuana without paying a tax on it of \$100 an ounce—violated a defendant's Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination. But drug users were not enthusiastic over the ruling. The opinion noted that the federal antidrug law in this case was defective only in its structure, and could be changed by Congress to make it valid.

So—as the "Warren Era" of the Supreme Court ended—all eyes were focused on the new Chief Justice, Warren Burger, to see what changes in direction, if any, the High Court would now take.

Outspoken Justice William O. Douglas, shown with his young wife, Cathy, continues his protests against what he considers the wrongs of civilization. Here he joins protesters in a five-mile hike along a stretch of the Delaware Canal, in a fight to preserve it as a historical waterway.





Associate Justice Abe Fortas, longtime friend of President Johnson, leaves a Senate hearing on his nomination as Chief Justice. He lost out—after disclosure of his acceptance of various fees while a member of the High Court. Fortas submitted his resignation a few months later, after another investigation.



Opposite: Representative Adam Clayton Powell, relaxing in the Bahama island of Bimini after learning that the Supreme Court had declared unconstitutional his expulsion from Congress in 1967. Powell said he was "overwhelmed," but saw it as vindication.

Opposite: Dr. Timothy Leary, "high priest" of the so-called LSD culture, announces he'll run for governor of California as candidate of a new party called "Fervor," making the announcement after the Supreme Court overturned his conviction on charges of transporting marijuana across the border from Mexico and not paying tax on it. With him is his wife, Rosemary.

The members of the Court sitting for their official photograph while the portrait of John Marshall, fourth Chief Justice, looks down from the wall. From the left: seated—Associate Justices John M. Harlan, Hugo L. Black, Chief Justice Earl Warren, William O. Douglas, and William J. Brennan. Standing—Associate Justices Abe Fortas, Potter Stewart, Byron R. White, and Thurgood Marshall.





4. Politics and Parties

THE LAST HALF OF 1968 and the first half of 1969 brought extraordinary changes in the American political scene. Major developments in the eventful year were the election of Richard M. Nixon as thirty-seventh President of the United States, the election of a Congress controlled by Democratic majorities in both houses, and the capture of 9.9 million votes by a third-party presidential candidate, former Alabama Governor George C. Wallace. There was a strong swing toward the right by the American electorate that was reflected not only in the national elections but also in several municipal elections.

Mr. Nixon began one of the most remarkable comebacks in American politics by winning the Republican presidential nomination on the first ballot at the party convention in Miami Beach on August 8. Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York and Governor Ronald Reagan of California were the runners-up. Mr. Nixon selected, and the convention duly nominated, Maryland's Governor Spiro T. Agnew as vice-presidential standard-bearer.

In sharp contrast with the orderly proceedings of the GOP, the Democrats held an uproarious conclave in Chicago on August 26 to 29. Incumbent President Johnson, although titular party head, decided it was wiser not to appear. Inside the convention hall, the Democrats were racked with dissension over the war in Vietnam. Outside, they were besieged by more than 10,000 antiwar demonstrators who converged on Chicago from all over the nation. Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, last of the big-city bosses, hurled his police department against the antiwar demonstrators. The result was hundreds of cracked heads, thousands of arrests, and the spectacle of a party divided against itself.

The Democrats rejected an antiwar plank presented by supporters of Minnesota Senator Eugene J. McCarthy after an unprecedented three-hour floor debate. The dele-

gates then went on to nominate Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey on the first ballot. Mr. Humphrey received 1,761³/₄ votes to 601 votes for Senator McCarthy, his only serious rival since the assassination of New York Senator Robert F. Kennedy some two months earlier.

The convention ratified Mr. Humphrey's choice of a running mate, Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine. Senator Muskie, though he turned out a loser, proved to be as popular with the voters as his opponent, Governor Agnew, proved controversial.

Under the banner of the American Independent Party, meanwhile, George C. Wallace amazingly succeeded in getting his name on the ballot in all fifty states. His running mate was retired Air Force General Curtis E. LeMay.

The main issue of the campaign was the Vietnam War, with Mr. Nixon promising new attempts to end the war and Mr. Humphrey firmly wedded to the war policies of President Lyndon B. Johnson. Mr. Nixon led Mr. Humphrey in most polls, but the Vice-President rapidly closed the gap in the final weeks after President Johnson ordered a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam. The big surprise was Mr. Wallace, who at times was shown by polls to have the support of as much as 21 percent of the electorate.

Unlike the campaign of 1960, there was no televised debate between the major party candidates in 1968. Mr. Humphrey offered to debate both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Wallace, but Mr. Nixon insisted he would debate only with Mr. Humphrey. With Mr. Nixon's tacit approval, the Republican minority in Congress succeeded in killing legislation that would have made a debate possible by suspending equal-time regulations of the Federal Communications Commission.

In the election on November 5, Mr. Nixon won 43.4 percent of the popular vote and carried 32 states

with a total of 302 electoral votes. While failing to win a single major city, Mr. Nixon did take the big states of California, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, and Ohio.

Mr. Humphrey won 42.7 percent of the popular vote, carrying New York, Texas, and 11 other states with an electoral vote of 191. Mr. Wallace won 13.5 percent of the vote, carried five deep-South states, and his popular vote total of 9.9 million was the largest ever garnered by any third-party candidate.

Among minor party candidates, Eldridge Cleaver, Negro candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party, received 36,385 votes, and Negro comedian Dick Gregory won 47,097 votes under the banner of the New Party.

In the congressional results, Democrats retained control of both houses, the first time since 1844 that a newly elected President was faced with a Congress completely controlled by the opposite party. However, the GOP did gain four seats in the House and five in the Senate. The lineup was 57 Democrats and 43 Republicans in the Senate; 243 Democrats and 192 Republicans in the House.

Among the new House members was Shirley Chisholm (D., Brooklyn), the first black woman ever elected to Congress. Among the new senators were Barry Goldwater, of Arizona, the Republican presidential candidate of 1964, Robert W. Packwood (R., Oregon), who unseated the veteran maverick Wayne Morse, and former Oklahoma Governor Henry L. Bellmon, a Republican, who ousted the Democratic wheelhorse A. S. Mike Monroney.

Familiar winners included Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, the Republican leader of the Senate, Senator Frank Church (D., Idaho), Senator J. W. Fulbright (D., Arkansas), Senator George McGovern (D., South Dakota), and Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff, (D., Connecticut). In New York, Republican Senator Jacob K. Javits was elected for a third Senate term by more than a million votes even though the head of the ticket, Mr. Nixon, lost the state to Mr. Humphrey.

The Republicans fared even better on the state level than they did nationally. In twenty-one gubernatorial contests, the GOP won seven governorships previously held by Democrats, while losing only two—a net gain of five. As a result, the Republicans controlled thirty-one executive mansions, the most since the GOP heyday of the 1920's. Among the reelected governors were Republicans Winthrop Rockefeller of Arkansas and Jack Williams of Arizona and Democrat Robert Docking of Kansas. In Texas, Lieutenant Governor Preston Smith, a Democrat, defeated Republican Paul W. Eggers to succeed the retiring Governor John B. Connally, Jr.

After the election, Democratic national chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien resigned and was succeeded on January 14, 1969, by thirty-eight-year-old Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma. Harris also inherited a party debt that totaled \$8.2 million, including preconvention debts of about a million dollars apiece by former Vice-

President Humphrey and the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Republican national chairman Ray C. Bliss resigned his post on February 18, 1969, and on February 26 the White House announced the appointment of Representative Rogers C. B. Morton (R., Maryland), to succeed Bliss. Morton was a brother of Thruston B. Morton, former Republican senator from Kentucky and a former GOP national chairman. Rogers Morton agreed to serve without salary, since he was retaining his House seat.

With some notable exceptions, a series of municipal elections in 1969 served to confirm the swing to the right noted in the national balloting of 1968. One of the exceptions was in Mississippi, stronghold of white supremacy, where Charles Evers, a forty-eight-year-old Negro, won the office of mayor of Fayette. Evers was a field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and brother of the slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers. He won the Democratic mayoral primary in Fayette on May 14, and was unopposed in the general election on June 4. Negro candidates also captured all five aldermanic seats in the town of two thousand, a victory unprecedented since Reconstruction days.

But in other municipal contests, the conservative trend was evident. Los Angeles Mayor Samuel W. Yorty won a third term in a runoff election on May 27 against a fifty-one-year-old city councilman, Thomas Bradley, a Negro. Bradley had led Yorty by 100,000 votes in the preliminary April 1 election, and was leading in the polls during the runoff campaign. But Yorty raised the race question, warning that if Bradley was elected police might quit the force and Los Angeles could be taken over by "black militants and left-wing extremists." The issue proved effective, and Yorty won the election by a comfortable margin.

In Minneapolis, Minnesota, police detective Charles S. Stenvig, forty-one, was elected mayor on June 10 on a law-and-order plank, defeating the City Council president, Dan Cohen. Stenvig got 62 percent of the votes after a campaign in which he pledged to back up policemen who made arrests in Negro neighborhoods.

In New York City the June 17 mayoral primary elections produced conservative victories in both the Republican and Democratic parties. The city's liberal Republican mayor, John V. Lindsay, was upset in the Republican primary, although he retained support elsewhere, by a relatively unknown conservative opponent, State Senator John Marchi. And in a five-way Democratic contest, City Comptroller Mario A. Procaccinò, tagged as a conservative, defeated four allegedly liberal foes, including former Mayor Robert F. Wagner.

Whether the conservative trend would continue in 1969 was a matter of opinion. The answer could come from the results of some 850 municipal elections to be held throughout the nation, as well as gubernatorial contests in New Jersey and Virginia.



The three leading candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination pose together for this picture at the start of the convention in Chicago. From the left, Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, and Senator George McGovern of South Dakota.



Negro comedian Dick Gregory and New York City lawyer Mark Lane run for President and Vice-President, respectively, on the ticket of the Freedom and Peace Party. They are pictured here at a political rally in Chicago.



Channing Phillips, a Democratic delegate from the District of Columbia, smiles proudly in the Chicago convention hall after supporters placed his name in nomination for President. Phillips was the first Negro ever placed in nomination by a major political party.



Left: A furious Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago stands at the microphone at the Democratic Convention while insurgent delegates demand that the convention adjourn before considering the party platform. Daley finally went along and moved for adjournment until later the same day.

A solemn Democratic National Convention watches a filmed memorial to the late President John F. Kennedy and the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy during its final session in Chicago. Throughout the memorial, the convention spotlights fell on an empty rostrum.





Chicago policemen grab "Pigasus" the pig during Yippie demonstration in Lincoln Park. The porker was "nominated" for President in a Yippie mock convention.

Antiwar protestors mass by the thousands in Chicago's Grant Park during the Democratic Convention. Demonstrators at rear of picture are atop statue.





Chicago police and antiwar demonstrators clash violently outside Hilton Hotel on Michigan Avenue during the Democratic Convention. Hundreds were injured, including innocent bystanders, and fighting resulted in serious criticism of Chicago policemen.

Left: Democratic standard-bearers Hubert H. Humphrey (left) and Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine raise clasped hands at the Democratic Convention following Humphrey's acceptance speech. In the background is Mrs. Humphrey.

Right: The new Democratic national chairman, Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, addresses the National Press Club in April 1969. Harris warned that President Nixon could expect plenty of criticism since he completed his first hundred days in office.





The Democratic presidential candidate, Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey, campaigns in St. Louis in mid-October. Polls showed that Humphrey was beginning to close the gap between himself and Republican Richard M. Nixon.

President Lyndon B. Johnson and Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey are cheered by a crowd of 50,000 at a Democratic rally in the Houston, Texas, Astrodome. The rally was held just two days before the election.





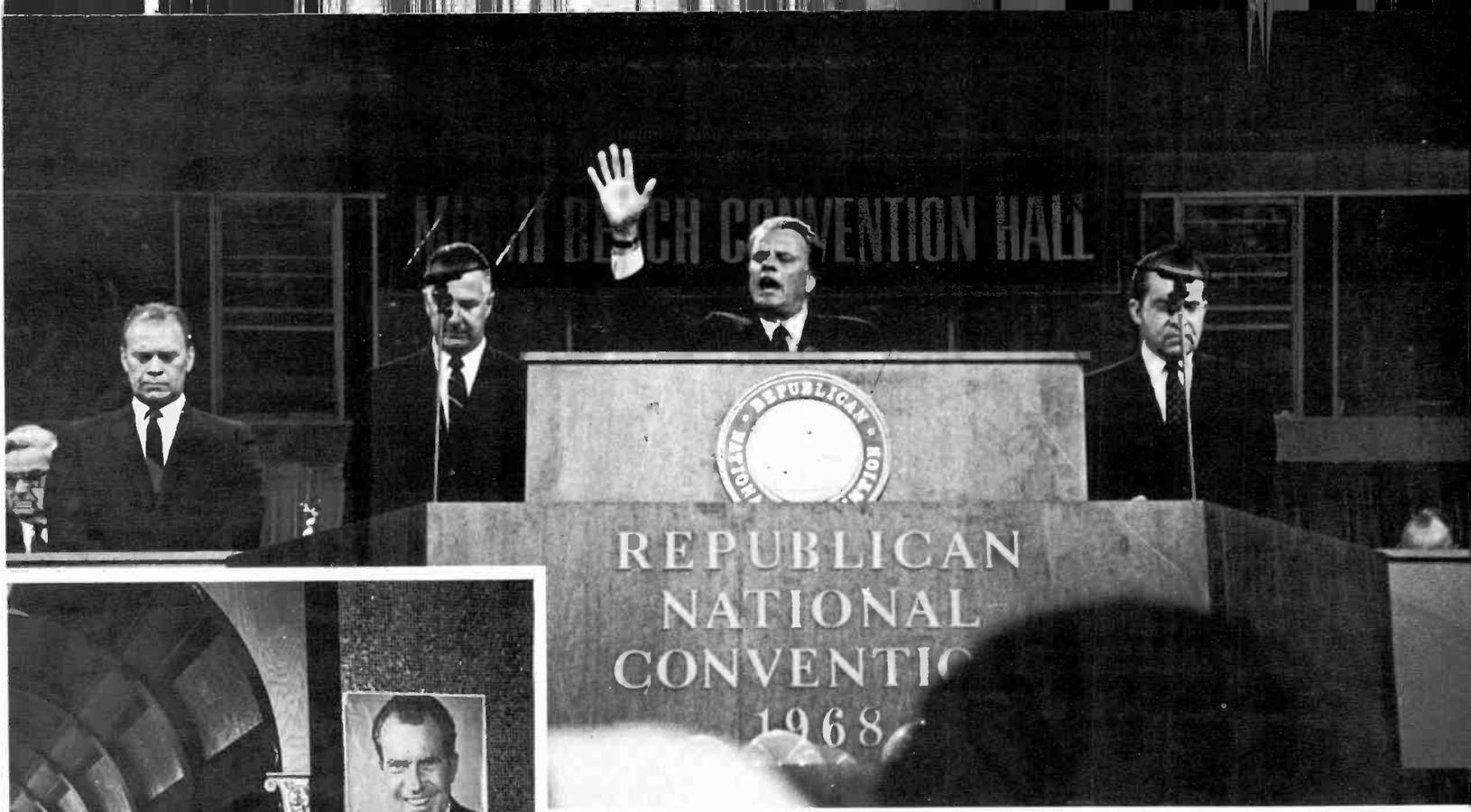
Governor Ronald Reagan of California is in the midst of a news conference during the Republican convention when a press aide interrupts with the news that former President Dwight D. Eisenhower has just suffered another in a series of heart attacks.



Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York and Senator Hugh Scott (R., Pennsylvania) huddle cordially in Washington during pre-convention maneuvering. Rockefeller wooed a large number of Republican lawmakers for support in his presidential drive.

Republican convention delegates stand as three hundred teen-agers carry United States flags onto the floor in Miami Beach. The GOP conclave proceeded smoothly from this opening moment right through to the final gavel, in marked contrast to the stormy Democratic Convention.





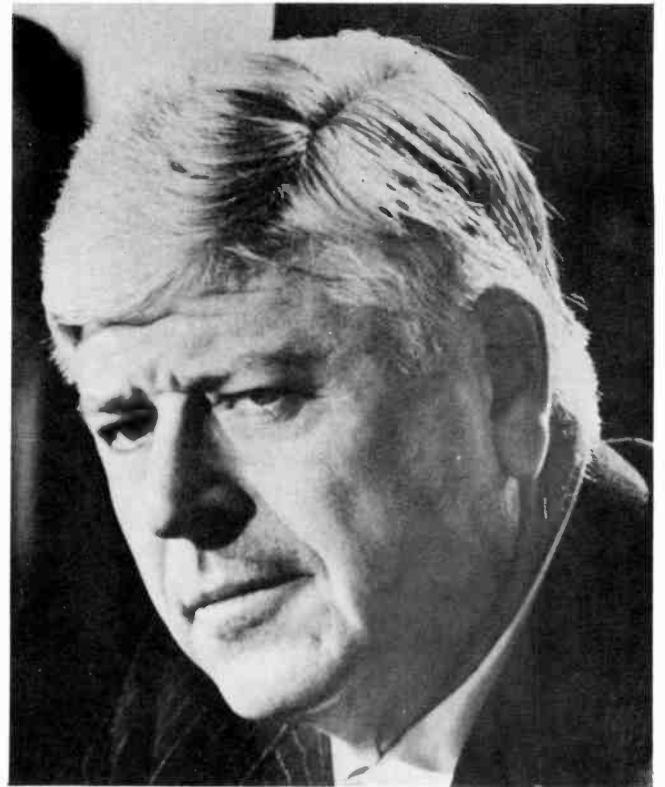
Republican nominees Richard M. Nixon and Spiro T. Agnew bow their heads as evangelist Billy Graham delivers the benediction at the Republican Convention in Miami Beach.



Campaign girls wear "Nixon" paper dresses as they stroll through lobby of a hotel in Miami Beach during GOP Convention. The gimmick was typical of the smooth-functioning Nixon drive.

The Republican presidential nominee, Richard M. Nixon, campaigns in North Carolina early in September. Nixon stretches himself across the roof of his car to shake the hands of an enthusiastic crowd in Charlotte.





A victory smile spreads across the face of President-Elect Richard M. Nixon as he poses with his family in New York City the day after election. Mr. Nixon held the presidential emblem embroidered for him by his daughter Julie. From left are David Eisenhower, Julie's fiancé; Julie; Tricia Nixon, the elder daughter; Mr. Nixon, and Mrs. Nixon.

Top right: Representative Rogers C. B. Morton, of Maryland, holds a news conference in Washington in February 1969, after President Nixon names him to be the new Republican national chairman. Morton's brother, former Senator Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky, was GOP notional chairman during the Eisenhower Administration.

Top left: Republican candidate Richard M. Nixon is framed between twin floodlights as he addresses a GOP throng in New York City's Madison Square Garden. Nixon conveyed a vigorous image throughout the 1968 campaign.



Demonstrators opposed to presidential candidate George Wallace mass in New York City, outside Madison Square Garden, during a Wallace rally. A large contingent of policemen succeed in protecting the rally.



Third-party candidate George C. Wallace prepares to bestow the traditional politician's kiss on a tot in Atlanta, Georgia. Wallace drew large crowds in the North as well as the South.



Action on "Hamburger Hill" in May as a wounded American soldier is rushed to a hovering helicopter that will take him to safety and immediate treatment. The battle for the hill position was finally successful—with heavy American casualties—but the hill was abandoned a short time later. Many critics saw the action as an example of unnecessary military goals set by field commanders while the Administration was talking of deescalating the war.

5. Vietnam

FOR TWO YEARS NOW, PROTESTORS and draft-card burners had been chanting "Stop the War in Vietnam, Bring the Troops Home." But, suddenly, that sentiment was no longer a minority one. At mid-1968, polls showed a majority in favor of some means of extricating United States troops from Vietnam—even if it did not mean total victory. President Johnson had fallen from favor on the Vietnam issue. His Vice-President, Hubert Humphrey, had trouble all through the fall campaign, trying to dissociate himself from the Johnson image and to align himself more closely with the dovish views that had proved so politically profitable for the martyred Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy.

Richard Nixon moved many steps closer to the White House when he said he had a plan for peace in Vietnam—though he did not disclose any details.

A nation weary of the war looked to the Paris peace talks for some hope that it would soon end. The talks had begun on May 10, 1968, at the Hotel Majestic in Paris, between North Vietnam and the United States. At the outset, Averell Harriman, representing the United States, called for Hanoi to reciprocate for a partial bombing halt announced by our side. President Johnson had ordered that all bombing of North Vietnam north of the 20th parallel be stopped.

But the North Vietnamese negotiators, led by former Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy, rejected the demand for an easing of the battle, and Communist forces only increased the tempo of their attacks in and around Saigon.

As the fighting raged back and forth over the peninsula, South Vietnam's President Nguyen Van Thieu made what many considered a key statement. On June 19, 1968, he declared that the South Vietnamese government planned to take over more responsibility in fighting the war. Thieu signed a bill calling for general mobilization of fighting-age men in South Vietnam, and said, "We do not intend to ask the United States and our other allies for more troops." The South Vietnamese president

added, "We will need equipment and other types of help, of course," but the American public took hope that it might be a first step toward "de-Americanization" of the war (a phrase coined by presidential candidate Nelson Rockefeller, and soon picked up by all the candidates).

In the political campaign at home, the war was tied to the problems of American cities. Senator Eugene McCarthy and Governor Rockefeller both said repeatedly that the huge expenditures we were making in Vietnam could more readily be put to better use in upgrading our urban areas, feeding the hungry, and improving the lot of the poor.

At the Republican National Convention, the GOP plank on Vietnam called for more participation by South Vietnamese troops and less by Americans in the actual fighting, and spoke of the need for "an honorable, negotiated peace." After his nomination, Richard Nixon said (August 1, 1968) that the war must be waged "more effectively."

That effectiveness, he said, should come about, not by further military escalation, but by a "dramatic" escalation of our efforts on the economic, political, diplomatic, and psychological fronts. Nixon said there was a need for more attention to training and equipping the South Vietnamese to fight the war. "As they are phased in," he declared, "American troops can—and should—be phased out."

At the Democratic Convention in Chicago, Hubert Humphrey experienced at first hand the difficulties that would face him throughout the fall. Antiwar demonstrators linked him with the Administration's policy on Vietnam, and he was accused of being President Johnson's handpicked successor to continue that policy, no matter what protestations he might make to the contrary.

The Democratic plank on Vietnam did endorse the LBJ policy there, but it was adopted only after a three-hour debate and unprecedented wrangling punctuated again and again by chants of "Stop the war, Stop the war!"

The Johnson-Humphrey plank, adopted over that of Senators Eugene McCarthy, Edward Kennedy, and George McGovern, called for a bombing halt in North Vietnam when and if it did not endanger the lives of our troops in the field. It also called for withdrawal of all foreign forces from South Vietnam—but only after negotiating with Hanoi an immediate end or limitation of hostilities. Its third major point: establishment of a postwar government, set up by internationally supervised free elections.

At the United Nations, Secretary-General U Thant again added his voice to the calls for United States de-escalation, saying, on September 23, 1968, that he felt “a majority” of the UN General Assembly would vote for a bombing halt in North Vietnam.

On November 1, 1968, just a few days before the national election, President Johnson went on nationwide television to announce an end to the bombing of North Vietnam. Mr. Johnson indicated he thought the bombing halt might lead to substantive progress at the Paris peace talks, which had dragged through the long summer with no apparent progress. There was speculation that Hanoi was waiting to see what the results of the American election would be—hoping perhaps that a new President might bring new directions that would move our policy away from the hard line taken by President Johnson.

On November 6 there was a break in Paris. The United States and North Vietnam agreed to expand the peace talks, to include participation by representatives of the South Vietnamese government and the National Liberation Front, which made up the political arm of the Viet Cong.

But South Vietnamese officials decided to boycott the peace talks until they felt the situation was favorable for them.

Then ensued ten weeks of wrangling. While troops continued to slaughter each other on the battlefields of Vietnam, the Asian need for “face” was demonstrated in discussions over who would sit where at the Paris conference table. South Vietnamese representatives were reluctant to sit at the same table with NLF representatives, fearing it would give them equal status. The Reds, of course, kept pushing for equal status for all parties in the negotiations.

1968 ended with a Communist demand for a round peace table in Paris. In Vietnam, the year ended with an announcement that American combat deaths had gone over thirty thousand.

On January 1, 1969, the Reds—with much publicity—freed three United States servicemen, Donald Smith, Thomas Jones, and James Brigham. Observers hoped this might mean an easing of the deadlock in Paris and a lowering in the scale of fighting. But the Communists continued their violations of the so-called Demilitarized Zone, or DMZ, even during the New Year’s truce they declared. (The United States and South Vietnam, remembering the Tet attacks of the year be-

fore, refused to recognize a truce for the 1969 New Year.)

On January 14, 1969, there were signs of a possible new breakthrough, when South Vietnam’s Premier Tran Van Huong proposed that United States troops start a gradual withdrawal phased at the rate of ten to twenty thousand a month. In a statement on January 1, President Thieu had suggested that his government’s army would be ready to replace part of the Allied force during 1969.

Van Huong also started the ball rolling again on the Paris peace talks, by saying his government was willing to negotiate with the NLF under two conditions. First, the Front must reaffirm it is not a product of the North Vietnamese government, and, second, the NLF must not claim to be the legal representative of South Vietnam.

There remained only the problem of what shape the actual conference table would take. Agreement on that came on January 16, when it was announced that the four delegations (United States, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the National Liberation Front) were to sit at a circular table (diameter 13 feet 1½ inches) without nameplates, flags, or markings. Two rectangular tables were to be placed exactly 18 inches from either side of the circular table for use of the delegations’ secretarial staffs.

But the weeks continued to go by without any outward sign of progress at the peace talks. Henry Cabot Lodge succeeded Averell Harriman as United States representative at the peace table, and Harriman got a moving reception at Andrews Air Force Base, outside Washington, when he returned at the age of seventy-seven from what was probably his final mission for the United States.

On February 23, the Communists started what was described as a major new offensive throughout South Vietnam, hitting major cities in rocket attacks. United States and Allied troops mounted a huge counteroffensive in March, and hopes for an early peace faded when—on March 14—President Nixon said he saw no early prospect for a reduction of American forces.

American combat deaths in Vietnam reached a historic high in late March, when they exceeded the number of combat deaths suffered in Korea. The total of American fatalities in Vietnam since January 1, 1961, rose to 33,641. Korean casualties had been 33,629.

A little more than a month after President Nixon gave his gloomy prediction on force reduction, however, he said (April 18) that chances for peace had improved.

On May 1, Vermont’s Senator Aiken, backed by Senators Hugh Scott, Mike Mansfield, Edward Kennedy, Jacob Javits, and Charles Percy, proposed that the United States start immediate troop withdrawals. A week later, the NLF presented a peace plan containing ten points. It called for withdrawal of US and Allied troops from Vietnam, the holding of free elections, and the ultimate establishment of a coalition government.

Six days later, President Nixon proposed an eight-point plan, with some features similar to those of the Communist proposals. He called for mutual withdrawal of the major portions of US, Allied, and North Vietnamese troops, and internationally supervised elections. Under the Nixon plan, each "significant" group in South Vietnam—which was taken to include the National Liberation Front—would be ensured a real opportunity to participate in the political life of the nation. The NLF reaction was to denounce the troop pullout plan as inadequate, but it did not reject the whole program out of hand. Ambassador Lodge said on May 22 that similarities between the Nixon eight-point plan and the NLF ten-point plan could provide a basis for substantive discussion between the two sides.

In the meantime, troops were fighting for control of Apbia peak in Vietnam. The peak became known as "Hamburger Hill" because it chewed up so many of our troops like hamburger, with heavy casualties on all sides. The mountain was about one mile east of the border of Laos. The American commander who called it "essential" ordered the hill abandoned only eight days after its capture.

Senator Kennedy called the fight for Apbia "senseless and irresponsible." In a Senate speech on May 20, 1969, he said, "President Nixon has told us without question that we seek no military victory, that we seek only peace. How then can we justify sending out boys against a hill a dozen times or more—until soldiers themselves

question the madness of the action? American lives are too valuable to be sacrificed for military pride." His words seemed to many to reflect the mood of a large part of the American population.

Finally, there came a dramatic announcement that President Nixon would fly to Midway for a meeting with South Vietnamese President Thieu. At that meeting (June 8) Mr. Nixon announced that United States troops would begin limited withdrawals from South Vietnam—being replaced by South Vietnamese troops whose training and proficiency had been steadily increasing.

The Midway announcement said that 25,000 troops would be brought back to the United States by August 31, with pullout to start in thirty days.

The President said: "I want to emphasize that no action will be taken which threatens the safety of our troops and the troops of our allies, and second, no action will be taken which endangers the attainment of our objective: the right of self-determination for the people of South Vietnam."

When the withdrawal plans were announced, there were 540,000 American troops in Vietnam. Now some of them were going home. It might be only a few thousand at first, but the trend had reversed. By mid-1969, there seemed to be some progress at the Paris peace talks; observers in Vietnam reported a drop in infiltration by guerrillas from North Vietnam; and at least some American soldiers and marines were on their way out of the war. The nation was cautious, but optimistic.

Women burn draft cards of sons and husbands in a demonstration at Foley Square in front of the Federal Courthouse in New York City, to protest continuation of the war in Vietnam.





Being careful of possible booby traps, a soldier digs up an enemy cache of ammunition near a riverbank. Viet Cong forces sometimes hid hundreds of tons of supplies underground, for use by their guerrilla forces.

Villagers in the Montagnard area take rice to a waiting helicopter from fields near villages they have had to abandon. Special Forces mercenaries provided security while the rice was being harvested, then taken to the Montagnard's new home in a more secure region twelve miles away.

The value of training. A soldier with the title of "pararescueman" drops from a 'copter in a practice rescue exercise at Pleiku Air Base in Vietnam. This type of specialized training has paid off in the thousands of men plucked from danger in the midst of combat.





Above: North Vietnamese soldiers are herded toward questioning after they are flushed out of a building by South Vietnamese Rangers in the village of Bien Hoa. The town has been under frequent attack by Communist forces.

Bottom center: A-1 Skyraiders being armed before takeoff at Bien Hoa Airport, sixteen miles from Saigon. This airport averages more than 67,000 landings and departures every month, 10,000 more than Chicago's O'Hare Airport, billed as the busiest in the world.

Below: During "Operation Bald Mariner," United States Marines round up Viet Cong suspects, some of them with children. American officials say women are often recruited into enemy battalions as soldiers or used as village informers.





A wounded Viet Cong is dragged across open ground during enemy firing. Officials noted a decrease in the number of battles as 1969 wore on, but each battle remained just as fierce to those taking part in it.

Three American soldiers, released by the Viet Cong on New Year's Day, are marched by their captors across a field to freedom. The former prisoners are, from left to right, PFC Donald Smith, Spec. 4 Thomas N. Janes, and Spec. 4 James Brigham.





Not all the wounded are in the military. A weeping Vietnamese woman tries to help her husband, injured in the fighting between Communist and US forces fifty-three miles from Saigon, near Tay Ninh.



Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird is greeted by the commanding general of US forces in Vietnam, General Creighton Abrams, on a flying trip to the war zone, in March of 1969. Shortly afterward, Secretary Laird warned the Reds that there would be an "appropriate response" if heavy Communist shelling continued.



In a try at personal diplomacy, President Nixon holds meetings at Wake Island with South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu. From this and other meetings grew the Administration's conviction that South Vietnamese troops could begin to shoulder more of the fighting load.

Some New York politicians, unionists, and former GIs join antiwar parade on New York City's Avenue of the Americas on April 5.





Some of North Vietnam's chief peace negotiators sit at the conference table in the French Foreign Ministry's International Conference Center in Paris, in May of 1969. Chief negotiator Xuan Thuy is in the center; the smiles of other negotiators did not alter the fact that talks were often acrimonious, and always slow.

In expanded peace talks, all delegates sit at a round table, to give no one group an advantage. In foreground is the United States delegation, with Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge turning his head to face camera. The National Liberation Front (political wing of the Viet Cong) group sits at left, the South Vietnamese at right, and the North Vietnamese delegation in the background.





The style of the civil rights movement grows angrier. Civil rights groups such as the National Welfare Rights Organization no longer asked for help; they demanded it.

6. Civil Rights: The Ghetto Revolt

IN THE YEAR FROM June 1968 to June 1969 a new philosophy emerged and dominated the struggle for civil rights—economic goals for the blacks through self-help. A powerful minority trend continued in force, marked by militancy and antiwhite separatism.

Many of the legal goals of the movement had been reached, although the Justice Department continued filing civil rights suits in schooling, employment, housing, and public accommodations. The persistent poverty that underlay Negro bitterness and frustration was still there. The Office of Economic Opportunity reported that 4 million persons in 1968 had been lifted over the “poverty line,” but the unemployment rate among the nation’s 22 million Negroes was nearly twice as high as among whites. The average Negro family’s income was 59 percent of the average white family’s income. Racial integration was no longer stressed by most Negro leaders as the immediate primary goal for the movement. They said the Negroes needed better housing, jobs, education, and training for better jobs. They said Negroes wanted the opportunity to become business owners and managers as well as wage earners. Former Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) director Floyd McKissick explained: “We thought that integration would solve the problem of racism. It didn’t. Now blacks are more interested in opportunities or chances to solve their own problems. Only blacks can solve their own problems, and the way is through jobs and business opportunities.”

The new emphasis on economic goals and self-reliance led the movement in several directions. The Poor People’s Campaign in Washington in the spring and early summer of 1968 dramatized the fact that poverty and the Negro were almost synonymous. The Reverend Ralph Abernathy, leader of the campaign, got promises of reforms from federal agencies. These included an expanded food-distribution program, changes in welfare guidelines, and new provisions for the poor to participate in local

operations of some government programs. Instead of fighting for legal rights, Negro leaders and organizations became involved more and more in struggles for black political and economic power.

Negroes demonstrated for better welfare programs. Leaders talked of revising the whole approach. The Reverend Ralph Abernathy, director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), called for a guaranteed income. John Morsell of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) proposed that the government guarantee jobs—as did the old WPA. Black students demonstrated for black studies programs and a voice in choosing the topics and teachers. Black and Puerto Rican students in many city high schools and colleges demanded that the schools be more responsive to ghetto needs. They wanted better-informed teachers, more teachers of their own kind, economic assistance, and orientation programs and remedial courses to make up for poor ghetto schooling.

Negroes and Puerto Ricans called for more control in the affairs of their communities. Government and private industry pledged money to encourage Negro-owned businesses and housing. The Ford Foundation on September 28 pledged \$10 million dollars and unspecified future sums for Negro business development, integrated housing projects, and the purchase of land for recreation. Several large banks and life-insurance companies announced plans to make mortgage and loan funds available for housing and redevelopment projects in minority neighborhoods and urban slums. Groups of Negro businessmen in many cities announced plans to develop businesses and housing for ghetto residents—such as the purchase of seven acres in St. Louis to build a \$698,000 shopping center for a nearby housing project. In June the National Urban League approved a “new thrust” program to develop Negro economic, social, and political power in the ghetto. Director Whitney Young

said "new thrust" represented a change of emphasis for his organization from service to community action.

Ralph Abernathy led his followers into a labor fight in March. Charleston, South Carolina, hospital workers, mostly Negro women, struck for the right to unionize. Abernathy's appearance at a mass rally in support of this strike marked its conversion to a major civil rights effort. One year earlier, Martin Luther King had done the same thing when he entered the Memphis garbage workers' strike. The sanitation force, 90 percent black, had struck for higher wages and for a union. It cost King his life, but the SCLC in these two campaigns merged the civil rights movement with the labor movement in pursuit of economic goals for black men.

Demonstrating their ballot power, Negroes in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant elected Mrs. Shirley Chisholm as the first black woman to Congress. In Mississippi Charles Evers, winning the Democratic nomination for mayor of Fayette, spearheaded a determined black drive throughout the state in municipal elections. More than 175 black candidates qualified for primaries. Fourteen won and twelve more won the right to runoff elections in several Mississippi towns. Attorney General Ramsey Clark (in the Johnson Administration) quipped to a conference of two hundred black elected officials from eleven southern states that "four years ago this meeting could have been held in a phone booth."

Negroes and Puerto Ricans were not always successful in their attempts to exercise community control. They clashed headlong with the United Federation of Teachers in New York City when the local school board of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville ghetto of Brooklyn tried to fire nineteen teachers and administrators. Union president Albert Shanker claimed that their rights had been violated. Asserting that community control over schools was impossible without protection for union teachers, the UFT struck and closed the New York City school system for most of the fall term until November 19. In the final strike settlement the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school board was suspended.

Within the civil rights movement there was a growth of activism and militancy. Black-power factions appeared in most of the traditional organizations. New black militant organizations grew stronger, stressing activist tactics and black separatism. At the NAACP national convention of June 24-29, "Young Turk" and "Old Guard" factions struggled over future policy and programs. The "Old Guard" won, and the militant younger delegates walked out. A month later, in an apparent power struggle, Floyd McKissick, director of CORE, took a medical leave of absence. Roy Innis replaced him, and CORE then adopted a new constitution that advocated black nationalism and barred white membership. The "new thrust" program of the Urban League pledged that organization to more direct action than ever before. Sterling Tucker, head of the program, called it a "constructive black power effort." White newsmen were barred from

the third National Conference on Black Power held in Philadelphia from August 29 to September 1. Four thousand delegates unanimously approved resolutions calling for a Negro political party to seek social change, immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, draft resistance by Negro youths, creation of an urban Negro army for self-protection, community control of schools in Negro neighborhoods, and the takeover of "all businesses in the black community by any means necessary."

The Black Panthers grew to be one of the most important militant organizations in the Negro movement. Its membership swelled from a few hundred to thousands in many cities. National attention focused on violent confrontations between Panthers and police in California, New York, and New Jersey. Charging police brutality and harassment, Panther leaders urged Negroes to arm for revolution. Huey Newton, a Panther founder, was tried and convicted of manslaughter in September for the fatal shooting of an Oakland, California, policeman. Panther Eldridge Cleaver, who ran for President, fled the country to avoid arrest for taking part in another shootout with Oakland police. In New York City, twenty-one Panthers were arrested and indicted on April 3 for plotting to bomb five Manhattan department stores, Pennsylvania Station, and a police headquarters.

Rivalries with other militant groups generated armed conflict. After a stormy meeting in July, an alliance with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) ruptured. The *New York Post* reported that the Panther delegates pulled guns. A SNCC leader claimed Panthers shot at him behind his Washington, D.C., headquarters on September 8. Two Panther leaders were slain on January 17 at a student meeting at the University of California in Los Angeles. Their comrades accused a rival Negro group, US, of "political assassination." Police arrested US members George and Larry Stiner, and arraigned the brothers on murder charges on January 23.

The style of the civil rights movement grew angrier. Many Negroes and Spanish-Americans felt that the plight of their people was too desperate to ask for relief. They demanded it. Negro students demanded black studies programs and black teachers. At Cornell they backed up their demands with guns on April 20, and at Voorhees University in Denmark, South Carolina, on April 29. Neither incident led to shooting, but one student was killed and five police injured in an exchange of fire at predominantly Negro North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University from May 21 to 23. Black and Puerto Rican students closed the City College of New York, and issued an ultimatum that the college accept students from New York City ghettos without respect to grades. In early May, James Forman, director of the National Black Economic Development Corporation (NBEDC), demanded that United States churches and synagogues pay \$500 million to his organization as reparations for damages done to Negroes. A month later

Roy Innis demanded \$6 billion in reparations from banks. George Wiley and a delegation from his National Welfare Rights Organization on May 25 interrupted a convention of welfare workers in New York City to advocate his philosophy that "it's not a privilege to be on welfare, but a right." He demanded \$35,000 to help him organize welfare recipients.

Despite the popularity of militancy and threatening rhetoric, there was less racial violence from June 1968 to June 1969 than in the previous twelve months. There were many small outbreaks, but nothing to compare with Watts in 1965 or Newark and Detroit of 1967. The most serious outbreak was in Cleveland from July 23 to 24. There, eleven persons died in a gun battle between armed black extremists and police. It was not a spontaneous outbreak, but the first reported case in which black extremists mounted a planned attack in a major United States city. Snipers of the Black Nationalists of New Libya, led by Ahmed Fred Evans, head of an anti-poverty project, fired on police. Brief racial trouble followed in which \$1.5 million of property was damaged. Quick restoration of order was widely credited to the Negro mayor, Carl Stokes.

In Miami the Republican Convention was embarrassed by two days of rioting in which three persons died and hundreds were arrested—this despite the pleas of Ralph Abernathy to "cool it." In Los Angeles during the week of August 12, six persons were killed and more than fifty injured in racial trouble connected with the third annual Watts Festival held to commemorate the riot.

Racial unrest led to the arrest of two hundred persons in Chicago Negro neighborhoods from April 4 to 6 during ceremonies commemorating the first anniversary of the death of Martin Luther King. There were also scattered incidents of minor looting and arson in Washington and Memphis during commemoration ceremonies.

Widespread racial violence has raised many questions about American society. Many government and private studies have been commissioned to answer these questions. Their published findings filled the year with dramatic reports about the causes of urban riots, Negro discontent, the attitude of American white society, and the future.

The President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder (called the Kerner Commission) was formed by President Johnson in 1967 to determine what caused urban riots and how to prevent them. The commission published several studies on July 27, concluding: Urban riots are a form of social protest by Negroes against ghetto conditions; riots are increasingly accepted by Negroes as justifiable; riots are not perpetrated by a

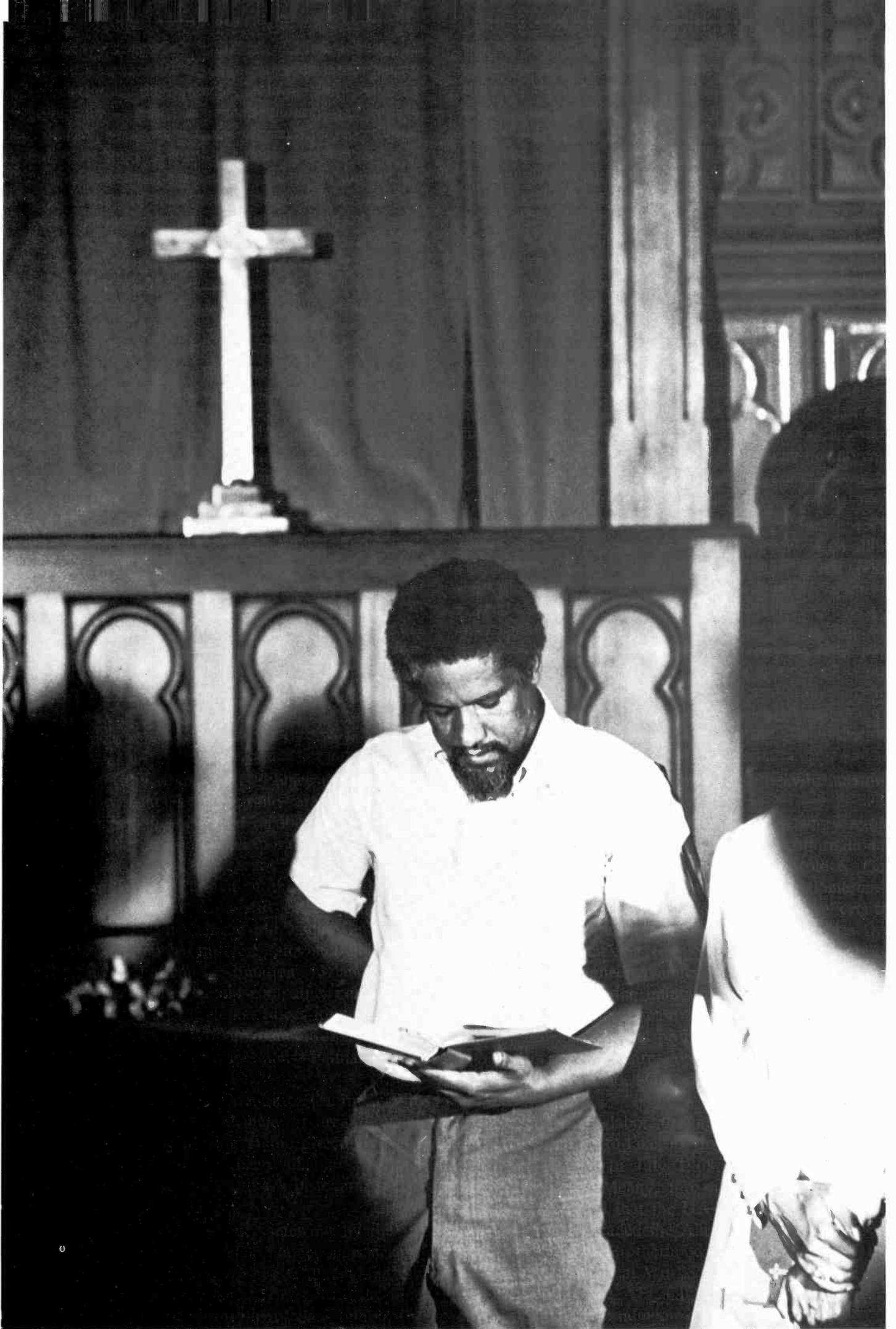
handful of riffraff or outside agitators. In its first report a few months earlier, the Kerner Commission had warned that America "is moving toward two societies: one black, one white—separate and unequal." The commission blamed "white racism" for the discrimination, poverty, and frustrations in the Negro ghetto. The commission members recommended a massive national American commitment: fundamental reforms in federal and local law enforcement, welfare, employment, housing, education, and the news media.

A report from the University of Chicago on July 17 warned that if present trends continued, America by 1985 would be a society characterized largely by geographic as well as economic separation of the races. Population projections showed that central cities would have 10 million more nonwhites (a 94 percent increase) and the suburbs 53.9 million more whites (a 104 percent increase).

The National Commission on Urban Problems on December 5 reported the conclusions that urban disorders were caused by: (1) the movement of Negroes "from a scattered and inarticulate rural status to a crowded, increasing political and socially conscious force"; (2) the difference in status between Negroes and the vast majority of Americans in an affluent society. The report said the ghetto needed better schools, streets, lighting, play areas, sanitation facilities and service, and transportation.

On the first anniversary of the murder of Senator Robert Kennedy, another presidential commission, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, reported that Americans were a "bloody-minded people in both action and reaction." The study documented a violent American tradition with various interest groups using violence to gain their ends. The tradition had been obscured, the report said, by a "kind of historical amnesia." The authors also wrote that the 1960's were one of the most violent eras in American history because "some fundamental grievances in the United States have not only gone unresolved but have intensified in recent years."

At the beginning of the summer of 1969, these fundamental grievances were still unresolved. Despite all the reports and recommendations, Negroes and other nonwhite Americans still regarded themselves as deprived. The massive commitment recommended by the Kerner Commission had not been fulfilled. All the efforts to eliminate poverty and racism seemed barely to scratch the surface. The question was: Would Negro frustration and bitterness explode into another national outburst of violence—perhaps worse than ever before.



James Foreman, director of the Black Economic Development Corporation, in May demands \$500 million in reparations for Negroes from the nation's churches and synagogues.



Top left: The Black Panthers grow to be the most important militant organization in the Negro movement. Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver ran for President, and then fled the country to avoid arrest for his part in a shootout with Oakland, California, police.

Top right: These Panthers raise their fists in the black-power salute at a federal courthouse in California. They are demonstrating against the arrest of Bobby Seale, a national leader of the organization.

Right: National attention focuses on the Panthers during a series of violent confrontations with police in several states. These two are asked to unload their weapons at the state capital building in Olympia, Washington. They did.





In Mississippi, Charles Evers wins the Democratic mayoral primary in May. Evers led a black drive to win municipal elections throughout the state. More than 175 black candidates ran in the primaries.



Top right: In the most violent racial incident of the year, eleven persons die on July 23-24, including this policeman and two others, in a gun battle between police and the Black Nationalists of New Libya, a black extremist group, in Cleveland.

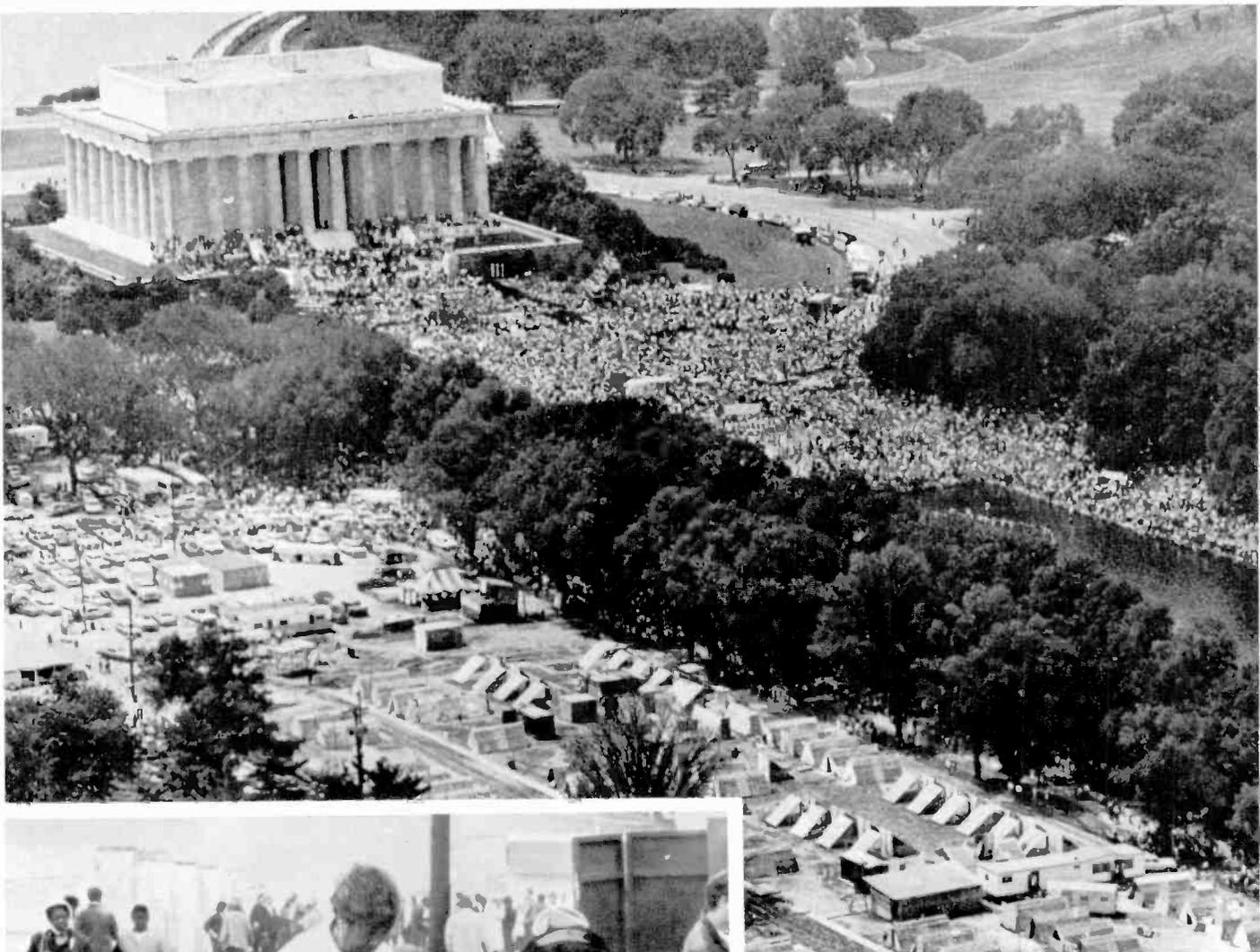
Above: Floyd McKissick (left) and Whitney Young, chairman of the Urban League, at the national convention of CORE in July 1968. McKissick apparently lost a power struggle at the convention with the more militant Roy Innis. He took a medical leave of absence.



Left: Roy Innis emerges as the new leader from the July 1968 CORE national convention. After his emergence the organization adopted a more militant constitution and barred white membership.



Mrs. Shirley Chisholm unveils a plaque in New York City in a ceremony commemorating a seventeenth-century black hero. Negroes in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section elected her as the first black woman to Congress.



The Poor People's Campaign in Washington in the spring and summer of 1968 dramatizes that poverty and the Negro are almost synonymous. The climax of the campaign comes as thousands of marchers converged on the Lincoln Memorial on "Solidarity Day." In the foreground are the tents of "Resurrection City."



The Poor People's Campaign is not a large success. It suffers from disunity, inattention from the federal government, and heavy rains that at times made "Resurrection City" unlivable.



Above: Part of the emphasis on black power is a movement for Negroes to gain more political power. One of the first important black elected officials is Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes (left foreground) seated next to Chicago Mayor Richard Daley at a presidential meeting with United States mayors in April.



Right: Following in the footsteps of his predecessor and mentor, Martin Luther King, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy continues to lead his Southern Christian Leadership Conference into labor struggles for higher pay and better working conditions for Negro workers. Here he is leading a sitdown of striking Atlanta garbage workers in September.



The Rev. Ralph Abernathy also led many demonstrations in the long strike of Charleston, South Carolina, hospital workers. Here, National guardsmen force their way through strikers to guard the main entrance of the Medical College Hospital.



Noted pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock and his wife arrive at the Federal Building in Boston where his case is under appeal. He and three other men were convicted and sentenced for conspiracy to help young men evade the draft. He said the charge violated his civil rights.



Mrs. Annie Chaplin, who has lived much of her eighty-two years in the Frogmore Community of Beaufort, South Carolina, will get free food stamps under a new relief program aimed at alleviating some of the hardships of the poor.

7. The Economy: Business and Labor

THE TERM "CREDIT CRUNCH" became the best known phrase in the business community from mid-1968 to mid-1969, with "conglomerate" probably taking second place.

At mid-1968, fears of a recession seemed to have ended, and now the economy was skyrocketing toward such new highs that the fear became that of inflation. Prices rose to a record high; the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the Department of Labor reported that the cost-of-living index moved to heights never before reached.

Corporate profits moved onto new plateaus. The United States auto industry, a bellwether for the economy, reported its second-best year in history for 1968. The four top manufacturers—Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, and American Motors—produced 8,843,000 automobiles in the year, and there seemed to be no diminution of the market.

In 1968 the total United States personal income rose from the 1967 record of \$628.8 billion to \$685.8 billion. That other hardy indicator of the economy, the Gross National Product, or GNP, moved up to almost \$900 billion in 1968, with indications that it was going even higher in the full year of 1969. Rates for the first quarter of 1969 were far above estimates.

At first glance, it looked like a rosy picture, but the government's economists were obviously afraid that things were getting out of hand. President Johnson met with his economic advisers, and urged an income-tax surcharge to slow down the economy. Lawmakers hesitated at first, but finally, on July 1, 1968, a 10 percent surcharge went into effect. It meant that all taxpayers would be adding 10 percent to whatever tax they figured they owed the government, and the idea seemed to put the brakes on, at least for a short while.

By the end of the year, the incoming Commerce Secretary—Maurice H. Stans—was quoted as saying he

was hopeful the surcharge might be cut in half by the end of the fiscal year.

It was not to be. At mid-1969 the Nixon Administration was pleading with Congress to extend the full 10 percent surcharge to keep inflationary tendencies down. The House, by a squeaker, voted for the extension, although it was reported that President Nixon had to make promises that tax loopholes would be closed on the regular income tax.

The Senate was more stubborn. Senator Russell Long said he wanted to hold full hearings on tax reform, and give the public a chance to be heard, before he would recommend that the full Senate extend the surcharge.

The cry for tax reform had been growing throughout 1968 and early 1969—especially after a series of articles publicizing the fact that there were some millionaires in the United States who had paid no taxes at all. There were calls for drastic changes in the tax laws. As usual, the 22½ percent oil-depletion allowance came in for much talk, as it had every time tax reform had been discussed. Up to now, nothing had been done to change the loopholes to any great degree, but this year, with a new Administration and a Congress that had been hearing from the folks back home, it looked as if some meaningful tax reform might be under way.

In the meantime, the interest rates kept rising. On April 3, 1969, the Federal Reserve raised its discount rate—the rate at which the 6,000 member banks borrow from the Federal Reserve System—from 5½ percent to 6 percent. That was the highest discount rate in forty years. Federal Reserve Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., kept warning that a financial crisis was brewing, and said it was necessary for the "Fed" to keep discount rates high to discourage banks from lending.

And the banks seemed to go along with Martin. By

the middle of 1969, the country's biggest banks were charging 8½ percent as their prime rate—that is, the amount of interest they charged on loans to their best customers. Smaller customers, corporation and individual, were paying even higher rates.

Chairman Wright Patman of the House Banking Committee, who had in years past called Martin the “costliest public servant in the world,” again took issue with the idea that higher interest rates stop the inflationary spiral. In Patman’s estimation, higher interest rates can feed inflation. He said companies continue to borrow money, then charge higher prices for their products to pay off the loans. Workers demand higher wages to be able to pay the higher prices and—Patman said—the spiral continues upward.

House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills—the man who could make or break any tax changes—seemed to be moving in the direction of tax reform, even though he had been adamant that tax changes should be linked to a cutback in federal spending and a lower federal budget.

The federal budget was cut somewhat by the incoming Nixon Administration. The budget suggested by President Johnson was cut by \$4 billion, but it was still a hefty \$192.9 billion. President Nixon said at the time that the new budget and its surplus of \$5.8 billion, the largest since 1951, would “speak louder than any words to the business and labor communities in this country and to the world that the United States is determined to bring a halt to the inflationary spiral which has seriously affected our economy these last four years.”

That may be, but at mid-1969, Federal Reserve Chairman Martin was warning that he might favor even stronger curbs to bring inflation under control. Martin said at a bankers’ meeting in Denmark that he might support voluntary credit controls, a higher surtax, or some form of “forced savings.”

Such warnings, plus reports that the government might be “looking into” the idea of wage and price controls, gave Wall Street the jitters, and the market gyrated, trying to find solid bottom. But even so, it was buoyed by the memory of a banner year in 1968. The number of shares traded on the New York Stock Exchange in 1968 rose to a new record of just under 3 billion. Business was so heavy, in fact, that both the American Exchange and the Big Board agreed in January of 1969 to limit their trading days by an hour and a half so that the backlog paperwork could be caught up.

Mergers made big news during 1968 and 1969, as more companies gathered themselves into what came to be called “conglomerates.” The trend drew the interest of the Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission. In April of 1969, the FTC, after a nine-month study, came out with a requirement that henceforth it would require major corporations to give it sixty days’

notice before merging with or buying heavily into another company.

The government intervention drew an angry retort from the chairman and president of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, Harold S. Geneen. IT&T was already one of the largest conglomerates, and Geneen pledged it would fight government efforts to keep it from getting larger. He charged the Justice Department was attacking conglomerates on the basis of bigness alone. Geneen claimed the big, efficient companies help fight price inflation here, and are able to earn dollars abroad to ease America’s balance-of-payments problem. The real problem, said Geneen, is that government agencies are constantly proliferating. “In other words,” he said, “Government Conglomerates.”

In the field of labor, the big story was the decision by Walter Reuther to take his United Auto Workers out of the AFL-CIO. In July 1968, after years of feuding with George Meany, top man of the AFL-CIO, Reuther announced that the UAW was going to start a new labor group, called the Alliance for Labor Action. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the International Chemical Workers Union both joined the new group, and the AFL-CIO almost immediately accused the ALA of raiding.

Another labor merger was achieved by railroad unions. Effective January 1, 1969, representatives of four railway operating unions formed themselves into the United Transportation Union—289,000 strong. A joint statement said that “the shrinking railroad industry” no longer made it possible for individual unions to meet the demands of the future. The merged unions included the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the Order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen, and the Switchmen’s Union. A fifth United States rail union—the unaffiliated Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—decided to continue to go it alone, and declined an invitation to join the merger.

The Labor Department reported wage and fringe benefits negotiated during 1968 were at record levels. In settlement contracts covering about 4½ million of the almost 11 million workers under major labor contracts, there was a median increase of 6.6 percent annually in wages and benefits over the life of the contract, with wages alone making an average rise of 5.1 percent.

There were still labor-management disputes. The strike of California grape pickers continued throughout the period, with labor unions across the nation generally backing a boycott of stores selling California grapes.

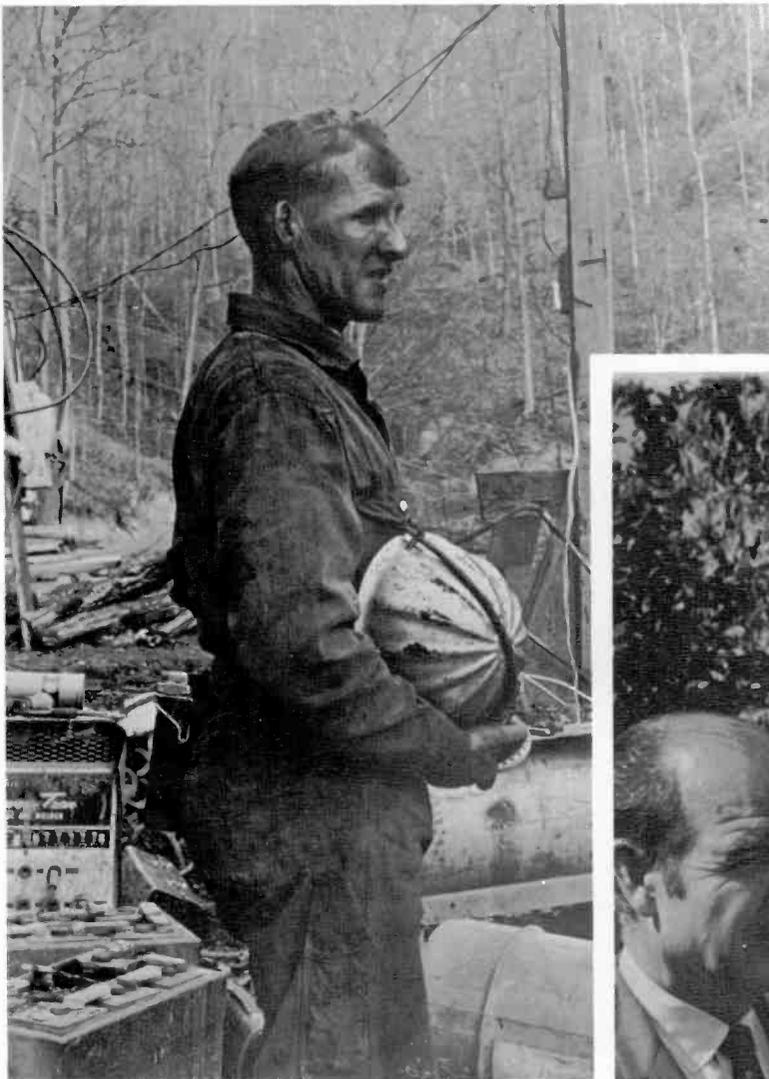
A month-long strike by West Virginia coal miners led to legal recognition by the state of black-lung disease (pneumoconiosis) as a compensable occupational disease. In Charleston, South Carolina, striking hospital

workers got national attention when the Reverend Ralph Abernathy was jailed for joining them. And striking dockworkers made a new record for themselves, too—the latest work stoppage on the Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports lasted 103 days in the spring of 1969. Estimates of the cost to the national economy of the strike (called mainly to protest containerization and automated methods) ran to \$2 billion.

When the Council of Economic Advisers begged for a holdback on wage demands, to stop inflationary trends, AFL-CIO head George Meany said that lower profit

margins by manufacturers rather than wage curbs promote economic stability.

Inflation or no, the rate of unemployment dropped to a new low—it was down to 3.3 percent in November, the lowest since 1953. And the Council of Economic Advisers had a hopeful prediction. It said that poverty in the United States could be eliminated in six to eight years, if only “a relatively small redistribution” of income growth were undertaken. How to achieve that redistribution seemed to be the big question in mid-1969.



One of the miners of Appalachia, whose jobs are threatened by automation and their health by “black lung.” These men cling to the hilly land with the desperate feeling that “there’s nowhere else to go.” Despite federal money poured into Appalachia, the region continued poor in terms of schools, medical services, and real income for the residents.

Senator George McGovern, left, visits a farm labor camp near Fort Myers, Florida, as part of an extensive investigation into the plight of migrant farmworkers.





Twelve ships lie idle in the Port of Newark, part of the hundreds tied up by a Gulf and Atlantic Coast shipping strike by langsharemen. The strike was keyed by a dispute over hiring practices and the increasing use of containerized cargo ships that cut down the number of langshare jobs.



Grape pickers of the Imperial Valley in California make an eight-day one-hundred-mile march to support their strike against growers of table grapes. A boycott against sales of California grapes—supported by labor organizations across the country—cut deeply into national sales.

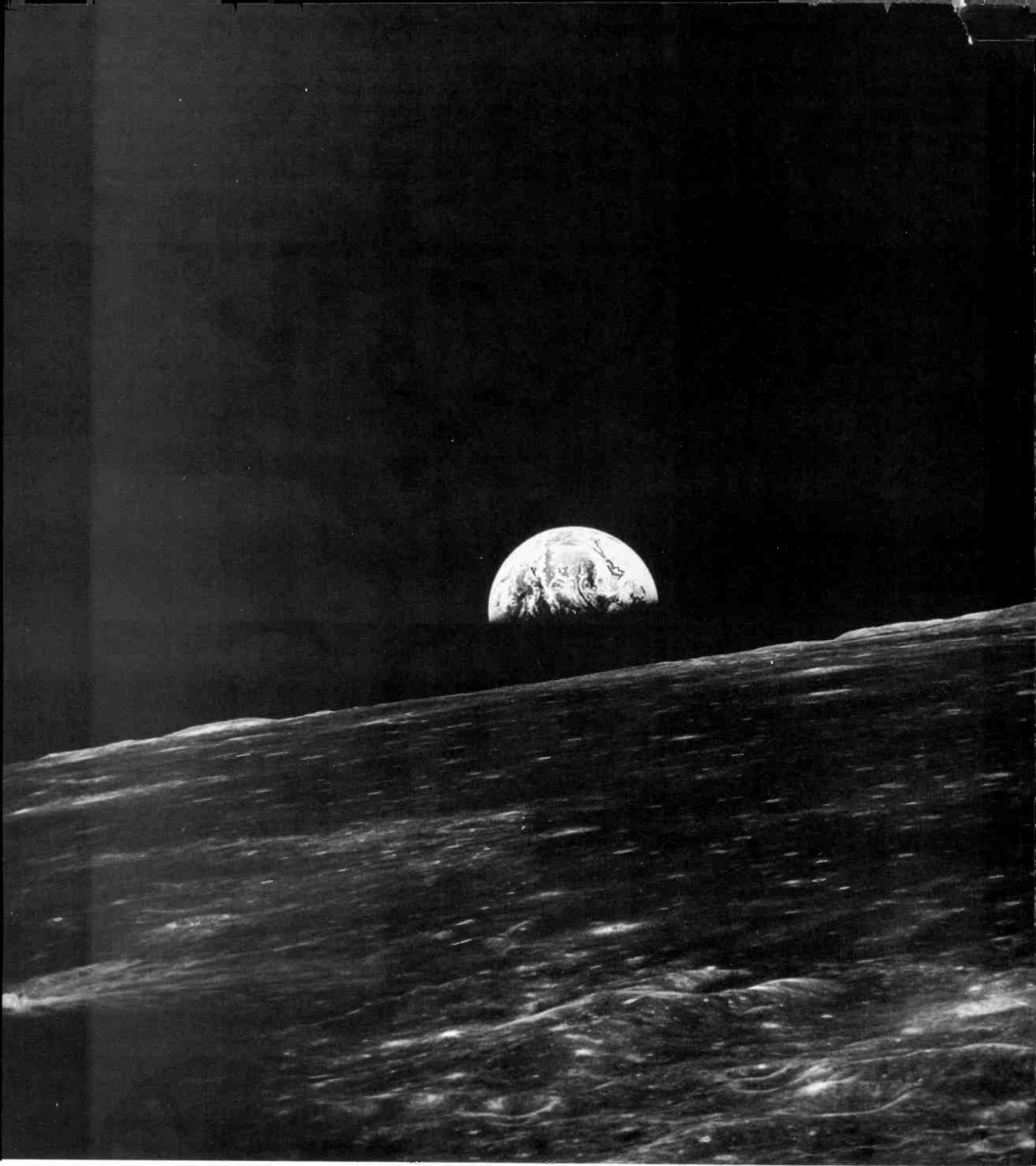
A West Virginia Representative, Ken Heckler, at left, talks to disabled coal miners in Washington. He called for heightened support by the United Mine Workers Union for stronger safety and compensation laws.



Opposite center: Secretary of the Treasury David M. Kennedy, center, appears with Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., left, before the Senate in their successful attempt to urge extension of the income-tax surcharge, claiming it would help to prevent increasing inflation.



On the floor of the New York Exchange's first major expansion in forty-seven years are Exchange President Robert Haack, left, and Board Chairman Bernard Lasker. The \$5,000,000 addition will provide a 20 percent increase in trading facilities.



The first "earth-rise" ever photographed by man. This dramatic picture was taken by the crew of Apollo 8 just as they were beginning their 240,000-mile return to earth.

8. Space

WHEN THE HISTORY OF man's conquest of space is written, the year just preceding the first flight onto the moon will loom large. From mid-1968 to mid-1969 America and the world were armchair witnesses to a series of significant achievements in the Apollo program of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). The giant civilian agency, with its mandate dating back to President Kennedy to "go to the moon by 1970," drove to success after success. The space achievements of these months, Apollos 7, 8, 9, and 10, became a symbolic countdown for the fantastic adventure—a moon landing—that lay ahead.

In September of 1968 Apollo 7 became the first manned flight of the Apollo program. In effect it achieved what the ill-fated Apollo 1 mission was supposed to have accomplished back in January of 1967.

In contrast to that tragedy in which astronauts Chaffee, Grissom, and White perished, Apollo 7, with astronauts Walter M. Schirra, R. Walter Cunningham, and Donn F. Eisele aboard, became a rousing success. For nearly eleven days the three men flew in an orbit around the earth . . . a sort of "test-drive" for the Apollo system. This shakedown flight included the first in a series of televised performances from outer space. The pictures were of good quality, and the "Wally, Walt and Donn" show became significant events in which the crew, among other things, demonstrated weightlessness by "floating" around inside their capsule. They also explained the many Apollo controls with appropriate demonstrations for audiences viewing at home.

Schirra, in particular, the spacecraft commander, spiced the TV transmissions with humor, holding up to the on-board camera such signs as "Keep those cards and letters coming, folks," and "Greetings from the beautiful Apollo Room high atop everything."

Apollo 8 was next . . . far more ambitious . . . much more complicated . . . out to orbit the moon. Astronaut Frank Borman headed the crew, which included James

A. Lovell and William A. Anders. So tricky was the flight to be that many scientists called it foolish and unnecessarily risky. To compound the feeling of unhappiness and concern, the Apollo 8 mission was scheduled for just before Christmas. The specter of a possible tragedy in outer space during the holiday season brought numerous newspaper editorials at home and abroad. But the launch date of December 21, 1969, had long been planned as the very best time to begin such a voyage (the moon's position being just right at that time), and the flight started on schedule.

After first circling the earth twice, Apollo 8 headed out toward the moon, more than a quarter of a million miles away. For the next sixty-six hours much of the world followed the progress of Apollo 8 as it carried the first men from the earth ever to come close to the moon. During Apollo 8 (as on previous and later flights) NASA again broadcast conversations between the astronauts and Mission Control at Houston, Texas, as they were taking place. In keeping with this completely open information policy, there were live telecasts from the Apollo command module during the flight—including the memorable sight of the earth as it became smaller in the distance . . . and the unforgettable picture (later memorialized on a United States postage stamp) of the tiny earth as seen over the lunar horizon.

On Christmas Eve, almost three days after leaving Cape Kennedy, Apollo 8 reached the vicinity of the moon. It then retrofired its big spacecraft Service Propulsion System rocket engine for four minutes, to slow it down and swing into orbit around the moon. For twenty hours (ten orbits) Apollo 8 circled the moon at a distance of sixty nautical miles above the surface (sixty-nine statute miles). The crew sent back TV pictures of the barren, pockmarked lunar surface, along with their description of what it was like to look down at the moon at such a close distance.

In addition to becoming the first men ever to orbit

the moon, the crew of Apollo 8 also became the first ever to see the far side of the moon; they set a world speed record of 25,000 miles an hour (the velocity needed to escape from the earth's gravitational pull); and an altitude (distance) record—at one point they were 233,000 miles from the earth.

The success of Apollo 8 buoyed NASA officials to give a go-ahead for the next step in America's race toward a moon landing—the first space test of a manned lunar module. Apollo 9, in March 1969, sent astronauts James A. McDivitt, David Scott, and Russell Schweickart into earth orbit for ten days. During those 151 revolutions around the earth McDivitt and Schweickart crawled from the command module through the hatch and tunnel into the lunar module that was attached to its "nose." They spent seven hours testing the LM engines, plus the navigation and life-support systems, after which Schweickart went outside through the other LM hatch . . . the one through which man would one day emerge to walk on the moon.

For a little over a half hour Schweickart stood on the LM's "front porch," testing the handrails and other moon-landing equipment such as the backpack life-support system, while McDivitt snapped his picture from inside the LM and Scott took pictures from inside the command module, which remained attached to the LM throughout.

When the "space walk" had ended, the two men detached the LM (nicknamed Spider) and flew it about one hundred miles away from the command module (called Gumdrop), and returned to a rendezvous and docking.

The success of Apollo 9 heralded the completion of flight testing for both the command module and the lunar module, and opened the door for man's first fully equipped approach to the moon.

The flight of Apollo 10 in May was aimed at achieving the last measure of testing needed before man was to make his historic first moon landing. The crew of astronauts Thomas P. Stafford, John W. Young, and Eugene A. Cernan were all experienced space pilots. Stafford and Young had each flown on two Gemini missions. And Cernan had flown aboard one Gemini capsule. For this flight the Command Module was nicknamed Charlie Brown and the Lunar Module was Snoopy. Before the eight-day flight had ended these two "comic-strip characters" had blazed still another new space trail.

Apollo 10 flew to the moon, orbited it for sixty-one hours at a height of about sixty-nine statute miles, and then Stafford and Cernan flew the LM called Snoopy down to a height of 47,000 feet above the lunar surface. That descent—to about nine statute miles above the moon—became man's closest approach to his nearest neighbor in space.

Apollo 10 proved several important items never tested before. It marked the first time the complete

Apollo "package" had been flown to the vicinity of the moon. The flight included the first test of the all-important landing radar aboard the LM, the system that tells the astronauts how close they are to the moon and at what rate of speed they are approaching it. The mission was also the first test of the LM's descent and ascent engines in the vicinity of the moon.

The Apollo 10 crew paved the way for the lunar landing mission by taking hundreds of pictures of the moon's surface, concentrating on the site where Apollo 11 was to land. They also provided excellent tracking information, including the newly learned fact that there are strange concentrations of mass here and there under the lunar surface. These "mascons" give the moon's gravitational field a slightly "bumpy" character that makes the orbit of anything around the moon wobble a bit. Mascons caused Snoopy (when it dipped down toward the moon) to fly over the lunar surface about five miles off course.

By the time Apollo 10 had made a successful landing in the Pacific Ocean near Pago Pago, Samoa, NASA's top officials had all but decided the next flight would make history's first lunar landing.

Later they did. And it did.

In addition to the great successes of the manned flights of Apollos 7, 8, 9, and 10, the 1968–1969 period saw the successful launch of a number of unmanned United States space probes. Three Explorer satellites were launched: Explorer 38, a radio-astronomy probe, has been monitoring radio emissions from Jupiter as well as signals from far outside our solar system; Explorer 39 and 40 are monitoring atmospheric density and charged particles that surround the earth in its upper atmosphere.

This period also included the successful launch into earth orbit of a satellite to study the geophysical properties of the earth's relationship to the sun (OGO-V). There was launched an orbiting astronomical observatory (OAO-II) that is sending back excellent data from its seven telescopes—enough to map 700 stars each day, from about 480 miles away from the earth, unobstructed by the earth's atmosphere.

Four new weather satellites were launched, all of them carrying cameras to send back detailed pictures of the earth's cloud cover and other data to make weather forecasts more accurate.

Three of these new ESSA satellites are sending down weather-map pictures that can be reproduced not only by weather stations but also by local TV stations, business firms, and even by private citizens around the world who have bought or built a relatively inexpensive receiving set.

Three new communications satellites were launched—two of them successful. During the 1968–1969 period, communications satellites brought live, into American home TV sets (among other events), the visit of Pope Paul VI to Geneva; the French election campaign, with

pictures of the defeated Charles de Gaulle; President Richard Nixon's trip to Europe; the Olympic Games in Mexico; and the investiture of Prince Charles of Great Britain as Prince of Wales.

In March and April of 1969 the United States sent two probes on a flight toward Mars. Mariner 6 and Mariner 7 were aimed at fly-bys of the "red planet" in July and August, to send back pictures at a distance of 2,000 miles from Mars. At the time, Mars was nearly 62 million miles away from the earth. The television pictures can determine whether there is any form of life on Mars, and whether man can live there.

In addition, there were many unannounced military satellite launchings during the 1968-1969 period. A continuing series of Air Force satellites was launched. Many of them were so-called "spy" satellites, which cross over Communist territory with regularity, returning electronic surveillance information and photos to United States intelligence organizations. In February of 1969 the Air Force launched its first tactical military-communications satellite. A number of military-research satellites were launched, as well as some monitoring satellites to warn of the launch of enemy missiles aimed at this country and others to report on nuclear testing in outer space.

A prime military space project became a victim of budgetary pressures in June 1969. The Manned Orbiting Laboratory (MOL) was eliminated by the Nixon Administration. The first MOL was to have been launched in 1972. It would have been a tanklike chamber attached to a Gemini capsule carrying a two-man crew. The budget cutters cited duplication of spending and effort in conjunction with the NASA orbital workshop project.

The NASA project will send three men into earth orbit inside an Apollo capsule attached to the third stage of its Saturn booster, whose fuel tank will become the workshop area after the fuel is used up. The program calls for the trio to stay aloft for as long as two months. The first launch will be in 1972. Among other projects, the space workshop will send up a large telescope to allow astronauts to study the sun and stars above the earth's atmosphere.

RUSSIA

The Soviet Union's space program continued to make progress in the 1968-1969 period. Following an eighteen-month halt in manned launches after the death of a cosmonaut, the Russians sent into orbit the unmanned Soyuz 2, and Soyuz 3 with a cosmonaut aboard, in October 1968. Cosmonaut Georgi Beregovii, aboard Soyuz 3, rendezvoused but did not link up with Soyuz 2.

In January 1969 Russia launched Soyuz 4 into earth orbit with one man aboard and Soyuz 5 with three. They performed a rendezvous and docking, after which

two of the three aboard Soyuz 5 transferred to Soyuz 4. Both landed after three days.

Late in 1968 Russia sent two unmanned probes around the moon and back. The first, Zond 5, carried a cargo of turtles, flies, worms, plants, and seeds, and took pictures of the moon. Zond 6 was almost a duplicate of its predecessor.

Then just prior to the launch of Apollo 11—in July 1969—the Soviets sent the unmanned Luna 15 to the moon, where it went into orbit. There was speculation that it would land, pick up and return to earth some lunar soil before Apollo 11 could perform that feat. But there were unofficial reports that Luna 15 crashed into the moon.

Some space experts say Luna 15 was the first of a new series of Soviet space launches aimed at an eventual manned landing. Inasmuch as Russia continues to keep all its space activities secret, no one outside Russia really knows where the Soviet moon program stands. Speculation continues that a huge new booster is under development—perhaps twice as large as the American Saturn Five. Estimates of when Russia will send cosmonauts to land on the moon vary from the end of 1970 to a prediction that it won't come until sometime between 1971 and 1973.

Russia continues its unmanned planetary space program. Venera 5 and Venera 6 landed on Venus in May 1969. About the only definitive information relayed to the world after the landings was that the Venutian atmosphere was much too hostile for man ever to live on that planet.

In 1968-1969 the Soviets sent up earth-orbiting weather and communications satellites. The Molniya satellites, for example, transmitted color television between Moscow and Vladivostok, and sent back cloud-cover photos and weather charts.

Looking to the future of the United States space program, Vice-President Spiro Agnew, who heads the National Aeronautics and Space Council, has proposed a goal to send Americans to Mars before the turn of the twenty-first century. Cost estimates for such a project range up to \$50 billion, which (in light of the continuing Vietnam-caused budget squeeze) seems out of line to some observers—especially with the needs and wants of the cities crying for attention.

At least for as long as the Vietnam war continues, and until solutions to such problems as air and water pollution, poverty, hunger, poor education, and housing have begun to take hold, it seems doubtful that the man-to-Mars goal will be instituted. In the meantime there are predictions that NASA's budget of just under \$4 billion a year will probably continue—to support a total of ten manned explorations of the moon, the manned-orbiting-workshop program, and possibly for a start on a reusable space shuttle to send fresh crews and supplies to orbiting labs in the late 1970's and 1980's.



The Apollo 7 crew—Astronauts Donn F. Eisele, Command Module Pilot Walter Cunningham, Lunar Module Pilot and Commander Walter M. Schirra—joke among themselves after completing egress training. They were the first crew to fly in the Apollo spacecraft.

The expended Saturn IVB rocket is photographed from the Apollo 7 spacecraft 125 nautical miles over the Atlantic Ocean, just off the coast of Cape Kennedy. The picture was taken during Apollo 7's critical docking maneuvers.



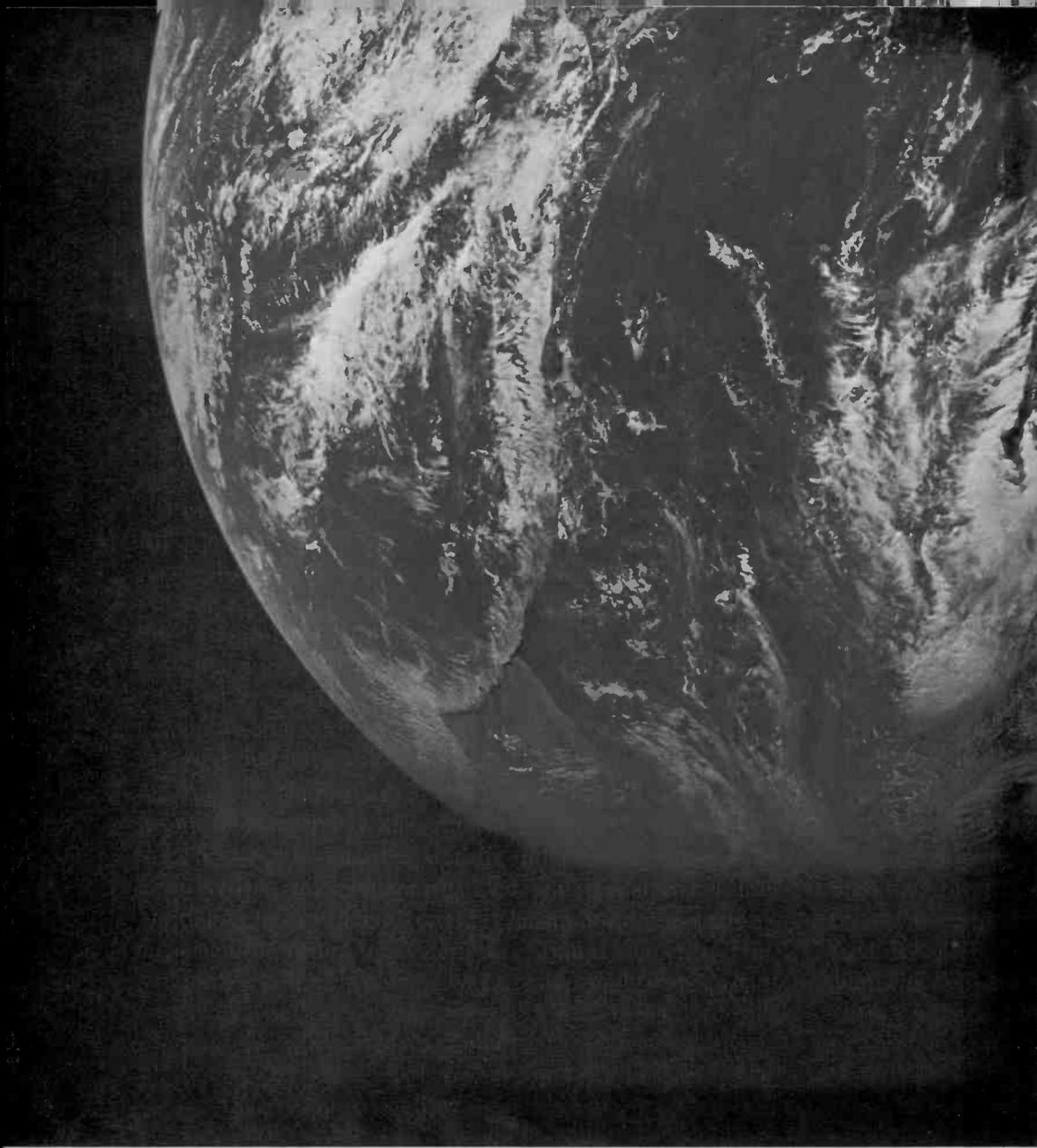
Apollo 7 Commander Wally Schirra thoughtfully contemplates his space charts during the first manned Apollo flight. The photograph was taken during the mission by one of his crew.



Apollo 8 astronauts Frank Borman, James Lovell, and William Anders look up at cheering crewmen on the decks of the USS Yorktown after their triumphant flight to the moon. In addition to becoming the first men ever to orbit the moon, these men were the first ever to see its mysterious far side.

For the first time in the United States space program live television pictures from inside the spacecraft are sent to an audience of millions on earth. When this TV picture was transmitted, the Apollo 8 crew were 120,653 miles from earth, traveling at a speed of 3,207 miles per hour.





Top left: Both sides of the Atlantic Ocean are visible in this view from the Apollo 8 spacecraft. The large, most prominent, land mass is the bulge of West Africa. The portion of Africa near the equator is dark and cloudy, but North Africa is clear. Clouds cover the eastern coast of South America, southward from Surinam and Guyana to near the city of Salvador, Brazil.

Above center: This remarkably sharp view of the moon's surface is one of the crowning achievements of the Apollo 8 flight. For twenty historic hours the spacecraft circled the moon at a distance of sixty-nine miles.



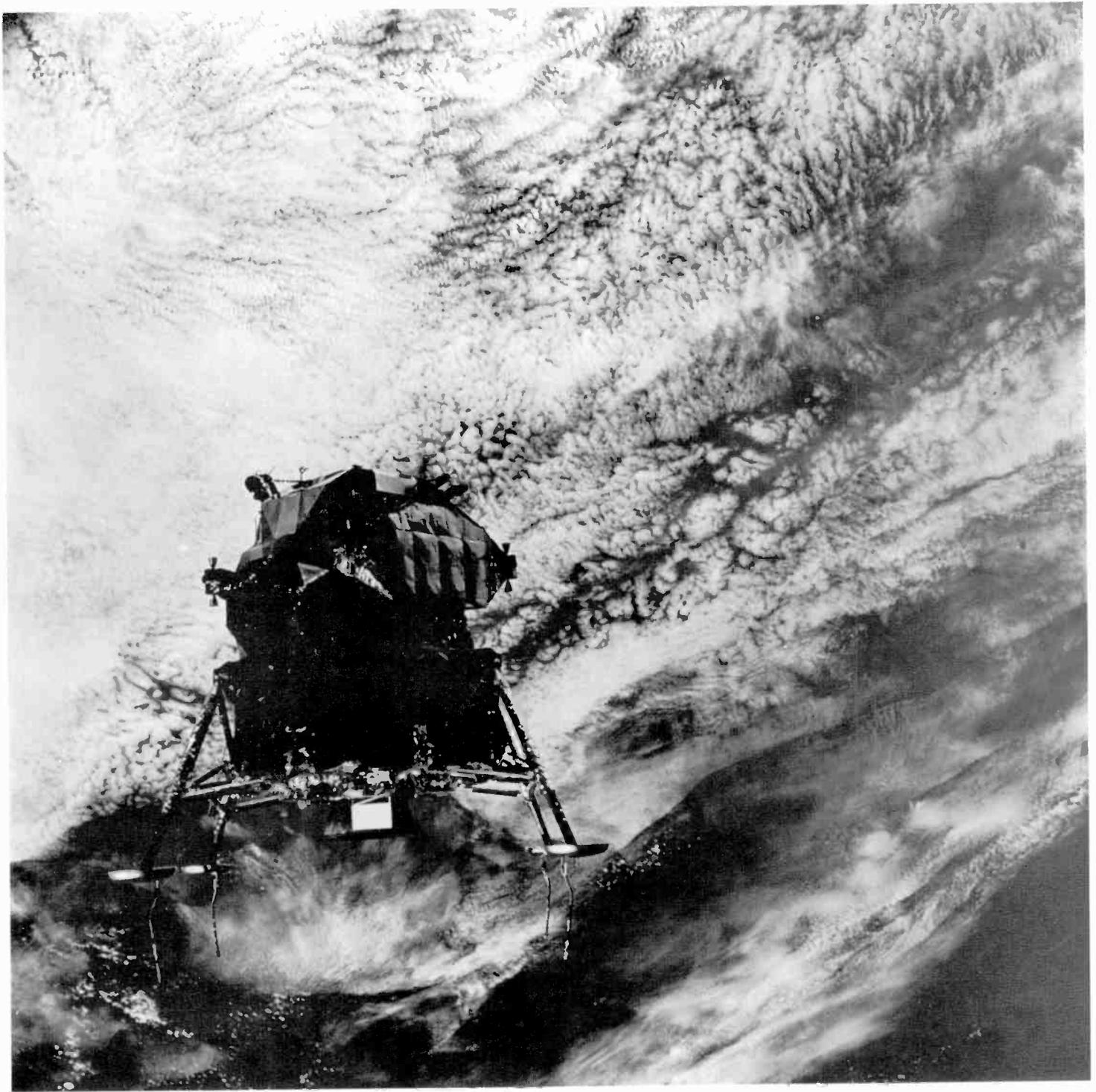
A fisheye lens provides this all-inclusive view of the interior of the lunar module during Apollo 9's rigorous prelaunch practice. Commander McDivitt (foreground) and Lunar Module Pilot Schweickart transferred from the command ship to the moon-lander during their flight.



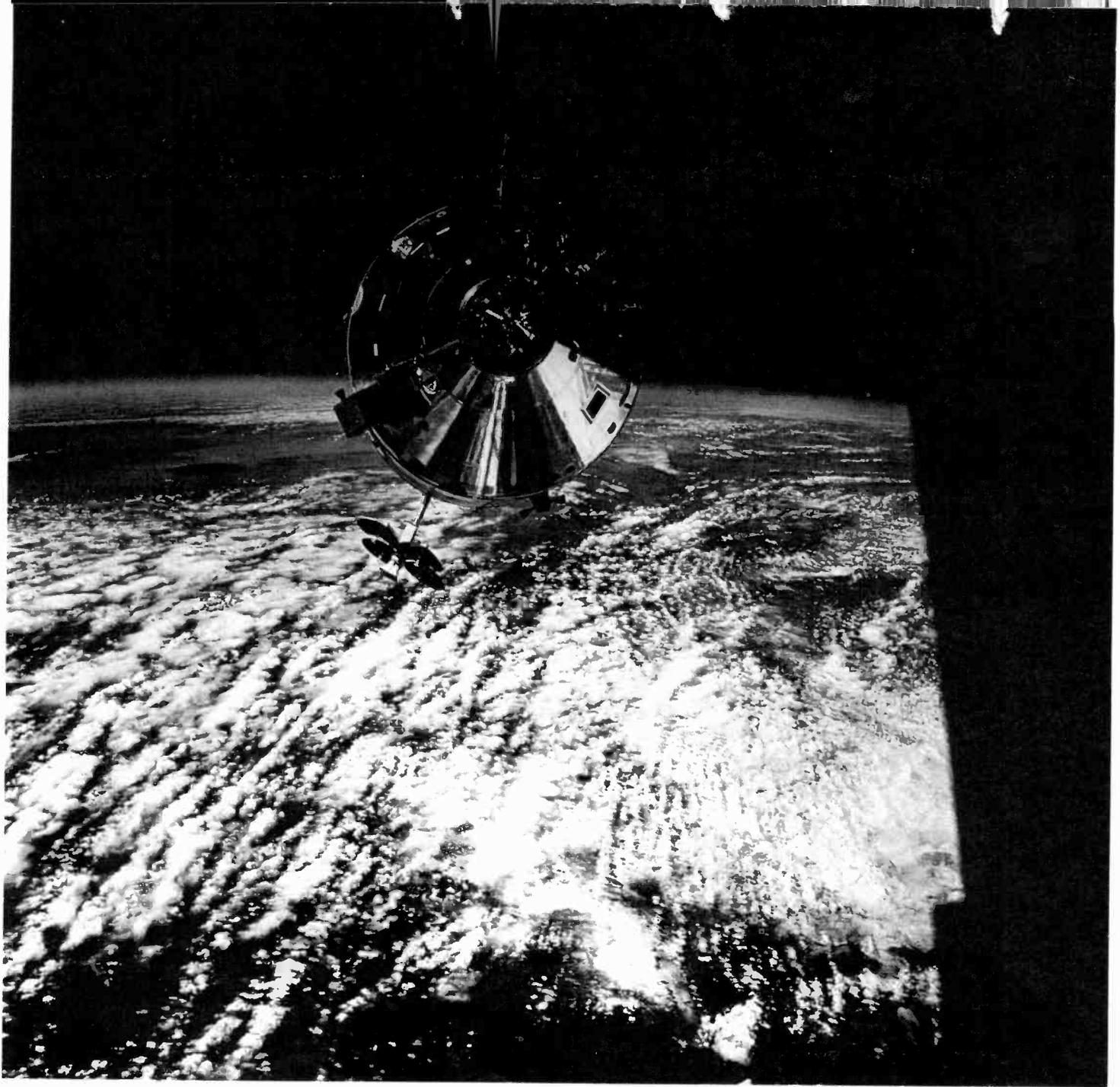
Apollo 9 astronauts James McDivitt, David Scott, and Russell Schweickart, stand before the world's most powerful rocket—the Saturn V—that will blast them into space. They were the first spacemen to test the lunar module in outer space.



Astronaut David Scott stands in the open hatch of the command module during the fourth day of the Apollo 9 earth-orbital mission. This excellent view of the command module docked in space with the lunar module was taken by Astronaut Russell Schweickart while he stood outside the lunar craft.



This dramatic view of the amazing lunar module flying in space is one of the high points of the Apollo 9 mission. The flight proved that the lunar craft was spaceworthy, and set the stage for the first man to step on the moon.

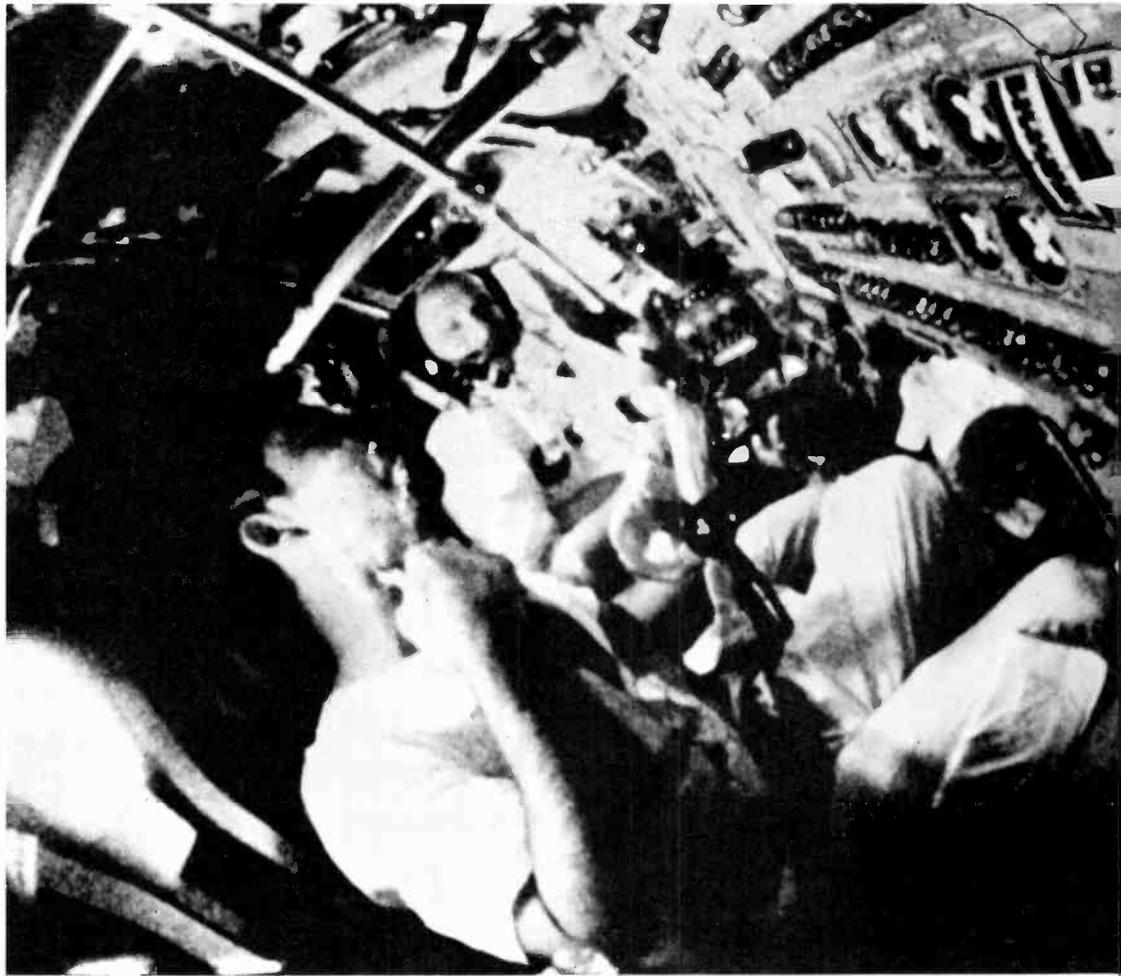


Opposite top: The Apollo 9 command module is photographed crossing the southwestern United States by the astronauts in the lunar module. Running across the foreground is the Rio Grande River in southern New Mexico. At the upper left background is the Gulf of California and Baja California.

Opposite bottom: The crew of the Apollo 10 lunar flight—Eugene Cernan, Thomas Stafford, and John Young—pose before a detailed map of the moon at the Kennedy Space Center.

Astronaut John Young shaves in space as Command Pilot Tom Stafford (and millions of earth viewers) look on. Apollo 10 was the second United States manned orbital flight to the moon, paving the way for the first moon landing in July.

Apollo 10 Astronauts Tom Stafford and John Young demonstrate weightlessness for millions of earthbound fellow human beings at home. The navigation computer is in the background. Their flight included the first test of the critical landing radar aboard the LM, as well as the first test of the LM's descent and ascent engines in the vicinity of the moon.





On the Champs Elysées, happy Parisians wave newspapers announcing General de Gaulle's defeat in April 27 referendum.

9. Western Europe

FOR ELEVEN YEARS THE massive presence of France's General Charles de Gaulle dominated the collective affairs of Western Europe. But in 1969 the epoch of de Gaulle suddenly ended with his departure from the Élysée Palace, and both France and Western Europe were thrust into a new political era.

De Gaulle's resignation as President of France was the culmination of a year of political strife throughout France. The first indication of trouble came in the spring of 1968 when Paris university students began large-scale street demonstrations to protest an antiquated educational system. Bloody clashes with police triggered a wave of unrest. Thousands of industrial workers walked off their jobs in sympathy with the students, as well as to demonstrate their own grievances over low wages and rising prices.

De Gaulle resolved the 1968 crisis by suppressing dissident students with strong police actions and by mollifying workers through higher wages. Confident his policies would be popular, he dissolved the French National Assembly in May 1968, and called for new elections. It was a test of de Gaulle's personal popularity, and he won a landslide victory—the first time in recent French Republican history that a single party won an absolute majority of seats in the National Assembly.

Despite the electoral victory, de Gaulle thought other changes were necessary. He replaced Premier Georges Pompidou in July 1968 with Jacques Couve de Murville, the former foreign minister.

De Gaulle's cabinet shifts could not, however, prevent a financial crisis, sown by inflation and a high balance-of-payments deficit. During the last months of 1968, prices soared, and confidence in the franc dropped. Despite strong pressure for devaluation of the franc, de Gaulle chose instead to freeze wages and to reduce government spending.

In January 1969, de Gaulle announced a new voter referendum. He presented France with his proposals for

increased provincial self-government and reduced powers for the French Senate. It was clearly another de Gaulle request for French approval of all his policies. A week before the referendum, he flatly declared he would resign if his proposals were rejected.

This time de Gaulle lost. On April 28, 1969, the referendum was defeated by a vote of *No*: 12,004,970 (52.4 percent) to *Yes*: 10,905,453 (47.6 percent).

De Gaulle kept his promise, and resigned immediately. Seven candidates entered the race for the Presidency of France. Former Premier Georges Pompidou, running as the Gaullist candidate, led the field in the first round of the presidential election in June 1969 with more than 44 percent of the popular vote. Pompidou, however, failed to receive an absolute majority, and was forced into a runoff election against Alain Poher, former president of the French Senate. In the June 15 runoff, Pompidou (10,801,000 votes) defeated Poher (7,895,000 votes), and was installed as President of France.

In the election campaign, Pompidou indicated he might gradually alter the course of French foreign affairs on such issues as Great Britain's entry into the European Economic Community (Common Market), the French role in the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance, and France's pro-Arab position in the Middle East.

The political upheaval in France will undoubtedly be felt in Great Britain, whose bid for membership in the Common Market was frustrated by de Gaulle's opposition. Membership in the Western European trade organization is seen in Britain as a partial solution to the country's chronic balance-of-payments deficit.

Britain's economy was further strained by an outbreak of wildcat industrial strikes last year that cost Britain 4.7 million man-hours of work. Because of the walkouts, vital export contracts could not be fulfilled, and Britain's competitive trading position abroad was weakened. In January 1969, Prime Minister Harold Wilson proposed government legislation limiting the

workers' right to strike. The notion of a British Taft-Hartley law, with a mandatory cooling-off period in wild-cat strikes and severe penalties for violators, was strongly opposed by trade unions and within Wilson's own Labour Party.

Growing British dissatisfaction with Wilson and his Labour Party was reflected in municipal elections held in May 1969. The Labour Party lost six hundred local council seats, many in traditional Labour strongholds.

A new problem—civil rights—confronted Britain in 1968. In northern Ireland (Ulster), a virtually autonomous part of the United Kingdom, Irish Catholic groups campaigned in the winter of 1968–1969 for equal rights in voting, housing, and employment. The ruling Protestant Unionist government, under Captain Terence M. O'Neill, approved strong anti-riot laws to quell disturbances touched off by the equal-rights movement.

The case for the Roman Catholic minority of Ulster was dramatically presented by twenty-one-year-old Ulster civil rights leader Bernadette Devlin who became, in April 1969, the youngest woman to be elected to Britain's Parliament. In her maiden speech, Miss Devlin accused the ruling Unionists of inciting the Protestant working class against Catholics.

In April, ultraconservatives in the Unionist Party forced the resignation of Prime Minister O'Neill, who had proposed to quickly abolish the property qualification for voting, a major Catholic grievance. O'Neill was replaced by Major James D. Chichester-Clark. Pressed by London to work out a reform program, Chichester-Clark offered a plan for gradual reforms, including the establishment of an Ulster *ombudsman* to consider complaints.

In foreign affairs, the Wilson government was stalemated in its effort to find a solution to the Rhodesian question. In July 1968, Britain's Privy Council, the high court for Commonwealth affairs, ruled that the break-away white-minority government of Ian Smith was invalid and illegal. But the court's decision had no effect on the *status quo* in rebel Rhodesia. In January 1969, British Prime Minister Wilson met with Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith on a warship off Gibraltar in an unsuccessful effort to work out a compromise that would provide equal rights for Rhodesia's black majority. After the Wilson-Smith conference, Rhodesia moved ahead with plans to sever all ties with Great Britain.

On March 19, 1969, the phrase "British troops have landed" was heard once again on the BBC when a one-hundred-man British force invaded the Caribbean island of Anguilla, a former British possession. Anguilla, refusing to join the British-sponsored federation of Saint Kitts and Nevis, had declared its independence in 1967. The Wilson government justified the invasion on the ground that President Ronald Webster's administration had been infiltrated by American criminal elements. The Anguilla landing, however, was greeted with widespread

opposition in Britain. "All we have shown," the London *Times* commented, "is that we can treat 6,000 black people in the Caribbean in a way we would not dare to treat 200,000 white people in Rhodesia."

The Wilson government reached a tentative accord with Anguilla in April 1969, although British troops were to be stationed indefinitely on the island.

West Germany's economy continued to boom, and the Deutschemark became the most sought-after currency in Europe. As confidence in the franc and pound sterling plunged during the currency crisis of the winter of 1968–1969, France and Britain urged West Germany to raise the international value of the mark. Such a move, which would have raised the price of German goods abroad, was rejected by West Germany.

West Berlin, Germany's perennial problem, created international concern in February 1969, when the Bonn government announced that the Federal Assembly would elect the new President of the West German Federal Republic in Berlin. The election plan provoked protests and threats from the USSR and East Germany, which maintained that Berlin is an independent political entity, not a state within the Federal Republic.

Without warning, East German border crossings were closed periodically during February 1969 in an attempt to intimidate Bonn and harass West Berliners. West Germany met the threat by holding the presidential election in the divided city, as scheduled. Gustav Heinemann, a Social Democrat, was elected to the Presidency in March, and another Berlin crisis ended peacefully.

In September 1968, the final chapter was written in one of Europe's oldest dictatorships. Portugal's seventy-nine-year-old Premier Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, who had been in power since 1932, was forced by illness to resign. Salazar, disabled by a brain hemorrhage, was replaced by Dr. Marcelo Caetano. There was little indication that the Caetano regime would quickly introduce social and political reforms in Portugal. While permitting several opposition leaders to return from exile and allowing open meetings by political parties, Caetano continued tight police controls, without any hint of free elections.

Political freedom also was under review in Spain. The government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco reversed its liberalization policy in January 1969, imposing a three-month "State of Exception." Most of Spain's newly gained civil rights, including freedom of the press, were suspended. The crackdown came after a series of illegal industrial strikes and protests over police brutality to political prisoners.

The Franco government scored a diplomatic victory by renewing its military-base treaty with the United States in June 1969. The United States was allowed to retain its military bases in Spain until 1970; in return, America will sell Spain \$50 million in military equipment on easy credit terms. In 1963, when the lease was

last renewed, the United States paid Spain \$1.2 billion in military and economic aid.

Armed with a United Nations General Assembly resolution supporting its claim to Gibraltar, Spain continued to enforce restrictions against the colony that the British refuse to turn over to Madrid. When the British issued a new Gibraltar constitution in May 1969, the Spanish retaliated by closing the frontier crossings to 4,600 Spanish laborers commuting daily to work on the peninsula.

Cries of "Dictatorship!" echoed in Greece and among Greek exiles abroad against the policies of the military junta that has ruled Greece since April 1967. In November 1968, the funeral of eighty-year-old George Papandreou, the last elected Greek premier, turned into a mass protest as thousands of Greeks silently followed Papandreou's coffin through the streets of Athens. A new constitution promulgated by the junta in November 1968 recognized King Constantine as the head of the

Greek state, but the king remained in exile in Italy.

While America's worldwide commitments continued to grow, the overall importance of Western Europe to the United States was quickly emphasized by the new Administration of President Richard M. Nixon. President Nixon's first major diplomatic move after taking office in January 1969 was a face-to-face meeting with Western European leaders. From February 23 to March 2 he made a 10,000-mile journey to the major cities and capitals of Western Europe, visiting Brussels, London, Bonn, West Berlin, Rome, Paris, and the Vatican.

Nixon's main goals were to reexamine the NATO alliance and to reaffirm ties with European allies. In an evaluation of his tour, the President said he had found "a new trust on the part of Europeans in themselves . . . a new trust in the United States . . ." and "a new trust in the future, not only on the part of the people of Europe and their leaders but on the part of the people of the United States."

Georges Pompidou waves to well-wishers in Paris shortly after June election returns show he is winner of French presidential race.





Gustav Heinemann, West Germany's new President, cools off with a bottle of beer after working in his Bonn garden.

In August, East German troops add another touch to the notorious Berlin wall—tank traps.





Garrick Utley from Chicago is the son of the noted Chicago commentator Clifton Utley. He learned Russian in the Army and German in Berlin before he joined NBC News as a correspondent in Brussels in 1963. After a year's tour of duty in Vietnam, he became NBC News Bureau Chief in Berlin, shifting to a similar post in Paris in 1968.

France After de Gaulle

Garrick Utley

NBC News Paris Correspondent

IT WAS A MONUMENTAL EVENT that reverberated in government offices and sidewalk cafés. It came unexpectedly for most, and stunned all. Suddenly Charles de Gaulle was gone from political stage center, back to his secluded country home in Colombey-les-Deux-Églises.

Why de Gaulle called a referendum (which was not necessary) and then linked his fate to it may never be fully explained. For a man who claimed great political vision in world affairs, it was proof of his shortsightedness in his own country. The French, who called the general back to power in 1958, and then basked in the glory he tried to re-create for France, finally tired of the old man and his old dreams.

The dreams had already been shattered in rapid succession in 1968: by the riots of May, which showed the bitter disillusionment of students and workers; by the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, which was an embarrassing rebuff to de Gaulle's efforts to be the Western leader of détente with the Soviet Union; and by the financial crisis last November. It was the franc crisis that finally undid de Gaulle, for the specter of devaluation shocked not only government leaders and financiers but also the conservative bourgeois Frenchmen, whose

support was the foundation of Gaullist power. They had pinned their savings and confidence to de Gaulle. When the franc weakened, so, too, did their support for the general. The support went to Georges Pompidou. His election to the French Presidency was the final insult to de Gaulle. It showed that the French had rejected, not Gaullism, but de Gaulle. There was nothing political in it, just personal.

The French chose Pompidou because he promised continuity and stability. But the shrewd Pompidou, who served six years as de Gaulle's prime minister, knows that the de Gaulle style and many of his policies are no longer possible. France is not a great power, and saying so will not make it one. Policy must now be cut to the size of France's capabilities, not to dreams. Above all, France must decide what role she is to play in Europe, a Europe that is prosperous but still united.

Under de Gaulle, the cause of European unity was severely limited by his opposition to British entry into the common market and French participation in the NATO military alliance. Now Europe faces a new opportunity and a test. The opportunity is to move forward to closer unity. The test is whether European leaders really want to. The answer depends on three countries, France and West Germany, the two giants in the European Economic Community, or common market, and Great Britain, who is trying to get in. All three speak of supporting European unity in principle, but in none of the countries is the feeling unanimous.

The British government has made the political decision to seek membership in the European community, but the passion may cool as the price becomes apparent. Agricultural prices are much higher in the common-market countries than in Britain, which draws on the more inexpensive farm goods of Commonwealth countries. British entry into Europe would mean higher food bills. There is doubt whether the British would accept that. Even if they would, there is England's chronically sick economy plagued by wildcat strikes, unfavorable balances of trade, and a weak currency. Neither labor laws, devaluation, nor austerity has helped.

Britain is another former great power. The problem is economic, but the causes are political. Britain, which for centuries lived from and for its empire, has not found a new role for the last half of the twentieth century. In its social structure and labor-management relations Britain, in many ways, is more in the nineteenth than in the twentieth century. Now insular Britain faces the tough question of "going into Europe," of paying the high financial price and the higher emotional one of burying the past.

West Germany's past is buried in the rubble of total defeat in 1945. The Germans looked for a new role, and found it in economic strength. It started with the economic miracle of the 1950s. By 1968 West Germany was the only great power in Western Europe . . . an

economic power. As the French franc and British pound plummeted in value, the Deutschmark soared. As Britain and France ran up a perennial imbalance of payments, that Germans have had embarrassingly huge trade surpluses. It has all been done with full employment, minimum inflation, and virtually no strikes.

West Germany, however, has been reluctant to use its enormous economic strength as a political club. Although it backs Britain's entry into the common market, Bonn never pushed the issue with de Gaulle. Now West Germany, too, will have to show how anxious it is to expand the economic community and allow more competition in the common market.

The main question is France, which means Georges Pompidou. The new president calls himself a Gaullist, but that does not mean he will always follow de Gaulle's policies. The general was an adventurist who loved to shock; Pompidou is a pragmatist who knows France's problems and her limitations.

Shortly after taking office, President Pompidou announced that his most important task was to make France an industrial nation. That France is not one today is the price of basking in past glory and tolerating old customs. French industry has not kept pace with the German industrial giant or with most other European countries. This is due to the traditional protectionist desire among French businessmen, who fear competition while clinging

to outdated managerial techniques that make them poor competitors. The common market has forced them to compete, and is forcing a change in business habits, but slowly. The modernization of ideas and facilities has not been helped sufficiently by the French government. Part of the reason was de Gaulle, who gave priority to nuclear weapons over more immediate domestic problems. But much of it was due to the overcentralized control exercised by the Paris government. The result is that France still has no four-lane highway crossing the entire country, and one of the worst telephone systems in Europe.

France needs a new revolution to bring it into the computer age. Only the government can provide the necessary leadership, and President Pompidou knows it. But there is doubt whether the new revolution will succeed. France has the intellectual and natural resources; the question is whether the French have the will. Tradition is strong; so is resistance to change. There is deep mistrust between almost all factions of society. The unions mistrust management, and vice versa; and everyone, it seems, mistrusts the government. There is none of the cooperation and self-discipline that there is in Germany. The French realize this, admit they have to change, and then confess that it is probably impossible to do so.

One result of the failure to keep pace in the technological world is the massive wave of American take-



Marcelo Caetano, who in September replaced Antonio Salazar as premier of Portugal, makes his first TV-radio speech as head of state.

Opposite top: Generalissimo Francisco Franco (right) with Prince Juan Carlos de Bourbon at military parade in Madrid shortly before Franco designated the prince as heir-apparent.

Opposite bottom: British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, with his wife looking on, appeals for Labour Party unity at May Day rally in London.

over of French businesses: a situation familiar to all West European countries. Though the French complain about Americanization, many admit privately that American capital and know-how in French industry may be the only way for France to remain a contestant in the increasingly competitive European and world markets.

Like Europe, France faces the ultimate test of whether she has the will to become a modern technologi-

cal country capable of keeping up with the superpowers, above all the United States. It is clear that France cannot do it without the cooperation and stimulating competition of the other European countries, above all Great Britain, just as Europe cannot progress without France. The conclusion is obvious. But it has been so for over a decade. Though Europeans are quick to accept the cause of unity in theory, in practice they lag.





General Charles de Gaulle, still President of France in March, salutes the coffin of Dwight D. Eisenhower at funeral services in Washington for the former United States President.

Anguillans watch perspiring British Marines occupy the Caribbean island in March after the former British colony refused to merge with two other Commonwealth islands.





Demonstrators clash with Londonderry police during Roman Catholic protests in November for equal rights in Northern Ireland.

Thousands of Greeks follow funeral cortege in Athens for former Premier George Papandreu, who died in November.





A defiant Czechoslovak youth waves his country's flag from atop a Russian tank in Prague shortly after the Soviet invasion in August.

10. The Soviet Sphere

A SEEMINGLY SCHIZOID POSTURE was presented to the outside world last year by the Soviet Union. To the Western powers, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics unveiled an image of a peaceful Communist country, willing to reach compromises on major issues. Within its own sphere, the Kremlin sternly suppressed dissension within the Soviet Union, and showed unyielding determination to prevent any more satellite countries from defecting. The major trouble spots for Russia were Czechoslovakia and China.

In January 1968, a shake-up in the Czech Communist Party resulted in the appointment of Alexander Dubcek to replace hard-line Stalinist Antonin Novotny as first secretary. With Dubcek's appointment, a seven-month experiment in "liberalization" began. Civil and religious liberty were introduced, limited private enterprise was permitted, press curbs were lifted, and increased trade and contacts with the West were initiated. World War II hero Ludvik Svoboda succeeded Novotny as President of Czechoslovakia.

The USSR watched the Czech experiment with mounting concern. Satellite states had a tendency to break away from Kremlin control once given leeway. Yugoslavia had been following a virtually independent course since 1950; Albania considered itself a satellite of Red China; and, since 1967, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu had been steering a maverick path, wooing the West with diplomacy and trade. Bucharest was the first East European capital to establish diplomatic relations with West Germany, and was generally uncooperative in siding with Moscow when Red China and Israel were being condemned in international Communist parleys. In 1968, before renewing its alliances with Warsaw Pact powers, Romania signed trade agreements with Britain, Pakistan, and Iran, and agreed to exchange scientific information with the United States. At home, however, Ceausescu ran Romania along orthodox economic and political lines.

Under Dubcek and Svoboda, Czechoslovakia seemed to be surpassing Romania. The free Czech press was openly critical of the Soviet Union. There was talk of permitting non-Communist parties to function. And there were alarming indications that Czechoslovakia would soon exchange ambassadors with West Germany.

During the winter and spring months of 1969, the Soviet Union watched and waited. USSR Communist Party Chairman Leonid Breznev frequently criticized the Czech program but hesitated to take action. The Western Communist parties generally approved what was happening in Czechoslovakia. During Warsaw Pact maneuvers in the spring of 1968, Soviet troops lingered for several days in Czechoslovakia, an apparent hint to the Czechs not to go too far.

In July 1968, Soviet military and political pressure mounted. The Kremlin charged that "right-wing anti-Socialist forces" were threatening Czechoslovakian Socialism and that the Czechs' liberal leaders failed to counteract the menace. The "hard-line" satellite countries—Poland, Bulgaria, East Germany, and Hungary—joined the USSR in demanding an end to Czech liberalization.

On July 29, 1968, the entire Soviet Politburo flew to the Czech border town of Cierna to meet with Dubcek and Svoboda. Simultaneously, Soviet troops began "peacetime maneuvers" on the Czech border. On August 1 the meeting moved to the Czech city of Bratislava, joined by representatives of Hungary, East Germany, Poland, and Bulgaria. All parties there approved a Soviet recommendation that the Czech program be allowed to continue. It was obvious that Dubcek and Svoboda had not been intimidated.

"We have not taken a single step backward," Dubcek jubilantly announced in Prague. "There is no need to fear for the sovereignty of our country."

Dubcek's optimism was short-lived. On the night of August 20-21, without warning, 200,000 troops

from the USSR, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria invaded Czechoslovakia.

Seven months of freedom had put steel into the Czechs. Though Dubcek urged Czechs not to resist the invaders, thousands of them paraded through the streets of Prague, taunted the occupying troops, and distributed anti-Soviet leaflets. Three hundred Czechs were wounded and twenty killed during the first days of the invasion. Photographs of Dubcek and Svoboda appeared in windows throughout Czechoslovakia. An underground Czech radio denounced the invasion even after Prague was occupied. In a bravura gesture, the Czech National Assembly locked itself into the Parliament building and swore not to leave until the troops were gone. The Czech Communist Party met secretly and, as a gesture of defiance, reelected Dubcek as first secretary. On his own initiative, Foreign Secretary Jiri Hajek, visiting Yugoslavia during the invasion, flew directly to New York to present Czechoslovakia's case to the United Nations Security Council.

The invasion was immediately condemned as an infringement of Czech sovereignty not only by most of the Western powers but also by the Communist parties of France, Italy, Romania, Yugoslavia, and China. Even within the Soviet Union the invasion created criticism and dissension. (In October 1968, five Soviet intellectuals, including Pavel Litvinov, grandson of the late Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov, and Mrs. Yuri Daniel, wife of the imprisoned writer, were sentenced to hard labor for demonstrating in Moscow against the invasion.)

On the day of the invasion the Kremlin announced that the USSR had been urged by Czech Communist Party leaders and government officials to repulse the so-called counterrevolutionary forces threatening Czech Socialism. The names of those making the urgent request were never revealed. Within the USSR it was widely believed that fear of a Prague-Bonn *entente* had prompted the invasion. In September 1968, *Izvestia* published the official Soviet line on the occupation. Commonly known as the "Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty," the Russian dogma maintained that the world Socialist community had the right to intervene wherever and whenever Socialism was threatened in a Communist country.

The day after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, while the Warsaw Pact troops dug in for a long occupation, Dubcek and Svoboda were forcibly taken to Moscow for high-level conferences. Both returned to Prague on August 27, promising that they would continue to maintain "humanistic Socialist principles" in Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, the Czech experiment was over. Dubcek remained in office until April 1969, continuing a futile fight with the USSR. Gradually, every reform he had introduced was eliminated. Press censorship reappeared a few days after the invasion; the liberal Dubcek appointees were replaced by orthodox Communists; and the leader-

ship of the Czech Communist Party eventually shifted back to a pro-Soviet line.

In Russian eyes, Red China is an H-bomb-armed dragon lurking on the Soviet eastern frontier with greedy territorial designs on Mongolia and Siberia. And the Maoist brand of Communism—offering an alternative to the Moscow variety—has alienated Albania from the Soviet bloc, weakened Soviet influence in Cuba and Africa, and attracted the allegiance of Communist parties in Asia. China's Cultural Revolution, with its emphasis on the evils of Moscow's "revisionist" policy of co-existence with the West, helped further exacerbate Sino-Russian relations. After the Czech invasion in August, Peking intensified its diplomatic criticism and propaganda barrage against Moscow, accusing the USSR of plotting with the United States, and of firing on the Chinese Embassy in Prague during the invasion.

Border clashes, many unpublicized, were frequent in the past year. In March 1969, Chinese and Russian border guards along the Manchurian-Soviet Maritime provinces frontier engaged in bloody skirmishes over the disputed islands of the Ussuri River. After the incident both sides strengthened border fortifications with troop reinforcements and heavy weapons.

On June 11, 1969, there was another outburst of fighting in the mountains of Central Asia that form the boundary of China's Sinkiang and Russia's Kazakhstan provinces.

Facing a formidable enemy in the East, the USSR seemed determined to foster better relations with the West. Through a series of diplomatic maneuvers during the year, Moscow seemingly tried to keep the peace in the Middle East by offering peace plans, generally restraining Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser from resuming the conflict with Israel, and by urging Big Four meetings to resolve the Israel-Arab deadlock. The USSR, along with sixty-one other nations, signed the UN-sponsored Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in July 1968, and urged further disarmament agreements with the United States. Another gesture came in July when direct passenger flights between the United States and Russia were inaugurated. And on May Day 1969, celebrations throughout the Soviet bloc emphasized world peace and East-West negotiations instead of the usual anti-West rhetoric.

In June 1969, the Kremlin undertook a major effort to mend Communist political fences through an International Communist Party Conference. The Moscow meeting had been postponed twice because of the Czech invasion and border clashes with China. Moscow's ostensible goal was to reaffirm the existence of a world Communism with the USSR as leader. But the conference underscored the divisive forces within world Communism.

While Communist parties of seventy-five nations at-

tended the conference, Yugoslavia, Red China, Albania, and the pro-Chinese parties of Asia boycotted it. Brezhnev's opening address castigated the Chinese "political offensive against the Communist movement," its "armed provocations on the Soviet frontier," and "the harm that can be done to a common cause by a departure from Marxism-Leninism and a break with internationalism." Brezhnev, however, did not have the final word.

Romania's President Ceausescu and Italian delegation leader Enrico Berlinguer denounced the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty, the most debated issue in Communist circles.

When the conference ended, only one result was clear: There was no longer a solid front among world Communist leaders.



Angry Czechs hurl stones at Russian tanks rumbling through streets of Prague.

In Pilsen, the last Czech underground radio station urges listeners to resist the occupation.





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The Shaken Monolith

Kenneth Bernstein

NBC News Moscow Correspondent

IF COMMUNISTS BELIEVED in Freud, it would have been a time for reclining on the psychiatrist's couch and confessing that the traumas had been getting out of hand. There was scarcely a part of the world where something wasn't going wrong. The old Russian paranoia, the belief in an eternal conspiracy, compounded the feeling of encirclement.

Did the forces of Mao Tse-tung really want war with Russia?

Would the specter of "Socialism with a human face" spread from Czechoslovakia and infect the bloc?

Did someone really dare to try to assassinate the top man in the Kremlin?

Would the Americans be able to put a man on the moon first?

In less than a year from the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia to the American invasion of the moon, the Russians were increasingly preoccupied by setbacks and fears.

In the Soviet Union, back numbers of newspapers can be seen only by scholars or others with an authorized reason. This saves the embarrassment of having ordinary people recall past follies, promises, and tragedies. Still,

the Russians remember the Tass announcement of August 21, 1968:

"Party and government leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have asked the Soviet Union and other allied states to render the fraternal Czechoslovak people urgent assistance, including assistance with armed forces."

The announcement has become enshrined in Russian folklore in the little joke: *Question*: "Why are the Warsaw Pact forces taking so long in Czechoslovakia?" *Answer*: "They are still looking for who invited them." It may have been the only chuckle of the whole saga. From start to tentative finish, the case of Czechoslovakia agonized the Russians and, for other reasons, Communists around the world.

For the Kremlin, Dubcek was dynamite. He let his people travel abroad. He let them discuss issues of significance. He tampered with conventional Communist economics. He removed the pencil from the censor's hand. He let the people confirm some of the injustices of the past, some of which involved crude Soviet intervention. He built a platform of heresies that brought a lilt of freedom to his people. But had these innovations contaminated others, had these dangerous concepts spread to Russia, it would surely have been the end of everything those in power hold dear.

So the military transport planes converged on Prague's Ruzyně Airport; the tanks coughed the heavy fumes of Soviet fuel across the Czechoslovakian countryside; and Soviet army troops, plus token contingents from Warsaw Pact allies, quickly occupied the country. The Russians may not have expected to be received as liberators, but they clearly never expected the extent of the sullen hostility and anger that met them. It was a trauma many a Soviet soldier brought back home with him, and all the explanations in *Red Star* could not erase the memory.

The Kremlin's post-mortem on the Czechoslovakian operation may not be complete yet, but the "hawks," who won the day, could claim some successes in the long run. With the delayed purge of the Dubcekites, the occupied country was again back on the path of orthodoxy. The challenge to the party's rule had largely been suppressed and fragmented. The days of freedom were only an episode, and the sooner forgotten, the hierarchy said, the better. The "hawks" could also point with satisfaction to the revived state of East-West relations. The initial disgust and rage in the West was soon smothered by concern for Big Power détente. A few cultural exchanges and friendship delegations fell through, but within a few months it was business as usual on the bridgebuilding front. The Soviets had long since denounced bridgebuilding, anyway.

By almost all accounts, the death toll in the Czechoslovakian operation was low, considering the number of troops involved and the provocative attitude of the

local population. Fewer details are available on the other violent events that rocked the Soviet people: the border battles on the frozen Ussuri River frontier with China.

For years relations between the two great rivals of Communism had been raw and spiteful—as spiteful as a religious feud could be. Now there were more than niggling ideological arguments, more than slogans and schemes. There had been many reports of incidents and clashes between Soviet and Chinese troops before. But in March 1969 two major battles bloodied the border, and the conflict was openly physical instead of theoretical.

The Chinese call it Chenpao Island, and claim it for their own. The Russians call it Damansky Island, and claim it, too. It is scarcely a piece of real estate worth fighting over: an uninhabited strip of brush-covered land less than a mile long, one of the least enticing geographical footnotes of the Ussuri River.

Two weeks apart, the battles of Damansky-Chenpao Island were no mere skirmishes. They were fierce fire fights involving artillery, mortars, tanks, machine guns. And Russian and Chinese soldiers shot at each other with identical AK-47 automatic rifles, the most intimate and ironic of duels.

The Russians pulled out the stops. In a Moscow movie house, women sobbed at the film of the funeral of two fallen officers. The country was braced for a new campaign of vigilance to “defend the sacred frontiers of the Motherland.” Feats of patriotism reminiscent of World War II heroics were called forth. And the popular Russian poet Yevgeni Yevtushenko was enlisted to write a wrathful tirade against Mao Tse-tung. “Here on the purple March snow,” he wrote, “bloodstains are scattered like books of Mao quotations.” Describing a Soviet border guard shot dead and then bayoneted, Yevtushenko asked, “What for? For his freckles or for his blue eyes?” This was the sort of racial feeling many Russians had been expressing in private anger, but never before had it been allowed in print. Hatred of the Chinese was now official—and on the more levels, the better—though the official Soviet line remained that the villains were a small clique in Peking and not the great Chinese people.

Thus, in 1969, Soviet armed forces were deployed on two delicate and painful fronts—in Czechoslovakia, “defending Socialist gains,” and along the vast Chinese border, “defending the sacred frontiers.” But that was by no means the extent of Russia’s involvements. There were military, political, and economic commitments elsewhere in the world:

In the Middle East, the Soviet stake with the Arab states remained important, expensive, and unpredictable.

Soviet military aid to North Vietnam was still a major expense.

For all his ideological zigzagging, Cuba’s Fidel Castro was still on the Russian dole.

MIG fighters with Nigerian markings bombed Biafra.

And in a patchwork of countries, growing by no rational pattern, Soviet technicians, advisers, equipment, and funds were deployed to help governments ranging from friendly to warily grateful. To foster better relations with some countries, the Kremlin undercut local Communist parties and made peace with the “oligarchs” in power.

Many of these commitments were aimed at getting a lot of political mileage for a handful of rubles. Even the biggest of them was small potatoes compared with two top-priority domestic programs: missiles and space exploration. Expansion of the military rocket arsenal was prompted by continuing lack of faith in the intentions of “Western imperialism.” The space program was for science and prestige; it was relatively immune from economies, even if Apollo were the winner in spectaculars.

As the far-flung commitments grew, Russians told a story about an economics class assigned to estimate the typical Soviet family for budget-making purposes. The correct answer turned out to be that the typical Soviet family, fiscally speaking, consisted of father, mother, two children, grandmother, two Vietnamese, two Arabs, and a cosmonaut.

It was no joke to the average Russian, who for so many years has lived on promises of a brighter tomorrow. But in spite of the enormous outlays for remote purposes, life was visibly better than it ever had been: Consumer goods were more readily available, food was more varied, and although the vast housing program never seemed to meet its assigned goals, more Russians than ever before moved into their own apartments, forsaking the old wooden tenements or the temper-jarring communal apartments.

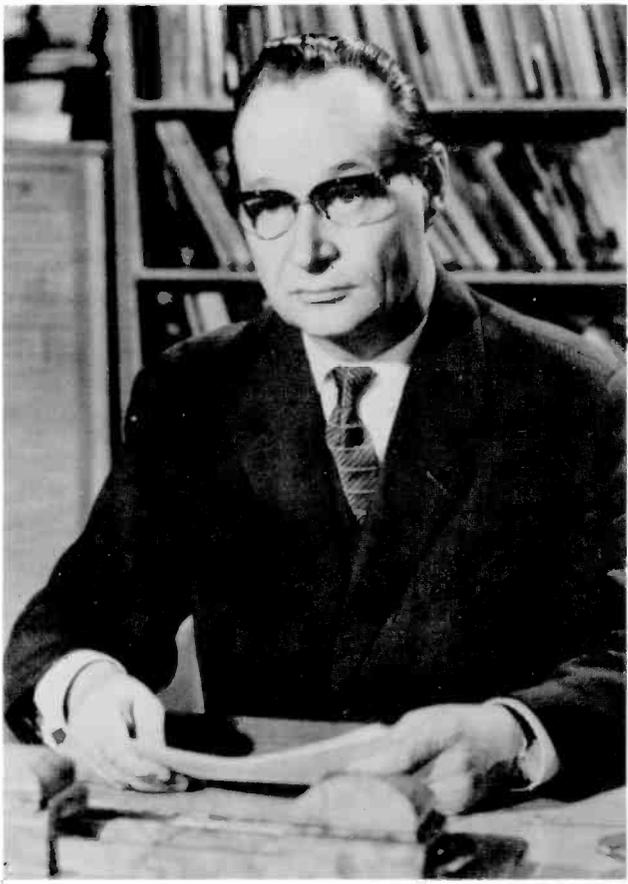
The official striving for butter as well as guns involved lukewarm economic reforms that some in the West mistook for a swing to capitalism. The same theoreticians predicted that economic innovation would bring more freedom. But in fact life on the domestic ideological front became more stringent. Protestors went to jail; every apartment house still had its police informer; the best writers and artists in the country were unemployed and unpublished for refusing to conform; and the awesome figure of Stalin was in the process of rehabilitation.

Into this repressive atmosphere came an exceptional experiment in freedom. When delegates from seventy-five Communist parties were convened in Moscow in June, the majority held out for a free discussion among equals. The meetings were to be closed, but the speeches were to be printed, even if they defied principles the Kremlin held to be unassailable. The tiniest, most obscure Communist Party was to have the same right to argue as the host country.

In April, Czech Communist Party leader Alexander Dubcek broadcast a warning that further anti-Soviet demonstrations could bring a return of Russian troops. Dubcek later was ousted from his post.



A Czech girl weeps after her father was killed in a fight with the Russians during the August invasion.



Russian soldiers, relaxing in a park in Prague, try to appear indifferent as two young Czechs glare at them.





Before the Soviet-led invasion, Russian and Czech leaders held a July meeting in Czechoslovakia that seemingly resolved their differences.

The idea of free, published controversy on politics that matter is unthinkable in the Soviet Union and other Communist-ruled countries where decisions are made at the top, in secret, and then automatically approved by the masses. But for thirteen days, grumbling and dissent sizzled among the dull columns of solid type inside Pravda. For the first time, the Soviet people became aware that loyal Communists could criticize the Kremlin—politely and diplomatically, of course, but unmistakably. Some of the parties in power were appalled at the bickering, which might infect the troublemakers back home.

The delegates came from a kaleidoscope of countries. They reflected the many variations of theory and practice in what had been thought of as the Soviet sphere of influence. Some were in power, and determined to hold on. Some were trying to win power at election time. Some were trying to grab power by force. Some didn't seriously believe they would ever taste power, but believed in the ideology just the same.

In many cases, the dissenters at the Moscow summit were motivated by practical political problems at home, in spite of all attachments to Moscow—sentimental, historical, or financial. Some who sought the confidence of electors in the capitalist countries tried to disassociate themselves from the Czechoslovakian affair. Some, fighting underground, had to disown peaceful coexistence in

deference to the morale of the troops. Some had to live up to their image as nationalists, some as realists.

Another embarrassment for the Kremlin was the roster of those who stayed away, including five ruling parties: China and China's European rubber stamp, Albania; China's neighbors, North Korea and North Vietnam; and Yugoslavia, the longtime loner.

Still, it was far from a washout from the Kremlin's vantage point. Seventy-five parties did show up. The majority of those present denounced Mao Tse-tung, even though a strong minority blocked the subject from inclusion in the final watered-down policy platform. Keen stage management kept the Czechoslovakian "events" in low key, in spite of the fact that they had convulsed the Communist movement ten months earlier. Nearly everyone signed the overall document, or at least parts of it. And no one walked out or had a tantrum.

But the fragmentation of the Communist movement—even the part of the movement nominally faithful to Moscow—was clearer than ever. And the brief experiment in free expression among Communists could have repercussions inside Russia and other controlled countries.

There were other "firsts." In January, a gunman dressed as a policeman fired two pistols at a gala motorcade as it entered the Kremlin. He hit a car full of cosmonauts, but his intended target, nearly everyone soon



Gustav Husak (right), new Czech Communist Party chief, walks with his Russian counterpart, Leonid Brezhnev, during a June meeting in Moscow.

Shortly before the Russian-led occupation of Czechoslovakia, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, left, and Czech President Ludvik Svoboda signed a friendship pact in Prague.



concluded, was an identical curtained limousine carrying the Communist Party leaders. After an inconspicuous, delayed announcement of a “provocation,” the sensation was never again mentioned in the official press. The fate of the gunman has never been learned.

The cosmonauts’ motorcade was celebrating another “first”—the construction in space of a temporary orbiting platform. But the scientifically important Soyuz program and a continuing series of far-out automatic probes couldn’t compete in the glamour stakes. As the American Apollo program neared its goal, official Soviet propaganda cut back on the sniping and began preparing the Russians for their eclipse on the moon. Considering the positive impact earlier Soviet space innovations had had on the morale of the people, Apollo 11 was a bitter pill.

In a familiar pattern, when things went wrong, the propaganda tried to redirect public attention to threats from abroad—from a cast of “imperialist” villains rang-

ing from the United States and Britain to West Germany and Israel. Enemy Number One, though, in immediacy and emotion, was China. When threats from encircling foes palled, Soviet propaganda could chortle over disasters and misfortunes in the West. There was no shortage of material.

But none of these distractions, however mounted, could disguise the Kremlin’s underlying worries: An unpredictable China poised for military adventures; soft spots in Communist East Europe; unrest among Russia’s intellectuals; ingratitude among the fraternal parties; and an exploding revolutionary movement in the West that refused to fit into Moscow’s mold.

Much of the time the Kremlin coped; there were some victories and some setbacks that could have been defeats. But the rulers of the Soviet Union were besieged from within and without, stymied by indecision and conservatism, and some professed to see the trembling of the monolith.



Soviet officials (left to right) Defense Minister Andrei Grechko, President Nikolai Podgorny, Communist Party Chairman Leonid Brezhnev, Premier Alexei Kosygin, and Communist Party Secretary Mikhail Suslov wave to May Day crowd in Moscow.



Somewhere in the Mediterranean, Russian ships maneuver in a show of force by the Soviet Navy.



In January, Pavel Litvinov, grandson of the former Soviet Foreign Minister, and Larissa Daniel, wife of the imprisoned author, demonstrate in favor of dissidents. Both were later imprisoned.



With no sign of peace in the Middle East, barbed wire marks the Israeli-held bank of the Suez Canal. On the Egyptian side, bombed-out buildings present vivid evidence of fierce artillery duels during last year.

11. The Middle East

THE UNENDING DEADLOCK in the Middle East was capitalized in two sharply conflicting viewpoints:

"We must have patience in order to score victory in the end . . . even if we have to sacrifice a martyr for each inch" (Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, January 1969).

"Egypt seeks a new war in the Middle East for the purpose of bringing about Israel's complete liquidation" (Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban, February 1969).

Thus, two years after the six-day war of June 1967, the front lines of Arab and Israeli armies still demarcate the borders between Israel and Arab lands, with peace a faint hope in the Middle East.

Despite increased border clashes and commando activities, Israel refused to budge from the large Arab areas occupied by her forces. But the legacy of the 1967 campaign became increasingly costly to both sides during the last year.

Jordan's seven-year economic development program staggered to a virtual standstill. Tourism, a major prewar industry, decreased 85 percent in 1968. This industry was especially hard hit because most of Jordan's tourist sites and Christian holy places are in Israeli-occupied territory. Another depressing economic factor was the loss to Israel of the West Bank of the Jordan River, which supplied 38 percent of Jordan's agricultural and industrial output.

For Egypt the war's aftermath produces an annual loss of \$240 million, mainly from a dropoff of tourists and loss of income from traffic through the blocked Suez Canal.

Kuwait, Libya, and Saudi Arabia also were drained of almost \$300 million in relief funds sent to help Jordan and Egypt.

The postwar cost to Israel is enormous. The Jewish state must spend an estimated one million dollars daily to police and administer occupied areas.

Although a United Nations truce exists along the borders, hundreds of soldiers and civilians were slain. The major trouble spots were along the seventy-mile Suez Canal separating Egyptian and Israeli forces, and along Israel's truce lines with Jordan and Syria. Fierce artillery duels on land and jet-fighter battles in the air frequently shattered the uneasy armistice.

One major weapon increasingly used by the Arabs was the fedayeen, the commandos. Guerrilla irregulars based in Jordan, Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon infiltrated Israel on terrorist and sabotage missions. Since the Six-Day War, Israel captured 2,000 guerrillas, and reported more than 1,000 individual acts of sabotage and border incidents. Israel blamed the Arab governments for training and equipping the guerrilla fighters, and retaliated with air strikes and shellings for the worst attacks—actions that brought condemnation from the United Nations on several occasions.

A new tactic was used by Arab commandos in July 1968. Three of them hijacked an Israeli El-Al airliner en route from Rome to Tel Aviv, diverting it to Algeria. After more than a month of negotiations, the forty-four passengers and crew members, and the airliner, were released by Algeria in return for Israel's release of sixteen captured guerrillas.

The most serious single act of terrorism against Israel killed twelve persons (ten Jews and two Arabs) and injured fifty-five when an automobile rigged with bombs exploded in Jerusalem's crowded Mahane Yehuda marketplace in November 1968.

In December 1968, two Lebanese-based guerrilla fighters attacked an Israeli passenger jetliner in Athens airport. Two days later, helicopter-borne Israeli troops raided Beirut Airport, destroying thirteen planes belonging to Arab airlines, and temporarily putting the airport out of business. Israel was strongly criticized both by Western powers and the Soviet Union for "overreacting"

to the attack on its passenger airliner. The Beirut raid had political repercussions in Lebanon, where Premier Abdullah Yaffi, under fire for failing to protect the airport, resigned in January 1969.

In February 1969, a second attack on an Israeli passenger plane was made in Zurich, Switzerland, by four members of the Jordanian Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. This time, the Israeli response was immediate. A brawny male passenger, obviously riding shotgun for the airline, whipped out a pistol and held off the attackers until Swiss police intervened. One guerrilla was killed by the Israeli guard.

Twice—in October 1968 and in April 1969—Israeli helicopter commandos struck targets two hundred miles inside Egypt. The Nag Hammadi dam and bridge, the Tafu Bridge, and the Isna power station were severely damaged in retaliation for Egyptian raids across the Suez Canal and for Egyptian artillery barrages into Israeli positions in the Sinai Peninsula.

Arab morale, dampened by the crushing defeat of 1967, was resuscitated by the daring tactics and suicide missions of the commandos. These commandos, mainly ex-Palestinians, represent every anti-Israel political ideology in the Arab world. But the guerrilla movement is fragmented, uncoordinated, and, like most private armies, frequently uncontrollable. Lebanon and Jordan, most moderate of the Arab states in their attitude toward Israel, tried unsuccessfully to suppress guerrilla activities within their borders but were hampered by immense popular support for the irregular troops.

There were three major guerrilla organizations in action during the past year. The Egyptian-backed Al Fatah groups operated from Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, based in Jordan, was politically connected with the Arab Nationalist Movement, which advocates revolution against all existing Arab governments and an all-out war against Israel. The third group, the Syrian-supported Al Saiqa, opposed any settlement except a military victory over Israel.

Despite the costs incurred by both sides in maintaining the *status quo*, neither the Arabs nor the Israelis appeared anxious to rush toward the conference tables to resolve the stalemate. Israel's demands include Arab recognition of its sovereignty and territorial integrity and access to the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba. The Arabs insist upon Israeli evacuation of occupied territories and compensation for the Arab refugees of the 1948 Arab-Israel war as a precondition to a permanent settlement.

In February 1969 and April 1969, Egypt's President Nasser and Jordan's King Hussein offered separate peace plans for the Middle East. However, both specified that Israel would have to withdraw from the occupied areas before negotiations could begin. In return, King Hussein offered a guarantee of Israel's navigational rights

to the Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba as an immediate Arab concession.

Israel rejected the two plans outright, declaring it would not agree to withdrawal as a precondition to negotiations. Furthermore, Israel insisted that peace talks would have to be on a face-to-face basis with Arab leaders, not through mediators.

The Israeli government is unequivocal about retaining control of the Old City of Jerusalem permanently. The Old City, containing the religious sites most sacred to Judaism—especially the Western Wall of the Second Temple—was integrated administratively with the Israeli sector of Jerusalem in 1967. As another symbol of the reunification of Jerusalem, the Israelis razed the Mandelbaum Gate, single checkpoint between the Jordanian and Israeli sectors of the city from 1948 to 1967.

Israeli officials have also expressed their intention of keeping the Golan Heights in Syria and Egypt's Sharm el Sheik in the Sinai, which controls the entrance to the Strait of Tiran leading into the Gulf of Aqaba.

Before the death of Israel Premier Levi Eshkol in February 1969, there was a lively dispute among Israeli leaders over disposition of the occupied west bank of the Jordan River. The disagreement was related to a political rivalry between Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and Deputy Premier Yigal Allon for control of Mapai, Israel's major political party. Dayan maintained that an enlightened Israeli policy on the west bank would create economic and social interdependence between Israelis and west-bank Jordanians, and thereby promote peace. Dayan's policy led to open communications and traffic between the occupied west bank and the eastern sector of Jordan. Allon proposed that Israel carve out a defensive strip from Jordanian territory along the Jordan River before returning the rest of the west bank to Jordan.

After Eshkol's death, Mrs. Golda Meir, seventy, Israel's former foreign minister, came out of retirement to head the coalition Cabinet that has governed Israel since June 1967. The Dayan-Allon debate was effectively silenced by her decision that the future of the west bank would be settled only at eventual peace talks.

Internal feuds also troubled Arab countries and weakened the unity of the Arab world. In Iraq, the regime of President Abdul Rahman Arif was overthrown by a military coup in July 1968. Army officers sympathetic to the Socialist Baath Party obtained control of the state, naming Major General Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr as head of government. Because of domestic problems—a Kurdish insurrection at home and a dispute with Iran over navigational rights in the Persian Gulf—Iraq threatened in May 1969 to withdraw the 18,000 troops it has stationed in Jordan and Syria since the 1967 war with Israel.

In Jordan, King Hussein requested the resignation of Premier Bahjat al-Talhouni in March 1969, and replaced him with Abdel Moneim Rifai. Al-Talhouni had

been pessimistic about Jordan's chances for a diplomatic settlement with Israel, a policy favored by the monarch.

There were even hints of dissension in Egypt, where militant young army officers were openly advocating a showdown with Israel, although President Nasser is against an immediate confrontation.

Still another inter-Arab dispute was triggered by commandos blowing up an Arabian-American Oil Company pipeline in the Israeli-held Golan Heights in May 1969. The raid caused a substantial loss of oil revenues to Saudi Arabia.

Though the Western powers and the USSR pressed the Arabs and Israelis to break the deadlock, both sides continued to pour arms into the Middle East. With Russian help, Egypt apparently regained most of its military strength. And the United States promised to ship Phantom fighter planes to Israel.

In April 1969, at Russia's behest, the United States, Britain, France, and the USSR began Big Four talks on a possible peace plan for the Middle East. But there was no sign that the major powers would be able to find a formula acceptable to both Israel and the Arabs.



A Syrian commando, captured after infiltrating into the Israeli-held Golan Heights, is guarded by two Israeli soldiers.

Two persons are killed inside Jerusalem's biggest supermarket by a terrorist explosion in February.

A terrorist blast in Jerusalem's main marketplace in November kills several Israelis inside this barbershop.





Egyptian oil refineries in Port Taufiq are ablaze after direct hits by Israeli guns during October artillery duel across Suez Canal.



This 155-mm French artillery piece is mounted on a Sherman tank chassis by Israelis for more punch in April clash with Egyptians along Suez Canal front.



Israeli Defense Minister Mashe Dayan inspects front-line positions along the Suez Canal in March.



In May, Mrs. Galda Meir, Israel's new prime minister, visits section of Jerusalem formerly held by Jordan. She is accompanied by Teddy Kallek (right), mayor of Jerusalem.



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The Danger Grows

Alvin Rosenfeld

NBC News Jerusalem Correspondent

IT WAS INESCAPABLE: The Middle East was chronically ill. The self-styled specialists, the Great Powers, hovered round but tried not to get too close lest they catch the bug. As specialists will, they disagreed about the treatment, and as a result no medication was prescribed. That palliative, the UN cease-fire observation force, was of no help. There were remissions, peaceful periods. Then, unaccountably, the fever line shot up, and the patient shook with violence. The relapses were furious, as can be illustrated by the events of the third week of June 1969:

Monday: Jordanian-Israeli artillery and tank exchanges in southern Jordan valley. One local Arab killed and twenty-two injured in Gaza by a hand grenade that missed an Israeli Army vehicle.

Tuesday: An Israeli soldier and an American tourist killed by shells fired from Jordan. One Israeli soldier killed on Suez.

Wednesday: Israeli jets attack targets in Jordan with rockets and napalm intermittently for five hours, and Jordan reports losing three soldiers.

Thursday: Israel reports two Israeli soldiers and

twelve Arab commandos killed in four clashes. Jordan reports one soldier killed by raiding Israeli aircraft. Electric power cut briefly in parts of Jerusalem by small sabotage bomb. Ninety-minute artillery duel on Suez.

Friday: Heavy gun exchanges on Suez. Three bombs explode along Jewish pilgrims' path to Wailing Wall in old Jerusalem.

Saturday: Ten-hour artillery duel on Suez. Egyptian commandos on raid across canal clash with Israeli unit.

Sunday: Israeli commandos attack Egyptian base on Bay of Suez. Israeli planes on forty-five-minute raid hit targets in northern Jordan Valley.

In short, while the cease-fire line theoretically existed, the cease-fire itself had disappeared during the course of the second year after the Six-Day War. The Arabs, not yet capable of an all-out offensive, had embarked on limited warfare; the Israelis generally responded with counterfire or retaliatory blows.

Songs of vengeance blared from Arab radios. Egypt, newly rearmed by the grace of Soviet Russia, massed six divisions between Cairo and the Suez, concentrated six hundred big guns along the canal, and periodically let the fieldpieces blaze. Soon the clogged waterway turned into an artillery battlefield, with eerie resemblances to the Western Front of 1917. There were days when thousands of shells were fired across the Suez. The two sides dug in and sent their commandos across the canal very much as the combatants of World War One had dispatched their men on raids "over the top" in Flanders fields.

Abdel Nasser, who had made himself solely responsible for Egypt's military decisions, was clearly battling the poison of fatalism with the antidote of action. Some also argued that Egypt's president had ordered fighting of no real military significance in order to restore his faded prestige, to appease his restless army officers, to divert his discontented people from Egypt's aching economic problems, to maintain pressure on the Great Powers for a solution imposed on Israel. Perhaps. But none of this changed the fact of battle.

The other major development, of course, was the reactivation of the fedayeen, "those who sacrifice themselves." The Arab irregulars developed quickly from small bands that could do little beyond sowing button mines in Jerusalem's schoolyards and planting puny explosives in garbage cans to ranger outfits capable of sustained attack and sometimes functioning in concert with regular army forces. Israel dismissed them as terrorist gangs, but they would not be dismissed. At least two—the centrist Al Fatah and the leftist, anti-American Popular Front—emerged as movements with political potentialities. They developed their own mystique, and their heroes were Che Guevara and the Algerian FLN. They suffered heavy casualties, but seemed to have no trouble finding new recruits. They were interested in no compromise; their goal was the "liberation" of all Palestine.

To the Arab man in the street the commandos symbolized new hope, but to the Arab leaders they were a mixed blessing. They could not always be controlled; four Arab nations suffered financial loss when fedayeen blew up the Tapline from Saudi Arabia to Lebanon as it flowed through Israeli-occupied Syria. Their activities resulted in Israeli retaliatory strikes across the borders, and sometimes these attacks hurt Arab civilians, property, and commerce.

With their glamour and dedication, the fedayeen competed with sovereign Arab governments for popular support, and gave an embittered people the feeling that the Arabs were regaining their honor. Abdel Nasser, shrewd in the ways of the Arab world, gave the fedayeen his blessing but made sure they established no real bases in his territory. Jordan's King Hussein took no pleasure in gun-toting commandos strutting down the streets of Amman and striking poses that he, with the burdens of state and the burdens of many new refugees, could hardly afford. Jordan sought to control the fedayeen, and ended up with a fragile and imperfect working relationship. Lebanon, concerned lest Arab extremism destroy its delicate balance of Christian and Moslem, sought to banish the fedayeen, and triggered a lengthy government crisis.

The Israelis, with their cool efficiency, worked to develop defenses against both Abdel Nasser and the fedayeen. They ripped up the Sinai railway and used its one hundred miles of rails to buttress a complex set of fortifications along the canal. Later they laughed at Cairo's claim that 60 percent of this defense line lay in ruins after Egyptian artillery attack. Israel fought the fedayeen by building a sophisticated electronic fence along the Jordan, patrolling ceaselessly, suppressing sabotage cells within the occupied territories, staging "warning" raids of varying strength beyond the borders, and stationing civil defense workers at movie houses and supermarkets to check handbags and briefcases for hidden bombs. The anticommando measures soon proved themselves, the Israelis said, contending that the fedayeen raids were largely being halted at the frontier and that the commandos were unable to establish bases of consequence among their compatriots in conquered Palestine.

The Arabs paid a high cost for their acts. The gun duels on the Suez turned Egyptian canal towns into ghosts, and, by Israeli estimate, made refugees out of some 750,000 Egyptians. The fedayeen, or so Israel claimed, suffered 450 dead in raids into Israel and at least 550 fatalities in Israeli counterblows. But if the Arabs were caught in a trap, so were the Israelis. The international reaction to their Beirut airport raid taught them that there was a limit to what they could do by way of retaliation. Their own military leaders said Israel could contain but never stop sabotage. Israel's defense budget rose until, in percentage terms, it was among the world's highest, and will certainly soar higher if the West

yields to Israel's requests for more weapons to checkmate Arab rearmament. The children of the Israeli settlers in the Jordan Valley facing Arab gun positions learned to sleep in underground shelters. Military conscription for Israel's young men was increased by six months to a full three years. The number of reservists called up periodically for active service rose, and in 1969 men in their thirties and forties who had left job and family for a few weeks in uniform fell on the front line.

The contrast with the prewar period was dramatic. In the 29 months before the Six-Day War, according to official Israeli statistics, 14 Israeli civilians and soldiers were killed and 70 wounded by enemy action. In the first 24 months after victory in the war, 309 Israeli soldiers and 50 civilians were killed, 1,043 soldiers and 450 civilians were wounded by Arab regular and irregular forces.

The mood in Israel, consequently, changed. Israelis took to carrying transistor radios with them everywhere, even to the beach, and listening to every news broadcast for the latest from the battlefronts. The army, seeking to give the public a brief respite from blood and tears, deliberately refrained from announcing casualties or major clashes on the Sabbath. The mothers of the eighteen-to-twenty-one-year olds in the draft army became a special group, united in concern for their sons, unwilling to stray far from home lest their sons come back suddenly on brief leave. Thoughtful Israelis began to wonder how endless fighting, endless bloodletting, endless occupation duty would affect the fiber of Israeli society and to what extent, if any, Israel's hardy but idealistic youth would be sullied.

Not for a moment, however, did the Israelis consider retreat. Each casualty, they said, was a human tragedy felt by the entire people, but the total casualty rate was bearable from the national viewpoint. The booming economy, they argued, could stand the strain of limited war. And it was better to face the enemy on the Jordan and the Suez, far from Israel's population centers, than to have Jordanian guns within range of Tel Aviv and Egyptian cannon within striking distance of Ascalon.

True, the Israelis were beginning to realize that there were no swift, easy solutions. Immediately after the 1967 war, the Israelis tended to think that the Arab leaders were simply being stubborn and misguided in refusing to come to terms with Israel. Two years after the war, Israeli political theorists were beginning to say that peace could come only after a fundamental, indeed cosmic, change in Arab thinking. They would not dare predict how long it might take for such an agonizing reevaluation to evolve or whether it would ever come.

Until such reevaluation the Israelis intended to stand pat. What's more, they were finding new use for the policy they had successfully followed ever since Zionist settlement first began—the policy of "creating facts," by which they meant geopolitical facts, through the

establishment of a living Israeli presence in areas Israel had no intention of leaving. Israeli housing projects sprang up next door to Arab suburbs in the conquered half of "reunited" Jerusalem, and the ravaged Jewish Quarter of the walled Old City was under restoration. Eleven Israeli farm villages were founded in the occupied Golan Heights of Syria as evidence that never again would Israel permit Syrian guns to be planted on those hills and shell the Israeli settlements in the valley below. A road was torn out of the conquered mountains abutting the Dead Sea.

Some Cabinet ministers in Israel's wall-to-wall coalition pressed for the creation of more "facts," particularly in occupied Jordanian territory and the Gaza Strip. The government, however, held back from sweeping decisions. Partly this was because the more internationally minded ministers feared that additional "facts" would make a peace settlement, no matter how academic at the moment, more difficult to achieve. Partly the delay stemmed from a reluctance to mix two such different societies, to add 1,000,000 conquered Arabs (with their high birthrate) to Israel's 2,500,000 Jews (with their low birthrate). Those who argued against a "Greater Israel," who pointed to the dangers that such a population mixture might pose to Israeli culture and self-government, noted that pre-1967 "Little Israel" included 400,000 Arabs in its population. The "activist" Cabinet members, led by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, argued that with peace beyond reach Israel would be responsible for the conquered Arabs indefinitely, and was thus presented with the ideal opportunity to prove that Jew and Arab could live in harmony. Given the challenges on the frontier, no minister was ready to risk crisis at home by forcing the issue.

And yet, partly because of the natural play of commercial forces, partly because of the policies of Dayan's military government, there was a steady growth of economic contacts between Israel proper and the occupied territories. By the second anniversary of the Six-Day War, 15,000 Palestinian Arabs were working routinely in Israel, earning Israeli wages, rubbing shoulders with Israeli foremen. Seventeen official labor exchanges had been established in the occupied lands to supervise the flow of workers to "Little Israel." Arabs from the Gaza Strip, cut off from Jewish markets for nineteen years, carried their produce to Tel Aviv and did a flourishing business. While the trade across the Jordan between the occupied lands and King Hussein's remaining territory continued in defiance of border flare-ups, the flow of goods between Israel and Arab Palestine grew apace.

Israel, a welfare-minded nation with a regime sensitive to criticism of its record in the occupied lands, busily set about improving conditions among its new subjects. Arab infants were inoculated against measles, the Arab

welfare rolls grew, Arab farmers were helped to modernize their work, vocational education for Arab teen-agers was encouraged.

The Israelis did not fool themselves into believing that thereby they had purchased Arab love. Trade and welfare-statism were not followed by affection or social and cultural links. The two peoples remained separate and different. At the very best, the Arabs were uncommitted political neuters. In "reunited" Jerusalem, the two peoples, spurred by sporadic terror and the border fighting, moved further and further apart.

If there were few fedayeen cells and relatively little sabotage within the occupied lands, this was at least partly because the Israelis had taught the Arabs that resistance was costly. Using the same stringent British "emergency regulations" the Jewish underground had faced in mandated Palestine before 1948, the Israelis battled sabotage within the territories by imposing curfews, carrying out house-to-house searches, deporting troublemakers across the Jordan, and destroying the homes of alleged terrorists.

Waves of student strikes sometimes swept the occupied towns, but each wave spent itself against the conquerors' iron will. Politically, the Palestinians seemed, for the moment at least, bowed by weariness and frustration, and even two years after the war they had no real spokesmen, no national leadership. Their most talented high school graduates, potential rebels or leaders of rebels, were drained off to university and career in Cairo and Beirut. Whatever hopes the Palestinians had of a fundamental solution—and they did not seem to know what solution they wanted—rested temporarily with the Big Two and their marathon talks.

Those hopes were admittedly slender. Washington and Moscow were making little headway. The Russians, who were in no mood to encourage Egypt in new military adventures that might send all the shiny new made-in-USSR arms down the drain, did seem to make an effort to talk Abdel Nasser into compromise. But the Powers were learning again that there is a distinct limit to their influence over smaller countries, no matter how friendly or dependent those smaller nations might be.

Two years after the war, despite all the Big Power talk and all the maneuvering at the UN, the major protagonists in the Middle East struggle were left facing each other with naked swords. Peace was further away than ever. At best the region seemed doomed to the endless continuation of limited warfare. Two imponderables existed: Would Abdel Nasser risk, or find himself driven to risk, larger-scale war in an effort, not to sweep to Tel Aviv, but to make it too expensive for Israel to hold on to the conquests? What level of escalation of violence, terror, and death would Israel be ready to bear without lashing out anew?



Jordanian civilians and soldiers in frontier town battle fires after attack by Israeli artillery missiles and jet fighters in June.

Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser chats with soldier during inspection of Suez Canal front in November.





Yasir Arafat, a Palestinian whose code name is Abu Amar, is the leader of El Fatah, an Arab guerrilla organization.



Top right: Two Iraqi Jews are among five hanged by the Baghdad government in January for allegedly spying for Israel.



King Hussein of Jordan (hands outstretched) visits town of Salt in August after Israeli attack on nearby guerrilla base.



Thousands of Chinese demonstrate in Peking against Russians following border incidents. Placards read: "Down with the New Czars," meaning the USSR joined with the USA.

12. Red China

IN MUCH OF ASIA—Communist China, India, Pakistan, and Malaysia—seething internal problems erupted into bloody conflicts from mid-1968 to mid-1969.

The turmoil in Red China of 1967 swirled around the “Cultural Revolution” inspired by Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party Chairman of the Central Committee. Launched in 1966, the aim of the Cultural Revolution was not to expand China’s artistic standards but, rather, to eradicate all opposition to Mao’s leadership. The Red Guards, youthful groups of Mao zealots, were the vanguard of Mao’s campaign against political, intellectual, and military officials who disagreed with him. Fighting in the name of “Chairman Mao,” Red Guard units battled with workers, university students, and troops in the streets of China’s cities. Communist China is sealed off to virtually all Western newsmen, but evidence collected by foreign observers and Japanese reporters and from wall posters and from the presence of hundreds of bodies seen floating in rivers and seas pointed to the heavy tolls exacted in Mao’s Cultural Revolution.

In the latter part of 1968, Mao apparently called a halt to the revolution. All indications were that he had won. His major opponents had been expelled from the party, and 36 of 45 regional Communist Party leaders had been ousted. Moreover, the continual disorders within China had badly disrupted agricultural and industrial production. Editorials in Chinese newspapers called for an end to “factionalism” and a concerted national effort to achieve production quotas. During July 1968, Red Guard cadres were suppressed and forced to disband; thousands of Red Guardists were exiled from Peking, Canton, and other cities, and ordered into the provinces to work on agricultural projects. A further sign of complete Maoist victory came in October 1968, when the Chairman of the People’s Republic, Liu Shao-chi, was expelled from the Communist Party; he had long been a target of the Cultural Revolution.

The Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, held in Peking in April 1969, provided the final signal that the Cultural Revolution was over and that the Communist Party apparatus was in Mao’s control. Military men and career bureaucrats loyal to Mao were elected to all important party and government posts. Defense Minister Lin Piao, a staunch Maoist, was designated as the apparent political heir to the seventy-five-year-old Mao.

In the party shake-up, Lin had arrived close to the top of the hierarchy, and was selected to deliver the important keynote speech. In his address he denounced the Soviet Union as an enemy of China, accusing the Soviets of plotting with the United States to destroy Red China. (At the International Communist Party Conference held in Moscow in June 1969, and which the Red Chinese boycotted, Russian Chairman Brezhnev warned that Red China was the major threat to peace and world Communism.)

The propaganda war between the two major Communist powers finally exploded into border battles. China and the USSR have a common frontier of 4,500 miles. The Chinese claim that thousands of square miles of Asiatic USSR had been illegally seized by Czarist Russia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In March 1969, Soviet and Chinese border guards clashed on a disputed island in the Ussuri River between Manchuria and the Soviet Union’s Maritime Provinces, each side accusing the other of provoking the attack. Several Chinese and Russian soldiers were killed in the flare-up.

In Pakistan, an ostensibly entrenched government was toppled with almost no warning. West Pakistani students began demonstrating against the government of President Mohammed Ayub Khan in November 1968. The student protest soon ignited an unexpected wave of discontent in the Moslem country against the ten-year-old Ayub dictatorship.

The worst turmoil was in East Pakistan, where

grievances centered on poor housing, low industrial earnings, and hardship conditions in an area that contained 56 percent of Pakistan's population. East Pakistan contributed two-thirds of the country's foreign-exchange earnings, but received less than one-half of the central government's allocations.

Although Ayub agreed to the demonstrators' major demands—increased wages, more relief funds to blighted areas and creation of a parliamentary government—the general upheaval in Pakistan continued. The government, industry, schools, and communications staggered to a virtual standstill. Finally, in March 1969, under pressure from the military, Ayub resigned and turned the government over to General Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan, commander in chief of Pakistan's army. General Yahya imposed martial law, with generals as government administrators. The disorders ended after Yahya pacified the country, fulfilling some of Ayub's pledges to find a democratic, political solution for Pakistan's problems.

India's dominant political institution, the Congress Party, which has governed since independence was achieved in 1947, experienced major setbacks last year. The Congress Party held on to the reins of national government, under the premiership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, but in the provinces—where local and factional interests, rather than national affairs, dominate politics—the party lost considerable ground. During state assembly elections, in February 1969, the party suffered a string of defeats and retained control of only four of India's sixteen regional administrations.

India also remained torn by religious strife. There were more than two hundred serious Moslem-Hindu clashes in the last year. The worst incident occurred in Bombay in February 1969, when forty-three persons were killed in street fighting between police and Marathi nationalists who want to secede from India. And Mizo and Naga tribesmen continued their separatist rebellions, both tribes aided by Red Chinese weapons and instructors.

Japan's booming economy has given that country the largest export surplus in the world—\$1.63 billion—full employment, and general prosperity. But political controversy over American bases on Japanese soil boiled over into violent disorders in 1968 and 1969. The United States, anxious to create goodwill before the renewal in 1970 of the United States-Japanese Mutual Security Treaty, agreed in December 1968 to relocate, return, or share with Japanese defense forces fifty American bases. The list, however, excluded the largest United States airfields at Tachikawa and Yokota, and the major naval bases in Kyushu.

Another sore spot was the island of Okinawa.

Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato has pledged his political future to restoration of Okinawa to Japanese control. Since the end of World War II, Okinawa has been occupied and administered by the United States,

although in 1945 the United States promised to eventually return the island to Japan.

The majority of the Japanese people and the one million Okinawans undoubtedly want the island returned to Japan immediately. But Okinawa—a training, transit, and supply base—is a vital installation for United States forces in the Far East.

On Okinawa Day—April 24, 1969, the anniversary of the island's separation from Japan—150,000 Japanese demonstrated against continued American control and stockpiling of nuclear weapons on Okinawa. In May, 18,000 Okinawan workers staged a wildcat strike at United States bases. When American troops quelled the demonstrators, an Okinawan leader was brushed by a bayonet, an incident that created widespread indignation in Okinawa and Japan.

A few days after the Okinawa strike, Japanese Foreign Minister Kiichi Aichi formally requested the return of the island to Japan by 1972. In the interim, he demanded that atomic weapons be removed from the island and that no combat operations be launched from Okinawa without prior Japanese approval, the system used at American installations in Japan's home islands. At the end of May 1969, the Nixon Administration, anxious to compromise on the major issue threatening the United States-Japanese treaty, agreed to remove nuclear weapons from the Okinawa arsenals.

In January 1968, the USS *Pueblo*—an intelligence, or spy, ship—was captured by North Korea in the Sea of Japan. One crew member was fatally wounded and eighty-two survivors were imprisoned. For eleven months the North Korean Communists refused to release the Americans unless the United States apologized for the *Pueblo's* supposed intrusion into North Korean territorial waters. On December 22, 1968, the United States, which had insisted that the *Pueblo* was outside North Korean waters, obtained the crew's release by "apologizing" for an apparent intrusion. Simultaneously, Washington denied the charge, stating that the "apology" was offered solely to free the crew. During their imprisonment crew members had signed "confessions" that the ship slipped into North Korean territorial waters on a spy mission. They later explained that North Koreans had obtained these phony admissions through torture and threats of execution.

A second *Pueblo* incident seemed in the making in April 1969, when North Korea shot down a US Navy EC-121 electronic intelligence plane on a mission over the Sea of Japan. The plane, Pyongyang charged, had intruded into North Korean airspace. President Nixon quickly ordered forty United States warships into the Sea of Japan—a show of strength and a warning to North Korea that further incidents would not be tolerated. Before the end of April, when no additional signs of North Korean belligerency were evident, most of the ships were withdrawn.

Until 1969, Malaysia was considered a laboratory model for newly developed democracies in Asia. Granted independence by Great Britain in 1963, Malaysia has a population of five million Malays, three million Chinese, and three million Indians and other Asians. For six years Malaysia's rulers tried to provide equal rights and opportunities to all its citizens. But elections in May 1969 resulted in unexpected successes for Chinese-dominated parties. To celebrate their victory, thousands of Chinese paraded in the streets of Malaysia's capital, Kuala Lumpur, occasionally exchanging insults with Malay onlookers. The next day, a Malay counterdemonstration mushroomed into an anti-Chinese riot. Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman declared a state of emergency, and called in army troops to restore order. The fighting lasted four days; and before it was over, two hundred persons, mostly Chinese, had been killed.

The possibility of an eventual withdrawal of United States troops from Vietnam, coupled with a general Asian belief that America may never again commit itself to a land war in Asia, offered new concerns to Asian

leaders. Secretary of State William Rogers pledged continued American support of its allies at the May 1969 Southeast Asia Treaty Organization Conference, with this qualification: "At the same time, I must point out that my government faces difficult decisions about how to allocate available resources against many urgent claims."

While the United States reexamined its role in the Orient, non-Communist Asian countries reassessed old quarrels among themselves. In January 1969, Philippines President Ferdinand Marcos recommended that all inter-Asian disputes be settled at the conference table. Citing the Philippine feud with Malaysia over control of Sabah (part of Borneo) as a case in point, Marcos pledged there would be a peaceful settlement of this territorial dispute. Thailand's Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman took a similar line. In February 1969, Khoman dropped a Thai territorial claim against Cambodia, announcing that his country wished to set a harmonious example for the rest of Asia. These two peaceful diplomatic gestures were hopeful signs for the future.

Soviet and Chinese border troops argue over frontier boundaries on the Ussuri River. Fighting later flared up.





A SERIES OF PICTURES
TAKEN INSIDE RED CHINA
AND RELEASED BY HSIHUA,
NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.



With MIG-17's as a backdrop, Chinese pilots and ground crews hold up a sign reading "We enthusiastically welcome the great victory of the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung."



Opposite, for left: In January, Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao (center), with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao (left) and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, poses for this supposedly informal meeting with soldiers.

Opposite: Soldiers distribute Quotations of Mao Tse-tung (the Red Book) to peasants.

Opposite bottom: Chinese in Peking celebrate nuclear test explosion in December.



In front of a steel mill, somewhere in Red China, workers demonstrate against "Soviet revisionism" and "American imperialism."

Communist Chinese tank crews take time out from military duties to study documents from the Communist Party's Ninth Congress.





Wall posters in Shanghai are one way of learning the latest details in the ideological campaign against "revisionists."

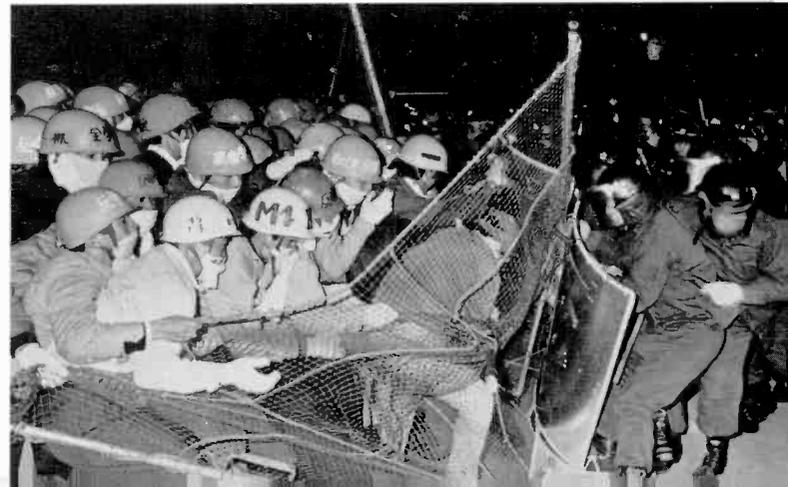


Protesting the visit of the United States aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, Japanese students burn an American flag during January demonstration in Sasebo.



Bottom, left: General Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan, who took over as President of Pakistan in March, jokes with newsmen during press conference.

Bottom, right: Police (on right side of fence) try to hold back students at a Tokyo railway station during an October demonstration by antiwar groups.





Pueblo Commander Lloyd Bucher (right) and Lieutenant Stephen Harris in February leave a closed session of the naval court-of-inquiry hearing into the North Korean seizure of the United States intelligence ship *Pueblo*.



Pueblo crewmen, freed in December after eleven months of captivity, show the "thumbs up" sign before boarding plane in Seoul, Korea, for the trip home.

The body of one of thirty-one United States airmen killed in an attack by North Koreans is brought ashore in Japan. A United States reconnaissance plane was shot down over the Sea of Japan in April.





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, a vantage point he has since continually held. To prepare for the job, he studied Chinese.

Red China at the Twenty-Year Mark

Welles Hangen

NBC News Hong Kong Correspondent

AS IT NEARS the end of twenty years in power, Mao Tse-tung's regime clearly regards Russia as its main external enemy and domestic revolutionaries as its most dangerous internal foes. For a Communist government long allied with Moscow and now officially committed to permanent revolution, this seems to represent the most drastic possible political turnabout.

A decade of rising Sino-Soviet hostility was capped in blood on the frozen Ussuri River in March 1969 and enshrined as official Chinese Communist doctrine at the Maoist party's Ninth National Congress in Peking the following month.

Following China's embargo of the Soviet's summit conference of Communist Parties, Mao's propagandists are now bombarding Russia and Eastern Europe with calls for revolt against the neoimperialists in the Kremlin. For the first time China poses as the champion of oppressed peoples from Vladivostok to East Berlin, almost forgetting its advocacy of revolution in the third world of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Peking reacted to the invasion of Czechoslovakia by denouncing both the Warsaw Pact invaders and the Czech reformers, and expressing sympathy for the "revolutionary" Czech masses. The Maoists' indignation over the fate of Czechoslovakia was not entirely hypocritical. The Brezhnev doctrine justifying intervention in the affairs of any wayward member of the "Socialist commonwealth" could be as well applied to China as to Czechoslovakia. Two days after Soviet troops entered Prague, Premier Chou En-lai pledged Chinese support, for what it would be worth, to Romania in case it became the Kremlin's next victim. Peking's only European ally, Albania, has been encouraged to soften its attitude toward Romania and even toward Yugoslavia. A Chinese ambassador is now back in Tirana, the first to go abroad since Peking recalled all but one of its chiefs of mission during the cultural revolution.

Propaganda and diplomacy can hardly offset China's military weakness in the face of Soviet rockets and jet bombers. The Maoists implicitly recognize this fact by mixing verbal belligerence with readiness to resume talks with the Russians on border issues.

My own feeling is that in his seventy-sixth year Mao may feel pressed to avenge what he obviously regards as a lifetime of humiliation at the hands of the Soviet comrades. Brooding on the iniquities he and China have suffered in consequence of Russian chauvinism, Mao may echo King Lear:

"—I will do such things,—
What they are yet I know not,—but they shall be
The terrors of the earth."

If Mao's Russophobia has become obsessive, it could outweigh the counsels of moderation presumably being offered by most Chinese military men.

It seems that fear of a Maoist first strike rather than an inclination to launch a preemptive attack of their own is behind the Russians' military buildup on their eastern border.

The Chinese have replied with a buildup of their own that is not only military: tens of thousands of urban youngsters and superfluous cadres have been shipped from major cities to Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, and northern Manchuria. Their assigned mission is to fight "revisionism" by boosting production and providing additional manpower in vulnerable frontier areas. If Russia does invade, the Maoists envisage a "people's war" in which regular Chinese forces would withdraw to the interior while guerrillas recruited from the civil population would harass the Soviets' lengthening communications and supply lines.

However the Sino-Soviet struggle evolves, it has already relegated the United States to a secondary spot in China's litany of hate. Peking toned down its anti-American propaganda after President Nixon's election

in November, and even suggested that Sino-American ambassadorial talks be resumed in Warsaw in February (for the first time in more than a year) to discuss an agreement on the "five principles of peaceful coexistence." Shortly before the Warsaw meeting was due to convene, Peking abruptly demanded an indefinite postponement. This move was preceded by a barrage of attacks on the new President for allegedly pursuing the anti-China policy of previous Administrations. China's about-face may have been inspired by more militant elements asserting themselves in Peking. With the approach of the Soviet-organized World Communist Conference in Moscow, the Chinese also feared being accused of collusion with the main imperialist power.

Inhibitions on the Chinese side will probably keep relations between Peking and Washington in cold storage for some time to come. As long as rival factions contend for dominance in Peking, it seems doubtful that any of them will want to run the risk of proposing even the most trifling overture to America.

As in other countries, Peking's foreign policy is determined by the alignment of forces inside the country. In China this continues to be precarious. The long-awaited Ninth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in April proclaimed "great" but not "final" victory for the cultural revolution launched three years earlier by Mao and his now designated successor, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao. The aim of the movement was to purge the party and country of revisionist taint and ensure Mao's continuance in power. Lin warned the congress there would be "reversals" in the prolonged struggle to achieve Maoist goals. Liu Shao-chi was deposed as chairman of the People's Republic, and dismissed from all his party posts in October 1968, but his influence is said to continue to poison art, literature, journalism, education, and other key parts of the "superstructure." Many Red Guards and others who were encouraged to "make revolution" against Liu and his followers in 1966-1967 are now being packed off to the countryside in the name of the struggle against revisionism. Only a few representatives of the "revolutionary masses" were elected by the party congress to the new Central Committee. The overwhelming majority of the new central leadership is composed of old faces from the army or the party who have been gradually consolidating their power in the provinces. It's not clear if this "rotten compromise" was forced on Mao and his immediate entourage or whether the old autocrat realized there was no other way to save China.

In any case many of those attacked in Red Guard wall posters have been reelected to the Central Committee and even to the Politburo. Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, and her coterie of extremists have been excluded from the Politburo standing committee, the innermost circle of leadership. The cultural-revolution team that they led with such disruptive effect beginning in 1966 appears to have lost power.

The outlines of future Maoist policy are hazy. There is an effort to make rural production brigades responsible for running state-supported primary schools in the countryside. Teachers would henceforth earn work points like other commune members. In the cities a parallel program would put schools under the supervision of neighborhood factories, with students and teachers dividing their time between the classroom and workbench. Reforms in university education are still in the discussion stage. Stripped of their ideological trappings, the aim of these changes appears to be to relieve the strain on Peking's treasury and to reimpose control over China's unruly students.

Government-financed medical service is also being curtailed. Communes are urged to adopt a system of "cooperative" medical service to which peasants would make regular contributions. Acupuncture and herbal medicine administered by so-called "barefoot doctors" are to replace more expensive Western modes of treatment.

Despite intensive publicity in the central media, Maoist reforms in education and medicine are making uneven progress. Peking can no longer decree nationwide policy changes; it must put up with passive resistance by provincial and district authorities.

Such resistance is even more evident in agriculture and industry where the Maoists have yet to spell out comprehensive reform programs. Peking has endorsed the "Tachai spirit" in agriculture, which means communes agree to forgo state subsidies, and rely on their own efforts to increase collective output. As against the Maoists' go-it-alone program for agriculture, Hunan, Kwangsi, and several other important farming provinces are emphasizing the need for increased state investment in farm machinery and fertilizers. The private plots so long denounced by the Maoists as a capitalist survival are apparently still being farmed in most parts of China.

In industry the "Anshan constitution," said to have been drawn up by Mao himself in 1960 as a model for Socialist industry, has still to be widely adopted. Its principles are vague but they appear to be an effort to ensure party control and a measure of decentralization in industry as opposed to the incentive-based system of industrial "trusts" fostered by the ousted Liu Shao-chi. Incentives, bonuses, and premium pay have apparently been abolished throughout industry since the cultural revolution. The effect is most marked on railway workers and coal miners, the former elite of Chinese labor. Real wages, according to Soviet estimates, have fallen from 10 to 40 percent since the cultural revolution began. Industrial output in 1968 is generally thought to have been about 20 percent under 1966, the best previous year. Peking's refusal to release national or even provincial production figures probably means the economy is reviving slowly and haphazardly from the effects of the massive strikes and factional fighting in 1966-1967.

China's foreign trade continues to reflect the dis-

ruptions caused by the cultural revolution. Trade dropped sharply in 1967 and was down again last year. Since 1966 China's foreign commerce may have declined by one-sixth. The shift from Soviet bloc to capitalist trading partners is being accelerated.

Japanese officials expect China's economy to grow only about 4 percent a year, which is barely sufficient to keep pace with the population increase. Prospects for raising per capita income, estimated at \$95 a year in 1966 by the World Bank, are dim.

The threat of economic collapse that appeared to hang over China in 1967 and much of 1968 has been dispelled, but the outlook is by no means encouraging. The Maoists clearly intend to deal with the problem by stepped-up exhortation and political indoctrination. There may also be a go-slow policy in carrying out the more radical economic reforms. It was significant that the Ninth Party Congress laid down no new economic guidelines, and carefully refrained from proclaiming a new great leap forward.

Peking boasts it has redeemed all state bonds and that the country is now free of external and internal

debt. Although foreign suppliers are still under pressure to sell to China on credit, the implication of this statement is that the Maoists don't intend to raise large new loans at home or abroad. The resultant shortage of capital could be an effective brake on programs of industrial and agricultural expansion as well as the reequipping of the armed forces with conventional weapons. The nuclear weapons program will go ahead at all costs, but its credibility as an addition to China's military strength is likely to remain low.

A hold-down on conventional military spending could cause further restiveness among army leaders despite their professed allegiance to the Maoist dictum of "man over weapons." The frequent references in Chinese media to the need for improving relations between the army and the people and the army and the "government" may reflect growing disillusionment with the present balance of power in the country.

Like many another anointed successor, Lin Piao may feel that the longer he waits to claim his inheritance, the less sure he will be of finding it intact.



President Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, flanked by his wife on the left and his daughter on the right, attends a Nacionalista Party convention in August.



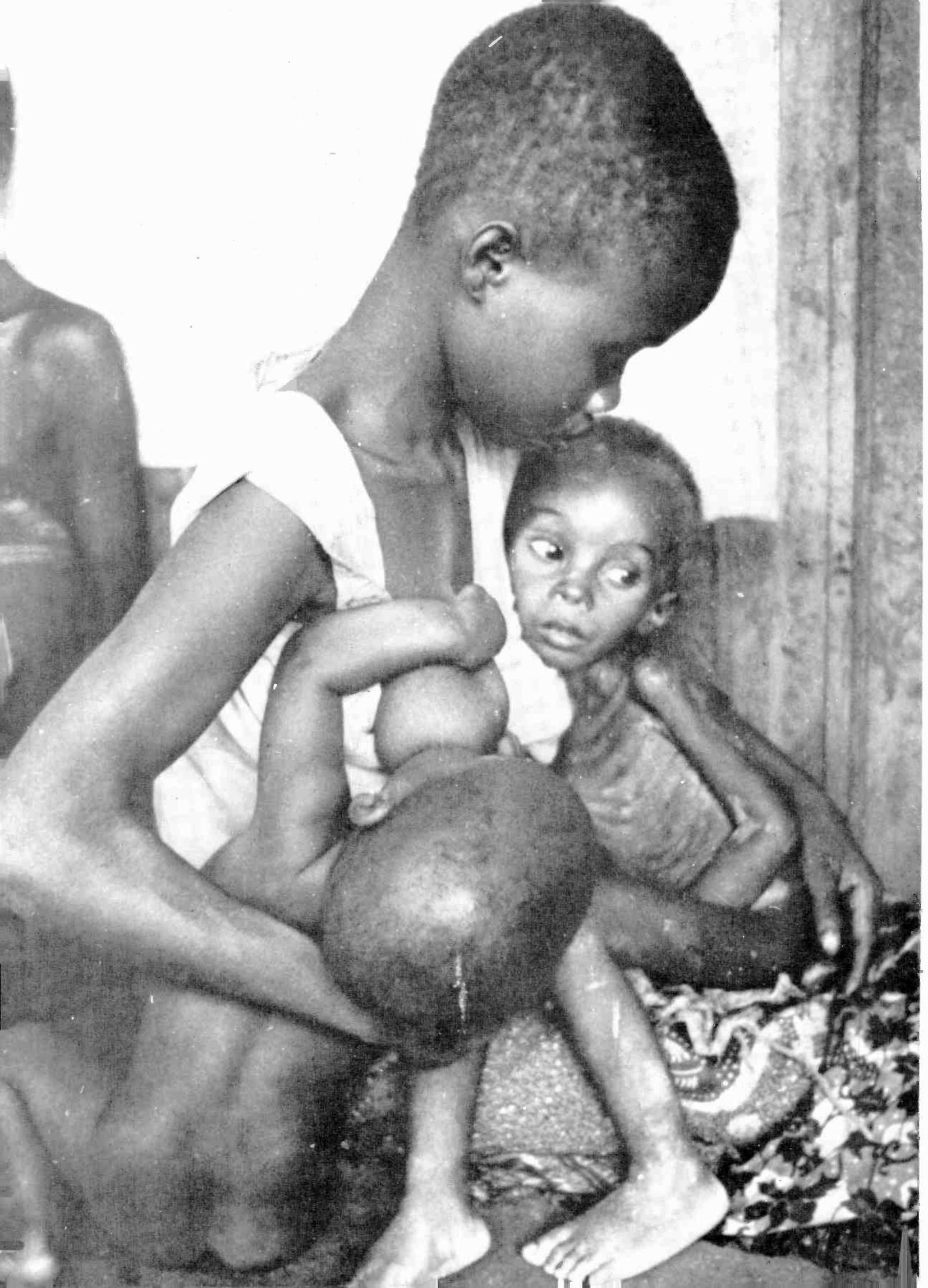
India's embattled Prime Minister Indira Gandhi addresses a New Delhi audience in July on one pleasant subject: the country's bumper 16-million-ton wheat harvest.



Veiled women cast ballots in the state of Uttar Pradesh during India's February elections.



In September, Malaysians protest on the streets of Kuala Lumpur against the Philippine incorporation of the disputed territory of Sabah in Barnea.



13. Africa

THE CONTINUING CIVIL war in Nigeria spotlighted problems of mid-1968 to mid-1969 that have hampered development of most of the black countries of Africa. The end of colonialism unleashed forces of racism, tribalism, and militarism that torment Africa with internal strife and instability.

On May 30, 1969, the Nigerian civil war, the most devastating tribal conflict in recent African history, entered its third year. The date marked the anniversary of the secession of the Ibo tribesmen of eastern Nigeria from the Nigerian Federal Republic.

During the last year federal troops—equipped by Great Britain and the Soviet Union—drove more than a million Ibo civilians into a 2,000-square-mile area that was less than a tenth of the territory held by Biafra at the start of the war. Biafra's capital, Enugu, and the administrative center of Umuahia were captured by Nigerian forces.

The flight of Ibo refugees and disruption of harvests resulted in starvation conditions throughout most Biafran-held areas. International relief workers estimated that 2,000 children died weekly during the last year. Photographs of starving Ibo children, bellies bloated and skin and hair bleached yellow from a protein-deficiency disease, shocked the world.

But millions of dollars of food and medicine, donated by western countries, piled up in western African ports while Nigeria and Biafra squabbled over the method by which supplies could be shipped into Biafra. Nigerian President Yakubu Gowon's offer to grant use of a corridor through federal-held territories for overland shipment was rejected by Biafra's leader General Odumegwu Ojukwu: Biafra would not acknowledge its dependence upon Nigeria for food supplies. Nigeria, on the

other hand, objected to a plan to airlift supplies to Biafra.

In the summer of 1968, a compromise was worked out. The Nigerians agreed to permit a limited number of daily food-relief flights to airports in Biafra. These became Biafra's main lifeline to the outside world, and the war continued. Nevertheless, the Red Cross estimated that in two years of civil war 1.5 million Ibos died of starvation in Biafra.

Military *coups d'état* overturned the governments of the Republic of Congo (the former French colony) in September 1968, and Mali in November in 1968. In both countries, army officers rebelled against the alleged Socialist tendencies of the ousted regimes of Alphonse Massamba-Débat in the Congo and Modibo Keita in Mali.

This antileftist pattern was reversed in the Sudan, largest of the African republics. In May 1969, left-wing army officers staged a bloodless coup, wresting control of the government from the moderate but corrupt and ineffectual civilian administration of Premier Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub. Former Sudanese Chief Justice Abu Bakr Awadullah was installed as premier and foreign minister. It was the third army takeover in the Sudan since it gained independence in 1956.

"We are Socialists but not extremists or fanatics," Awadullah announced. "We are Arabs and fanatics as far as the Palestine question is concerned. We will stand fast against any country that supports Israel, be it Eastern or Western."

Awadullah's Cabinet appointments were mostly Arab nationalists from the extreme left of Sudanese politics; eight were members of the Communist Party. The new regime immediately recognized East Germany, an-

In a Biafran refugee camp a young mother suckles her five-month-old baby while at the same time trying to comfort her four-year-old daughter who is dying of starvation.

nounced it would seek economic and military aid from Moscow, and indicated it planned to nationalize foreign interests in the Sudan. The new Sudanese government seemed to be settling into the Egyptian pattern of close ties with Russia, rabid anti-Zionism, and a single-party political structure.

Another sign of leftist activity was an insurrection that failed in Liberia. The first open signs of opposition to the government of President William Tubman in a decade were revealed at the June 1968 treason trial of Henry J. Fahnbulleh. Fahnbulleh was convicted of conspiring with Communist China to overthrow Tubman.

Strict "Africa for the Africans" policies prevailed in two countries. Kenya forced 3,000 Asian merchants, mostly Indians, out of business in 1968 by withholding trading licenses from them. Tanzania severed its connection with the Peace Corps in 1969, claiming the program brought too many teachers and not enough technicians into the country. The move, however, coincided with Operation Vijana (Swahili for "youth"), launched in January 1969, "to rid the country of foreign cultural influences." Tanzanian "Youth Patrols" were ordered to seek out and report wearers of miniskirts, wigs, bell-bottom and tight trousers, and users of hair-straightening and skin-bleaching ointments.

In the Republic of South Africa, in the former British colony of Rhodesia, and in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, the black struggles for civil rights and independence made little headway.

For the Republic of South Africa, 1969 marked the twenty-first year of power for the ruling Nationalist Party. The Nationalist policy of racial separatism, *apartheid*, has been condemned almost annually by the United Nations as a violation of the human rights of nonwhite South Africans. But South Africa's government showed no signs of reversing its segregationist posture. Instead, the white-supremacist government disclosed in a series of announcements in 1968 and 1969 further plans for creation of "Bantustans," or separate provinces, for 13 million black South Africans. Under this plan, blacks would be taken from urban areas, where most of the country's three million whites live, and resettled in internally autonomous states.

Rhodesia, South Africa's neighbor and staunchest white ally, made its final drive for complete independence from Great Britain.

Prime Minister Ian Smith's rebel government was in no serious trouble, despite pleas from Great Britain and the United Nations for economic boycotts against Rhodesia. Rhodesia got all the help it needed from South Africa and the Portuguese colonies.

Smith and his followers, foreseeing and fearing that independence from Britain would mean a black-domi-

nated government in Rhodesia, seized power in 1956. Since then, a government—with uncertain status—controlled by 228,000 whites has been ruling a country with a black population of almost five million.

In July 1968, Britain's Privy Council, high court for Commonwealth affairs, declared Smith's breakaway administration to be illegal and all its acts invalid. Rhodesia's own high court, however, upheld the legitimacy of the Smith regime in September 1968.

An unsuccessful last-ditch effort to break the Rhodesian stalemate was made by Britain's Prime Minister Harold Wilson in October 1968, when he met with Ian Smith in a British warship anchored off Gibraltar. The only solution acceptable to Britain—guaranteed rights for Rhodesia's black majority—was rejected by Smith.

In February 1969, Smith unveiled a proposed constitution that virtually eliminated all formal ties between Rhodesia and the British Commonwealth. And in June 1969, white voters overwhelmingly approved the constitution, clearing the way for the formal establishment of a white-dominated Republic of Rhodesia. Parliamentary representation in the country will be proportional to the share of income taxes paid by black and white communities. Since the wealthy white community now pays 99.50 percent of the total taxes, its control of Rhodesia is assured.

Guerrilla activities by nationalists in Portuguese Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique forced Portugal to maintain 140,000 troops in Africa last year, at a cost of 40 percent of the country's national budget. The UN also took note of the problem in November 1968 by censuring Portugal for repressive colonial policies. Nevertheless, Marcelo Caetano, Portugal's new premier, stressed his government's determination to hold on to the colonies. In April 1969—during a visit to Africa—Caetano offered amnesty and increased autonomy to Mozambique and Angola rebels in return for a ceasefire.

Zambia tacitly permitted anti-Portuguese guerrilla fighters to organize within its borders. The Portuguese retaliated by bombing Zambian border villages. The rebels also found encouragement and support in Tanzania. But in February 1969, the leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) was killed in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's capital, when a package, sent through the mails, exploded in his face.

The Mozambique independence movement was further hurt through the defection of Lazaro Kavan-dame, a leader of the important Makonde tribe. In April 1969, Kavan-dame urged his followers to desert the liberation front in favor of the Portuguese government. Kavan-dame also said that Frelimo was being armed by the Soviet Union and Communist China.

Biafrans unload desperately needed food from a UN helicopter at a refugee camp in October.



Colonel Ojukwu, leader of the independent Biafran movement, looks on as unsuccessful peace talks with Nigeria open in August in Ethiopia.



Rhodesian Premier Ian Smith is all smiles after conference with British Prime Minister Wilson aboard HMS Fearless at Gibraltar. The October meeting failed to resolve deadlock over rights of blacks in Rhodesia.



Sudanese troops acknowledge cheers outside Presidential Palace in Khartoum during May coup d'état that ousted civilian-run government.



Marcello Caetano, Prime Minister of Portugal, talks with natives during April visit to Luanda in rebellious Angola.

Center: Portuguese Prime Minister Caetano inspects white and black commandos during July visit to Mozambique, where Portugal is trying to suppress an insurrection.



Biafran soldier, armed with a captured Communist-made AK-47 rifle, pauses during the April fighting near Port Harcourt.



Federal Nigerian troops take a breather after capturing secessionist Biafran stronghold of Umuahia in May.



Major General Yakubu Gowon, head of the Nigerian government (left), and President Hamani Diori of the Republic of Niger, attend July conference of African leaders in Niamey, Niger.

Members of the Basotho Ba Borwa Territorial Authority march in ministerial procession to mark granting of limited self-government by South Africa in April to two tribes in the Orange Free State province.





On the eve of Governor Nelson Rockefeller's visit to Uruguay, armed troops patrol before a university building with the sign "Get out, Rockefeller." The disturbances marking his fact-finding trips to Latin America as President Nixon's emissary led Rockefeller to remark that "the disillusionment is very real."

14. Latin America and Canada

THE MORE THINGS CHANGED, the worse they got during the twelve months in Latin America, from mid-1968 to mid-1969. Military coups toppled constitutionally elected governments in Peru and Panama. A military dictatorship tightened its control over Brazil—Latin America's largest country. The Alliance for Progress was characterized by neither alliance nor progress, and its obituary was written by a new Administration in Washington. Overpopulation continued to intensify the problems of underdevelopment. The "revolution of rising expectations" was supplanted by a rising economic nationalism. The relations of the United States with Latin America went into decline, with the downhill skid smeared with oil and fish.

Even some of the positive aspects were essentially negative: Cuba did not stir up much trouble. The military coups were both nonviolent: In Peru, on October 3, 1968, a "revolutionary government," headed by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, fifty-eight, army chief of staff and president of the joint chiefs of staff, overthrew President Fernando Belaúnde Terry. The new eleven-man Cabinet was composed entirely of military officers. It was the first coup in Latin America of military officers in twenty-seven months.

The Velasco regime immediately suspended the constitution and shut down the Congress. The climate for the coup was created by a continuing fiscal crisis and a long-standing dispute with the International Petroleum Corp. (IPC), a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey. With a total investment of \$208 million in Peru, IPC was the country's biggest taxpayer. An agreement between IPC and Belaúnde on new exploration rights and back taxes was denounced by nationalists as a "sell-out," and led to the resignation of the Cabinet. After the Velasco junta seized power, it voided the agreement, and expropriated IPC. The expropriation led to a severe diplomatic conflict with the United States. Some critics claimed the Peruvian military exploited the IPC contro-

versy for its own ends, using it as the pretext for seizing power. But that analysis seemed less applicable when, in June, 1969, the Velasco regime announced a sweeping land reform, including the expropriation of large holdings belonging to American companies and local landowners.

The military has traditionally been the protector of the rich and the ruling classes in Latin America. But in Peru, it appeared that the Velasco regime had decided to break up the military-industrial-oligarchical complex, and undertake the kind of serious reform civilian governors had been unable to accomplish.

The coup in Panama was less complicated.

The National Guard ousted President Arnulfo Arias on October 11, 1968, only eleven days after his inauguration. It was the third time since 1941 that Arias had been thrown out of presidential office by the National Guard. He was toppled this time after shaking up the leadership of the Guard—the nation's only military force. Among the officers affected were those who had supported Arias's opponent in the bitterly contested May elections. The military overthrow of the constitutional government meant continuing delay for a new United States–Panamanian treaty governing the Panama Canal.

Two months later the military-backed government of President Artur da Costa e Silva in Brazil suspended the Congress and assumed emergency powers after the Brazilian legislature refused to allow one of its members to be tried on a charge of "offending the military." Members of the political opposition were thrown into jail by the hundreds.

By the end of 1968, Latin America's two largest countries—Brazil and Argentina—were under the dictatorial control of the military. Authoritarian regimes also ruled Peru, Panama, Paraguay, and Haiti, and the Somoza family continued to control Nicaragua.

Two countries changed presidents by more constitutional means during 1968. In Ecuador, seventy-five-

year-old José María Velasco Ibarra, lived up to the boast he once made about his oratorical ability: "Give me a balcony and I will win any election." He won election as President for the fifth time. Three of his previous four terms in office were terminated by military overthrow, the most recent in 1961.

The presidential elections in Venezuela produced a political landmark for the nation.

The winner was fifty-three-year-old Rafael Caldera Rodríguez, the candidate of the Christian Democratic Party (Copei). His inauguration, on March 11, 1969, brought to an end ten years of rule by the Democratic Action Party, and marked the first time in Venezuelan history a ruling party turned over power peacefully to an opposition party. Caldera succeeded President Raúl Leoni.

Tragedy marked a change of presidents in Bolivia. President René Barrientos Ortuño, forty-nine, was killed in a helicopter crash on April 27, 1969. Barrientos, an Air Force general, had led a coup against the government of President Victor Paz Estenssoro in 1964, and was then elected on his own in 1966. He was succeeded by the Vice-President, Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas.

The death knell for the Alliance for Progress was sounded by President Nixon in a speech at the Pan American Union on April 14—the twenty-first anniversary of the founding of the Organization of American States. Mr. Nixon claimed that the alliance had failed in its efforts to accelerate sufficient economic development, and he called for "new policies, new programs and new appointments."

For eight years, the Alliance for Progress had been the cornerstone of United States policy in this hemisphere. President John F. Kennedy had proclaimed the Alliance on March 13, 1961, at a White House reception for Latin American diplomats. He termed it "a vast cooperative effort, unparalleled in magnitude and nobility of purpose, to satisfy the basic needs of the American people for homes, work and land, health and schools."

The first seven years of the Alliance were assessed in a report to Congress on March 15 by the Latin American Bureau of the United States Agency for International Development. The report described the program's achievements as "substantial," but said its goals had been overly optimistic. (The original ten-year term for the Alliance had been made virtually open-ended during the Johnson Administration.) The report emphasized that much of the economic progress achieved under the Alliance had been negated by the "staggeringly high" population growth in Latin America. It said the combined Gross National Product of the eighteen nations involved had grown at an average annual rate of 4.5 percent from 1961 to 1967 but that their combined per-capita GNP had gone up only 1.5 percent because of the population increase. (The original Alliance goal was an annual per-capita increase of 2.5 percent.) The short-

comings of the Alliance in the economic field were surpassed by its failures in the political and social fields.

Among other things, the original signers of the Charter of Punta del Este also pledged "to improve and strengthen democratic institutions" and "to correct unjust and uneconomic systems of land ownership and use."

Another report on aid was more damaging. The United States General Accounting Office told Congress that a survey of eleven development loans to Brazil between 1962 and 1964 disclosed that about \$105 million had been wasted because of "a significant lack of effective administration." AID defended the loans, saying they were made at a time of "political turbulence" and noted that the projects involved were "launched under adverse circumstances in the most depressed underdeveloped areas of Brazil."

As the AID report on the Alliance noted, the population growth in Latin America has become one of the area's most severe problems. The total population by the end of 1969 is estimated at 270 million, increasing at the rate of 3 percent per year, which means it will more than double by the end of this century. Costa Rica established a national program for birth control during the past year, but in general the influence of Roman Catholicism, the predominant religion in Latin America, has prevented the area from really coming to grips with the problem.

Another problem area for inter-American relations grew out of the rise in economic nationalism. The dispute between Peru and the United States over the expropriation of IPC was not isolated. Chile undertook a program of "Chileanization" of foreign economic interests, and negotiated a phased nationalization of the huge American-owned Anaconda Copper Company, which has produced more than \$3 billion worth of copper in the past twenty years. The negotiations were amicable and produced a formula that might be copied elsewhere in the hemisphere in the future.

Peru, Chile, and Ecuador, claiming their territorial waters extended two hundred miles out to sea, repeatedly seized American fishing boats. (An angry United States House of Representatives authorized the President to cut off military aid to any country that seized or fined an American fishing boat that had been operating more than twelve miles offshore.)

Ecuador demanded—and received—higher royalties from American oil companies.

In May of 1969, Cabinet officials from twenty Latin American nations (only Cuba was missing) met in Viña del Mar, Chile, and put together a common economic policy to be presented to the United States. Their proposals included: (1) elimination of the requirement that aid funds lent by the United States be spent in the United States; softening of terms for loans; (2) trade preferences for Latin American products; (3) international agreements and other measures to stabilize primary product

markets; (4) expansion of exports from Latin America; (5) lower shipping costs; (6) greater access to advanced technology.

President Nixon responded by abolishing the regulation in foreign-aid programs requiring recipients to spend most of the aid funds in the United States.

The deterioration in inter-American relations was dramatized more graphically when President Nixon sent New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, an old Latin-American hand, on a series of fact-finding trips throughout the hemisphere. The reaction in several countries to Rockefeller's visit was violence—some of it as intense as the violence that had greeted Mr. Nixon when, as Vice-President, he made a goodwill tour of the hemisphere in 1958.

Three countries—Peru, Venezuela, and Chile—refused to receive Rockefeller at all, the first time around, and his visits to some other countries were cut short. A significant comment came from the new secretary-general of the Organization of American States, Galo Plaza Lasso, the former President of Ecuador. He warned the United States not to dismiss the disturbances surrounding Rockefeller's mission as just the work of extremist minorities. Referring to "genuine national resentment," the new head of the OAS said that there is a "deep feeling throughout Latin America at all levels of society that relations with the United States need a change." In that spirit, the Nixon Administration hailed the Rockefeller mission as a success for having focused attention on the disarray in United States–Latin American relations.

Peru dramatized its pique toward the United States by establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and then signing a trade agreement with Moscow. Peru also joined Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, and Bolivia in forming the so-called Andean subgroup to promote regional economic cooperation. But the failure of Venezuela to enter into the agreement underlined the continuing difficulties in achieving economic integration on a hemispheric scale, and doubt increased that a Latin American Common Market would come into being by the target date of 1985.

The Caribbean area remained relatively—and remarkably—quiet. In a comic-opera episode that might have intrigued Gilbert and Sullivan, tiny Anguilla declared itself an independent republic. But its independence was short-lived. Great Britain sent a force of paratroopers, London "Bobbies," and Scotland Yard investigators to reassert British jurisdiction. The invasion was bloodless.

Puerto Rico experienced an electoral revolution when New Progressive Party candidate Luis Ferré was elected governor, ending twenty-eight years of rule by the Popular Democratic Party. A split in the ranks of the PDP made possible the victory for Ferré, a longtime advocate of statehood for Puerto Rico. During the campaign, however, he did not emphasize the statehood issue.

Cuba, still struggling with serious economic problems internally, and under pressure from Moscow to curtail its efforts to export revolution, appeared to be less adventurous. In general, terrorist activity waned in such guerrilla-plagued countries as Guatemala, Colombia, and Venezuela. But some of the guerrilla activity took a deadlier turn—aiming at people rather than property. Pro-Castro rebels assassinated the United States Ambassador in Guatemala, John Gordon Mein, and United States Army Captain Charles Chandler was killed by gunmen in São Paulo, Brazil.

A new breed of urban guerrillas, called the "Tupamaros," harassed the government of President Jorge Pacheco Areco in Uruguay, which also suffered increasingly severe economic problems as the welfare state ran out of money.

A new breed of aerial guerrillas began operating in the sky, hijacking commercial airliners in flight and forcing them to land in Cuba. The hijackings occurred so often that flights to Miami from anywhere in the United States became an exercise in suspense.

In Central America, El Salvador and Honduras fought a "soccer war" that led to a break in relations. World Cup soccer matches between their two teams kicked off rioting in their capitals, San Salvador, and Tegucigalpa, and the third game had to be played in Mexico City. (El Salvador eventually won.) The dispute over soccer merely fired a long-smoldering dispute over trade and the migration of thousands of Salvadoreans to Honduras.

President Johnson met with the presidents of five Central American countries in San Salvador in July 1968, at the final session of a meeting of the Central American Common Market. On his return to the United States, Mr. Johnson accompanied the presidents of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala to their respective capitals.

Student disorders, a worldwide phenomenon in 1968, did not bypass Latin America, and several countries sent police and soldiers into the streets to do battle with students.

In Mexico, federal troops opened fire on a student rally in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas just before the opening of the Olympic Games. Between twenty-five and fifty people were killed, and hundreds wounded. The Olympics were held without incident. The month before, federal troops occupied the campus of the National University in Mexico City in an effort to suppress student agitation. Rector Javier Barros resigned to protest what he said was a violation of the university's autonomy, but his resignation and the troops were soon withdrawn.

Latin America also shared in another worldwide movement—ferment within the Roman Catholic Church. Priests disputed their bishops in Peru, Argentina, and Colombia over social reforms and the Church's resistance to them. However, the Council of Latin American

Bishops said in Bogotá on July 16 that the countries of Latin America had to choose between peaceful change and violent change, but could not maintain the *status quo*.

Pope Paul VI became the first Roman Catholic pontiff to visit Latin America. He went to Bogotá from August 22 to 24 for the Thirty-ninth International Eucharistic Conference of the Roman Catholic Church and received a tumultuous welcome.

The Organization of American States, besides electing a new secretary-general, Galo Plaza Lasso, the former President of Ecuador (he replaced the ineffectual José Mora of Uruguay) also acquired two new English-speaking members, Barbados and Jamaica. Yet the most important English-speaking nation in the hemisphere still outside the OAS—Canada—remained outside.

CANADA

The Liberal Party won a decisive victory in the House of Commons elections in June 1968, and Liberal Party leader Pierre Trudeau remained as prime minister. Mr. Trudeau, a forty-nine-year-old bachelor with a reputation as something of a swinger, had replaced Lester Pearson as party head in April 1968. A former law

professor, Mr. Trudeau had been justice minister in Pearson's Cabinet.

In April 1969, Mr. Trudeau announced that Canada would reduce the number of its troops assigned to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Canada emphasized that she would remain a member of NATO. Canada also began talks with Communist China on diplomatic recognition.

Mr. Trudeau went to Washington in March of 1969—President Nixon's first official foreign visitor. While they reaffirmed the strong bonds uniting their two countries, they did not see eye to eye on Mr. Nixon's plans for deployment of an antiballistic missile system (ABM). (Incoming Soviet missiles would probably be intercepted and exploded over Canadian territory.) In May, Mr. Trudeau expressed opposition to the ABM in a speech to the House of Commons on the grounds that it might contribute to escalation of the arms race with the Soviet Union.

The Prime Minister and President Nixon got together again in late June in Massena, New York, and in Montreal for ceremonies commemorating the tenth anniversary of the opening of the Saint Lawrence Seaway.



A student demonstrator, mortally wounded, is carried off by fellow students in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, after he was shot by police. The clash came during a mass demonstration protesting Governor Rockefeller's visit in May.



Dr. Arnulfo Arias proudly displays his credentials as winner of Panama's presidential election. His inauguration in October was followed eleven days later by a National Guard coup in which he was ousted.



Galo Plaza of Ecuador addresses the Organization of American States in Washington after installation as new Secretary-General of the OAS. In his inaugural address he declared that the Alliance for Progress must be "revitalized" and its defects "frankly acknowledged."



Waving signs decrying "Exploitation," Nicaraguans jeer the arrival of Governor Rockefeller in Managua. There were anti-United States demonstrations in virtually every capital of the twenty countries visited during the four trips.

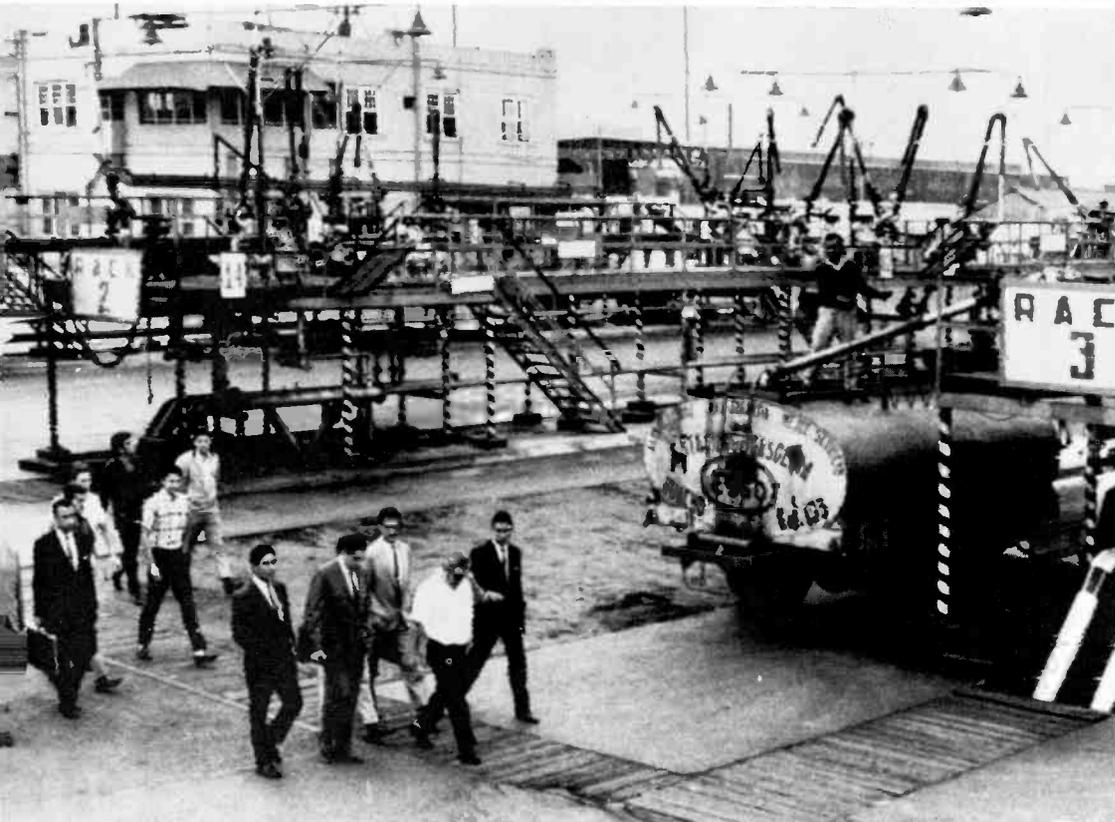


New York's Governor Rockefeller, right, on the final leg of his Central American fact-finding mission is greeted by friendly Panamanians in Panama City. The Administration-organized tours revealed deep strains in relations between the United States and Latin America.

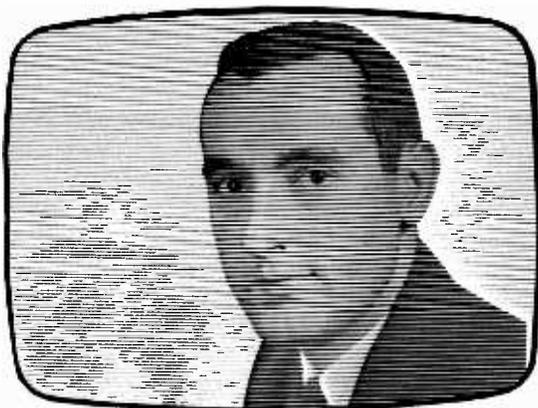


Mexican Army troops attack through the bazoorka-blasted doors of the sixteenth-century National University building in Mexico City, in July 1968, to drive out rioting students. The protestors had charged brutality and violence by the police in controlling clashes between rival prep-school groups.

Appraisers appointed by Peruvian courts evaluate dock facilities of the Independent Petroleum Company in Callao in February, following expropriation of the American-owned company by the ruling military junta. Peru subsequently offered \$71 million compensation while claiming \$690 million damages from the company's operations.



Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau tells a news conference in Ottawa in April that Canada will reduce her NATO forces beginning in 1970. United States Secretary of Defense Laird warned in June that Canada's plan to withdraw part of its forces could have a "snowballing" effect on other NATO members.



Richard Valeriani, from Camden, New Jersey, began his career on a Trenton paper in 1956; shortly thereafter he joined the AP in New York, and was sent to Havana in 1958. He joined NBC News there in 1961 as correspondent in Cuba. After two tumultuous years, including five stays in Castro's jails, he returned to the United States for roving assignments, including integration troubles in the South and insurrection in the Dominican Republic. His present base is Washington, where he covers the White House.

Neither Alliance nor Progress

Richard Valeriani

NBC News Washington Correspondent

A PROMINENT NEWSPAPER columnist once wrote: "Somehow the people of the United States will do anything for Latin America except read about it."

Several times this year, they even read about it—courtesy of New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller's presidential fact-finding mission. They read, ironically, some of the same things they had read eleven years ago, during the Latin American tour of another well-known traveler, Richard Nixon, then Vice-President. They read some of the same things they had read after Fidel Castro established the first Communist regime in the Western Hemisphere. They read that it was time for a new United States policy in Latin America.

Whatever happened to the old policy? The Alliance for Progress was declared defunct, at the age of eight, in a speech by President Nixon at the Pan American Union this spring.

In the same speech, Mr. Nixon said his Adminis-

tration would give the problems of Latin America "the highest priority." In diplomatese, "highest priority" means the basic interest of the audience you happen to be addressing. But this audience was aware that priority of any kind for Latin America had been lacking in the Nixon Administration, as well as the later stages of the Johnson Administration. Among other things, the lack of attention was dramatized by the fact that while Mr. Nixon was speaking to the Organization of American States, he had not yet named a United States Ambassador to that organization. Lack of priority was one of the major ailments afflicting the Alliance. Another was inconsistency in implementing it.

The Alliance for Progress was framed in 1961 as a long-range cooperative development program undertaken by the United States and all the republics of Latin America except Cuba. It was launched with considerable fanfare—in retrospect, its critics said, too much fanfare. But the purpose of the rhetoric was to lift the Alliance beyond the realm of just another American aid program. Yet in promising too much too soon, the Alliance suffered when realization did not match anticipation. Nor was the Alliance helped by the United States' own ambivalence toward its goals.

Take Peru, for example. President Fernando Belaúnde Terry was obviously the kind of constitutionally elected leader the United States felt the countries of Latin America needed. Yet, throughout most of Belaúnde's tenure, United States aid to Peru was cut off, first because of a dispute between Peru and the American-owned International Petroleum Company, and, later, because Peru decided to buy expensive jet fighters for its air force against Washington's wishes. In both cases, the United States meddled directly in Peruvian affairs at the expense of development.

Perhaps the single greatest blow for the Alliance was the death of President John F. Kennedy. When he died, the spirit of the Alliance died with him. With its spirit gone—without the inspiration Kennedy gave it—the Alliance became in effect what its framers had hoped to avoid—just another United States aid program.

The Alliance faced another fundamental problem: resistance to reform in much of Latin America. Ideally, the Alliance was designed to finance reforms, especially tax and land reforms, but those reforms were often opposed by the very leaders who were supposed to be carrying them out. People with power and privilege are not likely to surrender them willingly. The Alliance for Progress should not be written off as a total failure. Its accomplishments have varied from country to country, but its most important achievement might be intangible: It has contributed greatly toward creating a climate for change in Latin America.

Even the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America is beginning to show significant signs of change. The church, as an institution, has traditionally been identi-

fied with the forces of reaction in the hemisphere. But under pressure from its young priests, the church is becoming far more progressive. Statements by two different archbishops of Lima, thirty years apart, dramatize the change in outlook.

In 1937 the Most Reverend Pedro Pascual Farfan said: "Poverty is the most certain road to eternal felicity. Only the state which succeeds in making the poor appreciate the spiritual treasures of poverty can solve its social problems."

In 1969 the current Archbishop of Lima, Juan Cardinal Landazuri Ricketts, in reply to a question from NBC News about land reform, said: "The church has to assume the role of spokesman for the poor, who cannot express their own problems and necessities. It is true that the church, as such, does not have the responsibility for enacting Agrarian Reform, but it does have the duty to create a consciousness among the authorities and in public opinion of the necessity of helping those who live on the margin of our society."

The Rockefeller mission brought to the surface the deterioration in relations between the United States and much of Latin America. But the violence that exploded around his travels requires careful evaluation. It should not be exaggerated; the extremists who demonstrated against Rockefeller were often expressing dissatisfaction with their own governments as well. Nor should it be dismissed as merely the work of a handful of dissidents. As the Secretary-General of the OAS, Galo Plaza, pointed out, the violence represented a growing disillusionment and frustration in Latin America toward the United States.

United States policy toward Latin America is not going to be believed in Latin America until it is believed in Washington. The United States has preached non-intervention ever since Franklin D. Roosevelt devised the Good Neighbor policy, but it has practiced quite the reverse whenever it saw red. The United States intervened—clandestinely—in Guatemala in 1954 and in Cuba in 1961 and then blatantly in the Dominican Republic in 1965. President Johnson and his policy makers gloated over what they considered to be the success of their intervention in the Dominican Republic. It was a success—in the short run. But their gloating did not take into account the negative impact of the American intervention on the rest of the hemisphere. The impact was especially noticeable among the young—and more than 50 percent of the population in Latin America is now under twenty-five years of age. The Rockefeller mission reaped some of the anti-Americanism sown by United States intervention in Santo Domingo four years ago.

Some Latin American diplomats at the Organization of American States profess to see signs of a change in United States attitudes as indicated by Washington's role in the miniwar between Honduras and El Salvador. The United States did not involve itself directly, but acted strictly within the framework of the OAS. The

heart of any United States policy toward Latin America should be an unequivocal renunciation of unilateral intervention. That vague concept known as "hemispheric security" is adequately safeguarded by a number of treaties providing for collective action.

In the long run, security within the hemisphere is going to depend on development. And development is extraordinarily complex. As William D. Rogers, a former deputy United States coordinator for the Alliance for Progress, wrote: "Economic, social, and political aspects of development are intimately and inextricably related. Any separation is artificial and dangerous. Any strategy which sees the final answer packaged and neatly tagged as 'economic,' 'social,' or 'political' is bound to fail. Development in Latin America is a seamless web."

Former President Romulo Betancourt of Venezuela put it this way: "Development programs are impossible unless they are conducted by democratic, freely elected governments which are subject to free analysis and criticism by public opinion."

And the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy made the same point: "No matter what we do in the economic field, if we concentrate only on economic progress, there will not be lasting benefit and it will not work."

United States policy must have a built-in flexibility. The United States should encourage to the fullest extent the establishment of durable democratic regimes in Latin America. But it should not deal with Latin America as one huge land mass: It should deal with each nation on a country-to-country basis, as well as stimulating regional cooperation.

The three largest countries in Latin America—Brazil, Argentina, and Peru—are now, lamentably, run by military dictatorships. However, the military government in Peru—which calls itself a "revolutionary government"—has recently decreed the most radical land-reform law ever produced in Latin America. Land reform, the military rulers say, is the first step in a comprehensive program to revolutionize the country. Disillusioned by politicians and civilian leaders, Peru's military men have lost faith in the democratic political processes, and they say they are determined to carry out the urgently needed reforms the civilians could not or would not carry out. It's too early to draw any firm conclusions about Peru's military rulers, but as the cliché goes, they are seeking Peruvian solutions to Peruvian problems. At worst, it's just another military dictatorship. At best, it's an experiment that might prove beneficial.

Flexibility is even more important in economic policy. Enter the Hickenlooper Amendment. It's difficult to explain to underdeveloped nations the rigid thinking that can produce a law that provides for the *automatic* suspension of foreign aid to any country that confiscates American-owned property without adequate compensation. The Hickenlooper Amendment not only impinges on a President's freedom of action in conducting foreign affairs; it may also permit United States foreign policy to

be determined at times by considerations that have nothing to do with the national interest.

The day of the United States robber baron may be over in Latin America, but American business interests still exert considerable influence. A recent example occurred in Peru. A Lima newspaperman who had been highly critical of the International Petroleum Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil, was proposed for a grant to study in the United States. The grant was approved up the line, but rejected by Ambassador John Wesley Jones. When asked why, Jones replied, "What would Standard Oil think if we sent this man to the United States?"

Economic nationalism has developed into a potent force in the hemisphere. Inevitably it must produce more conflict with the United States—the dominant economic power in the hemisphere. The countries of Latin America are beginning to appreciate their natural resources as national resources and not simply as a prize to be auctioned off to the highest foreign bidder.

The foreign minister of Chile, Gabriel Valdes, recently told President Nixon: "Private investments have meant and mean today for Latin America that the amounts that leave our countries are many times as high as those invested in it. In a word, we hold the conviction that Latin America gives more than it receives." Valdes's words accompanied the presentation of a six-thousand-word memorandum to Mr. Nixon, detailing the views of twenty-one Latin nations on trade and aid.

The ferment is obviously going to produce some change. A House Foreign Affairs subcommittee recently proposed a blueprint for change in United States aid to Latin America. Its major recommendations were:

1. Lessen the number of "strings" on United States assistance and modify the requirement that aid money be used to buy only American-made goods and services, despite lower prices elsewhere.

2. Place greater emphasis on long-term technical assistance and support for education, agriculture, family planning, and development of local institutions.

3. Promote the sharing and development of technology with Latin American nations.

4. Improve the coordination of United States private investment, trade, and aid.

5. Make programs designed to produce long-range social development less dependent on short-term political fluctuations and the uncertainty of annual congressional funding.

6. Involve the private American sector in advancing human progress with "imaginative new methods."

There is a growing sympathy for channeling all United States aid through multilateral agencies, such as the World Bank or the Inter-American Bank. Economically speaking, it's a sound procedure. But it might restrict Washington's flexibility in apportioning aid.

There might be some value in considering a pinpoint approach to aid: massive amounts concentrated on just one area, such as education.

No policy is going to work for the United States if it is based on the presumption that Washington can dictate to the nations of Latin America the terms of their own development.

We are not going to be able to reshape the countries of this hemisphere in our own image, nor should we want to.

And we are not going to be able to convince them of the need for assuring their people a better life until we ourselves have made a national commitment to assure all of our own people a better life.

More importantly, nothing the United States does in trying to improve the conditions of life in Latin America is going to be one fraction as important as what the Latin Americans do for themselves.

Between the cathedral towers in Santiago, Chile, flies the legend "For a Church united with the people and their struggle," while nine priests, three nuns, and 150 Catholics conduct a sit-in within, protesting a church "compromised by wealth and power." The priests were suspended by their archbishop, then pardoned after promising obedience.





A camera with a special "fisheye" lens makes this spectacular shot of the United Nations buildings just as the flag of the UN's 125th member nation, Swaziland, is raised in September. At bottom left is the General Assembly building and at right is the Secretariat building.

15. United Nations

THE YEAR 1968–1969 SAW the United Nations achieve some success in working toward peaceful uses of nuclear energy, but that success was not evident in efforts toward ending conflicts in Vietnam, Nigeria-Biafra, and the Middle East.

On June 19, 1968, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution welcoming pledges by the United States, the USSR, and Great Britain to act immediately through the Council in the event of nuclear attack, or the threat of such an attack, on states not having nuclear weapons. It was an outgrowth of the General Assembly's approval (June 12) of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, and the pledge was considered necessary to assure nonnuclear nations that their security would not be jeopardized by signing that treaty.

UN Secretary-General U Thant, maintaining his policy of trying to include all the nations of the world in the United Nations, decided to invite Communist China to attend, as an observer, a conference of non-nuclear-weapon states in Geneva. But it was reported on July 1 that Peking had refused to accept the invitation. It was the first time that Red China had been invited to attend a UN-sponsored conference.

Any hopes by Thant that there might be a relaxation of opposition by UN members to admitting Red China to the UN were dashed late in 1968 when, for the eighteenth time, an attempt to seat the Peking regime was defeated. This latest attempt came on November 19, when the General Assembly rejected a resolution calling for expulsion of Nationalist China (the Chiang Kai-shek regime on the island of Taiwan) and seating of Red China. During debate, United States Ambassador James Wiggins said that Red China should continue to be barred from the UN because it still tried to resolve international differences by force and had shown nothing but contempt and hostility for the United Nations. Reports of border clashes between Red China and the Soviet Union, and increasing tension between those two

Communist powers, had muted the previously strong Russian appeals for Peking's admittance to the world body. So strong was the opposition this time that the UN also defeated an Italian proposal that a special committee be appointed just to study and investigate the Red Chinese position on UN membership.

Another familiar event—the Soviet veto—was repeated in 1968. The veto came when a majority of the UN Security Council voted to condemn the USSR for its invasion of Czechoslovakia (August 23). It was the 105th veto by the Soviet Union since the beginning of the UN. Later, in his annual report to the UN General Assembly, Thant compared the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia to what he called the United States invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. He called both a frightening commentary on the state of world affairs, and added, "They hold a dismal outlook for the small and militarily weak states of the world."

Those small states proliferated. By mid-1969 the membership of the United Nations had grown to 126, many of them new African states with entire populations less than that of single cities in the territory of other member nations. Yet each of these new nations had a vote in the General Assembly equal to that of its larger neighbors.

And the new nations, banding together, often used their votes to pass resolutions condemning racist and colonialist policies. Some of the major resolutions censured Portugal for her colonial policy in Africa, disapproved of South Africa's *apartheid* policy, called on Britain to punish the breakaway colony of Rhodesia. There was also a resolution to expel South Africa from the UN conference on trade and development; this failed, however.

Some resolutions were less serious, but there were many—so many that the General Assembly president—Emilio Arenales Catalán—felt called upon to make a comment. Noting that 117 resolutions had been adopted

in the 1968 fall session of the Assembly, Arenales criticized the "unrealistic, emotional and I might even say demagogic approach of a majority of delegates who forget that the evils of this world are not cured simply by negotiating resolutions but by the actions of governments." He said that these delegates often put "emotion before reason, regardless of the consequences for the UN or for the world."

In the field of disarmament, the eighteen-nation UN Disarmament Committee met in Geneva in the summer of 1968, and came out with a major report urging a full study of chemical and biological warfare. The 1969 meeting of the same committee saw the USSR make a proposal that the ocean beds of the world be kept free of weapons of any sort. Russia suggested that the use of any seabed for military purposes should be prohibited. Agreement on the prohibition of the seabed, and outer space, for military purposes seemed certain. But on the surface of the planet Earth the fighting continued in Vietnam, in Biafra, and in the Middle East.

On October 3, 1968, Jamaica suggested that the General Assembly call for an immediate cease-fire in the Nigerian-Biafran conflict. On September 23, 1968, U Thant speculated that a majority of UN General Assembly members would support a halt in the United States bombing of North Vietnam. (That halt came on November 1.)

Starting on August 2, 1968, and continuing at intervals never more than a few weeks apart, the UN Security Council met to condemn first one side, then the other, for attacks in the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. Dr. Gunnar Jarring, special UN envoy to the Middle East, tried time and again to bring some semblance of peace to the area. But every time it looked as if he might succeed, there would be some new act of violence, and the charges and countercharges would begin all over again. Air battles were reported almost daily. The Soviets seemed to be stepping up their aid to the Arabs, and France seemed ready, under her new President, to resume aid to the Israelis. On April 21, 1969, U Thant declared that "a virtual state of active war exists along the Suez Canal" and that he was giving thought to withdrawing all United Nations military observers—more than ninety of them—from the area. Thant said, "The observers cannot be expected to serve as what amounts to defenseless targets in a shooting gallery."

The General Assembly did decide to hold an international conference in 1972 on the effects of air and water pollution, noise, and insecticides on the human environment, and resolved to hold its fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy in 1971.

But for the United Nations it was a year of failure in its efforts at keeping the world at peace.



U Thant makes another attempt at peace in the Middle East, calling at a news conference in January for big-power pressure through the UN Security Council to settle the Arab-Israeli dispute.

Center: Jacob Malik, Soviet ambassador to the UN, finds the going tough as he wipes his brow during the Security Council session on the Czechoslovakian crisis in August. United States ambassador George Ball has just finished charging that the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia had "cast a shadow across the world."

Far right: Charles W. Yost, President Nixon's appointee as United States ambassador to the United Nations, telling the Senate Foreign Relations Committee there is no official United States policy against use of its Security Council veto—although it has never been used.

Sometimes it is a report of an Israeli attack, sometimes one by the Arabs, but the Security Council is often called into session to hear one side or the other. Israeli Ambassador Yosef Tekoah, left, and Jordan Ambassador Muhammad H. El-Farra have traded most of the charges during the Middle East dispute.



This scene is typical of many during the year, as UN Middle East envoy Gunnar Jarring, right, meets another dignitary in his frustrated efforts to bring peace to the area. This time, it was Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad of the United Arab Republic who talked to Jarring.

President Johnson shakes hands with Jacob Malik, Soviet UN ambassador, after the President's surprise appearance to congratulate the General Assembly on adopting the treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons.

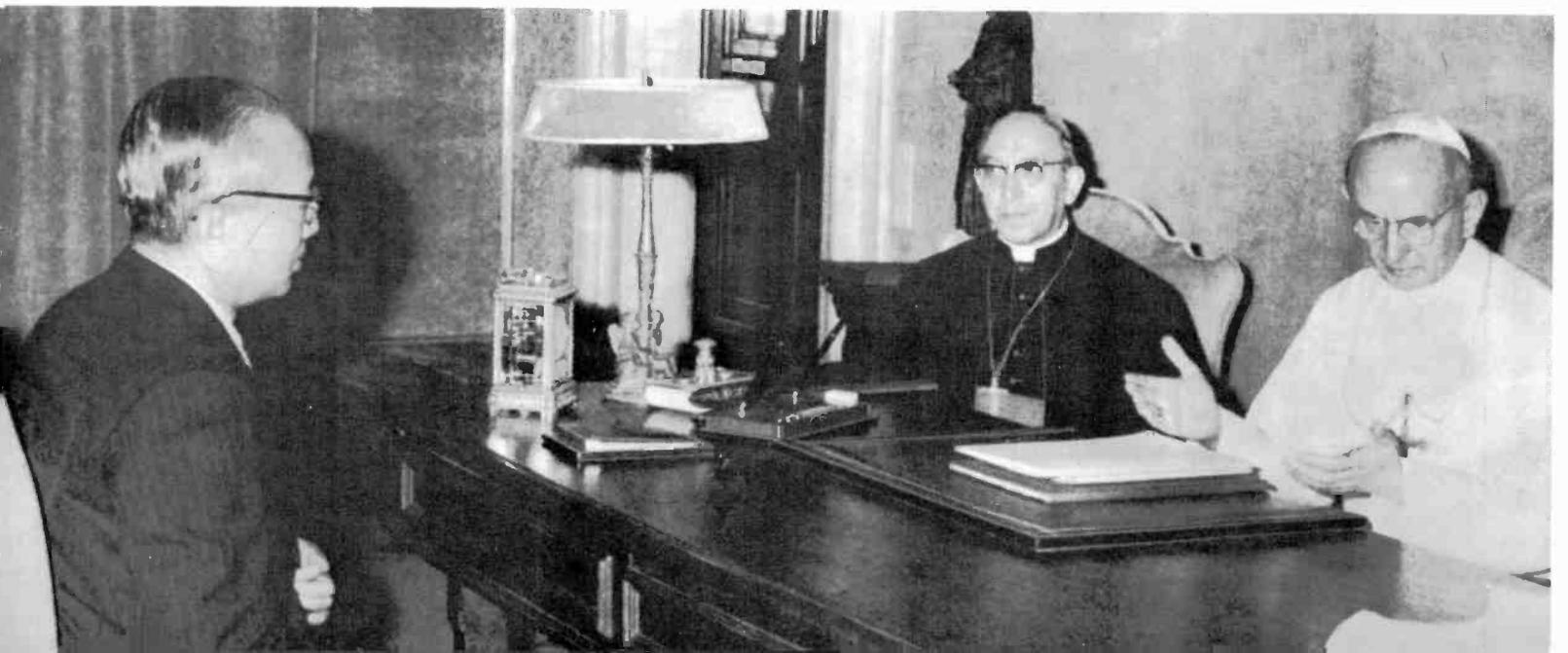


A UN truce supervisor watches over the uneasy Mideast from a control tower along the Suez Canal. Ninety-five military observers in the Suez Canal sector and ninety-four in the Israel-Syria sector found themselves in danger more often than not as bystanders in peril of attacks by both sides.

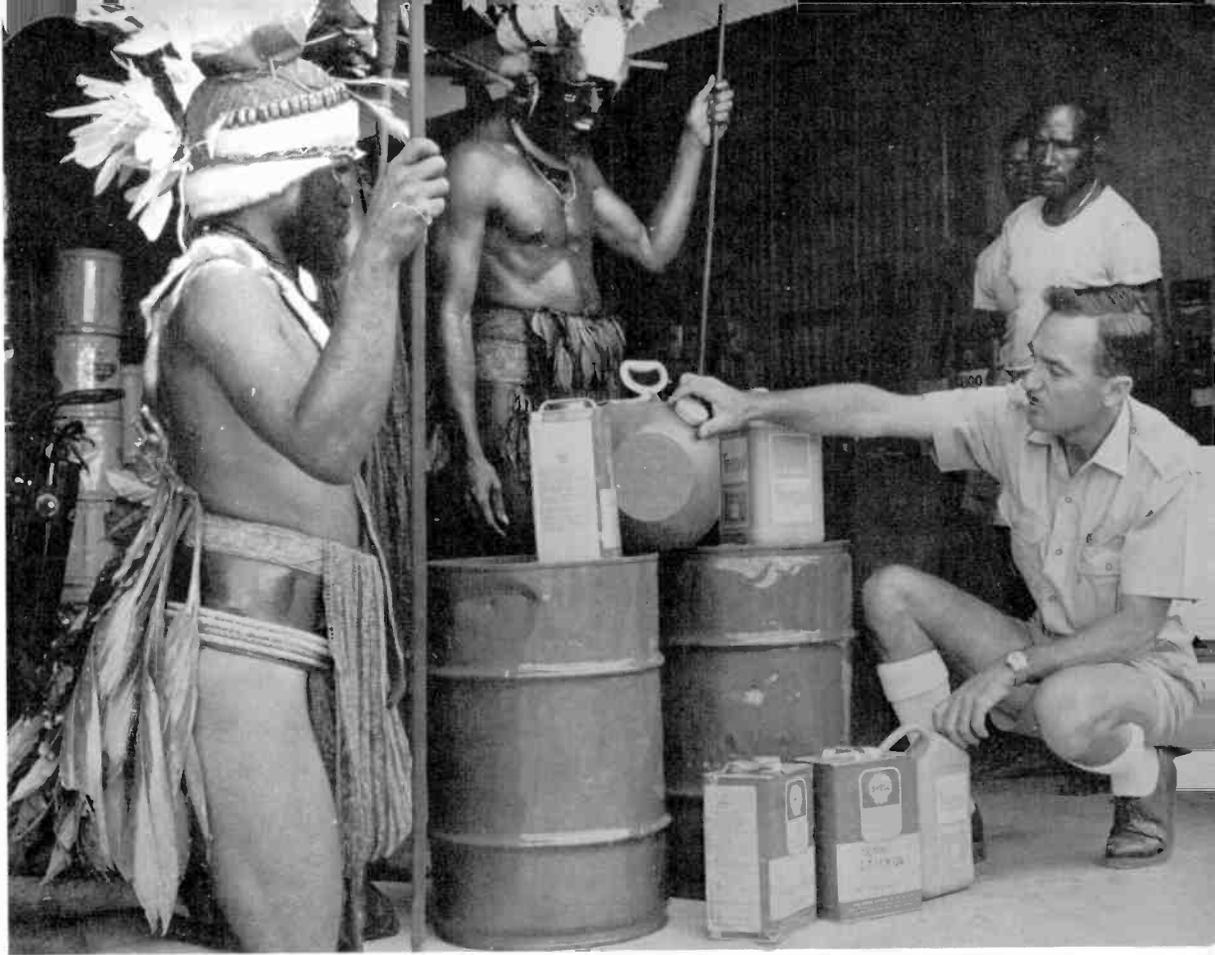


Delegates to the UN Security Council raise their hands in unanimous condemnation of Israel in December for its commando attack on the airport in Beirut. Israel had claimed the attack was necessary, to retaliate for Arab guerrilla action.

Two world leaders, UN Secretary-General U Thant and Pope Paul VI, meet in May to discuss how to use the weight of their influence to bring peace to the world. The chief subjects covered were Vietnam, the Middle East, and arms control.

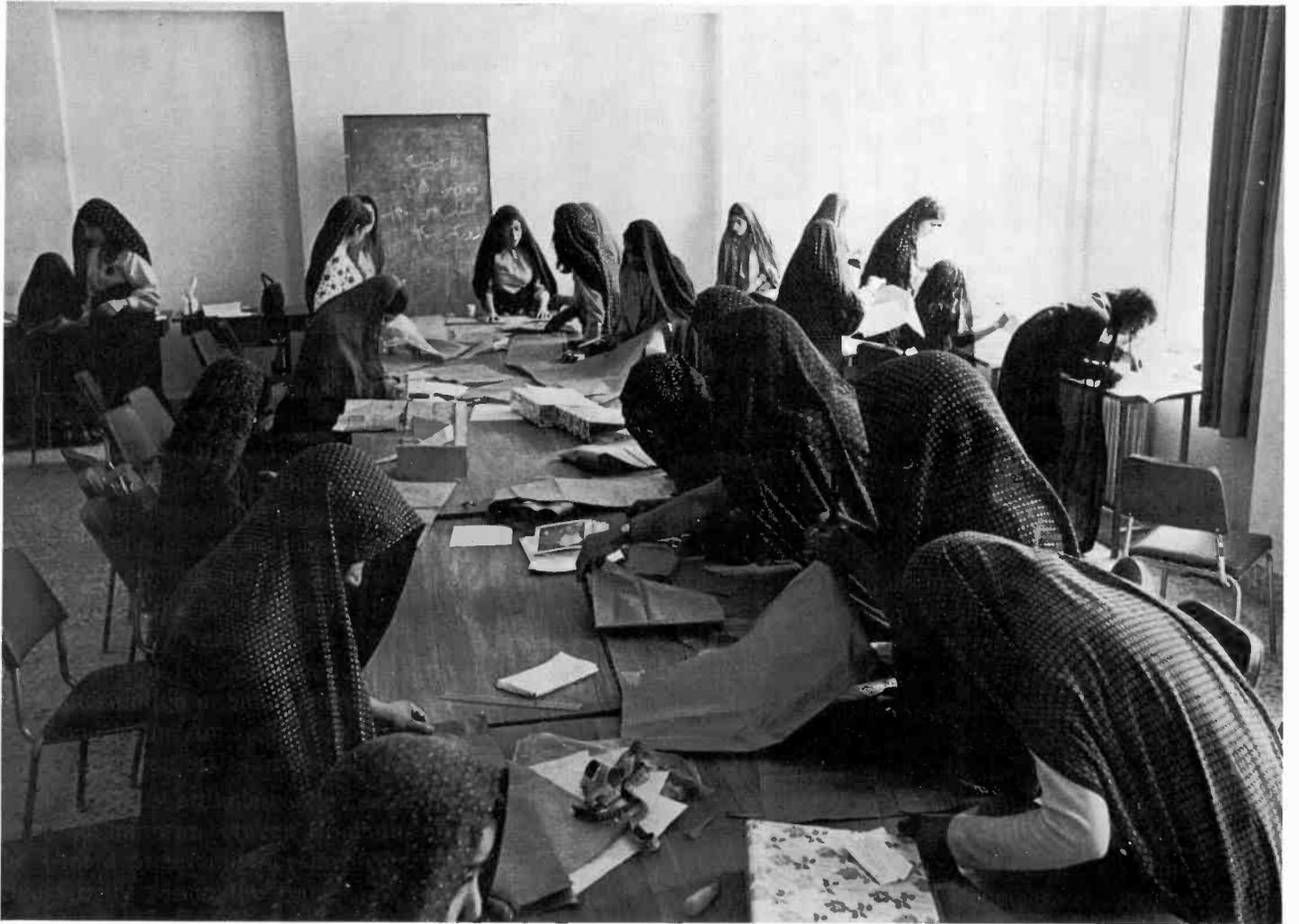


An example of the work of the UN Trusteeship Council shows a representative explaining the use of agricultural chemicals to residents of the Trust Territory of New Guinea. With the neighboring territory of Papua, it is administered by Australia in accordance with UN Trusteeship agreements.



The UN's Food and Agricultural Organization has as a chief aim development of lagging agriculture in lands such as eastern Niger. Here, Tuareg tribesmen haul water from a traditional well; but FAO teams are now working with the Niger government, drilling for new water resources.





At the UNESCO center in Isfahan, Iran, women attend a class in Home Economics as part of a program to improve themselves. More than 73 percent of the population of this area is illiterate. UN authorities hope to change that figure considerably.

In Burma, children with early cases of leprosy receive sulfone tablets that will prevent progression of the disease to infectious forms, under grants from the World Health Organization.





Pauline Frederick, from Gallitzin, Pennsylvania, began her notable career in Washington, D.C., as a feature-story writer. She joined NBC News in 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.

Councils of Insecurity

Pauline Frederick

NBC News United Nations Correspondent

DURING THE FINAL MONTHS of 1968 there seemed to be less American lip service for the United Nations as a symbol (like the flag and mother love) and more of a display of international *Realpolitik* in which virtues like those expressed in the UN Charter seem like naïveté.

In this period the United States was still deeply involved in Vietnam, so when the Soviet Union invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia critics compared the action of the two powers in exerting military pressure on small states regardless of their pledges under the Charter. For more than three years the Johnson Administration had resented Secretary-General Thant's preaching that there could be no military victory in Vietnam and no meaningful peace talks without an end to the bombing of the North, but in October American political and economic pressure forced Washington to try the Thant way. Meanwhile, the turnover in so-called Permanent American Representatives to the United Nations aroused speculation that the United States was openly downgrading the organization that it had led all other nations to help create a quarter of a century earlier.

With the UN's super-Powers following their own course in Asia, Europe, and the Middle East, it was a disheartened Secretary-General who sat down to write the Introduction to his Annual Report to the General Assembly that convened on September 24, 1968. This is the document that gauges the times as viewed by the man who looks out on the world from his lonely eminence on the thirty-eighth floor of the Secretariat Building. Noting that the international situation was deteriorating with the military conflict in Vietnam "continuing with unabated ferocity," with "continuing tension and frustration" in the Middle East, and with the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia which had "cast a long shadow and created a feeling of uneasiness and insecurity," U Thant declared that ". . . the two super-Powers hold the master key to peace in the world." He went on: "Little wars, or wars by little States, can be contained so long as the super-Powers do not pose a threat of the big, the nuclear, the ultimate war."

Thant warned: "In the final analysis, there can be no solid foundation for peace in the world so long as the super-Powers insist on taking unilateral military action whenever they claim to see a threat to their security."

Then the Secretary-General asked, "Why should they [the super-Powers] also not bring their fears and complaints about threats to their security to the Security Council, as they regularly demand that less powerful States do?"

It had been demonstrated, however, that the same condition that made dangerous the military operations of the two major Powers outside the UN, also prevented any UN organ, including the Security Council, from dealing effectively with issues threatening the peace when the superstates were directly involved. The Security Council could not take any steps toward peace in Vietnam because the United States and the Soviet Union were on opposing sides. The same situation prevailed when the invasion of Czechoslovakia came to the Council. This stalemate suggested that progress toward peace, either inside or outside the UN, was possible only when the United States and the Soviet Union could find less hostile and more amicable ground on which to try to stand together.

As a move in that direction, Thant suggested in the Introduction to his Report that the foreign ministers of the Big Four nations attending the General Assembly—the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, and France—take advantage of their presence in New York to talk about their disputes. He had in mind such problems, among others, as the Middle East, which remained highly explosive in spite of every effort by his special representative, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, to try to help the Arabs and Israelis find the formula for a settlement of their endless quarreling. U Thant also suggested that these Big Four consultations prepare the way for a summit meeting of the heads of state of the four in the interests of promoting East-West cooperation.

However, another obstacle to UN progress in late 1968 was obvious. The Johnson Administration was drawing to a close, and was not in a position to commit the next President to any program. And certainly Secretary of State Rusk did not share U Thant's enthusiasm for any Big Four contacts that might lead to a summit session. State Department Press Officer Robert McCloskey announced that the United States saw no reason for a Big Four Foreign Ministers' conference.

Regular meetings among UN representatives of the Big Four to try to work out a new peace formula for the Middle East had to await the inauguration of President Nixon, who directed his new UN Ambassador Charles Yost to begin consultations on this subject with his Soviet, British, and French counterparts.

Yost was the fourth man to head the American Mission to the United Nations in seven months. This was an unprecedented turnover for a major delegation, and led to anxious inquiries in the lounges and corridors as to what the intention of the United States was toward the organization it once upheld as mankind's best hope for peace. The exiting of American ambassadors began with the disillusionment of Arthur Goldberg over the Vietnam war. He had hoped more than a year earlier to be able to announce to the General Assembly that the United States was ready to stop bombing North Vietnam in the hope of getting peace talks started. But the more Secretary-General Thant suggested such a procedure, the more firmly Washington officials resisted it. And so Goldberg decided to resign in the hope of doing more for peace outside the United Nations than he had been able to accomplish within.

Goldberg's departure from the UN was delayed by issues he felt he should handle—the Middle East war in June 1967; the capture of the American spy ship *Pueblo*, a matter brought before the Security Council in January 1968; and, finally, the Assembly's consideration of the treaty to ban the spread of nuclear weapons, in which Goldberg had a deep interest. Finally, on June 24, 1968, Arthur Goldberg left his post at the United Nations, and two days later former Under-Secretary of State George Ball presented his credentials to Secretary-General Thant as the new permanent United States Representative.

There was some curiosity over the fact that the man who succeeded Goldberg also had the reputation of being a "dove" about Vietnam—and was known to have expressed opposition to the war policy within the White House itself. There was particular surprise, therefore, when Ball, after suddenly resigning on September 26 to help the political campaign for the Presidency of Vice-President Humphrey, held a news conference in which he appeared to criticize sharply Secretary-General Thant's views on Vietnam. In an unprecedented partisan political meeting with the reporters at the United States

Mission, Ball spoke of "a rather naïve assumption that if we were to stop the bombing the whole world would suddenly be transformed and we'd have peace overnight. . . ." He said, "I think it is a great mistake to bemuse and befuddle the public that way." Ball did not say he was referring to Thant specifically, but the Secretary-General felt it necessary to respond the next day that his opinion about the bombing halt was "shared by many governments around the world, including some members of NATO."

The resignation of George Ball was so sudden and so unrelated to the United Nations' timing that the new United States Representative, former *Washington Post* editor James Russell Wiggins, could not be confirmed by the Senate in time for him to speak in general debate in the new General Assembly. Consequently, for the first time as Secretary of State, Dean Rusk took the rostrum for this purpose. Wiggins was not able to present his credentials until October 7, two weeks after the General Assembly convened. The *Washington Post* under his editorship had supported the Johnson Vietnam-war policies. On becoming UN Ambassador to fill out the short period until the inauguration of President Nixon, Wiggins said he would do everything possible to try to improve the situation in the Middle East.

There was one subject on which the United States and the Soviet Union were able to demonstrate unity during the June 1968 to June 1969 period—the treaty to ban the spread of nuclear weapons. On June 12, 1968, the General Assembly adopted a resolution commending to all nations the nuclear nonproliferation pact that had been made possible through the agreement of the two nuclear super-Powers after four years of intensive negotiations between them and among the members of the Geneva Disarmament Committee. The following day President Johnson appeared before the General Assembly to call the document "the most important international agreement in the field of disarmament since the nuclear age began." The President went on to pledge: "We shall search for an agreement that will not only avoid another costly and futile escalation of the arms race, but will de-escalate it." However, the way ahead was not as clear as the bright-sounding words seem to indicate. The nuclear powers France and Communist China were not parties to the treaty, although France promised to support it. And the Soviet government organ *Izvestia*, in commenting on the Johnson speech, commented that the President had avoided the question of Vietnam, which unfortunately devalued his words. Said *Izvestia*: "Peace is indivisible. There can be no peace with napalm bombs even if there are no atomic mushrooms."

It continued to be true, as U Thant had said, that "the two super-Powers hold the master-key to peace in the world."



**Apollo 11—
Man's Greatest
Journey**



Peter Hackes

NBC News Washington Correspondent and
Space Specialist

The name of Peter Hackes, as NBC News space specialist, has become synonymous with United States space flights. An old hand at Cape Kennedy, he has covered every manned space flight. His duties have included operating full-size models of the Apollo capsule and the lunar module, to simulate the tasks performed by astronauts.

Mr. Hackes, who joined NBC in 1955, is on general assignment as a Washington correspondent. He concentrates on reporting the activities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Senate and House Space committees. His assignments also include the Department of Transportation and the Department of Defense (where he was NBC News Pentagon correspondent for ten years).

A native of New York City, he holds an M.A. in Journalism from the University of Iowa, in which state he began his broadcasting career as a radio reporter.

FOR AN INSTANT on that Sunday afternoon, it was as if time were standing still. Not just the time of day: 17 minutes past 4:00 P.M. Eastern Daylight Time, on July 20, 1969. But *all* time. Since time began.

It was a moment in history to be talked about, and read about, for all of history yet to come. It was the kind of moment that must have stopped the clock the day Christopher Columbus stepped ashore. Only more so.

Space expert Dr. Wernher von Braun likened it to the day in unrecorded history when aquatic life first began crawling on land. Others ranked it with the development of nuclear energy. President Richard Nixon called it "one priceless moment in the whole history of man." "The heavens," he said, "have become part of man's world."

For the first time man had landed on the moon.

Six and a half hours later (10:56:20 P.M. Eastern Daylight Time) 500 million people in 49 countries

around the world watched television sets in awed fascination as a small-town boy named Neil A. Armstrong from Wapakoneta, Ohio, stretched his silvery-booted foot down to the lunar surface. Said Astronaut Armstrong, in his midwestern twang, "That's one small step for a man; one giant leap for mankind." His voice, loud and clear, had come to us from an island in space nearly 239,000 miles away.

Mankind's most ambitious, most complicated, most fascinating journey—the flight of Apollo 11—began on July 16, 1969. In a launch that started exactly 724 milliseconds behind schedule, three Americans were rocketed into a cloudy sky from Pad 39-A at the Kennedy Space Center, Florida, just past 9:32 A.M. Eastern Daylight Time. The mighty Saturn Five booster's 7½ million pounds of thrust lifted the 2,898-ton 36-story tall "stack" gently but firmly. An incredible journey had begun.

Apollo 11 circled the earth 1½ times; then it fired its third-stage booster engine, which drilled it into a precision flight toward the moon. In the early afternoon the command module separated from the third stage, turned around and joined itself "nose to nose" with the lunar module, which was garaged in the top of the third-stage booster. Then the combined spacecraft pulled away, and the spent third stage received a radio signal that sent it off toward the sun.

THE APOLLO 11 TRIO

For the next three days Apollo 11 coasted outward toward the moon. Aboard the command module were three men headed for the history books: Command Pilot Armstrong, a civilian, who only a month before his thirty-ninth birthday would become the first human being in history to make footprints on the moon; the command-module pilot Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Michael Collins of Washington, D.C., also thirty-eight years old, son of a two-star general, nephew of a four-star general (former Army Chief of Staff J. Lawton Collins); and the third man aboard, lunar-module pilot Air Force Colonel Edwin E. Aldrin, Jr. (whose friends call him "Buzz"), thirty-nine years old, from Montclair, New Jersey . . . destined to be the second man in history to walk on the moon.

Neil Armstrong was flying a plane, back in Ohio, before he drove a car. His love for flying led him to join up as a naval aviator in 1949. Later, he flew seventy-eight combat missions during the Korean War. After leaving the navy in 1952, Armstrong attended Purdue University, graduating in 1955 with a degree in aeronautical engineering. He became a research (test) pilot for the government that same year, and later test-flew seven new planes that were being developed. His top achievement as a NASA test pilot came when he flew the experimental X-15 rocket-plane to an altitude of more than 200,000 feet at a speed of about 4,000 miles an hour.

Armstrong had been Command Pilot aboard Gemini 8. He demonstrated his exceptional cool-headed piloting skill on that flight by overcoming a stuck position-thruster, bringing Gemini 8 down to a safe emergency landing from earth orbit. Armstrong's favorite relaxation comes when he's soaring in a glider.

Mike Collins—the only one of the three who would not be walking the moon's surface—spent his childhood moving from army post to army post, as his father's orders dictated. Collins attended St. Albans School in Washington, D.C., and was graduated from West Point in 1952.

He chose the Air Force, and became a test pilot at Edwards Air Force Base, California, putting new jet fighter planes through their paces. Collins, too, is a Gemini veteran. He flew on Gemini 10, which docked with an Agena target vehicle. In that flight, Mike Collins went outside the capsule twice to "walk" in space. His greatest nonastronaut pleasure comes from fishing and playing handball.

Buzz Aldrin is another West Pointer who chose the Air Force. He also holds a degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology—a doctorate in astronautics. Aldrin is a physical-fitness advocate who likes to run, do high-bar exercises, and scuba dive. Like Armstrong, he, too, was a Korean War pilot, and flew sixty-six combat missions. His previous space flight experience was aboard Gemini 12 when he spent five and a half hours performing experiments outside the capsule.

This, then, was the trio about to make history as they soared out toward the moon. On the third day of the Apollo 11 flight, Armstrong and Aldrin left the command module (nicknamed Columbia), through the hatch and tunnel into the LM (nicknamed Eagle) and for one

and a half hours sent back the longest, clearest, and most interesting TV show from space (up to that point). It was a color demonstration of the dials, instruments, switches, and equipment aboard the LM, equipment they would begin using two days later as they descended to the lunar surface.

THE DESCENT BEGINS

On day Number Four, Saturday, July 19, Apollo 11 arched behind the moon, fired its engine, and returned in lunar orbit. Another TV transmission that day showed the harsh beauty of the moon's pockmarked surface.

The next day, July 20, the final critically difficult part of the odyssey began when, with astronauts Armstrong and Aldrin aboard, the LM separated from the command module at 1:47 P.M. EDT. Glider pilot Armstrong shouted to Houston Mission Control, "The Eagle has wings!" At 4:05 P.M. EDT it began its descent toward Lunar Landing Site Number 2.

Astronaut Collins remained aboard Columbia, orbiting the moon by himself, awaiting Eagle's return, and ready to dive to the rescue if that became necessary during Eagle's descent or ascent periods. For on the lunar surface the two men would be on their own, beyond the reach of any possible rescue effort. Collins bade the two moon pioneers good-bye with a casual "See you later!"

As the LM dropped slowly toward the moon, the world held its breath. From Calcutta to Paris, Oslo to Buenos Aires, an estimated one billion citizens of the world listened to the radio talk between Eagle and Houston Control as the historic descent progressed (there being no TV pictures of the landing):

Facts on the Moon

The earth's natural satellite is a sphere 2,160 miles in diameter and 6,790 miles in circumference, or about a fourth that of the earth in each case. Weighing about 81 quintillion (81,000,000,000,000,000,000) tons, the moon has 1/100 the earth's mass, 1/50 the earth's volume.

It takes 27 days, 7 hours, 43 minutes, 11.47 seconds for a complete revolution of the moon around the earth. Since the same side of the moon always faces the earth, it takes the same amount of time for the moon to complete a single rotation on its axis.

The moon travels in an orbit at an average distance from the earth (center of moon to center of earth) of 238,855 miles, the maximum distance (apogee) being 252,710 miles and the minimum distance (perigee) being 221,463 miles. The distance surface to surface: average, 233,814 miles; apogee, 247,667 miles; perigee, 216,420 miles. The moon's average speed in orbit is 2,287 mph.

The gravity of the moon exerts a force on the surface a sixth as great as does gravity on the earth's surface. Surface temperatures on the moon range from 243° F. with the sun at the zenith to -278° F. at night.

The surface of the moon is marked by maria (extensive flat areas that, when viewed through telescopes, resemble "seas"), by mountains ranging to perhaps 30,000–40,000 feet in altitude, and by craters ranging in diameter from inches to 180 miles. The surface is covered by dust, sand, small and large rocks, and tremendous boulders.

The moon has virtually no atmosphere and, therefore, no wind. Without atmosphere, in which friction would cause many micrometeoroids and meteoroids to burn up, the surface is pelted frequently by these solid visitors from space. Radiation also reaches the surface in strength without being filtered through atmosphere or captured by any girdling magnetic fields.



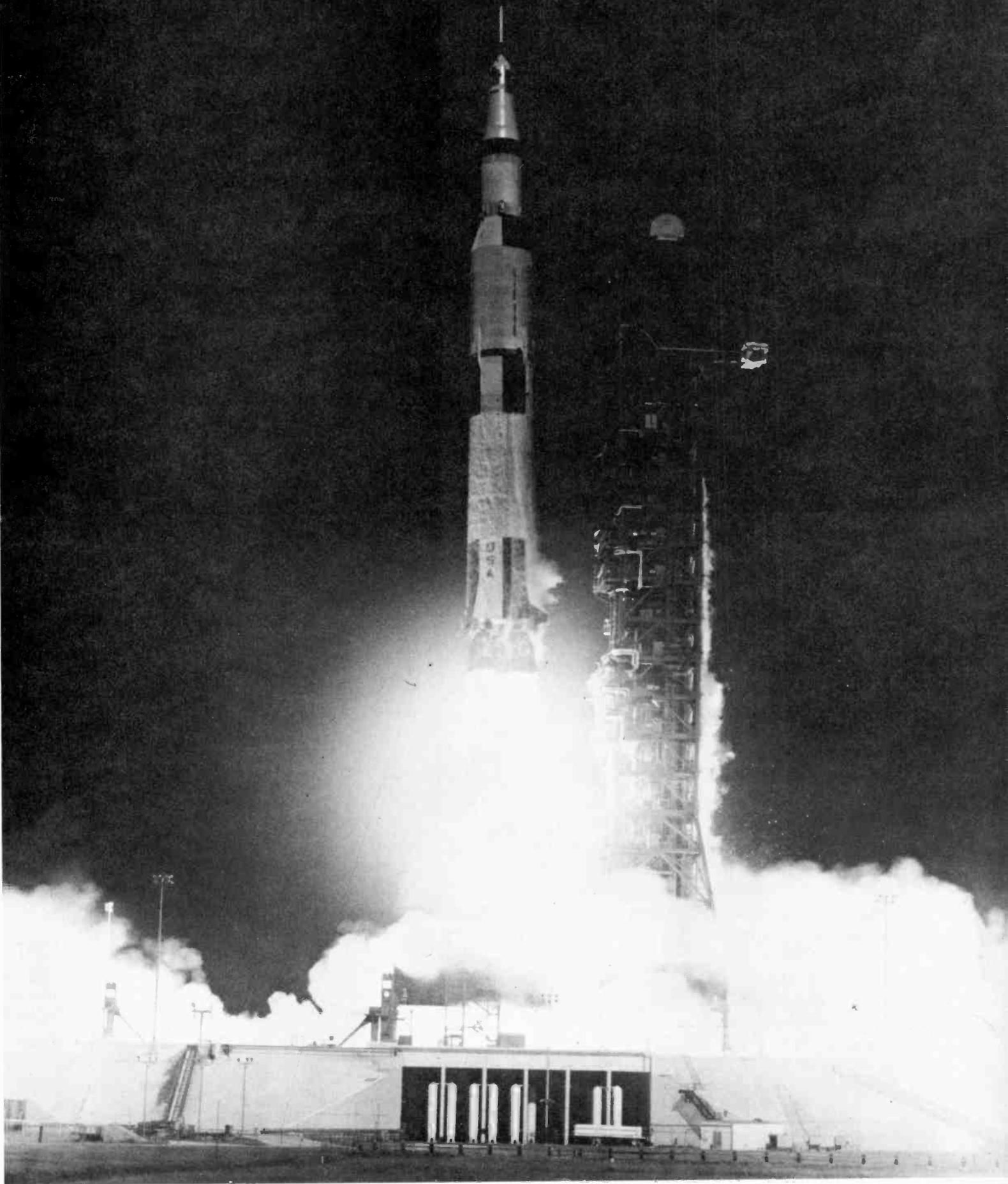
The face of a hero—Neil Armstrong, the first man to set foot on the moon—as he waits inside the lunar module on the surface of the moon to take his "giant leap for mankind."



The Apollo 11 pilot of the command module Michael Collins smiles while suiting up just a few hours before he, Neil Armstrong, and Edwin Aldrin, Jr., were launched on the world's first manned lunar landing mission. Liftoff of the Apollo/Saturn V took place at 9:32 A.M. EDT on July 16, 1969, from the Kennedy Space Center's Launch Complex 39A.



Apollo 11 pilot of the lunar module Edwin Aldrin, Jr., concentrates on the enormous complexities of his mission while suiting up for his historic launch at Cape Kennedy. Four days later, Aldrin became the second man to set foot on the moon.



Seconds into the mission that would put two men on the surface of the moon and an awed world into an age where travel between heavenly bodies is a fact. The 363-foot-high vehicle blasted off with a thrust of $7\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds.

HOUSTON: Eagle, you're looking great. Coming up 9 minutes.

HOUSTON: You're now in the approach phase. Everything looking good. Altitude 5,200 feet.

ASTRONAUT EDWIN E. ALDRIN, JR.: Manual Altitude. Control is good.

HOUSTON: Roger. Copy.

HOUSTON: Altitude, 4,200 feet.

HOUSTON: You're go for landing. Over.

ALDRIN: Roger. Understand go for landing.

HOUSTON: We're go. Think tight. We're go.

ALDRIN: 2,000 feet. Into the AGS [Abort Guidance System]. 47 degrees.

HOUSTON: Roger.

ALDRIN: 37 degrees.

HOUSTON: Eagle, looking great. You're go. Altitude, 1,600.

HOUSTON: 1,400 feet. Still looking good.

ALDRIN: 35 degrees.

ALDRIN: 750 coming down to 23. 700 feet—21 down, 33 degrees . . . feet down to 19. 540 down to 30 . . . 15. 400 feet down at 9. A forward. 350 feet down at 4 [static].

[The figures given for forward and down by Eagle are reports of their speed—velocity in feet per second—both across the face of the moon and down toward its surface.]

ALDRIN: 300 feet. Down 3½, 47 forward. One minute, 1½ down 70. Altitude velocity light. 15 forward. Coming down nicely. 200 feet. 4½ down, 5½ down. 9 forward. 100 feet, 3½ down, 9 forward. 75 feet. Looking good. Down ½. 6 forward, 60-second lights on. Down 2½. Forward. 30 feet. Picking up some dust. Big shadow. For 4 forward. 4 forward drifting to the right a little. Down ½. 30 seconds.

ASTRONAUT NEIL A. ARMSTRONG: Contact light. Okay, engine stopped. Mode control both auto. Descent engine command override off. Engine arm off.

[When Armstrong reported "contact light," Probes 5 feet 8 inches long on the lunar module's landing pads had touched the moon.]

ARMSTRONG: Houston . . . Tranquility Base here. The Eagle has landed.

HOUSTON: Roger, Tranquility. We copy you on the ground. You got a bunch of guys about to turn blue. We're breathing again. Thanks a lot.

TRANQUILITY BASE: Thank you.

HOUSTON: You're looking good here.

TRANQUILITY BASE: A very smooth touchdown.

THEY'VE LANDED!

The world, as well, began breathing again. Shouts and cheers went up across the earth Apollo 11 had left four days earlier. A huge screen in Trafalgar Square

flashed the news to thousands of Londoners on the board in Yankee Stadium, where the New Yorkers were playing the Washington Senators, told 35,000 ball fans "They're on the Moon!" and the crowd sang "America the Beautiful." That's what they sang in Seattle, where the landing interrupted a game between the Pilots and the Minnesota Twins. At Philadelphia, fans at a Phillies-Cubs game stood in silent prayer.

Hundreds of thousands of United States servicemen—many in Vietnam—heard the landing words. The streets of Johannesburg, Tokyo, and Vienna were almost deserted. Most people were at home listening as two Americans began their landing on the moon. It was the same in Prague, Copenhagen, and Lima. In Moscow, Soviet television reported the historic moment at the end of its newscast. And the newspaper *Pravda*—in an unusual move—held up its press run so it could carry the moon-landing story.

Back on the moon, astronauts Armstrong and Aldrin went about preparing Eagle for an emergency lift-off if such became necessary, and made preparations for going outside the LM. We heard a preliminary report on what they saw out the window, from Astronaut Armstrong:

TRANQUILITY BASE: It really was rough, Mike, over the targeted landing area. It was extremely rough, cratered, and large numbers of rocks that were probably some many larger than 5 or 10 feet in size.

COLUMBIA: When in doubt, land long.

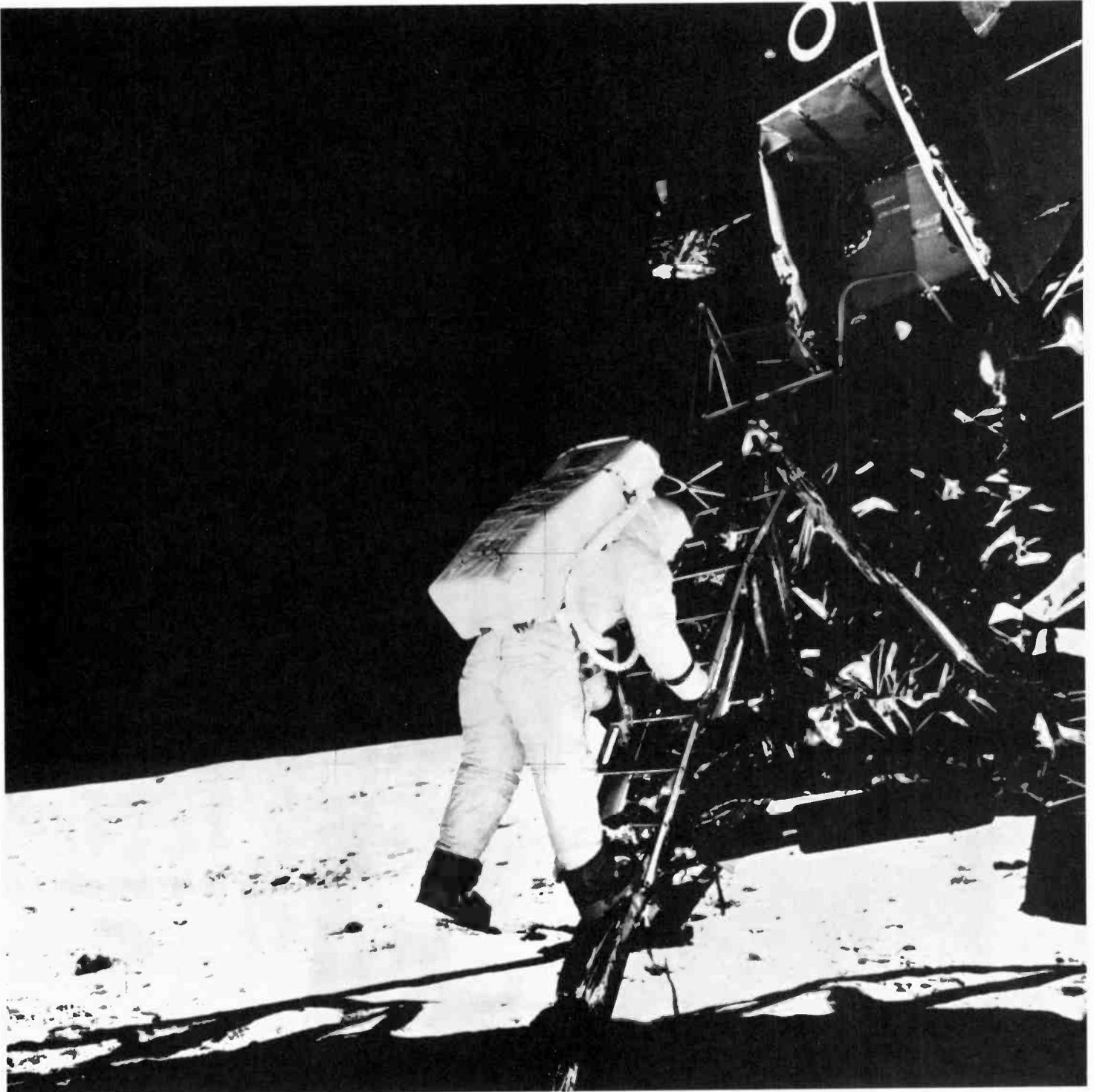
TRANQUILITY BASE: Well, we did.

TRANQUILITY BASE: Houston, that may have seemed like a very long final phase, but the autotargeting was taking us right into a football-field-sized crater with a large number of big boulders and rocks for about one or two crater diameters around it. And it required us to fly manually over the rock field to find a reasonably good area.

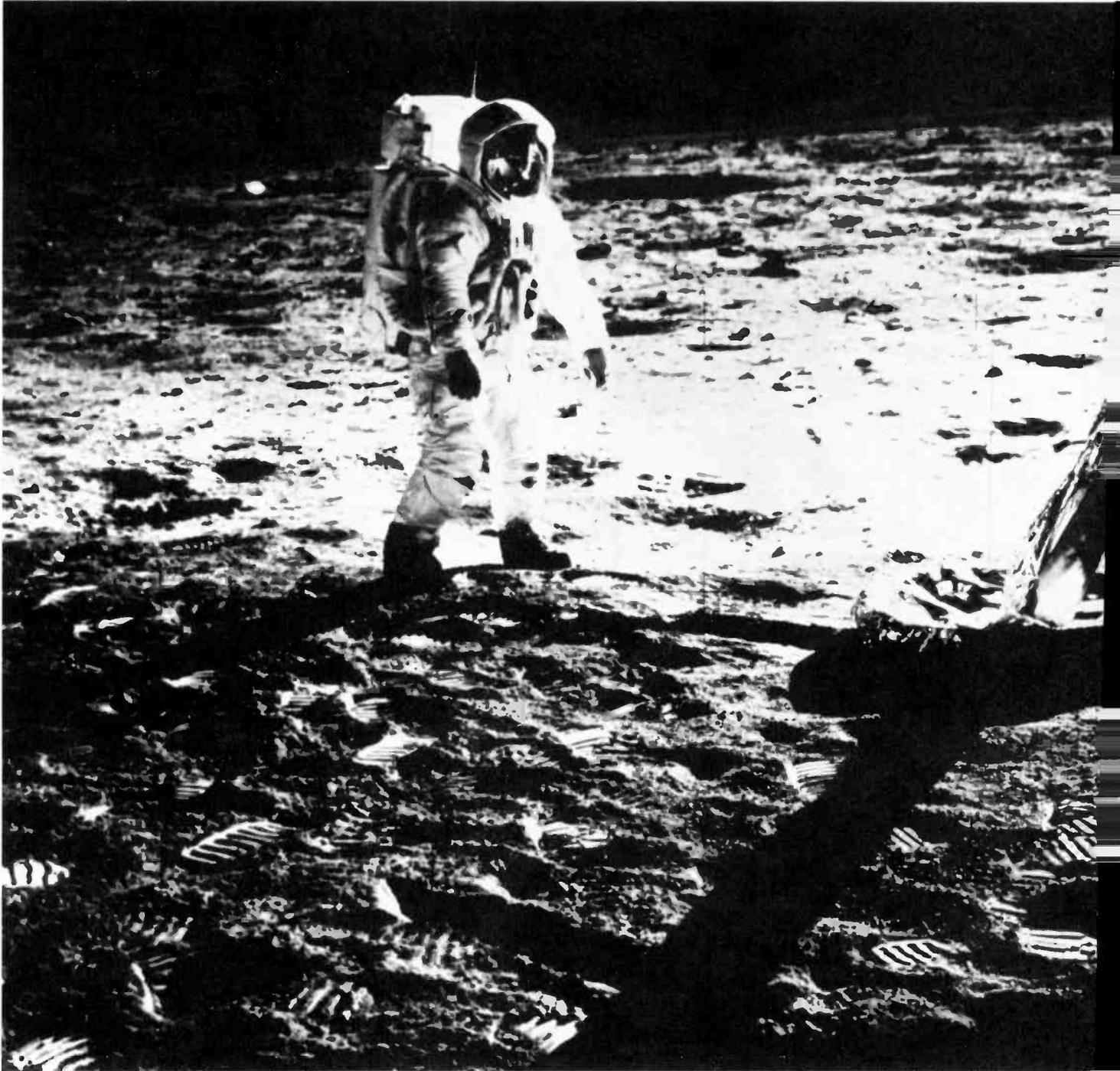
HOUSTON: Roger. We copy. It was beautiful from here. Tranquility. Over.

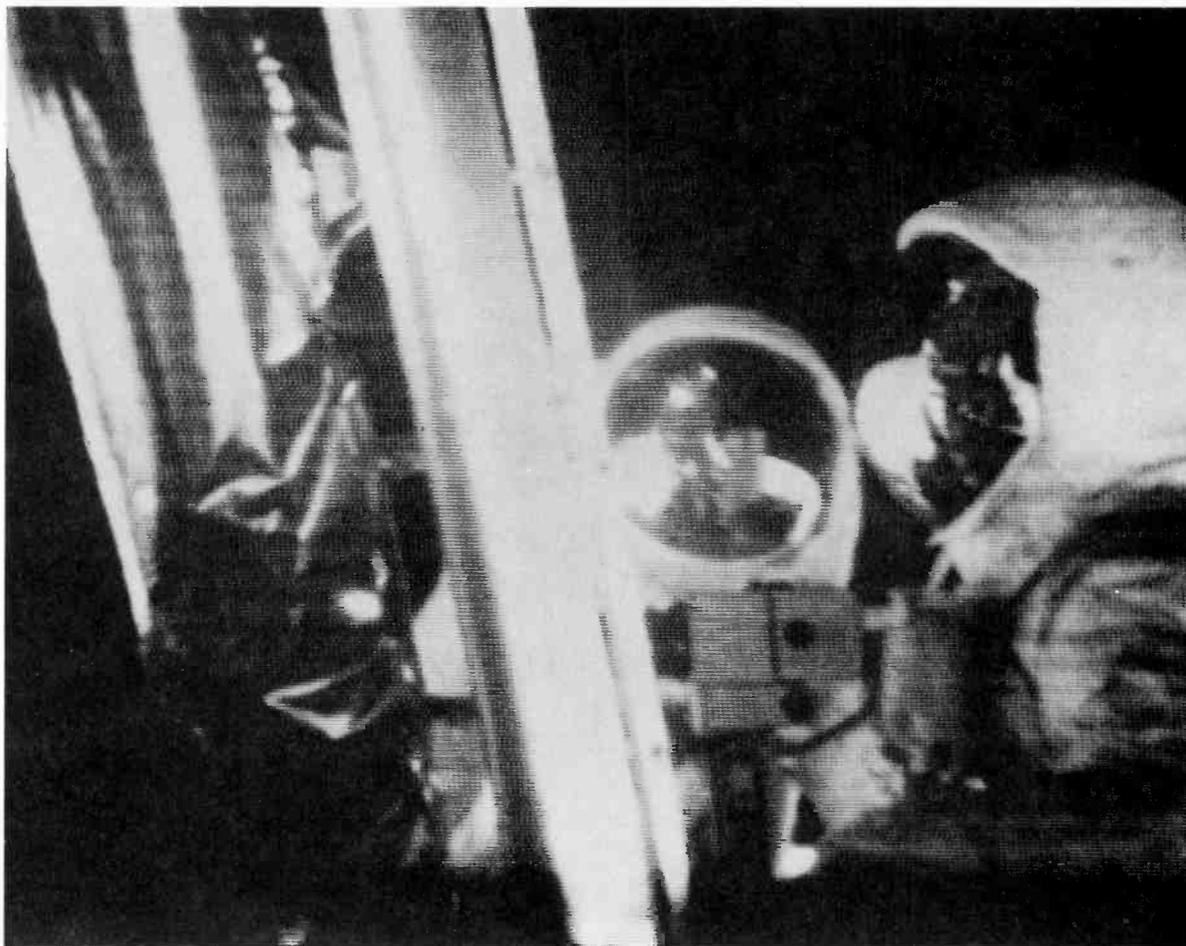
TRANQUILITY BASE: We'll get to the details of what's around here but it looks like a collection of just about every variety of shape, angularity, granularity, about every variety of rock you could find. The colors vary pretty much depending on how you are looking relative to the zero phase length. There doesn't appear to be too much of a general color at all. However, it looks as though some of the rocks are boulders, of which there are quite a few in the near area—it looks as though they're going to have some interesting colors to them. Over.

HOUSTON: Roger. Copy. Sounds good to us, Tranquility. We'll let you press on through the simulated countdown and we'll talk to you later. Over.



The second "giant leap for mankind." Edwin Aldrin, Jr., cautiously climbs down the lunar module's ladder to join Neil Armstrong on the surface of the moon.



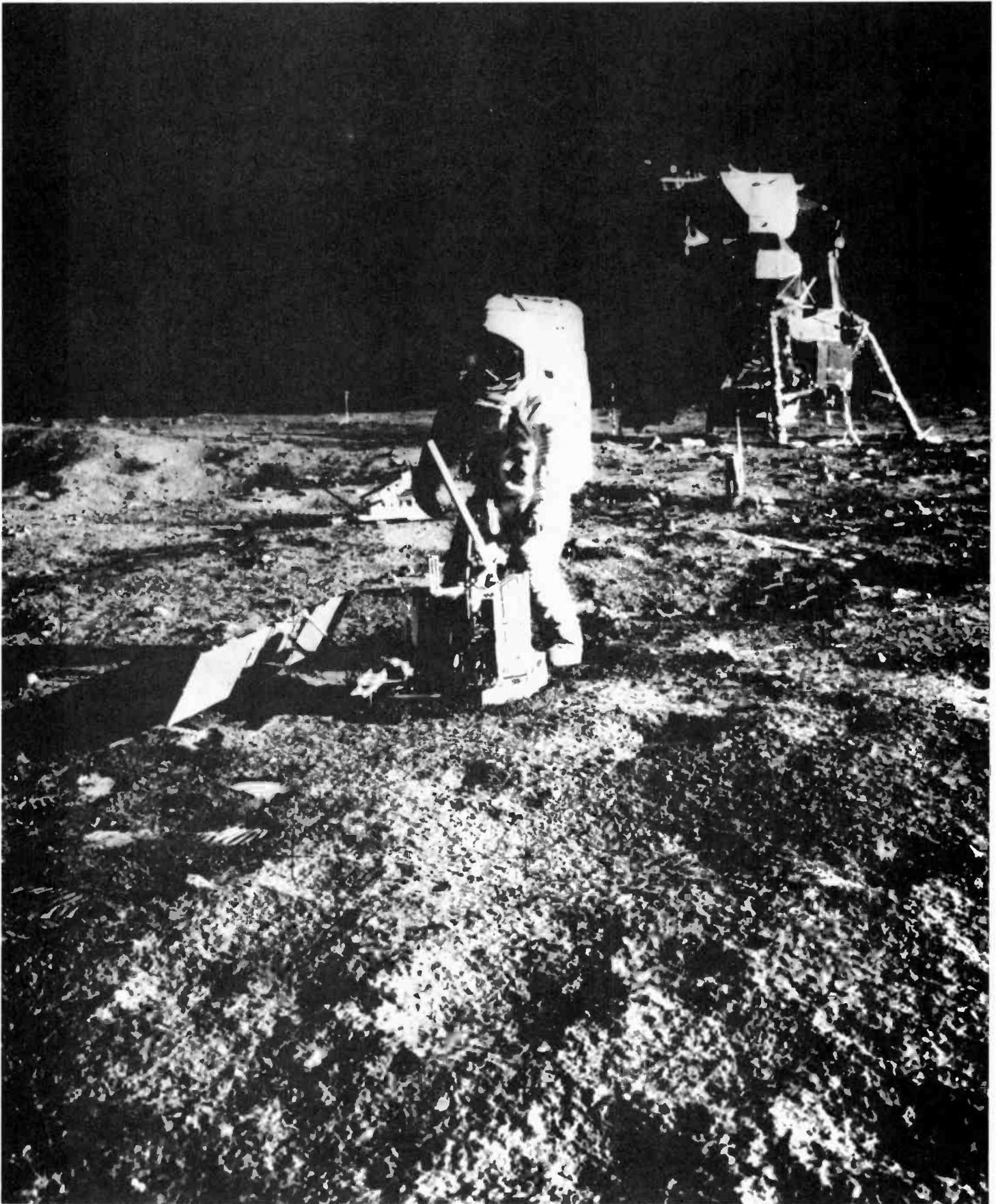


The greatest television spectacular of them all: Astronauts Neil Armstrong (left) and Edwin Aldrin, Jr., as seen in homes around the world just before they unveiled the plaque fastened to the descent stage of the lunar module, symbolizing the peaceful nature of the mission.

Astronaut Edwin Aldrin, Jr., casually walks on the surface of the moon near the leg of the lunar module. In the foreground, the shape of the future etched on the lunar surface by the boots of the Apollo 11 astronauts.



Edwin Aldrin, Jr., pays homage to the American flag on the surface of the moon. The astronaut's footprints in the soil of the moon are clearly visible in the foreground.



Edwin Aldrin, Jr., sets up the Laser Ranging Retro-Reflector on the moon's surface. The experiment led to the first precise measurement of the distance between the earth and the moon.

TRANQUILITY BASE: Okay, this one-sixth G is just like an airplane.

HOUSTON: Roger, Tranquility. Be advised there are lots of smiling faces in this room and all over the world. Over.

TRANQUILITY BASE: There are two of them up here.

HOUSTON: Roger. It was a beautiful job, you guys.

COLUMBIA: And don't forget one in the command module.

TRANQUILITY BASE: Roger.

MAN'S FIRST STEP ON THE MOON . . . AND THEN ANOTHER

Approximately six and a half hours after the landing, the two explorers—their cabin depressurized and their backpack life-support systems, lunar gloves and lunar boots in place—opened Eagle's hatch.

Following the flight plan, Armstrong was first to go down the nine rungs of a ladder welded to one of the LM's landing legs. As he backed out of the cabin and moved downward, he pulled a cable release that opened a door in the underside of the LM, from which a collection of tools and other moon-use instruments popped out and remained suspended at waist height from the lunar surface.

One piece of equipment was a television camera, prefocused on the underside of the ladder, facing the descending astronauts. When Aldrin flipped a switch inside the LM, the camera began to operate. And the world not only heard what was going on . . . it *saw* history happening.

What millions saw first (an estimated 125,000,000 viewers in the United States alone—the largest audience ever to watch anything on television) was the ghostlike figure of Astronaut Armstrong, gingerly backing down the ladder and then testing the surface to see if it would support him. It was at that moment, 10:56:20 P.M. EDT, that Armstrong uttered his now famous line, "That's one small step for a man; one giant leap for mankind."

Twenty minutes later, history's second moon visitor, Astronaut Aldrin, came down the same ladder. And again the world was watching its TV screens. Aldrin's first words summed up his feelings: "Magnificent desolation."

During the next two hours and twenty-six minutes the lunar excursion drew the gamut of responses as the world below watched in magnetized fascination. The astronauts obliged by moving the TV camera from its LM position to a tripod they set up about thirty feet away, focused on their activities.

We looked on—transfixed—as they slowly became accustomed to the moon's gravity—just one-sixth of its pull here on earth. At first they walked. Soon they hopped and finally settled on a sort of slow bounce with

each step . . . something akin to a football player beginning a broken-field run.

So many pictures we saw that night will remain etched in our brains: The men uncovering an aluminum commemorative plaque affixed to the LM's forward landing leg between the fourth and fifth steps of the ladder; opening a cylindrical cask attached to the ladder and extracting a four-by-five-foot nylon American flag attached to a folded pole; pushing the unfolded pole into the lunar soil, the flag "flying" in the moon's airlessness by means of a metal brace behind it; both saluting after they had raised the flag.

They left mementos on the moon—a "time capsule" in the shape of a thin silicon wafer the size of a half dollar, inside a case shaped like a woman's compact, bearing messages of goodwill from the heads of state of seventy-three nations microfilmed on it. They also deposited on the moon mementos of the five men who had died in the world's race to outer space: the shoulder patch that was to have been worn by the late astronauts Grissom, White, and Chaffee, who died in the Apollo 1 disaster; and medals that had been awarded to two Russian cosmonauts who died—Gagarin and Komarov.

At one point the astronauts had a two-minute "telephone" talk with President Nixon as he watched their moon activity at a White House television set.

Later they set out three experiments: one to trap particles of the "solar wind"—emissions from the sun; another, a laser reflector from which ground stations in any nation may bounce laser light beams to determine the moon's exact position within a few inches; and a seismometer to record moonquakes and meteoroid impacts. As they worked, the astronauts snapped hundreds of pictures.

In describing the soil of this alien world, Armstrong compared it with powdered charcoal . . . fine grained . . . "almost like cocoa." Aldrin reported it was "rather slippery. The powdery surface," he said "fills up all the very little fine pores and you tend to slide over it very easily."

Armstrong told Houston that the flame from the descent rocket engine had not dug out a crater on the moon, that the LM's landing footpads had sunk into the

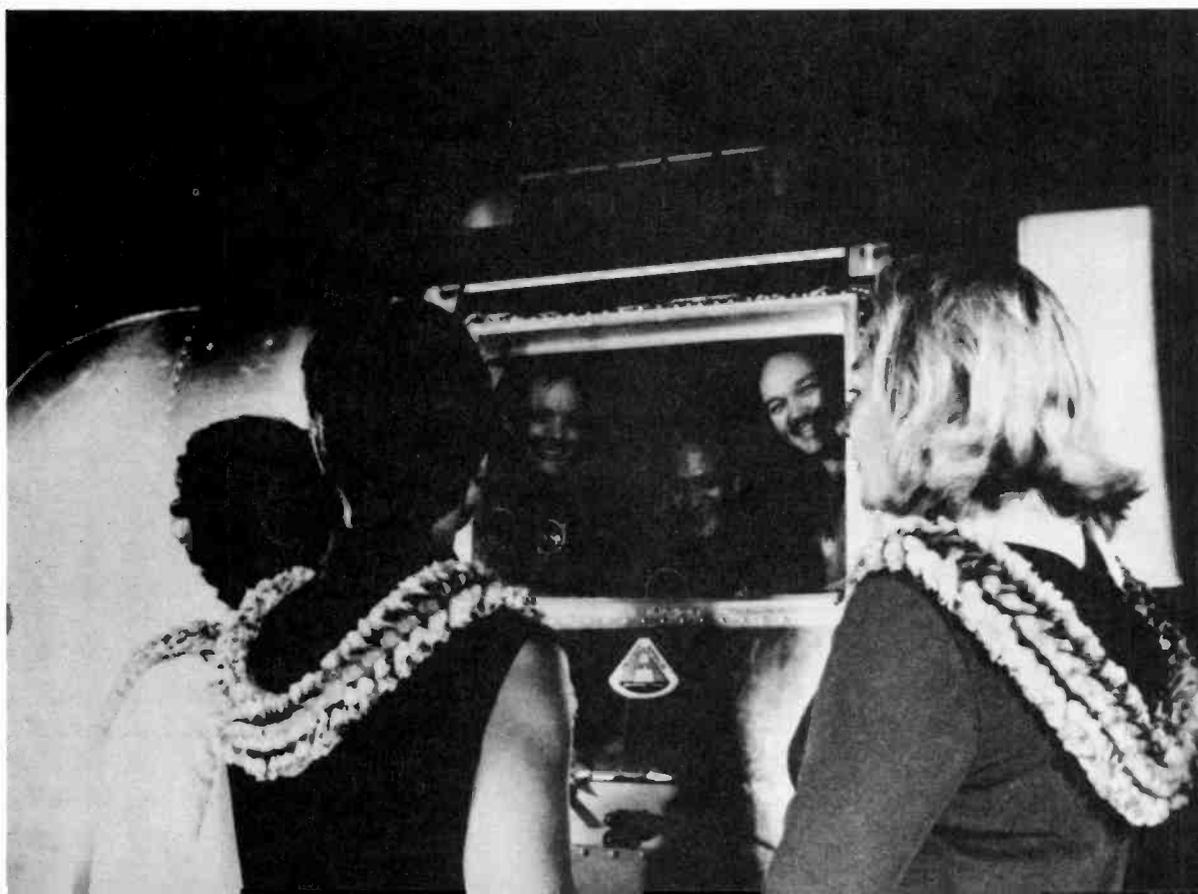
Luna 15

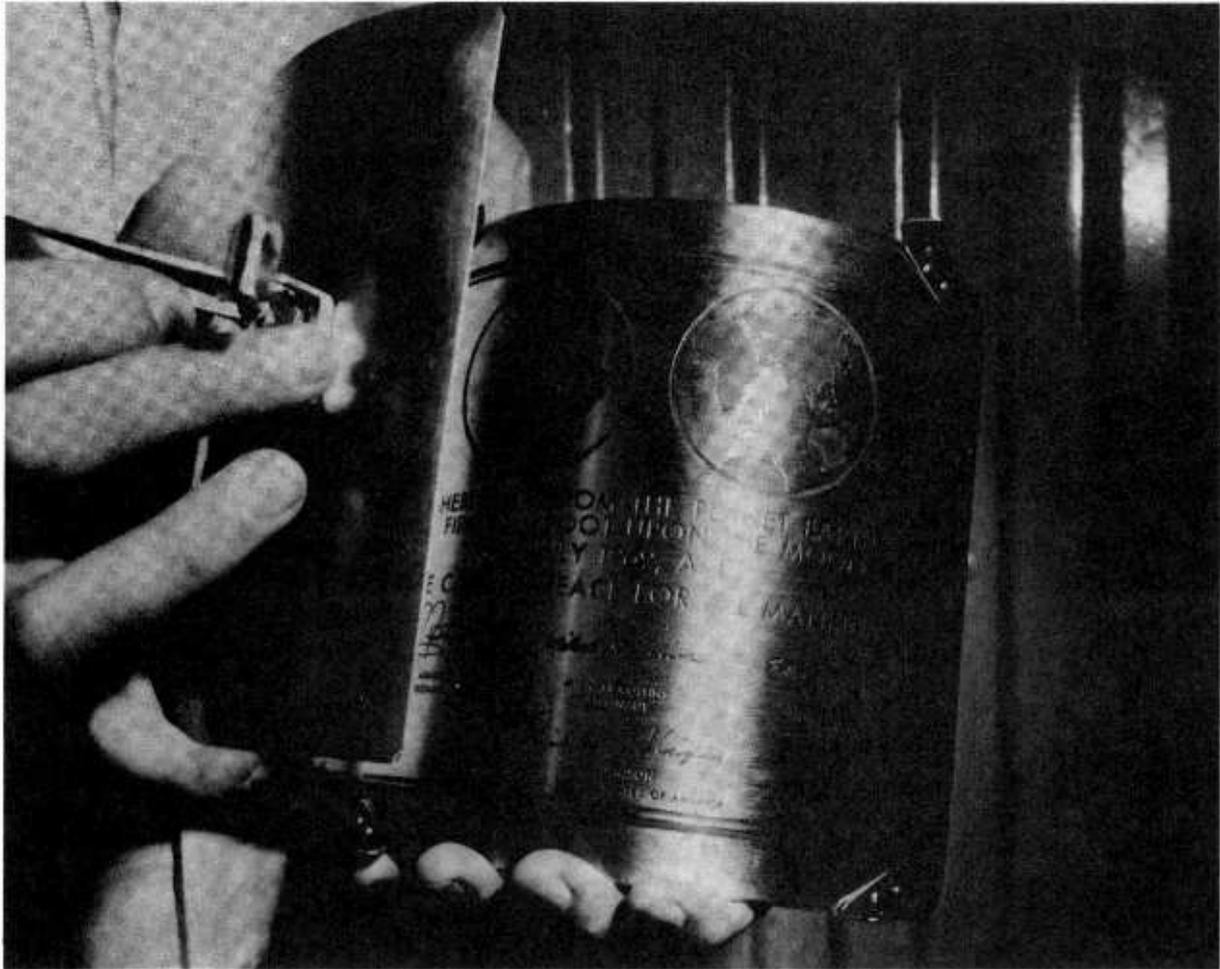
An unmanned Russian spacecraft, Luna 15, was launched unannounced on July 13, just three days before the Apollo 11 takeoff. It was thought by Western observers that the Soviet Union intended it to land on the moon, scoop up lunar surface samples, and return to earth before the Apollo 11 splashdown. However, Lunar 15 crashed into the moon on July 21.



The men in Mission Control ecstatically celebrate the successful conclusion of the flight of Apollo 11. This room in the famous Building 30 at the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston was the nerve center of the mission that fulfilled the pledge of putting a man on the moon by the end of the decade.

The Apollo 11 crewmen, still under a three-week quarantine, are greeted by their wives as they arrive at Ellington Airforce from Hawaii. Looking happily through the window of the mobile quarantine facility are (left to right) Neil Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin, Jr., and Michael Collins. The wives are (left to right) Mrs. Pat Collins, Mrs. Jan Armstrong, and Mrs. Joan Aldrin.





This is the plaque signed by the Apollo 11 astronauts and President Nixon that was attached to the descent stage of the lunar module and that will remain forever on the surface of the moon. It reads: HERE MEN FROM THE PLANET EARTH FIRST SET FOOT UPON THE MOON JULY 1969, A.D. WE CAME IN PEACE FOR ALL MANKIND

Message to the World
inscribed on a small stainless-steel plaque
attached to one of the LM's legs

HERE MEN FROM THE PLANET EARTH
FIRST SET FOOT UPON THE MOON
JULY 1969, A.D.
WE CAME IN PEACE FOR ALL MANKIND

lunar surface only an inch or two, and that his boot pressed down "only a small fraction—about an eighth of an inch." Commented Armstrong, "It has a stark beauty all its own . . . much like the desert of the United States."

Finally they set about digging up samples. In all they loaded fifty pounds (earth weight) of moon rocks, pebbles, dust, and powder into two metal boxes that then were hoisted into the LM cabin. Soon afterward, astronauts Aldrin and then Armstrong reentered the cabin.

At 1:07 A.M. EDT, on July 21, 1969, man's first walk on the surface of the moon ended.

Around the world, bleary-eyed TV-watchers continued their marathon mesmerized stare at millions of screens. Although that was our last glimpse of the two men, the camera on the surface kept sending a picture of the ghostly landscape with the LM in the foreground, the flag "waving," and the lunar tools and experiments. Hours later the astronauts turned off the camera from inside the LM . . . and went to sleep.

Perhaps to aid the weary—some of whom had spent thirty hours, off and on, listening to radio and television, President Nixon had declared that day, Monday, a "Day of Participation" in the moon landing. All government offices were closed, and across the nation it was a holiday for most people.

At the end of a lengthy rest period the astronauts were awakened and began preparing to leave the moon. At 1:54 P.M. EDT, on the afternoon of July 21st, they detached themselves from the landing stage and fired the LM's ascent-stage engine for six minutes, to launch themselves from the moon aboard the LM's upper section. It worked perfectly, returning the LM to orbit and a docking three and a half hours later with Collins in the command module.

HOMeward BOUND

The three-day trip home from the moon was one of sleep, housekeeping, and vacuum-cleaning lunar dust. Following a perfect reentry and splashdown in the Pacific on July 24, they emerged from their capsule and were hoisted by a helicopter which brought the trio to the deck of the carrier USS *Hornet*. Immediately they entered a quarantine chamber, designed to protect the earth from whatever lunar "germs" they might have brought back with them. The three-week quarantine was spent by the men inside the Lunar Receiving Laboratory at Houston, Texas, to which their mobile chamber was flown.

President Nixon had left Washington to be aboard the *Hornet*, where he watched the splashdown and recovery operation. Later he walked to the window of the sealed mobile quarantine facility that housed the trio aboard ship and told them (with the aid of a microphone) that he felt he was the luckiest man in the world to be able to welcome them back. "As a result of what

World Records in Manned Flights to the Moon as filed by the United States with International Aeronautic Federation in Paris, July 28

(a) Duration of stay on lunar surface outside spacecraft—Armstrong, 2 hours 21 minutes 16 seconds.

(b) Duration in lunar orbit—Collins, 59 hours 27 minutes 55 seconds.

(c) Duration of stay on lunar surface—Armstrong and Aldrin, 21 hours 36 minutes 16 seconds.

(d) Duration of stay on lunar surface inside spacecraft—Aldrin, 19 hours 45 minutes 52 seconds.

(e) Greatest mass landed on moon—Armstrong and Aldrin, 7,211 kilograms (15,897 pounds).

(f) Greatest mass lifted into lunar orbit from lunar surface—Armstrong and Aldrin, 2,648 kilograms (5,838 pounds).

you have done," he told Armstrong, Aldrin, and Collins, who were looking out the window of the sealed van, "the world has been drawn closer together." Mr. Nixon added, "This is the greatest week in the history of the world since the Creation."

The administrator of NASA, Dr. Thomas O. Paine, predicted: "Man is indeed going to establish places of abode outside the earth. We have clearly entered a new era."

Paine's deputy, NASA Associate Administrator George Mueller, agreed, saying, "It seems quite clear that the planets of the solar system are well within our ability to explore . . . at the present time." From many quarters came predictions that Mars would be next—probably by the turn of the twenty-first century.

During the flight of Apollo 11, the President expressed the hope that future space ventures would be trips of exploration and not of conquest and that they would be cooperative ventures with other nations. The President predicted that by the year 2000 man "will have visited new worlds where there will be a form of life."

Whether or not his prediction proves true, Apollo 11 paved the way. It was a beginning. It demonstrated for the first time that man has the ability to leave his earth, land on a distant surface, and survive in an alien environment.

Many other moon flights will take place. NASA has planned ten Apollo landings. Eventually, man will create colonies of scientific investigators on the moon.

But the dusty footprints of history's first two lunar adventurers—Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin—will remain stamped forever in the vacuum stillness of a place called the Sea of Tranquility. On the moon.



On the night of the moon landing, police lines hold back crowds of spectators in New York's Radio City. A huge TV screen glows with live pictures of the flight.

Crowds gather before the Time-Life Building in New York where a full-scale model of the LEM is displayed. As they watched on July 20, the craft itself was maneuvering to a moon landing.



PART 2

LIFE IN AMERICA



The school year 1968–1969 was unprecedented in American education. Demonstrations spread from campus to campus, and escalated to increasingly violent stages. Guns appear on campus for the first time when black students at Cornell protest university policy in April.

Education: The Youth Revolt

THE SCHOOL YEAR 1968–1969 was the most tumultuous in the history of American education. Disturbances erupted on one college campus after another. Demonstrations became increasingly militant as demonstrators moved from picket lines to barriers, and in some instances took up arms.

Seeds of dissension also spread to high schools. Disputes involving Negro high school students caused a nationwide outbreak of trouble. A decentralization dispute, in which a Brooklyn Negro ghetto community wanted control over neighborhood public schools, led to a long teachers' strike in New York City. The United Federation of Teachers protested that decentralization gave members no protection against arbitrary decisions of the community. The November strike settlement went against community control. Negro students throughout New York City high schools protested, and demanded more black teachers and black studies. Another decentralization dispute led to trouble in Boston high schools. Negro students' demands caused demonstrations and disorders all over the country. In the South, demonstrations were over desegregation. In New York, Chicago, and other cities officials closed schools temporarily after fights between black and white students.

It was the year of the student revolt. There was trouble on only a small percentage of the 2,500 American campuses and in an even smaller proportion of the high schools. Student discontent, however, was spreading rapidly. A Harris poll showed that 55 percent of American high school students wanted more control of their schools. Youth called for more student power. They felt insignificant in oversized academic factories. With more control in colleges and high schools, students hoped to make the Establishment pay more attention to their cries of "End the war in Viet Nam" and "Rid the nation of racial injustice."

As the class of 1969 graduated from colleges, adults wondered just what sort of people they were. They were freshmen when the first wave of student dissent broke at

Berkeley and swept across the nation. Among them were many students who seemed to be a new breed of American. Yale psychologist Kenneth Kenniston calls them the "postmodern youth." They are the first generation reared by modern parents influenced by the liberal social doctrines of the 1930's. Their values are much different from those of their parents. They are more concerned with making an impression on society than with financial security. They do not readily accept the insignificant role of the individual in the vast bureaucracies and corporations of today. They would like to make corporations more responsive to the individual. Students demanded these reforms in the universities that have become large academic corporations. New graduates and many others after them will probably resist the traditional patterns and mores of society outside the university. They have already forced universities to examine their purposes and many adults to examine their consciences. Perhaps they will restructure American life.

Many students believe that much of American life is immoral. They resent the hypocrisy of racial injustice in a country that proclaims equality of opportunity. They see the Vietnam war as a foreign adventure the United States cannot afford—economically or morally. They do not understand why there is poverty in the world's richest nation. They do not accept the argument that changing such conditions requires time. These social ills have persisted too long, they argue.

Some student reformers believe control of the university is the key to improving society. They reason that the government war effort might be halted if students could force the university to abandon military research and the Reserve Officers' Training Program (ROTC). They believe they could improve life in the ghettos by concentrating the money and brains of the campus on urban problems. They would, in short, force the universities to adopt more activist programs. University administrators, however, are inclined to resist the transformation. Brown University President Raymond Heffner says,

"The university cannot be so committed to transforming society along definite lines that it loses its function as objective analyst and critic of society."

Many educators warn that as long as the Vietnam war drags on and our domestic social ills remain uncured, student frustration will grow. The British historian Arnold Toynbee recently wrote: "There is an absolute stone wall of indifference all over the world. You have to shoot somebody, burn yourself alive, do something violent, in order to get any attention at all, however good your cause, however patient you have been, however well you have put your case." Students repeatedly ran against that stone wall of indifference, and their frustration often turned to rage. The result was a series of violent outbursts.

Minority-group students believing themselves victimized by social inequities, are the most resentful and frustrated, and took part in many of the most violent disturbances. Black Panthers and the militant Black Students Union were at the forefront of many confrontations at San Francisco State College. In April black students at Cornell and at Voorhees University in South Carolina backed their demands with guns. Luckily, there was no shooting, but with the introduction of guns on campus it was only a matter of time. That time came in May. One student was killed and five policemen were wounded when black students fired at police at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University.

Negro and Puerto Rican students want reforms to benefit their people. Negro students want black-studies programs and more black teachers. They resent the ever-present implication that by adopting the ways of white society they can win acceptance. Discouraged by the white university's ignorance of black culture, they view many of their courses as irrelevant. They want to learn how to help their people.

Demonstrations or fear of demonstrations opened campus eyes to many weaknesses in American education. Some of the most far-reaching reforms in a century occurred in 1968–1969. Black studies programs began. There was more recognition that education has ignored black culture. At Harvard Negro students won the right to help choose textbooks, establish courses, and hire teachers for the new program. Demands of black and Puerto Rican students for the City College of New York to admit ghetto residents, without respect to grades, generated a new idea in admissions. The administration and students agreed on a dual admissions policy. One-half of the freshman class from nearby ghettos would be admitted for special work regardless of their high school grades. The other half of the class would enter by meeting the regular academic prerequisites. The university would work to overcome the deficiencies of ghetto schooling and raise the students to normal college level by graduation. The City Board of Higher Education did

not act on the controversial idea, but it will undoubtedly be raised again on other city campuses. Demonstrations made many university administrators fear they were part of the so-called "military-industrial Establishment." Some universities responded by downgrading ROTC and cutting government defense-oriented research projects.

Since the Second World War an unprecedented expanding enrollment has tended to depersonalize the university. Often the student has been forgotten. Emphasis on research and specialization has sometimes put the professor out of his reach. Rewards and promotions often go to professors who publish, not to good classroom teachers. Top scholars rarely teach undergraduates. They teach graduate students who teach undergraduates.

Increasing numbers of faculty and administrators over the year agreed the university would better remember the student if he helped to govern it. Students were added to faculty and administrative committees, presidential selection boards, and academic senates. There are proposals to place them on boards of trustees. At the University of Kansas students hold a majority on the disciplinary committee and equal representation on a screening committee that recently selected a new chancellor.

There were other suggestions to relieve the university of the pressure of mass enrollment. University of Illinois president David D. Henry suggested upgrading the prestige of vocational schools so that youngsters not suited to four years or more of college would have an acceptable alternative. Some educators proposed more community colleges to take over the first two years of higher education.

Campus reforms will not clear away all student grievances, but there is hope they will restore some faith in the university and society. Radicals, such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), preach that our social system is incapable of improvement. They say it must be overthrown; that the revolution should begin by the violent destruction of the university either by police repression from without or by changing it to a revolutionary base from within. Students are less likely to follow radicals when they see the university making an effort to improve. Students at Harvard said they voted against prolonging the spring strike because the university was meeting their most important demands.

As the school year closed, there were many indications that campuses would remain unsettled. A letter to President Nixon from the Amherst administration, faculty, and students warned, "Until you and the other leaders of our country address more effectively, massively and persistently the major social and foreign problems of our society the turmoil will continue." There was little doubt that if violence resumed American education was in serious trouble. In the long run, violent protest would destroy the students' right to dissent—even legitimately—and seriously harm the university. A backlash was de-

veloping outside the university that could lead to severe political repression (an SDS goal). A Harris poll showed that 89 percent of the American public wanted police to quell campus rebellions. State legislatures were passing bills calling for strict punishment for campus disrupters and for university officials who failed to crack down on them. Other tough bills were being debated in Congress.

Another possible result of continued violence was equally repugnant. Campus officials might surrender control of the university to militant students (another SDS goal). Where this happened in Latin America the consequences were disastrous. President Nixon warned: "The educational system as far as higher education is concerned, in Latin America generally, is one of the most inferior in the world." Universities there have ceased to be centers of learning and have become the focus of revolutionary politics.

Education in the United States was also beset by other problems. Local school systems, caught between inflationary costs and shrinking or static tax bases, were running out of money. When forced to seek higher school levies, they often became victims of the so-called taxpayers' revolt. The problem was dramatized in Youngstown, Ohio. The school system went broke after voters rejected a new school levy for the sixth time. On November 27 all forty-five public schools closed. When they reopened on January 2, the school board warned of further closings unless it could find needed funds. The new levy finally passed in May.

The financial crisis was worse in the cities, where the middle-class migration to the suburbs decreased the potential tax base. In New York City the school board refused to accept a city-imposed budget cut. Board

President Joseph Monserrat said the school system would operate normally until it went broke; it was the job of government to find funds for vital services provided by the schools.

Parochial schools were also in financial trouble. Hundreds were closed. Many Catholic dioceses warned it was only a matter of time before whole school systems would shut down. Requests for federal and state aid were criticized as violations of the constitutional principle of separation of church and state. But there was also the danger that thousands of Catholic pupils might suddenly be thrown into the already hard-pressed public schools.

Lack of money also brought public schools labor problems. Teachers' strikes, once unheard of, were common. Teachers struck in nine states during the fall term. Three New Jersey school systems were closed by striking teachers in the spring term. A Pittsburgh teachers' strike was narrowly averted by a last-minute agreement. The National Education Association predicted many more strikes as underpaid teachers sought pay increases. The NEA claimed that the average teacher was thirty-nine years old and earned \$7,300 per year. An NEA opinion poll showed that the percentage of teachers who considered strikes acceptable as a last resort rose from 53 percent in 1965 to 68 percent in 1968.

It was clearly a year of ferment and turmoil in American education. Many questions were raised in 1968-1969, but few were answered. They might remain unanswered for another year, but it was obvious that eventually the answers would have to be found. Upon these answers depended the survival of the educational system, and possibly even of American civilization.

Following the Cornell example, black students arm and barricade themselves in a dormitory of the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University in Greensboro. The demonstrators surrendered to National Guardsmen without firing a shot.





Black and Spanish-American students demand special programs and considerations for deprived minorities of the City College of New York. When university officials refused to keep the campus closed during negotiations with protest leaders in May, the demonstrators set fire to campus buildings.



At Stanford students conduct a sleep-in in the hall of an electronics laboratory. They occupied the building in April to protest scientific-military research in the lab.

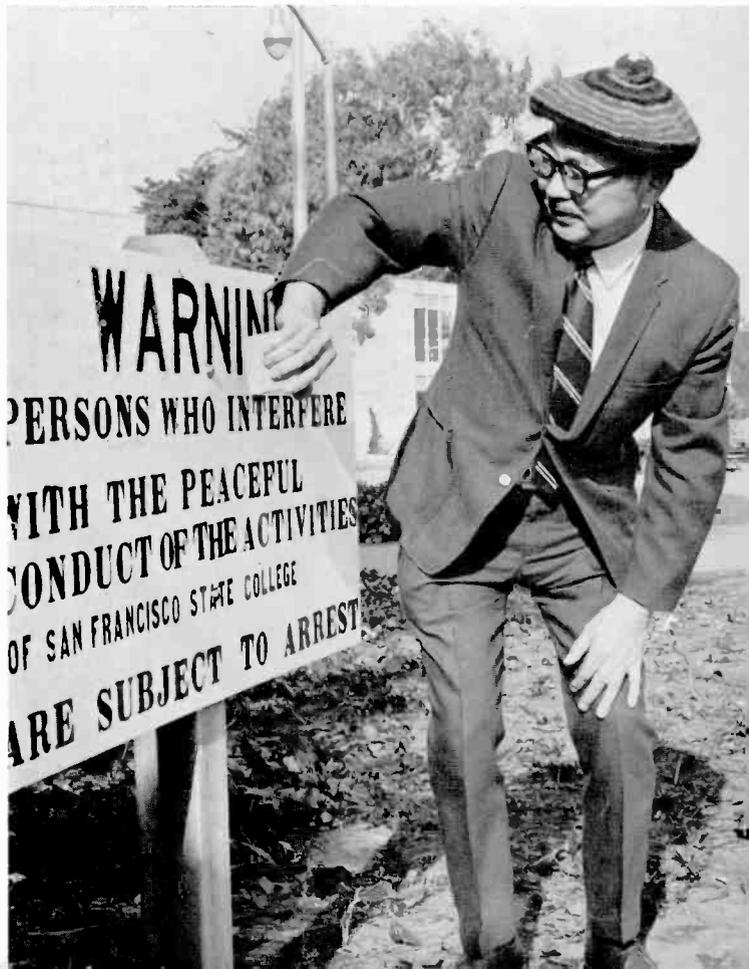


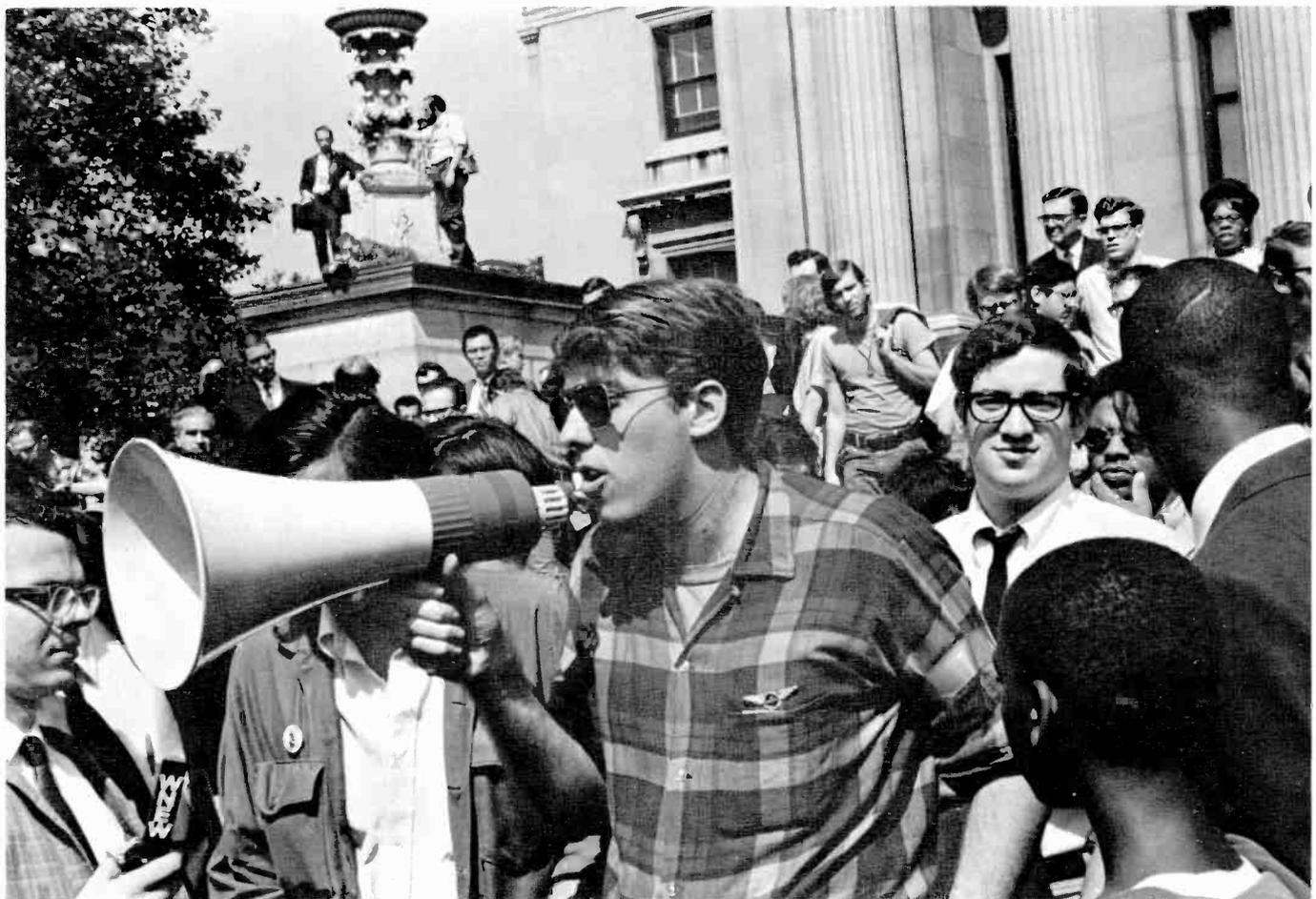
A black student demonstrator uses Abraham Lincoln, the emancipator of Negro slaves, as a speaker's platform at the University of Wisconsin in Madison during February.

San Francisco State College President S. I. Hayakawa poses in January beside one of many warnings he posted for demonstrators. The controversial president stood off repeated challenges from militants who vowed to close the college. Despite much violence and almost daily use of police, the university remained open for the spring semester.



They said it couldn't happen . . . but it did. In April the wave of student protest strikes Harvard, citadel of American scholarship and tradition. Students took over the administration building and pushed out campus officials in their protest against the Reserve Officers' Training Corps program.





Opposite top: When students refuse to come out of the Harvard administration building, police clear them out. The statue of John Harvard sternly watches police vans cart away Harvard and Radcliffe students.

Armed police and National Guardsmen keep watch over the repeated rallies and demonstrations protesting the closing of "People's Park" in Berkeley, California. Edna Mortazavi screams at policeman who is arresting her.



Police arrest fourteen students in a drug raid at the Stony Brook campus of the State University of New York in May. Angered by the raid, about three hundred students smashed windows and burned cars.

Opposite bottom: Students for a Democratic Society leader Mark Rudd begins his protest work almost as soon as the Columbia University semester gets under way. Rudd was one of the leaders of the demonstration that led to the angry police confrontation in the spring of 1968.





When one demonstrator goes topless she is guaranteed a large audience in a rally to protest the closing of the "park." National Guardsmen and a high fence separate the "park" from the public.



Opposite top: One of the worst student demonstrations of the year follows the closing in May of "People's Park" in Berkeley, California. Students and nonstudents made a park on a vacant lot owned by the University of California. The university asked police to close it. Demonstrators threw rocks and bottles. Police fired tear gas and shotguns. One person was killed and twenty-nine were injured.

Disappointment and anger are apparent in the faces of these youngsters as they stare at the padlocked gates of their school closed in September by New York City teachers' strike. A million children were unable to attend classes until the strike was settled toward the end of November.

An estimated 15,000 teachers, parents, and other supporters encircle New York City Hall during a mass rally for the striking teachers in September. The strike dragged on for two more months with the teachers determined to get more money and more job protection.





During the meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in Washington in November, some 150 priests stage a sit-in at the Hilton Hotel to express their support for their colleagues, disciplined by Cardinal O'Boyle for their opposition to the Vatican on birth control.

17. Religion

RELIGION IN AMERICA during the year of 1968–1969 reflected the social problems that gripped the country: the urban crises and the population explosion, birth control and sexual morality, civil rights and social protest, unrest over Vietnam and turmoil in the colleges. Religion was not an isolated institution in American society, and if there were some people in the world of religion still deeply concerned with dogma, their interests were hardly reflected in the public vision of theology. People were no longer saying that God was dead, or denying it; instead, the issue itself was dead, replaced by matters closer to the minds, the hearts, and the stomachs of America.

According to the Gallop Poll, church attendance (at least in terms of the proportion of the population attending houses of worship regularly) was continuing to decline, but the downward slide was not precipitate, and did not seem to mark any serious abandonment of organized religion. In a typical week, the pollsters found, 43 percent of all adults attended a church or synagogue, a decline of 2 percent from 1967, which was itself a decline of 2 percent from 1955. The differences in the three years are sufficiently small to be accountable as an error, but one can estimate that somewhat less than half of the adult population goes to a house of worship in any given week.

Nevertheless, with half of the population failing to attend services, and with a widespread secularism and an oft-stated suspicion that many in church are paying homage to an ethic, a good life, or even the demands of the community that one pretend to be religious, the same Gallup poll indicated that 98 percent of adult Americans claim to believe in God, and 73 percent in an afterlife.

For these people, then, God is not dead, although the slogan was, and for their leaders ecumenism was very much alive. The word itself was heard less frequently than in former years, and no dramatic discussions were held toward the end of achieving organic unity of

separate denominations or churches. But many symbolic steps were taken to demonstrate a direction of increasingly close cooperation among the various churches, and none more so than the appearance of religious leaders as invited guests to preach at the houses of worship of other faiths. Thus, Greek Archbishop Iakovos took over the pulpit at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, the first Eastern Orthodox prelate to perform that task, and Archbishop Cooke was the first Roman Catholic prelate to preach at St. John the Divine Cathedral in June, after having likewise been the first of his faith to officiate at Union Theological Seminary earlier in the year. The archbishop was elevated to the cardinalate during the year.

As religious leaders grappled with the social problems besetting the country, and in many instances adapted to the changing moral and political climate, there were demands made on churches by a radical wing of the civil rights movement, resulting in a dramatic confrontation. James Forman, long associated with SNCC, prepared a manifesto to the American churches, demanding in the name of the National Black Economic Development Conference the sum of half a billion dollars to be given to American Negroes as reparations for the years of exploitation of the blacks. Although met with a wave of public indignation and denunciation, Forman did not encounter only hostility and rejection. These were just demands, stated some Protestant bishops, and many clerics urged that the churches be responsive to them. On May 4, 1969, at the Riverside Church in New York, before an almost all-white and generally rather wealthy Protestant congregation, Forman interrupted the services by reading his manifesto. Many members of the congregation showed their displeasure by walking out, and there was some demand for police protection against similar interruptions. Nevertheless, if Forman and his group were to receive only small donations, they seem to have accelerated a process that had been going on for some

years: compelling wealthy churches to utilize their money to aid the poor, including the blacks.

Within the Catholic Church, problems besetting this worldwide organization were reflected on the American scene. Of these, birth control was paramount, and when the papal encyclical of July 29, 1968, was issued, reiterating the church's position against almost all methods of contraception, the worldwide schisms and protests were echoed in this country. Loyal Catholics questioned the Pope's infallibility, and even automobile stickers against Pope Paul appeared. In Washington, D.C., forty-one priests spoke out strongly against the encyclical. Reprimanded by Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, they received wide support from Catholic clergy and laity alike, who responded by demonstrating at the semiannual conference of Catholic bishops in that city. Priests and laymen burst into the lobby of the hotel where the bishops were meeting; they demonstrated and they sang: all unannounced, unwelcome, but not unheard. Many saw in this struggle over the encyclical a much broader issue, namely, the challenge to the authoritarian structure of Roman Catholicism; many thought that the undisputed acceptance of the discipline of the hierarchy would not survive.

The struggle against the traditional position of the Roman Catholic Church on contraception was, in fact, only one part of a challenge to many aspects of religious attitudes and regulations. In many churches, clergymen were formulating a more liberal attitude toward homosexuality. Among Catholics, there was some dispute over abortion, although the sanctity of human life and the belief that life can be defined as having begun immediately upon conception found many Catholics strongly defending their church's position on this question. Finally, there was heard increasing opposition to the celibacy provisions for the Catholic clergy. In all these areas, the differences between Catholicism and Protestantism, despite the various denominations with their own divergencies, were diminishing, and many felt that they would eventually vanish.

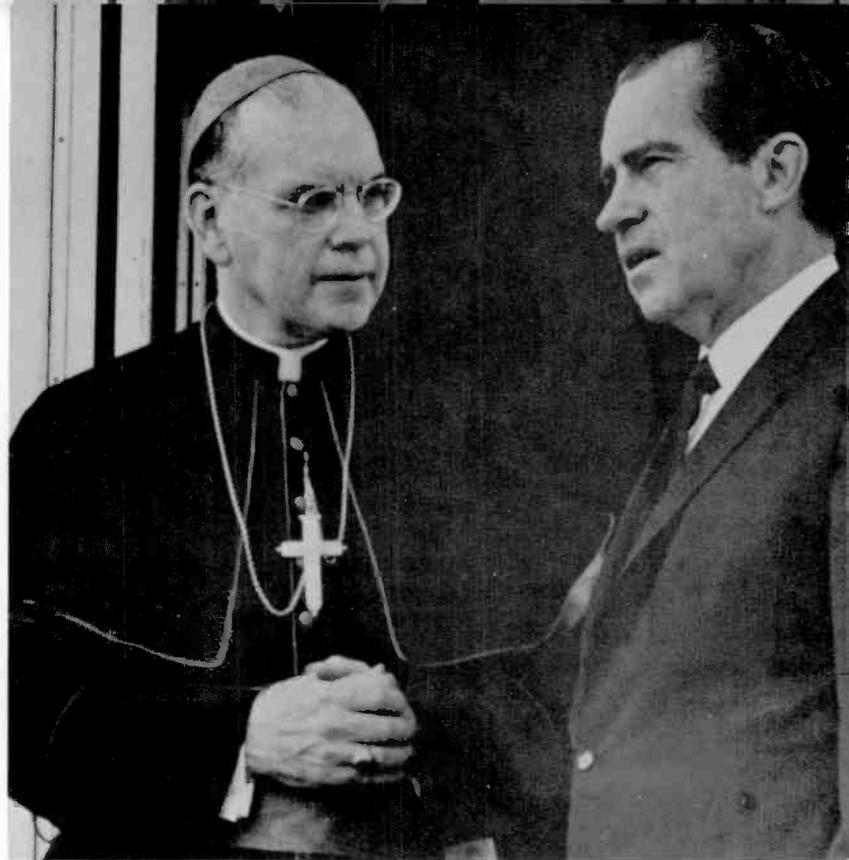
Young church leaders, Catholics and Protestants both, and Jewish as well, were like young doctors, young lawyers, young students, and American youth generally: they were in a state of challenge to the old ways and in a state of turmoil and impatience, searching for means

to bring in the new. At Union Theological Seminary in New York there were sit-ins by the students, and the fact that such tactics took place in a theological school elicited less surprise than when student protests came to Harvard. Divinity students and churchmen were prominent in the struggle against the draft and against the war in Vietnam. One of the codefendants with Benjamin Spock in the case in which the doctor and his codefendants were accused of conspiracy to counsel youths to violate the Selective Service Law was the head of the Yale Divinity School, William Sloane Coffin, Jr. In New York, a youth who refused induction into the army sought refuge in the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was arrested after receiving strong support from many faculty members and rabbinical students. In Baltimore, Catholic priests were among those most prominent in the antiwar and antidraft battle, and although the Berrigan brothers, Daniel and Philip, went to prison, they emerged, together with men like James E. Groppi of Milwaukee, as the new image of the Catholic priest in America. Spiro Agnew, then a vice-presidential candidate, deplored the fact that some church leaders, a minority at that, he asserted, were urging rebellion upon the youth.

Some people were saying that religion was joining the twentieth century. Church services were using rock music, and the United Presbyterian Church released a rock-and-roll record with a religious theme, arranging for its distribution through regular pop-record channels.

Amid the ecumenical movements and the spirit of protest and dissent, signs of divisiveness were not unseen. Religious and racial hatred seemed to flare up during the New York teachers' strike, and churches and synagogues reported increasing vandalism, robbery, and arson. Much of this, however, may have been a reflection of mischief and delinquency, entirely unrelated to problems of religious hostility.

Yes, religion was moving into the 1960's, even ahead of the rest of society, into what promises to be the equally turbulent decade of the seventies. But amid it all, members of a California religious sect migrated to Georgia because God had told them to leave the western state to avoid an impending flood.



Another center of controversy in the Catholic Church: brothers Daniel (left) and Philip Berrigan leave a Baltimore jail in October on their way to trial with other pacifists, all charged with destroying Selective Service records.

The friendliest of greetings are extended by Pope Paul VI to Terence Cardinal Cooke in April, when the Archbishop of New York is received in the Vatican.

Top right: Upon his return to the United States, Terence Cardinal Cooke officiates at church services at the White House, and, following the services, stops to chat with the President.

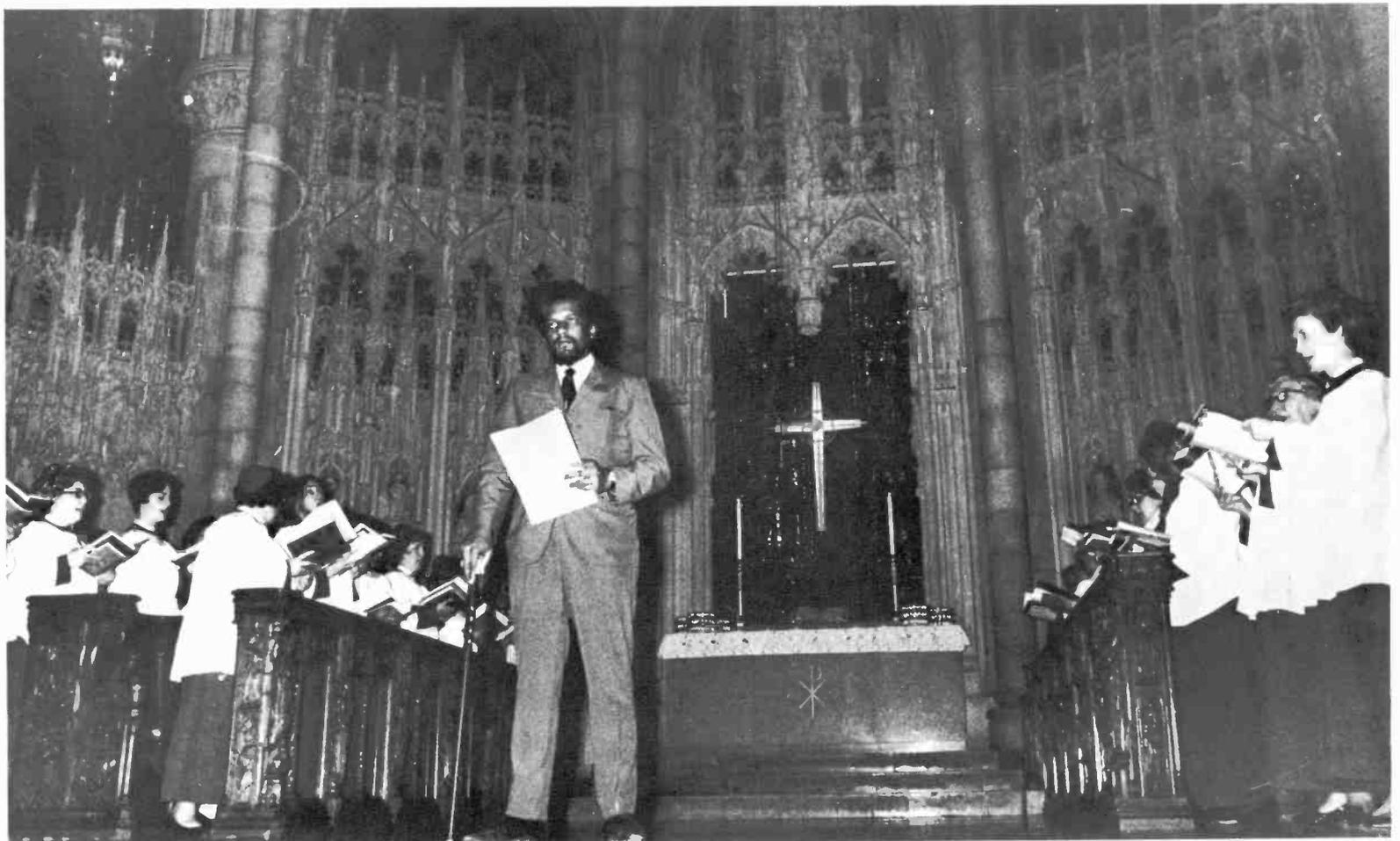


Churches are going modern, not only in policy but also in architecture. In Spokane, Washington, the Convent of the Holy Names wins an architectural award, with a jury finding that the structure maintains "a happy balance between community and privacy."



At Madison Square Garden in New York City, Billy Graham, America's best-known evangelist, attracts thousands of enthusiastic followers.

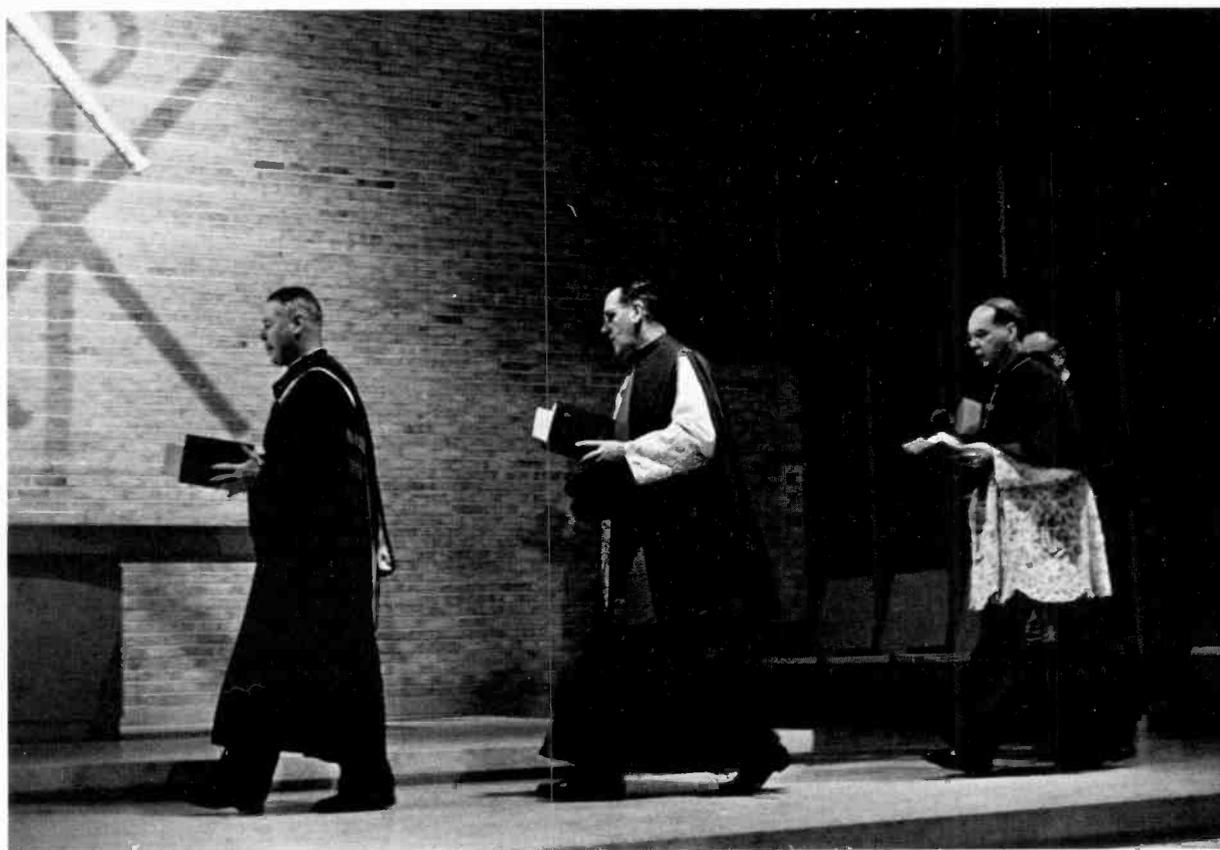
Civil rights becomes a central issue in the churches of America when black militants, led particularly by James Farman, demand millions from organized religion as reparations for the black people. Here James Farman, at Riverside Church in May in New York City, interrupts the services and is attempting to read his "Black Manifesta."





Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington, speaks to the press, defending his suspension of dissident priests over the issue of birth control.

Interfaith ecumenical services being held at the Interchurch Center in New York City in November. Left to right, are David J. Bowman, S.J.; Monsignor James Rigney of the New York Archdiocese, Archbishop Terence J. Cooke, and, in the back, with head partly showing, Dr. Eugene L. Smith.





Pickets march around Interchurch Center, in New York City, to express their support of James Forman and his "Black Manifesto."

The chief rabbi of Moscow, Rabbi Yehuda Lieb Levin, right, visits Yeshiva University in June during his trip to the United States. Here he is greeted by Dr. Samuel Belkin, president of the university.

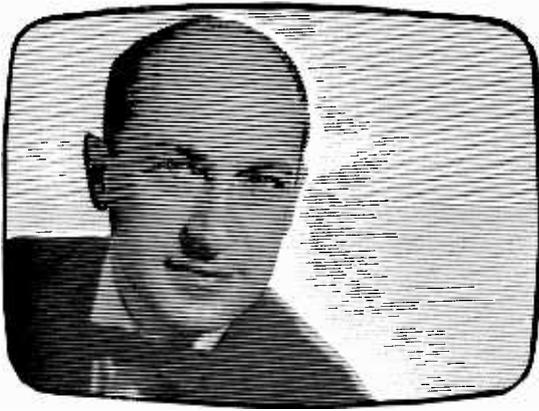


Opposite top: From the Soviet Union also comes Metropolitan Nikodim of Moscow, to participate as an observer at the General Board meeting in February of the National Council of Churches in Memphis, Tennessee.

Opposite center: In Athens, Greece, the head of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, Archbishop Iakovos, addresses delegates at a conference of clergy and laymen in July.

Opposite bottom: An ecumenical service is held at the Interchurch Center Chapel in New York in April, with His Holiness Vasken I, the Supreme Patriarch-Catholicus of All Armenians (left), and Archbishop Torkom Manoogian, Primate of the Armenian Church of America (right), officiating.





Irving R. Levine, from Pawtucket, Rhode Island, began his journalism career on a Providence newspaper in 1944, then went to INS in New York in 1947, and to head its Vienna Bureau in 1948. In 1950 he joined NBC News to cover the Korean War and, following the truce, other Far East assignments. His four-year stay as NBC Bureau Chief in Moscow began in 1955, and in 1959 he brought his wealth of experience to his present assignment in Rome, where, after a brief stint as London Bureau Chief in 1968, he covers the Vatican, Italy, and the Mediterranean.

Pope Paul Chooses His Path

Irving R. Levine

NBC News Rome Correspondent

IT WAS IN THIS, the sixth year of his reign, that it became evident that Pope Paul had decided to dedicate his pontificate to a single-minded objective—the preservation of the institution he heads. All other objectives had become secondary. Like Winston Churchill, who declared in an era of equally disruptive ferment that he had not become his monarch's first minister to preside over the dissolution of the British Empire, Pope Paul had not become his church's first minister to preside over its dismantlement. Neither Churchill's will nor oratory was sufficient to forestall the tide of events that dismembered Britain's Empire. Will Pope Paul's efforts meet with more success?

Giovanni Battista Montini took office at a time of revolution in the Roman Catholic Church. The Ecumenical Council, begun by Pope John as a forum for the bishops to discuss ways in which the church might change to pursue more effectively its ends, had exposed deep and widespread dissatisfaction, dissension, and defiance of

the established order. How Pope John XXIII, with his instinctive humanity, might have channeled the explosion of repressed ideas unleashed by the Council offers food for inconclusive thought. What *is* clear is that Paul finally came to the conclusion that, if unchecked, the ferment could destroy the Church.

It had not always been so. In the first years Pope Paul stated repeatedly that in his humility he did not wish to impose authority. An aura of indecision hung over the Vatican's Apostolic Palace. This was consistent with Paul's personality as described by his predecessor, who spoke of Montini as a Hamlet, unable to make up his mind. This characteristic indecision, coupled with permissiveness at the outset of Paul's reign, encouraged the atmosphere of challenge and protest to develop within the church. Lacking forthright papal encouragement or papal restraint, both liberals and conservatives found that extremists were soon flourishing in their ranks, leading to hostile confrontation of views. When Pope Paul acted it was already late; he disillusioned the progressives, who had felt sure all along that at heart he was with them, and events had moved too far for him to give effective support to conservatives. For example, after the revolutionary Dutch catechism—raising questions about the virginity of Mary, the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and the existence of angels—had generated unrestrainable excitement among scholars and laymen, Pope Paul's decision to recite a new version of the Credo confirming all the dogmas of the past was sadly anticlimactic.

The act that dramatically revealed that Pope Paul's attitude had crystallized was his decision on birth control. Birth control became the Pope's Vietnam. It became the issue on which the Pope's authority was openly challenged by bishops' groups as well as by ordinary Catholics in many countries. Those demanding changes in other doctrines—an end to celibacy for priests, a sharing of papal authority by the bishops, a scientific examination of fundamentals of theology—took new courage to challenge the Vatican.

A credibility gap became evident—How could the Vatican's concern for the welfare of the poor and hungry be reconciled with the Pope's adamancy to controlling population? The worldwide crisis of authority, so evident on campuses and in political capitals, found expression in the most successfully authoritarian of bodies. Repeatedly in speeches, Pope Paul felt compelled to deplore the divisions. He conceded that a widespread lack of confidence existed toward his administration. He chastized priests and bishops who were defaulting on the unquestioning loyalty they owed the Pope. Paul even spoke of the danger of schism in the church—but this was more a reflection of the Pope's anxiety than a true description of the nature of the revolution, which aimed at changing the institution, not at creating a new one.

The Pope's pleas and warnings did nothing to abate the storm. On the central issue of birth control, Pope Paul found himself much in the position of Lyndon Johnson on Vietnam. The Pope could not in good conscience drop his commitment; he could not readily negotiate a settlement; and he could not extricate himself with honor. As had President Johnson, the Pope risked default of his credibility and of his political and moral authority.

To seek an explanation for the Pope's stand some looked within the Vatican and said the Pope was the prisoner of a basically reactionary Curia. Others, saying that "if you don't play the game you shouldn't make the rules," attributed it to ignorance of a facet of human experience.

There was bafflement that a Pope, who came to office with the reputation of being a progressive, had reacted to the most urgent problem of his reign with conventionally conservative responses. The error lay in the premise that Montini was progressive. The quality of being modern had been confused with that of being progressive. His frequent contact with workers when an archbishop in Milan was the action of a modern priest, not necessarily of a progressive one.

Paul's travels further invited the same confused interpretation. The phenomenon of a Pope leaving the seclusion of the Vatican to travel by jet plane to distant lands, visibly to thrive on the applause of street crowds, to visit Moslem, Jew, Protestant—these gave the illusion of a Pope in quest of change and progress. Yet, the first-hand view of the misery of overpopulation in Bombay did not alter his stand on regulating population growth. The unprecedented trip to the World Council of Churches at Uppsala, Sweden, was a modern gesture of coexistence, but its progressive implications for unification of Christian faiths were negligible. Pope Paul declared at the outset of his address to the assemblage of Protestants, Anglicans, and Orthodox that the prerogatives of the papacy were not negotiable in the interests of unity and that anyway the time was not ripe for consideration of the practical step of Catholic affiliation with the World Council of Churches.

Pope Paul's resistance to fundamental change had become more than a matter of personality—it had be-

come a case of policy. The deliberate policy of his pontificate belatedly became that of preserving the institution and its teachings in a climate of revolution. The arguments for this course of action (or inaction) were persuasive. What greater responsibility, ran the argument, had a Pope than to guarantee that the sacred vessel of the faith that had been entrusted to him would be passed on undamaged and sound? To those who felt the church could best be fortified and revitalized by constant change and experimentation, the response was that changes (in liturgy, collegiality, internationalization of the Curia) had gone far enough (or too far) and that the risks would escalate in geometric progression with ill-considered further change.

In this context, there was more to consider in birth control than merely the merits of the case. What would be the reaction of the millions of Catholics who had faithfully followed church instructions in rejecting artificial means of family planning? Would they question church authority, as a result, on other issues? Would the validity of the papal word be brought into question if this Pope were so abruptly to contradict the teachings of his predecessors? Most important, would the faith itself be weakened?

That was always the clinching question that could be asked by conservatives, who see it as their role to stand guard at the Treasury of the Faith. They examined each demand, each controversy, each challenge by the same criteria: What would be the effect on the whole body of Roman Catholic belief and discipline by negotiating a demand, by compromising a controversy, by submitting to a challenge? This must have become the yardstick used by Pope Paul when he dealt with celibacy, birth control, and the other agonizing issues. For, after all, much in the Roman Catholic Church is founded on faith, and the fabric of the faith is such that if one strand—the dogma of the virgin birth, or the role of angels, or any other—is pulled out, the entire fabric may unravel.

With so many strands placed under stress in the post-Ecumenical Council atmosphere, it was perhaps to be expected that the Pope's priority should become preservation of the patrimony that had been passed on to him. For better or worse, that had become the guiding principle at the Vatican in the reign of Paul VI.



This rare picture of a drug transaction on a Harlem street corner was taken with a long lens from a distant camera. Illegal drug traffic is perhaps the country's worst single crime problem.

18. Crime

CRIME ASSUMED A NEW and frightening dimension in the mid-1968 to mid-1969 period. Serious crime in the United States increased 17 percent in 1968 over the year before. Americans were afraid, and began changing their pattern of life, especially after sundown. Men and women were afraid to walk the streets after dark. Attorney General John Mitchell warned that in 1969 one out of every fifty citizens would be the victim of a crime and that one out of every twenty juveniles would commit a crime.

FBI statistics showed that crimes of violence had increased 19 percent since 1967. Robbery led with a 29 percent increase. Murder and forcible rape were up 14 percent each. Aggravated assault increased 12 percent. Crimes against property were up 17 percent as a group. Larceny—involving \$50 and over—jumped 21 percent. Auto theft was up 18 percent. Burglary increased 13 percent. No section of the country escaped rising crime. The northeastern states registered a crime-rate boost of 21 percent. The north-central states had an increase of 13 percent, southern states 16 percent, and western states 18 percent.

There was little comfort in the statistics for middle-class Americans who fled the city to escape mugging or robbery. Crime increased in all populated areas. Overall crime was up 12 percent even in rural areas. In cities of more than 25,000 and in suburban areas there was an 18 percent jump. The biggest percentage increase, as usual, came in cities ranging from 500,000 to 1,000,000 in population. They showed an increase of 21 percent.

City dwellers were learning to live with the fear of being victimized. "You learn to survive like a rabbit in the bushes," said a Washington bureaucrat. Homes were fortified with burglar alarms, electric eyes, lights that switch on and off automatically, guns, chemical sprays, and watchdogs trained to attack. Night life fell off for lack of trade. Tales of parking-lot muggings decreased the attendance at stadium events. People tried judo, karate, and other forms of self-defense in their search for security.

Suburbanites also felt threatened. In neighborhoods where residents recently never locked doors, homeowners began installing buzzers under rugs, sirens on roofs, floodlights and heavy deadfalls over doors. They also bought electric-eye devices that summon police when a burglar breaks the beam, strongboxes that buzz loudly when opened, aerosol sirens for purses, and inflatable plastic dummies to simulate a person in an empty car seat.

Stores selling defensive weapons did a land-office business as pedestrians armed to ward off potential attackers. Popular items: tear-gas guns, real guns, knives, Mace-like chemical sprays, sword canes, and blackjack canes.

Robbery and shoplifting were so common that they were reported as a factor in the rising cost of living. Retailers were forced to raise prices to compensate for their losses. They also went to outlandish lengths to guard their businesses. A liquor dealer in one high-crime area kept an arsenal of seven pistols, a rifle, and a Browning automatic rifle. He installed high-voltage electric gates at front and rear, and offered \$500 to anyone who killed a robber fleeing his store.

Bus holdups were so frequent that companies in Chicago, New York, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Washington switched or planned to switch to exact-fare systems. Fare boxes were bolted to the bus, and the driver gave out no change.

Weapons and security precautions were expensive but readily available to businessmen. Closed-circuit-television cameras and uniformed guards were everywhere—supermarkets, banks, department stores, apartment houses, and even in some zoos. But insurance against robbery or riot damage was almost impossible to buy.

By far the most important change was in human nature. Americans were less willing to trust strangers, and were growing more skeptical of their neighbors. Certain areas of cities and towns were branded as taboo. Citizens glumly accepted crimes as inevitable, and often did

not bother to report them. It was estimated that only half of the rapes, robberies, aggravated assaults, and burglaries got on police blotters. Many victims failed to report crimes because of embarrassment or the belief that the police could do nothing. Racial hatred was exacerbated. Whites were more distrustful of blacks, whom they tended to blame indiscriminately for the rise in street crime. Black ghetto dwellers often accepted and even admired black criminals if their victims were white.

Public outcries became louder and angrier. Citizens banded together and demanded safer streets from public officials. Crime became an important national issue for the first time since the days of Prohibition. In May 1968 the Senate passed an anticrime bill (passed earlier by the House) authorizing \$400 million in federal assistance to hard-pressed state and local law-enforcement authorities. President Johnson appealed to a governor's conference in Cincinnati a month later for federal-state cooperation in attacking the nation's domestic problems, with crime high on the list. He warned that solutions must be found through common effort or "the national government will have to do it alone. . . . When the crime rate soars the people look increasingly to the federal government for solutions," he said.

Crime prevention was one of the most important issues in the 1968 presidential campaigns. Both the Republican and Democratic Party platforms included anticrime planks. President Nixon was committed to a law-and-order drive against organized crime, which, he asserted, had "deeply penetrated broad segments of American life." He asked for more funds and legislation to halt Mafia operations. The focus of his drive would be against illegal gambling, which he estimated grossed \$20-\$50 billion every year. "Gambling is the lifeline of organized crime," he said. "If we can cut or restrict it, we will be striking close to its heart." In April the President announced anti-inflationary budget cuts. The Justice Department was the only federal department allowed a net spending increase. It would spend \$16 million more to add people to its crime-fighting programs.

The mood of the public for a crackdown on crime was clearly reflected by mayoral primaries in the spring of 1969. Law-and-order candidates won in Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and New York. Incumbent Los Angeles mayor Samuel Yorty upset Thomas Bradley, a Negro, despite all the polls that put Bradley ahead. In usually liberal Minneapolis, city policeman Stenvig defeated Alderman Hegstrom, the choice of the locally dominant left coalition in the Democratic Party. In New York law-and-order candidates won in both party primaries. Conservative Mario Procaccino upset former mayor Robert Wagner in the Democratic race. John Marchi, a little-known state senator, defeated Mayor John Lindsay for the Republican nomination.

Crime was inextricably woven into the urban crisis.

As the decay grew worse in the cities, so did crime. Cries for law and order alarmed some public officials, who warned that tougher police methods and laws alone would not do the job. Senator Edward Kennedy, in his first public speech after the murder of his brother Robert, said he was "deeply concerned" about crime, which he blamed on "bad schools, houses, no jobs and an inadequate passion for justice." He declared, "Arms alone will never bring security or quiet to our ghettos."

Arms were one of the causes of the climbing crime rate. Americans were the best-armed people in the world. Almost anyone could get a gun. Crimes committed with guns showed the biggest increase of all offenses in 1968. The FBI report showed that armed robbery rose 34 percent and that 61 percent of all robberies were made with guns. The Presidential Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence reported that in the seventeen years previous to 1968, 45.6 million guns were produced in the United States or imported. With the violence of urban and campus riots and rising crime, more and more Americans visited the gun store. The number of guns bought in the United States in one year rose from 2.9 million in 1965 to 3 million in the first six months of 1968. After Robert Kennedy's death, President Johnson appealed to Congress for a national gun-licensing and registration law. In his departing message he told the congressmen that one of his bitterest disappointments was their failure to pass such a law. He noted that there are 6,500 murders with guns in the United States each year. That compared, he said, with 99 in Canada, 30 in England, 68 in West Germany, and 37 in Japan.

The whole system of criminal justice—from the police to the prison—was vigorously criticized as crime increased. Police were overworked and underpaid. Attorney General Ramsey Clark told a majors' conference in June 1968 that the average "rookie cop" made less than the federal government deemed necessary to support a family of four. Low pay, long hours, and lessening public respect made the policeman's job attractive to fewer qualified applicants. In some cities, Clark said, two-thirds of the force had only eighth-grade educations. A federally financed study of police operations in slum precincts of several cities showed that 27 percent of the police studied were engaged in some form of misconduct. One in ten was reported to have used improper or unnecessary force. It was widely recognized that metropolitan forces needed reform. The Justice Department announced in September that it had awarded \$3.9 million to the states for special training and equipment for police and to pay for police community-relations programs.

A mountainous backlog of cases brought calls for restructuring and expanding the criminal-court system. Extreme delay in bringing defendants to trial was regarded by many law-enforcement officials as the biggest factor

in the crime explosion. Many serious crimes were committed by repeaters free on bail pending trial. Although the number of cases filed in the past decade remained relatively stable, the backlog doubled. The main reason, reported the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, was the emphasis on the rights of defendants, flowing from Supreme Court decisions. It took longer and longer to try the average case. More than 14,700 criminal cases were awaiting trial in United States district courts as of July 1, 1968.

Deficiencies in the judicial system also were reported to add to the case load. Judges were in short supply, and legal experts asserted that many on the bench were lazy, untrained, and incompetent. Clearing crowded dockets was the primary concern in too many courtrooms. Judges and prosecutors, frustrated by huge case loads, failed to examine cases carefully. Out-of-court compromises were too often substituted for trial. Assistant district attorneys frequently were young and inexperienced. The result was lack of preparation for trial. Sometimes offenders who could have been convicted were freed simply because of inadequate investigation in the prosecutor's office. Dangerous criminals were able to manipulate the judicial system. In the new era of protection of the rights of defendants, smart criminal lawyers were quick to seize upon delaying tactics and to take advantage of the ease of release on bail—even for chronic violent offenders. Overcrowded prisons led some judges to believe there should be a quick turnover of prisoners. Acting on this theory, they gave out too many concurrent sentences, which allowed felons to commit several different crimes and pay only one penalty.

The Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Earl Warren for sixteen years, extended the rights of defendants. Many public officials and law-enforcement authorities said that the "Warren Court" had gone too far. Their belief was that Court rulings had coddled criminals and hampered police. During the presidential campaign Mr. Nixon accused the Court of partial responsibility for the rising crime rate. He said the justices had given criminals "the green light" in such decisions as *Miranda vs. Arizona*, which curbed the use of confessions. After his retirement in June 1969, Mr. Warren summarized the philosophy that guided his Court: "A man," he said, "whether he is a communist, a fascist or a Ku Klux Klanner, or whatever it might be, is entitled to have his rights protected in the courtroom. . . . The public must support the police when they do right, not when they do wrong." Justice Warren's replacement, Warren Burger, was expected by many to end the trend. Mr. Burger was thought to agree with the President that the Court had extended the protection of criminal defendants too far.

In thirteen years as a judge in the United States Court of Appeals, legal observers pointed out that Justice Burger was generally a "hard-liner" in criminal cases. The new Chief Justice also had been highly critical of court congestion and delayed justice. He was expected to concentrate on reformation of the court system.

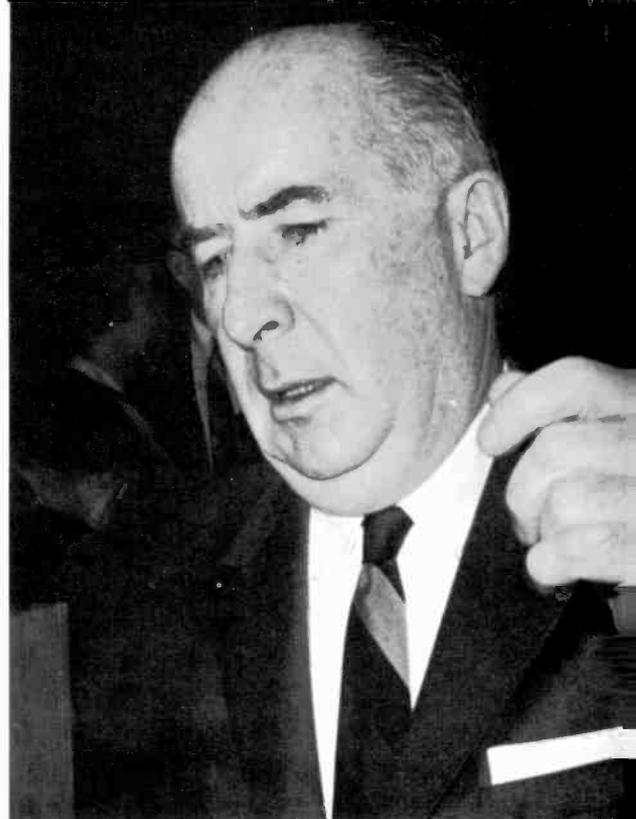
The final step in criminal justice is often prison. Our penal institutions generally failed in attempts to rehabilitate criminals. For many young offenders prison became a "crime university." One reason was the gross overcrowding. With penal institutions crowded to the breaking point, there was no way to do much reforming of prisoners. Calling the prison "a breeding ground of crime" and an "institution of lower learning," Mr. Nixon promised prison reforms in his campaign. As if to dramatize the need for improvements, prisoners, complaining of bad food and rough treatment, rioted in 1968 in Ohio, Oregon, North Carolina, and Georgia.

Much of the Nixon Administration's early efforts were directed against organized crime. Despite federal and state cooperation, the Mafia continued to thrive and to make billions of dollars in the United States from illegal gambling, prostitution, narcotics, and dozens of other rackets. The five-year gang war for control of the Bonanno "family" underworld operations in New York City ended with a truce in November. Bonanno and his son Salvatore were to keep interests in other parts of the country, but the new East Coast Mafia boss was Paul Sciacca. Six murders in New York and several bombings and shootings in Arizona took place before the truce. Seventy law-enforcement officers, led by the FBI, arrested eight Mafia leaders in several New York State communities on November 26. Those arrested were charged with conspiracy and interstate racketeering. A series of investigations in New Jersey attracted national attention with widespread allegations of Mafia connections with public officials at every level. In February, Vito Genovese, head of the New York and New Jersey Mafia, died of heart disease. Genovese, who had been in prison for several years before his death, reportedly directed underworld business for his cell. A 1960 report by a Senate Committee estimated the Mafia leader's personal wealth at \$30 million. Genovese's death led to speculation of another gang war for control of his empire.

In June of 1969 the future for crime prevention seemed bleak. The federal government had made a substantial commitment, and public indignation made law and order a central issue at all levels of government. The crime rate continued to climb, however. All indications were that it would rise at an alarming rate until the entire system of criminal justice was overhauled and the urban crisis was well on its way to solution.



Allegations of widespread Mafia influence in New Jersey government led to state investigations. Alleged Mafia boss Simeone de Cavalcante (Sam the Plumber) was called in July to testify. He has just left the office of the New Jersey State Investigating Commission.



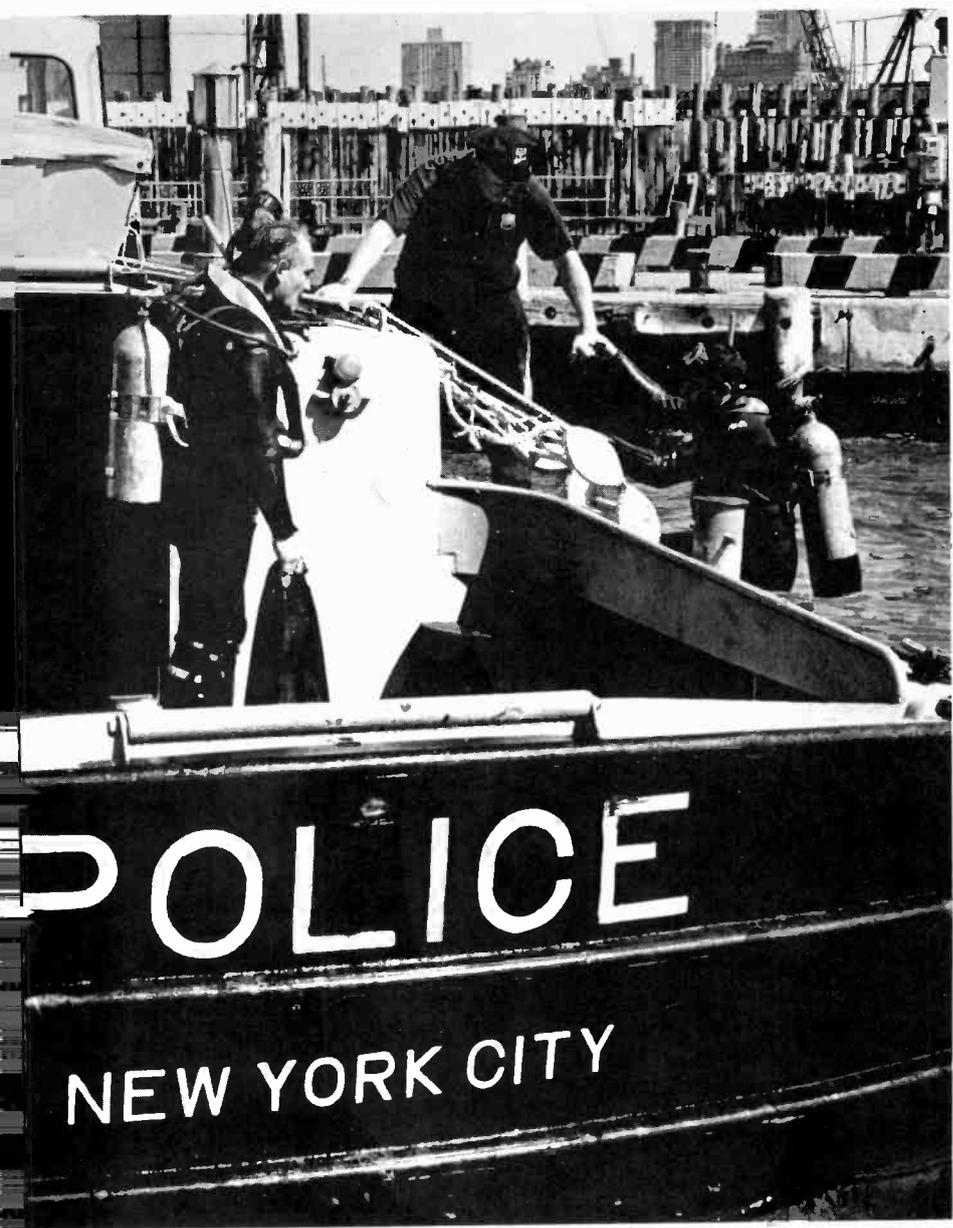
Before the desk sergeant in a Nassau County, New York, police station a young prisoner, caught stealing a car, is searched. His belt and bunches of keys lie on the counter.



James Earl Ray, convicted slayer of Martin Luther King, being escorted to a Memphis jail. Ray pleaded guilty and was sentenced in a one-day trial in March to life imprisonment. Afterward Ray appealed for a new trial, and complained that his defense lawyer had given him bad counsel.

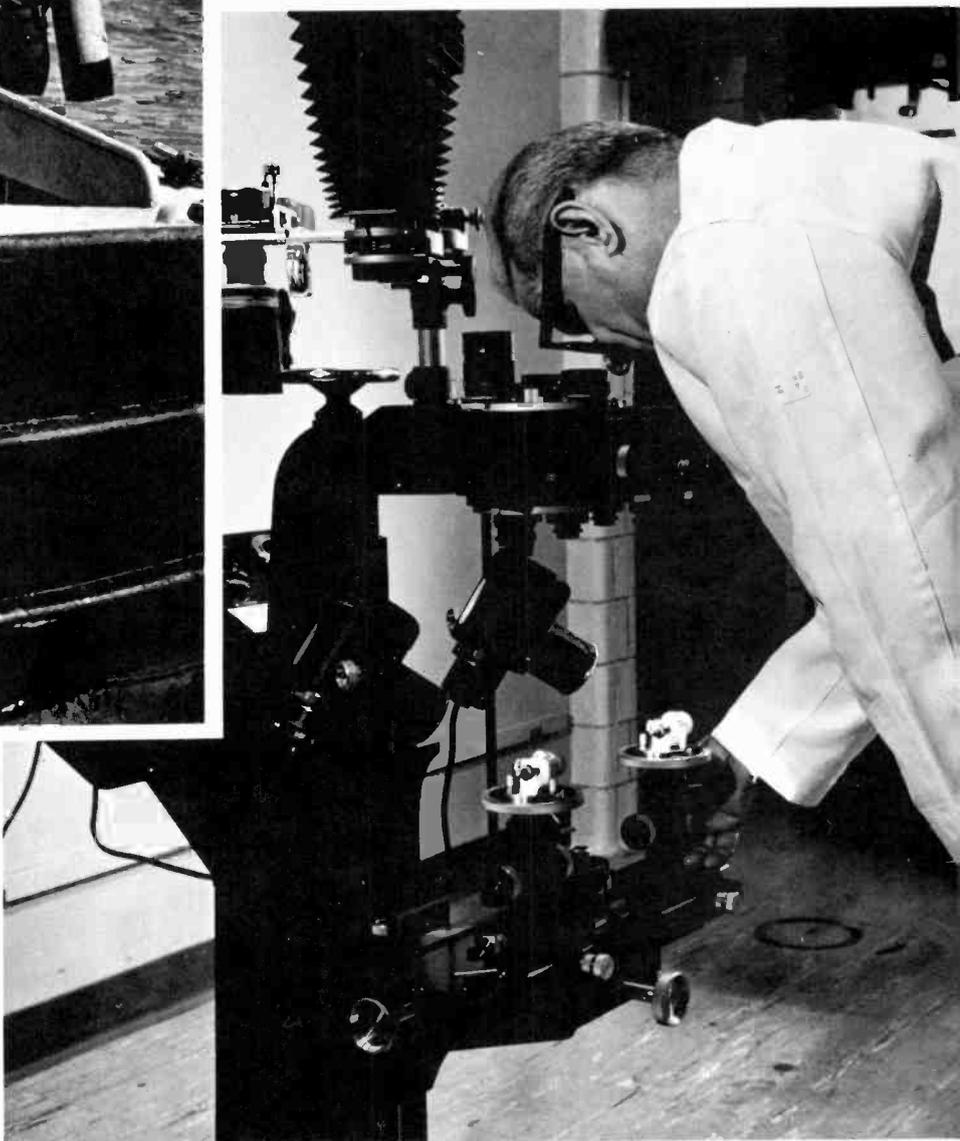
Opposite: Attorney General John Mitchell tells a Senate Judiciary subcommittee in March that the Administration planned a coordinated, federal-state attack on organized crime and illegal gambling, its principal source of income.

Sirhan Sirhan (middle) was convicted in April of the first-degree murder of Senator Robert Kennedy, and sentenced to death in the California gas chamber. He talks with his defense attorneys Russell Parsons (left) and Grant Cooper (right).



In New York's harbor, Emergency Service policemen dive for a murder weapon sought as evidence. These regular-duty officers are specially trained in scuba techniques at the city's Police Academy.

A civilian technician in New York's Police Laboratory trains a comparison microscope, with camera attached, on two bullets, testing whether they came from the same gun. Laboratory techniques are being constantly refined under the pressure of rising crime rates.





At St. Luke's Episcopal Hospital in Houston, in April, Dr. Denton Cooley demonstrates the workings of an artificial heart. The designer of the half-pound device, Dr. Domingo Liotta, sits on the right. Dr. Cooley explained how the device kept a patient alive three days until a suitable donor heart was located for transplant. This was the first time in history that a complete synthetic heart was implanted.

19. Medicine and Science

THE MOST DRAMATIC achievements in science during 1968–1969 were made in the field of medicine. And in that arena the fight to extend human life received particularly widespread attention in the news.

Surgical teams in twenty countries were involved in more than 125 heart transplants during 1968 and early 1969. Dr. Denton Cooley, of St. Luke's Episcopal Hospital in Houston, Texas, performed the operation seventeen times. The results proved the technical feasibility of this form of surgery, but there remained the rejection problem and the difficulty of matching, storing, and transporting donor hearts. Many patients died while waiting for donor hearts. There was much publicity and criticism from the public and within the medical profession. Dr. Irving Page, of the Cleveland Clinic, and Dr. George Burch, of Tulane, suggested a moratorium on all heart transplants. Fifty percent of the recipients were dead within the first month of surgery and 75 percent did not survive the first six months. (Ed. Note: Even Philip Blaiburg, a retired South African dentist, who lived for nineteen months after receiving a new heart in January, 1968, died in August 1969 at the age of 60.)

To meet the need for donor hearts, a Uniform Anatomical Gift Act was drawn up and presented to many state legislatures. In addition, registries were established in major cities to meet the demand for human organs. While heart transplants captured headlines, steady progress was being made elsewhere in organ transplants.

Dr. Thomas E. Starzl, of the University of Colorado Medical Center, led research in liver transplants. Here, too, the survival rate was low, with 82 percent of the patients dying within six months. South American surgeons performed several pancreas transplants in patients with severe diabetes. In November 1968 a Belgian

surgeon, Fritz Derom, transplanted a lung into a young steelworker. Seven months later the patient was still alive. The greatest organ success remained in kidney transplants. Seventy-five percent of these patients were alive a year after the operation.

The first multiple-organ transplant was carried out in Texas when a surgical team headed by Dr. Michael De Bakey transplanted a heart, a lung, and both kidneys from one donor into four recipients. Several multiple transplants were conducted at other medical centers during the year. Reports that an eye was transplanted in a blind patient in Texas turned out to be untrue. Experts agreed there was little hope of ever transplanting a complete eye.

Research on the development of artificial organs was intensified in spite of cutbacks of government research funds. Heart-assist devices and partial replacements were tested in animals. The first mechanical heart was used by Dr. Cooley to keep a patient alive until a donor heart was obtained.

The problem of chronic degenerative heart disease that cannot be solved by transplantation led to other searches for therapeutic and preventive measures. An eight-year study, completed in Los Angeles, demonstrated that a diet low in saturated fats can reduce the death rate from cardiovascular disease. Similar studies strongly associated the amount of cholesterol found in the body with hardening of the arteries. Drugs to lower cholesterol and prevent heart disease were introduced in several long-term studies.

In the neurological diseases one of the most exciting advances was made in the treatment of Parkinson's disease. The belief that the major symptoms were caused by a deficiency of a chemical in the brain, dopamine, led to

the administration of Levo-dihydroxyphenylalanine (L-Dopa) to patients with this disease. Preliminary results by Dr. George Cotzias of Brookhaven Laboratories and Dr. Melvin Yahr of Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center indicate great promise. A large-scale clinical study by the National Institutes of Health is now under way, and will last three years. Other forms of chemicals, such as mithramycin, an experimental cancer drug, show promise against malignant brain tumors that are normally treated by radiation or surgery.

A new vaccine for the prevention of rubella (German measles) was developed and tested extensively during the year. The vaccine was approved for use early in 1969. According to public health officials, the use of the vaccine should spell the end of rubella as a major health problem. In addition, a mumps vaccine was approved in January 1968, and a promising highly purified vaccine against spinal meningitis was developed by Dr. Malcolm Artenstein of Walter Reed Institute of Research.

Bilharzia, one of the world's worst parasitic diseases, may be brought under control. The use of gamma radiation to eliminate snails that carry the parasite was found by engineers at Northwestern University.

On enzyme, L-asparaginase, called the "first cancer-specific drug," was clinically tested, and showed great promise. Early in 1969 several biologists, including James D. Reagan, Ph.D. at Oak Ridge National Laboratory, demonstrated negative findings. Other forms of chemotherapy advanced slowly. In 1968, at major cancer treatment centers, it was possible to restore 90 percent of patients with acute lymphocytic leukemia to temporary good health. Intense efforts to prolong the survival time of cancer patients continued. Dr. Charles Gordon Zubrod, of the National Cancer Institute; Howard Skipper, of Kettering-Meyer Laboratory of Southern Research Institute; and William Bruce, of the University of Toronto, achieved some success in "complete remission of the disease for extended periods" in cancers caused by fast-growing tumors. A new class of drugs—platinum chemicals—that inhibit tumors was discovered by Michigan State University biophysicists.

Virus studies dominated cancer research. Philadelphia scientists reported evidence that a special type of virus previously associated with cancer of the lymph glands in African children may be related to infectious mononucleosis; the same virus was suspected of playing a role in leukemia. The search for other viruses in human tissue continued. A small particle resembling a virus was found in breast-cancer tissue samples.

The lung-cancer epidemic continued, and 55,000 Americans died, making lung cancer the leading cause of cancer death in men. The American Cancer Society led in the fight against cigarette smoking on radio, television, and in the newspapers. In March 1968 the United States Public Health Service reported that a nationwide survey showed a decline in cigarette smoking among teen-agers. According to the Agriculture De-

partment, United States smokers consumed 546 billion cigarettes in 1968, down 6 percent from the previous year. The first World Conference on Smoking and Health was held in New York City, with over thirty-five nations sending representatives.

Genetic engineering received much attention. Dr. Arthur Kornberg, Nobel laureate, led a team in producing a completely artificial copy of the inner core of a virus. Dr. Kornberg suggested that human beings may look forward to the day when correcting hereditary defects and curing diseases could be accomplished by injecting new genes into the body.

Genetic researchers found the incidence of the uncommon sex chromosomal configuration XYY to be far greater among criminals than chance would allow. Men born with this unusual configuration are generally very tall and thin, with low intelligence quotients, bad acne, and a bizarre sex history. These XYY men occur sixty times more often among those convicted of violent crimes than in the general population.

Dr. Patricia Jacobs, of the British Medical Research Council, linked the second Y chromosome to antisocial behavior. Dr. Frank Vanasek, research psychologist at Atascadero (California) State Hospital, and Drs. John Melnyk and Havelock Thompson, Los Angeles pediatricians, feel that the phenomenon is due to adjustment.

According to these behaviorists, the XYY man matures faster and becomes taller than others of his age, causing a difficult emotional adjustment that often leads to aggressive behavior. The XYY configuration may be used as a last appeal in several murder cases.

Several far-reaching discoveries came in the field of biochemistry. After fourteen years of research, Dr. Arthur Kornberg, of Stanford University, was able to synthesize the first biologically active molecule of deoxyribonucleic acid. Kornberg used a combination of DNA polymerase and joining enzymes to produce the genetic core of a specific bacterial virus. Biochemists Robert W. Holley, of the Salk Institute; H. Gobind Khorana, of the University of Wisconsin; and Marshall W. Nirenberg, of the National Institutes of Health, received Nobel prizes for research in genetic codes. They succeeded in identifying the specific sequences of bases used for the production of several amino acids.

The enzyme ribonuclease was synthesized by two research teams working independently. This enzyme is used by the body to break down ribonucleic acid. Its synthesis should pave the way for a new series of healing agents. Researchers in Massachusetts and Wisconsin produced the first pure crystals of a nucleic acid with the crystallization of transfer-RNA. This molecule picks up protein-making instructions from messenger RNA.

Dr. Gerald Edelman, of Rockefeller University, broke down the structure of a gamma globulin, an important step in learning how the immunity system of the human body works.

Oral contraceptives remained under close scrutiny.

Although nine million Americans are now taking the pill, about one-third of the former users have stopped taking the pill because of detrimental reports and side effects. Reports were issued linking the pill with blood-clotting disorders. One British study reported that women who take the pill run a nine times greater risk of thrombotic disease. A Planned Parenthood official said that the risk of death associated with pregnancy is about fifteen times greater than that associated with the pill. Two other studies showed a greater incidence in cancer-like changes in the cervix among women who use the pill. The researchers added that they could not establish a causal relationship without more data and that their findings might be due to other factors. The relation between the pill and diabetes, high blood pressure, and strokes was also questioned.

A greater demand for liberalized abortion laws arose across the nation. Five states—Colorado, California, Georgia, North Carolina, and Maryland—passed more lenient laws allowing abortions. Only California failed to allow abortion in cases where the child is likely to be born defective. Many other states are likely to follow their lead in an attempt to end the estimated 200,000 to 1,500,000 illegal and dangerous abortions performed annually. Liberals would like to see an end to all governmental controls on abortions, while the Catholic Church feels that the more stringent laws should remain intact. Thus the controversy remains alive.

A new mutant strain of Type-A virus, known as Hong Kong influenza, swept across the country in epidemic proportions. An estimated 25 percent of Americans were stricken with the flu and between 5,000 and 10,000 deaths may be attributed to the flu. The widespread nature of the flu was largely due to a late detection of the need for vaccine. By the time enough vaccine had been produced, the epidemic had begun to decline. A new antifu drug, Amantadine Hydrochloride, was introduced. United States officials ruled that the drug was not proved safe for the flu, but Russian doctors tested it on 10,000 residents of Leningrad, and found it effective.

Scientists at Rockefeller University demonstrated that they could train animals to control their own heart-beat and blood pressure.

An electronic arm that works on nerve signals transmitted from the brain was tested on amputees.

The cost of Medicaid was one billion dollars more than estimated by the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. Thirty-eight states, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands had programs. Legislation in Congress was proposed for cuts in the program.

Regional medical programs were established for heart disease, cancer, and stroke. \$55 billion was allocated for health and welfare programs; \$6½ billion for Medicare; Medicaid expected to rise to \$3 billion by 1970; \$330 million was allocated for health facilities.

Programs for additional funding included maternal and child health (\$216 million), health manpower (\$617 million), and environmental control (\$72 million).

A federal study on nutrition was undertaken to determine the health status of Americans and their diets.

In astronomy, an English astronomer, Dr. Anthony Hewlsh, of Cambridge University, discovered pulsating radio signals from space. The strange, newly found bodies from which the signals came were called "pulsars." The short bursts of radio energy at precise intervals seemed to have the characteristics of signals from intelligent beings in space. These theories were largely dispelled, however, by the discovery of many more of the objects, and the general agreement that pulsars are no more than a few miles in diameter. Dr. Thomas Gold, of Cornell University, suggested that these strange objects were probably spinning neutron stars, only five to ten miles in diameter, with as much mass as our sun. Gold's hypothesis received considerable support by the sighting of the first pulsar in early 1969. At present, the pulsar remains a controversial topic.

Quasars continued to be a hotly debated subject. These objects exhibit large red shifts, indicating a distance of eight billion light years from the earth—and an expansion of the universe. Several astrophysicists believe these large red shifts are due to some intrinsic properties of the quasars, and do not indicate tremendous distances. Though impressive evidence has been compiled by both sides, no solution has been reached.

Currently accepted theories regarding the center of the sun were disturbed by Dr. Raymond Davis, of Brookhaven National Laboratory. The experiment attempted to capture neutrinos—zero-mass and zero-charge particles—by their interaction with chlorine nuclei. The results set an upper limit on the neutrino flux that just overlaps the lower limit derived by theorists.

One of the most elusive phenomena ever searched for by astronomers and physicists is gravitational radiation. Professor Joseph Weber, of the University of Maryland, claimed he detected gravitation waves that are predicted by Einstein's General Theory of Relativity. Professor Weber based his results on measurements taken simultaneously on detectors located near College Park, Maryland, and Argonne National Laboratory near Chicago.

The NASA Radio Astronomy Explorer A, launched in July 1968, revealed that the earth, like Jupiter, is a weak emitter of low-frequency radio waves.

There were conflicting results reported on the discovery of new elements. Dr. Glenn Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, announced the finding of Element 104. But the same team that made the discovery failed to verify the Russians' claim of an isotope of 104.

The pressure of formaldehyde was discovered in several cold dark clouds somewhat separated from the

plane of the galaxy. The discovery added weight to the theory that life might have started on earth with an electrical impulse passing through a mixture of water, hydrogen, and ammonia, which had already been found in space, and methane, which is a close cousin of the newly discovered formaldehyde.

The asteroid Icarus made its closest approach to earth in nineteen years on June 14, 1968, and its diameter was accurately measured by means of radar (900 meters).

In anthropology an international expedition to southern Ethiopia found manlike fossils that pushed the history of man back to four million years. The findings nearly tripled the total number of mammals known to have existed.

Dr. Louis S. B. Leakey, a noted British anthropologist, discovered a crude stone hammer twelve million years old. Since man is believed to be only two million years old, the tool seems to indicate a prehuman, apelike animal that also had the ability and knowledge to make tools.

The major features of the earth are now being explained by a concept of large, mobile blocks. This concept includes the theory of continental drift. The theory states that Africa, Antarctica, Australia, India, and South America were all once united close to the South Pole. South America split from the west of Africa, while Australia, India, and Antarctica split from the east. The spectacular collision of India with southern Asia resulted in the formation of the Himalaya Mountains.

This theory was greatly strengthened by the discovery of the first fossilized fragments of land vertebrates in Antarctica. Similar animals from the same time period have been found in Africa, Australia, and Madagascar. The finding of similar plant life in these distantly separated continents adds additional support to the widely accepted theory of continental drift.

Author and ethnologist Thor Heyerdahl set sail from Africa in a primitive craft built of reeds. By crossing the Atlantic in the papyrus vessel *The Ra*, he hoped to link the New World and ancient Egyptian cultures, but was eventually forced to discontinue the voyage.

In oceanography, deep-sea drilling by the research ship *Glomar Challenger* across the Atlantic indicates that Africa and South America have been moving apart at a uniform rate. A computer was used by two scientists to fit together the continents of Australia and Antarctica to prove they once were joined.

The *Ben Franklin*, a submarine that has the ability to drift at a given depth, was launched to study the Gulf Stream, under the command of Jacques Piccard. It spent thirty days underwater, and came to New York Harbor on August 26. The object was to determine the exact site of the Gulf Stream and to conduct oceanographic studies.

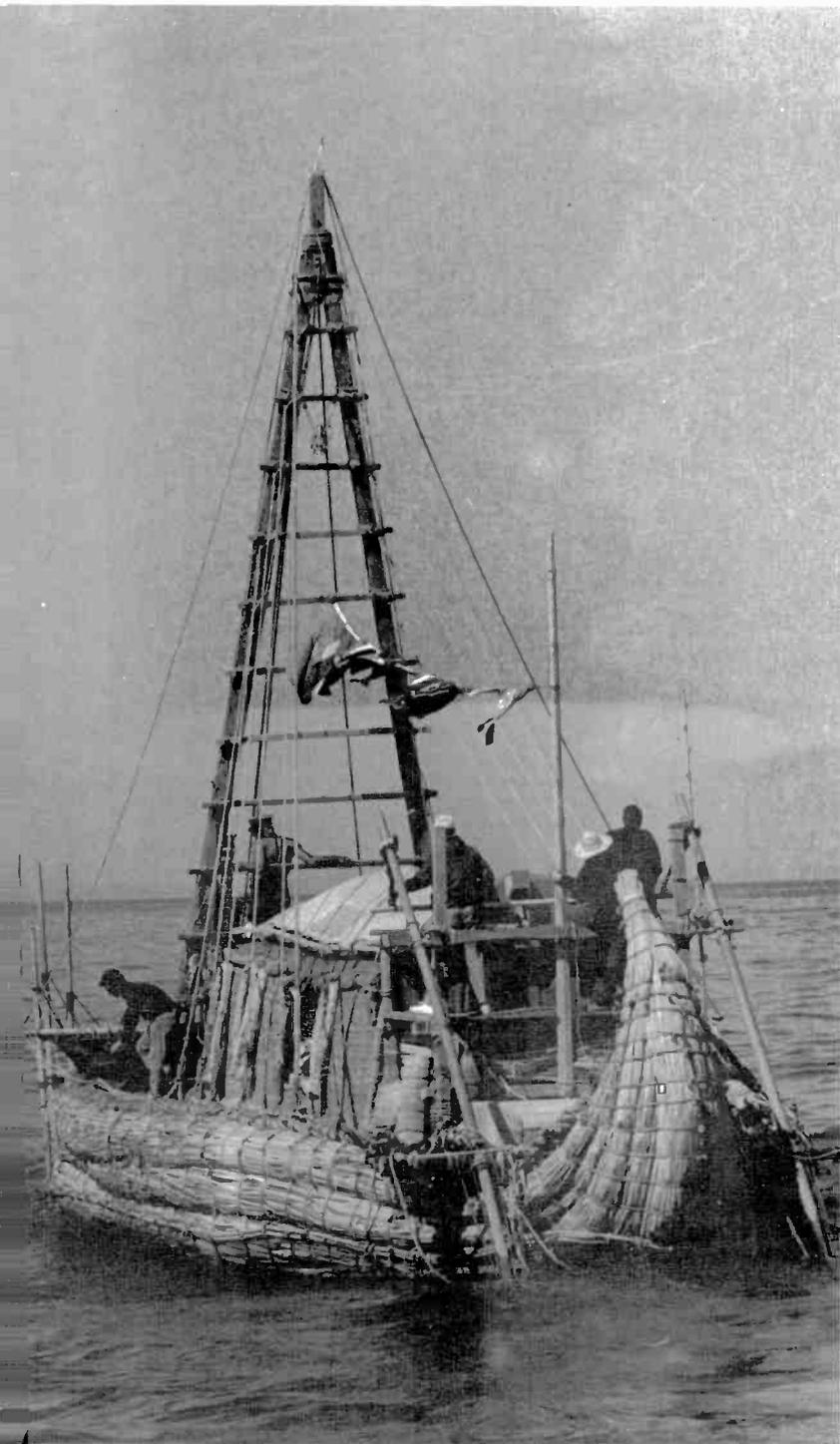
While the Apollo project succeeded, the Sealab project, designed to enable man eventually to live and work for long periods under the sea, received another major setback. Aquanaut Barry Cannon was killed attempting to make repairs on Sealab III when his breathing apparatus failed. Meanwhile, other scientists continued to develop new techniques of exploring the ocean.

In the field of environment and pollutions, concern over pesticide residues in food and the heavy concentrations being found in water brought pressure to enforce more stringently federal legislation on agricultural chemicals. A bill was introduced in the Senate to create a national commission on pesticides. DDT, which was introduced after World War II, received most attention. Several states banned DDT, and a number of others, including Illinois, Wisconsin, Montana, and Connecticut, considered permanent bans against its use. Sweden imposed a two-year ban to begin in 1970.

Man showed increasing concern with his deteriorating environment during 1968. Government officials estimated the cost of cleaning up the nation's waters and air at \$40 billion. The federal government joined with several states in an attempt to clean up Lake Erie and Lake Michigan. Bond issues were passed in Washington, Michigan, Cleveland, and Massachusetts in an attempt to combat the dangers of pollution. Scientists warned, however, that these projects would not be enough to curb the pollution of our environment.

Once again sticky oil smeared white beaches. For over a week thousands of gallons of oil leaked out of an offshore drill and blackened the shore of Santa Barbara, California. As a result, a bill was drawn up in Congress that not only spelled out liabilities in oil spills, but also required sewage treatment devices on all large ships by 1974 and specified penalties for thermal pollution and the discharge of mine-acid wastes.

Under the National Air Pollution Control Act, thirteen air-quality regions were designated in major metropolitan areas. Criteria are being set for these regions for those pollutants harmful to health and welfare. A total of fifty-seven air-quality regions will be named by the summer of 1970.

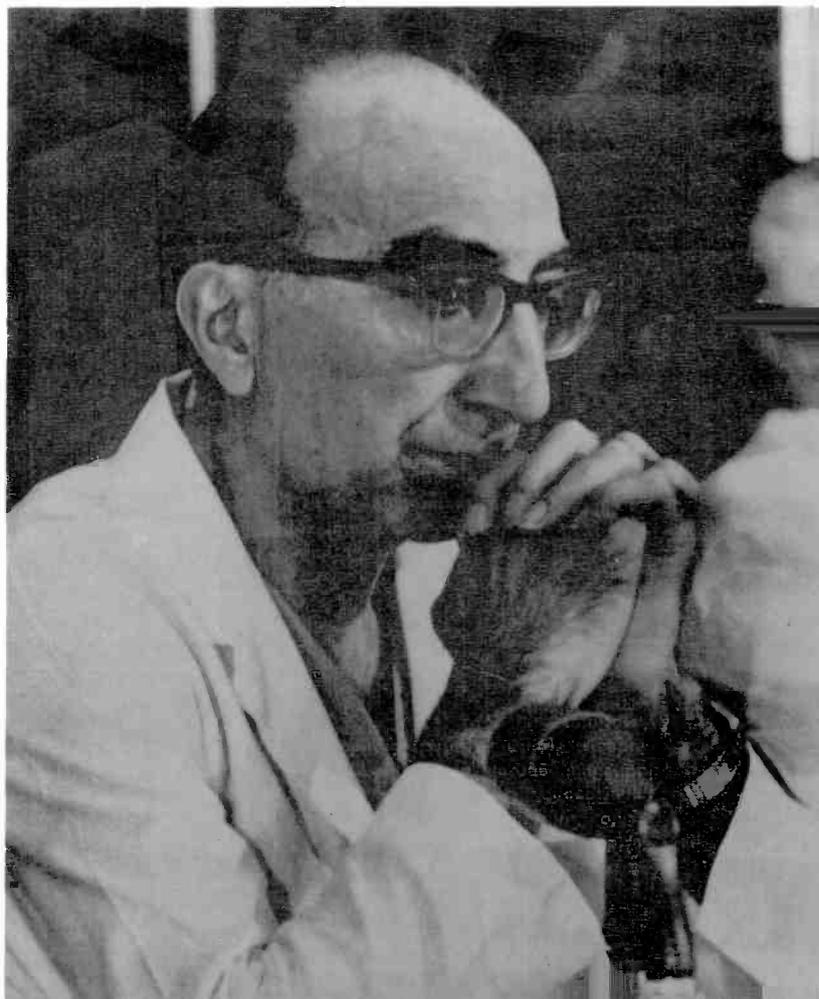


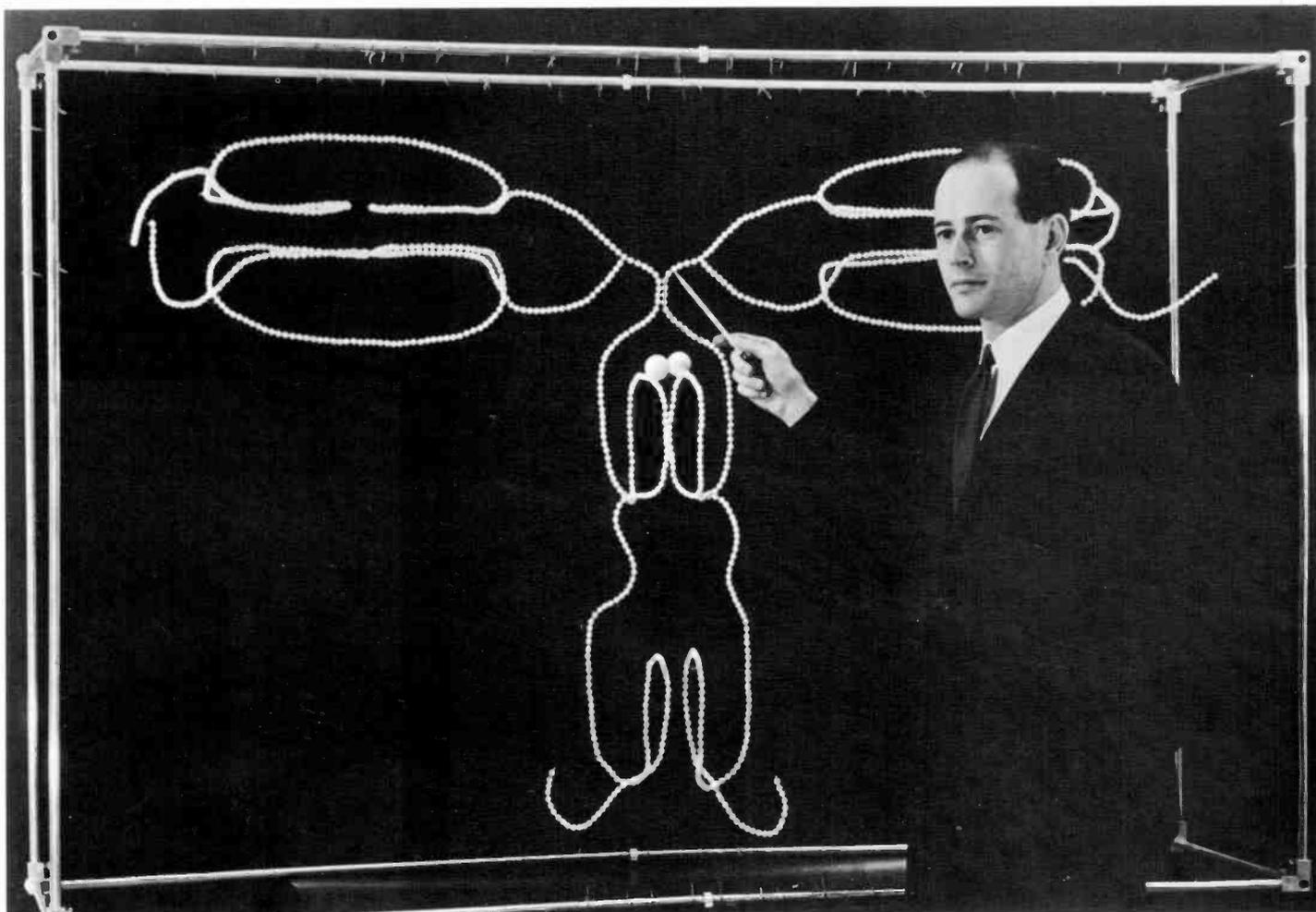
Thor Heyerdahl, the Norwegian explorer leaves the Atlantic port of Safi, Morocco, in May on his journey across the Atlantic. His papyrus boat *The Ra*, carrying a crew of six, set out for the Caribbean, using only the ocean's currents to make the crossing.



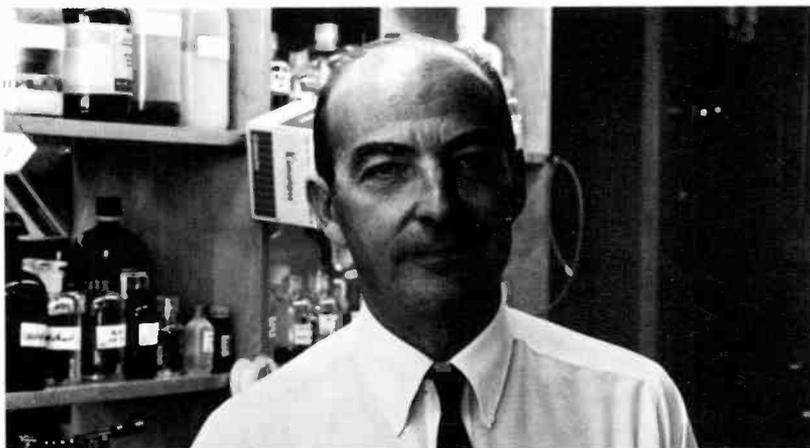
In Cape Town, South Africa, in January, Dr. Philip Blaiberg poses for photographers after celebrating his first anniversary with a transplanted heart. The occasion is a meeting of his old Moth Shellhole, a veterans' social group.

Dr. Michael E. De Bakey at a press conference held after a multiple-transplant operation in August. Dr. De Bakey headed a team of sixty doctors in a series of operations that involved successfully transplanting the kidneys, lungs, and heart of one patient into four recipients at Methodist Hospital in Houston, Texas.

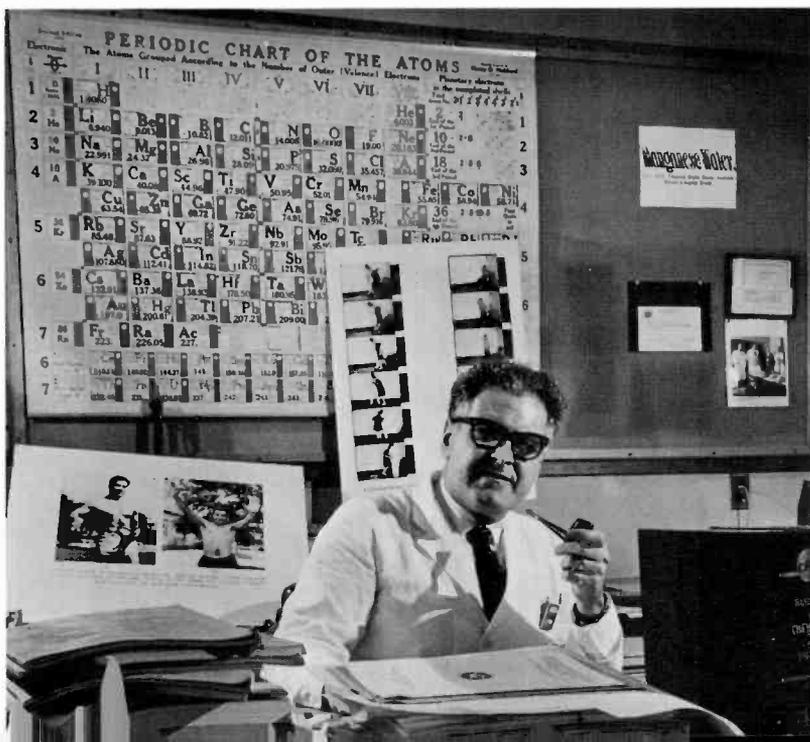




A blowup of the double viral DNA rings that were synthesized in a test tube at Stanford University School of Medicine. This picture was taken by an electron microscope. The actual size of the DNA strand is two microns (about 1/10,000th of an inch).



Dr. Arthur Kornberg, of Stanford University, who synthesized the first biologically active molecule of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA). According to Dr. Kornberg's latest studies, genetic engineering may some day enable man to wipe out hereditary defects by replacing defective genes with normal ones.

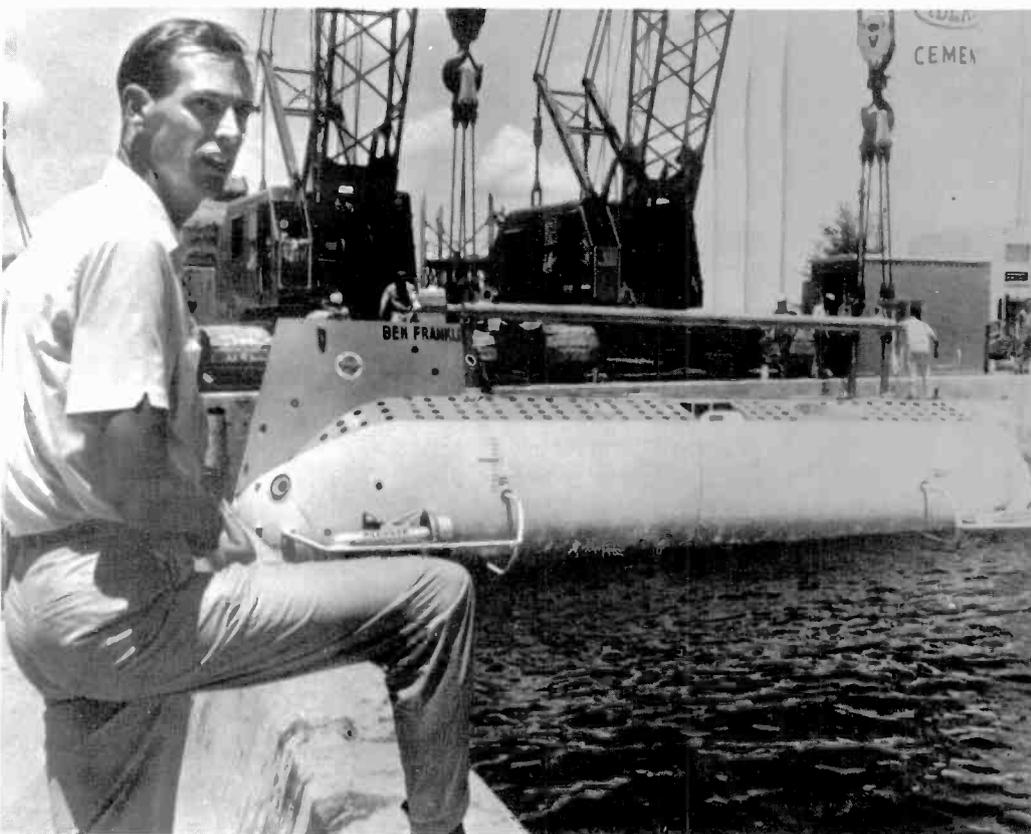


Dr. George C. Cotzias at Brookhaven National Laboratory, Long Island, New York, where he is pioneering the use of trace metals and chemicals in neurological disease. Dr. Cotzias, administering the chemical L-Dopa for Parkinson's disease, has brought new hopes to patients with this illness.

An armada of ships and planes converges in the Atlantic for the beginning of a study of how the sea and air react in the tropics to set off weather. The project is called BOMEX (Barbados Oceanographic Meteorological Experiment).



Dr. Jacques Piccard stands on the dock just after his new underwater exploration craft, the *Ben Franklin*, was launched at Riviera Beach, Florida, in August. The craft will study the Gulf Stream from Palm Beach to New York by submerging and drifting along with the current.





20. Art and Architecture

THE GENERATION GAP manifested itself in the art world, as in many other phases of life, in late 1968 and early 1969. A group calling itself the Art Workers Coalition, made up of young artists, sculptors, and critics, offered a challenge to what the Coalition complained of as the Art Establishment; it said it wanted to "liberate" art from its old shackles.

The Coalition was particularly upset at a plan, announced by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, that was hailed by others in the art world. The plan called for a merging of the techniques of art and technology. Under the program, twelve artists and thirty companies were joining their efforts to see what each could learn from the others. Another group, called Experiments in Art and Technology, got a \$50,000 grant from the National Endowment on the Arts and \$25,000 from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund—to be used to promote collaboration among artists, scientists, and engineers. Specific programs were to include development of an information retrieval system that would provide artists with "rapid answers to technical questions." But the Coalition said the Los Angeles plan especially linked art with the "military-industrial complex" and that in principle it aims at placing art in utter dependency on the industrial process.

The Art Workers Coalition was particularly vehement toward the Museum of Modern Art in New York, which it claimed was not doing enough for young artists and instead was spending too much money on increasing the building program. The contemporary American painter Barnett Newman, now an acknowledged master and longtime foe of the Establishment and museums in particular, countered their argument by suggesting that they simply wanted to get rich quick without

subjecting themselves to the critical appraisal and hard-won status that is part and parcel of exhibiting in commercial galleries. This, he claimed, is what they wanted to avoid.

A sizable group of artists involved themselves in yet another controversy during the period—vowing not to show their works in Chicago for a period of two years because of their opposition to Mayor Richard Daley's actions against demonstrators during the Democratic National Convention. This self-defeating proposal was quickly altered in favor of a protest exhibition, held in Chicago at the Richard Feigen Gallery. Titled "Richard J. Daley," it featured polemical works of art especially created by America's leading avant-garde painters and sculptors. The attendance during the month-long show was close to 15,000—a record for a commercial gallery.

Politics aside, there did seem to be a groping for new directions in the field of art. The Twentieth Century Fund announced that it was planning an exhaustive study of art museums in the country. The goal: to determine their relevance in meeting the current needs of the United States.

The cultural explosion continued to be felt along Main Street America. Museums were being built in towns and cities previously considered too small to support such enterprises, and stores sprang up around the country where art and "original paintings" were merchandised almost like goods in a supermarket. Critics decried the taste shown by some art buyers, but the American public was showing its interest by spending money in ever-increasing quantities on paintings and sculpture.

Time magazine twice commissioned the controver-

The increased interest of government in trying out new ideas in architecture is proved by the "Government Center" constructed only steps from ancient Faneuil Hall in Boston. The American Institute of Architects gave a 1969 Honor Award to the new Boston City Hall for its "rich, expressive form." Architects were Kallmann, McKinnell & Knowles, in association with Campbell, Aldrich & Nulty.

sial pop artist Roy Lichtenstein to design its cover, thus suggesting that mainstream America was prepared to accept the standards of the vanguard generation in art.

Around the world, huge prices were the order of the day at art auctions. At New York's prestigious Parke-Bernet Gallery, Renoir's "Le Pont des Arts, Paris" sold for \$1,550,000. That's an auction record for Impressionist paintings. The two-day sale (October 1968) of similar paintings brought in more than \$6 million, a record in auction history. The art market was so good that thefts of paintings became a widespread problem. London became a headquarters for the market in a stolen paintings until Scotland Yard announced formation of a special squad to track down art thieves. The move was prompted by a single theft of twenty-five paintings, valued at \$720,000, from the London home of a Picasso expert. Within the space of a few months, the Yard announced it had recovered paintings worth over \$2.4 million.

There was movement in the other direction as well. A. H. Meadows gave \$10 million dollars to Southern Methodist University, as an endowment fund for SMU's School of Arts. And Nelson Rockefeller gave his entire collection of primitive art, one of the most extensive in the world, to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, in memory of his son Michael, lost on an expedition in New Guinea in 1961, researching these very art forms.

A London gallery proved that interest in art can take all forms. It opened a show of paintings by the art forger D. Stein, who was serving a jail term in the United States for faking other artists' works. Half the pictures were sold by opening night.

What direction was art taking? One commentator reported that it was becoming "environmental rather than institutional." The Dilexi Foundation presented a program on San Francisco television aimed at "putting people more in touch with their creative abilities." One museum set up an exhibition called "Feel It," an environmental show to "awaken sensory perception" and change "spectator into participant."

The Museum of Modern Art in New York held a show called "The Machine as Seen at the End of the Mechanical Age," in which the audience itself became part of the exhibits. One machine threw back balls thrown at it. In another exhibit, the presence of a group of people would vary the tone, color, and pitch of the sound-light exhibit.

The Whitney Museum presented a show in which exhibits included several blocks of melting ice, bales of

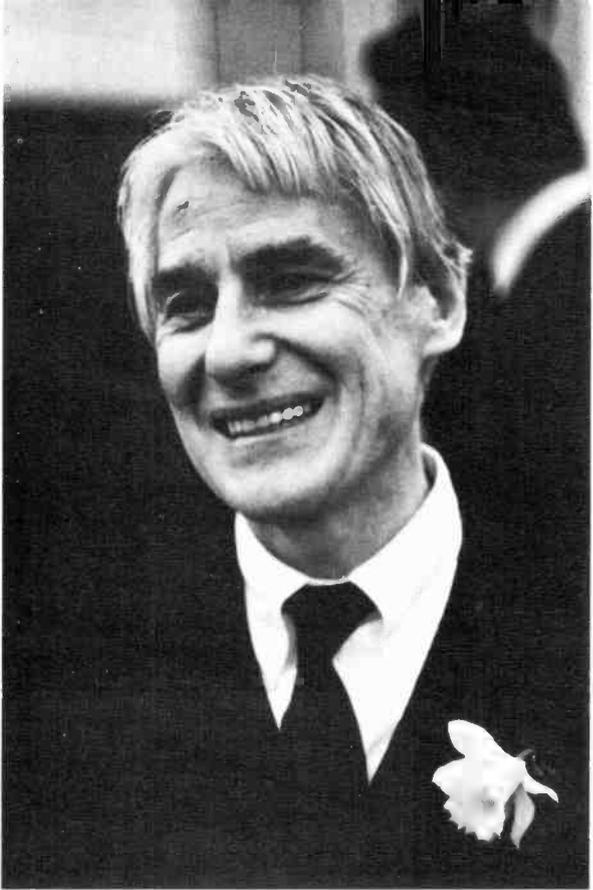
straw thrown against a wall smeared with axle grease, and a floor design made by dusting flour in a pattern. One of the most spectacular shows of this genre was held in the downtown warehouse-gallery of a prominent uptown Manhattan dealer. One Sunday afternoon in the spring John Van Saun, with the aid of his "audience," ignited several arbitrary arrangements of candles, butane containers, wire wool, polyethylene, and fuse wire. Within five hours the entire exhibition was consumed. The price of admission was \$1 per person.

Following the example of this gallery, a number of well-known dealers have announced intentions of opening permanent galleries in the loft district of lower New York. The young avant-garde are producing works of such a mammoth size and radical nature that they simply cannot be handled in the traditional gallery space. Some artists, such as Les Levine, have completely abandoned all previously accepted ways of exhibiting art. Claiming that artists were no longer "interested in creating objects" but were "more concerned with thought processes," he opened what he called a "disposable art" exhibition in a vacant lot in New York City.

There was great interest, also, in "multimedia" shows, combining flashing lights, electronic sounds, and pictures. But there was still conventionality, and it was expressed just across the street from the White House when 175 Washington high school students and twenty-one painters and sculptors painted a 2,400-foot-long board fence around Lafayette Park with scenes of American history in a one-day festival sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, backed by the National Park Service and helped along by members of the White House family. The statistics say 160 gallons of paint and 463 brushes were used.

In architecture, there was also a trend toward the use of light and sound to bring a new dimension to building. Especially in the construction of new "boutiques" and discothèques, builders and designers were experimenting with the use of plastics, unusual shapes, and an unconventional way of looking at the shapes we live and work in.

Ada Louise Huxtable, commenting in *The New York Times*, on the new trends in architecture, said the country had been suffering from a "wretched excess of computerized lookalikes," as well as an "overwhelming square footage of nothing," in the recent use of blocks enclosed by glass and little else. She saw the new trends as "a return to ornament, if you will, the contemporary integration of the arts."



The abstract expressionist Willem deKooning is all smiles as he sports a daffodil, symbol of love, at the Spring 1969 show honoring him at the Museum of Modern Art.

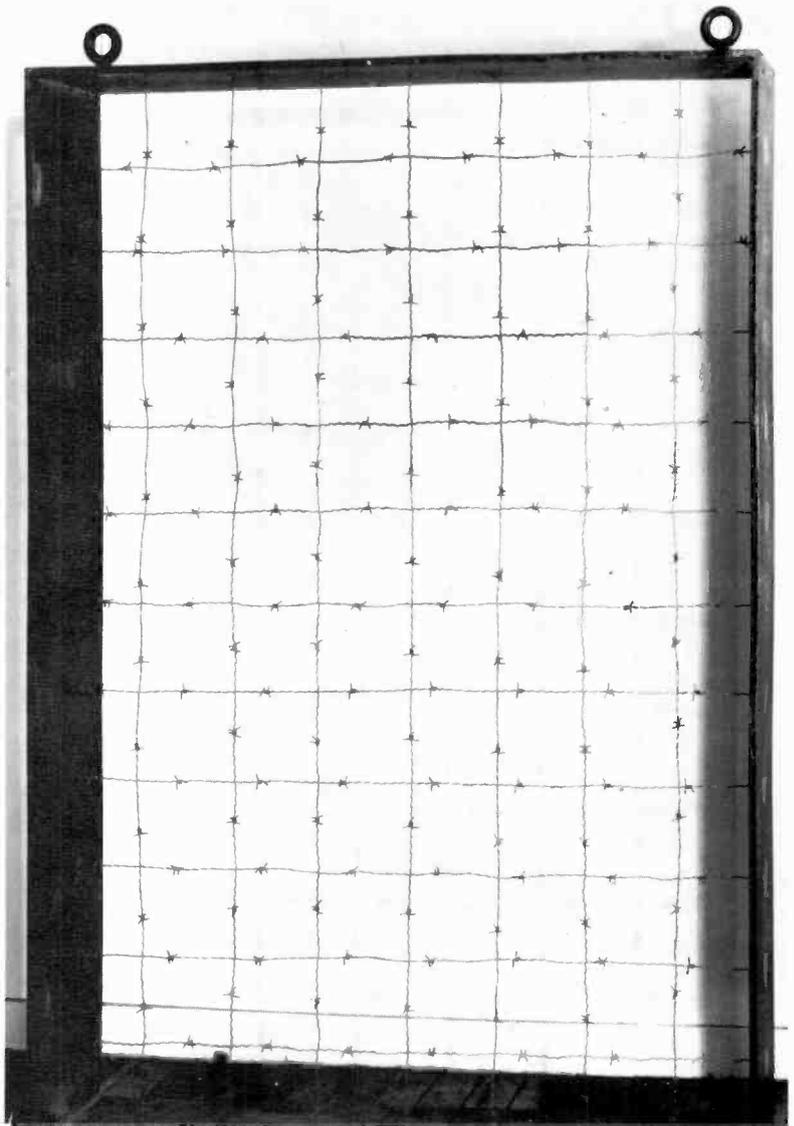


What might be called an audience-participation art show at the Richard Feigen gallery in New York City features John Van Saun's "Fire," a composition of 350 candles lit individually by visitors to the gallery. The entire exhibit was consumed in five hours.

The costumes are almost as expressive as the paintings, as a couple attends the one-man show honoring Willem deKooning at New York City's Museum of Modern Art.



"Protest Sculpture" takes new form with this exhibit by Barnett Newman. It's entitled "Mayor Daley's Lace Curtain," and is made of crisscrossed barbed wire in a steel frame. It was shown at the Richard Feigen Gallery in Chicago as part of an exhibition protesting events during the Democratic Convention of 1968.





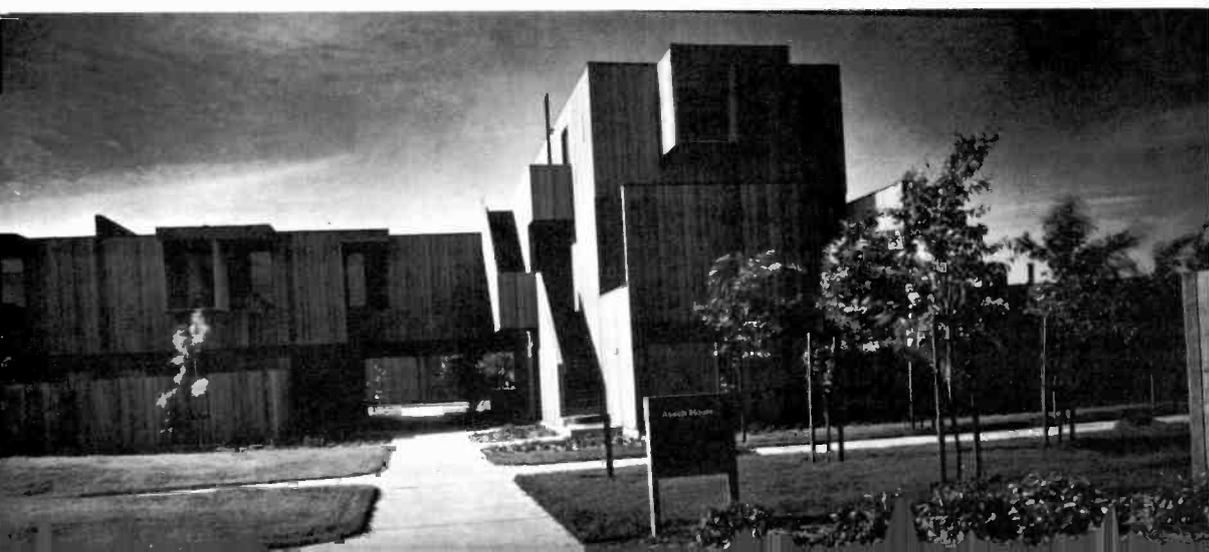
The award for a private residence goes to the house of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Smith in Darien, Connecticut. Of the design by Richard Meier, the AIA jury said: "This apparently simple piece of domestic geometry subtly plays off the rocks and uses its naturalistic setting as a foil for hard, unwavering line."

A selection from the 1969 honor awards for architectural excellence given by The American Institute of Architects.

Dug into the side of a man-made hill is the new San Diego Stadium in San Diego, California, designed by Frank L. Hope and Associates. It combines extreme simplicity with beauty, and manages at the same time to provide parking and seating facilities for more than 30,000 fans.

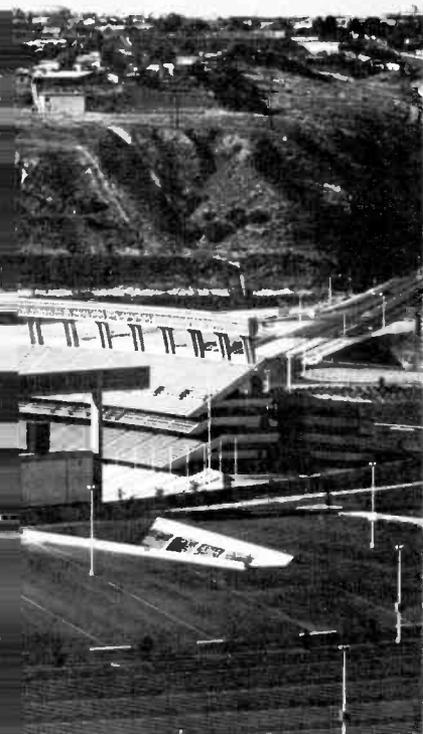


Residences for married students at "Collegetown" in Sacramento, California, make use of clean boxlike forms, without impersonality. Overhangs and screen walls add variety, while individual garden areas give a sense of property to the students. Project Architect, Brendan O'Hare, of Neill Smith & Associates.

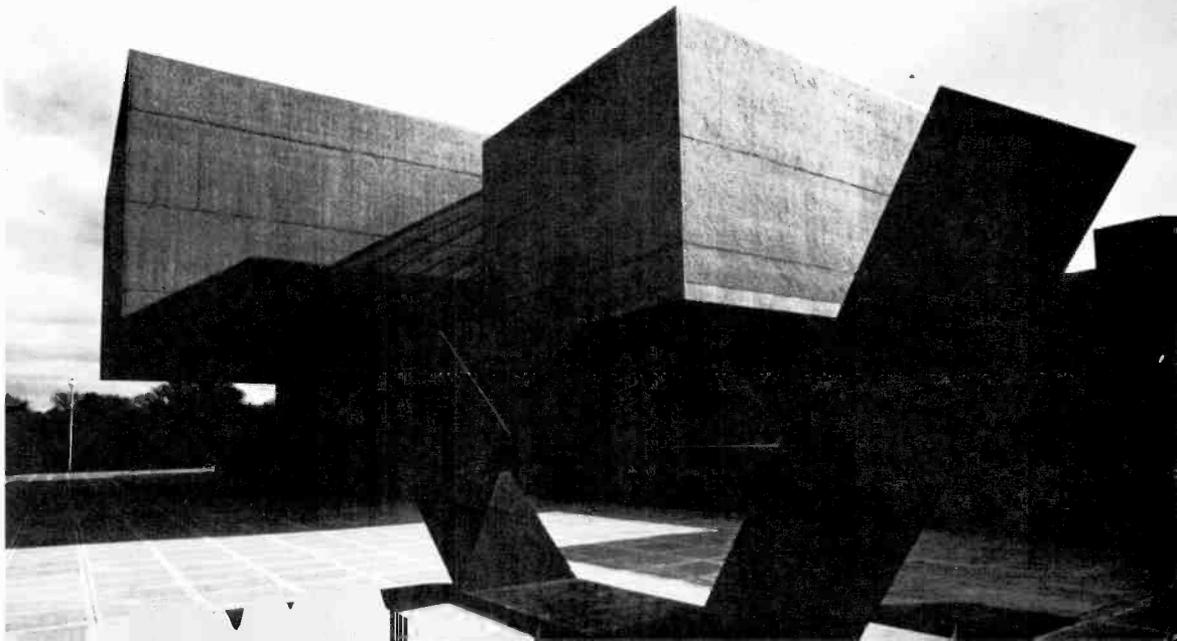




A new treatment for an old tenement building in New York makes a pleasant environment for Exodus House, used by former narcotics addicts as a halfway house on their return to society from prison or hospital. The architects were Smotrich & Platt.



An award-winning design by I. M. Pei & Partners is the Everson Museum of Art in Syracuse, New York. The museum, with its freestanding sculptural form, gives a new boldness to the urban-renewal area in which it stands.





Arthur Hailey came back from his success with *Hotel* with an even better seller, *Airport*. The novel, which dissects a wide cross section of people who run, and fly on, a national airline, led the 1968 best-seller list. Doubleday.



21. Books and Authors

THE BOOK INDUSTRY has, in the rapidly changing years of the midcentury, been noticeably slower to respond to economic depression and economic inflation than many other industries. Though prices of new hardcover books have been on the upgrade during recent years, they have not advanced at the rate of many other so-called luxury items—theatre tickets, restaurant meals, even hairdos. In fact, book prices have, in many cases, decreased because of the proliferation of original titles published in paperback and the increasing number of older, worthwhile books, usually of high literary quality, that have been republished in paperback format.

Publishers were once fearful of the competition of movies, then radio, then television, but they have learned that these forms of mass communication and entertainment have helped to increase the reading and sales of books rather than having the opposite effect. Movie “tie-ins” with books are obvious, working both ways. Most of the feature movies stem from popular books, and sales of those books, in paperback by the time the movies have their premieres, are stimulated. Over-the-air promotion of books is not so obvious to the general public, but booksellers, librarians, and publishers know what exposure on programs like the “Today” and “Tonight” shows does for authors who appear personable or unique to listeners and viewers, or who have some unusual ideas to project. These shows are even more effective to the book-buying impulse than were their predecessors in radio such as the very influential “Information, Please!” and “Town Crier” programs. The appearances of Harry Golden, Alexander King, Phyllis Diller—and Johnny Carson himself—have helped make their books best sellers. Although publishers have not, in general, gone in for paid network promotion of their books, many booksellers have found that it pays off on their local stations. A bookseller in Portland, Maine, recently wrote in *Publishers' Weekly*: “TV advertising has made our dreams come true, made us successful and happier booksellers,

and made many more people aware of books and of us than ever before. We think it's the greatest.”

One effect that these years of mechanized speed-up has had on books is to make the active sales life of the hardcover novel shorter. Looking at last year's list of the ten best-selling novels, one sees that nearly all are already in paperback editions. *Airport*, Arthur Hailey's exciting story of a big plane in danger and what happens behind the scenes at the airport, which led fiction in 1968 with a sale of a quarter of a million copies, recently, coinciding with the first showing of the movie of the same title, came out in its compact paperback edition at \$1.50, with a first printing of 2,730,000 copies. The notable exception, at this writing, to republication in paperback of the 1968 best-selling novels is the popular story of espionage by Helen MacInnes, *The Salzburg Connection*. It was not published until September 1968, sold over 110,000 copies in that year, and is still going strong ten months later.

Modern stories of mystery and suspense are quite different from the traditional whodunits in which the astute detective assembled all the characters in a final scene, in which he pointed out the least-suspected character as the murderer. Such stories rarely appeared on the yearly best-seller lists; but ever since John Le Carré's *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* made such a hit, suspense and espionage novels of high quality, featuring action and not improbable topical situations, have showed up on these annual lists in greater numbers. In 1968, besides *Airport* (suspense and action) and *The Salzburg Connection*, among the ten best sellers were *A Small Town in Germany* by John Le Carré (suspense), the political-action-suspense novels *Preserve and Protect* by Allen Drury, *Vanished* by Fletcher Knebel, and *The Tower of Babel* by Morris L. West, a story of Middle East tensions just before the Six-Day War. Along with two other best sellers, *Testimony of Two Men* by Taylor Caldwell and *Christy* by Catherine Marshall, both laid

in the early years of this century, dealing with the medical and teaching professions respectively, and both having underlying inspirational and religious themes, these eight out of ten best sellers of 1968 make some sort of refutation of what is today considered the American obsession with sex—in the book field, anyway. The other two best sellers of the year, *Couples* by John Updike, second on the list with a sale of almost 200,000 through the trade, and *Myra Breckinridge* by Gore Vidal were the sexy novels of the year; both were the work of established writers. Of course, there is always a flood of cheap sexy paperbacks, many certainly pornographic, and nobody knows how many they sell altogether. Perhaps this means only that the people with most money to spend on books are not so enthralled by sex as an entertainment theme—at least on the printed page.

As far as 1969 has gone, we have two explicitly sexy novels battling for first place on the current best-seller lists. Nobody knows whether Jacqueline (*Valley of the Dolls*) Susann's *The Love Machine* or one of the most widely reviewed novels of this year, evoking strong opinions both pro and con, *Portnoy's Complaint* by Philip Roth, will win out. *Portnoy's Complaint* was published with a first printing of 200,000; a little more than four months later, 450,000 were in print, and 300,000 of *Love Machine*. In 1968 *Airport* easily led the fiction list with a mere quarter of a million.

Other interesting 1969 best sellers in fiction are *The Godfather*, Mario Puzo's fast-action Mafia story; *Ada* by Vladimir Nabokov, author of *Lolita*, whose new theme is incest; and *The Andromeda Strain* by Michael Crichton, a scientific suspense novel that ties in with aspects of Apollo 11.

Best-selling trade paperback novel of 1968 was *Rosemary's Baby* by Ira Levin, with sales of 4,200,000 copies, aided by its strong tie-in with the popular movie. Two other big sellers in paperback were also hardcover best sellers of the year: *Myra Breckinridge*, over two million, and *Christy*, nearly two million—opposites in audience appeal. *The Arrangement*, by Elia Kazan, best-selling hardcover novel of 1967, went over 2,000,000 in paperback, and so did *The Exhibitionist*, by Henry Sutton.

For many years the ten best-selling nonfiction titles have far outsold the ten best-selling novels. Most of the best-selling nonfiction consists of practical books that buyers will keep and consult for, in some cases, a lifetime. Because these books usually have little literary interest, *Publishers' Weekly* also gives a second list of nonfiction best sellers to illustrate what people are buying to read for enjoyment or information rather than as reference books.

On the primary list the top seller of the year, published in September, 1968, sold nearly half a million copies in four months. This was the new edition of the *Better Homes and Gardens New Cook Book*. Second

came the new College Edition of *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, which, also in the last four months of the year, sold almost 400,000. Dr. Ginott's book on child care, three books on losing weight, two of them cookbooks for slimmers, were other "how-to" best sellers, making up the major portion of the list. Another title, *The Money Game*, written under the pseudonym Adam Smith, was not really a "how-to" book; it contained the author's ideas, both amusing and provocative, about how the money game is played on Wall Street. It didn't tell how to beat the game, but presented some directives from the experiences of the author (his real name, George Goodman) and his friends and associates. Well over 225,000 buyers were interested, and *The Money Game* was still selling steadily through the first six months of 1969, although its appearance in a new paperback edition at a reduced price was imminent.

Phenomenon among nonfiction best sellers of 1968 was the record-breaking appearance on the list of three books by the same author—and poetry at that! Rod McKuen is the poet of young people. We asked one very knowledgeable young fan of his what the reason is she enjoys McKuen's poems so much, and her answer was "vicarious living." Most of the poems in *Listen to the Warm*, *Lonesome Cities*, and *Stanyan Street and Other Sorrows* are the lyrics of the songs McKuen sings in his concerts and on records. In addition, in 1968, more than 100,000 copies of a late 1968 book, *The World of Rod McKuen*, poems and photographs, were sold. Pointing up the fact that McKuen titles seldom, if ever, appear on best-seller lists in consumer media, his publisher, Random House, ran a full-page ad in *Publishers' Weekly*, journal of the book industry, headed "The Silent World of the Lonesomest Bestseller." It added that in eighteen months more than 1,000,000 copies of Mr. McKuen's works had been sold. "Maybe one reason you haven't heard about these bestsellers—is that poetry is not a novel, it is not non-fiction, it is not a how-to, it is something else." A few weeks later another full-page ad occupied the back cover of *PW*. There was little text. Its gist was "Thank you, Bennett—Rod." More like *Variety* than like the "booksellers' Bible"—but maybe this was the start of a new trend!

Going on to the second list of nonfiction best sellers of the past year, the ten-to-twenty group, with sales ranging from 100,000 to about 200,000 each, one finds that the American reading public was really interested in quite a variety of subjects beyond the reference volumes of the one-to-ten list. Book readers were interested in man and science (*The Naked Ape* by Desmond Morris); in sports (*Instant Replay* by Jerry Kramer); in other countries and in travel (*Iberia* by James Michener and *The English* by David Frost and Anthony Jay); in minority problems (*Soul on Ice* by Eldridge Cleaver); in history and politics (*The Day*

Kennedy Was Shot by Jim Bishop); and in modern history and social mores (*The Rich and the Super-Rich* by Ferdinand Lundberg).

There were few monumental figures for 1968 non-fiction paperbacks. One of the most impressive was the number (1,250,000) of copies sold of the diet book that was also a hardcover best seller of the year, *The Doctor's Quick Weight Loss Diet* by I. Maxwell Stillman and Samm Sinclair Baker. Paperback nonfiction seems longer-lived than current hardcover best sellers. The same favorites go on selling in their paperback editions year after year, especially plays and poetry. Special interest was noted in 1968 in titles in the realms of the occult and astrology and also in books about black society.

The utter perennial paperback is Dr. Spock's *Baby and Child Care*, which, coming out in a new revised edition, racked up well over 900,000 copies in a little more than three months, bringing its twenty-two-year total to 21,000,000 copies. It takes eighteen titles in the popular series of Charles J. Schulz "Peanuts" cartoon books to beat this figure. With four new Peanuts books appearing in paperback in 1968, plus 14 older titles, Fawcett World Library's editions reached the overall staggering total of 36,000,000. And there are other "Peanuts" titles issued by a number of other publishers, both in hardcover and in paperback, but Fawcett is where the concentration is.

In 1969 Dr. Ginott's new book *Between Parent and Teenager*, logical successor to his 1968 best seller, *Between Parent and Child*, appeared, and soon had 200,000 copies in print. Biographies of *Jennie*, Sir Winston Churchill's American mother, by Ralph G. Martin, and of *Ernest Hemingway*, by Carlos Baker, vied for top place in biography. Bright new best seller in the business field, appealing to readers of *The Money Game* and *Parkinson's Law* was *The Peter Principle* by Laurence J. Peter and Raymond Hull, who explain how business executives, going up the ladder, finally reach their "level of incompetency."

Showing promise for 1969 nonfiction honors was Gay Talese's irreverent account of recent *New York Times* history, *The Kingdom and the Power*, and some books on politics. Following the success of Eric Goldman's *The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson*, came two important works on the 1968 presidential campaign, *An American Melodrama*, in which Lewis Chester and two other *London Times* reporters viewed the campaign objectively yet knowledgeably, and what is perhaps the best of Theodore H. White's three books on our presidential campaigns, *The Making of the President 1968*. A reversal of politics making an author, into author makes politics, came with celebrated novelist and writer Norman Mailer entering New York City's primary race for mayor, with "saloon editor" Jimmy Breslin second on his ticket. Incidentally, Breslin and suspense fans will have some-

thing to look forward to in the fall; Breslin is writing his first novel, a Mafia-suspense story to be called *The Gang Who Couldn't Shoot Straight*. Scheduled to appear well before Election Day is Mayor John L. Lindsay's *The City*.

ALICE P. HACKETT

1968 BEST SELLERS

Fiction

Airport, by Arthur Hailey. Doubleday
Couples, by John Updike. Knopf
The Salzburg Connection, by Helen MacInnes. Harcourt, Brace & World
A Small Town in Germany, by John Le Carré. Coward-McCann
Testimony of Two Men, by Taylor Caldwell. Doubleday
Preserve and Protect, by Allen Drury. Doubleday
Myra Breckinridge, by Gore Vidal. Little, Brown
Vanished, by Fletcher Knebel. Doubleday
Christy, by Catherine Marshall. McGraw-Hill
The Tower of Babel, by Morris L. West. Morrow

Nonfiction

Better Homes and Gardens New Cook Book. Meredith Press
The Random House Dictionary of the English Language: College Edition. Editor in Chief Laurence Urdang
Listen to the Warm, by Rod McKuen, Random House
Between Parent and Child, by Haim G. Ginott. Macmillan
Lonesome Cities, by Rod McKuen. Random House
The Doctor's Quick Weight Loss Diet, by Erwin M. Stillman and Samm Sinclair Baker. Prentice-Hall
The Money Game, by Adam Smith. Random House
Stanyan Street, by Rod McKuen. Random House
The Weight Watcher's Cook Book, by Jean Nidetch. Hearthsides Press
Better Homes and Gardens Eat and Stay Slim. Meredith Press

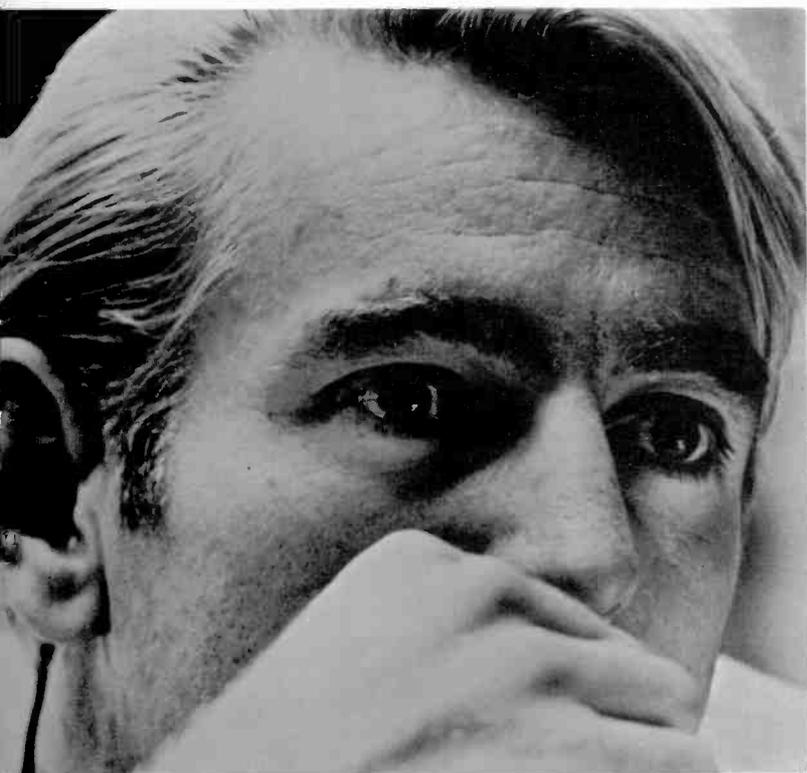
Nonfiction (second list)

The Naked Ape, by Desmond Morris. McGraw-Hill
The French Chef Cookbook, by Julia Child. Knopf
Instant Replay, by Jerry Kramer. World (NAL)
Iberia, by James Michener. Random House
Peanuts Treasury, by Charles M. Schulz. Holt, Rinehart & Winston
The World of Rod McKuen, by Rod McKuen. Random House
Soul on Ice, by Eldridge Cleaver. McGraw-Hill
The Day Kennedy Was Shot, by Jim Bishop. Funk & Wagnalls
The Rich and the Super-Rich, by Ferdinand Lundberg
The English, by David Frost and Anthony Jay. Stein & Day



John Updike, who was known for prose as delicate as his New England sensibilities, reached the best-seller list for the first time with an indelicate look at the mating habits of his fellow New Englanders in *Couples*. Knopf.

Listen to the Warm, one of the three books of poems by Rod McKuen on the 1968 list, made McKuen the first author in over seventy years of record keeping to have three best-selling books on one year's list. Random House.



Helen MacInnes, whose suspense tales have been holding audiences for years, scored again with her latest spy novel, *The Salzburg Connection*. The book sold more than 100,000 copies, and finally displaced *Airport* at the top of the best-seller list toward the end of 1968. Harcourt, Brace & World.

Catherine Marshall, *Christy*.
McGraw-Hill.





Taylor Caldwell, *Testimony of Two Men*.
Doubleday.

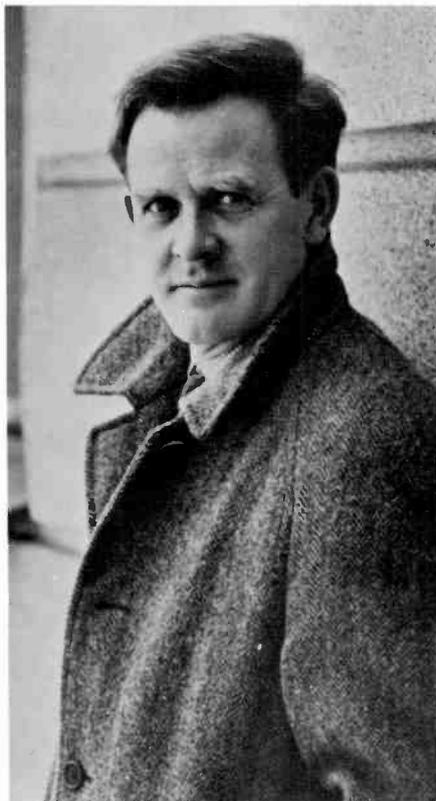


Allen Drury, *Preserve and Protect*.
Doubleday.



Gore Vidal, *Myra Breckinridge*.
Little, Brown.

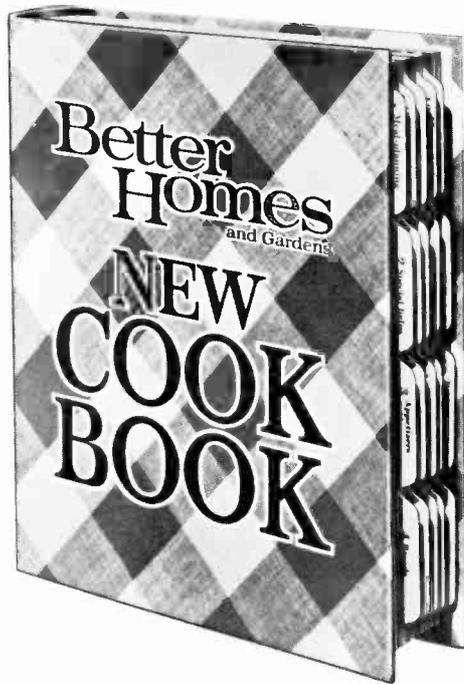
Fletcher Knebel, *Vanished*.
Doubleday.



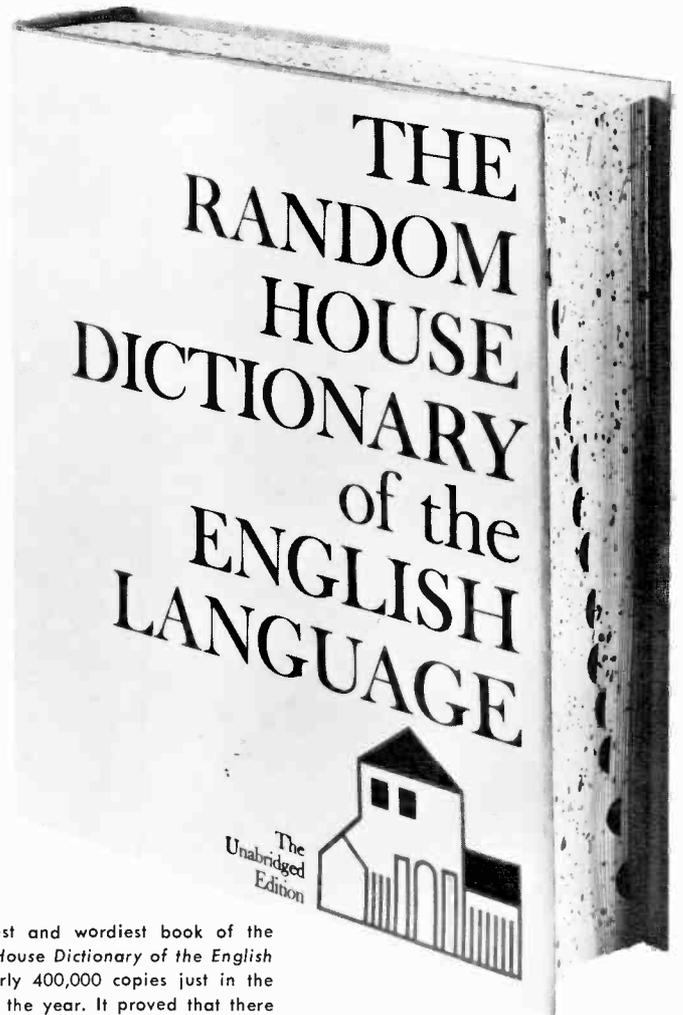
John Le Carré, *A Small Town in Germany*.
Coward-McCann.

Morris L. West,
The Tower of Babel.
Morrow.





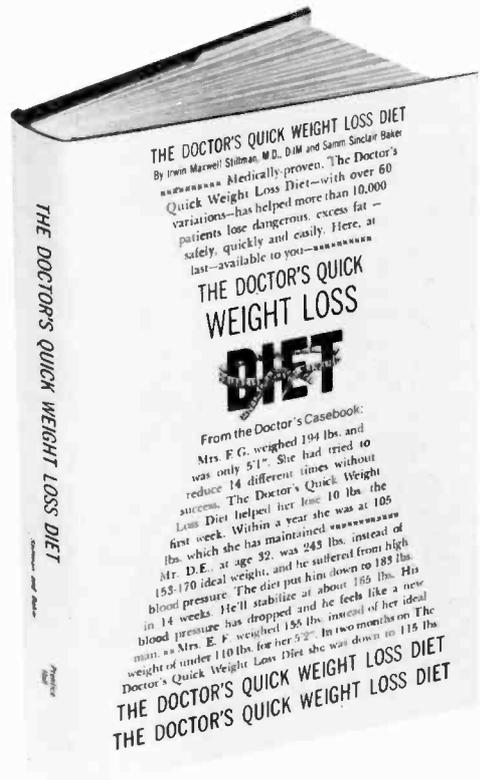
Better Homes and Gardens, which can be found on the imitation-walnut coffee tables in millions of homes throughout America, came out with its 1968 edition of its cook book—and, like a superb soufflé, it promptly rose to the top of the non-fiction best-seller list. Meredith Press.



Easily the weightiest and wordiest book of the year, *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* sold nearly 400,000 copies just in the last four months of the year. It proved that there is a huge audience for a large, well-designed, clearly written dictionary at a moderate price.



Dr. Haim G. Ginott,
Between Parent and Child.
Maamillan.



Dr. Irwin M. Stillman,
The Doctor's Quick Weight Loss Diet.
Prentice-Hall.

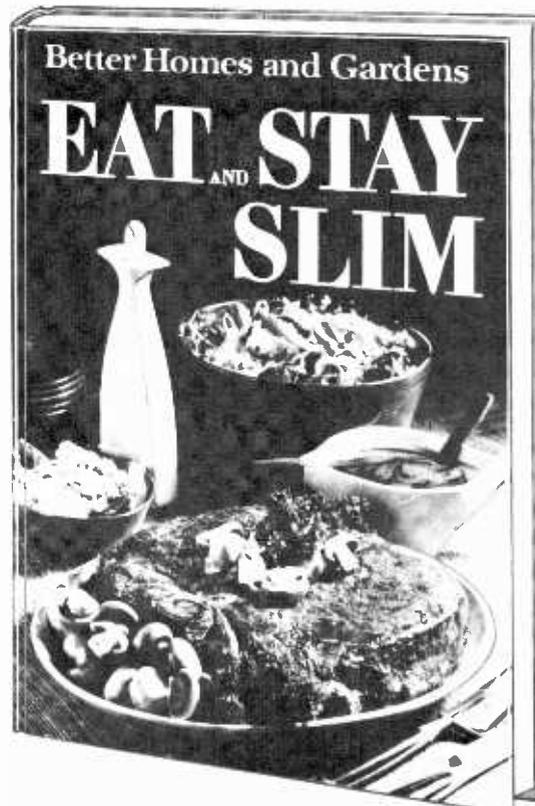
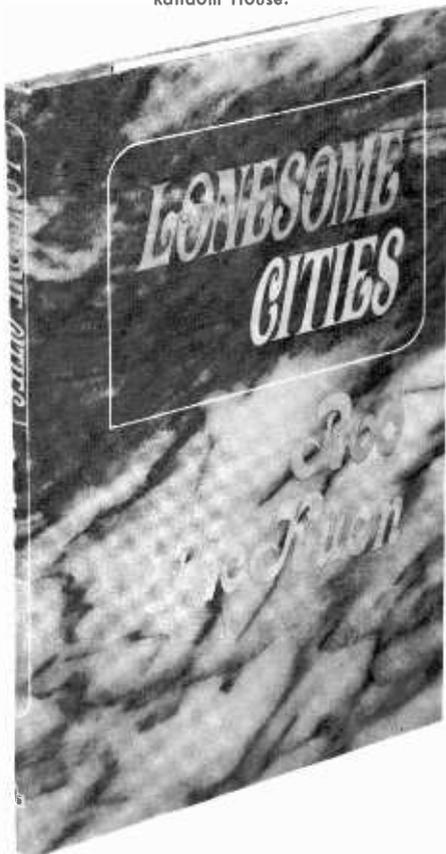
Jean Nidetch:
WEIGHT WATCHERS
COOK BOOK

the complete program
 including menu plans
 and 550 recipes



Jean Nidetch, *Weight Watcher's Cook Book*.
 Hearthside Press.

Rod McKuen, *Lonesome Cities*.
 Random House.



Better Homes and Gardens,
Eat and Stay Slim.
 Meredith Press.



"Adam Smith" (conferring with the Gnome of Zurich),
The Money Game. Random House.



Alec McCowen inhales deeply the unexpected joy of his miraculous ascension from the lowest ranks of the clergy to the papal throne. His performance in *Hadrian VII* was one of the high points of the theatrical season.

22. Theatre, Music, and Dance

CERTAINLY THE OUTSTANDING trend in the theatre season of 1968–1969 was the new permissiveness resulting in a general lowering of moral standards and, except for the most hardened voyeur, a simultaneous lowering of entertainment and a heightening of tastelessness. This reached bottom (or tops) with *Oh! Calcutta!*, a musical revue devised by Britain's Kenneth Tynan, in which the nudity was surpassed only by the crudity. *Che*, an off-off Broadway production, was closed by the police but opened again when some of its more offensive features, which seemed all-pervasive, were eliminated. There were any number of other examples of cheap sensationalism on and off and off-off Broadway and, because of the box-office success of *Oh! Calcutta!*, there will probably be even more next season, although it would seem, as in a lyric in *Oklahoma!*, "they've gone about as far as they c'n go."

What seems to be an annual trend is the rising price of tickets. The aforementioned *Oh! Calcutta!* has now boosted its prices to \$25 a seat for the first two rows of the orchestra (probably for nearsighted lechers) and \$15 and \$10 for the rest of the ground floor. What's more, sad to say, they are getting it. No other off-Broadway management charges that much, but it has become the custom, the moment a show gets good reviews and starts attracting customers, to up the prices.

The big hits are still tremendously profitable and still bring exorbitant prices from speculators. On the other hand the in-between show has little or no chance to succeed. If *The New York Times* turns thumbs down, especially on a drama without star names, it is almost certain to be doomed. Conversely, several offerings, off and on Broadway, have succeeded as a result of a good review from the *Times* where many of the other critics dissented.

Another factor that is becoming increasingly important is the TV review. With, at most, a minute and a half in which the describe the play, Leonard Harris of

CBS, Edwin Newman of NBC, and others can help considerably.

This last season kept up pretty well with the second six months of 1967–1968. During that period there were Neil Simon's antic trio of playlets, *Plaza Suite*, which is still current; *Soldiers*, Rolf Hochhuth's documentary drama that had Winston Churchill playing a principal part in the death of Poland's General Sikorski; *Joe Egg* by British Peter Nichols, in which Albert Finney shone as the father of a retarded child; Arthur Miller's powerful drama of two brothers in conflict in *The Price*; *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, another English import by American Jay Allen, adapted from the novel of Muriel Spark and starring the talented Zoe Caldwell; and Robert Anderson's tender depiction of the demands of old age on youth in *I Never Sang for My Father*.

Off-Broadway was Mart Crowley's *The Boys in the Band*, the greatly successful and honest portrayal of a group of homosexuals; the irreverently happy rock musical version of *Twelfth Night*, retitled *Your Own Thing*; and the auspicious beginnings of a fine new repertory group, the Negro Ensemble Company.

The offerings on Broadway in 1968–1969 included such superior British fare as Robert Shaw's *The Man in the Glass Booth*, the strange and absorbing chronicle of a Jew who pretends to be a Nazi, beautifully acted by Donald Pleasence, and *Hadrian VII*, adapted by Peter Luke from the novel of Frederick Rolfe, with Alec McCowen giving a triumphant performance of the priest who became a controversial pope.

There was, however, less dependence on imports than usual. Several home-grown dramas were outstanding. Howard Sackler's *The Great White Hope*, the story of the black heavyweight prizefighter Jack Johnson, and its principal players, James Earl Jones as the champion and Jane Alexander as his white mistress, romped off with the major awards of the season. Joseph Heller's *We Bombed in New Haven*, the forceful narrative of a

group of actors who are playing at war until it turns deadly serious, seemed to me a better play than the melodramatic *Great White Hope*, but it did not succeed.

Less skillful was Don Petersen's *Does a Tiger Wear a Necktie?*, a drama of dope addicts, and Murray Schisgal's *Jimmy Shine*, the comic portrait of a feckless young man. However, Al Pacino in the former and Dustin Hoffman in the latter raised their plays above the average by their brilliant performances. Similar service was given *Forty Carats*, a slight comedy by Jay Allen, adapted from the French of playwrights Barillet and Gredy, by Julie Harris, the outstanding actress of the season.

The only other comedy of any consequence was *Play It Again, Sam* by and with comedian Woody Allen, who was far from the top of his form in his writing and acting of a little man with large sex illusions.

Among the disappointments was Edward Albee's *Box* and *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, two relating playlets which added up to little but a five-finger exercise played mostly with thumbs; *Morning, Noon and Night*, three one-acters by young off-Broadway playwrights, only one of which, *Morning* by Israel Horowitz, had real quality; and *Cop-Out* by John Guare, who showed great promise in last season's *Muzeeka*, but partially broke it with this latest work, which belonged, if anyplace, off-Broadway. Jack Gelber with *The Cuban Thing* and Lanford Wilson with *The Gingham Dog* also failed to live up to their earlier promise.

In repertory the Lincoln Center Company reached its highest point with a fine production of the Theatre of Fact's *In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer* by Heinar Kipphardt. Its other productions, *King Lear*, with Lee J. Cobb; *A Cry of Players*, William Gibson's portrayal of Shakespeare as a young man; and Molière's *The Miser*, which some critics applauded, were, on the whole, below average. The APA, unhappily in its last Broadway season, scored with excellent revivals of Molière's *The Misanthrope* and O'Casey's *Cock-a-Doodle Dandy*. Other revivals were the controversial *Hamlet* of Nicol Williamson and a rollicking production of Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur's comedy of the Chicago newspaper world in the twenties, *The Front Page*.

A quartet of Broadway musicals almost made up for the absence of anything hardly worth humming in the previous season. They were *1776*, a musicalization of our Founding Fathers' efforts to draw up the Declaration of Independence; *Promises, Promises*, with its score by Burt Bacharach, book by Neil Simon, and outstanding performance by Jerry Orbach; *Zorba*, taken from the Kazantzakis novel, and brilliantly staged by producer-director Harold Prince, and the stylish British import, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

One of the major disappointments among the musicals was the lavish *Dear World*, adapted by Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee, from Giraudoux's *The Mad-*

woman of Chailot. Angela Lansbury in the title role, although she was awarded a Tony for her performance, was given little chance to reveal her charms in the ungrateful part of an eccentric Parisian crone who fights against the evil tycoons of Paris. Other failures in the musical field were Noël Coward's *Sweet Potato*; *Maggie Flynn*, for which Jack Cassidy and Shirley Jones did their talented best; *Her First Roman*, a disastrous musical version of Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*; *Celebration*, by the creators of the long-running *The Fantasticks*, which proved conclusively that lightning does not necessarily strike twice; *The Fig Leaves Are Falling*, whose outstanding virtue was a lively comic performance by Dorothy Loudon; and *Red, White and Maddox*, a heavy-handed parody about the governor of Georgia.

There was, inevitably, the usual spate of senseless comedies, not quite as many as usual, and some turgid dramas. Leonard Spigelgass's *The Wrong Way Light Bulb*, the story of a young liberal who inherits a slum apartment and all its attendant economic and sociological problems, deserved a longer run than it achieved, and *Fire* by John Roc, a muddled allegory, started off well but subsided with a clash of symbols. There was also the Theatre of the Deaf that presented two programs of one-acters, sensitively acted with masters of ceremony who interpreted the graceful proceedings.

Off-Broadway was, on the whole, far below the standard of the previous season, although there were a few highlights. Among these were *Adaptation* by Elaine May and *Next* by Terrence McNally (the latter was certainly the most produced author of the season, with a flood of playlets). Miss May wrote and directed *Adaptation*, a hilarious and biting satire, a television game that shows the average man's advance and retreat as he goes through life on a vast parchesi board. Gabriel Dell played the man in fine style. Miss May also staged, with great skill, Mr. McNally's entry, which, until its unfortunate ending, was highly comic. In it James Coco shone as a hapless draftee put through the humiliation of an army physical by a dominating female sergeant.

Outstanding, too, was a revival of Jules Feiffer's *Little Murders*, newly directed by actor Alan Arkin. Although it had failed on Broadway, its recasting and restaging made it into a well-deserved success off. The Open Theatre presented *The Serpent: A Ceremony* by Jean-Claude van Itallie. More a ballet of Adam and Eve and the serpent than a play, it nevertheless revealed again the superior talents of the author of *America Hurrah*, and proved to be a happy collaboration between him and director Joseph Chaikin.

Then there was *Dames at Sea*, an antic spoof of the musical movies of the thirties, done with imagination and nostalgia and just the proper amount of camp by a splendid cast, headed by Bernadette Peters as a latter-day Ruby Keeler, and staged by Neal Kenyon, who

caught the essence of the Busby Berkeley era of film musicals.

Harold Pinter was represented off-Broadway with two playlets, *Tea Party* and *The Basement*, that were far above the average but not up to his own high level, and *Someone's Comin' Hungry*, another examination of interracial marriage, which was largely saved by the acting of young Blythe Danner, one of the best of the new young actresses.

However, the Negro Ensemble, despite an unfortunate Trinidad musical, *Man Better Man*, topped off-Broadway with *Ceremonies in Dark Old Men* by Lonne Elder, III. This drama, which at times became overly melodramatic, was, nevertheless, filled with numerous scenes of comedy and drama, well blended in the story of the degeneration of a black family that turns to lawlessness. It was beautifully acted and directed, as are almost all of the NEC's productions, and won a number of awards for the best off-Broadway play.

Another drama that won critical praise was Charles Gordone's *No Place to Be Somebody*, also far too melodramatic and not nearly so effective as Mr. Elder's contribution, but revealing a new black playwright who promises well. This was produced at Joseph Papp's Public Theatre, and partially redeemed what was otherwise an inferior season of Papp productions. (The same must be said for this season's largely unfortunate offerings of the American Place Theatre and the Lincoln Center Forum.)

The outstanding letdown came with Tennessee Williams's *In the Bar of a Tokyo Hotel*, with writing and plot far below his standard. It dealt with the approaching death of an artist whose nymphomaniacal wife represents the carnal fighting the creative side of his nature.

Some of the critics applauded *Big Time Buck White* from the Watts Black Workshop but written by white

Joseph Dolan Tuotti, but it seemed to me a combination of bad burlesque and inept propaganda. Another dissenting opinion of mine was accorded *Promenade*, the overtouted musical by Maria Irene Fornes with music by Al Carmines, who also contributed a score to another off-Broadway musical, *Peace*. The former struck me as a lackluster bit of nonsense, made only mildly palatable when it sang.

Frank Gagliano and Israel Horovitz broke the high promise of their initial efforts with lesser works. On the other hand, novelist James Leo Herlihy promised much with a trio of one-acters, *Stop, You're Killing Me*, as did Kenneth Cameron with *Papp*, a fractured-English parody about a future pope, and Adrienne Kennedy with the strange allegory, *Cities in Béziqne*.

The flood of permissiveness that culminated in *Oh! Calcutta!* began, in part, with the arrival of the Living Theatre, returned from Europe after a long bout with the Federal Income Tax Bureau. Its three productions, aimed at anarchy, succeeded in its aim, hitting at the same time assorted targets of tastelessness, meaninglessness, and acute boredom. There followed a whole series of vulgarities that ranged in theme from cannibalism, homosexuality, incest, and other diversions and deviations, glorifying obscenity and obscurity.

Along with these was the attempt to join audience and actor in a confrontation that brought the actor into the orchestra and too often drove the audience into the streets.

Thus ended the on-and-off season of 1968-1969.

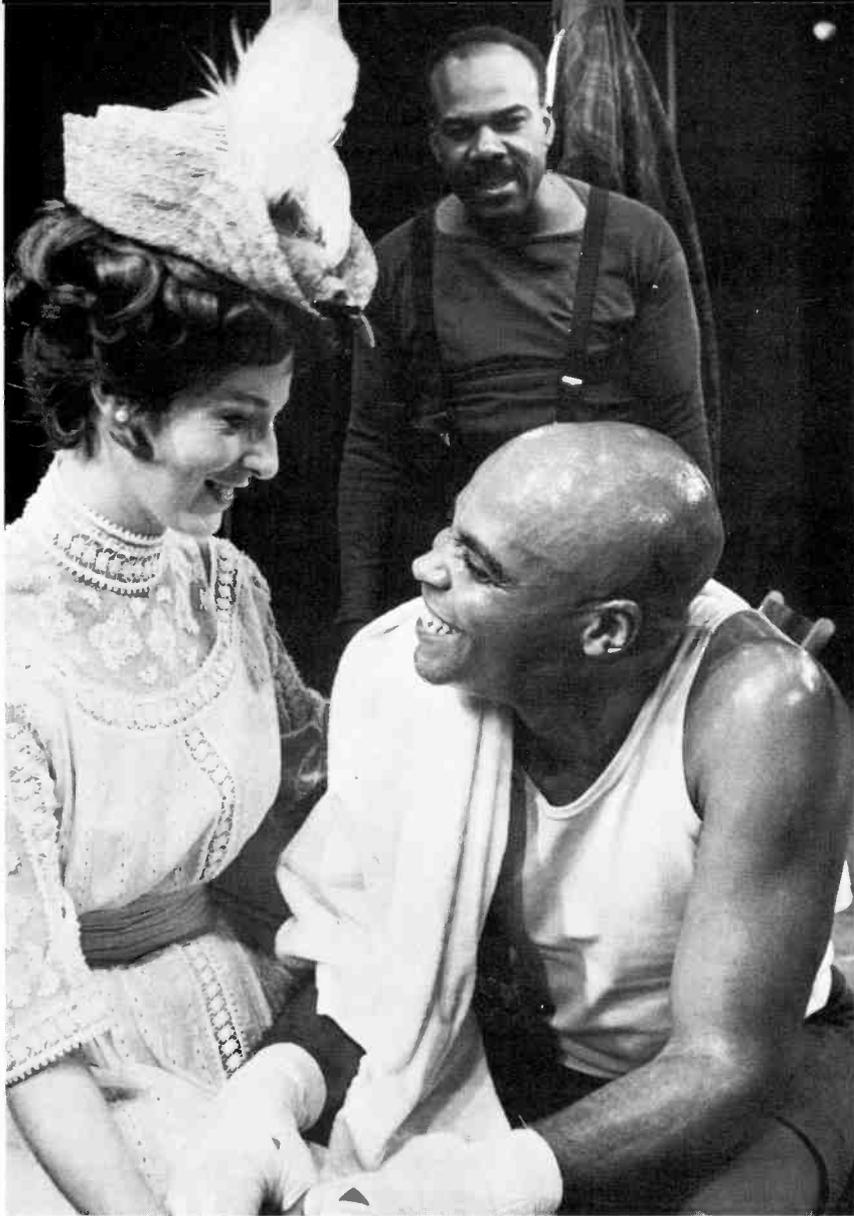
GEORGE OPPENHEIMER
Drama Critic, *Newsday*

MUSIC

The drama in this year's music season took form in

No theatrical season is ever really complete without the enchanting Julie Harris, who lighted up the stage of the Morosco Theatre with her performance in the comedy hit *Forty Carats*.





James Earl Jones radiates the confidence that he can beat the world for his white mistress Jane Alexander while his friend and trainer, Jimmy Pelham, looks on in *The Great White Hope*. Howard Sackler's play and its principal players, Mr. Jones and Miss Alexander, all won major dramatic awards of the season.

Vincent Gardenia suffers the pain of the generation gap at the hands of his daughter, Carole Shelley, in Jules Feiffer's brutally funny *Little Murders*.



Antonio Fargas, Freeman Roberto, and Richard Ward (left to right) dramatize the degeneration of a black family that turns to lawlessness in the Negro Ensemble's successful production of Lonnie Elder's *Ceremonies in Dark Old Men*.



Audiences paid \$25 a seat to see Georgie Welkes and Margo Sappington doing their uncostumed pas de deux in the startling hit of the late season, *Oh! Calcutta!*



Top right: Woody Allen listens to the advice of his good angel, Humphrey Bogart (played by Jerry Lacy), in Allen's comedy hit *Play It Again, Sam*. The play marked Woody Allen's debut on the Broadway stage.

The young people from *Hair* continued to enchant audiences around the world with their beguiling energy and joy at being young. It was the sound of music played to a different drummer.

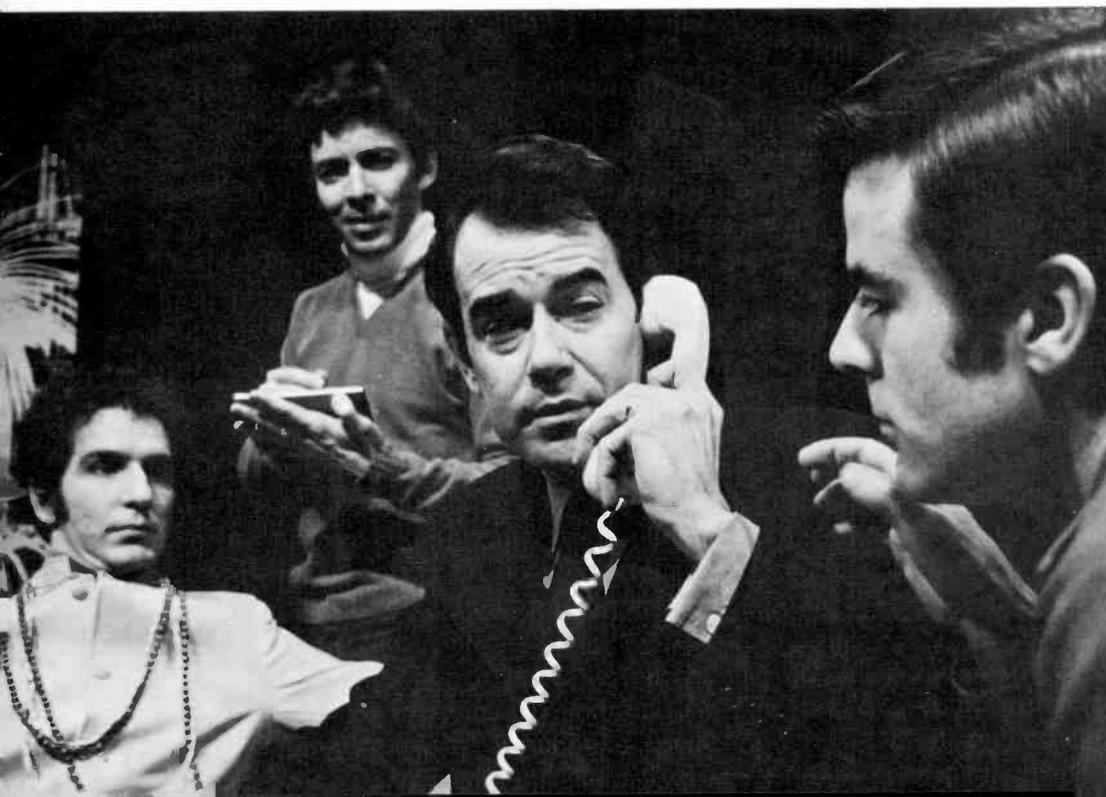




Joseph Wiseman playing the saintly J. Robert Oppenheimer listens to testimony portraying him as a grave security risk. *In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer* turned out to be the greatest success of the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater, with its run extended long after its scheduled closing date.



Michael Valenti, James Rivers, Jill Choder, Gene Masaner, and Lee Chamberlin make Shakespeare mod in this delightful adaptation of *Twelfth Night*. *Your Own Thing* was voted Best Musical of 1968.



The problems of a group of homosexuals are given a sensitive and honest hearing in Mart Crowley's off-Broadway success *The Boys in the Band*. Leonard Frey, Kenneth Nelson, Laurence Luckinbill, and Keith Prentiss (left to right) play the boys in this scene.

MUSIC

The drama in this year's music season took form in the game of Musical Chairs (sometimes known as Baton, Baton, Who's Got the Baton?). The game finally ended in June 1969, when the New York Philharmonic announced that Pierre Boulez would be Leonard Bernstein's successor as Music Director of the orchestra. Thus ended one of the great guessing games of the century, a game that had begun on a rainy November day in 1966 when Bernstein announced that the 1968-1969 season would be his last. (That word "last" is subject to a certain scrutiny, of course, since Bernstein will continue *in perpetuum* in the post of Laureate Conductor created for him by the orchestra, and also as a frequent guest conductor.)

Bernstein's final concert as Music Director with the orchestra was a sentimental occasion that left few unmoved; if the speeches, awards, and cheers weren't enough, the music-making was. His farewell consisted of a musical repertory that he, preeminent among conductors of our own time, has brought into its ultimate glory and acclaim: the music of that romantic, flamboyant, eminently Bernsteinian figure of the past, Gustav Mahler.

The appointment of Boulez was a surprise to many, considering that the forty-four-year-old Frenchman, one of the most daring of far-out composers, had begun a serious conducting career only five years earlier. But in that time he has made his mark throughout the world, with his probing, meticulous readings of music from classic times to the present. Some of the Philharmonic's older subscribers wrote in wrath, fearful that their beloved cultural bastion had sold out to the ashcan school; most critics and other musical experts, however, praised the choice as one that could bring a new breath of life to the tottering institution known as the symphony orchestra.

Other major orchestral posts were also excitingly filled during the year. San Francisco engaged the brilliant young Seiji Ozawa to succeed Josef Krips; this means that the two major West Coast orchestras will be led by young men from the Orient, since Bombay's Zubin Mehta continues in Los Angeles. Chicago announced the acquisition of the stormy Hungarian, Georg Solti; Boston, the venerable but young-in-spirit William Steinberg; Cincinnati gave the nod to the promising young American Thomas Schippers. All-in-all, it looked as if reports that the symphony was dead were, in Mark Twain's immortal words, "greatly exaggerated."

Over on the operatic side, the Metropolitan Opera had an up-and-down year, with new productions of Wagner's *Das Rheingold* and Puccini's *Tosca* finding favor with audiences, and mountings of Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and Strauss's *Der Rosenkavalier* greeted with mixed

emotion. The New York City Opera continued to generate controversy with its restagings of the classic repertory in startling new ways. Three such stagings, all the work of the inventive Frank Corsaro, won both cheers and scorn from onlookers. In *Rigoletto*, Corsaro introduced a few psychological touches that seemed to establish a love-hate relationship between Verdi's hapless jester and his put-upon daughter. In *Faust*, he had the errant Marguerite taken off to the scaffold at the final curtain instead of dying in her cell. In *Prince Igor* (Borodin's uneven but intriguing masterpiece, last staged in New York in 1915) Corsaro cut down the spectacle to intimate proportions, concentrating instead on inner motivations. It all made for startling operatic experiences. Whatever Corsaro's ultimate success, he must be credited with trying to blow the dust off tradition.

Without doubt, the reigning operatic star of the year was Brooklyn's Beverly Sills, the *prima donna assoluta* of the New York City Opera, who astounded listeners with the dramatic impact and technical brilliance of her work in *Faust*, went off to a debut at La Scala in Milan (in a revival of Rossini's forgotten masterwork *The Siege of Corinth*) that had audiences talking about a "new Callas," made a recording of *bel canto* arias for Westminster that melted every critic's heart and, ultimate triumph of our time, even became a *Newsweek* cover girl.

If the Sills sound thrilled listeners with the power and beauty of the human voice, there were some inhuman sounds around, too, that seemed to cast their spell. Electronic music, the creation of sounds by means of oscillators, sine-wave generators, and other arcane paraphernalia, has been a part of the musical scene since the early 1950s, and has won many composers over to the idea of producing their works directly on tape in the laboratories. The problem has always been, however, that the equipment needed is extremely expensive and bulky. Now, however, an inventor named Robert Moog has invented a sound "synthesizer" not much larger than a table-model television set, and still capable of creating an eerie range of sounds from near-exact imitations of familiar instruments all the way to the roar of ocean waves.

The Moog Synthesizer was by all odds *the* new instrument of the year, and the record of the year to many was a Columbia disk entitled "Switched-On Bach," in which a collection of familiar Bach works—the *Third Brandenburg Concerto*, several harpsichord pieces and the famous *Sleepers Wake* chorale—were "re-created" on the Moog by a young "synthesist" named Walter Carlos. The record is amazing in its closeness to the Bach sounds, and intriguing in the way it makes this music seem at once old and extraordinarily new. Meanwhile, universities around the country were tooling up to include courses in electronic music in their composition curricula, facing the possibility that the Moog Syn-

thesizer may someday replace the parlor piano in every home.

In the pop world, there was a startling movement toward the rear among many top artists. The Beatles, for example, who continue to loom over the rock field like a mystic galaxy, brought out a two-record album containing no fewer than thirty new songs that sounded suspiciously like a return to their old, pre-*Sergeant Pepper* manner: clean, simple tunes, almost no use of electronic amplification, folksy lyrics. Yet this was no real retrogression, but rather the kind of seeking many mature artists carry on for the simplest possible way of saying important things. Bob Dylan's latest LP, *Nashville Skyline*, was, similarly, in a new, clean-cut, direct style in which beautiful melody sung in a straightforward manner carried enough powerful impact for any taste.

And one of the major groups to emerge during the year was a ten-man ensemble called Blood, Sweat and Tears, whose Columbia album hit the charts early in 1969. This is a rock group, but with a difference, and the difference is that their style contained a mixture of hard-rock figurations and other devices taken directly from pre-1950s jazz. Thus, the group seemed to be effecting a synthesis between old and new, and the results seemed to be to many listeners' liking.

The movie of the year, Mike Nichols's *The Graduate*, also produced the popular song of the year: Simon and Garfunkel's "Mrs. Robinson," and this fact was

properly noted at the eleventh annual "Grammy" awards of the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences, when the team's single of this haunting song won top honors. Sharing top place on the charts with the S & G single, however, was another work that also showed up in a motion picture. The creator of this particular composition, however, died nearly penniless, after a life cut tragically short by hardship and disease, and made bitter by the failure of a public to realize his worth. The composer was Mozart, whose Piano Concerto No. 21 in C was used in the Swedish film *Elvira Madigan* nearly two centuries after it was composed, and whose Hit Parade status was long overdue.

Meanwhile, the musical world girded itself for the celebration of another genius from the past, Ludwig van Beethoven, whose two hundredth birthday occurs in 1970. One of the opening salvos in the celebration was fired by a disk jockey at a San Francisco soul-music station, Doug Cass, who dug up information that raised some indications that Beethoven might have had a trace of Negro blood in his family background. At season's end Cass was doing a lively business in bumper-strips and sweatshirts, each with a picture of the composer in a dark mood, and bearing the legend "Beethoven was Black . . . and Proud."

ALAN RICH
Music Critic
New York Magazine



Pierre Boulez shows the technique he is bringing to the New York Philharmonic as Leonard Bernstein's successor. The forty-four-year-old Frenchman is also known as one of the most daring of the modern composers.



This is a Moog. What is a Moog? It is an Electronic Musical Synthesizer. It re-creates old sounds and it makes new sounds, such as "Switched-On Bach," pictured here. But it requires only certain technico-musical geniuses to make it sing.

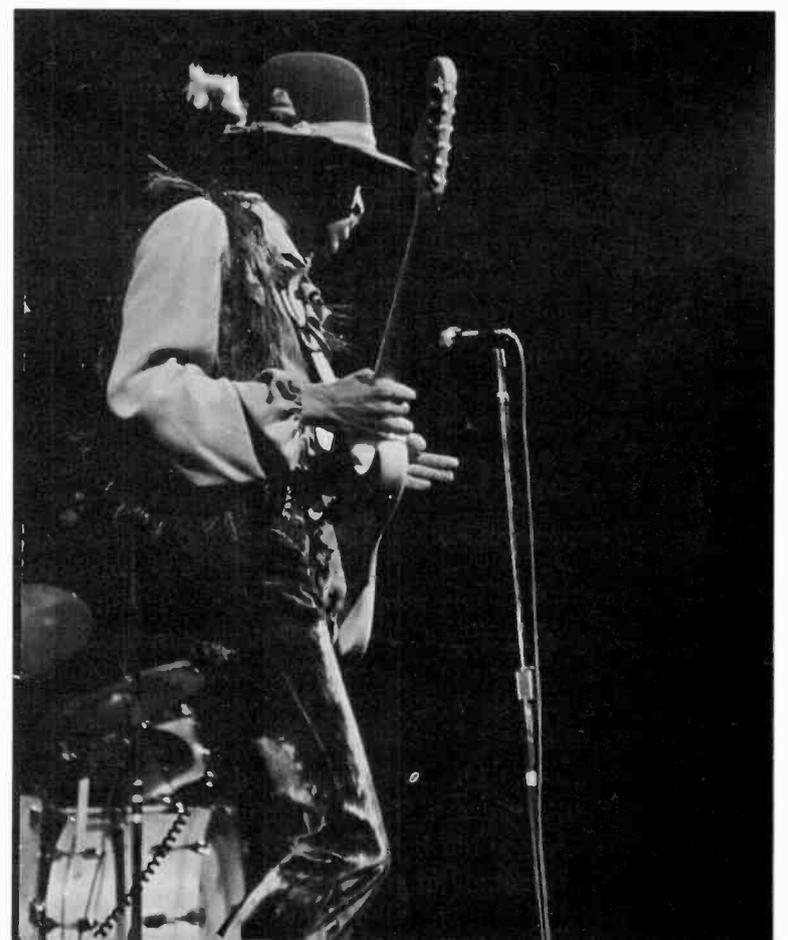


Beverly Sills, the *prima donna assoluta* of the New York City Opera, astounds her audience with her dramatic and technical brilliance in this performance of *Manon*.

Janis Joplin belts out a blues song with that black dybbuk somewhere inside her white Texas interior. A cross between Billie Holiday and Judy Garland, she's one of a kind in the pop music world.



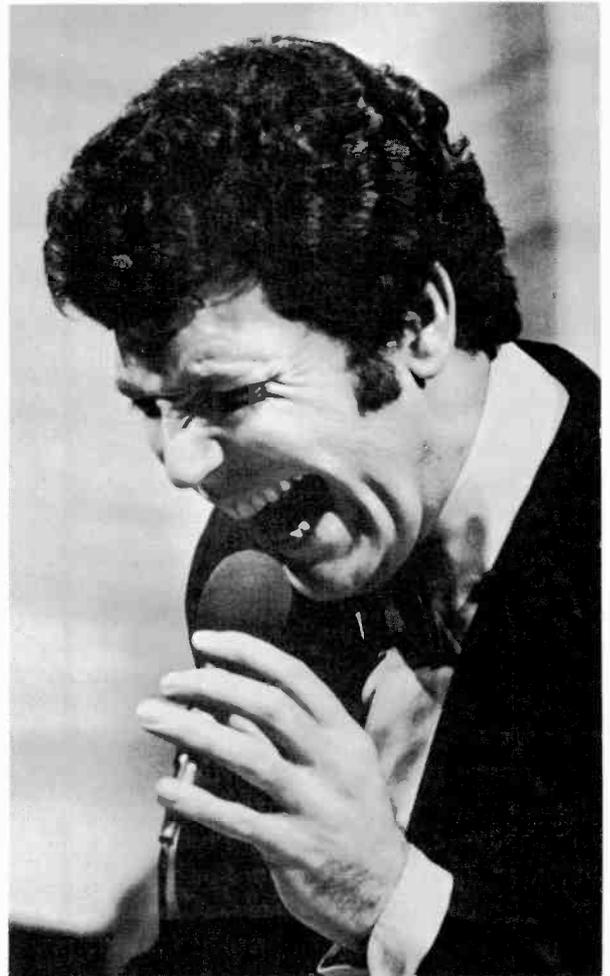
Jimi Hendrix, who deals with his guitar with more variety than can be found in the *Bhagavad-Gita*, raises the estrogen level of his audience during this performance at the Fillmore East.





Simon and Garfunkel, whose haunting "Mrs. Robinson" was the most popular song of the year and who were voted top honors at the "Grammy" awards of the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences.

Tom Jones, the Welsh heir-apparent to Elvis Presley, finds a mass audience on network television. His records are also best sellers.



Blood, Sweat and Tears brings back the big band sound to pop music. The group features a unique five-piece horn section, a first-rate blues lead singer, and a powerful yet lyrical musical style.



DANCE

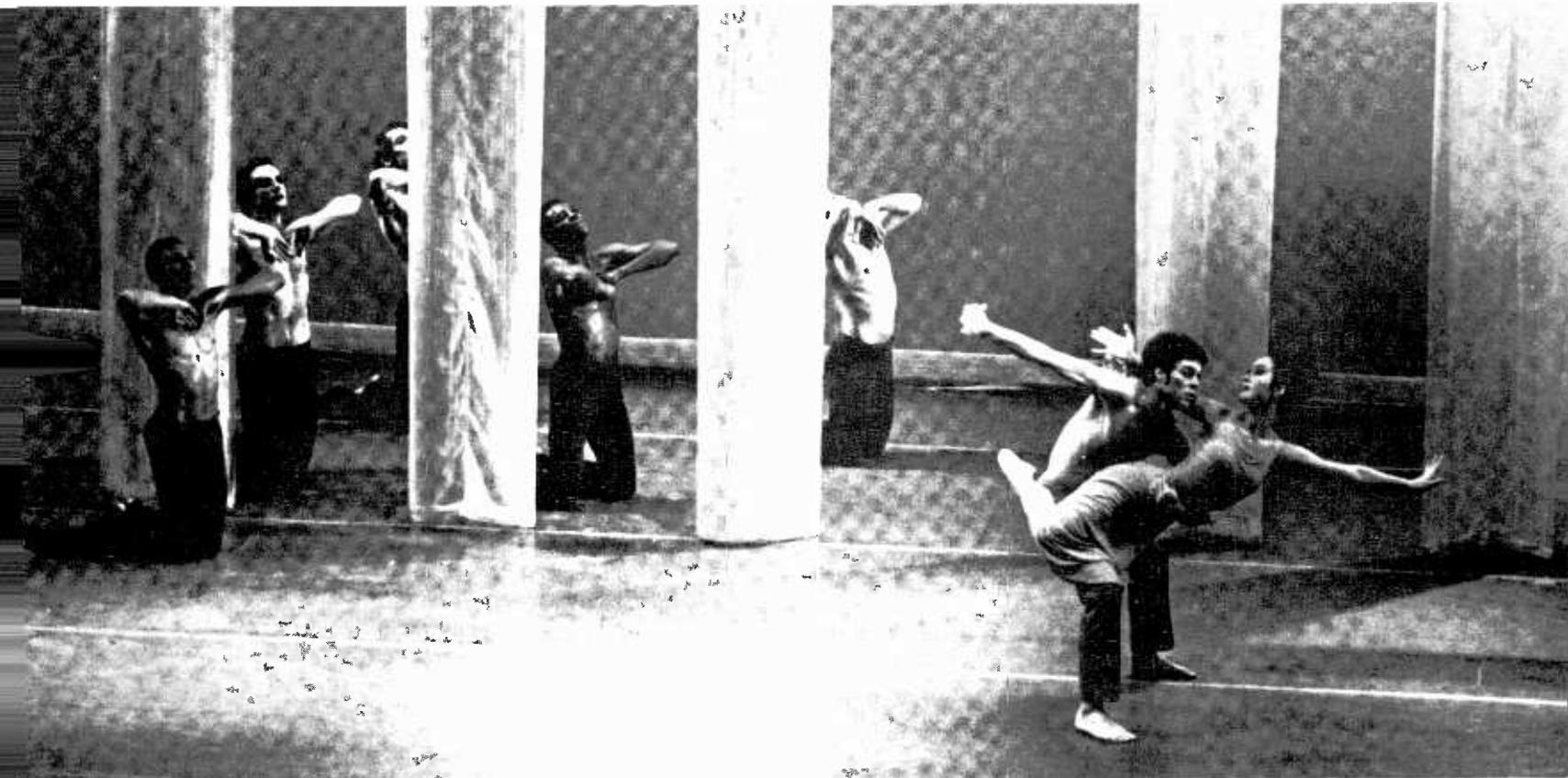
Any account of the 1968–1969 American dance season has to begin and end with the name Jerome Robbins. His *Dances at a Gathering*, which had its premiere during the New York City Ballet's spring season, is the most important ballet ever made by an American choreographer and is the herald of the "New American Dance," a fitting climax to a season during which more dances of every kind were presented in one city than at any time in history. During the summer of 1968, the American Ballet Theatre rose once again like a phoenix, had a sensational season (artistically and box-office) at the Metropolitan Opera House, thanks in part to the fanatical New York following of Eric Bruhn and Carla Fracci, and in part to Ballet Theater's exquisite revivals of *Swan Lake*, *Giselle*, and *La Sylphide*.

The fall season opened happily, as it has for the past four years, with the Joffrey's City Center Ballet's production of Gerald Arpino's *Viva Vivaldi*. The company also presented two new Arpino works: *A Light Fantastic* and *Fanfarita*, both somewhat disappointing. Next to the new Robbins ballet, the big dance news of the year was the establishment of the Brooklyn Academy of Music as the dance center of the world. A huge festival featured the major American companies—Martha Graham, Paul Taylor, and Merce Cunningham—all under the guidance of the Academy's brilliant director, Harvey Lichtenstein

(a former dancer). Martha Graham presented, among other things, her sensational new piece *The Plain of Prayer*. Not only did the quality of the companies presented by the Brooklyn Academy establish it as a major new force in dance, but the physical theater itself proves to be an ideal place for such a festival. Next at Brooklyn was the Paul Taylor Company. Taylor is an unusual modern dance choreographer—his pieces are invariably sunny, bright, and hopeful and occasionally profound, as in his masterpiece, *Orbs*. Also in Brooklyn was Anna Sokolow, otherwise known as "Little Mary Sunshine." Miss Sokolow presented a week of unrelieved gloom and no new ballet worth mentioning.

The New York City Ballet in its fall season at Lincoln Center presented a new ballet by George Balanchine, *Pas de Deux: La Source*, which Mr. Balanchine continued to tinker with until he got it right, and when he got it right it turned out to be a masterpiece. Jacques d'Amboise, the premier danseur of the New York City Ballet and a promising choreographer, made a new ballet, *Tchaikovsky Suite*. Though Mr. d'Amboise's pieces do not fare too well with the critics, they are great crowd pleasers. *Irish Fantasy* has been in the repertory for some years, as will be his new work. John Clifford, NYCB's young (twenty-one) dancer/choreographer, made an impressive debut with his *Stravinsky Symphony* two seasons ago, and this year followed up with an even better ballet, *Fantasies*.

Even without Martha Graham dancing, her company does outstanding work, as in this performance of *The Plain of Prayer* with Takako Asakawa and Robert Powell dancing the leads.



The American Ballet Theatre came back for another successful stay, this time in Brooklyn, with a brilliant new *Coppelia*, again with Miss Fracci and Mr. Bruhn. Fanatics filled the house.

The American Dance Festival then presented at the Billy Rose Theatre the Merce Cunningham Company's first Broadway season. The Cunningham Company is acknowledged to be the finest in modern dance since the early days of Martha Graham, featuring as it does America's greatest modern dancer, Carolyn Brown. Mr. Cunningham, as choreographer, continues searching to uncover new ways of presenting the human dilemma in dance terms, and he succeeds more often than not.

A newly organized Harkness Ballet Company, under the direction of one of this country's greatest dancers, Lawrence Rhodes, presented Benjamin Harkavy's magnificent *Grand Pas Espagnol* and an important revival of *Souvenirs*.

The box-office hit of the season was the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theatre. This company scored a sensation in Paris and London, and one night in Hamburg it received a hundred curtain calls. This was its first Broadway season. The extreme avant garde was represented at the American Dance Festival by Twyla Tharp, Yvonne Rainer, and the Meredith Monk company, all of whom shared a week, and Miss Rainer created a genuine *contre-temps* in the dance world by showing a daring motion picture during one of her pieces.

The Joffrey spring season was notable for two important revivals of Bournonville—*Konservatoriat* and *William Tell Variations*.

The Judson Dance Theatre continued to present some of the more exciting dances in the city, especially the work of James Waring and Dan Wagoner.

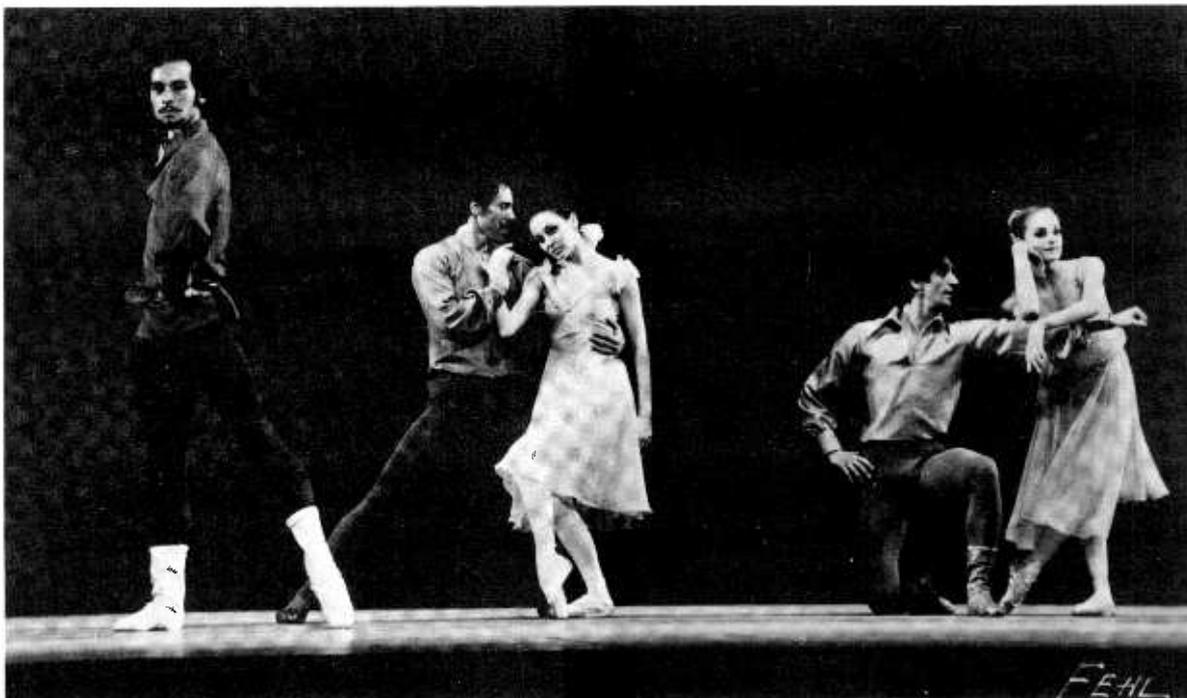
One of the surprises of the season was an evening of just plain tap dancing called *A Tap Happening: Reminisce with Chuck Green and Jazz Dance*. It proved to be so successful that it moved to a larger theater, was renamed *The Hoofers*, and flourished anew. There were also other companies that had a New York season—those headed by Eric Hawkins, Talley Beatty, Pearl Lang, and Glen Tetley.

The season closed with a hugely successful engagement of the Royal Ballet (Margot Fonteyn celebrated her fiftieth birthday in New York) and the truly spectacular debut of John Cranko's Stuttgart Ballet, which introduced Richard Kargon, a young American dancer who is destined to be an international star of the caliber of Nijinsky and Nureyev.

Finally there was Jerome Robbins's *Dances at a Gathering*, which fulfilled his genius and ushered in a new era in American Dance.

PATRICK O'CONNOR

John Prinz, Anthony Blum, Patricio McBride, Robert Moiarano, and Sara Leland (left to right) follow Jerry Robbins' intricate dance pattern during a performance of the New York City Ballet's *Dances at a Gathering*.





The ageless Martha Graham continues to awe balletomanes with her performance in *The Lady of the House of Sleep*. With her are Bertram Ross (above) and Robert Cahan (below).



Barbara Remington and Luis Fuente bring wit as well as grace to the City Center Joffrey Ballet's "Tango" excerpt from Frederick Ashton's *Façade*. In the last few years the Joffrey Ballet has become one of the leading companies in the United States.

Pamela Jahnsan, Paul Sutherland, and Barbara Remington seem to float across the City Center stage in the Joffrey Ballet's production of Auguste Bournonville's *Konservatoriet*.





(Columbia Pictures) *Oliver Twist*, played by Mark Lester, meets the evil Fagin and his young thieves in this masterful musical interpretation of Dickens's classic. *Oliver!* won Sir Carol Reed an Oscar for his direction.

23. Movies

THERE WAS A HINT that the Academy Awards were anachronistic and that they had outlived their times, and thus their usefulness. Oscar had always been a resident of Hollywood and always would be. But films were being made in increasing quantity elsewhere, and with increasing disregard for those very qualities Oscar had honored for forty years. The image of the godlike producer, a faceless voice handing down the word from on high, was fading. Producers were emerging into the sunlight. They were acting in their own pictures or running the camera or directing. The Hollywood product was still box-office champion, and, on reputation and technical skills, would continue to be. *Gone with the Wind*, the ageless champion (even though it has relinquished this position temporarily to *The Sound of Music*) came back in a 70-millimeter wide-screen version, and packed them in again.

But there is a revolution taking place in America, and it will eclipse to some degree the achievements and triumphs of all the arts and professions. Only those film makers who respond and attempt to understand the undercurrents of dissent and strife will produce films that can truly be called American. In these days, anything else would have to be labeled mere idle dreaming.

The Academy Award Presentations were postponed for the first time in their history because of the brutal assassination of Martin Luther King. Three pictures that won awards (the following week) dealt directly with elements of the revolution. Katharine Hepburn was honored (for the first time since *Morning Glory* in 1932) for her performance in *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*, a film that dealt, rather unconvincingly, with miscegenation. Many critics felt that any parents, no matter how bigoted, would be clearly insane to reject a prospective son-in-law with the staggering qualifications of Sidney Poitier (playing a doctor on his way up), regardless of his color, creed, race, condition of previous servitude, or anything else. The film also won an Oscar for best writing (original screenplay), and Spencer Tracy, making his last picture, was nominated for Best Actor. It would have been a posthumous award. *In the Heat of the*

Night, a film dealing with interracial teamwork in solving a crime in a small southern town, made off with no less than five Oscars—Best Film, Rod Steiger for Best Actor, a masterful performance as a bigoted police chief who sees the light; Film Editing, Sound, and Best Writing (adaptation from another medium). Broadway director Mike Nichols, on his second film assignment, received an Oscar for *The Graduate*, a refreshing indictment of the Establishment that went on to become a favorite with young people, and one of the top all-time box-office successes. There were new pictures coming up that, while they were not all Oscar candidates, reflected the impact of the burgeoning revolution and, in some cases, imparted it. Moviemakers were demanding the same freedom that publishers and nightclubs and legitimate theatre were beginning to enjoy. They were branching out in unlikely directions and improbable ways. Actors were becoming producers, directors, and writers, and with notable success. Albert Finney gave us *Charlie Bubbles*, Paul Newman, the touching story of loneliness and spinsterhood in *Rachel, Rachel*; while John Cassavetes produced the uneven yet effective and highly amusing *Faces*, a vignette of suburbia. Writers became cinematographers. Norman Mailer, by dint of his vivid imagination and uninhibited view of life, and busting a few unruly actors in the snoot in the process, produced *Wild 90* (director, Norman Mailer; screenplay, improvised). Andy Warhol surfaced and began to look at a world in motion. One of his feminine protégées, disgruntled by his “control” over her life, walked into his office, pulled her trusty .44 (it may have been a more ladylike .25), and shot him point-blank. Only the most generous could have called it a *crime passionnel*. He survived—just—and went on to film *Lonesome Cowboys*, a riotous and highly erotic takeoff on horse operas, and *Blue Movie*, which includes a segment running nearly an hour of uninterrupted intercourse. Even the most salacious might find this a rich diet. Still, the important thing is that it was done, and the public was at liberty to accept it or reject it.

No subject was too low, too esoteric, too offensive

to be dealt with. *The Producers* was tasteless, grotesque, and terribly funny. Many were offended by the subject matter (an unlikely group combine to produce a musical comedy based on the life of Adolf Hitler—"the Hitler you loved—the Hitler with a song in his heart," and so on), but none could deny the brilliant interplay of characters. It went on to earn Mel Brooks an Oscar for best original screenplay. *The Fox*, based on a story by D. H. Lawrence, first published some fifty years ago, dealt frankly with lesbianism. So did *The Killing of Sister George*. *The Sergeant* was a brutal characterization of homosexuality in which Rod Steiger broadened his already legendary reputation for versatility. *Prudence and the Pill* was a flimsy little comedy about (you guessed it) oral contraceptives. A young girl substitutes aspirin for her mother's contraceptive pills, while her father does the same for his mistress—or something. All you could really be sure of in this jumbled mix-up was that whoever got pregnant certainly didn't have any headaches. Again, the point is that it was done, that the subject was no longer taboo. Mia Farrow made the scene with an incubus in *Rosemary's Baby*, and witchcraft, increasingly popular with young people, made its entrance. Admittedly this was not a "first," but *Rosemary's Baby* could hardly be compared to the horror films of the thirties and forties. Ruth Gordon won an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actress in this picture. *Wild in the Streets* was an out-and-out appeal on behalf of the younger generation, and told a preposterous story with humor and taste. It was encouraging to note that this film, dealing as it does with the election to the Presidency of a young rock-and-roll singer, whose first official act is to decree mandatory retirement for all persons over thirty, enjoyed popularity with young and old alike. By its frank spoofing of the generation gap, it seemed to narrow it.

Richard Brooks adopted Truman Capote's best-selling *In Cold Blood* to the screen. It was a grim sociological study that enjoyed some success, more because of its sensational and chilling veracity than for its social significance. *The Boston Strangler* dealt with the same sort of thing. Tony Curtis played the title role and received some acclaim for his characterization. In any case, the film was effective enough to encourage the alleged strangler (imprisoned in Massachusetts) to sue 20th Century for \$2,000,000. That's something that apparently never occurred to Nathan Leopold.

Science fiction got a fine boost from two films, about as far apart on the S-F spectrum as is possible. Charlton Heston, on sabbatical from religion, and a group of frighteningly real ape-men made *Planet of the Apes* a film bad enough to be funny, even bad enough to be interesting, according to some critics. The creator of makeup earned an Oscar. Stanley Kubrick teamed up with scientist-writer Arthur C. Clarke to bring to the

Cinerama screen *2001: A Space Odyssey*, a gorgeous and spectacular trip through space, including a short and incredibly realistic visit to the moon. Unfortunately, the film bogged down on plot, and after a cold-blooded murder of a computer by an astronaut (which was terribly funny, although I don't think it was intended to be) flattened out into self-conscious and unconvincing reflections on the nature of God and the universe. Richard Strauss's music from *Thus Spake Zarathustra* provided effective and appropriate background, a nice tribute, considering the score was written over half a century ago. This film won an Oscar for Special Effects.

Hollywood continued to produce king-sized musicals, but a surprising number of these missed the mark. *Finian's Rainbow* combined an old musical with a venerable star, Fred Astaire, and both seemed to be showing their age. Even the camerawork and editing were a bit shaky. *Star* brought Julie Andrews to the screen portraying Gertrude Lawrence, perhaps an impossible assignment for any actress. She seemed no more like Gertrude Lawrence than she seemed like Mary Poppins. Come to think of it, Gertrude Lawrence would have made a better Mary Poppins. *Funny Girl* was a cinema conversion of the hit Broadway musical, and most felt that Barbra Streisand, making her Hollywood debut, was far better than the film. This feeling was confirmed when she won an Oscar for Best Actress. Unquestionably the finest musical was *Oliver!* (based on Dickens's *Oliver Twist*), which not only won an Academy Award for Best Picture but also Oscars for Sir Carol Reed as Best Director, and five others.

Hollywood relinquished, at least temporarily, its reputation for spectaculars to Russia. *War and Peace* (from Tolstoy's great novel) came to America, shortened for its American run from over seven hours to six hours and fifteen minutes. It was a visually staggering film, with gorgeous costumes and sets, and a cast of thousands (actors and square miles), that reputedly cost upward of \$100,000,000, rich even by American standards. And if the acting was a bit rigid, the sheer spectacle of the production more than made up for it. It won the Oscar for Best Foreign Film and, the interests of Soviet-American relations notwithstanding, deserved it.

Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* received new treatment at the hands of Franco Zeffirelli in a Spanish/Italian production. Shakespearean purists might have criticized some of the modernization of character (particularly Mercutio) and dialogue, but the cinematography was superb (an Oscar for this) and the stars Leonard Whiting and Olivia Hussey, incredibly young and appealing. Katharine Hepburn won her second Best Actress Oscar in a row for her delightful portrayal of Eleanor of Aquitaine in *The Lion in Winter*, adapted from James Goldman's Broadway play. The picture was not otherwise well received. Critics found the situation and the stilted dialogue a bit silly.

The Subject Was Roses was another conversion of a Broadway hit. It failed on the screen, the intimacy of the stage somehow not coming over. It was notable for two reasons, however. It won Jack Albertson an Oscar for Best Supporting Actor for his fine portrayal of the father, and it marked the return of Patricia Neal to the screen. Although she showed some of the scars of her terrible struggle to overcome the results of several strokes, critics agreed that she had lost none of her wonderful qualities as an actress.

Cliff Robertson won an Oscar for Best Actor in *Charly*, a film at once fascinating and appealing. It was a unique achievement for Robertson in playing a simple-minded retardate who, through miracles of modern science, is converted into a genius. It seems almost too incredible a subject to be dealt with seriously (except as science fiction), but director Ralph Nelson handled it with taste and credibility.

Goodbye, Columbus was an adaptation of Philip Roth's novella, and while many critics felt that the brilliance of Roth's writing did not convert readily to the screen, the picture had many virtues. The characters were modern and real; the acting by relative unknowns was fine; the photography was brilliant.

A film titled *Isadora*, starring Vanessa Redgrave, was rushed into a California theatre late in December in order to qualify for an Academy Award. It was a vain effort and perhaps an unwise one, since it ran to nearly three hours and needed editing badly. Subsequently a shorter version was released (two hours ten minutes) appropriately retitled *The Loves of Isadora*—there were no punches pulled in this film. This vague biography of one of America's most unusual characters had many weaknesses, but Miss Redgrave's performance (at least in the shortened version) was fully deserving of an Oscar.

After nearly a year of court battles (Grove Press in the vanguard again) a Swedish film called *I Am Curious (Yellow)* was released in New York. In it, the human body was shown unclothed at some length, without any

attempt at concealment. These were not backside shots with the character leaping behind a convenient couch upon being discovered by the camera's eye. Love acts (of some variety) were performed in full view, with no attempt at artistic concealment. It was, needless to say, an instantaneous success. Yet many people discovered, to their surprise, that they were neither shocked nor offended. The sex portions were handled so casually (and the star was so far from being a ravishing Hollywood beauty) that they seemed natural, and quite beautifully integrated into the film.

Midnight Cowboy starred Dustin Hoffman in his second film. If there were those who felt he had been typed by his first movie, they were disillusioned, for he was no "Graduate" in this one. He played a moribund pimp who teams up with a Texas stud who has come to New York to take the Big City by storm. This was another no-holds-barred film, with overtones of homosexuality, dope addiction, and nearly everything else sordid and degrading. Yet it was beautifully directed and acted, and achieved a kind of tortured hilarity that kept the subject matter from overwhelming the audience.

Perhaps the most notable result of the broadening of the motion-picture spectrum and its invasion into previously forbidden territory was the adoption (October 1968) of a new film code by the members of the Motion Picture Association of America. Under the provisions of the code all pictures are classified into one of four categories; G—for general audiences; M—for adults and mature young people; R—restricted to those sixteen or older, unless accompanied by an adult; X—those under sixteen not admitted. Most film makers seemed to feel that these classifications (to be used in all advertising and promotion) were an asset to their endeavors and that if there were public objections to a film, at least the public had been warned. The new code had thus abetted the producers in their ever-widening efforts to interpret every aspect of life on the screen.

(Cinerama Releasing Corp.) The producers of *Charly* felt that the mood of historic old Boston was essential to the meaning of this strange and touching film, and the entire film was shot in and around that city. Here Charly (Cliff Robertson) and Alice (Claire Bloom) discuss their future together in the Public Market.





(Metro Goldwyn Mayer) *2001* in Cinerama took viewers on a soaring and thrilling trip into the future. Here the moon bus approaches its landing plot in Tycho Crater in a scene that looks rather familiar these days.



(20th Century-Fox) Despite its grim subject matter, *The Boston Strangler* was a sometimes enthralling sociological study; Tony Curtis, shown here with one of his victims, Sally Kellerman, demonstrated some delicate character interpretation.



(Grove Press, Inc.) The Swedish film *I Am Curious (Yellow)* showed utter nakedness and frank sexual acts in a natural and unsensational manner. The film had a deeper theme in the problems of today's youth.



(Metro Goldwyn Mayer) *The Subject Was Roses* was a film interpretation of the Broadway hit, and brought together Martin Sheen, Pat Neal (making her first film since her long illness), and Jack Albertson, shown here on his way to an Oscar for Best Supporting Actor.

(Paramount Pictures Corp.) Mia Farrow, shown here between husband John Cassavetes and obstetrician Ralph Bellamy, bears the Devil's child in Ira Levin's thriller, *Rosemary's Baby*.



(Columbia Pictures Corp.) Barbra Streisand, making her film debut in *Funny Girl*, won an Oscar for best actress in this film about the fabulous Fanny Brice.

(Paramount Pictures Corp.) Leonard Whiting and Olivia Hussey, looking impossibly young to be such star-crossed lovers, yet more like the characters described by Shakespeare than any other film production, repeat their wedding vows in this Italian/Spanish version of *Romeo and Juliet*.





(Walter Reade Organization and Satra) Magnificent costumes, elaborate sets, thousands of extras were the high points of this fantastic six-and-a-half-hour \$100,000,-000 Russian production of Tolstoy's great *War and Peace*.



(Paramount Pictures Corp.) *Goodbye, Columbus*, an adaptation of Philip Roth's novella, captivated audiences through its interesting cinematography and the fine characterizations of Ali McGraw and Richard Benjamin, shown showering.



(Palomar Pictures International) The freedom of expression of a broad range of human emotions that has gripped the movies recently is evident in this "kiss and make up" scene between Beryl Reid and Susannah York in *The Killing of Sister George*.

(Avco Embassy) The inimitable Katharine Hepburn playing Eleanor of Aquitaine, deals with the idiosyncrasies of Henry II, played by Peter O'Toole in *The Lion in Winter*.



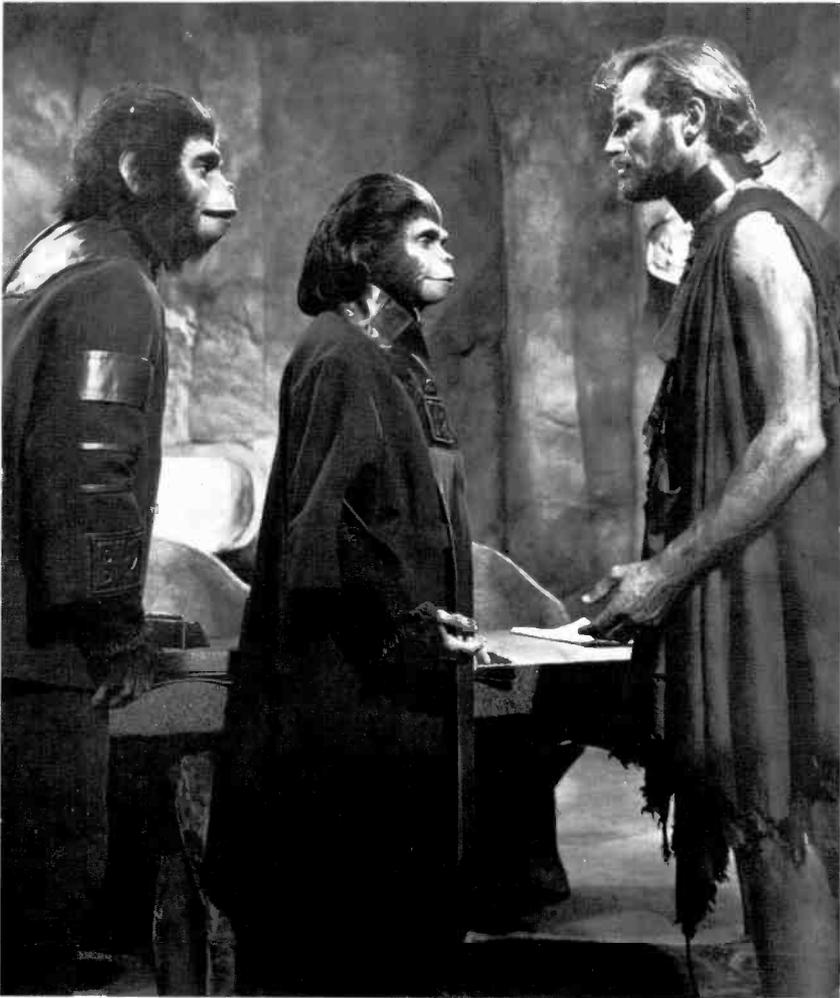
(Avco Embassy) Zero Mostel and Gene Wilder in one of many wildly funny scenes from the bizarre Oscar-winning brain child of Mel Brooks, *The Producers*.



Center, far right: (Supreme Mix, Inc.) Norman Mailer and Buzz Farber appearing in Mailer's *Wild 90*, which looked like someone's home movie, and apparently was supposed to.

(20th Century-Fox) Robert Coote drags the half-dressed David Dundas down the stairs after discovering him in Judy Geesan's bedroom. Judy and Joyce Redman, playing her mother, look on in *Prudence and the Pill*.





Opposite top left: (20th Century-Fox) Charlton Heston shares a tense moment with two neatly dressed apes in *Planet of the Apes*.



Opposite top right: Estelle Parsons (left) tries to broaden the world of her friend (Joanne Woodward) in this poignant scene from the moving *Rachel, Rachel*.

Julie Andrews appears as Gertrude Lawrence and Daniel Massey as Noël Coward as they sing and dance in "Red Peppers" from *Tonight at 8:30* in 20th Century's *Star*.

Meanwhile, back at the ranch . . . Ramona (Vival) discusses the outrages of the boys in her band with her faithful nurse (Taylor Mead). A scene from Andy Warhol's erotic spoof on traditional Westerns—*Lonesome Cowboys*.



Opposite bottom: (United Artists) Jon Voight, as an ambitious Texas stud, and Dustin Hoffman, as his pimp, try to keep warm in a freezing tenement by talking about Florida in *Midnight Cowboy*.



A delegate with a strident voice rises at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago under the watchful eyes of one of the network booths. The television and radio coverage of the conventions was historic in its magnitude and impact.

24. TV and Radio

THE IMPACT OF RADIO and television on the nation and the world continued its growth in 1968–1969. A Roper Research survey showed a new rise in the number of viewing hours by the average adult—the report showed two hours and forty-seven minutes of each day were spent in viewing television in 1968. That’s almost fourteen hours every week.

The Roper Survey also asked its respondents to name their chief source of news. It found that television is now Number One as a news source—and also Number One in believability over magazines and newspapers.

The number of radio and television sets continues to grow. At least 83 million TV sets are reported in use in the United States, accounting for more than a third of all TV sets in the world, estimated at 228 million. For radio, the figure is higher, reaching a whopping 600 million.

In the year 1968, TV networks in the United States reported they received from advertisers \$670 million for talent and programs, apart from network time charges. For news alone, the three networks budgeted \$140 million for the year 1969—with the figure expected to go higher because of sustained coverage of such events as the Eisenhower funeral and the Apollo Eleven moonwalk.

For the first time, color television was used by the astronauts themselves—to send back color pictures of their flight, with a worldwide linkup that reached more than 500 million residents of the planet Earth. The use of satellites to relay television pictures from one part of the world to another had become so reliable that when a link in Europe went out during coverage of one event, the picture was merely relayed around the world to a satellite hovering over the Pacific—and viewers never knew the difference.

Hanging over television throughout the 1968–1969 period was the possibility of new controls and stricter supervision by the government. Much of it started with

the National Democratic Convention in Chicago, where television news cameras showed viewers across the nation scenes of conflict between demonstrators and Chicago police. Many people—Chicago’s Mayor Richard Daley included—charged the coverage was biased, and called for an investigation. A special blue-ribbon panel was formed; it cleared the industry generally of the charges.

A senate subcommittee, headed by Rhode Island Senator John O. Pastore, looked into what Pastore termed an excess of violence and sex on television. He proposed advance screening of shows by Production Code officials of the National Association of Broadcasters—instead of reviews after showing.

One of the most publicized incidents of 1968–1969 was what came to be called “The Smothers Brothers Affair.” The Smothers Brothers, starting as a singing team, became stars of a television show that included skits tossing barbs at leading figures of the day. The trend had been started at NBC with “That Was the Week That Was,” and continued with the phenomenally successful “Laugh-In,” but there were reports that CBS was not happy with the way the Smothers Brothers were framing their remarks. The brothers called it “censorship” when their show was not picked up for the next season. CBS said officially that the Smothers Brothers were canceled because of “failure to deliver tapes in time for screening.”

Educational and noncommercial television moved into a reorganization. The Public Broadcasting Corporation assumed leadership of the field, and its president, John W. Macy, Jr., stated, on January 24, 1969, that public television should supplant, not compete with, commercial television. In cooperation with AT&T, the Public Broadcasting Corporation began a six-month trial of a fourth TV network, the first completely committed to noncommercial broadcasting.

The year also saw the beginning of what might be-

come a new era of harmony between CATV (Cable Antenna Television) and the commercial networks. In May of 1969, the National Association of Broadcasters and the National Cable Television Association agreed, pending approval by Congress and the Federal Communications Commission, on a pact providing for clear reception throughout the United States on from six to ten channels on CATV, at a subscription rate of about five dollars a month. The agreement was aimed at letting CATV originate commercially sponsored programs, at the same time barring it from interconnecting subscribers and competing with established networks. In December, the FCC had formally authorized establishment of pay-TV service, subject to severe restrictions to maintain free television.

The FCC made its own news by following stricter guidelines in renewal of radio and television licenses. In a landmark decision, the FCC transferred the license of Channel 5 in Boston from WHDH, long owned by the Herald-Traveler Corporation, to a group called Boston Broadcasters, Incorporated. The FCC decision said that Boston Broadcasters came closer than WHDH to the FCC criteria for diversification and integration.

Another newspaper-owned television station, WPIX (Channel 11) in New York City, found itself challenged, as did San Francisco's KRON-TV, owned by the *San Francisco Chronicle*. In the case of WPIX, owned by the *New York Daily News*, the challenge came from a group called Forum Communications, which filed for the license itself. Forum Communications—backed by entertainer Harry Belafonte, among others, charged that WPIX offered only a minimum news and public-service schedule. It pledged to supplant that schedule, if given the license, with community involvement and local live programming. Just before the deadline for renewal, a staff official of the Federal Communications Commission renewed the license in favor of WPIX. But the commissioners themselves claimed this was done without their consent or knowledge, and they rescinded the action, setting off what was expected to be a long court battle, with many ramifications for the whole industry.

It was readily apparent that the FCC, sparked in great part by Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, was taking a closer look at the field of broadcasting generally, and license-renewal procedures in particular.

Among top-rated comedy shows for the 1968–1969

season were NBC's "Rowan and Martin Laugh-In," while CBS continued with "Gomer Pyle," and ABC garnered laughs with "Bewitched." Weekly series with dramatic appeal were ABC's "FBI," CBS's "Gunsmoke," and NBC's "Julia," which, sparked by Diahann Carroll's appeal, was tops among the season's newcomers.

The National Educational Television network won acclaim for its "Black Journal" series, noteworthy among a trend by all the networks to picture more of the lives and problems of the nation's Negro population. Critics also applauded NET's series on "The Battered Child."

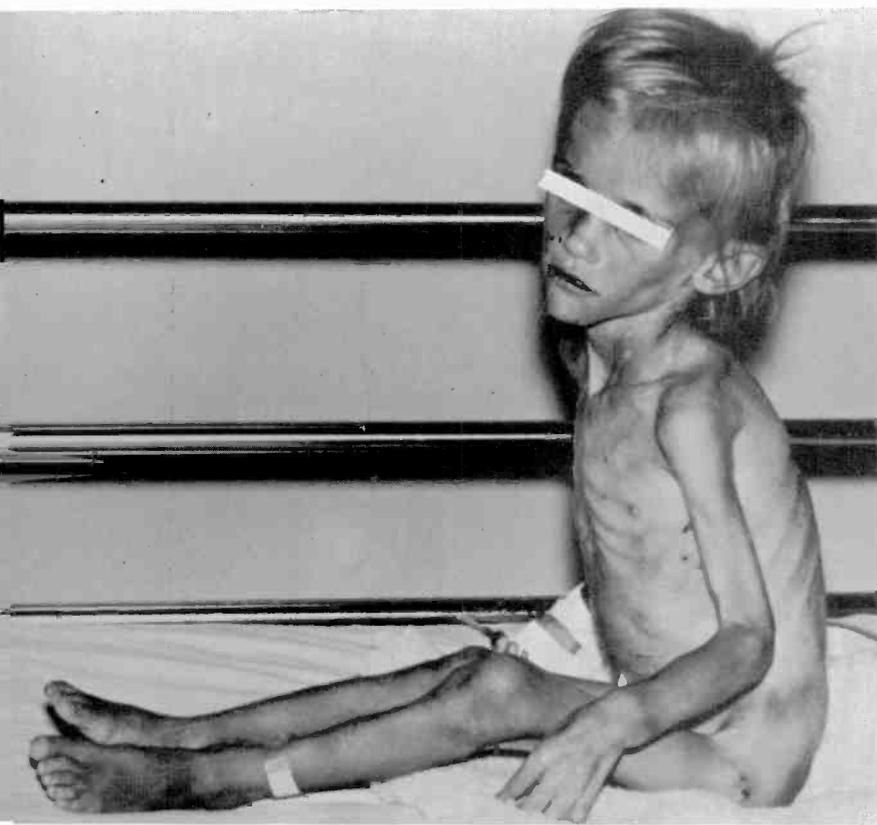
Among specials that gained wide attention were ABC's "This Is Tom Jones," CBS's "Charlie Brown" series, and NBC's "Heidi," which became a *cause célèbre* when it ran into a time conflict with a football game.

All three networks, plus the NET group, made huge outlays of men, materiel, and money to cover the 1968 political campaign, from the various primaries right through to the inauguration of President Nixon. Other notable news specials included the release by North Korea of the crew of the USS *Pueblo*, the death and funeral of General Eisenhower, and the massive and detailed coverage of the various space exploits of our astronauts, leading up to the moonwalk of the Apollo 11 crew.

Professional football continued to gather huge audiences—especially the Super Bowl, which saw the New York Jets emerge the pro champions. One worry nagged at the networks, and sports fans generally—costs for covering and presenting sports events on television were skyrocketing.

One of the biggest sources of broadcasting revenue seemed to be on its way out of the medium. Cigarette and tobacco advertisers indicated they were getting set to move completely out of television and radio, and started to phase out their broadcast advertising as much as possible consistent with their contractual obligations. The tobacco advertisers made the move after new FCC regulations called for equal time for advertising the dangers of smoking. It was like the passing of a giant: for many years, it seemed that most top-rated shows were sponsored either by cigarettes or soap.

For broadcasting, the period from mid-1968 to mid-1969 saw changes that were profoundly affecting the whole industry.



A full-hour color documentary on ABC features "Sunken Treasure," the search for underwater riches by diving teams of various nations. It was part of "The Undersea World of Jacques Causteau" series.



Top left: Jady, just four years old, is one of the victims portrayed in the NET award-winning documentary "The Battered Child."

NET's "Black Journal" series forms a showcase for talents, and focuses attention on the problems of the black population of the United States. Here comic Gafrey Cambridge and editor Lau Potter review script for the first program.

The increasing dominance of sports coverage in television is highlighted by this scene showing a hand-held ABC-TV television camera zooming in for a tight shot of Jack Nicklaus chipping to the green during one of the many golf tournaments covered in the season.





From the early days of radio, series on the FBI have been popular, and Efram Zimbalist, Jr., left, and Philip Abbott continue the trend on ABC's "The FBI" series.



Elizabeth Montgomery is the girl with magic at her fingertips in "Bewitched," with Dick Sargent and Erin Murphy, on ABC-TV.



Geraldine Page and Michael Kearney play Miss Sook and her nephew Buddy in an ABC Special, "The Thanksgiving Visitor," based on a short story by Truman Capote.

Singing star Tom Jones is surrounded by dancers as he stars in an ABC weekly series "This Is Tom Jones," featuring variety in music, plus guests from the field of drama and comedy.



A consistent award winner is the series of Charlie Brown animated cartoon specials presented by CBS. In this one, Lucy is her usual caustic self as she bawls out brother Linus in "It's the Great Pumpkin, Charlie Brown."



Jim Nabors, as "Gomer Pyle—USMC," finds himself engaged to Francine York, as Frank Sutton looks on aghast, in the CBS top-rated comedy series.

James Arness returns as Marshal Matt Dillon in CBS's "Gunsmoke," which entered its thirteenth season in the fall of 1969. Ken Curtis is his colorful pal.



The drug scene and its impact on suburbia is depicted in "The People Next Door," starring Lloyd Bridges and Deborah Winters, first production of the season for "CBS Playhouse."





United States Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black expounds on the Bill of Rights in a one-hour television interview with CBS News correspondents Eric Sevareid and Martin Agronsky.



"Generations Apart," a CBS Reports news special, makes a national survey of the attitudes of young people aged seventeen through twenty-three. Here, correspondent John Laurence, center, and a camera crew talk to American students on vacation in Mexico.

Dick Rowan and Dan Martin, who found the comedy formula for success in NBC's "Laugh-In," listen to the shenanigans of Goldie Hawn and Arte Johnson.



A sleeper success of the year was NBC's "Julia" with singer Diahann Carroll, TV's first Negro leading woman, radiating sensitivity and humor in the title role. Here she plays it cool with her little TV son (Mark Copage).



Reluctantly, little Heidi (Jennifer Edwards) says good-bye to her grandfather (Sir Michael Redgrave, center) to join her uncle Herr Sessemann (Maximilian Schell) in the NBC Special that caught critical acclaim.



The NBC News Special Series "Ordeal of the American City" formed a continuing study of the nation's urban crisis. Here, correspondent Frank McGee (right) and urbanologist Daniel Moynihan quiz youngsters of a San Francisco housing project.



A top NBC entry in the 1968-1969 drama season is "Teacher, Teacher," in which David McCallum played a sensitive instructor to retarded youngster Billy Schulman.

NBC News correspondent Dean Brelis reports from Israeli-held territory of Syria; in the background is a Russian-built, burned out Syrian tank. The NBC News special "Russia in the Mediterranean" probed the implications of new Soviet power in the area.





The Cunard Lines magnificent new passenger vessel *Queen Elizabeth 2* arrives in New York, saluted as the new queen of the seas.

25. Travel and Recreation

DURING THE EXCITING YEAR that stretched from midsummer of 1968 to midsummer 1969, America was on the go as never before. Air travel reached an unprecedented peak. More automobiles were carrying more persons into more places on more highways than ever. Even the railroads reversed a long slide downward in passengers as new trains won new adherents.

All this meant that with an increasing population there were greater demands than ever before on the problem of America's open spaces. The campers—and there were more than this nation had ever seen—taking to the beaches, the woods, and the mountains, competed with one another for tent sites. On the waterways, the once lonely sport of canoeing now saw dozens paddling along lakes that, a few years ago had not played watery host to more than an occasional canoe all summer.

Water skiers and boaters, both power and sail, were everywhere. So, too, were those who, with packs on their backs, hiked for pleasure.

All this use of outdoor facilities led to increasingly sharp conflicts among divergent interests, each with its own hopes and plans for land use. A classic conflict shaped up in Florida over the creation of a new airport near Miami. All the nation's airlines, the Federal Department of Transportation, the Federal Aviation Agency, and Florida state and county officials agreed that southern Florida needed a new airport to meet expected increased travel.

Without further fanfare, the Department of Transportation initiated the new airport with a half-million-dollar loan to build a practice runway at the proposed site, on the northern edge of the famous Everglades National Park. However, as soon as the bulldozers moved, so, too, did conservationists, hunters, fishermen, and others interested in the outdoors. At Senate hearings they pointed out that the new airport would threaten the flow

of vital water to the Everglades, thus turning a unique subtropical sanctuary into a desolate, arid stretch of country.

Senator Jackson of Washington said that the hearings revealed the sharp hostility between developers, on the one hand, and conservationists on the other. He indicated strongly that new legislation would be proposed that would give greater protection to the nation's dwindling open spaces. Airline officials noted that demands for new airports were just beginning to reach a crisis stage, and they, in turn, warned that unless new airfields were established, the nation would never make adequate use of the planes carrying 400 to 500 passengers planned for service by 1970.

In an effort to meet the demands imposed by these big jets, major airports around the world worked feverishly in 1969 to build facilities that would handle the planes, and the great numbers of passengers each plane would carry. One airport official said simply moving the baggage expeditiously was touching off a king-size headache, and he feared massive traffic jams at airports when several of the big craft landed or took off simultaneously.

One answer to the ground pileup at the airports may have been found by Cleveland, which initiated a high-speed rail service from downtown to the airport. Use of the facility was almost double what experts had predicted when the rail line began.

The world was not quite ready in 1969 for the newest mode of transportation, the coming supersonic aircraft. Such planes will hurtle through the skies at better than 1,800 miles an hour. A supersonic Soviet transport, the TU-144, made a test flight in January, followed two months later by the first flight of the Anglo-French Concorde in Toulouse, France. The first test of a United States SST is not expected until 1972. The Concorde SST may be in service by late 1973—an

estimated two years ahead of the American craft.

The search for new modes of transportation was not confined to the airlines. Railroad travel got a new boost when the Penn-Central put into service between New York and Washington the "Metroliner," a sleek, streamlined, extremely comfortable train capable of sustained speeds of better than 120 miles an hour. At the end of its first six months, Metroliners were running better than 76 percent of capacity, almost 50 percent greater than passenger loads on standard trains.

There was a new queen on the high seas, the proud *QE2*, or *Queen Elizabeth 2*. The mighty *QE2* was launched by Britain's Cunard lines as a successor to the beautiful Queen Elizabeth, one of the great passenger ships of the world. But *QE2* was even nobler, with her olympic swimming pools, restaurants, nightclubs, lavish staterooms and incomparable recreational facilities. On her maiden voyage arrival in New York in May, ship-board buffs warmly agreed that Cunard's sales slogan concerning her was aptly chosen: "Ships have been boring long enough." Her summer bookings were immediate sellouts.

Shortly before the end of the Johnson Administration, legislation was adopted establishing a National Trails System, and a Wild and Scenic Rivers System. Two foot trails were included, the Appalachian Trail, which runs for 2,000 miles through the Appalachian Mountains from Maine to Georgia, and the Pacific Crest Trail, which stretches 2,300 miles from Oregon to the Mexican border. The first rivers included in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System included stretches of the Eleven Point, in Missouri; the Feather, California; Rio Grande, New Mexico; Rogue, Oregon; Saint Croix, Minnesota and Wisconsin; the middle fork of the Salmon and the Clearwater in Idaho, and the Wolf, in Wisconsin.

Pollution affected recreation. Off the coast of Santa Barbara, California, an underground oil well sprang a leak. Millions of gallons of crude oil spewed into the ocean, killing marine life and fouling beaches for thirty miles. The disaster set off an uproar for stricter regulations of offshore oil drilling.

The argument over land use spilled over into the nation's highway system. More and more communities joined to fight proposed new highways that, while speeding automotive traffic, would destroy areas of historic importance. In New Orleans, a proposed highway that would slice along the edge of the colorful French Quarter was barred. New York City rejected a major highway to carry arterial traffic unimpeded through downtown Manhattan. A federal judge issued a temporary restraining order blocking the construction of an eleven-mile link

of freeway to be built along the shores of the sweeping Hudson River.

The automobile also lost ground to the bicycle in New York's Central Park. A year ago the park was closed to automobile traffic on Sundays so cyclists could have the freedom of the roads. The gambit was so popular the city later decided to close the park on Saturdays, Sundays, and three evenings a week, turning it over once again to the strollers, the cyclists, the lovers, and the joggers.

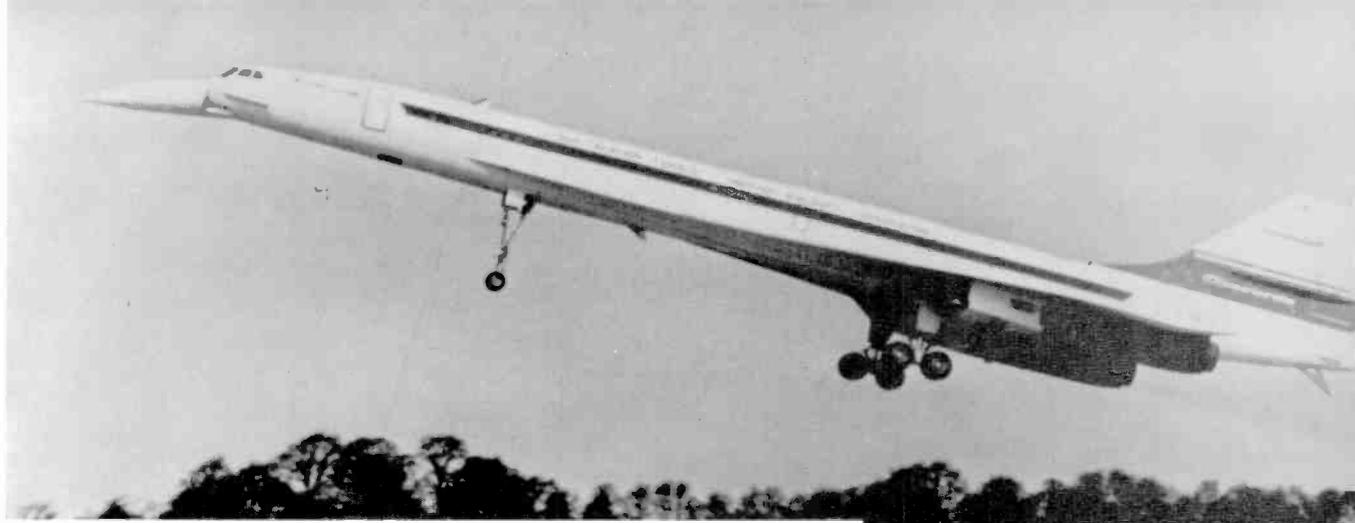
The ski boom continued unabated. New ski areas were opened and older ski areas expanded. For example, at Killington, in Vermont, the first link of a gondola was put in operation early in 1969 that, by the end of 1970, will be the largest ski area gondola in the world, more than five miles long. Some ski resorts in the western regions found something new, offering selected groups of skiers, with a guide, daily helicopter rides to the tops of untouched mountain peaks.

Two trends, therefore, can be sensed, as we view America at play. One is a return to simple pleasures drawn from nature's fields and open skies. The other comes from heightened use of devices for recreation made by man. In that connection, the statistics of travel and recreation in themselves make some revealing reading. For example, the Department of Commerce reported that in 1967, Americans spent an estimated \$30.6 billion on recreational activities, and another \$63.5 billion on all forms of travel. By 1970, it was estimated recreational spending would reach at least \$35 billion, and travel \$72 billion.

Here is a breakdown of some areas of recreational spending, comparing 1967 with estimates for 1970:

	1967*	1970*
Books and maps	2,450	2,800
Clubs and fraternal organizations	985	1,000
Commercial amusement parks	1,590	1,610
Potted plants and flowers	1,093	1,100
Magazines, newspapers, sheet music	3,140	3,600
Pari-mutuel	795	805
Radios, TV, records, musical instruments	7,440	9,000
Radio-TV repairs	1,115	1,450
Spectator amusements, including theatre, opera, movies, sports	1,999	2,100
Toys, boats, pleasure aircraft	7,418	8,101
Other	2,437	2,859

* In millions of dollars.



The Anglo-French supersonic transport Concorde 002 becomes airborne for the first time in Toulouse in May. The "SST" has long been a goal of the commercial air-transport world.



Penn Central's Metroliner zips past a conventional train at speeds well above 100 miles an hour.



These trail riders enjoy the outdoors at Rancho, California. There are some seven million riding horses in the United States, an all-time high.

New York's "high-speed" West Side Highway is a bumper-to-bumper nightmare as weekend motorists, en route to and from summer fun, clog it beyond capacity.

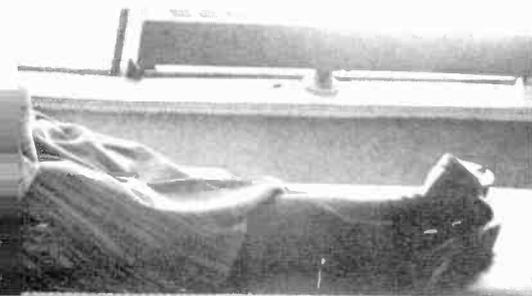


A storm strikes in early February. Twenty-four hours later these automobiles are still stalled on the approaches to New York's Kennedy Airport.





On bicycles not built for two, this couple enjoys New York's Central Park on a quiet Sunday morning. Bicycling is fun, and healthful, a sport that increases in popularity year by year.



Left: Inside the various buildings at Kennedy Airport some 6,000 persons are stranded by the February storm. Hundreds spent up to three days sleeping, playing cards, and just waiting.



Offspring of the "Ski-Doo" snowmobile, the diminutive "Sea-Doo" is the latest creation in the boating craze. A water-jet turbine drives the flat-bottomed polyester plastic craft at 35 mph.





Pitcher Mickey Lolich is literally on air, courtesy of catcher Bill Freehan, after hurling the Detroit Tigers to their first World Series victory in twenty-three years. Lolich defeated the St. Louis Cardinals three times in the Series, winning the seventh and deciding game 4-1 in St. Louis.

26. Sports

(JANUARY 1968 TO JULY 1969)

THE SPORTS SCENE reflected the protest, controversy, turmoil, and surprise that engulfed the rest of the world in 1968.

Student demonstrations against the Mexican government raised the question of whether the Olympic Games could even be held, and a racial protest made more headlines than any athletic feat in Mexico City.

It was a year baseball and football players and professional golfers threatened to strike . . . a year a drugged horse bounded across the finish line first in the world's most famous race, and was disqualified . . . a year a clerical error cost Roberto de Vincenzo one of golf's most coveted titles . . . a year female jockeys broke the sex barrier at the nation's leading tracks . . . a year Muhammad Ali's religious beliefs kept him sidelined, and left boxing with three heavyweight champions . . . and a year (slightly extended) that produced one of the most astonishing surprises in the history of sport.

PITCHING PREDOMINANTLY

For baseball, 1968 was dubbed "The Year of the Pitcher." The premier practitioner of the craft was Detroit righthander Dennis McLain, who became the majors' first thirty-game winner (31-6) in thirty-four years while guiding the Tigers to the American League pennant.

Teammate Mickey Lolich overshadowed McLain in the World Series when he stopped the St. Louis Cardinals three times in the seven-game set.

Carl Yastrzemski of the Boston Red Sox won the American League batting crown (his second straight) with the lowest average in history, .301. Cincinnati's Pete Rose was the exception to the pitcher's rule. He led the senior circuit with a cool .335 but lost the MVP award to the Cards' hurler Bob Gibson.

Fearful that the lack of hitting might drive fans away, baseball's leadership moved to aid the batter. The

pitcher's mound was lowered and the strike zone tightened. Midway through the 1969 season, the offense-defense balance seemed to have leveled off, but no one was sure the new regulations were the reason.

The Lords of Baseball made another change between the 1968-1969 seasons. Former Air Force General William D. Eckert was relieved of his duties as Baseball Commissioner. After a lengthy search for a successor, Bowie Kuhn, the National League's legal counsel, was selected as a temporary replacement. The firm manner in which he dealt with baseball's problems during his first few months in office convinced the owners they had made a wise choice.

Each league expanded to a dozen teams for the 1969 season. The "national pastime" became international when the Montreal Expos joined the NL along with the San Diego Padres. The AL explored the Pacific Northwest with the introduction of the Seattle Pilots. The Kansas City Royals rounded out the new entries. For the first time in 1969, play was conducted in four divisions of six teams.

Another off-season surprise was the signing of the Hall of Famer Ted Williams to manage the Washington Senators. Shortly before the 1969 campaign another superstar, Mickey Mantle, announced his retirement after eighteen great seasons with the New York Yankees. Mantle remained close to the game by signing to appear on NBC's weekly pregame baseball telecasts whenever possible.

Other 1968 baseball highlights included the longest night game in history, a twenty-four-inning marathon affair in which Houston edged the New York Mets 1-0. Jim (Catfish) Hunter of Oakland pitched a perfect game over Minnesota, and no-hitters were pitched on consecutive days in the same park. Gaylord Perry of San Francisco stopped the St. Louis Cardinals 1-0 on September 17 in Candlestick Park, and the next day Ray Washburn of St. Louis blanked the Giants 2-0. LA's

Don Drysdale set a major league record by posting 58 scoreless innings on the mound. And the National League pushed over an unearned run in the first inning of the All-Star Game in Houston, and that was all the scoring.

JETS UPSET COLTS

Probably the greatest upset in the history of sport occurred on the twelfth day of 1969 when a brash quarterback named Joe Namath punctured the sails of the older, more established Baltimore Colts (and the National Football League) with his pinpoint passing and play selection, and led the New York Jets to a stunning 16-7 Super Bowl triumph.

Weak-kneed but sure-handed, Namath systematically took apart the vaunted Baltimore defense. Although Broadway Joe was (and is) the heart and the backbone of Weeb Ewbank's team, there were others who contributed mightily to the success. Dave Herman and Winston Hill tamed the bigger Colt linemen. Gerry Philbin and Verlon Biggs pressured quarterback Earl Morrall, the NFL's Player of the Year. George Sauer, Jr., had the moves and hands to grab Namath's bombs and bullets, and the defensive secondary intercepted four Colt passes.

Two of pro football's greatest names didn't do their thing in 1968. Vince Lombardi retired as coach of the Green Bay Packers to full-time front-office duties, and Baltimore quarterback Johnny Unitas missed the entire season because of injury.

Lombardi turned over the coaching reins to Phil Bengston, his faithful assistant, after capping a nine-year reign in Wisconsin with victories in the first two Super Bowls. Lombardi soon found, however, that he couldn't be happy without the chalk sessions. He obtained release from his Green Bay ties, and agreed to coach the Washington Redskins, where a "new challenge" awaited him.

A young lady made the front pages during the football season. The date was November 17, and her name was Heidi. The story is legendary. NBC terminated its coverage of the New York Jets-Oakland Raider game with less than two minutes remaining and the Jets leading 32-29 to air a one-hour special—"Heidi." Unbelievably, Oakland tallied 14 points in 65 seconds to win 43-32. The NBC switchboard broke down from the pressure of calls from irate viewers.

In June of 1969, football made more headlines. Football Commissioner Pete Rozelle ordered Namath to sell his one-third interest in a New York bar (Bachelors III) or be suspended from the game. An investigation had convinced Rozelle that "undesirables" were frequenting the saloon, and the commissioner did not want any of the players under his jurisdiction being exposed to such types.

Namath chose to quit the game. He held fast to the theory that he could not know the background of all his patrons, and was the victim of guilt by association. An anxious sports world waited for a break. The Jets star refused to sell his interest in the bar. Rozelle would not budge from his stand.

At approximately the same time football moved a step closer to completion of the sports' merger agreement. Three established NFL franchises—the Cleveland Browns, Pittsburgh Steelers, and Baltimore Colts—agreed to shift to the American League for the 1970 season, thereby balancing the circuits at thirteen teams apiece.

O. J. Simpson, of the University of Southern California, rushed for more than 1,700 yards in 1968, and earned the Heisman Trophy. O. J. was unquestionably the top individual performer to emerge from the collegiate ranks, and was picked first in the pro draft by Buffalo. The Bills learned, however, that drafting Simpson and signing him were two very different matters.

Top-ranked Ohio State (in both the AP and UPI polls) topped a perfect regular season with a 27-16 victory over USC and Simpson in the Rose Bowl. Penn State won all 11 of its games during the season and made it 12 on New Year's Day with a last-second 15-14 Orange Bowl squeaker over Kansas. The Nittany Lions entered the 1969 fall campaign with an unbeaten string of 18 games over two seasons.

UPI's top-ten college football teams were, in order, Ohio State, USC, Penn State, Georgia, Texas, Kansas, Tennessee, Notre Dame, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. AP's first ten were Ohio State, Penn State, Texas, USC, Notre Dame, Arkansas, Kansas, Georgia, Missouri, and Purdue. San Diego State and North Dakota State were the 1-2 teams in UPI's small-college grid poll. The order was reversed in the AP ratings.

STORMY OLYMPIC YEAR

Both the winter and summer Olympic Games were touched, if not surrounded, by controversy. The tenth Winter Games were held in Grenoble, France. The two names most often heard were Jean-Claude Killy and Peggy Fleming. Killy, France's handsome superskier, made a sweep of the Alpine gold medals for men by taking the downhill, giant slalom, and slalom competitions. The last-mentioned medal was awarded only after bitter arguments. Austria's Karl Schranz, Killy's main rival, was disqualified after turning in the fastest times when officials ruled he missed a gate on the fog-shrouded course. The skiers also had to deal with charges of professionalism.

Light, lovely, and lyrical Peggy Fleming provided the only solace for the American team, which is usually overmatched in winter sports. Miss Fleming climaxed a sensational amateur career by bringing home the

Olympic gold medal for women's figure skating. It was the only victory for the United States.

Shortly after the games, the teen-age beauty turned professional, and signed a long-term contract with the National Broadcasting Company for radio and television appearances.

Wolfgang Schwarz of Austria won the men's figure-skating title, and Ludmilla and Oleg Protopopov of the Soviet Union captured the Olympic pairs championship for the second successive time. A mild surprise was the failure of the USSR to win the majority of gold medals. Norway took that honor with six, one more than Russia.

Eight months later, in Mexico City, 114 nations took part in the biggest Olympiad ever staged. That, in itself, was an accomplishment. Prior to the games, America's Negro athletes had talked of a boycott. Many nations said they would not participate if segregationist South Africa were permitted to send a team. Several medical authorities claimed the 7,350-foot-high altitude of the Mexican capital would seriously affect performances. And many worried that violent demonstrations by rioting Mexican students would disrupt the Games.

The above were resolved thus: Every qualified American athlete took part. South Africa did not compete. The altitude had some debilitating effect, but eighteen Olympic track records were set, and there were some fantastic performances. The Mexican students were not heard from.

The American teams were outstanding in track and field, swimming and basketball, and captured team honors for gold medals by winning 45. Russia was second with 29. The United States' men's track-and-field squad took 12 golds; the female swimmers did the same, and the male aquanauts earned 11. The basketball team kept America's perfect Olympic cage record intact.

The single greatest effort in Mexico City was turned in by Bob Beamon. America's best long jumper shattered the world standard by almost two full feet when he flew 29 feet, 2½ inches. Other United States field stars included Al Oerter, who captured the discus gold medal, as he had in 1956, 1960, and 1964, with an Olympic record toss of 212 feet 6½ inches.

Oregon high jumper Dick Fosbury set another mark by clearing 7 feet 4¼ inches, but it was his head-first, backward technique that caught the crowd's fancy. Pole vaulter Bob Seagren won his event as darkness descended on the stadium. Californian Bill Toomey won the unofficial title of the "world's greatest athlete" by bringing the decathlon gold medal back to this country.

Jim Hines equaled the pending world record at 100 meters with a 9.9 clocking, and John Carlos posted a new global mark in the 200 meters when he sped the distance in 19.8 seconds. It was after this victory that the controversial black-glove incident took place.

Carlos and bronze-medal winner Tommie Smith, Negro teammates at San Jose State College, accepted

their medals and then bowed their heads and raised black-gloved fists while the National Anthem was played. The United States Olympic Committee countered the only Black Power demonstration of the games by dropping Carlos and Smith from the team.

Some of the African distance runners felt right at home in Mexico City's high altitude. They took five races, the most highly publicized being the 1,500 meters, where Kipchoge Keino of Kenya crushed the hopes of America's great miler Jim Ryun and the Olympic record with a time of 3 minutes 34.9 seconds. Ryun, the world record holder at a mile, was second. Mamo Wolde of Ethiopia won the marathon; Mohamed Gammoudi of Tunisia took the 5,000- and 10,000-meter runs; and Amos Biwott of Kenya was first in the 3,000-meter steeplechase.

The ladies played a major role in the Olympic Games, too. Gymnast Vera Caslavskaja of Czechoslovakia filled her trophy case with four gold medals, and America's teen-age swimming phenomenon Debbie Meyer took three.

BUSY GOLF YEAR

Only the restructuring of the Professional Golfers Association prevented total chaos on the pro golf tour. The players gained greater control within the ruling body after months of closed-door discussions and the threat of organizing their own tour. Meanwhile, there was plenty happening on the course.

At the Masters, Roberto de Vincenzo signed a scorecard with an incorrect total, and was disqualified after finishing in an apparent tie with Bob Goalby. Tommy Aaron, Roberto's playing partner, recorded a four for de Vincenzo on the 17th hole of the final round when the Argentine native had actually scored a three. Under the rules, the South American was stuck with a 66 instead of the 65 that would have deadlocked him with Goalby.

In other major tournaments, Lee Trevino gained a loyal following as he joked and chatted with the gallery en route to victory in the United States Open. Julius Boros, forty-eight, withstood the intense Texas heat to edge Arnold Palmer and Bob Charles by one shot in the PGA. A week earlier South Africa's Gary Player had taken the British Open at Carnoustie, Scotland, by two shots over Jack Nicklaus and southpaw Charles.

The four major tournament winners met in the World Series of Golf in Akron, Ohio. Player defeated Goalby on the fourth playoff hole.

Bruce Fleisher won the United States Men's Amateur and Mrs. Susie Maxwell Berning took the United States Women's Open.

Billy Casper became the first golfer ever to surpass the \$200,000 figure in official tour earnings for one year, and a total of fourteen golfers banked tour checks over the \$100,000 mark.

DERBY DILEMMA

Two days after thoroughbred racing's biggest day—Derby Day—the sport was shaken by scandal. A postrace examination revealed that Dancer's Image, who had crossed the finish line first in the 1968 Kentucky Derby and rewarded his supporters with a payoff of \$9.20, had run under the influence of a pain-killing drug, phenylbutazone.

There was nothing that could be done about the payoffs. The first-place purse money was withheld from Peter Fuller, owner of Dancer's Image, and awarded to Calumet Farm for the "second place" finish of Forward Pass.

Fuller challenged the findings of the chemists who had conducted the postrace tests. An extensive investigation by the Kentucky State Racing Commission upheld the original findings. A persistent Fuller took his case to court.

Forward Pass took the Preakness with ease, but Stage Door Johnny thwarted Calumet's bid, however tainted, for the Triple Crown by winning the Belmont Stakes. In 1969, Majestic Prince raced home first in the Derby and Preakness, but again there was to be no Triple Crown champion as Arts and Letters took the 1½-mile Belmont.

Besides the Triple Crown, 1968 belonged to Dr. Fager. Named for a Boston neurosurgeon, the John Nerud-trained colt set a world record for the mile by winning the Washington Park Handicap in 1 minute 32.1 seconds, and was everyone's choice as Horse of the Year.

In early 1969, the gals invaded the men's locker room at the major racetracks—well, almost. A number of female horsewomen gained "equality," and were granted mounts. Some were successful. But by summer the fad seemed to be wearing off.

CAGE STARS BREAK LOOSE

The Boston Celtics recaptured the professional basketball championship from Philadelphia in the 1967–1968 season with Bill Russell showing the way as player-coach. After the playoffs, Wilt Chamberlain was traded by Philadelphia to Los Angeles.

The "too-old" Celtics did it again in 1969. After finishing fourth in the NBA's Eastern Division during the regular season, the defending champions whipped Philadelphia, New York, and LA, in order, to annex their eleventh championship in thirteen years.

The struggling American Basketball Association suffered a possibly fatal blow when 7–1 Lew Alcindor chose to cast his professional fortunes with the Milwaukee

Bucks of the NBA. Weeks later, Connie Hawkins, one of the ABA's top stars, became the league's first defection when he jumped to the NBA and agreed to play the 1969–1970 season with the Phoenix Suns. Milwaukee and Phoenix were the NBA franchise additions in 1968–1969.

In college basketball, UCLA's winning streak was stopped at 47 games in January of 1968 by Houston (and Elvin Hayes) before a record crowd of 52,693 in the Astrodome. The Bruins, led by Alcindor, went on to their second straight NCAA championship with a routine victory over North Carolina in the finals. Alcindor, Hayes, Wes Unseld of Louisville, Pete Maravich of LSU, and Purdue's Rick Mount were mentioned most prominently on the All-America teams.

It was more of UCLA and Big Lew in the college ranks this past season. The Bruins made it three NCAA titles in a row by clobbering Purdue in the finals. Temple won the 1969 NIT championship. Alcindor, Mount, Maravich, Jim McMillan of Columbia, Charlie Scott of North Carolina, and little Calvin Murphy of Niagara had considerable All-America backing.

RING SCENE FUZZY

Muhammad Ali remained adamant in his feelings concerning the military draft. The deposed champion's beliefs kept him from the ring where he had gained fame and fortune. Filling the void were two other heavy-weight champions, Joe Frazier and Jimmy Ellis.

Frazier, undefeated as a pro and a former Olympic champion like Ali (or Cassius Clay, if you prefer), won a five-state version of the crown by registering a technical knockout over Buster Mathis in New York.

Ellis waded through an eight-man elimination tournament that started in the summer of 1967. One of Ali's former sparring partners, Ellis earned the World Boxing Association-sanctioned title by beating Jerry Quarry. Many experts continued to regard the situation as three-sided, reasoning that Ali should be regarded as Champion until beaten in the ring or until the formal announcement of his retirement.

Ali's appeal to the United States Supreme Court over his conviction for refusing to enter the army appeared destined to be a lengthy matter.

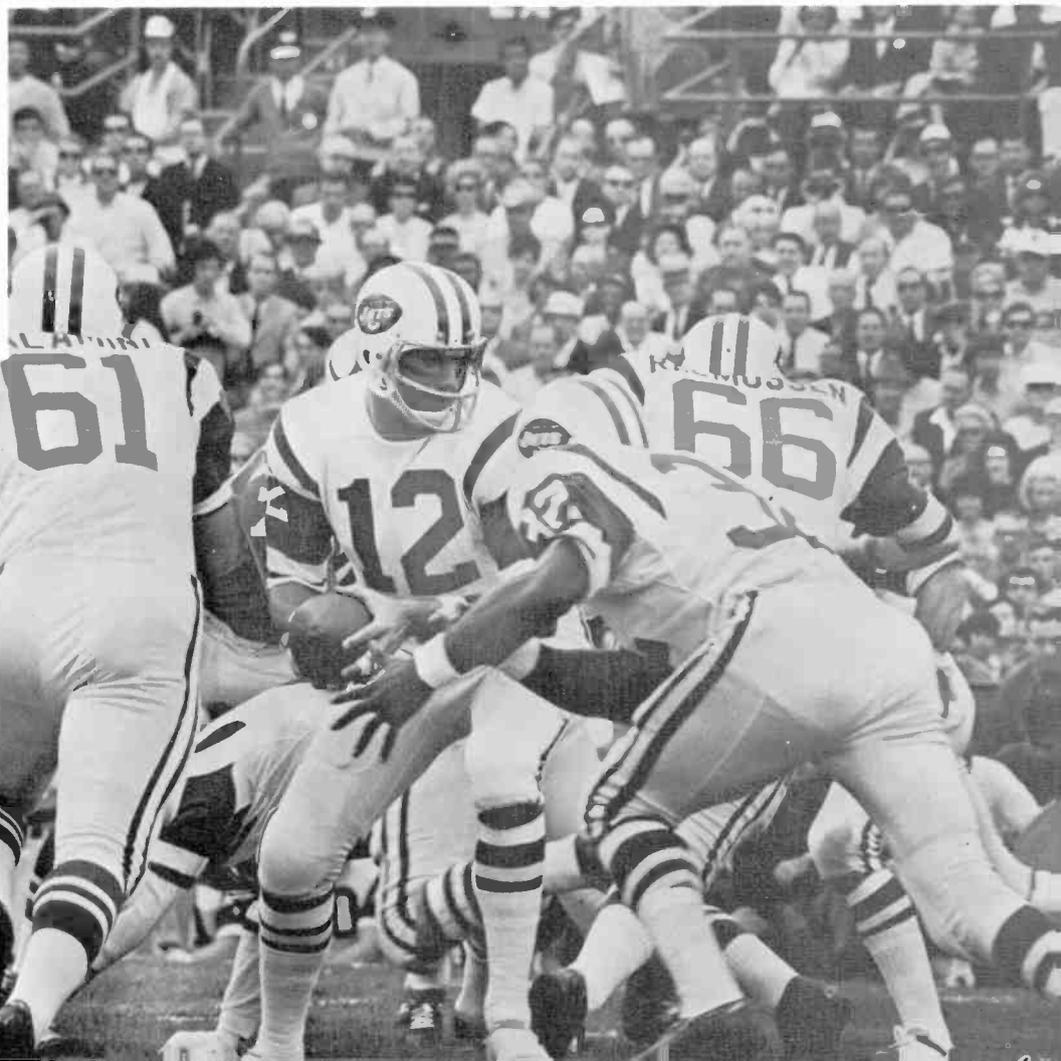
Bob Foster won the world light-heavyweight title by knocking out Dick Tiger, and the New York Boxing Writers Association voted him Fighter of the Year. Handsome Italian Nino Benvenuti recaptured middle-weight-division honors from Emile Griffith in their third meeting. Curtis Cokes remained atop the welterweight ranks. Teo Cruz of the Dominican Republic upset Carlos Ortiz to win the lightweight title.

O. J. Simpson, University of Southern California stellar halfback, displays the Heisman Trophy, the coveted award that goes annually to college football's top performer.



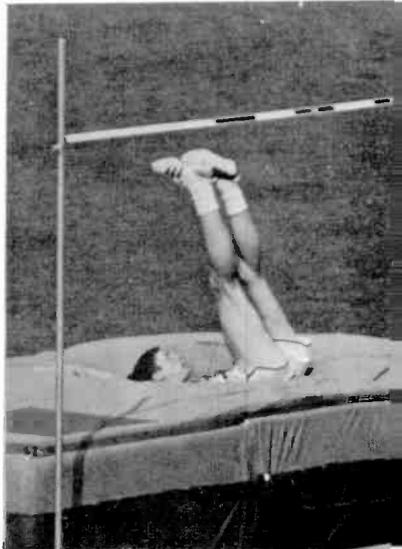
Sure-handed New York Jets end George Saver (83) pulls in a Joe Namath pass in the second period of the Super Bowl Game. Coach Weeb Ewbank (street clothes, left) and Jets teammates are interested sideline spectators.

Jet quarterback Joe Namath gets ready to give the ball to halfback Emerson Boozer (32) in New York's 16-7 Super Bowl victory over Baltimore. Linemen Bob Talamini (61) and Randy Rasmussen (66) prepare to make a hole for Boozer.



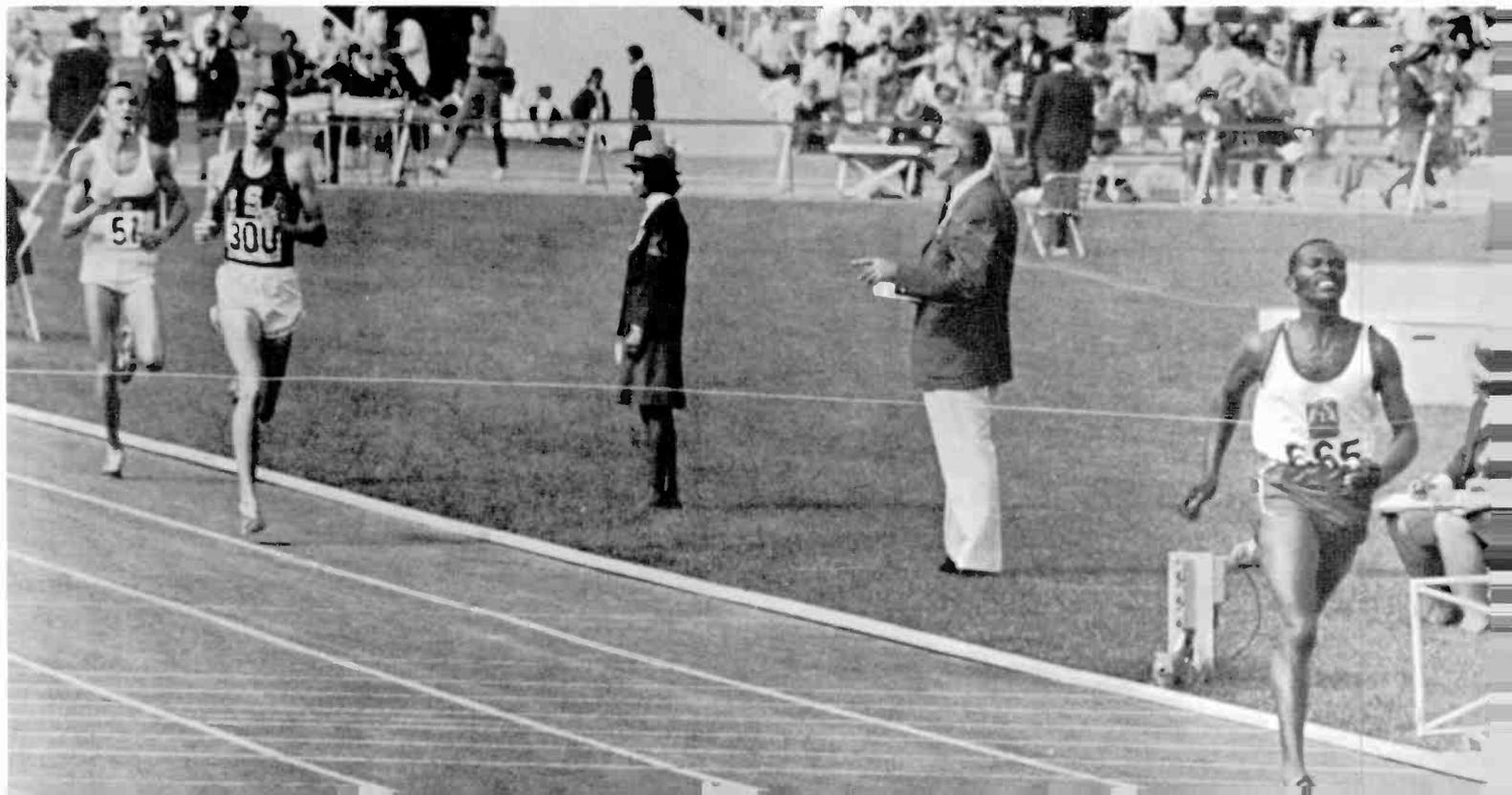


United States track stars Tommie Smith (center) and John Carlos (right) raise black-gloved hands and drop their eyes during playing of the National Anthem in a controversial Black Power demonstration that rocked the Summer Olympic Games. Smith and Carlos were subsequently suspended from the United States squad. Australia's Peter Norman, who finished in the 200-meter run, is at left.



American high jumper Dick Fosbury won the crowd's fancy in Mexico City with his unconventional head-first, backward style. It's been dubbed the "Fosbury Flop." But no matter what it's called, you can't argue with success. It earned the Oregon college student a gold medal and Olympic record of 7 feet 4¼ inches.

Kipchoge Keino of Kenya breasts the tape in the highly publicized Olympic 1,500 meters. Fifteen yards behind him, in second place, was a brokenhearted Jim Ryun, the Kansan who had worked for years toward an Olympic gold medal. Keina set an Olympic mark of 3 minutes 34.9 seconds for the race.





All eyes are on American pole vaulter Bob Seagren as he clears the bar at 17 feet 8½ inches to set a new world record and win the Olympic gold medal in Mexico City.



Debbie Meyer, the greatest female swimmer in the world, captured the three longest freestyle events for the ladies in Mexico City. The California teen-ager, seen above after winning a 400-meter heat, was suffering from a sore throat and an intestinal ailment, and still won by 25 meters.

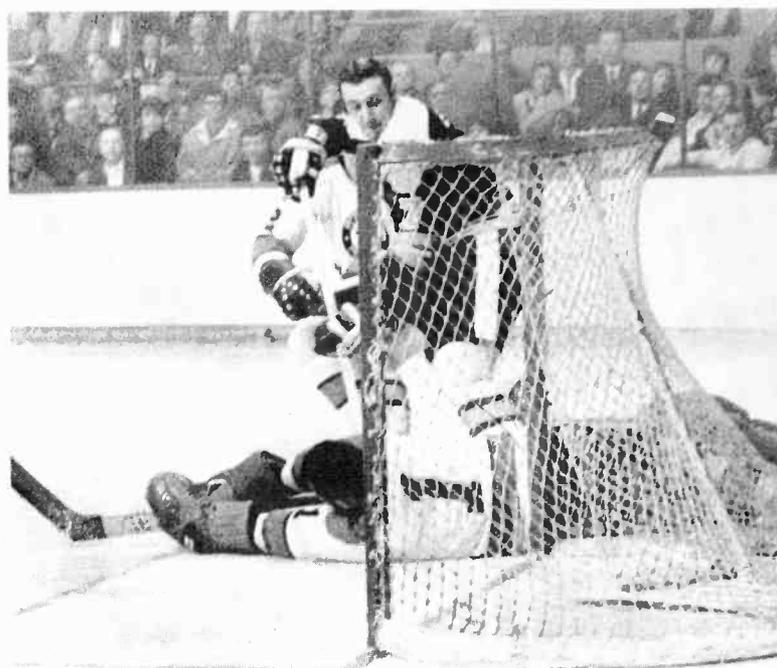
Light, lyrical Peggy Fleming is a beauty to behold as she glides her way to the Olympic figure-skating title at Grenoble, France. Miss Fleming's gold-medal performance was the only American victory in the Winter Games.



French ski sensation Jean-Claude Killy attacks the giant slalom course at the Winter Olympic Games. The handsome ski star swept the Olympic Alpine events, winning all three gold medals.



Boston's Phil Esposito shoves the puck past fallen Pittsburgh goalie for his 100th point of the campaign. The Bruin scoring ace not only became the first NHL player in history to register 100 points in a single season but also wound up the year with an amazing total of 126 points.



Majestic Prince thunders to victory in the 1969 Kentucky Derby with jockey Bill Hartack in the irons. Arts and Letters (right) was second, and Dike (hidden behind the winner) finished third.





Voted Sportscaster of the Year in a 1969 poll of television critics, Curt Gowdy has broadcast every major sports event—World Series, All-Star Baseball Games, Super Bowl, Rose Bowl, Orange Bowl, Olympic Games—during his career. A former star athlete at the University of Wyoming, Gowdy earned six varsity letters while a collegian. He served with the United States Army Air Corps in World War II. Since 1965 he has been NBC's top sports announcer. Gowdy resides in Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, with his wife, Jerre, and their three children.

Sports Goes Big Time

Curt Gowdy

NBC Sportscaster

I CAN ENVISION the day a World Series game will be played in Tokyo or Mexico City by teams representing those cities.

I'm not saying I'll be around to broadcast the game. That much of an optimist I'm not. But I am absolutely sure that this era of international television communications and transmission of letter-perfect pictures from the moon is still in its infancy.

More and more and bigger and better communications satellites will be launched to improve understanding between men, and a side effect of this continuing scientific phenomenon will be the eventual presentation of domestically popular sports to a worldwide audience. The space program, so much on everyone's mind today, will contribute greatly to the television industry.

The TV equipment NBC has at its disposal today is tremendous. But who can say what we will be able to accomplish when the extremely sensitive apparatus that was used in Apollo 11 and on similar spacecraft is released to us for commercial use.

Microphones so highly perfected that they can relay the voice of a man a quarter of a million miles away as clearly as if he were in your living room: What other miracles are there that we eventually will inherit?

Television will be the beneficiary, and the universal appeal of sports will be heightened.

Baseball celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1969, and it was the sport's greatest year. I know that attendance figures were up because expansion has provided more franchises, but there's nothing wrong with that. Exposing a sport on its highest level of performance to new audiences and new generations is not only important; it is crucial.

Baseball is known as the national pastime, and truly it is an American game. However, it is played in many countries on an amateur basis, and Japan has two professional leagues that pay salaries many of us would gladly accept. This brings us to the relationship of baseball (or any sport) and international television. If NBC's Game-of-the-Week becomes regular viewing on European television, in the Far East, and South America—and why not the Iron Curtain nations while we're at it?—baseball will have found an untapped audience for its product.

There are sports fans all over the world. Many, of course, have never seen a baseball game. When these people are given the exposure to the fascination and strategy that are part of this great game, they will be "hooked" the way Americans have been for a century. It will take some time, of course. Many things must be done in addition to the technological advancements I have so casually taken for granted. My cavalier attitude toward these amazing achievements is something that our scientists must live with. Their rate of success in all ventures has been so great that we assume almost anything is possible.

But getting back to sports. Our friends around the world will someday see major-league baseball on a regular basis, in my opinion. Viewing will heighten interest and lead to participation. Organization and coaching are the next steps. Part of the organization is promotion and PR work, a field I know Commissioner Bowie Kuhn feels very strongly about.

The major leagues will undoubtedly lend a hand when the time comes by sending players and coaches on junkets to teach and lecture. But visiting major-league stars are not, to my mind, the key. The vital link for any foreign country is to develop its own national heroes. Brazil has Pele, the super soccer star. France adores Jean-Claude Killy. Russia worshiped Valery Brumel, their sensational high jumper. And we were no different.

Baseball would never have gained the status it has enjoyed for a century were it not for Babe Ruth, John

McGraw, Connie Mack, Ty Cobb, Ted Williams, Sandy Koufax, Mickey Mantle, and hundreds of others.

Internationally, exposure and athletic education are the missing items. The rest of the world does not really understand our game. However, via satellite television, they will see the leading players, get the best coaching, and try to emulate what they see. It's some time off, but who would dare say anything is impossible after Apollo 11? A World Series between Tokyo and Mexico City doesn't seem as remote as men walking on the moon.

Could Connie Mack or John McGraw ever have imagined baseball receiving \$49 million from a television network for the right to present games to the American public? How could they have foreseen television, for that matter? I've passed the stage of ruling anything out.

When you discuss sports as a big-time business, the matter of television and money must be a primary topic.

I've already mentioned what NBC is paying to televise baseball for the next three years. Let's toss around a few million more while we're at it. NBC is now in the final year of a five-year pact with the American Football League that costs the network approximately \$42 million. Our best sources tell us that CBS pays in the neighborhood of \$65 million to televise National Football League contests.

ABC-TV proudly boasted that it paid \$4.5 million for American television rights to present the 1968 Summer Olympic Games from Mexico City last October. Production costs doubled that figure. The significant part is that this huge disbursement was made for an event that lasted only sixteen days, October 12–27, 1968.

Many more millions are doled out by the networks to offer golf, professional basketball, tennis, track and field, hockey, and sundry other sports to a public with more leisure time than ever before and a greater interest in sports than we've ever seen. It's big money and big business: no question about it. But don't forget that thus far we've discussed only a one-way flow of dough.

The commercial urge of Madison Avenue to have its clients associated with sports and sports figures is enormous. And with good reason. Detailed research shows audiences are growing steadily. The Nielsen rating service tells us that last January's Super Bowl Game attracted an audience in excess of 60 million viewers. There is no other way a sponsor could deliver his message to that many people instantaneously.

That game was the single most important sports event ever played in the United States. Had the Jets lost to the Colts, its impact would have been less. But New York's spectacular upset not only sent shock waves through the sports world, but had a profound dollar-and-cents importance in many quarters. After years of being the "other" league, the American Football League had become *the* league in one afternoon. The repercussions

and ramifications were immediate, significant, and widely felt.

For one, NBC, which had lived through the lean AFL years, now was in the enviable position of presenting the world champions of professional football. Talking in money terms once again, this prestige factor meant that NBC could ask for more money from potential sponsors. For the sponsors, it meant that Joe Namath, the New York Jets, and the entire AFL would undoubtedly draw more viewers to their messages.

Another way of looking at sports TV is to analyze the effects athletics has on the financial aspect of a huge company like the National Broadcasting Company—or any other network. Sports, after all, is just one segment of a network's programming. I asked Carl Lindemann, Jr., Vice-President, NBC Sports, about this very subject.

"I'll put it to you this way," Carl said. "Our financial planning for a bid on the 1972 Summer Olympic Games began in 1968, four years in advance of the event itself. You must understand that bidding on an event such as the Olympics has a major effect on the long-range internal planning of any company, even one the size of NBC. Any time you estimate an expenditure of \$12 million to \$14 million for a period of two weeks of air time, that's big business. It can severely limit you overall. When the bidding reaches that stage, it shows how significant sports is to television."

Carl is right. Sports is not just fun and games. Sports can rock a town, even a supposedly sophisticated one like New York.

Just look at the Mets! The old Mets and the new Mets.

New Yorkers took this aggregation to their hearts from the outset. They allowed themselves, as well as the team, to be the butt of jokes and criticism, but all the while remained intensely loyal. Now, considerably sooner than their most ardent rooster expected, they are "rocking" again. This time with joy. On one night this past summer when the Mets were engaged in their very first "crucial" series with the NL East first-place Chicago Cubs, the rating of the local station in New York (WOR-TV) carrying the Mets-Cubs game outdrew the New York outlets of the three major networks combined.

New York and the Mets weren't alone in this surge of enthusiasm. Boston and Chicago were rabid hotbeds of interest long before the August–September pennant races were upon us.

Perhaps I'm a bit prejudiced, being from the Boston area and having broadcast the Red Sox games for fifteen seasons, but I think baseball's best fans in 1969 were in Boston. The Red Sox play in a tiny bandbox named Fenway Park, one of the major leagues' smallest showplaces. A capacity crowd numbers only 33,375. But at the All-Star break last season, the Sox led the majors in atten-

dance, having played before 1,171,941 spectators in 46 home dates. That figured out to almost two million at home for a full season at Fenway Park. And they weren't even in a pennant race. Unprecedented!

Does this look like baseball's death throes—the ones I read about in the newspapers every now and then? Not to me. I especially enjoyed reading an editorial in the *New York Times* a few days after the All-Star Game that made the point eloquently:

"Those who have been mourning the death of baseball must have been shocked by the glittering scene in Washington a few nights ago. In a sumptuous setting that resembled anything but a wake, the nation's leaders joined the fabled names of the sport in celebrating 100 years of professional baseball. Is baseball dead? Has professional football taken over as the national pastime? The prestigious gathering in the capital would dispute both points.

"True, baseball is a slow and deliberate game, but many of its followers find this part of the attraction. Baseball is a game of inches, they say. It is a game of tradition, pure Americana. . . . It is easier for a boy to relate to the baseball player than to the highly specialized, physically enormous football player.

"Whatever the reason, baseball has survived many obstacles since the Cincinnati Red Stockings took the field in 1869, as the first paid baseball team (the pitcher got \$1,100). The game has slowly gained in popularity from the early eighteenth-hundreds, when American youngsters used cricket balls to play the game that later became baseball.

"Now baseball has expanded to new cities and even to a new country, Canada. The crowds still turn out to see teams that are good and players that are exciting. Baseball dead? Not quite."

My thanks to the gentlemen from the *Times* for putting it far better than I could.

I can recognize the changes and the bigness of sports from another side. When I broadcast minor-league baseball games in Oklahoma City a number (an undisclosed number) of years ago, I did it all alone. I carried my own amplifier to the park, set the levels, kept my own statistics, handled the production, read the commercials, and called the play-by-play.

Nowadays I am just a small cog in a giant operation, and I mean "giant." NBC employed an army of ninety people to televise the All-Star Baseball Game from Washington, D.C., last July. There were nine cameramen, producers, associate directors, unit managers, technicians, announcers, and others who performed their specialized functions.

Outside the city stood a mini-electronic city. Cable was strung in the tunnels under Robert F. Kennedy Stadium and through the stands to the press box and to

all the camera locations. The preparation that had gone into the telecast was staggering.

While skimming through a Detroit newspaper recently, I came across an interesting article dealing with the sports and TV areas. The piece covered the last ten years, and pointed out that while virtually all costs have risen astronomically in the last decade, ticket prices to sports events have increased at a much slower rate, at least in Detroit. And I suspect that this might well apply in several other cities.

Teams' payrolls have gone sky high. Even the prices of peanuts and hot dogs are up. The conclusion drawn by the author was that owners have been able to maintain relatively stable ticket prices because of the revenue received from television and radio. Here, television, which has been a whipping boy in many circles, received a measure of credit for indirectly helping the average fan come out to the ball park.

One additional point on the subject of payrolls: Only through revenue derived from sources such as television and other promotions can owners afford to offer contracts like the reputed \$400,000 Joe Namath received from Sonny Werblin and the New York Jets. Or the \$800,000 Donny Anderson of Green Bay allegedly picked up. Or the \$450,000 the Packers are supposed to have given Jim Grabowski for a multiyear agreement.

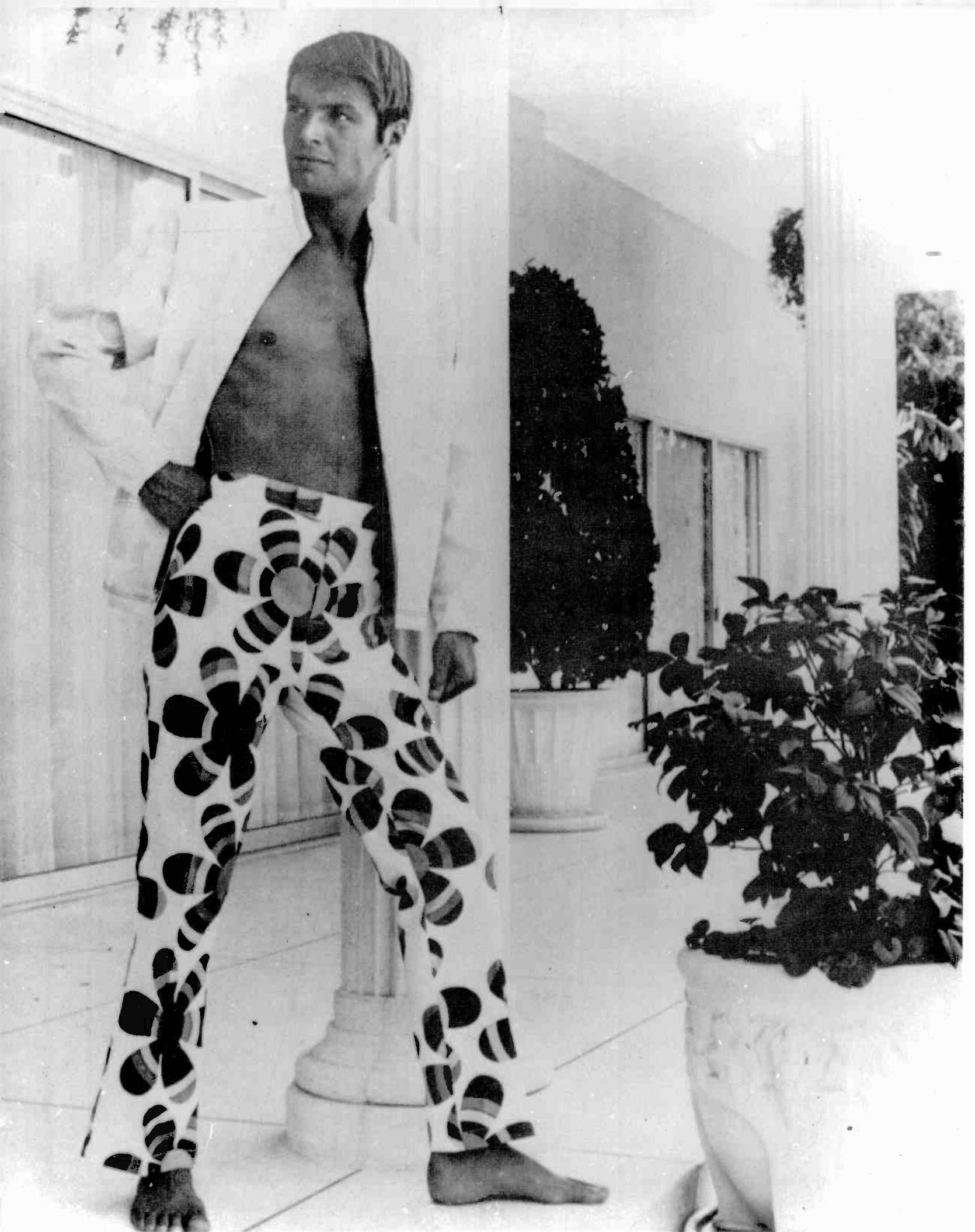
I know times change. And sometimes I have to take a hop, skip, and jump to avoid that generation gap. But I can remember my childhood in Cheyenne, Wyoming, when my dad said to me, "Son, one day I'm going to take you to Chicago or St. Louis, where you'll be able to see a major-league baseball game."

Well, Dad and I never did get to make that trip. As a matter of fact, the first big-league game I ever attended was a game I broadcast. But I can't help thinking to myself now what a great opportunity the boys of America have today in being able to see the finest in baseball, football, basketball, or golf on television, wherever they live.

And who can say what the future holds? I don't even have to look back farther than five years to see the progressive strides that have been made.

In 1964 I helped cover the Winter Olympic Games from Innsbruck, Austria. That was before the satellites were circling overhead. Each night after we videotaped and edited the competition, we had a messenger standing by to drive the tapes to Munich, where they were put on a plane and flown to New York for telecast. In 1968 much of the world saw the Games live—thanks to the satellite.

If we can make that kind of progress in a period of five years, I don't think anything is beyond the realm of possibility twenty or thirty years from now.



Bold colors and wild designs feature men's new beachwear, another indication of the growing trend toward male plumage that rivals anything designers offer milady.

27. Fashions and Fads

THE WORLD OF FASHION in the 1968–1969 period was rocked by its own revolution. In this volatile realm the results were immediate: haute couture in America was finished, and the trend for “doing your own thing” became the established order of dress not only for women but, startlingly so, for men.

After more than a century of made-to-order clothes for the elite, the last of the high-style custom salons closed their doors: Sophie of Saks Fifth Avenue and Bergdorf-Goodman, within a few weeks of each other. Both cited high labor costs and declining markets for made-to-order clothes.

The fashion revolt was not local or regional—it was international. In Italy, Pucci dropped a spring collection; in Paris, Cardin eliminated his collection for women; and Dior cut prices to meet what was described as “an industry-wide problem of dwindling business.”

All this did not mean that fashion was finished—in fact, quite the contrary. Seldom was there such animated and universal interest in fashions for both men and women—of all ages and for every income level.

Big industry, alerted to this trend, redoubled its energy in the expanding world markets, and clothing companies vied with one another to hire top-name designers. California designer John Weitz’s company set up boutiques throughout Europe for his men’s sportswear. New York’s Malcolm Starr established retail outlets in Japan and Sweden for his popular-priced women’s clothes. The giant mail-order and retail chains organized their own international brain trust made up of Rudi Gernreich, Alberto Fabiani, and Simonetti to maneuver their fashion direction. At the same time, the Genesco group grabbed England’s Hardy Amies and Dior’s Marc Bohan to pilot their styles.

Perhaps the most significant news within this kind of “fashion wildcatting” was the avalanche of important dress designers into the men’s market. On both sides of the Atlantic the names that were revered by, and reserved

to, women now became part of the lexicon in men’s clothes. Bill Blass and Geoffrey Beene of America joined Yves St. Laurent, Cardin, and Dior as fixed names in men’s fashions.

Yet this is the world of males that a few years before would have cringed at wearing a Dior or St. Laurent creation. Now Pucci ties were in heavy demand, as men blossomed forth in colors rivaling their female companions! Lilly Pulitzer hit a gold mine with summer denim pants in wild colors for men, and men wore tank-suit tops with bell-bottom slacks. Men found themselves wearing Michael Fish shirts of bright blue, pink, yellow, and lavender, with ties five inches wide. White batiste shirts with ruffles gained favor with the most fashion-minded masculine segments, along with copper-colored patent-leather shoes.

Women, too, were wearing patent-leather shoes, or footwear with spoonbill toes. Long pants, tunics, and capes were popular for daytime wear in late 1968. There was much use of plastics and leather for sportswear, while ballgowns swirled in elegant trimmings of feathers and jewels.

Costumes continued to have wide appeal. Holmes created designs based on the garb worn by monks and nuns—others used every aspect of American Indian culture to brighten designs, from beaded headbands to fringed deerskin skirts. Retailers rushed to buy up stocks of old clothes in the style of the thirties and forties, as the fad started by *Bonnie and Clyde* continued to wield its influence among the young.

Among the young, from twelve to twenty-five years of age, it was becoming more difficult to tell boy and girl apart. As the boys’ hair grew longer, many girls cut theirs shorter. The word “unisex” gained prominence, to describe the look-alike and dress-alike phenomenon. “His and Hers” clothing became almost interchangeable. The male moved to brighter colors and softer fabrics, while the female swinger dressed in T-shirt and slacks.

Schools that had been adamant in standards for dress and hairstyles were retreating under the onslaught. The American Civil Liberties Union said it was pleased that educators seemed to be paying attention to its report urging schools to allow students to dress as they pleased, unless it led to some disruption in the educational process.

Of course, some of the styles were apt to disrupt a lot more than the educational process. Rudi Gernreich, whose topless styles had not caught on tremendously, had taken a sabbatical from the world of fashion, but the trend toward bare skin showed itself very strongly. Skirts were getting even shorter, for those who could wear them well (and some who could not). "See-through" became the phrase one heard everywhere in the fashion world.

Transparent dresses and see-through blouses of sheer fabrics sold very well. Body stockings were more often than not worn under the see-through attire . . . but not always. One man was quoted as saying "There's a whole new dimension to my life now, with these dresses. I actually keep my eyes open on the subway . . . you never know what you'll see—and it fills the day with anticipation."

Around the world, miniskirts were being sold almost everywhere. But the short skirts were still frowned on, in some emerging African nations. In Tanzania and Zambia, patrols of indignant citizens roamed the streets sending home girls who dared to appear in what was termed a very *un-African* costume. In this country, there was a noticeable move by blacks to wear African dress or some variation of it. The dashiki—a sort of loose shirt, often brightly printed—was popular, as was the Afro hairdo.

Retailers in the United States reported that college students generally had shifted from traditional Ivy League clothing to more fashionable up-to-the-minute dress. "You're not *now* if you're not *new*" was a phrase that seemed to catch the spirit of the new campus upheaval. Young men sported wide leather belts with big buckles, shoes that echoed the "clunky" look of their sisters, and shirts with broad flowing sleeves that reminded one of those worn by buccaneers. They wore kerchiefs rather than ties, and furriers reported men's fur coats were selling quite well.

For women generally, there was still the dress and long coat—or dress and jacket, with little change in the outline from previous years. Also still on the scene was the pants suit, now raised to such respectability that restaurants that had been closed to slacks were seating

those who wore the new tailored pants suits. A collarless jacket, worn with cowboy scarf, joined the longtime favorite jumper and jackets that looked like vests. With many of them went silk blouses whose sleeves were long and full and ended in big cuffs.

Cotton became a year-round fabric in 1968–1969, with piqué heavily textured cloque and brocade worn even when the snow was flying. Long floor-length coats were seen, and there was much use of capes. Large flowered prints in bold colors were seen everywhere. One other trend: culottes and culotte-dresses were being worn to business.

In jewelry, there was a rush to buy chunky bright things. Plastic and lucite rings, of all shapes and sizes, were seen along with what the designers liked to call "body jewelry." This ranged from serpents coiling around the bodice to armllets and breastplates to go with the trend toward transparency.

In the field of cosmetics, eye makeup continued bold, with much use of eyeliner, mascara, and eye shadow. The shiny fresh-washed look gained adherents, but those who wished to look like the vamp of Theda Bara's time still were in style. For men, there was a trend toward the use of more personal grooming aids than just soap, water, and a dash of after-shave lotion. It was estimated that men were now accounting for more than 15 percent of the money spent on toiletries and cosmetics . . . up to \$700 million a year. Men are using hair sprays, new fragrances, skin lotions, hair coloring, and even facial masks, according to cosmetics manufacturers. "We never use the term "facial mask" for men," one retailer explained. "We call it a quick pickup for the skin—and you'd be surprised how fast it sells."

David L. Yunch, president of Macy's Department Store in New York, summed it all up when he said: "Because of changing consumer shopping patterns, the traditionally slow evolution of fashion has become a revolution. The new fashion speedup means retailers must have fresh goods in stock at all times. The base of fashion is broadening; instead of being concentrated at the top, it's now widest at the middle where most people, most stores, and most manufacturers are. Fashion has come out of its ivory tower. We cannot contemplate our navels and create or sell. We must become involved with people and their lives."

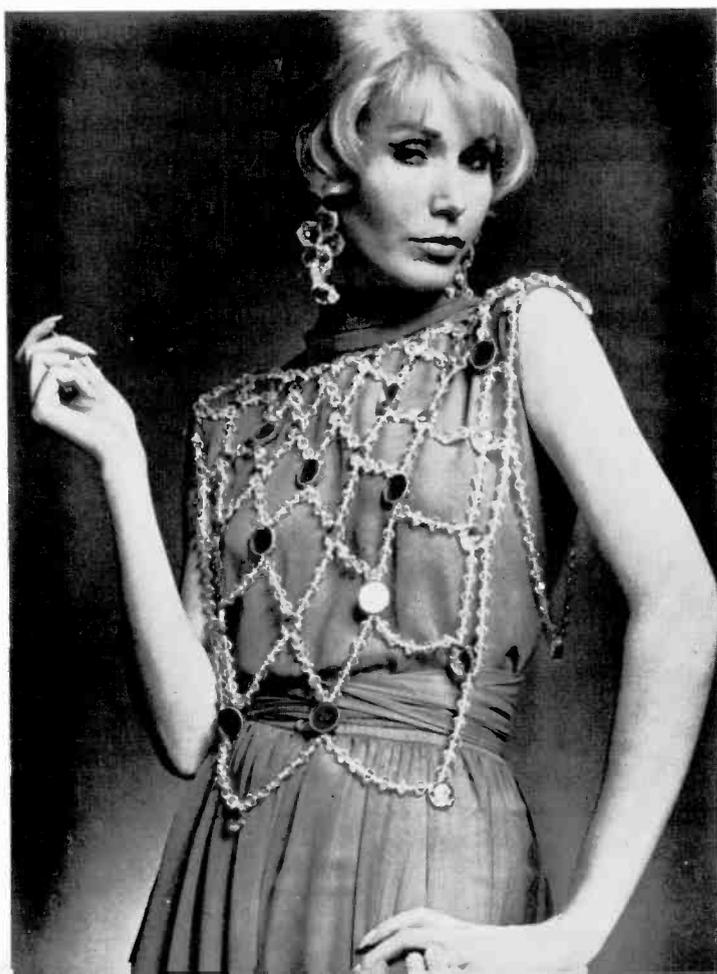
In the summer of 1969, the involvement was becoming more total and more varied.

Opposite, left to right: Jewelry takes to the body. A scalloped vest is formed from sparkling clear crystals interspersed with circular mirrored stones. For earrings, chunks of crystal, while a pair of rhinestone dome rings complete the ensemble.

Center: The bride would be sure to get attention with this design by Triffeau. A bow at the neck, a see-through lace vest over white organdy, and the bridal costume is complete with white organdy harem pants and a veil flowing from a hat formed like a huge white flower.

Lowly muslin is elevated to new fashion heights in this "see-through" by Saint-Laurent. The black muslin gown apparently relies on its shock value to offset its extreme simplicity, relieved only by ostrich feathers around the waist and an underneath gold belt.

"Mod"-style wedding attire gets a big boost as Jacqueline Kennedy wears a high-necked, long-sleeved "little-girl" dress for her nuptials. The widow of the late President Kennedy was married in October to Greek shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis.



A chic sheikh in Oleg Cassini's latest in beachwear, an olive, red, and blue hooded burnoose inspired by desert tribesmen.



Christian Dior switches easily from women's fashions to menswear with these creations by Marc Bahan: a double-breasted houndstooth-check overcoat, left; and a fitted suit of velour with matching long waistcoat and a flowing kerchief, center.



A male fashion show in a New York department store shows satin lapels on a caped black evening suit for that night out.





Don Simonelli goes in for trench coats in 1969, with designers hoping this would become the new fashionable "maxi" length, sweeping almost to the floor. The large hat reminiscent of Greta Garbo sets off the coat in navy-blue "wet-look" vinyl.



Stormy winds would have trouble penetrating this beige tweed ensemble by Pierre Cardin. Culottes and jacket are trimmed in brown leather, with matching helmet and long slim boots.

Colorful and bold are these smashing printed outfits in silk organza by Mollie Parnis. Both the geometric-printed, multi-colored wide-legged pants over a nude jersey jump suit and the abstract-printed gown of blue, turquoise, and white have shirtmaker sleeves and display glittering jeweled belts.





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. She soon graduated to her present post as a leading on-camera personality of the popular morning program. Based in New York, she has reported for "Today" on the political scene from Germany, the investiture of Prince Charles from Wales, and was specially noted for her recent interviews with former Secretary of State Dean Rusk. She also presents her own radio commentaries on the current scene on "Monitor."

The Aftermath of the Pill

Barbara Walters

of "Today" and "Monitor"

DIRECTIONS: ONE PILL A DAY for twenty days, starting day five of the menstrual cycle.

Diligently following these explicit directions, a generation of American women embraced the most far-reaching control of reproduction ever devised. Officially called "the oral contraceptive," it is known intimately to millions of women as simply "the pill." The pill, tested in the forties, marketed in the fifties, became a household medicine-cabinet word in the sixties, and for the first time in history, sex and procreation became separate matters.

The oral contraceptive pill meant that sex could be enjoyed for its own sake, and if it *could* be enjoyed, it followed that it *should* be enjoyed, *must* be enjoyed and that it was up to the woman as well as the man to make certain that it was enjoyed. As men and women

became sexual equals, there were serious if subtle alterations in the traditional male-female roles. The wife admitted to a new sensuality. The husband learned that he not only had to be lover as well as provider, and satisfier as well as seducer, but receiver as well as giver. To the adult couple of the sixties, the pill produced psychological as well as physical changes, but did not radically alter the woman's moral values. It was the couples' daughter who was most profoundly affected. Whether the pill was used or not, it represented the liberation of her sex and a new freedom of thought and action.

Nowhere was this more apparent than in the fashions of the young. As the hard lines of the double standard blurred, unisex became the style as well as the spirit to be followed by a celebration of the body in an explosion of exposure. For in this generation of young women, virginity ceased to be a necessary requisite for an admirable marriage. Indeed, some responsible social scientists and psychiatrists were advocating premarital relations as a prelude to a successful marriage. Anthropologist Margaret Mead suggested marriage in stages . . . stage one, a legal union in which the couple agree to live together without having children.

Parents, who had ten years earlier enthusiastically condemned Ingrid Bergman for conceiving a child out of wedlock, now heard their own sons and daughters praising actresses like Julie Christie, Catherine Deneuve, and Vanessa Redgrave, who talked of the men they lived with, and occasionally bore children by, but had no intention of marrying.

Many of these same concerned parents, anxious to meet their child's college or apartment roommate, learned to accept the startling news that the roommate was of the opposite sex. Nor could the parent, groping toward his own moral reevaluation, find comfort from his traditional allies, the American college and university. For the 1960's saw even the most determined of the one-sex colleges . . . Yale, Princeton, Vassar, Sarah Lawrence . . . yield to the realization that for the sexes to study separate and apart was unnatural and irrelevant to the aims of society.

Barnard College tried a week-long experiment in coeducational dormitories with male and female students living, as well as learning, side by side. The president of Vassar College, Alan Simpson, predicted that the 1970's would find the complete disappearance of the Ivy League all-male or all-female college.

With this challenge by the young all but accepted, sex moved into the area of social protest. The young knew that flaunting their bodies could still shock. And so exposing the body came to be an act of hostility to the Establishment and protest against the war in Vietnam. Finally, as the naked eye became more and more accustomed to the naked body, sex became public property . . . moving out of the bedroom and into the films and onto the stage in a kaleidoscope of nudity, burlesque, simulated copulation, and deadly earnest moralizing.

The year 1969 saw Americans paying \$25 for a front-row ticket to the first all-nude musical comedy frankly advertised as erotica . . . and even the most conservative of us had to admit that the moral pendulum had swung so far as perhaps never to be reversed. It seems likely that social historians, reviewing the pattern of these years, will record that between 1960 and 1970 American Puritanism finally came to an end.

But with the mysteries and the passions of sex laid bare to the spotlight and syncopated to a drummer's beat, Americans may have a new fear. Not that youngsters in the seventies will grow up to find sex vulgar or shameful, but, perhaps worse, that they will grow up to find it . . . dull.

New fashions have invaded the convent as well. Nuns of the Holy Union Sisters at Fall River, Massachusetts, model (left) a white dress with navy-blue trim, (right) a blue suit with navy accessories, centered by the more conventional black habit and veil. No miniskirts here, but the length has been shortened from the medieval style to just below the knee.



A very stylish bald-headed lady—Zelda Mitchell—dances at a New York discothèque.

The style is fairly conventional; only the sex that wears it is new. Out of London, a knee-length tailored coat for men, in Fouke-dyed Alaskan seal, with broad lapels, high collar, and large flaps on the pockets.





Joanna Flannery and Robert Trauger fall to their deaths as their hot-air balloon hits electrical wires in Pennel, Pennsylvania. Joanna, the mother of two, a restaurant hostess, and Trauger, a stuntflyer, devised the flight to advertise a new cocktail lounge.

28. Disasters

MAN HAS MET and conquered nearly all his natural enemies, but one he will probably never conquer is disaster. It struck hard in 1968–1969. The worst tragedies man often inflicted upon himself—the cruel jokes of technology and his own selfishness.

War is always costly, but the combatants know the risk and take the gamble. The real sufferers are displaced civilian refugees. Nowhere has this been more apparent than in the Nigerian civil war. Millions of persons were cut off from help and their lands and homes devastated. Famine was so widespread that despite international efforts to feed them, two million persons had starved to death by January 2, according to the United Nations Childrens Fund (UNICEF). Professor Clarence Ferguson, appointed by President Nixon as special United States coordinator on Nigerian war relief, toured the country in March. He reported afterward that the situation in Biafra threatened to be one of the greatest catastrophes of modern times. He also reported that anemia was widespread, and predicted that three-fourths of the population would contract tuberculosis within a few months if adequate medicine did not reach them.

Nature, violated in the onrush of humanity to southern California, sought revenge in early 1969. Torrential rains from January 18–26 caused floods and mud slides that killed 91 persons and left 9,000 homeless. Heavy rain fell again from February 23–26, and caused more flooding and mud slides that left another 12 dead. Canyon and hillside homes around Los Angeles and Santa Barbara were most vulnerable. Many were simply swept away by mud or water. Dr. Donald Belcher, director of the Cornell University Center for Aerial Photographic Studies, announced publicly that the houses should never have been built. He joined a chorus of scientific opinion that said mud slides in such areas were natural and predictable, and called for legislation to forbid building there.

A 400-square-mile oil slick caused by a Union Oil

Company offshore well befouled waters and beaches near Santa Barbara in early February. The drilling cracked the ocean floor as conservationists and local residents had warned it would. All efforts to stop the crude from seeping through the crack failed. Millions of dollars were lost in cleanup and in the loss of tourism and wildlife.

The need for greater mine safety was sadly underscored by an accident on November 20 near Mannington, West Virginia. Fires and explosions trapped 78 miners 600 feet below the surface. After nine days of drilling and exploring, no signs of life were detected and no bodies were found. The mine was sealed to cut off oxygen from intense fires feeding on mine gasses. Only 21 of the 99 men in the mine had escaped when the fires and explosions started. The United States Bureau of Mines was criticized for failing to enforce mine safety legislation vigorously. There was also widespread criticism of the United Mineworkers Union for not proposing new legislation and for failing to research potential health and safety hazards. None of this consoled the families of Mannington who watched while 78 of their number were sealed in a fiery tomb.

A similar accident happened near Barroteran, Mexico, on March 31. An explosion and fire trapped 210 miners underground. Only 32 bodies were found; the rest had to be given up as missing.

Mining is a hazardous occupation, and there were other accidents. Near Greenville, Kentucky, on August 7 nine miners were killed in a soft-coal mine explosion. Twenty others escaped. In South Africa, on January 23, a methane gas explosion killed 15 men in a gold mine near the town of Welkom.

Man is a self-destructive creature. He is much better than nature at killing other men. In the United States alone 55,225 persons were killed in automobile accidents in 1968. United States drivers also slaughtered an average of one million animals a day—most of them wild. The United States Transportation Department charged in

August that one-half of all accidental auto deaths could be traced to drinking drivers. In October it was reported that auto deaths in Great Britain had dropped 16½ percent in the year since the adoption of severe penalties for drunken driving.

The National Fire Protection Association reported on January 2 that fires killed 12,100 persons and destroyed \$2.2 billion in property in the United States in 1968. The biggest cause of fires was man.

On February 25 employees of a Fifth Avenue architect in a New York City office building tried to extinguish a fire, and did not immediately turn in the alarm. Flames spread rapidly through large quantities of drafting paper and rubber cement. When employees tried to escape, the elevator jammed and the single stairway exit with an inward-opening door proved inadequate. Eleven persons were killed in the resulting pileup.

Other man-made disasters:

Rail: In Korea two train collisions killed 54 persons in January. Nineteen of them died when a train hit a bus at a crossing in Seoul on January 8. Three weeks later two passenger trains collided in a heavy snowstorm 60 miles south of the capital near Chonan. The result was 35 persons killed and 102 injured.

On February 3, in another train-bus collision, 29 persons died in Pakistan.

On March 21 in Brazil a locomotive-powered train was sent to the aid of an electrical train stalled by a power failure. Electric power was suddenly restored, and the stranded train resumed its course. The engineer did not know that his would-be rescuer was steaming along on the same track, and they collided, killing 30 to 40 persons.

Marine: Since June 1968 the United States Navy has lost two major warships and had another seriously damaged. One expects such casualties from a nation at war—but not one of these ships was in combat. In the accidents that struck these ships, 200 United States seamen lost their lives.

The nuclear-powered submarine *Scorpion* mysteriously sank 400 miles southwest of the Azores about May 27, 1968. Her whole crew of 99 men went with her. The submarine was returning to Norfolk, Virginia, from the Mediterranean. The vessel had not had a major overhaul in sixteen months. The Navy said that safety improvements recommended after the United States submarine *Thresher* sank in 1963 had been only partially completed on the *Scorpion*. The wreckage was found in deep water a few months later, and the hull had been cracked by the crushing pressure of a dive much deeper than the ship had been designed to withstand.

An explosion crippled the United States aircraft carrier *Enterprise* and killed 28 of her 4,600-man crew. The nuclear-powered warship was on a training cruise

southwest of Hawaii on January 14, when an explosion near a jet loaded with bombs touched off other explosions and fires. More than 80 sailors were injured, and 15 of the 100 airplanes aboard were destroyed. The ship's nuclear reactors were untouched. It was the fourth United States aircraft-carrier accident in four years.

● Cruising on a calm, moonlit South China Sea on another exercise on June 3, 1969, the 16,000-ton Australian carrier *Melbourne* sliced through the 2,200-ton destroyer *Franklin Evans*. Within six minutes the bow of the bisected destroyer sank in 5,500 feet of water, and 74 of her 273-man crew were lost. Among the missing were three brothers from the tiny hamlet of Niobrara, Nebraska. The loss of Gary, Gregory, and Kelly Sage was the worst Navy family tragedy since the five Sullivan brothers died aboard the USS *Juneau* in 1942. Preliminary findings of an Australian-American investigation indicated that the *Franklin Evans* was at fault.

In another serious maritime accident a Soviet fishing trawler sank on March 13 after colliding with a Panamanian-registered freighter off the coast of North Carolina. The whole crew of 23 to 25 men was apparently killed. A search failed to locate any survivors.

Aviation: A new DC-9 Venezuelan jetliner, in service only ten days, took off from Maracaibo airport on March 16. A few moments later the big jet hit a high-tension wire and crashed into a 10-block suburban area. All 74 passengers and the crew of 10 were killed. An additional 71 deaths occurred on the ground in the crash and subsequent fires that destroyed at least 20 houses. The death toll of 155 was the highest of any air crash in history.

In other air disasters:

48 persons were killed when a Viscount airliner of the British Eagle Airlines crashed on the West German Autobahn on August 9.

35 of 37 aboard were killed when a Piedmont Airlines turboprop crashed just short of the runway in Charleston, West Virginia, on August 10. FAA officials said part of the airport's instrument-landing system had been inoperative since June.

21 passengers aboard a Los Angeles Airways helicopter shuttle to Disneyland died in a crash at Comton, California, on August 14. It was the second such crash in three months.

40 persons were presumed killed on August 18 when a Soviet-built Egyptian airliner crashed into the sea south of Cyprus.

50 of 89 people were killed on September 3 when a Bulgarian airliner crashed near the Black Sea resort of Burgas, Bulgaria.

95 persons were killed when a Caravelle jet of Air Inter, a division of Air France, crashed into the Mediterranean off Nice on September 11.

39 persons were killed in the crash of a twin-engine

turboprop of Wien Consolidated Airlines southwest of Anchorage, Alaska, on December 2.

51 persons died—all the passengers and crew—when a Pan American World Airways jet exploded and fell into the sea off the coast of Venezuela on December 12.

20 persons were killed and another 27 injured when an Allegheny Airlines propjet crashed on December 24 while attempting to land at Bradford, Pennsylvania, Airport on a flight from Detroit.

26 persons died and 27 were injured—including 8 on the ground—when a two-engine Convair of North Central Airlines crashed into a hangar while landing at O'Hare International Airport in Chicago on December 27.

50 persons were killed on January 5 when an Ariana Afghan Airways Boeing 727 crashed into a house two miles short of Gatwick Airport south of London. Going down in a dense fog, the plane killed 48 of the 63 persons aboard and another two in the house.

22 persons died when on January 6 another Allegheny Airlines propjet crashed onto a golf course while trying to land at the Bradford, Pennsylvania, Airport. It was almost a duplicate of the December 24 crash at the same airport.

35 persons aboard a DC-3 airliner of Mineral County Airlines were presumed dead when the plane disappeared on February 18 on a flight from Hawthorne Nevada, to Burbank, California. A land and sea search found no trace either of the plane or of the passengers.

89 pilgrims returning from Mecca and 7 crewmen were killed when a United Arab Republic jetliner crashed on March 20 while landing at Aswan Airport in Egypt.

16 persons died on the same day when a World War II-vintage DC-3 crashed in a fog and burned at New Orleans International Airport; 11 others aboard the plane survived. All the passengers were members of a Memphis, Tennessee, sports club who had chartered the plane for a South American hunting trip.

Human calamity took these forms as well:

On June 23, 1968, a soccer game in Buenos Aires became a catastrophe when a part of the crowd of 90,000 stampeded after the match. In the rush for exits, 71 persons died and 100 more were injured.

In India the funeral of a respected statesman and journalist, C. N. A. Annadurai, drew 3,000,000 mourners, and resulted in two accidents that killed 34 persons. On February 3, in a stampede to see the body lying in state, 6 died. The next day bridge girders killed another 28 mourners while they rode on the roof of a packed train headed for the funeral.

Earthquakes: Earthquakes claimed more lives and did more damage than any other form of natural disaster. Thousands of persons were killed and extensive property

damaged in a worldwide series of tremors in August and September. Hardest hit was northeastern Iran, where 18,000 to 22,000 persons were killed in two shocks on August 31 and September 1. At least 100,000 persons were left homeless in the devastation of 100 towns and villages in Khurasan Province. In the town of Kakhk, near the center of the first tremor, 6,000 or 14,000 inhabitants died when every building collapsed. The earthquake measured 7.8 on the Richter Scale.

In Indonesia, Tuguan Island simply disappeared when several earthquakes and tidal waves struck from August 10–15. The entire population of several hundred was reported missing. At least another 200 Indonesians were killed at the port of Donggala in the Central Celebes.

At least 307 persons were killed in the Philippines when earthquakes shook the island of Luzon on August 2. The greatest number of fatalities were reported in Manila. A five-story apartment building collapsed in the Chinese quarter and buried about 500 occupants.

Nature also tormented man with floods, storms, and volcanic eruptions.

Floods: Floods in the upper Midwest and Mississippi Valley in April damaged an estimated \$100,000,000 worth of property and killed 8 persons. The Mississippi River had the third highest crest in history, but elaborate preparations prevented much worse flooding. Damage in the flood zone was kept lower than in many previous years. The small town of Minot, North Dakota, was hardest hit. Almost the entire population of 3,000 was evacuated on April 16. Floodwaters drove 23,500 people from their homes in North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois.

In northwestern Italy torrential rains from November 3–6 caused floods and landslides similar to those in southern California. In the Italian Piedmont 104 persons died. The flooding Po River raised the water level in Venice five feet above normal.

Storms: An unexpectedly heavy snowstorm on the eastern coast of the United States on February 9 caused 170 deaths. In New York City 43 persons died, and at least 50 elsewhere in the state. The New York metropolitan area was paralyzed with 15 inches of snow.

Another 36 persons died when New England was covered with snow from February 24–27. Many of the deaths were from heart attacks. Boston was buried under 25 inches, and some parts of Maine got 60 inches.

A tornado sliced through the small town of Tracy, Minnesota, on June 13, 1968, killing 9 persons and injuring another 300.

On January 23 several tornadoes tore a 40-mile path through the southern Mississippi hill country. The winds killed 29 persons and injured more than 100. The town of Hazelhurst reported that 10 of its citizens had died.

This was the kitchen of a house in southern California's rapidly growing Highland Park before the area's "moving mountain" renewed its downhill creep. Many homes—some very costly—were lost in mudslides caused by heavy rains in January and February.



Cleaning-up operations at Santa Barbara, California, beaches. Conservationists last fight to prevent offshore drilling in the Santa Barbara Channel. Their worst fears were realized when the ocean floor cracked in February, releasing tons of oozing crude that fouled beaches, boats, and wildlife.



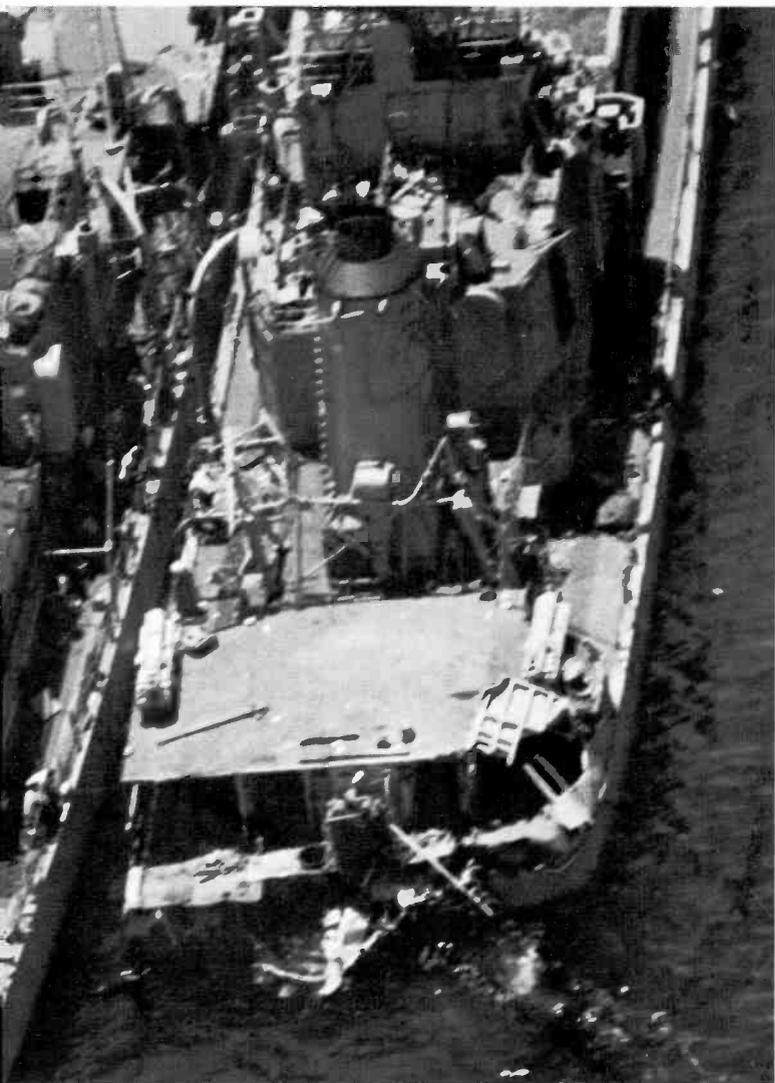
Miner Elwood O'Dell is rescued from a flooded mine shaft at Haminy Falls, West Virginia, in May after being trapped for five days. Some of the 20 saved spent 10 days entombed. Mine accidents over the year brought calls for better mine safety legislation and enforcement.



A Coast Guardsman maneuvers up to a house torn from its foundations near Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. Spring floods in the upper Midwest and the Mississippi valley damaged an estimated \$100 million worth of property and killed eight persons.

In northeast Iran a grieving father holds up his lifeless baby as survivors in the village of Kakhk mourn their dead. Almost half the population of 14,000 perished. The area was the hardest hit in a widespread series of earthquakes in August.





In noncombat accidents since June 1968, the United States Navy lost two major warships, and more than 200 seamen died. The stern of the destroyer *Frank Evans* is held afloat in the South China Sea. The bow sank after the ship was cut in two by an Australian carrier during maneuvers in June. Seventy-four United States sailors died.

Victims of a macabre accident, these bodies await identification in a Buenos Aires, Argentina, police station. They are some of the 71 spectators trampled when hundreds of soccer fans stampeded after a match.





Crewmen check damage on the United States aircraft carrier *Enterprise* when the nuclear-powered warship limped back to Pearl Harbor after an explosion killed 28 sailors and injured 85 in January.



The turbine of a new DC-9 Venezuelan jetliner dwarfs the home it destroyed when it crashed on takeoff into a Maracaibo suburb in March. The jet, in service only 10 days, damaged a 10-block area and killed 155 persons. It was the worst death toll of any air crash in history.



Dwight David Eisenhower, seventy-eight. Born in Denison, Texas, October 4, 1890, died in Washington, D.C., March 28, 1969. The beloved world figure is seen here at a historic high point in his career as soldier and statesman. As Allied Commander, General Eisenhower gives the order of the day: "Full victory—nothing else," to face-blackened paratroopers somewhere in England on June 5, 1944, hours before the D-Day invasion of Hitler's Europe.

29. Obituaries

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER, thirty-fourth President of the United States and America's Number One hero of World War II, died peacefully on March 28, 1969, surfeited with honor and years. He was one of the most popular military and political figures in United States history. His career had a kind of textbook quality to it, that of a poor farmboy in a large family who rose, through hard work and determination, to the highest position of leadership in the world.

Eisenhower's life was unmarked by public attention until 1942. He was simply a competent Regular Army Officer (West Point, Class of 1912) who exhibited a flair for administration and caught the eye of several general officers at the war games in Louisiana in 1941. Under the sponsorship of George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, he was appointed Commanding General, European Theatre of Operations. Following the successful North Africa campaign, he was named Supreme Allied Commander. In June of 1944, he directed the most massive invasion in history as tens of thousands of Allied troops swarmed ashore in France. Less than a year later, he accepted the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany. Following the war he continued his military career, becoming Army Chief of Staff with the rank of five-star general. He retired in 1948 to become president of Columbia University, resisting, at least temporarily, political temptations. He was recalled to the army in 1950 by President Truman to serve as Supreme Commander of NATO forces in Europe. He resigned this post in 1952 to run for President on the Republican ticket. Although his two terms in the White House were not as spectacular as some of his predecessors' and successors', he continued to serve his country and the cause of humanity everywhere with dedication and honor. In 1961 his rank

of general was restored to him by President John F. Kennedy, and he continued to act as adviser to three succeeding Presidents.

Other great Americans who became world figures during their lifetimes died during the year. Helen Keller, who, through her remarkable triumph over adversity and her lifelong humanitarian efforts, became a symbol of hope and encouragement to millions throughout the world, died at the age of eighty-seven in her Connecticut home. Struck blind, deaf, and dumb by a childhood illness, she struggled to create a new world in darkness and silence. She graduated *cum laude* from Radcliffe in 1904, considered a virtual miracle in those days. From then on, she wrote many books, mostly autobiographical and always eloquent, espoused many causes—social and political—and even enjoyed a brief and successful run on the vaudeville circuit. She remained until her death a warm and unaffected personality. But for Anne Sullivan Macy, her inspired teacher, Helen Keller would have been a lost unknown.

John Steinbeck, Nobel and Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist, died in New York on December 20, 1968, at the age of sixty-six. He achieved his first great recognition with *Grapes of Wrath*, a moving and impassioned story of migrant workers, which won him the 1940 Pulitzer. He wrote for stage and screen as well, and in all his works there were overtones of social protest. It was these overtones and his success in portraying a vivid and true cross-section of America that won for Steinbeck the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1962. Among his more popular works were *Of Mice and Men*, *Cannery Row*, *Tortilla Flat*, *The Wayward Bus*, *East of Eden*, and *Travels with Charley*.

Two internationally known figures died by assassins'

bullets. Robert Kennedy, Senator from New York and brother of assassinated President John Kennedy, was killed in Los Angeles shortly after winning the California presidential primary.

Martin Luther King, eloquent spokesman for and inspiration to millions of blacks throughout the world, was shot down outside his motel room in Memphis.

Other figures of international reputation who died were:

Francis Biddle, on October 1968, Hyannis, Massachusetts, at the age of eighty-two. A United States judge at the Nuremberg trials of Nazis following World War II, he also served as United States Attorney General (1941–1945), and was the author of several books.

Randolph Churchill, on June 1968, at Suffolk, England, aged fifty-seven, the only son of Sir Winston. He wrote many books on politics and served in Parliament from 1940 to 1945. At his death, he was working on a definitive biography of his father.

Allen Dulles, in January 1969, in Washington, D.C., aged seventy-five. He was director of the United States Central Intelligence Agency from 1953 to 1961.

Gerhart Eisler, in March 1968, in Armenia, aged seventy-one. He was for many years America's best-known Communist and director of Communist activities here. He fled this country in 1947.

Husband E. Kimmel, in May 1968, at Groton, Connecticut, aged seventy-six. He was commander of naval forces at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Many critics considered him guilty of dereliction of duty, and he resigned from the navy in 1942. A congressional committee later decided he was guilty only of "errors in judgment."

John L. Lewis, in June 1969, in Washington, D.C., aged eighty-nine, the familiar bushy-haired and bushy-browed labor leader of the thirties and forties. Although many were frequently infuriated by his tactics and stubbornness, none could deny that he advanced the cause of the American laborer enormously.

Trygve Lie, in December 1968, at Oslo, Norway, aged seventy-two. He was the first Secretary-General of the United Nations (1946–1953), and author of several books on internationalism.

Joseph Martin, in March 1968, at Hollywood, Florida, aged eighty-three. He was representative to Congress from Massachusetts (1924–1966), Speaker of the House (1946–1948, 1952–1954), and chairman of Republican conventions (1940–1956).

Georges Papandreou, in November 1968, in Greece, aged eighty. Greek statesman and political leader for over forty years, he was the founder of the Democratic Socialist Party and prime minister of Greece three times. He was active until the latest military revolution in 1967, when he was arrested and later released.

Norman Thomas, in December 1968, at Huntington, New York, aged eighty-four. America's most famous Socialist and eloquent anti-Communist, he was six times

the Socialist candidate for President, and won the admiration and respect of men of all persuasions. He was the author of twenty books and numerous articles, and was a lecturer much in demand.

Field Marshal Earl Alexander of Tunis, in June 1969 in England, aged seventy-seven. He was a World War II British military leader in North Africa, the Middle East, and Italy, and later became Governor General of Canada and Minister of Defense.

Franz von Papen, in May 1969, in West Germany, aged eighty-nine. Von Papen served as Chancellor of Germany (1932) and was instrumental in Hitler's rise to power. He was acquitted at the Nuremberg Trials.

Some of John Steinbeck's contemporaries and colleagues died:

Dorothy Dodd Baker, in June 1968, at Terra Bella, California, aged sixty-one. She was author of *Young Man with a Horn*, *Trio*, *Our Gifted Son*, and *Cassandra at the Wedding*.

John Mason Brown, in March 1969, in New York City, aged sixty-eight. He was a drama critic and lecturer, author of many books on the theatre, and a member of the Pulitzer Prize drama jury.

Paul Vincent Carroll, in October 1968, at Kent, England, aged sixty-eight. An Irish playwright who was active with the famous Abbey Theatre, two of his plays won the New York Drama Critics Circle Foreign Award, *Shadow and Substance* (1938) and *The White Steed* (1939).

Max Eastman in March 1969, at Barbados, aged eighty-six. A radical pacifist since the twenties, he was a magazine editor and author of numerous books on politics, anti-Communism, and Russia.

Edna Ferber, in April 1968, in New York City, aged eighty-two. She was author of many best-selling novels among which were *So Big* (a Pulitzer Prize winner), *Show Boat*, *Saratoga Trunk*, and *Giant*.

Charles Jackson, in September 1968, in New York City, aged sixty-five. He was the author of the *The Lost Weekend*, a story of alcoholism that became an Academy Award-winning film in 1945.

Harry Kurnitz, in March 1968, in Los Angeles, aged sixty. He was the author of the Broadway hits *Reclining Figure* and *Once More with Feeling*, and dozens of successful scenarios.

Howard Lindsay, beloved man-about-theatre, best known as actor and playwright of *Life with Father* (1939) died in February 1968, in New York City at the age of seventy-eight.

Thomas Merton died in December 1968, in Bangkok, Thailand, aged fifty-three. He was a Trappist monk who wrote many books on spiritualism and faith, the most famous of which was *The Seven Storey Mountain* (1948).

Edwin O'Connor, in March 1968, in Boston, aged forty-nine. He was author of *The Edge of Sadness* (Pulitzer Prize Winner, 1962) and *The Last Hurrah*.

Conrad Richter, in October 1968, at Pottsville, Pennsylvania at the age of seventy-eight. Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist (*The Town*, 1950) and winner of the National Book Award (*The Waters of Kronos*, 1960).

Upton Sinclair, in November 1968, at Bound Brook, New Jersey, aged ninety. America's most famous muck-raker and gadfly, Socialist and author of numerous books espousing dozens of causes.

Arnold Zweig, in November 1968, in East Germany, aged eighty-one. He was author of *The Case of Sergeant Grisha* (1927), one of the finest of the World War I novels, *De Vriendt Goes Home* (1932), and *The Axe of Wandsbeck* (1947).

Show Business, both Broadway and Hollywood, lost many of its most beloved characters:

Fay Bainter, in April 1968, in Hollywood, aged seventy-four. Veteran of dozens of films in which she frequently played the sympathetic mother, she was winner of an Academy Award for her performance in *Jezebel* (1938).

Tallulah Bankhead, in December 1968, in New York City, aged sixty-five. A fine actress, she is best remembered for her deep voice and her performances in *The Little Foxes* (1939) and *The Skin of Our Teeth* (1940).

Dan Duryea, in June 1968, in Hollywood, aged sixty-one. He was a character actor in more than sixty films, the first of which was *The Little Foxes* (1941).

Kay Francis, in August 1968, in New York City, aged sixty-three. She appeared in many Broadway productions (beginning in 1925) and over fifty movies (beginning in 1930).

Judy Garland, in June 1969 in London, aged forty-seven. The symbol of adoration of a huge cult, she was a singer, actress, and victim of drugs, alcohol, and emotional disturbances whose career began with the unforgettable *Wizard of Oz* (1938) and ended with many incredible "comeback" performances.

Dorothy Gish, in June 1968, in Hollywood, aged seventy. A star of the silent films, she made few talkies, but her career continued on Broadway until the late 1950's.

Gabby Hayes, in February 1969, at Burbank, California, aged eighty-three. He portrayed a white-bearded, toothless, grizzled saddle buddy to dozens of cowboy stars in over two hundred Westerns.

Boris Karloff, in February 1969, in England, at the age of eighty-one. Born William Henry Pratt, a stage and screen actor whose specialty was horror, he was best known for his portrayal of Frankenstein's monster.

Marion Lorne, in March 1968, in New York City, aged seventy-nine. The seemingly scatterbrained comedienne is best remembered for her appearance on the Gary Moore Show.

Barton MacLane, in January 1969, at Santa Monica, California, aged sixty-six. He was tough guy and bad man in nearly two hundred films and in numerous plays.

Ramon Novarro, in October 1968, in Hollywood, aged sixty-nine. He was the famous hero of silent films such as *Scaramouche*, *Ben Hur*, *Mata Hari*, and *The Prisoner of Zenda*.

Dennis O'Keefe, in August 1968, in Hollywood, aged sixty. He was a popular movie star of the leading-man variety during the thirties, forties, and fifties.

Thelma Ritter, in February 1969, in New York City, aged sixty-three. She was a character actress famous for her tough, yet sentimental, portrayals.

Raymond Gram Swing, in December 1968, in Washington, D.C., aged eighty-one. He was a well-known American radio commentator during the thirties and forties.

Robert Taylor, in June 1969, at Santa Monica, California, aged fifty-seven. The dark and handsome matinee idol of the thirties and forties, made over seventy feature films, beginning in 1934.

Franchot Tone, in September 1968, in New York City, aged sixty-three. The stage and screen actor starred in over a hundred films and many Broadway plays.

Walter Wanger, in November 1968, in New York City, aged seventy-four. He was a motion-picture producer whose career spanned nearly a half a century. His last film was *Cleopatra* (1963), with Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton.

Bert Wheeler, who died in October 1968, in New York City, at the age of seventy-two, was a comedian and vaudevillian who graduated successfully to motion pictures and television.

Charles Winninger, in January 1969, at Palm Springs, California, aged eighty-four. He was a character actor and comedian of stage and screen.

Sir Donald Wolfit, in February 1968, in London, aged sixty-five. He was a British actor who specialized in Shakespearean roles. He appeared frequently in the United States.

Four world-famous artists died:

Marcel Duchamp, in October 1968, at Neuilly, France, aged eighty-one. He was a French/American painter whose *Nude Descending a Staircase* (1913) became a symbol of modern abstract art.

Tsuguji Foujita, in January 1968, at Zurich, Switzerland, aged eighty-one. He was a famous painter who liked especially to draw cats.

Ben Shahn, in March 1969, in New York City, aged seventy. He was a famous painter and lithographer who championed many causes with his talent, from that of Sacco and Vanzetti to Eugene McCarthy.

Kees van Dongen, in May 1968, at Monte Carlo, aged ninety-one. He was a French/Dutch painter who was noted for his use of violent colors.

In a related profession, three distinguished cartoonists died:

Peter Arno, in February 1968, at Port Chester, New York, aged sixty-four. He was a popular cartoonist with *The New Yorker* magazine since 1925.

Rudy Dirks, in April 1968, in New York City, aged ninety-one. He was the creator of the first comic strip serialized in newspapers, "The Katzenjammer Kids" (1897), which is still syndicated today (drawn by his son) as "The Captain and the Kids."

Harold Gray, in May 1968, at Kankakee, Illinois, aged seventy-four. He was the creator of "Little Orphan Annie" in 1924, a comic strip that is still featured today, in more than four hundred papers.

Three distinguished religious leaders died. One was Karl Barth, in December 1968, at Basel Switzerland, aged eighty-two. He was a Swiss theologian whose radical views of Christianity (as expressed in his *The Epistle to the Romans* and *Doctrine of the Word of God*) caused a revolution among Christian leaders. Augustin Cardinal Bea, died in November 1968, in Rome, aged eighty-seven. He was president of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity, and a powerful influence on the Church's ecumenical policies. Frances Cardinal Brennan died in July 1968 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at the age of seventy-four. He was the first American to hold many significant posts in the Vatican.

The musical world lost a variety of talent:

Ziggy Elman, in June 1968, in Los Angeles, aged fifty-four. This jazz trumpeter of the Big Band era's best-known recording was "And the Angels Sing."

Red Foley, in September 1968, at Fort Wayne, Indiana, aged fifty. He was a "country and western" music star who started with Grand Ole Opry in 1946 and went on to perform in several television series.

Coleman Hawkins, in May 1969, in New York City, aged sixty-four. A jazz saxophonist since the twenties, his most famous recording was the haunting "Body and Soul."

Jimmy McHugh, in May 1969, Beverly Hills, California, aged seventy-four. He was a popular songwriter who wrote "Lovely to Look At," "I'm in the Mood for Love."

Peewee Russell, in February 1969, at Alexandria, Virginia, aged sixty-two. He was a famed jazz and Dixieland clarinetist.

Ernest Ansermet, in February 1969, at Geneva, Switzerland, aged eighty-five. The noted conductor popularized such modern composers as Stravinsky, Bartók, and Prokofiev, and was founder of the Orchestre de la Suisse Romande.

Charles Munch, in November 1968, at Richmond, Virginia, at the age of seventy-seven. He was former conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and founder (1967) of the Orchestre de Paris.

Famous figures in sport who died were: Tommy Bridges, in April 1968, at Nashville, Tennessee, aged sixty-one, pitcher with the Detroit Tigers (1930–1946); Jimmy Clark, in April 1968, at Hockenheim, Germany, aged thirty-two, twice Motor Racing Champion of the World, and winner of the Indianapolis "500"; Duke Paoa Kahanamoku, in January 1968, in Hawaii, aged seventy-seven, former swimming champion and official greeter of the state of Hawaii; Jess Willard, in December 1968, in Los Angeles, aged eighty-six, former heavy-weight boxing champion who won the title from Jack Johnson in 1915 and lost it to Jack Dempsey in 1919.

Three noted members of the Fourth Estate died: Bugs Baer, in May 1969, in New York City, aged eighty-three. He was a newspaper columnist and humorist, known for his one-line quips. Ralph McGill, in February 1969, in Atlanta, Georgia, aged seventy. The civil rights crusader who was publisher of the *Atlanta Constitution* and a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter (1958); Arthur Hays Sulzberger, December 1968, in New York City, aged seventy-seven, publisher of *The New York Times* from 1935 to 1961.

The world of scientific research lost four of its most distinguished members: Howard Walter Florey, in February 1968, at Oxford, England, aged sixty-nine, who was instrumental in the development of penicillin (Nobel Prize winner 1945); Yuri Gagarin, in 1968, in Russia, aged thirty-four, Russian space pioneer and cosmonaut, first man to orbit the Earth; Otto Hahn, in July 1968, in West Germany, aged eighty-nine, German nuclear chemist who won the Nobel Prize in 1938 for establishing the possibility of nuclear fission; Lise Meitner, October 1968, at Cambridge, England, aged eighty-nine, Austrian physicist and joint discoverer (with Otto Hahn) of nuclear fission.

One of the underworld's most notorious figures died of natural causes in prison, Vito Genovese in February 1969, in Springfield, Missouri, aged seventy-one. He was head of the huge New York–New Jersey Mafia operations.



Ramon Novarro, who died at sixty-nine, appearing with Greta Garbo in *Mata Hari* (1926).



Judy Garland, forty-seven. Singer, actress, showwoman extraordinary.



John Steinbeck, sixty-six, Nobel Prize author.



Fay Bainter, seventy-four. One of America's most appealing film stars.



Marcel Duchamp, eighty-one, who painted "Nude Descending a Staircase."



Tallulah Bankhead, sixty-five, one of America's most vivacious and unpredictable actresses.



Former House Speaker Joe Martin, eighty-three. Here he sounds off in his inimitable style on Election Night 1940.



Dorothy Gish, seventy, as she appeared as the star of the play *The Story of Mary Surratt* in 1955.



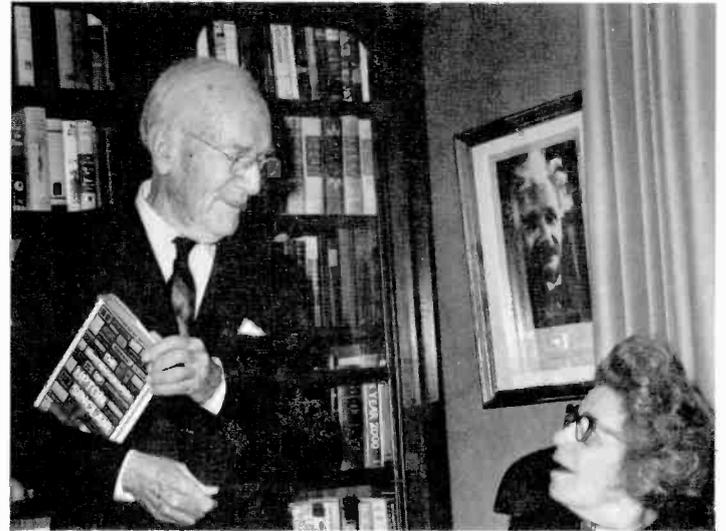
Jess Willard, eighty-six, onetime heavyweight boxing champion.



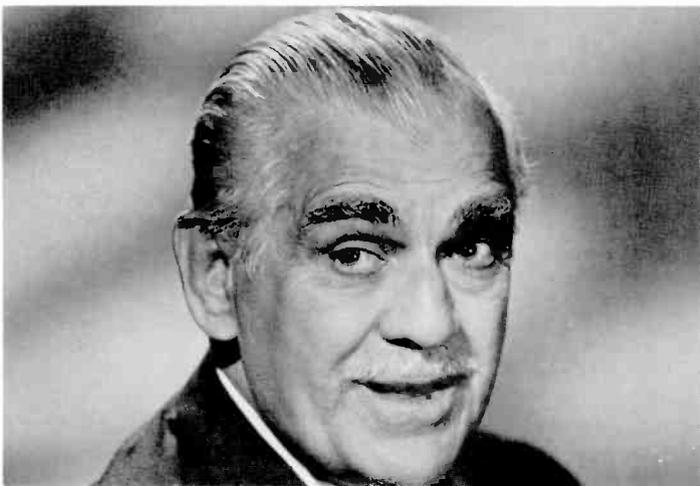
Charles Munch, seventy-seven, triumphant successor to Koussevitzky at the Boston Symphony.



Franchot Tone, sixty-three, romantic star of Broadway and Hollywood for three decades.



Upton Sinclair, who died at the age of ninety, at the age of eighty-four holds his eighty-second book, as his third wife, Mary Elizabeth, looks on approvingly at their home in Moravia, California.



Boris Karloff, eighty-one, who created Frankenstein's monster.

Otto Hahn and Lise Meitner, both eighty-nine. As a team in prewar Germany they pioneered atomic research.



Helen Keller, eighty-seven, reading her braille Bible in the study of her Connecticut home.



Howard Lindsay, seventy-eight, prominent playwright-actor-producer.



INDEX

- Aaron, Tommy, 239
 Abernathy, the Reverend Ralph D., 55, 56, 57, 62, 63, 67
 ABM systems, 5, 9, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, 134
 Abortion laws, 179
 Abrams, Creighton, 11, 52
 Academy Awards, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 219
 Ada, Nabokov, 192
 Adaptation, 200
 AFL-CIO, 66-67
 Africa, 94, 124-29. *See also* names of countries, as Nigeria
 Agnew, Spiro, 8, 33, 41, 73, 162
 Agronsky, Martin, 228
 Aichi, Kiichi, 114
 Aiken, George, 46
 Air disasters, 260-61
 Air travel, 231, 234
 supersonic transport, 231, 233
 Airliner hijackings to Cuba, 133
 Airport, Hailey, 190, 191, 192, 193
 Airports, 231
 Al-Bakr, Ahmed Hassan, 104
 Albania, 93, 94, 95, 99, 120
 Albertson, Jack, 215, 216
 Alcindor, Lew, 240
 Aldrin, Edwin, Jr., xii, A2-A4, A7-A13
 Alexander, Harold Rupert, 268
 Alexander, Jane, 199, 202
 Algeria, 103
 Allen, Woody, 200, 203
 Alliance for Labor Action, 66
 Alliance for Progress, 17, 131, 132, 137
 Allon, Yigal, 104
 Alvin Aley American Dance Theatre, 210
 American Ballet Theatre, 209, 210
 American Cancer Society, 178
 American Dance Festival, 210
 American Independent Party, 33
 American Institute of Architects, honor awards, 188-89
 American Medical Association (AMA), 5
 American Melodrama, *An*, Chester, 193
 American Stock Exchange, 66
 Anaconda Copper Company, 132
 Anders, William, 4, 71, 75
 Andrews, Julie, 214, 221
 Andromeda Strain, *The*, Crichton, 192
 Angola, 126, 127
 Anguilla, 84, 90, 133
 Ansermet, Ernest, 270
 Anthropology, 180
 Antiballistic Missile systems. *See* ABM systems
 Antiwar demonstrations, 47, 52
 Apollo program, 70-72, 74-81, 100, A1-A16
 first live television pictures from inside spacecraft, 71, 75
 first manned moon landing (Apollo 11), A1-A16, 223, 224
 American flag on moon, A10, A12
 experiments, A12, A15
 inscribed plaque left on moon, A14
 quarantined crewmen after, A13, A15
 first manned moon orbit, 71-72, 74
 lunar module (LM), 78, 79
 first flight to about nine miles above moon, 72
 first lift-off from moon, A15
 first manned moon landing, A3, A6
 first space test of, 72, 77
 Appalachia, 66, 67
 Arab-Israel relations, 102-11, 125. *See also* Arab nations; Israel; Middle East
 attacks on Israeli passenger airliners, 103, 104
 bombing of marketplace in Jerusalem, 103, 105
 border clashes, 103, 104, 107-9
 Israeli raid on Beirut Airport, 103-4, 144
 persons hanged in Iraq for allegedly spying for Israel, 111
 Arab nations, 103-11
 fedayeen, the, 103, 107-8, 109
 guerrilla organizations, 103, 104, 107-8, 111
 internal feuds, 104-5
 Arafat, Yasir, 111
 Architecture, 184, 186, 188, 189
 Arenales Catalán, Emilio, 141-42
 Argentina, 131, 138
 Arias, Arnulfo, 131, 135
 Arif, Abdul Rahman, 104
 Armstrong, Neil, xii, A1-A4, A9, A12-A13
 Arness, James, 227
 Arno, Peter, 270
 Art, 185-86, 187
 Art Workers Coalition, 185
 Artenstein, Malcolm, 178
 Ashe, Arthur, 244, 245
 Asian Development Bank, 17
 Assaults, 171
 Astaire, Fred, 214
 Astronomy, 179
 Atlanta, strike of garbage workers in, 62
 Atomic Energy Commission, 179
 Authors, 190-97
 Automobile racing, 245
 Automobiles
 thefts of, 171, 174
 travel in, 232, 234
 United States production, 65
 Awadullah, Abu Bakr, 125
 Baer, Bugs, 270
 Bainter, Fay, 269, 271
 Baker, Dorothy Dodd, 268
 Baker, Samm Sinclair, 193, 196
 Balanchine, George, 209
 Ball, George, 4, 142, 148
 Baltimore Colts, 238
 Bankhead, Tallulah, 269, 271
 Barbados, 134
 Barr, Joseph W., 19
 Barrientos Ortuño, René, 132
 Barth, Karl, 270
 Baseball, 236-38, 244, 247, 248
 Basketball, 240
 "Battered Child, *The*," 224, 225
 Bea, Augustin Cardinal, 270
 Beamon, Bob, 239
 Beatles, the, 206
 Belafonte, Harry, 224
 Belaúnde Terry, Fernando, 131, 137
 Belcher, Donald, 259
 Belkin, Dr. Samuel, 166
 Bellamy, Ralph, 217
 Bellmon, Henry L., 34
 Bengston, Phil, 238
 Benjamin, Richard, 218
 Benvenuti, Nino, 240
 Beregovii, Georgi, 73
 Bergman, Ingrid, 256
 Berlin Wall, 84, 86
 Berlinguer, Enrico, 95
 Berning, Susie Maxwell, 239
 Bernstein, Leonard, 205, 206
 Berrigan, Daniel and Philip, 162, 163
 Betancourt, Romulo, 138
 Better Homes and Gardens Eat and Stay Slim, 193, 197
 Better Homes and Gardens New Cook Book, 192, 193, 196
 Between Parent and Child, Ginott, 192, 193, 196
 Between Parent and Teenager, Ginott, 193
 "Bewitched," 224, 226
 Biafra, 97, 124-25, 127, 128, 141, 142, 259
 Biddle, Francis, 268
 Biggs, Verlon, 238
 Birth control, church's position on, 160, 162, 165, 168-69
 Bishop, Jim, 192-93
 Black, Hugo L., 30, 228
 "Black Journal," 224, 225
 Black Nationalists of New Libya, 57, 60
 Black Panthers, 56, 59, 152
 Black Power, 56-57, 239, 242. *See also* Civil Rights; Negroes
 Black Students Union, 152
 Blaiberg, Philip, 177, 181
 Bliss, Ray C., 34
 Blood, Sweat and Tears, 206, 208
 Blount, Winton M., 7
 Blue Movie, 213
 Boating pleasure, 231, 235
 Bolivia, 132, 133
 Books and authors, 190-97
 Booser, Emerson, 241
 Borman, Frank, 4, 71, 75
 Boros, Julius, 239
 Boston Celtics, 240
 Boston "Government Center," 185
 Boston Strangler, *The*, 214, 216
 Boulez, Pierre, 205, 206
 Bowman, David J., 165
 Boxing, 240, 245
 Boys in the Band, *The*, 199, 204
 Bradley, Thomas, 34
 Brazil, 131, 132, 133, 138
 Brellis, Dean, 229
 Brennan, Frances, Cardinal, 270
 Brennan, William J., 28, 30
 Breslin, Jimmy, 193
 Brezhnev, Leonid, 93, 94, 95, 100, 101, 113
 doctrine of limited sovereignty, 94, 95
 Bridges, Lloyd, 227
 Bridges, Tommy, 270
 Brooklyn Academy of Music, 209
 Brooks, Mel, 214, 219
 Brown, John Mason, 268
 Bucher, Lloyd, 119
 Budget, U.S., 17, 66
 Bulgaria, 93, 94
 Burch, Francis B., 21
 Burch, George, 177
 Burger, Warren, 5, 19, 26, 27-28, 29, 173
 Burglary, 171, 172
 Burns, Arthur, 14
 Business, 65-66. *See also* Economy, the
 Cabinet, the, 4, 5, 6-7, 14
 Cactano, Marcelo, 84, 88, 126, 128
 Caldera Rodríguez, Rafael, 132
 Caldwell, Taylor, 191, 193, 195
 Caldwell, Zoe, 199
 California, 56, 59
 grape pickers strike, 66, 68
 mudslides, 259, 262-63
 "People's Park" in Berkeley, 157, 158
 Santa Barbara, oil-fouled beaches, 232, 259, 262-63
 Callaway, Howard, 13
 Cambodia, 115
 Cambridge, Godfrey, 225
 Canada, 134, 136
 Cancer research, 178
 Capote, Truman, 214, 226
 Carlos, John, 239, 242
 Carroll, Diahann, 224, 228
 Carroll, Paul Vincent, 268
 Carson, Johnny, 191
 Casper, Billy, 239
 Cass, Doug, 206
 Cassavetes, John, 213, 217
 Castro, Fidel, 97
 CATV (Cable Antenna Television), 224
 Ceausescu, Nicolae, 93, 95, 100
 Central American Common Market, 133
 Ceremonies in Dark Old Men, 201, 202
 Cernan, Eugene A., 72, 80
 Chamberlain, Wilt, 240
 Charles, Bob, 239
 Charles, Prince, 73
 "Charlie Brown," 224, 227
 Charlie Bubbles, 213
 Charly, 215
 Che, 199
 Chester, Lewis, 193
 Chicago, 33, 36
 riots in, 4, 22, 32, 33, 37, 38, 57
 Chicago Cubs, 248
 Chicster-Clark, James D., 84
 Chile, 132, 133, 139
 China, Nationalist, 141. *See also* Red China
 Chisholm, Mrs. Shirley, 18, 34, 56, 61
 Chou En-lai, 116, 120
 Christie, Julie, 256
 Christy, Marshall, 191, 193, 194
 Church, Frank, 34
 Churchill, Randolph, 268
 Cigarette and tobacco advertising, 224
 Civil Rights, 54-63. *See also* Black Power; Negroes; Youth revolt
 garbage workers strike in Atlanta, 62
 growth of activism and militancy, 56
 hospital workers strike in Charleston, 56, 63, 66
 Ocean Hill-Brownsville clashes, 56
 Poor People's Campaign, 55, 61
 "Resurrection City," 61
 riots. *See* Riots
 student demonstrations and armed conflicts, 55
 Clark, Jimmy, 270
 Clark, Ramsey, 56, 172
 Clay, Cassius, 240, 245
 Cleaver, Eldridge, 34, 56, 59, 192
 Cleveland, riots in, 57, 60
 Clifford, John, 209
 Coeducational dormitories, 256
 Coffin, William Sloane, Jr., 162
 Colleges and universities, federal aid to, 17
 Collins, Michael, A2-A4, A13
 Colombia, 133
 Columbia University, 156, 267
 Common Market, 83, 87, 88
 Communist Party
 Chinese, 94, 99, 113, 117, 120, 121, 122
 Czech, 93, 94, 96, 98, 100
 International Conference of, 94-95, 97, 99, 113, 121
 Soviet, 93
 Congo, Republic of, 125
 Congress. *See* United States Government: Congress
 Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 55, 56, 60
 Connally, John B., Jr., 34
 Constantine, King, 85
 Contraceptives, oral, 179, 256
 Cooke, Terence Cardinal, 161, 163, 165
 Cooley, Denton, 176, 177
 CORE (*see* Congress of Racial Equality)
 Cornell University, 150, 152
 Corsaro, Frank, 205
 Costa Rica, 132
 Costa e Silva, Artur da, 131
 Cotzias, George, 178, 182
 Couples, Updike, 192, 193, 194
 Couve de Murville, Jacques, 83
 "Credit crunch," 65
 Crichton, Michael, 192
 Crime, 170-75
 Cruz, Teo, 240
 Cuba, 94, 97, 131, 133, 138
 airliner hijackings to, 133
 Cunningham, Merce, 209, 210
 Cunningham, Walter, 71, 74
 Curtis, Tony, 216
 Czechoslovakia, 93-94, 96, 98, 99
 Soviet invasion of, 18, 87, 92-94, 95, 96, 98
 condemnation of, 94, 120, 141, 142, 147
 Daley, Richard J., 33, 36, 62, 185, 187, 223
 Damansky-Chenpao Island battles, 97
 d'Amboise, Jacques, 209
 Dance, 209-11
 Dancer's Image, 240
 Daniel, Mrs. Yuri, 94, 101
 Davis, Raymond, 179
 Day Kennedy Was Shot, *The*, Bishop, 192-93
 Dayan, Moshe, 11, 104, 106, 109
 DDT, 180

- De Bakey, Michael, 177, 181
de Cavalcante, Simeone (Sam the Plumber), 174
De Gaulle, Charles, 5, 73, 82, 83, 87, 88, 90
de Vincenzo, Roberto, 237, 239
Dear World, 200
Defense budget, 17
deKooning, Willem, 187
Dell, Donald, 244
Democratic National Convention, 33, 36, 45-46, 222, 223, 224
disorders in Chicago during, 4, 22, 32, 33, 37, 38
Democratic Party, 33-34
Deneuve, Catherine, 256
Derom, Fritz, 177
Detroit Tigers, 236, 237
Development Loan Fund, 17
Devlin, Bernadette, 84
Diller, Phyllis, 191
Diori, Hamani, 129
Dirks, Rudy, 270
Dirksen, Everett, 5, 16, 18, 19, 24, 34
Disasters, 258-65
DNA, 178, 182
Docking, Robert, 34
Doctor's Quick Weight Loss Diet, Stillman and Baker, 193, 196
Does a Tiger Wear a Necktie?, 200
Dominican Republic, 138
Dongen, Kees van, 270
Douglas, William, 28, 29, 30
Drama, 198, 199-200
Drugs, 157, 170, 173
Drury, Allen, 191, 193, 195
Drysdale, Don, 238
Dubcek, Alexander, 93, 94, 96, 98
Duchamp, Marcel, 269, 271
Dulles, Allen, 268
Duryea, Dan, 269
Dylan, Bob, 206
- Earthquakes, 261, 263
East Germany, 84, 86, 93, 94, 125
Eastman, Max, 268
Eban, Abba, 103
Eckert, William D., 237, 244
Economy, the, 64-69
Ecuador, 131-32, 133
Edelman, Gerald, 178
Egeberg, Roger O., 5, 12
Eggers, Paul W., 34
Egypt, 103-5. *See also* Arab-Israeli relations
post-war problems, 103
Ehrlichman, John, 14
Eisele, Donn, 71, 74
Eisenhower, David, 5, 10, 42
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 5, 9, 90, 266, 267
Eisler, Gerhart, 268
El Salvador, 133, 138
El-Farra, Muhammad H., 143
Ellis, Jimmy, 240, 245
Elman, Ziggy, 270
English, The, Frost and Jay, 192
Ernest Hemingway, Baker, 193
Eshkol, Levi, 104
Esposito, Phil, 245, 246
Europe. *See also* names of countries, as France
Eastern, 92-101
Western, 82-91
European Economic Community, 83, 87, 88
Evers, Ahmed Fred, 57
Evers, Charles, 34, 56, 60
Everson Museum of Art, Syracuse, 189
Ewbank, Weeb, 238, 241
Exodus House, N.Y.C., 189
Experiments in Art and Technology, 185
- Faces*, 213
Farrow, Mia, 214, 217
Fashions and fads, 250-57
men's, 250, 251, 254, 257
women's, 251, 252, 253, 255, 257
"FBI, The," 224, 226
Federal Bureau of Investigation, 172, 173
Federal Reserve, 23, 65-66, 68
Ferber, Edna, 268
Ferré, Luis, 133
Finch, Robert, 5, 7, 12, 14, 29
Finian's Rainbow, 214
- Finney, Albert, 199, 213
Fires, 260
Fleisher, Bruce, 239
Fleming, Peggy, 238-39, 246
Floods, 261
Florey, Howard Walter, 270
Foley, Red, 270
Fonteyn, Margot, 210
Food-stamp program, 17, 64
Football, 224, 238, 241, 248
Ford, Gerald, 18, 20, 24
Ford Foundation, 55
Foreign-aid program, 17
Forman, James, 56-57, 58, 161, 164, 166
Fortas, Abe, 3, 5, 17, 18-19, 20, 27, 28, 30
Forty Carats, 200, 201
Fosbury, Dick, 239, 242
Foster, Bob, 240
Foujita, Tsuguiji, 269
Fox, The, 214
France, 82, 83, 85, 87-89, 105, 147
Francis, Kay, 269
Franco, Francisco, 84, 89
Frazier, Joe, 240, 245
Freehan, Bill, 236
Front Page, The, 200
Frost, David, 192
Fulbright, J. William, 22, 34
Funny Girl, 214, 217
- Gagarin, Yuri, 270
Gambling, 172, 173
Gandhi, Mrs. Indira, 114, 122
Gardenia, Vincent, 202
Garland, Judy, 269, 271
Gaza Strip, 109
Geneen, Harold S., 66
Genetics, 178, 182
Genovese, Vito, 173, 270
Germany. *See* East Germany; West Germany
Gibraltar, 85
Gibson, Bob, 237
Ginott, Haim G., 192, 193, 196
Gish, Dorothy, 269, 271
Goalby, Bob, 239
Godfather, The, Puzo, 192
Gold, Thomas, 179
Goldberg, Arthur, 148
Goldwater, Barry, 25, 34
Goldwater, Barry, Jr., 24
Golf, 225, 239, 245
"Gomer Pyle," 224, 227
Gone With the Wind, 213
Goodbye, Columbus, 215, 218
Gordon, Ruth, 214
Gowon, Yakubu, 125, 129
Graduate, The, 206, 213
Graebner, Clark, 244, 245
Graham, Billy, 41, 164
Graham, Martha, 209, 211
Gray, Harold, 270
Great Britain, 83, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 100, 105, 125, 126, 127, 141, 147
Great White Hope, The, 199-200, 202
Grechko, Andrei, 101
Greece, 85, 91
Green Bay Packers, 238
Gregory, Dick, 34, 35
Griffin, Robert P., 19, 20
Griffith, Emile, 240
Gross National Product, 65
Guatemala, 133, 138
assassination of U.S. Ambassador, 133
Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?, 213
Gun-control law, 17, 172
"Gunsmoke," 224, 227
- Haack, Robert, 69
Hadrian VII, 198, 199
Hahn, Otto, 270, 272
Hailey, Arthur, 190, 191, 193
Hair, 203
Haiti, 131
Hajek, Jiri, 94
"Hamburger Hill" (Apbia Mountain), 19, 44, 47
Hanoi. *See* North Vietnam
Hardin, Clifford M., 6
Harkness Ballet Company, 210
Harlan, John M., 30
Harriman, Averell, 45, 46
Harris, Fred R., 34, 38
Harris, Julie, 200, 201
- Harris, Leonard, 199
Harris, Stephen, 119
Harvard University, 152, 155, 156
Hauser, Frederick, 21
Hawkins, Coleman, 270
Hawkins, Connie, 240
Hayakawa, S. I., 155
Hayes, Elvin, 240
Hayes, Gabby, 269
Heart, artificial, 176, 177
Heart transplants, 177, 181
Heffner, Raymond, 151-52
"Heidi," 224, 229, 238
Heinemann, Gustav, 84, 86
Hendrix, Jimi, 207
Henry, David D., 152
Hepburn, Katharine, 213, 214, 219
Herbert, John, 21
Herman, Dave, 238
Heston, Charlton, 214, 220
Hewish, Anthony, 179
Heyerdahl, Thor, 181
Hickenlooper Amendment, 139
Hickle, Walter, 4, 6, 7
Hill, Winston, 238
Hines, Jim, 239
Hochhuth, Rolf, 199
Hockey, 245, 246
Hoffman, Dustin, 200, 215, 220
Holley, Robert W., 178
Honduras, 133, 134, 138
Hoofers, The, 210
Hornig, Donald F., 22
Horse racing, 240, 246
House of Representatives, 18-20, 22
Housing program, 17
Humphrey, Hubert H., 3, 4, 8, 13, 18, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 45
Hungary, 93, 94
Hunter, Jim, 237
Huong, Tran Van, 46
Husak, Gustav, 100
Hussein, King, 12, 104, 108, 111
Huxtable, Ada Louise, 186
- I Am Curious (Yellow)*, 215, 216
I Never Sang for My Father, 199
Iakovos, Archbishop, 167
Iberia, Michener, 192
Ice skating, 238-39, 246
In Cold Blood, 214
In the Heat of the Night, 213
In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer, 200, 204
Income, personal, 65
India, 113, 114, 122, 123
Inflation, 14, 65-67
Innis, Roy, 56, 57, 60
Instant Replay, Kramer, 192
Interest rates, 65-66
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 66
International Chemical Workers Union, 66
International Development Association, 17
International Petroleum Corp., 131, 132, 137, 139
International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, 66
Iran, 93, 146
Iraq, 104
persons hanged in, for allegedly spying for Israel, 111
Ireland, Northern, 84, 91
Israel, 93, 94, 100, 102-9. *See also* Arab-Israeli relations
postwar problems, 103, 108
raid on Beirut Airport, 103-4
- Jackson, Charles, 268
Jamaica, 134
Japan, 114, 118
Jarring, Gunnar, 142, 143, 147
Javits, Jacob, 34, 46
Jennie, Martin, 193
Jerusalem, Old City of, 104
Jimmy Shine, 200
Joe Egg, 199
Joffrey Ballet, 209, 210, 211
Johnson, Lyndon B., 2, 3-4, 5, 8, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 27, 33, 39, 45, 46, 57, 65, 66, 133, 147, 148, 172
farewell State of the Union address, 4, 8
final months of administration, 3-4
Jones, James Earl, 199, 202
- Jones, John Wesley, 139
Jones, Tom, 208, 224, 226
Joplin, Janis, 207
Jordan, 103, 104-5, 108, 109, 110
Juan Carlos de Bourbon, Prince, 89
Judson Dance Theatre, 210
"Julia," 224, 228
- Kahanamoku, Duke Paoa, 270
Kansas, University of, 152
Kargon, Richard, 210
Karloff, Boris, 269, 272
Kavandame, Lazaro, 126
Keino, Kipchoge, 239, 242
Keita, Modibo, 125
Keller, Helen, 267, 272
Kennedy, David M., 6, 68
Kennedy, Edward, 18, 19, 20, 25, 46, 47, 172
Kennedy, John F., 36, 132, 137, 267
Kennedy, Robert F., 3, 17, 33, 36, 45, 138, 175, 268
Kenniston, Kenneth, 151
Kenya, 126
Kerner Commission studies, 57
Khan, Ayub, 113
Khorana, H. Gobind, 178
Killing of Sister George, The, 214, 218
Killy, Jean-Claude, 238, 246, 247
Kimmel, Husband E., 268
King, Billie Jean, 245
King, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther, 56, 57, 174, 213, 268
Kingdom and the Power, The, Talese, 193
Kissinger, Henry, 14
Knebel, Fletcher, 191, 193, 195
Knowles, John H., 5, 12
Kollek, Teddy, 106
Korea, North, 4, 99, 114, 119
Kornberg, Arthur, 178, 182
Kosygin, Alexei, 101
Kramer, Jerry, 192
Krips, Josef, 205
Kuhn, Bowie, 237, 244, 247
Kurnitz, Harry, 268
Kuwait, 103
- Labor, 66-69. *See also* Strikes
Laird, Melvin R., 6, 11, 52
Landazuri Ricketts, Juan Cardinal, 138
Lane, Mark, 35
Lansbury, Angela, 200
Larceny, 171
Lasker, Bernard, 69
Latin America, 5, 130-39. *See also* names of countries, as Brazil
Leakey, Louis S. B., 180
Leary, Timothy, 28, 29, 31
Lebanon, 103, 104, 108
Le Carré, John, 191, 193, 195
LeMay, Curtis E., 33
Lester, Mark, 212
Levin, Rabbi Yehuda Lieb, 166
Levine, Les, 186
Lewis, John L., 268
Lie, Trgve, 268
Liberia, 126
Libya, 103
Lichtenstein, Harvey, 209
Lichtenstein, Roy, 186
Life magazine, 18, 28
Lin Piao, 113, 116, 121
Lincoln Center repertory company, 200
Lindsay, Howard, 268-69, 272
Lindsay, John V., 34, 172, 193
Lion in Winter, The, 214, 219
Liotta, Domingo, 176
Listen to the Warm, McKuen, 192, 193, 194
Little Murders, 200, 202
Litvinov, Pavel, 94, 101
Liu Shao-chi, 113, 121
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 46, 47, 53
Lolich, Mickey, 236, 237
Lombardi, Vince, 238
Lonesome Cities, McKuen, 192, 193, 197
Lonesome Cowboys, 213, 221
Long, Russell, 18, 65
Longshorem, strike, 67, 68
Lorne, Marion, 269
Los Angeles, riots in, 57
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 185

- Love Machine, The*, Susann, 192
 Lovell, James, 4, 71, 75
Loves of Isadora, The, 215
 Lutz, Bob, 244, 245
 Lyons, Charlton, 13
- McCallum, David, 229
 McCarthy, Eugene J., 33, 35, 45, 46
 McCloskey, Robert, 148
 McCowen, Alec, 198, 199
 McCracken, Paul, 14
 McDivitt, James, 72, 76, 77
 MacDonald, Gordon J., 22
 McGee, Frank, 229
 McGill, Ralph, 270
 McGovern, George S., 18, 34, 35, 46, 67
 McGraw, Ali, 218
 McHugh, Jimmy, 270
 MacInnes, Helen, 191, 193, 194
 McKissick, Floyd, 55, 56, 60
 McKuen, Rod, 192, 193, 194
 McLain, Dennis, 237
 MacLane, Barton, 269
 McMillan, Jim, 240
 Macy, John W., Jr., 223
 Mafia, the, 172, 173, 174
 Mahgoub, Mohammed Ahmed, 125
 Mailer, Norman, 193, 213, 219
 Majestic Prince, 240, 246
Making of the President 1968, White, 193
 Malaysia, 113, 115, 123
 Mali, 125
 Malik, Jacob, 142, 143
 Malnutrition, 18
Man in the Glass Booth, The, 199
 Manoogian, Archbishop Torkom, 167
 Mansfield, Mike, 19, 20, 46
 Mantle, Mickey, 237
 Mao Tse-tung, 97, 99, 113, 116, 120-21
 Maravich, Pete, 240
 Marchi, John, 34, 172
 Marcos, Ferdinand, 115, 122
 Marijuana Tax Act, 29
 Marine disasters, 260, 264, 265
 Marsell, John, 55
 Marshall, Catherine, 191, 193, 194
 Marshall, George C., 267
 Marshall, Thurgood, 30
 Martin, Joe, 268, 271
 Martin, William McChesney, 23, 65, 68
 Massamba-Débat, Alphonse, 125
 Massey, Daniel, 221
 Mead, Margaret, 256
 Meadows, A. H., 186
 Meany, George, 66, 67
 Medicaid, 17, 179
 Medicine and science, 176-83
 Mehta, Zubin, 205
 Méier, Richard, 188
 Mein, John Gordon, 133
 Meir, Mrs. Golda, 104, 106
 Meitner, Lise, 270, 272
 Mergers
 business, 66
 labor, 66
 Merton, Thomas, 269
 Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y.C., 186
 Metropolitan Opera Company, 205
 Mexico, 133, 136. *See also* Olympic games
 Meyer, Debbie, 239, 243
 Miami, riots in, 57
 Michener, James, 192
 Middle East, 83, 94, 97, 102-11, 141, 142. *See also* Arab-Israeli relations
Midnight Cowboy, 215, 220
 Miller, Arthur, 199
 Mills, Wilbur, 23, 66
 Mining accidents, 259, 262
 Mitchell, John N., 7, 14, 174
Money Game, The, Smith, 192, 193, 197
 Monroney, Mike, 34
 Montgomery, Elizabeth, 226
 Montini, Giovanni Battista, 168
 Montreal Canadiens, 245
 Moog Synthesizer, 205-6, 207
 Moon, facts about, A3. *See also* Apollo program
 Morrall, Earl, 238
 Morse, Wayne, 25, 34
 Morton, Rogers C. B., 34, 42
- Mostel, Zero, 219
 Motion pictures, 212-21
 foreign, 214, 215, 216, 218
 new film code of, 215
 Mount, Rick, 240
 Moynihan, Daniel P., 14, 229
 Mozambique, 126, 128
 "Mrs. Robinson," 206, 208
 Mueller, George, A15
 Münch, Charles, 270, 272
 Murder, 171
 Murphy, Calvin, 240
 Museum of Modern Art, N.Y.C., 185, 186, 187
 Music, 205-8
 Musical comedy, 199, 200
 Muskie, Edmund, 18, 33, 38
Myra Breckinridge, Vidal, 192, 193, 195
- Nabokov, Vladimir, 192
 Nabors, Jim, 227
Naked Ape, The, Morris, 192
 Namath, Joe, 238, 241, 249
 Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 94, 103, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110
 National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), 71-81
 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 55, 56
 National Black Economic Development Corporation, 56-57, 58, 161
 National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 57
 National Commission on Urban Problems, 57
 National Conference on Black Power, 56
 National Education Association, 153
 National Educational Television, 224
 National Liberation Front. *See* North Vietnam
 National Urban League, 55, 56, 60
 National Welfare Rights Organization, 54, 57
 Neal, Patricia, 215, 216
 Negroes, 172. *See also* Black Power; Civil Rights
 Black Economic Development Corporation, 56-57, 58
 Black Panthers. *See* Black Panthers Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 55, 56, 60
 economic goals through self-help, 55
 militant groups, 56-57
 armed conflicts between, 56
 violence of, 56-57
 National Urban League, 55, 56, 60
 National Welfare Rights Organization, 54, 57
 student demonstrations and armed conflicts, 55, 56, 150-51, 152, 154-55
 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 56
 unemployment rate and income, 55
 New York, City College of, 152, 154
 New York City, 43, 56, 175
 mayoral primary elections, 34
 schools
 Ocean Hill-Brownsville clashes, 56
 United Federation of Teachers strike, 56, 151, 159
 New York City Ballet, 209, 210
 New York City Opera, 205, 207
 New York Jets, 224, 238
 New York Mets, 237, 248
 New York Philharmonic Symphony, 205, 206
 New York Stock Exchange, 66, 69
New York Times, The, 199
 Newman, Barnett, 187
 Newman, Edwin, 199
 Newman, Paul, 213
 Newton, Huey, 56
Next, 200
 Nicaragua, 131
 Nichols, Mike, 206, 213
 Nicklaus, Jack, 225, 239
 Nidetch, Jean, 193, 197
 Niger, 129, 145
 Nigeria, 97, 124-25, 129, 141, 142, 259
 Nikodim, Metropolitan, 167
- Nirenberg, Marshal W., 178
 Nixon, Julie (Mrs. David Eisenhower), 5, 10, 42
 Nixon, Richard, 2-15, 18, 19, 20, 23, 26-28, 33-34, 41-42, 45, 46, 47, 114, 120, 132, 133, 134, 137, 148 A2, A12, A14, A15, 153, 163, 172, 173, 244, 259
 on ABM systems, 5, 19
 announcement of withdrawal of some troops from Vietnam, 5
 European trip to five nations, 5, 11, 73, 85
 Nixon, Mrs. Richard, 10, 42
 Nixon, Tricia, 10, 42
No Place to Be Somebody, 201
 Nobel prize winners, 178
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 83, 85, 87, 134, 136, 148, 267
 North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University, 152, 153
 North Korea, 99
 release of *Pueblo* crew, 4, 114, 119
 North Vietnam, 45, 46, 49, 53, 97, 99. *See also* Vietnam War
 release of three U.S. servicemen, 46, 50
 Northern Ireland, 84, 91
 Novarro, Ramon, 269, 271
 Novotny, Antonin, 93
 Nuclear nonproliferation treaty, 3, 4, 5, 17-18, 94, 141, 148
- Obituaries, 266-72
 O'Boyle, Patrick Cardinal, 160, 162, 165
 O'Brien, Lawrence F., 34
 Ocean Hill-Brownsville school clashes, 56
 Oceanography, 180, 183
 O'Connor, Edwin, 269
 Oerter, Al, 239
 Off-Broadway productions, 199, 200-1
 Office of Economic Opportunity, 5, 55
Oh! Calcutta!, 199, 201, 203
 O'Hare, Brendan, 188
 Ojukwu, Odumegwu, 125, 127
 O'Keefe, Dennis, 269
 Okinawa, 114
 Oliveira Salazar, Antonio de, 84
Oliver!, 212, 214
 Olympic Games, 133, 238-39, 242-43, 248, 249
 Onassis, Mr. and Mrs. Aristotle, 253
 O'Neill, Terence M., 84
 Opera, 205
 Orbach, Jerry, 200
 "Ordeal of the American City," 229
 Organization of American States (OAS), 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138
 Ortiz, Carlos, 240
 O'Toole, Peter, 219
 Ozawa, Seiji, 205
- Packard, David R., 23
 Packwood, Robert, 25, 34
 Page, Geraldine, 226
 Page, Irving, 177
 Paine, Thomas O., A15
 Pakistan, 93, 113-14, 118
 Palmer, Arnold, 239
 Pan American Union, 132, 137
 Panama, 131, 135
 Papandreou, George, 85, 91, 268
 Papen, Franz von, 268
 Paperbacks, 192-93
 Paraguay, 131
 Parkinson's disease, 177-78, 182
 Pasarell, Charles, 245
 Pastore, John O., 223
 Patman, Wright, 23, 66
 Paul VI, Pope, 72, 134, 144, 162, 163, 168-69
 Pay-TV, 224
 Peace and Freedom Party, 34
 Peace talks. *See* Vietnam War: Peace talks
 Pei, I. M., & Partners, 189
 Penn-Central's "Metroliner," 232, 233
 "People Next Door," 227
 Percy, Charles, 46
 Perry, Gaylord, 237
 Peru, 131, 132, 133, 136, 137-38, 139
Peter Principle, The, Peter and Hull, 193
- Philbin, Gerry, 238
 Philippines, 115, 122
 Phillips, Channing, 35
 Piccard, Jacques, 180, 183
 "Pill," the, 179, 256
Planet of the Apes, 214, 220
Play It Again, Sam, 200, 203
 Player, Gary, 239, 245
 Plaza Lasso, Galo, 133, 134, 135, 138
Plaza Suite, 199
 Pleasence, Donald, 199
 Podgorny, Nikolai, 101
 Poher, Alain, 83
 Poitier, Sidney, 213
 Poland, 93, 94
 Politics and parties, 32-43
 new national chairmen, 34, 38, 42
 Pollution, air and water, 180, 232
 Pompidou, Georges, 83, 85, 87, 88
 Poor People's Campaign, 55, 61
 "Resurrection City," 61
 Popular music, 206, 207-8
Portnoy's Complaint, Roth, 192
 Portugal, 84, 88, 126, 128
 Portuguese Guinea, 126
 Potter, Stewart, 30
 Poverty, 64, 67
 Powell, Adam Clayton, 18, 21, 28, 31
Preserve and Protect, Drury, 191, 193, 195
 Presidency, the, 2-15
Price, The, 199
 Prices, 65
Prime of Miss Jean Brodie, The, 199
 Procaccino, Mario A., 34, 172
Producers, The, 214, 219
 Profits, corporate, 65
Promises, Promises, 200
Prudence and the Pill, 214, 219
 Public Broadcasting Corporation, 223
Pueblo, release of crew of, 4, 114, 224
 Puerto Ricans. *See* Civil Rights
 Puerto Rico, 133
 Pulsars, 179
 Puzo, Mario, 192
- Quarry, Jerry, 240
 Quasars, 179
Queen Elizabeth 2, 230, 232
- Rachel, Rachel*, 213, 220
 Radio and television, 222-29
 Railroad travel, 231, 232
 Random House, 192
Random House Dictionary of the English Language, College Edition, 192, 193, 196
 Rape, 171, 172
 Rasmussen, Randy, 241
 Ray, James Earl, 174
 Reagan, Ronald, 13, 33, 40
 Recreation and travel, 230-35
Red, White and Maddox, 200
 Red China, 93, 94, 95, 100, 112-13, 115-17, 120-22, 126, 141
 Ninth Congress of Chinese Communist Party, 113, 120, 121, 122
 and Soviet Union, 94, 97, 99, 112, 113, 120
 border clashes, 113, 115, 120, 141
 Redgrave, Vanessa, 215, 256
 Religion, 84, 134, 160-69
 Republican National Convention, 33, 40-42, 45
 Republican Party, 33-34
 Reserve Officers' Training Program (ROTC), 151, 152, 155
 "Resurrection City," 61
 Reuther, Walter, 66
 Rhodesia, 84, 126, 127, 141
 Riad, Mahmoud, 143
 Ribicoff, Abraham A., 34
Rich and the Super-Rich, The, Lundberg, 193
 Richard Feigen Gallery (Chicago), 185, 187
 Richter, Conrad, 269
 Riots, 57, 60
 Kerner Commission studies on, 57
 Ritter, Thelma, 269
 Riverside Church, N.Y.C., 161, 164
 Robbery, 171, 172
 Robbins, Jerome, 209, 210
 Robertson, Cliff, 215
 Rockefeller, Nelson, 5, 13, 33, 40, 45,





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 America-Europe Telstar broadcast, the New York blackout, and New York's welcome to the moon astronauts.

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 Israel 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.

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