

# NBC NEWS

picture book of the year

edited by Ben Grauer

1967

Original articles by NBC News correspondents around the world

500 photographs

HIGHLIGHTS OF  
NATIONAL AND WORLD  
EVENTS OF THE CALENDAR  
YEAR 1966



**BEN GRAUER**

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

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

In another facet of his varied career, Ben Grauer was musical commentator for Arturo Toscanini and the NBC Symphony from 1940 to the maestro's retirement in 1954, and is currently Host and Interviewer on the prize-winning NBC Radio series "Toscanini—The Man Behind the Legend." He is also Moderator on the NBC-TV political discussion program "Searchlight."

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

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Foreword by

**WILLIAM R. McANDREW**  
*President, NBC News*

with 500 photographs

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Featured throughout this big 320-page book is a series of outstanding, original articles by leading NBC correspondents around the world, giving further insight into the meaning of the news. Included are Chet Huntley writing about "These Exciting Young People," Ron Nessen about "Vietnam: Hopes and Realities," Wells Hangen about "The Year of Mao," Pauline Frederick about "U Thant's Mission," Sandy Koufax about "The Big Year," Kenneth Bernstein about "East and West from the Kremlin," Joseph C. Harsch about "The Great Thaw," and numerous others.

Among the 500 photographs you will see President Johnson in the enlisted men's chow line in Vietnam; Astronaut Richard Gordon, Jr., in his Gemini XI flight, straddling the spaceship outside his capsule; James Meredith a moment after he was shot on his civil-rights march in Mississippi; the Red Guards marching in China; Sandy Koufax throwing a winning pitch; Ronald Reagan the instant he acknowledged his victory on his election to the governorship of California; Leontyne Price singing the lead role at the opening of the new Metropolitan Opera House at Lincoln Center; and hundreds of other top news and daily-life events of the year.

Here, for the whole family, is a magnificent volume of history in the making, a yearly record of momentous events, to cherish and enjoy along with your encyclopedias and books of knowledge.

**CROWN PUBLISHERS, INC.**  
419 Park Avenue South  
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**NBC NEWS**  
**PICTURE BOOK OF THE YEAR:**  
**1967**

# NBC NEWS

# PICTURE BOOK

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Compliments of KNOP-TV  
December, 1967

*Harry D. Peck*

edited by **BEN GRAUER**

**OF THE YEAR:**

**1967**

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NEW YORK

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# INTRODUCTION

THE PURPOSE OF THIS BOOK is to set forth, in words and pictures, the significant events of a tumultuous year. On every side there were developments in 1966 that were important for America and the world, some heavy with foreboding, others rich with challenge and hope. Many observers found the future precarious, while others saw great promise beyond the day's perils. Of this much we are certain: Public involvement in these happenings, and the need to sort out and understand them, are both at a new high.

Perhaps it is just a chronological quirk that these twin peaks come as we round the two-thirds mark in the twentieth century. But there is a much more solid reason why a major news-broadcast organization, normally devoted to electronic communication, should choose this past year as the subject for a chronicle in print. The year 1966 marked a turning point in American journalism. For the first time, more than half the people in the United States turned to broadcasts as their primary news source. The proportion, which traditionally had been far below that of newspaper readers, started to climb about five years ago, as television news services expanded. In mid-1966 national surveys showed that it had finally crossed the significant 50 percent mark. It continues to grow.

This vast audience, which reaches its peak with the early-evening news reports, supplies another reason, it seems to me, why we of electronic journalism should supplement our nightly programs, our on-the-spot coverage, and the frequent news specials with an annual review such as this. Broadcast news has powerful immediacy, a sense of presence. It is precisely this quality that makes it so appealing — so uniquely attuned to our times. But in the very process, such news is forced to lose some degree of reflectiveness and backward glance.

The home-based team, taking in the vital news film or live reports that flow endlessly from correspondents across the nation and the world, works within the tightest

of disciplines to frame the "hard" news with interpretation and analysis. Hence the periodic studies in depth, and news documentaries, throughout the year, as particular stories or trends are judged to be moving into major importance. Hence, as a natural development, a yearbook, in which members of the team, trained in the technique of picture and commentary, can survey the happenings of a memorable year, can choose with added insight and authority the significant events, and the news pictures that best illuminate them.

It soon became plain, when we undertook this task, that any study of developments based on calendar sequence would only add confusion to a turbulent twelve months. Some stories moved continuously through the year, like Vietnam. Others, like that on Civil Rights, flared up, then submerged. All interacted, and none could truly be understood without focusing individually on the major threads running through our daily life and into the mainstream of world affairs.

Accordingly, our volume is organized in a series of thirty-one chapters, each of which centers on a major area of public interest or concern. In any year the White House would be the natural starting place; in 1966 the controversial nature of the President's policy and position on Vietnam made this obviously a key point of departure. After considering the Congress and the Supreme Court, the chapters radiate out from Washington into the fields, where outstanding news was made across the nation. This sets the stage for sections on the areas of greatest national anxiety and greatest achievement in 1966: Vietnam and space. The pictures that accompany the text of these two chapters were selected from especially rich files paralleling the massive broadcast coverage these two areas received in the year. As in all the chapters, they were selected to capture in still pictures the essence of the moving images that filled the viewers' screens. There follows a group of chapters on international affairs, ranging east from Europe to

Asia, back to Latin America, and concluding with the United Nations.

The second half of the book is devoted to Part II, *Life in America*. In these fifteen chapters special emphasis has been placed on the social, cultural, and scientific fields, since they showed extraordinary vitality and ferment in 1966. As the sectional title indicates, the text and pictures have been held to domestic developments in these fields, except in rare instances, such as ecumenicism in Religion or the Italian floods in Art and Architecture, where the events abroad had outstanding impact on the home scene.

It is no accident that *LIFE IN AMERICA* leads off with a chapter entitled *YOUTH—AND REVOLT*. The startling and challenging values expressed by today's youth, in dress, speech, attitudes, and actions, appeared, on examination, to represent one of the outstanding developments, if not, as some thought, the outstanding development of the past year. The manifestations of this revolt, in many aspects of our life, have been given special attention in this section.

Throughout the book, various chapters of the factual text, with their accompanying portfolios of pictures, are supplemented by editorial articles, mainly by NBC News correspondents. Half of these were written by these men while on duty at their overseas posts. While this book is

essentially factual and objective, these articles are intended to bring needed insight and interpretation to areas of news where causes are uncertain and the immediate future notably unclear. They represent the thoughtful views of skilled observers in their fields.

In his foreword to this book, Bill McAndrew, President of NBC News, signals the advent of a new era in global communication with the installation of a satellite over the Pacific. Now events, from Moscow, across Europe and America to the Asian rim, can be seen simultaneously, as they occur, in fifty nations and by half a billion people. The impact on our immediate future of this single event of 1966 cannot, I feel, be overestimated. Global visual communication must surely lead to global reaction and participation.

Our world today, then, turbulent and complex, requires that all of us have a realistic awareness of the problems and forces that dominate our age. For our young adults especially, it seems to me, this is important. That is why I hope that this book, as it presents to its readers a review of the living history through which we have passed, will also bring them to a clearer understanding and firmer grasp of the challenge of our times.

New York  
April, 1967

BEN GRAUER

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B. G.

# FOREWORD

by WILLIAM R. McANDREW

President, NBC News

TELEVISION JOURNALISM IN 1966 entered the greatest period in its history.

It was a year of important developments in Vietnam, in space, in the civil-rights struggle, indeed in the entire fabric of life here and abroad. The great quantity and variety of news breaking all over the world put the news divisions of the three networks to a severe test. I think they passed the test in fine style, demonstrating once again an acute awareness of their responsibilities, which is fundamental to any news operation. Not only did they cover these major stories fully and accurately, but, more important, they provided the interpretative reporting needed to make complicated situations clear, to put seemingly unrelated happenings into perspective, and give them new meaning.

It was also a year of great technical achievements—the beginning of the age of the satellite. At this moment we cannot fully realize the far-reaching consequences of this breakthrough in communications.

With new and improved mobile units on land and with satellites in the sky, the networks were able to provide live coverage of news on an unprecedented scale. You will see the significant events of the past year pictured in the pages of this book that follow. Millions of television viewers saw them as they were happening.

Unquestionably the war in Vietnam was the Number One news story of the year, as it still is today. I believe that anyone who wants proof of television journalism's sense of responsibility need look no further than the networks' coverage of developments in and relating to Vietnam.

Consider first the tremendous amount of programming devoted to this subject. "Never before has a war been covered so extensively," *Army Digest*, the official United States Army Magazine, reported. Another publication, *Television Magazine*, made this interesting observation: "To citizens of the U.S., the obliteration of entire German cities in the strategic bombing of the Second World War

were only cold newspaper headlines and radio bulletins. Now the burning of a hamlet of 150 people is observable in almost any living room 36 hours after it takes place."

NBC News last year gave Vietnam more than 130 hours on regularly scheduled news programs — nearly one-sixth of the total time available. In addition, our news division presented more than 100 hours of special programming on Vietnam. The other networks could cite similarly impressive figures.

But quantity is not the only criterion, and often not even the best one. The network news divisions, it seems to me, have made a much greater contribution in how — and not how much — they have covered the Vietnam situation. There are many facets to Vietnam news. Certainly an important part of it is the day-by-day combat, and great credit must be given to the correspondents and cameramen who risk their lives to show this face of war. But Vietnam is more than that — it is the political complexities, the peace feelers, the student demonstrations, the Senate hearings, the impact on American life, the attitudes of other countries. And it is in this less dramatic area of programming that the networks have perhaps best fulfilled their obligation to keep the public well informed.

A Senate committee hearing does not attract so large an audience as a movie or a daytime serial or a quiz show, and it is hard to find a sponsor for it. Nevertheless, because NBC felt that testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on American policy in Vietnam should be heard by those who cared to hear, we preempted many hours of regular programming for continuous live coverage of those sessions. By year's end we had devoted more than seventy-two hours to Senate hearings.

In spite of all these things, my colleagues and I in broadcast journalism are not content with our coverage of Vietnam. We keep trying to find ways to do the job better. Most critical of all are the men in the heart of the battle area. NBC correspondent Ron Nessen expressed some of our dissatisfaction in a letter to Robert Northshield, the

executive producer of "The Huntley-Brinkley Report." He said: "Every week I look at the kines of Huntley-Brinkley, Cronkite and Jennings, and every week I realize that one roll of film is just about the total picture of the Vietnam war for millions of people. Yet the week portrayed on the film never matches the week as I lived it and felt it and reacted to it. . . . When I first came here I thought my job was to make a mosaic . . . each story filling in a little of the picture, so after enough stories the picture would be complete. That theory doesn't seem to work."

Next to Vietnam, United States achievements in space constituted the largest single area of network news programming. The year just passed was an active one in space. There were five Gemini flights, concluding that series, and also two lunar orbiter flights and the successful Surveyor I mission. NBC News' coverage of space events totaled seventy hours of special programming.

One of the biggest stories of the year was one with which, unfortunately, we could do relatively little. I mean, of course, the political-social upheaval in Red China. The fault was not ours, inasmuch as American newsmen are not permitted there, and we have been covering the developments from Hong Kong and Tokyo to the best of our ability, but knowing these things does not alleviate our feeling of frustration.

The most important thing for the future of television journalism was the opening of a new era in global communications through the use of satellites. Launched toward the close of the year, Intelsat II, popularly called Lani Bird, made possible live transmissions of news from

the Pacific area, specifically Honolulu, Tokyo, and Carnarvon, Australia. We used it recently to cover President Johnson's trip to Guam. Early Bird (Intelsat I), which had gone up in 1965, was used extensively in 1966 — by American and European broadcasters alike. Several European nations saw NBC News' coverage of the 1966 elections via Early Bird.

NBC News currently is planning a global news transmission system by establishing self-contained television news bureaus in the major cities overseas to transmit fully prepared stories to the United States by satellites in much the same way the networks now transmit from points within this country.

News in color also came of age in 1966, adding another dimension of enjoyment for many viewers. For NBC News a milestone was reached last October 17th when the last black-and-white program was converted to color.

It is gratifying to those of us who work in broadcast journalism to know that year by year more and more people depend on television as their primary source of news. A recent survey made by Elmo Roper and Associates for the Television Information Office shows that today 61 percent of the public gets most of its news from television. The same study notes that television is the public's "most believable source of news."

And now it's time to turn the page. We of NBC News are glad to see the appearance of this first NBC News annual — and under Ben Grauer's editorship. In looking at the fine photographs in this book, and in reading the text that gives them substance, I relived the exciting events of a memorable year.

# THE TOP STORIES OF THE YEAR—1966

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

## AP

1. War in Vietnam
2. Sniper Charles Whitman Kills 14 from Top of University of Texas Library
3. GOP Wins Heavily in Off-Year Elections
4. Space Flights and Explorations
5. Eight Student Nurses Murdered in Chicago
6. President Johnson's 17-Day Trip to Asia for Manila Conference
7. Race Riots
8. Stock Market Slumps—Tight Money
9. Red China Blasts Nuclear Bomb—Fires Missile with Nuclear Warhead
10. Supreme Court Rules on Arrest Procedures

## NBC

1. Vietnam
2. Race Riots in Northern Cities
3. Mass Murders in Texas and Chicago
4. Republican Off-Year Victories
5. Space Flights and Moon Explorations
6. Red China's Nuclear Bomb and Missile
7. President Johnson's Asian Trip and the Manila Conference
8. De Gaulle's Anti-Nato Moves
9. Inflation, Tight Money, and Wall Street Slump
10. The Youth Revolt

## UPI

1. Vietnam
2. Race Riots in L.A., in Cleveland, Chicago, and Other Northern Cities
3. Charles Whitman Kills 16 and Wounds 30 in Austin, Texas
4. Republicans Win in Off-Year Election
5. U.S.-Soviet Space Adventure
6. Strains on U.S. Economy, Including Stock Market Decline, Tight Money, High Prices, and Food Boycott
7. Eight Student Nurses Slain in Chicago
8. Johnson Visiting Asia and Vietnam
9. France Withdrawing from NATO
10. Red China Testing Nuclear Devices

# Notes on the Endpapers

## **An Epoch-making Photograph: Man's First View of His World as a Whole**

This historic photograph was taken on August 23, 1966, by Lunar Orbiter I's high-resolution camera after the Boeing-built spacecraft flashed across the front face of the moon. The earth in its cloud cover is seen hanging in space 232,000 miles away. The photo shows a large area on the moon's eastern edge ravaged by enormous craters. The small-appearing, sharply defined crater just left of the center at the bottom is estimated to be 8 miles across and 6 miles deep—big enough to hold Mount Everest. The large crater at lower center (with its left rim directly above the "small" crater just described, and containing 2 smaller craters that resemble eyes) is said to be about 60 miles across. The photo was snapped from an altitude of 745 miles above the moon. The moon's horizon is 1,400 miles away. The shutter speed was 1/100 of a second, and the spacecraft was zipping along at 2,240 miles an hour. Boeing is prime contractor to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Langley Research Center, Hampton, Virginia, which manages the Lunar Orbiter program.

## **A Prize-winning Photograph: Vietnam**

Taken by PFC L. Paul Epley of the United States Army in Vietnam on a damp Saturday afternoon, August 13, 1966. It shows Sp/4 Richter Ridger, radio operator, looking up to the heavens for the helicopter he had just called for to pick up his wounded companions. Smoke pours from the grenade he had exploded to guide the chopper to his location. In this single photograph, Epley, in his own words, "caught this face of war as it really happened on a cold, windswept rock in a desolate stretch of jungle."

*The front endpaper expresses man's aspiration and achievement; the back endpaper man's reality and hope. Between the two is contained the story of another year of man's history.*

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





# 1. The Presidency

FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON, 1966 was a mixed blessing. On balance, the frustrations seemed to outweigh the satisfactions.

The Vietnam war was a continuing burden. Peace was no closer in December than it was in January; the war had, in fact, escalated (see Chapter 7, VIETNAM). Furthermore, the war was beginning to have a noticeable, and detrimental, impact on the domestic economy; inflation and tight money became national issues, while economists, homeowners, and housewives complained.

By November, the Republican comeback at the polls was stronger than most people, including President Johnson, had anticipated (see Chapter 4, POLITICS AND PARTIES), giving rise to the belief that Mr. Johnson's Great Society programs were in jeopardy and that his popularity was at a low ebb.

A number of public-opinion polls appeared to bear out the latter point. They indicated that Senator Robert Kennedy was more popular among Democrats and independents than President Johnson; that Michigan's Governor George Romney, a Republican, was favored over the President; and that fewer than half of the people polled thought that the President was doing a good job. At year's end a caucus of Democratic governors indicated that they felt LBJ would face a "very tough" election fight in '68, unless his domestic political operation improved.

The year began for President Johnson on an optimistic note. He returned to his regular work routine at the start of the year after three months of mixed work and convalescence at his Texas ranch. A gallbladder operation in October, 1965, had forced him into his semi-convalescence.

In his State of the Union message on January 12th—his third since he became President—Mr. Johnson held out the promise that Americans should have, and could afford, both guns and butter. He declared:

"We will not permit those who fire upon us in Vietnam to win a victory over the desires and the intentions of

all the American people. This nation is mighty enough, its people are strong enough, to pursue our goals in the rest of the world while still building a Great Society here at home."

After a month-long peace initiative—diplomatic talks and a bombing lull—produced no movement toward peace, the President made one of his most dramatic gestures of the war: He flew in February to Honolulu, to what was interpreted as a council of war-and-peace. He met there with American and Vietnamese military and civilian leaders, including South Vietnam's Premier Nguyen Cao Ky. The conference included military briefings and a discussion of South Vietnam's pacification program to win over the people to the government's side.

It was difficult to determine if the meeting had any direct impact on the war or on the Saigon government. At any rate, one side effect was that it demonstrated Washington's backing for Premier Ky at a time when Ky's hold on the government was less than firm.

In April, Mr. Johnson made a goodwill journey to Mexico City, the first visit to a foreign capital since he became President. The welcome was tumultuous. His morale soared; and the trip was an effective spring tonic for the President.

His "nonpolitical" outings, on August 19th and 20th, in behalf of Democratic candidates for Congress and the state houses, also lifted his spirits. The campaigns allowed him to bathe once again in the cheers from admiring crowds, all the way from Maryland to Idaho.

The major presidential tour outside the United States was made in October and early November, shortly before the November elections: a seventeen-day journey to the Pacific allies in the Vietnam war. Six of the stops were announced beforehand—to New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, and South Korea. President Johnson made one unannounced stop—a brief one in South Vietnam. The presumed reason for the Pacific trip was to attend a summit meeting in Manila on the Viet-

nam war, a meeting that resulted in the Manila Declaration. It stated that the allies would withdraw their forces from Vietnam within six months after North Vietnam withdraws its forces, ceases its infiltration of South Vietnam, and the violence subsides. The pronouncement made no visible impression on the Communists, and the war continued. But, for the President, the trip again acted as a morale booster. The international cheers, in most places, had drowned out the antiwar jeers.

However, some President watchers noted a phenomenon called "the rising tide of criticism" of Mr. Johnson. The complaints centered upon the war, but they extended beyond the fighting itself: The war was overheating the economy; it was putting a crimp in domestic plans and spending. One of the most influential critics of the Vietnam war, Senator J. W. Fulbright, said, "Congress, as a whole, has lost interest in the Great Society; it has become, politically and psychologically, a war congress."

Nevertheless, the Administration boasted that it scored a high batting average in Congress: Of 200 Administration proposals, 181 bills were adopted (see Chapter 2, CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION).

After months of hesitation, the Administration took a modest step to check inflation. In September, the President asked Congress to suspend the special 7 percent tax subsidy for investments in new business, and promised to keep Treasury borrowings to a minimum. But he avoided asking for an income-tax increase, which some economists had been urging for most of the year.

The President apparently also was concerned with an occurrence less tangible than the obvious problems of war and inflation: the supposedly widening gap between Mr. Johnson and the intellectuals. When Professor Eric Goldman of Princeton University resigned as special presidential assistant and a White House liaison with intellectuals, he said that there was not only mutual distrust but hostility as well. There were further, and related, rumors that Jewish leaders were disenchanted with the President. United Nations Ambassador Arthur Goldberg met with about forty Jewish leaders, and this was followed by speculation, by outsiders, that the meeting had something to do with a diplomatic fence-mending task for the President.

As in 1965, the President had medical problems also. This time, in November, he entered the Bethesda Navy Hospital in Maryland for a two-part surgical program: (1) a four-millimeter-long polyp, or growth, had to be removed from a vocal chord; (2) a ventral hernia, resulting from the 1965 gallbladder operation, had to be repaired. A small gap in the earlier incision allowed a sac to push through from within, causing swelling and discomfort.

Both operations took a total of fifty-three and a half minutes; the polyp was found to be nonmalignant; and the entire surgical procedures were declared a success. Characteristically, President Johnson was quickly running the country again, from the hospital room. One day after the operations, former President Eisenhower visited the recuperating President, and it was announced that Mr. Johnson asked Mr. Eisenhower to go on a goodwill tour of Asia in 1967. This was before Mr. Eisenhower's own operation for the removal of a gallbladder, and the former President had indicated a willingness to go on the trip.

Among other historic decisions, the President named the heads of two new Cabinet departments: Robert Weaver, Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator since 1961, was named Secretary of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development to become the first Negro member of the Cabinet; and Alan S. Boyd, Undersecretary of Commerce, was named Secretary of the twelfth Cabinet department, Transportation. In another major appointment, the President named Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach as Undersecretary of State to succeed George Ball, who resigned.

The President's daughters flitted in and out of the news during the year. The younger daughter, nineteen-year-old Luci Baines, stole the show for a day on August 6th when she was married to Patrick John Nugent, twenty-three, in Washington. It was called a "family wedding," although the event was somewhat more elegant than most: a wedding in the Roman Catholic Shrine of the Immaculate Conception; ten bridesmaids, and several hours of pageantry covered by the three television networks. After a Bahamas honeymoon, the couple settled in Austin, Texas, where Nugent resumed his studies, this time in business administration at the University of Texas. Although there was no official word, friends of the Nugents were indicating they expected a baby in June.

The other daughter, Lynda Bird, twenty-two, continued to appear in public on dates with actor George Hamilton. She also spent some time looking for work in Manhattan, until she landed a part-time job, as an editorial hand at *McCall's Magazine*.

That is how the year went for the President: the Vietnam war continuing to frustrate, with Mr. Johnson trying to steer a middle course between those who would escalate more rapidly and those who would pull out; the domestic programs threatened by opposition in the Ninetieth Congress; an uncertain year ahead for the economy of the country, which despite strains, had remained prosperous; strong indications of slipping personal popularity; the President enjoying satisfactory health, after medical corrections; and displaying a firm hold on the machinery of a government that is still the most powerful in the world.



## THE PRESIDENCY

*Top:* The President's State of the Union Address to a joint session of Congress on January 12th (in the evening for wider viewing) promises guns for Vietnam and butter for the home front. Behind him are Speaker John McCormack (left) and Senate President pro tem. Carl Hayden. The glass device at right is one of a pair from which the President can read his text while on TV.



*Center:* In early February, at Honolulu, President Johnson, flanked by Secretary of State Rusk and Defense Secretary McNamara, sits down with Premier Nguyen Cao Ky of South Vietnam to discuss the war. It is their first face-to-face meeting, and Johnson's first trip as President outside the Continental United States.

*Bottom:* A snowstorm in Mexico City. On the President's two-day visit in April to dedicate a Lincoln statue, blizzards of paper from enthusiastic crowds greet him and President Diaz Ordaz (right).





*Top left:* On his first visit to a foreign capital, President Johnson is plainly pleased by the vast outpouring, while Lady Bird and President Díaz Ordaz look on. Mrs. Johnson and Secretary Rusk stayed over a day to honor Mrs. Díaz Ordaz at the United States Embassy.

*Top right:* Installing the head of a new Cabinet Department, the President swears in the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Robert C. Weaver (left). Also sworn in, as Under-Secretary, is Robert Wood (right).

*Bottom:* The May 10th crisis in Vietnam caused by antigovernment Buddhist and rebel troops is carefully weighed at a National Security Council meeting. Ambassador to South Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge (next to Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, at extreme left) reports to the President.





*Top:* A double operation at Bethesda Naval Hospital, for hernia and throat polyp, leaves the President bedded and voiceless but characteristically energetic. Only a few hours after the surgery he communicates by note pad with his wife. While Johnson was incapacitated, he empowered Vice-President Humphrey to use presidential authority if necessary.

*Right:* A presidential handshake for Nicholas de-Belleville Katzenbach, new Under-Secretary of State, replacing George W. Ball. He had been Attorney General since 1964. Supreme Court Justice Byron "Whizzer" White has just administered the oath.





*Top:* On August 6th, the President's younger daughter, Luci Baines Johnson, nineteen, leaves the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington on the arm of her brand-new husband, Patrick Nugent. Her wedding train has slipped from the hands of her sister and maid of honor Lynda Bird, who is escorted by the bridegroom's father, Gerard Nugent. Immediately ahead lies a five-hour White House reception for 700 guests.

*Right:* A state dinner at the White House follows with India's Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, on food shortages, Vietnam, and Red China. Indian Ambassador Braj Nehru escorts Lady Bird.



## THE PRESIDENCY



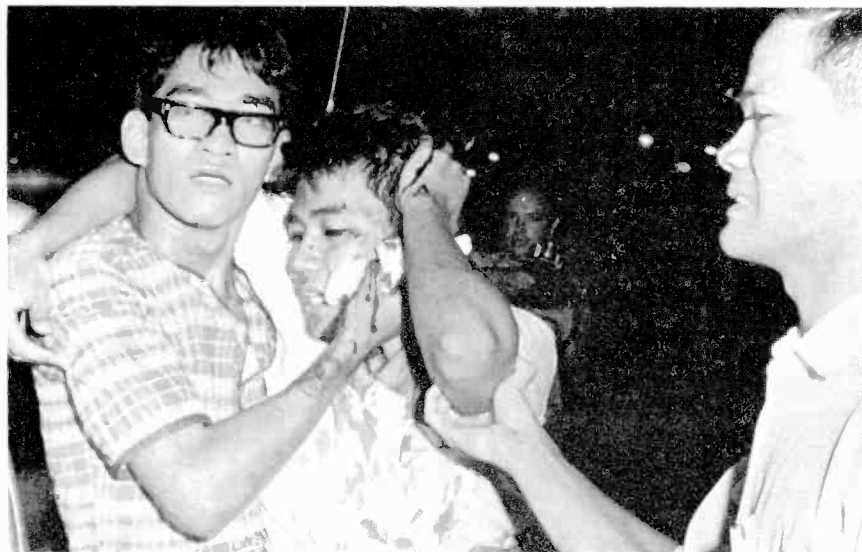
The first hostile outburst on the President's Pacific trip. Four days out of Washington, in Melbourne, Australia, plastic bags of paint thrown by "Peace in Vietnam" demonstrators spatter the presidential car. The President, safe inside his bubble-top limousine, speaks to his paint-splashed Secret Service outriders.



*Above:* As the UN roster grows, the diplomatic corps in Washington swells. Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) sends her new ambassador, Samuel C. Mbilishi, to present his credentials to the President. His shoulder patch is a symbol of the Zambian fight for independence, successful in 1964.

*Left:* The arrogance and the agony. The powerful Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, William Fulbright of Arkansas, who created the phrase "arrogance of power" in a speech on May 5th, at Johns Hopkins. A week later, at Princeton, the President said that power has meant for us "not arrogance but agony." Now, in mid-June, on a White House porch, the leader and his oft-time critic exchange quiet views.





*Top:* On the fifth day of the Pacific trip, thousands cheered the President in Sydney, and a dozen antiwar demonstrators lay down in front of the motorcade. Here, one is being hauled away, thumbs up.

*Center:* The biggest antiwar demonstration of the Pacific trip took place in front of the President's hotel in Manila on the day after his arrival, on October 24th. Two thousand students paraded, and police, swinging nightsticks and rifle butts, broke up the rally. Thirty-two were arrested and twelve injured, including this lad.

*Bottom:* The seven-nation Manila summit conference on Vietnam was called by Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, who stands to address its formal opening on October 24th. Others on the dais in Congress Hall, Manila, are, from the left: Prime Minister Harold Holt of Australia, South Korea's President Chung Hee Park, New Zealand Prime Minister Keith J. Holyoake, Thailand's Premier Thanom Kittikachorn, U.S. President Johnson, South Vietnamese head of state Nguyen Van Thieu, and South Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky.

*Opposite:* An unexpected visitor to the war zone, and under greatest secrecy, the President unexpectedly flies to the giant U.S. base at Camranh Bay in South Vietnam. For 144 minutes on Vietnamese soil, after a tour on the base and on-the-spot Purple Heart decorations, he takes chow here at the NCO mess.



# THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET

## First Twelve-man Cabinet in the Nation's History

*(The dates in parentheses indicate the year in which the Department first reached Cabinet status.)*

1. Department of State (1789): Secretary, Dean Rusk, 58, of Cherokee County, Georgia; appointed January 21, 1961.

2. Department of the Treasury (1789): Secretary, Henry H. Fowler, 58, of Alexandria, Virginia; appointed April 1, 1965.

3. Department of Defense (1949) combining Army (1789) and Navy (1798): Secretary, Robert S. McNamara, 51, of San Francisco, California; appointed January 21, 1961.

4. Department of Justice (1789): Attorney General, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, 45, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; appointed January 28, 1965; resigned October 3, 1966. 4a. Deputy Attorney General Ramsey Clark, 39, of Dallas, Texas, designated Acting Attorney General.\*

5. Post Office Department (1829): Postmaster General, Lawrence F. O'Brien, 50, of Springfield, Massachusetts; appointed August 29, 1965.

6. Department of the Interior (1849): Secretary, Stewart L. Udall, 46, of Tucson, Arizona; appointed January 21, 1961.

7. Department of Agriculture (1889): Secretary Orville L. Freeman, 48, of Minneapolis, Minnesota; appointed January 21, 1961.

8. Department of Commerce (1903—as Commerce and Labor): Secretary, John T. Connor, 53, of New York City; appointed January 6, 1965. 8a.†

9. Department of Labor (1913): Secretary, W. Willard Wirtz, 55, of De Kalb, Illinois; appointed August 30, 1962.

10. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1953): Secretary, John W. Gardner, 55, of Los Angeles, California; appointed August 18, 1965.

11. Department of Housing and Urban Development (1966): Secretary, Robert C. Weaver, 58, of Washington, D.C.; appointed January 18, 1966.

12. Department of Transportation (1966): Secretary, Alan S. Boyd, 44, of Jacksonville, Florida; appointed November 6, 1966.

\*Appointed Attorney General on March 3, 1967.  
†Resigned on January 18, 1967. 8a. Assistant Secretary Alexander T. Trowbridge, 38, of Englewood, New Jersey, designated Acting Secretary.



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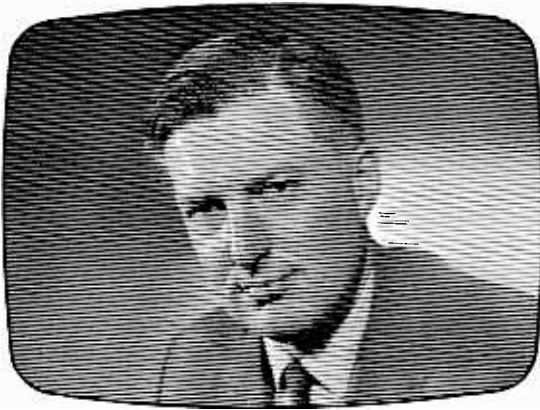
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11



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*Ray Scherer, from Fort Wayne, Indiana, began as a reporter on his hometown paper. He joined NBC in Washington in 1947. As White House Correspondent he has covered the activities of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, both at home and abroad, logging a quarter of a million miles of travel in the process.*

## The Travail of LBJ

*Ray Scherer*

NBC News White House Correspondent

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S TROUBLES in 1966, it seemed to me, were spelled out in one word—Vietnam. Through the year the President became increasingly saddled with selling to the electorate at home, and fighting overseas a dirty war that he did not start but did escalate.

The war in Vietnam was unpopular and it had become more costly. People saw the dead and wounded every day on their television sets. American dead in Vietnam rose above the hundred mark weekly as the tempo of fighting intensified. By the end of 1966 no end of the war was in sight. The conflicting things people in Washington said about the conflict were eroding public confidence in the Johnson Administration.

The phrase "credibility gap" became part of the language. Some observers felt the reason the phrase gained so much currency was not so much the difference between what the Administration said and what it did, but a reflection of Mr. Johnson's mercurial and unpredictable personality.

The men around the President said the true explanation for the gap was that Mr. Johnson was trying to do contradictory things—prosecute a war by bringing military pressure and trying to make peace at the same time.

The President began the year with a fully orchestrated peace effort that had an LBJ stamp all over it. Diplomats flew in all directions while the President instituted a bombing pause, mainly at the instigation of Soviet Ambassador Anatoli Dobrynin. The ambassador convinced various members of the Administration a pause might bring results in Hanoi. The President set forth on

a twenty-day lull but extended it to thirty-seven days for good measure.

The pause ended without result. The President felt he had proved something to the doves, but, at the same time, he brought himself under increasing pressure from Washington's hawks to intensify the war. This the President did in a gradual and not always visible way. White House correspondents gained the impression the President felt he had been "had" during the pause and that it might be a long time before he would try such a move again.

The President had two tête-à-têtes with South Vietnam's Marshall Ky in 1966, at Honolulu in February and on a quick trip to Camranh Bay in October. He chafed at reports he had "embraced" Ky, but the two meetings nonetheless had the effect of solidifying Ky's position at home and making him more than ever the man America counted on to move Saigon away from military domination and toward some kind of democracy. Ky, in the President's view, rose to the occasion and justified Washington's increasing confidence in him.

The side effects of the war multiplied. The cost of the fighting distorted the economy, squeezed the Great Society, and compounded the President's political problems at home.

More than that, the war appeared to work a change in Mr. Johnson's image. The political-operator view that people had of him two years earlier was a mark of Mr. Johnson's effectiveness in putting a vast and long-postponed welfare program through Congress. But by election time, 1966, this same quality was somehow seen as a mark of presidential failure.

All his political life Lyndon Johnson had relied on the technique of leadership through private negotiation, a skill he brought to its apex as Senate majority leader and then demonstrated again in 1964 and 1965 when he used his big congressional majorities to push White House programs through Congress.

A system built so much on the political sensitivity of one man did not appear to work on a problem that involved all the imponderables of Vietnam. Some said it was not so much the man who changed in 1966 but the problems. They appeared to have overwhelmed him.

This showed up in the popularity polls and it was reflected in the congressional election. Democrats anticipated the loss of perhaps three dozen House seats. The pendulum, it was felt, would normally react from the violent swing it took in 1964 with Goldwater. But the number of seats lost proved an unhappy surprise for the President. Democratic governors sounded a note of revolt. They were summoned to the ranch for "the treatment."

The election and the President's surgery that soon followed proved the low point for Mr. Johnson. The President finished out the year in the quietude of his ranch. He made what appeared to be a deliberate decision to stay out of the public eye for a while.

The dividends were immediate. When the Kennedy-Manchester book furor broke out, Mr. Johnson said not a word. Advance notices on the book depicted it as too hard on Mr. Johnson, too eager to take over the day John Kennedy died. The President stood aside and allowed others to quarrel over what was and what was not in the book.

So many people were belting away at Mr. Johnson as 1966 ended, there was a turn of public sympathy for him. People felt no man should have that many problems, and there was also the realization that whatever problems Mr. Johnson had, they were the nation's problems too.

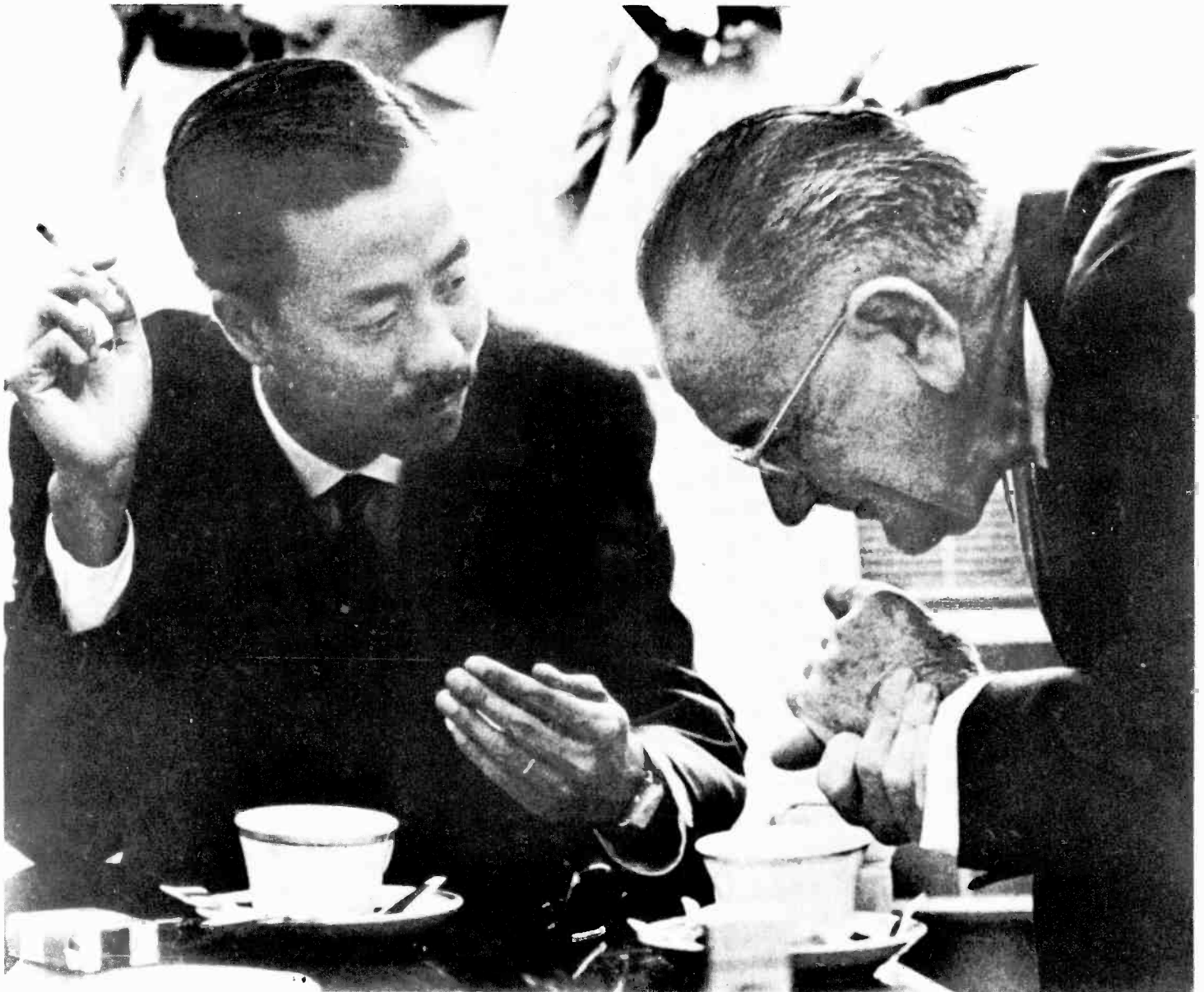
As 1966 ended, Mr. Johnson appeared to have adopted a new demeanor, a new candor. He was living

with his problems. Nineteen sixty-six had been his worst year; 1967 would surely be better.

If the President could somehow finish the war in 1967 or even by mid-1968, his problems would disappear. If the war did not end, there were mounting indications that the cumulative effect of so much American power in Vietnam would one day have its effect. The question was when and how much the President would have to intensify (he abhorred the word "escalate") to bring the war to some kind of resolution.

As 1966 turned into 1967, Lyndon Johnson was trying to tread his own middle course between the doves and the hawks, pleasing neither, and moving inexorably in the direction of a tougher war.

**At a recess in the Honolulu Conference, the President listens intently to the thirty-seven-year-old former air vice-marshal. Their joint Declaration at the end of the conference spoke of "still closer cooperation—continued efforts for peace."**





*Joseph C. Harsch, from Toledo, Ohio, began his thirty-seven-year career in journalism as a reporter on the Christian Science Monitor, where his articles still appear. He joined NBC in Washington in 1952; five years later he was sent to London where he served for eight years as Senior European Correspondent. Before returning to his present post in Washington in 1965, he was made Honorary Commander of the Order of the British Empire.*

## The Great Thaw

*Joseph C. Harsch*

NBC News Washington Diplomatic Correspondent

NINETEEN SIXTY-SIX WAS THE YEAR of the "great thaw" in Moscow-Washington relations; a major readjustment between the two world powers that may profoundly affect their common future with the third power—China.

When the year opened, most Americans still thought and talked about the world in the idiom of the Cold War.

When the year ended, America's European allies were joking wryly about the new "Soviet-American alliance."

The change was profound. In the process it brought down a German chancellor and his government. It made both America's and Russia's smaller allies rethink their policies.

The new theme of the Soviet-American *détente* was first sounded, gently, in the President's State of the Union message to the Congress on January 12th. Tucked discreetly in among other, more orthodox, proposals was a recommendation "that you make it possible to expand trade between the United States and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." Farther along, he spoke of "building bridges to Eastern Europe." He justified it all on the ground that the urge to national independence "is eroding the unity of what was once a Stalinist empire."

"Bridgebuilding" became the slogan of the operation. Much more would be heard about the theory of the erosion of Stalin's empire.

There is a question for future historians whether the new theme would have become prominent, and indeed almost dominant, had it not been for profound changes in China that, in turn, affected both Moscow and Washing-

ton policy making. It is a fact that as China became more hostile to Russia, Russia became more interested in "bridgebuilding" with Lyndon B. Johnson.

The first hint of a public response from Moscow came in a speech made by Russian Communist Party boss Leonid Breznev on March 30th on the opening day of the Twenty-third Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The Chinese, for the first time, were not present. Mr. Breznev recognized their absence, in sorrow. Other speakers denounced the Chinese abstention. Mr. Breznev sketched out his policies. They included "normal, peaceful relations with the capitalist countries."

Two weeks later, on April 15th, the President's chief expert on Russia and communism, Averell Harriman, made a speech in Columbus, Ohio. It explored at great length the theory of the erosion of the Stalinist empire. It asserted boldly that "Communism is not a salable commodity in the world today" and that "Stalin's concept of a monolithic structure of international Communism, with the Kremlin as the oracle, has of course collapsed."

About a month later, on May 11th, Secretary of State Dean Rusk sent to Congress the proposed legislation to open the way to more East-West trade. He argued: "The Soviet Union and other nations of Eastern Europe are increasingly conscious of their stake in stability and in improving peaceful relations with the outside world. Progress toward normal relations will increase that stake."

Up to this point a new American policy had been sketched out, and there had been a hint of a favorable response from Moscow. But it had not been cleared with America's Western European allies. How would they take it? The first test came in early June when the NATO foreign ministers gathered for their annual spring conference in Brussels. This is a gathering that previously concerned itself with ways and means of keeping the "Russian menace" out of Europe. In June of 1966 the ministers directed their permanent representatives in NATO to study "the prospects of healthy developments in East-West relations." It said that "the peaceful ending of the division of Europe remains a principal purpose of the alliance."

At Brussels, for the first time, one heard West European diplomats wondering about how far the new *détente* between Moscow and Washington might go. The Germans showed signs of anxiety.

August was the climactic month in the evolution of both Sino-Soviet and Soviet-American relations. The "Great Cultural Revolution" was unleashed in Peking. August 16th was the day when the Red Guard appeared in public for the first time and the new leadership of China was displayed from the balcony of the Heavenly Gate.

Washington experts watched, and decided the moment had come to explore to the full what Moscow might be thinking. On August 26th a speech that had long been written and often debated in the inner councils was finally pulled out of the files and delivered, by the President, at Idaho Falls.

It made the cartoon pages by asserting that Americans and Russians share "a common feeling for life, a love of song and story, and a sense of the land's vast promises." It made every foreign office around the world sit up and study carefully when it said that "our compelling task" is "to search for every possible area of agreement that might conceivably enlarge, no matter how slightly or how slowly, the prospect for cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union."

This was followed up on September 12th by a State Department document making the case for increased East-West trade, and asserting: "Today there is no longer a monolithic Soviet bloc—nor is there a Sino-Soviet bloc."

At that point the American invitation to Moscow to bury the hatchet and become friends was complete. There was nothing more to say. There was only to wait and watch for Moscow's reaction.

A hint came on August 31st. On that day a formal resolution of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party accused Peking of "unceasing attempts to split the Communist movement." It added that "things have gone so far that mass outrages have been organized near the Soviet Embassy in Peking." At least, Washington, reasoned, Moscow now feels free to admit the extent of its differences in Peking.

The stage was set. But would the Russians join in the play?

The stakes involved were great. The atmosphere was electric when Andrei Gromyko arrived in New York in late September to attend the opening of the UN's General Assembly. On September 22nd he went to have dinner with Secretary of State Rusk. It lasted three and one half hours. Two days later he returned the invitation, and the dinner lasted four hours.

Those two long meetings were described as "interesting, but inconclusive." The reason could have been that Washington was getting ready for a visit from Chancellor of the West German Republic Dr. Ludwig Erhard. Mr. Gromyko, understandably, wanted to see what would happen there before deciding how fast and how far to tread the *détente* road with the Americans.

The communiqué on the Erhard visit was published on September 27th. It looked to "closer ties between all European nations, the United States and the Soviet Union" as the best way "to heal the division of Europe and of Germany." The old "roll-back" policy was gone. Even with the West Germans Washington was now insisting

that the road to European unity must lie peaceably through Moscow.

Also, the communiqué left open and unsettled the question of German payment of "support costs" for American and British troops in Germany. Dr. Erhard had come to Washington expecting to be let off that hook. He was not. That communiqué was disastrous for him and his government. It brought him down—forty days after he got back to Bonn. The old special relationship between Washington and Bonn was gone. It had been swept out of the path to a Soviet-American *détente*.

During the following week Moscow and Washington offered each other new building sites for new embassies, talks were resumed on plans for reciprocal Moscow–New York air services, and the Russians released Thomas Dawson, an unlucky American who had strayed too near a Soviet border post.

On October 7th President Johnson made another speech. Again he said that the division of Europe must be healed "peacefully." He added: "It must be healed with the consent of Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union." The *détente* with Russia had been given priority over German reunification.

What more could Washington do?

As it turned out, Washington had done enough. Mr. Gromyko came to Washington on October 10th, went to the White House, then to dinner at the State Department. After dinner, on his own initiative, he sought out newsmen in the lobby and volunteered to them the assertion that "both countries" were trying to get agreement on a nonproliferation treaty on nuclear weapons. This was the first time that Moscow ever granted sincerity to Washington on this important subject.

The rest was dénouement, with a twist. The airlines agreement was signed on November 4th. On November 27th *Pravda* turned out a 4,500-word indictment of the Mao Tse-tung regime in Peking. On December 13th the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party attacked Mao personally and by name, for the first time.

But several times during the closing weeks of 1966 Moscow voices accused the United States of being in secret collusion with Peking! This was an undertone, a minor theme. It was not pushed. American experts thought it was probably mostly a matter of counterpoint, to meet the Chinese charge of Russian collusion with Washington. It could suggest that Moscow did not yet entirely trust the sincerity of Washington.

Washington didn't, either.



A posthumous award of the nation's highest honor, the President awards the Congressional Medal of Honor to PFC Milton Olive of Chicago who gave his life to save his comrades, two of whom flank the President. The hero's parents accept the award. Behind them stands Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley; to the left of the President is Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois.



A hug for Hubert. Vice-President Humphrey's face is scrunched into a wince as President Johnson embraces him on Humphrey's return from a tour of the Far East. Mrs. Humphrey is on the ramp of the helicopter.





President Johnson delivers his State of the Union message to a joint session of Congress, laying out an ambitious program to promote the Great Society at home while staying in Vietnam "until aggression has stopped." Seated behind the President are House Speaker John McCormack, left, and Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona.

## 2. Congress and Legislation

THE CONGRESS THAT ADJOURNED on October 22nd was the second and final session of the Eighty-ninth, which in 1965 had pushed through a decade's worth of major social legislation in such areas as education, antipoverty, and medical aid. The 1966 session did notable work of its own, but more sluggishly, sometimes even resentfully—and always with a cautious eye toward the elections coming up in November, and a nervous eye toward the escalating war in Vietnam.

The year began with Congress neither wanting nor expecting much in the way of new or controversial legislation. But President Johnson handed the legislators a surprise, ticking off, in his State of the Union Message, a lengthy roster of major proposals for 1966. "I believe," the President said, "we can continue the Great Society while we fight in Vietnam."

By the end of its long session, Congress had dealt Mr. Johnson some major legislative defeats, passing only a portion of his agenda, and some of this in weakened fashion. But the President also won some substantial victories, and he was sufficiently pleased at the end of the session still to be calling the Eighty-ninth "my Congress."

What did Congress do in 1966? And what did it refuse to do?

First, the new legislation it put on the books.

Though anxiety over the war pervaded the entire session, Congress nevertheless gave Mr. Johnson all the defense money he asked for. It passed a \$12.5-billion supplemental appropriation early in the year, largely for Vietnam; then late in the summer okayed a regular defense appropriation of \$58.6 billion.

On the domestic front, but tied to the war, it revived the GI Bill, offering its housing, education, and other benefits to all veterans who have served at least 181 days of active duty since the Korean War bill ran out in 1955.

The Administration got a little less than it requested for foreign aid—\$2.15 billion for foreign economic assistance instead of the requested \$2.47 billion; \$792 mil-

lion for foreign military assistance instead of \$917 million—overall, a cut of 13.3 percent.

In response to a major domestic problem—highway deaths—Congress passed a surprisingly strong auto safety law (see Chapter 27, AUTOMOBILES). It voted to raise the minimum wage, which had been \$1.25 an hour, to \$1.40 an hour starting on February 1, 1967, then to \$1.60 a year later. It voted \$1.3 billion to the Administration for a pilot project in helping cities undertake massive slum rehabilitation programs in "demonstration" areas—a sort of "showcase neighborhood" approach to finding a cure for urban blight. Funds were provided to continue major efforts in the war on poverty and aid to education; Federal air-pollution control activities were expanded, and a sweeping money commitment was made toward cleaning up the nation's water.

A "truth in packaging" bill was passed, calling for clearer and more truthful labeling of about 8,000 items of food, drugs, and cosmetics. Critics of the bill said it was only a skeleton of what the President requested; but a longtime packaging-bill crusader, Michigan Democratic Senator Philip Hart, disagreed, calling it strong and effective, and saying that sneaking it by the food-industry lobby was a real coup.

A new Cabinet post was established: the Department of Transportation—though Congress weakened its authority by eliminating Federal maritime activities from its jurisdiction. A new national park was authorized: Guadalupe Mountains in Texas; and four waterfront areas were saved from developers, including the long-disputed Indiana dunes on Lake Michigan.

Time will be easier to tell this summer because the 1966 Congress passed a Uniform Time Act directing all states to adopt daylight saving time from the last Sunday in April to the last Sunday in October, unless individual state legislatures opt for uniform standard time throughout a state. But Christmas packages will be a little more expensive: an increase was voted in parcel-post rates.

On the last day of its session, Congress adopted a striking plan for financing presidential elections. It will enable each taxpayer to check a box on his tax return authorizing the Treasury to place a dollar of his tax payment into a fund that a bipartisan committee will channel into the 1968 campaign coffers.

Now, some of the legislation Congress refused to pass:

The biggest defeat of the year for Mr. Johnson was Congress's refusal to pass his civil-rights bill. Its main and most controversial provision would have banned discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. The bill got through the House, but in the Senate was floored by a filibuster. Support for civil-rights legislation had obviously taken a tailspin during the year—partly because of the riots in many cities and gathering northern white resistance to the Negro movement, partly too because of divisions in Negro leadership, with the emergence of the black-power extremists. President Johnson took the bill's defeat in stride and promised to make another try in 1967. But many observers felt that the next legislative help Negroes would get would come through bills breaking up slums and improving schools, not through civil-rights laws as such.

The labor movement suffered along with Mr. Johnson on one key bill's defeat. Labor's main legislative goal of 1966 was the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, under which states may prohibit making union membership a condition of employment. Like the civil-rights bill, repeal of 14(b) died by filibuster. Two other favorite labor bills were also killed—one to set Federal standards for state unemployment benefits, the other to liberalize restrictions on picketing at construction sites. And though the new minimum-wage bill was a labor victory, it was tempered by the fact that the minimum went up neither as high nor as fast as union leaders had expected.

The Senate defeated two hotly debated attempts to amend the Constitution, both backed by the colorful minority leader from Illinois, Everett Dirksen. One would have modified the Supreme Court's "one-man, one-vote" ruling, and the other would have authorized voluntary school prayers. Senator Dirksen said he would bring them back in 1967.

One major issue left hanging was an increase in Social Security benefits. Shortly before the elections, President Johnson promised to recommend an increase early in 1967; Capitol Hill Republicans said "Great," and the big question at year's end appeared to be whether the increase would be a straight 10 percent or whether it would contain an escalator clause to peg it to the cost of living.

International issues shook the 1966 Senate out of what many observers had come to see as its apathetic, rubber-stamp approach to proposals from the White House.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, taking up a war-appropriation bill that in most years would have been passed off with a routine hearing, launched a full-scale debate on the war, and saw to it that major parts of it were nationally televised for their fullest impact. The committee's chairman, Democratic Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, emerged as a vigorous spokesman for opponents of the Administration's Asian policy.

In May, Fulbright said he feared the United States was "succumbing to the arrogance of power," confusing "its power with virtue and its major responsibilities with a universal mission." President Johnson, had this to say six days later: "The exercise of power in this century has meant for all of us in the United States not arrogance but agony."

Fulbright's committee followed the Vietnam hearings with hearings on policy toward China, producing the most substantial public debate on the issue since Chiang Kai-shek was driven from the mainland.

Whatever the value of the hearings as influencers of Administration approaches, they served at least to educate a broad public on some of the more complex and deadly issues of war and diplomacy. And they helped renew the position of Congress in the public eye as an independent and creative force in proposing national policy.

Both houses of Congress also began to look a bit less like self-protective clubs by openly investigating the conduct of some of their own. The Senate Ethics Committee took up Senator Thomas Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, on his request that they investigate published charges that he did improper favors for a public-relations man who was a foreign agent and that he, Dodd, used campaign contributions for personal expenses. In the House, the year ended with hot debate over whether Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Harlem, should be disciplined for alleged misconduct involving charges of payroll padding and falsified expense accounts.

However one judges the overall record of the Eighty-ninth Congress, it seemed certain that Mr. Johnson, at least, would find life more difficult with the Ninetieth. Republicans made major gains in the November balloting (see Chapter 4, POLITICS AND PARTIES), and afterward even key members of Mr. Johnson's own party were saying the new Congress must pause and evaluate the innovations of the past before plunging into a new flurry of innovations for the future.



## CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION

*Left:* Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen of Illinois, commenting on the State of the Union message, agrees that peace and prosperity are laudable aims, but says there must be fiscal responsibility, prudence, and proper planning. On the right is House Minority Leader Gerald Ford of Michigan.

*Below:* Senator Robert Kennedy of New York suggests that Communists be permitted a role in any coalition government to form in South Vietnam. Kennedy's subsequent comments on the Vietnam issue helped to open, and widen, a breach between the so-called Kennedy Democrats and the Johnson Democrats.





*Left:* Harlem's Democratic Congressman Adam Clayton Powell tells a Washington news conference he's not all that worried by a House Education and Labor Committee decision to reduce his powers as chairman of that committee. The curbs imposed on Powell's authority were among the first moves that led to committee recommendation that he be censured by the House.

*Below:* Two stern critics of Administration policy in Vietnam—Arkansas's J. William Fulbright, left, and Oregon's Wayne Morse, right, listen dubiously to testimony at a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Alabama's John Sparkman is center. The spirited and controversial hearings served to polarize congressional sentiment into "hawks" and "doves." Ironically, the fiercest opposition to the President's Vietnam policies came from Democrats.



## CONGRESS AND LEGISLATION



*Above:* Senator Thomas Dodd, Connecticut Democrat, enters a closed-door meeting of the Upper House Ethics Committee hearing as Congress pushes its inquiry into the money-gathering practices of its members. The charge against Dodd: that he used his influence to advance the interests of a public-relations man. Dodd denied any wrongdoing.

*Right:* North and South are divided as two Democrats—Philip Hart of Michigan, right, and Sam Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina—disagree over how the Senate should handle a civil-rights bill already passed by the House. Failure to pass any significant civil-rights legislation emerged as an outstanding disappointment of the session for the White House.





Gradually lengthening lines of Negro voters form up in the rural South—this one is at a Democratic primary in Peachtree, Alabama—as United States Supreme Court rulings on the right to vote continue to make themselves felt.

### 3. Supreme Court

THERE WAS THE USUAL heavy demand on the United States Supreme Court, which in recent terms has been petitioned to handle three times the number of cases it was considering some twenty years ago.

Among the historic decisions in 1966 were those related to civil rights, including voting rights for Spanish-speaking citizens, and another dealing with police power. There were celebrated cases involving obscenity, crime, and politics.

In June, the high court established guidelines for police interrogation: (1) As soon as the police take a suspect into custody, they must warn him of his right to remain silent and have a lawyer; (2) if he voluntarily waives his right, they may question him; (3) if he wants a lawyer but can't afford one, the state must pay for counsel; and (4) if the lawyer appears, he has right to be present during the interrogation, and may advise his client to remain silent.

The police throughout the country, generally, were dismayed by the guidelines. There were variations of this complaint, voiced by a police chief, "We might as well close up shop." However, the guidelines were no sudden development. They were the latest in a series of actions designed to protect the rights of defendants. They date back at least to 1963 when, in the Clarence Earl Gideon case, the court backed the defendant's right to counsel.

In November, the Supreme Court affirmed the convictions of southern Negro demonstrators for the first time since the civil-rights movement began. The court ruled that law-enforcement officers in Tallahassee, Florida, acted legally in 1963 when they arrested thirty-two demonstrators for trespassing. The Negro college students, objecting to the arrest of other student pickets, marched to the Leon County jail grounds; and these demonstrators were arrested after refusing to heed the sheriff's demand that they leave. The court split 5 to 4 on the decision, and one of the dissenters, Justice William O. Douglas, called it a "police-state doctrine," and said that it was "a great

break with the traditions of the court."

In another significant decision the Court, on June 13th, upheld the provision in the Voting Rights Act which permits citizens to vote if they had at least a sixth-grade education in a school under the American flag, even though the main classroom language was other than English. The Act, passed in 1965, was principally aimed at making the vote available to New York's large Puerto Rican population, many of whom could pass the literacy test only in Spanish. The New York State Constitution required literacy in English. Under the new provision, an estimated 40,000 Puerto Ricans used their new franchise in the November, 1965, mayoralty elections. This provision was thereupon challenged by a New York citizen, and the challenge was supported by a Federal Court. The Government then brought the case before the highest Court.

In overturning the lower court decision and declaring the provision constitutional under the 14th Amendment, the Court seemed to give powerful endorsement to the Congress not only to correct voting abuses, but to take positive action by going into areas presently under state control, to guarantee voting rights where the franchise is justified.

In the court's rulings on obscenity cases, the conviction of New York publisher Ralph Ginzburg was upheld, again on a split decision. The court held that "titillating" advertising could be used as proof that the material advertised was pornographic. Ginzburg had been sentenced by a lower court to five years.

The Supreme Court also upheld the conviction and three-year sentence of New York book publisher Edward Mishkin who had been charged with publishing "sadistic and masochistic" material in violation of state laws. However, the court overturned a Massachusetts court ruling that the eighteenth-century novel *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* ("Fanny Hill"), by John Cleland, was obscene.

Dr. Sam Sheppard, the Ohio osteopath accused of



killing his wife, won his appeal for another trial when the Supreme Court ruled that earlier news publicity had been prejudicial and that, therefore, he did not receive a fair trial. In the subsequent trial during the year, Dr. Sheppard was acquitted.

On the other hand, the high court affirmed the conviction and eight-year prison sentence of James Hoffa, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Hoffa had been convicted of jury tampering, a charge that arose from a 1962 trial in Nashville, Tennessee, in which Hoffa and others were accused of conspiracy. That trial ended in a hung jury.

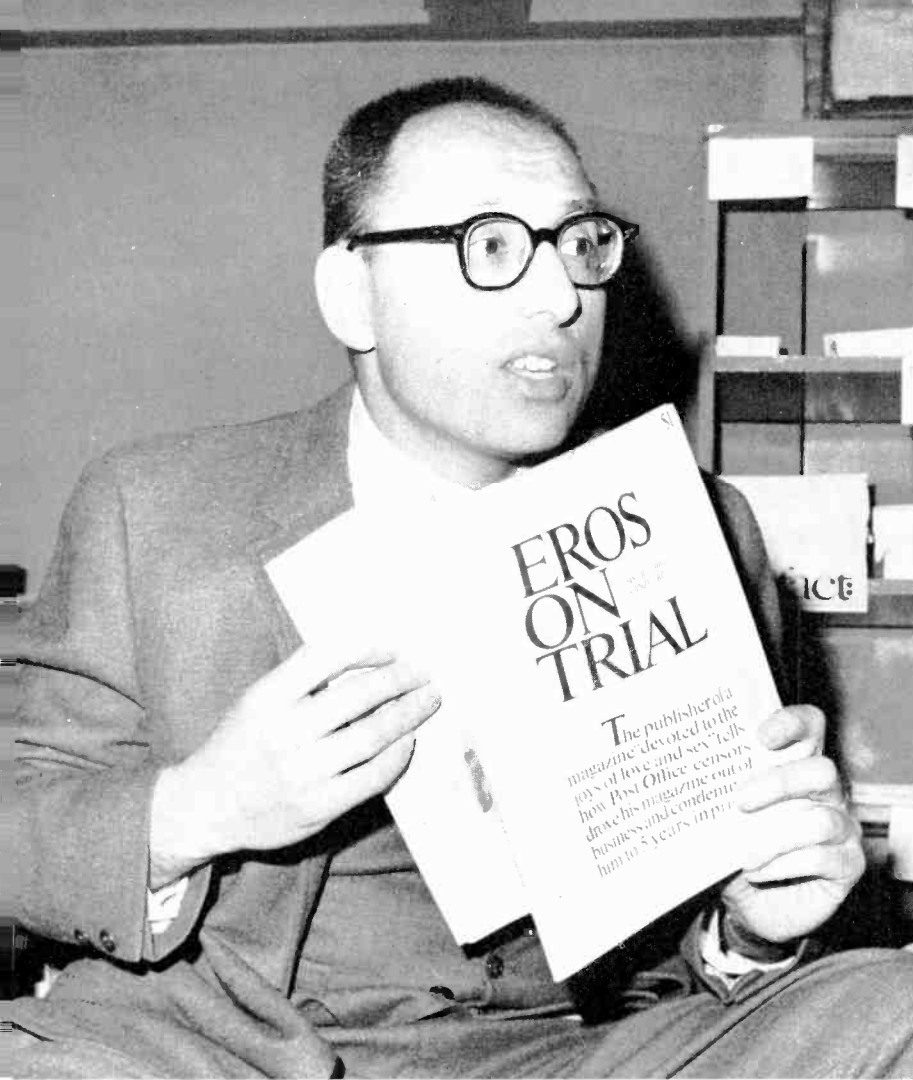
In a 5-to-4 decision, the Supreme Court upheld Georgia's constitutional provision to elect its governor—an issue that became pressing when neither of the two top candidates, Democrat Lester Maddox and Republican Howard Callaway, received a majority of the votes in November. In such a situation, the state con-

stitution provides that the state legislature will choose between the two candidates. The legislature that would choose between Maddox and Callaway was heavily Democratic.

The court also ruled, this time unanimously, that the Georgia House of Representatives violated the constitutional rights of a twenty-six-year-old Negro, Julian Bond, when it refused to seat him in the General Assembly. Bond, a former official of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, was elected to the legislature in 1965. But before he was to take his seat in 1966, he endorsed a statement by SNCC that was critical of the Vietnam war. He refused to recant before an investigating group, and the Georgia legislature refused to seat him. Nevertheless, Bond ran again in a special election to fill the vacancy, and won; and in November he won the same seat for the 1967 General Assembly.



## SUPREME COURT



Publisher Ralph Ginzburg says, "I am being sent to prison as a twentieth-century witch," after the court rules his "titillating" advertising was proof that his magazine, *Eros*, was pornographic. Later, Ginzburg won a stay in the five-year sentence.

*Right:* In Chicago, Daniel Escobedo, right, is back in court in connection with a burglary case—but the so-called Escobedo Ruling has become a short-form reference to a Supreme Court ruling establishing a suspect's right to counsel or to remain silent in all pretrial dealings with police. On the basis of this ruling, Escobedo was freed in a murder case.

*Opposite:* Negro legislator Julian Bond arrives to take his seat in the Georgia House of Representatives after the Supreme Court rules that the House acted unconstitutionally in refusing to seat him. The House's stated reason: Bond's criticism of the war in Vietnam. Eventually, after a special election, Bond was seated.





*Above:* The road to acquittal: Dr. Sam Sheppard, right, with his second wife, Ariane, and son Samuel, leave the Supreme Court Building in Washington after the Court finds that newspaper publicity made a fair trial impossible in the murder of his first wife.

right is F. Lee Bailey of Boston, one of his attorneys. Sheppard later was adjudged innocent.

*Below:* Dr. Sam, as the headlines called the one-time Cleveland-area osteopath, kisses Mrs. Sheppard as he leaves the courtroom where he entered a plea of "not guilty" in his second wife-murder trial. At the extreme

*Right:* Teamsters union president James Hoffa raises the arm of new union general vice-president Frank Fitzsimmons, who's to run the Teamsters if Hoffa goes to prison for eight years on a jury-tampering charge. The Supreme Court had already issued a ruling upholding the conviction.



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**Jubilant Ronald Reagan, with his wife, Nancy, at his side, waves to supporters at his Los Angeles headquarters as election returns name him Republican Governor of California. Reagan, a one-time actor and one-time liberal Democrat, defeated incumbent Governor Edmund Brown.**

## 4. Politics and Parties

"IT LOOKS AS IF WE HAVE a very live elephant," said Chairman Ray Bliss of the Republican National Committee after the November 8th elections.

"I think there is no question but what the other party strengthened its position," President Lyndon Johnson remarked.

No question at all.

Following the Johnson landslide of 1964, and the Democratic sweep that went with it, it was not altogether fatuous to speak of the GOP elephant as a possibly disappearing species. But the midterm elections of 1966 prodded the beast robustly back into contention.

Republicans did so well in 1966—in elections to Congress, to state houses, to legislatures, and to local offices—that for the first time since President Eisenhower left the White House in 1961, the party seemed to have a real chance to bid for national power.

In numbers, Republican gains on November 8th were these: forty-seven more seats in the House, three in the Senate, eight new state governorships, nine more majorities in state legislatures.

Important as this numerical power base is, the biggest GOP gain in 1966 was probably in the less tangible realm of personalities. New faces were catapulted into prominence, older faces were given a new sheen, and the idea was demolished that President Johnson would be a sure bet for reelection in 1968.

Before November 8th, it had appeared that the Democrats were riding so high they would suffer only nominal losses in the midterm vote, which always marks some resurgence of the minority party. How could this calculation have been so wrong?

One post-election theory was that the country had simply reverted to the traditional two-party balance knocked so badly out of kilter with the Goldwater debacle in 1964; in other words, that the GOP gains reflected the normal swing of the political pendulum. That simplification, however, left unexplained the fact that Republican gains in the House, for instance, were

nearly half again the thirty-three-seat average gain for opposition parties since 1934.

Issues and not just instincts were involved. But analysts were hard put to tie the Democratic reverses to any single pivotal issue.

The grim course of the war in Vietnam had been predicted as a weak point for Democrats; yet some Republicans most hawkish on the issue lost, while other Republicans with views not notably out of line with President Johnson's won handsomely.

The GOP was expected to reap a large crop of votes because of the identification, in the public mind, of the Democratic Party with the Negro movement. In some cases, such as Illinois and California, this "white backlash" seems to have helped Republicans; in others—such as Maryland and Arkansas—victories went to moderate Republicans who held out against the racism campaigns of Democrats.

The high cost of living undoubtedly took its toll of normally Democratic votes. There was wide belief that President Johnson was fueling the economy's inflation by too much domestic spending. The way in which Federal money was spent was also a major issue. Six weeks after the elections, a delegation of Democratic governors went to Texas to complain to the President over voter dissatisfaction at the way Federal programs were being administered, and the feeling of many voters that the programs were both wasteful and ineffective.

This sort of intraparty soul-searching left Mr. Johnson in a very exposed position, so much so that talk grew serious in both political parties that he might not run again in 1968. A poll at the end of the year among key Democratic leaders across the country showed that 43 percent of them either thought the party would be better off with another candidate in 1968 or they were currently not willing to give Mr. Johnson their endorsement.

Primed and ready in the wings—though armed with a speech denying it—was Senator Robert F. Ken-

ned by New York, who traveled widely over the country throughout the year and made careful distinctions between himself and the President on such key issues as the war and urban problems. Airport crowds met him with chants of "R. F. K. in '68," and signs proclaiming "Repent! Vote for Bobby." An unofficial move got under way for a Kennedy-Fulbright ticket in 1968, with the Arkansas senator's name added in an apparent move to attract the doves on the war issue.

The only clue Mr. Johnson gave on his future was to keep silent about it. But the realities of life and politics all argued that he would run again in 1968, and run with an edge. His office is the most powerful political office in the world, and in the twentieth century only two of its incumbents have been defeated.

Who among Republicans will get the job of trying to unseat him?

Opinion polls following the elections made Michigan Governor George Romney the popular favorite. His reelection margin in November was nearly 600,000 votes; he also exhibited what magic his personal popularity can work for others, carrying to victory with him a senator, five congressional candidates, and a slate of Republicans on the state and local levels.

The former auto executive and Mormon missionary had not, by year's end, announced himself as a candidate. But he conceded he was "not uninterested in what other people may think about me as a candidate," and he proceeded to form a political organization to explore that thinking.

Former Vice-President Richard Nixon started the year as the top man in GOP popularity polls, and he left his Manhattan law office to stump for Republican candidates in thirty states. Though a year-end poll put Romney in top position, Nixon's hopes were not noticeably dashed.

One new presidential possibility made evident how much the Republican Party is still split between its moderates and the conservative backers of Barry Goldwater. This is Ronald Reagan, the one-time actor and liberal Democrat gone conservative, who won the California governorship as a Republican by an overwhelming majority over incumbent Democrat Pat Brown.

Governor Nelson Rockefeller, despite his insistence he was out of the game, nevertheless was not dismissed after his ringing reelection in New York. Many old political pros felt that he was purposely and shrewdly hanging back and had the best chance of all for the nomination. Less likely prospects for 1968—but valuable as reserves for the future—were three Republicans who won Senate seats in November: Charles Percy in Illinois, Mark Hatfield in Oregon, and Massachusetts Attorney General Edward Brooke, who by polling 61 percent of the vote against Endicott Peabody became the first Negro in United States history to be elected by popular vote to the Senate.

Whatever the GOP choice, it became evident that

the party's governors plan to take a pivotal role in making it. As a result of the 1966 vote, Republicans now hold half of the governorships of the fifty states, including most of the major ones. Five of the states with Republican governors are among the seven most populous in the Union—California, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan (the two held by Democrats are Illinois and Texas). Republican governors became such a force during the year that the party's national committee gave them \$100,000 at year's end to finance a full-time Washington office in 1967—four times the amount provided them by the committee in 1966.

Two of the newly won Republican governorships were in the South—Winthrop Rockefeller in Arkansas, and Claude Kirk in Florida, the first Republican governor in that state since 1872. Among the forty-seven House seats gained, six were from the South; among the three Senate seats picked up, one was from the South. Altogether, the party's position in the old Confederacy, where it never used to have a chance, rose to a new high.

Also from the South came the possibility of a three-way fight in 1968. Ineligible for reelection under state law, Alabama Governor George Wallace ran his wife, Lurleen, in his stead; she won handily, giving a boost not only to Wallace's segregationist philosophy but also to his threat to turn his Alabama movement into a back-lashing national ticket in the next presidential election.

In addition, the South produced the biggest cliff-hanger of the 1966 elections. In Georgia, Republican Representative Howard Callaway won the most votes in the gubernatorial election, followed a bare one thousand votes behind by segregationist former restaurant owner Lester Maddox. But neither got the required majority, because some 57,000 write-in votes were cast by Georgia moderates for former Governor Ellis Arnall. Under Georgia law, the election was thrown to the state's legislature, which—being overwhelmingly Democratic—sat through a long court struggle mounted in vain by Callaway, then early in 1967 handed the state house to Maddox.

On Capitol Hill, the lineup of the Ninetieth Congress looked like this after the elections: in the Senate, 64 Democrats and 36 Republicans, in the House, 248 Democrats and 187 Republicans.

Other names in the 1966 elections: In Illinois, Adlai Stevenson, 3rd, withstood the state's Republican sweep and was elected state treasurer as a Democrat. In West Virginia, John D. Rockefeller, 4th, who at twenty-nine had been in the state for two years as an anti-poverty worker, was named to the state legislature (breaking family tradition, as a Democrat). In Georgia the young Negro Julian Bond, antiwar and antidraft, who had been elected twice before to the state's General Assembly but was turned away by his fellow legislators, won a third time (and early in 1967 was seated without difficulty).



*Above:* The family is on the platform—his wife, “Happy,” whom he married in 1963, is on his left—as Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York accepts the state convention’s nomination to run him for a third term. Rockefeller was elected, handily.

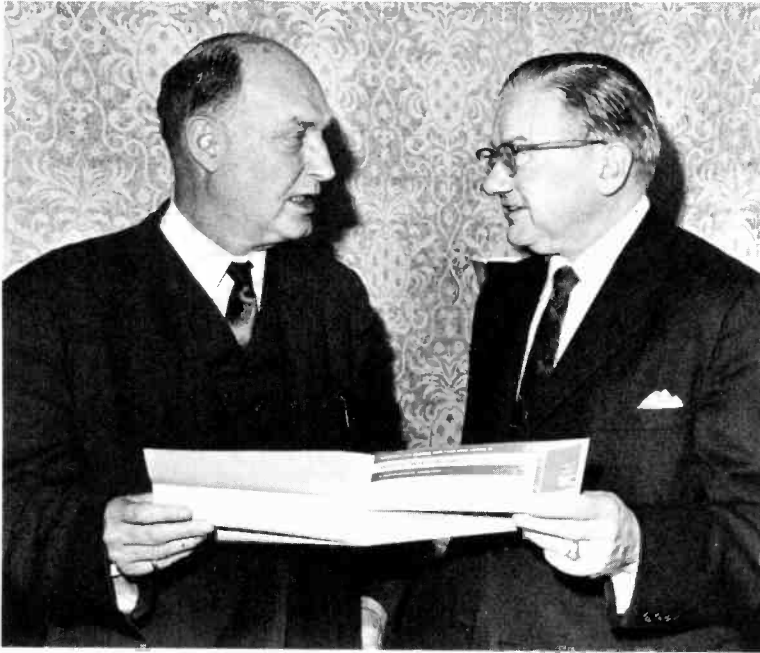
*Below left:* Election night in Georgia finds Republican candidate for governor Howard Callaway broadly smiling and stoutly confident as he wins a popular-vote lead over his Democratic rival. But Callaway, like rival Maddox,

failed to poll a majority of the votes, as Georgia law requires. Callaway lost out, but the Republican Party was established as a reckonable political force in Georgia.

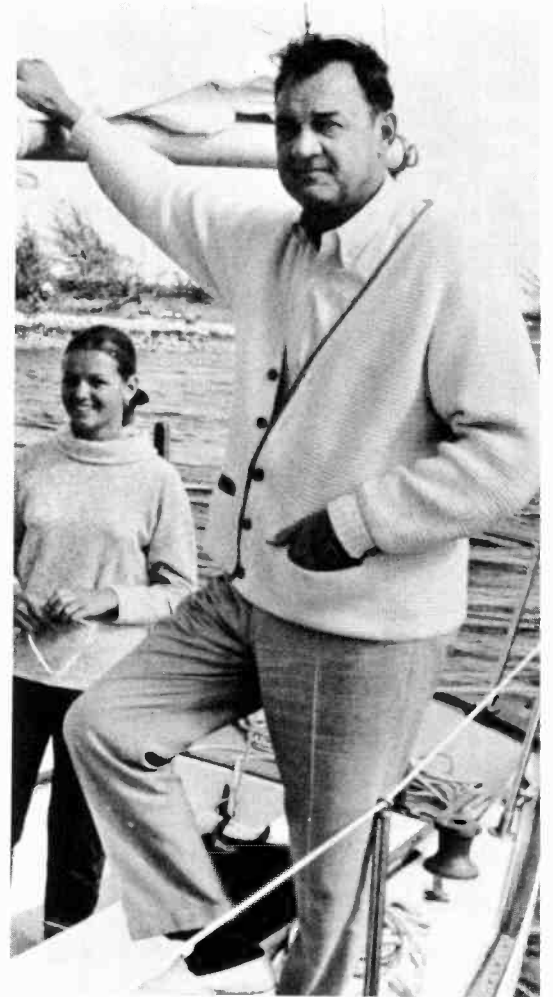
*Below right:* Democrat Lester Maddox gets a “victory” kiss from his wife as returns indicate he’ll be the next governor of Georgia. The kiss, though, was premature: ahead lay a court fight and a vote by the State Legislature before arch-segregationist Maddox was finally installed as governor.







*Above:* The party chairmen: John Bailey, left, of the Democratic National Committee, and Ray Bliss of the Republicans, at a non-partisan gathering in Washington.



*Right:* The Republican upsurge in the South puts Florida Republican Claude Kirk, Jr., at the helm of the state. On Kirk's right is his wife-to-be Erika Mittfeld. His victory in Florida was more proof of new Republican strength in the South.

*Below:* Michigan Governor George Romney in Detroit joins in a group salute as his reelection campaign helps to put in Senator Robert Griffin (on his left) over former Governor "Soapy" Williams, five congressional candidates, and other party members on state and local levels. Romney's power as a vote-getter has made his a voice to be listened to in GOP strategy councils.



## POLITICS AND PARTIES



*Above:* There are smiles, cheers, handshakes, and placards as Young Republicans at Colorado College greet Michigan Governor George Romney at the Governors' Conference in the Rockies.

*Center:* Illinois Republican Charles Percy has plenty to smile about on election night in Chicago as he beats out veteran Democrat Paul Douglas in the race for the United States Senate. Percy's victory makes him "a man to watch."

*Below:* All bands of the Republican political spectrum are displayed as high-ranking members of the GOP meet in Washington. From the left, Governor Rockefeller and Thomas Dewey of New York, Governor Romney of Michigan, Barry Goldwater of Arizona, and Senator Thruston Morton of Kentucky.





*Above:* Richard Nixon fires away at Administration policies in South Vietnam in a speech at an American Legion convention in Washington. Such speeches helped to keep Nixon alive as an articulate opponent of the Democrats—and as a factor in GOP presidential possibilities for 1968.

*Left:* Massachusetts Senator-Elect Edward Brooke, a Republican, shakes hands with Democratic Senator from Massachusetts Edward Kennedy as their non-political luncheon gets under way in Washington. Their wives share in the good humor. Brooke, a Negro, announced that he planned to be a senator for “all the people of Massachusetts, not just a special group.”

*Right: George and Lurleen Wallace join hands in a victory salute outside voting booth in Alabama in a race that elected Mrs. Wallace to succeed her husband as governor. By law, he could not run again. The clear assumption was that Mrs. Wallace, as governor, would pursue her husband's policies, including that of segregation.*



*Politically, the year was a good one for the Rockefellers. Three of them ran for office, two brothers and their nephew, and three of them won. But while they shared in victory, they did not share in politics.*

*Left: Winthrop Rockefeller, elected governor of Arkansas. Republican.*

*Below left: Nelson Rockefeller, reelected governor of New York. Republican.*

*Below right: John D. Rockefeller, 4th, age twenty-eight, elected member of the West Virginia House of Delegates. Democrat. With him is Sharon Percy (Republican, and young Rockefeller's bride-to-be), daughter of Illinois Senator-Elect Charles Percy.*





Housewives picket supermarkets in Denver's suburbs. They urge followers to boycott the chain market as "Housewives for Lower Food Prices," and shop at local independent grocers. This is in October; by Christmas food prices nationally had risen over 4 percent in 1966.

## 5. The Economy: Business and Labor

“YELP” IS A CRY USUALLY associated with dogs and foxes, but in 1966 housewives used it in relation to pigs and cattle and to such nonhooved larder staples as bread and milk. It all had to do with the major bug in the year’s booming economy: inflation.

“Yelp,” standing for “You’re Enlisted to Help Lower Prices,” was one word among many under which housewives across the country banded together to picket and boycott supermarkets where prices had made an upward spiral beyond the women’s endurance.

The problem was put in graphic terms by the New York regional office of the Labor Department. It found that the average cost of a Sunday roast-beef dinner, for a family of two adults and two children, was \$5.11 in December, 1966, an increase of 3 percent over the \$4.96 that the same dinner cost twelve months earlier. A chicken dinner that cost \$3.61 in December, 1965, now cost 1.7 percent more, or \$3.67.

The housewives’ boycotts were begun in Denver in the fall by a grandmother named Mrs. Paul West. They quickly spread to cities from coast to coast and across the Pacific to Honolulu. By the end of the year, food prices had begun to level off, partly as the result of the boycotts. But their biggest effect was to dramatize the inflation pervading the entire United States economy, overheated by six years of record expansion.

Government figures showed in December that goods and services were costing 3.3 percent more than a year earlier. That was an average figure; some items covered by it had gone up far more. For example, medical services—including doctors’ fees and hospital charges—were 6.6 percent higher.

The inflationary pressure was evident long before housewives saw its results in the stores at the end of summer. Analysts saw it early in the year’s first quarterly report on the Gross National Product, a figure measuring the value of all the goods and services being produced.

In that first quarter, the GNP jumped \$16.9 billion. Usually such a spurt would have been a cause for rejoicing, but now it was evident that a great part of the rise came, not from rises in production, but in prices. It appeared that the economy was inflating too fast.

Federal economists had hoped that the Social Security tax boost, which took more money out of workers’ paychecks starting on January 1st, would cut consumer spending. But consumers just dipped into their savings and went right on spending.

The government also went right on spending, most astonishingly for defense. And in its defense spending, the government made a major miscalculation.

When the year began, the defense figure sent to Congress in January for the fiscal year beginning July 1st was \$57.2 billion; \$10 billion of this was the estimated cost of the Vietnam war. But toward the end of the year, it was found that the war was costing twice the January estimate, or \$20 billion.

Overall, this meant that total government spending for the fiscal year would be somewhere between \$127 billion and \$130 billion—an increase of \$20 billion over the previous fiscal year, and the largest one-year increase since World War Two, except for a year during the Korean War. In addition to exerting an inflationary pressure, the increase also meant that the government would end the fiscal year with a probable deficit of at least \$10 billion.

Many economists and politicians had called throughout the year for an increase in taxes as a means of cutting civilian spending and cooling the economy. The President resisted all these calls; there were no personal and corporate income-tax increases, though there was a withdrawal of the special tax credits that gave business an incentive to expand.

Then, toward the end of 1966, it began to appear that the boom was fading even without higher taxes—and that for the government to raise taxes in 1967, even to

cover the Federal deficit, might have just the wrong effect of contributing to a recession.

Whether a recession was in store was a matter for debate, with many answers but no assurances. The new year came with Mr. Johnson's tax plans still a cliff-hanger. But he announced a \$3-billion cut in nondefense Federal spending (a key element in the cut was highway construction), and the Congress that would convene in January, 1967, appeared inclined toward cutting Great Society programs before approving any requests for higher taxes.

Most economists assumed that 1967 would bring a further slowdown in the economy, but not a real recession. Among the indications of the slowdown that began late in the year were these:

The dollar total of retailers' business fell off, as auto sales dropped. Steel production began to slip. General wholesale prices were lower. There was a big slump in housing—new-home starts sank to an annual rate of 848 thousand in October, a twenty-year-low, largely because the tight-money situation made it difficult to obtain mortgages. Factory orders were declining, as were bank loans to businesses.

At year's end, it did appear that money would be easier to borrow in 1967. The Federal Reserve Board kept money in tight supply through the summer and into the fall, and interest rates went to their highest levels in almost forty years. But late in the year, there were quiet modifications in the Federal government's restraint, and many bankers felt that easier money was on the way.

The year's overall gain in the Gross National Product was 8 percent. It took a leap of some \$55 billion, to the area of \$737 billion. This meant that since the 1960's began, the nation's total of goods and services produced had increased by 46 percent, a phenomenal boom.

The number of employed people in the United States continued to rise, topping 75 million during the year. The jobless rate fluctuated between 3.7 and 4 percent, hitting some of the lowest levels in thirteen years. In October, the number of industrial centers with less than 3 percent unemployment rose to a record sixty-five, nineteen more than a year earlier.

Personal income rose throughout the year, though in November the rate of increase had fallen off. But labor-union economists argued that workers' gains were washed out by rising prices, and it seemed certain that labor would make a big push in 1967 for substantial wage increases. In addition to higher pay, there was more talk of cost-of-living escalator clauses in future contracts, and in some industries of annual salaries instead of hourly wages.

From the Kennedy years to 1966, the government tried to keep annual price and wage increases at no more than 3.2 percent. But this guideline was badly dented in

the summer, when airline machinists got a 5 percent increase. The electrical industry followed with a similar settlement in the fall. The government apparently retreated; Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz said that in view of the inflationary trend of the economy, 5 percent labor agreements were perhaps not unreasonable. Two spectacular labor conflicts in New York attracted national attention. The year opened with New York's new Republican mayor, John Lindsay, faced with a subway strike headed by fiery Mike Quill. The vast city was without rapid-transit service for twelve days, January 1st to 13th. Recurring difficulties with the New York newspaper Guild led to plans for a merger of three New York newspapers—the New York *World-Telegram and Sun*, the New York *Journal-American*, and the New York *Herald-Tribune*—on March 21, 1966; but actual publication, set for April 25th, was delayed by a strike and other labor troubles until September 12th. The new paper was called the *World Journal Tribune*.

Among those who will be fighting for new contracts in 1967 are the auto workers, railroad employees, and workers in the construction, rubber, and food-processing industries.

Big business executives, for their part, seemed to believe that the "profit squeeze" they had long feared would be upon them in 1967. Their general expectation was that big union wage settlements, notably in the auto industry, plus a possible tax increase, would leave them with a smaller profit out of each dollar of sales—though not with a lower dollar total of profits.

Reflecting the growing uncertainties over inflation and tight money, Wall Street turned bearish after a strong start. In February, the Dow-Jones Index, a major market indicator based on the price changes in thirty leading industrial stocks, hit the 1,000 mark, and many stocks posted record highs. But the averages fell to their lowest points in three years by October, down 25 percent from the highs of the year; then they regained some ground and closed the year down 19 percent. The Dow-Jones average wound up at about 785.

All in all, 1966 was a perplexing year for the nation's economy. Although production and profits were up, productivity—the rate of output per man-hour—was lower than last year. Businessmen everywhere, eager to meet the booming demand for goods, felt the credit squeeze as the money managers in Washington moved against inflation with higher interest rates. Meanwhile, the soaring costs of the Vietnam war on top of domestic programs—guns and butter—continued to supply the energy for the upward push of prices and wages. It seemed certain that 1967 would bring higher prices, higher taxes, and more tests of the economic policies of the nation's leaders.

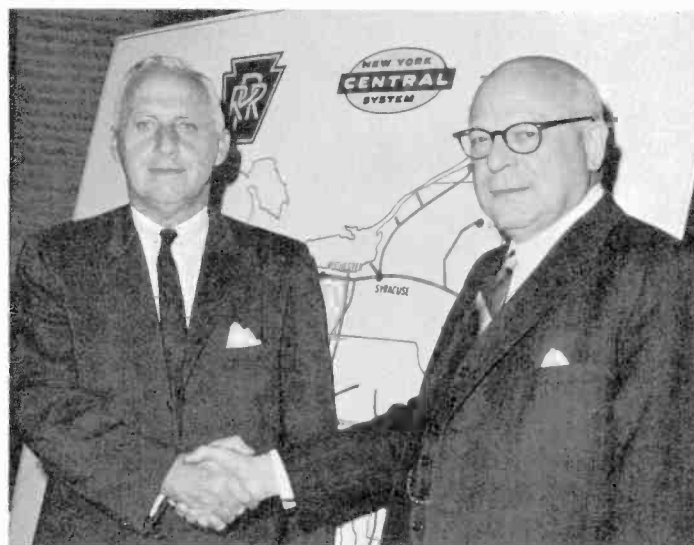


**Above:** A thoughtful President gathers the press in his office in late August to warn capital and labor that he may "have to take other measures" unless self-restraint is used in wage-and-price rises. In September he asked the Congress to suspend the 7 percent business tax credit for new investments. This anti-inflation move passed both houses in late October.

**Below left:** Pickets of New York Newspaper Guild in late April protest job losses in a proposed merger of the *World-Telegram and the Sun* with the *Herald Tribune* and the *Journal-American*. The 133-year-old *Herald Tribune* suspended publication permanently during the strike of the Guild and nine other newspaper unions. The last of the unions settled on September 11th. The first issue of the merged paper, the *World Journal Tribune*, appeared the next day.



**Below:** Shaking hands on a long-sought rail merger are New York Central President Alfred E. Perlman, left, and Stuart T. Saunders, Chairman of the Board of the Pennsylvania Railroad, as they learn of the merger's conditional approval on April 27th by the Interstate Commerce Commission. The new line: The Pennsylvania New York Central Transportation Company (PNYCTC) would handle about one-eighth of the nation's freight.



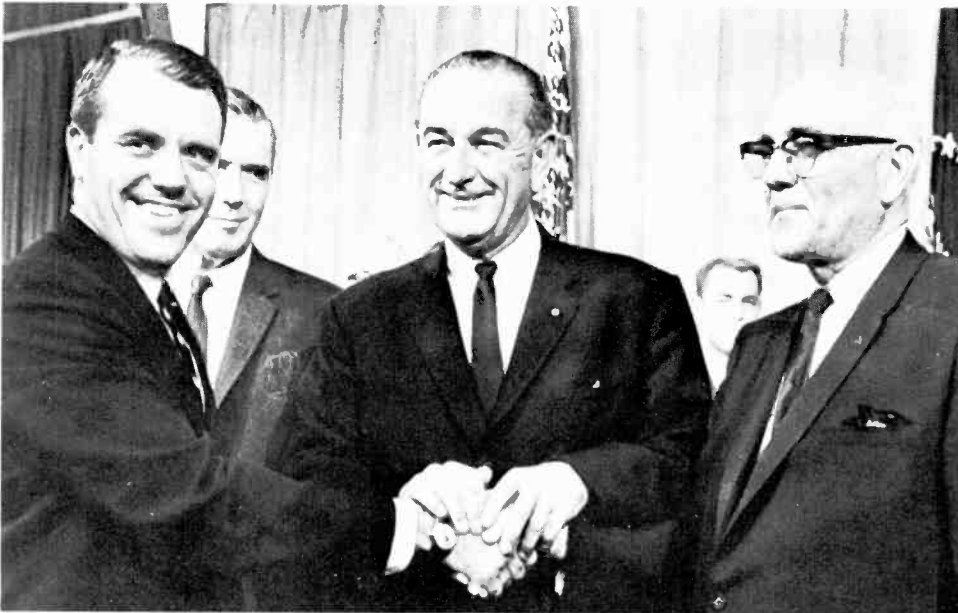
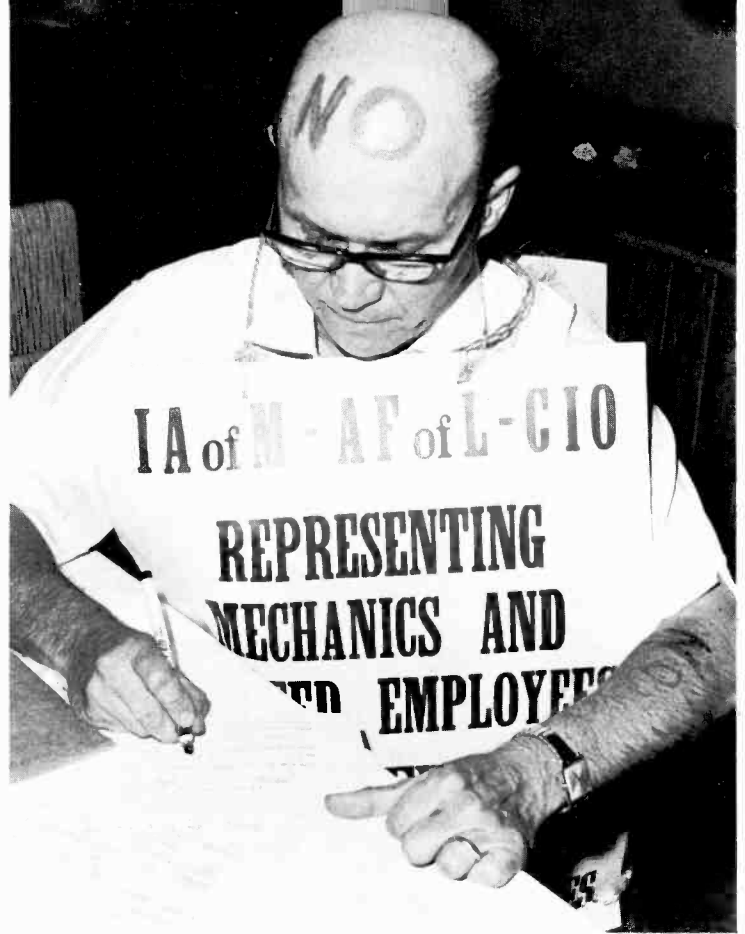


*Right:* On the second day of the New York subway strike, fiery leader Michael J. Quill says his TWU workers will not return without a four-day week. Defying injunction, Quill collapsed in jail. He died two weeks after the strikers accepted a mediation proposal short of his demands.

*Below:* A policeman patrols an empty midtown station on the first business day of the New Year as New York City's transit strike takes hold.



*Right:* This Long Island airlines machinist registers a visible ballot in the 3 to 1 rejection by workers of the agreement reached by their leaders with President Johnson to end the airlines strike. Three weeks later an improved contract, worked out with the aid of Assistant Secretary Reynolds, ended the nation's longest (forty-three days) and costliest airlines strike.



*Center:* On nationwide TV, President Johnson announces settlement of the three-week-old airlines strike on July 29th, with William J. Curtin, chief airlines negotiator, and P. L. Siemiller (right), President, International Association of Machinists. Behind Curtin is Assistant Secretary of Labor James Reynolds. These smiles faded when the mechanics and groundworkers voted to reject the presidential settlement.



*Bottom:* A New York Stock Exchange trading post viewed on May 5th. The Dow Jones Averages dropped 15 points to 899 following news of production cutbacks by General Motors, the sharpest one-day decline since President Kennedy's assassination. The market continued sliding to an all-year low of 744 on October 7, 1966, then recovered somewhat to 785 at year's end.



On the Berkeley campus of the University of California in October, Stokely Carmichael, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), gives his views to 14,000 jamming the Greek amphitheatre on black power, draft defiance, and the new society.

## 6. Civil Rights

AFTER A HEADY DECADE of success and unity, leaders of the civil-rights movement ran into new difficulties in 1966.

A crack within the movement developed into a wide gulf between the militant and separatist Negroes on one side and the advocates of nonviolence, Negroes and whites, on the other side. Then, too, white backlash, no longer a mere theory, helped to kill a new civil-rights law and warmed up the political pot during an election year.

The militant, revolutionary black-power approach to racial problems came to public attention after James H. Meredith was shot and wounded shortly after he began his lonely civil-rights walk through Mississippi.

The shooting was followed by a mass march through the state; but the demonstration was marked by disunity over goals and methods and by suspicion among the leaders. During the march, Dr. Martin Luther King's cries of "Freedom!" clashed with the rival cries of "Black Power!" by Stokely Carmichael, the young New Left leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Only a month before, John Lewis, a believer in the nonviolent approach, was replaced as SNCC chairman by Carmichael, a bright, forceful, twenty-four-year-old activist disillusioned with nonviolent techniques. Carmichael, before he was elected chairman, was the organizer of SNCC's Black Panther political party—an all-Negro movement—in Alabama's Black Belt.

Negro leaders quickly chose sides. Floyd McKissick of the Congress of Racial Equality echoed the demand for black power—a loose, emotional term that urged Negroes to grasp political, economic, and social power without regard to cooperation with whites.

On the other hand, Roy Wilkins, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Whitney Young, Jr., of the Urban League, criticized the black-power philosophy. They renewed their call for the nonviolent method—the integrated approach—as the most effective, and the only sane, route toward solving

racial problems. Mr. Wilkins described black power as "the father of hatred and the mother of violence."

Racial violence flared again across the country, following a pattern established during the previous two years: an isolated incident on a slum street sparking general rioting. There were outbreaks in the South—in Grenada, Mississippi, and Atlanta, Georgia. But most of the violence erupted in northern cities: San Francisco, Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Dayton, Detroit, Omaha, Baltimore, Des Moines, Brooklyn, Benton Harbor, Muskegon, and Amityville, Long Island. Twice during the year, in March and May, there was rioting in the Watts District of Los Angeles, scene of the shattering disturbances of August 1965.

Dr. King said that the spread of the civil-rights movement to the North was the "most significant event" of the year; and he accused Chicago of being "the most hostile bastion of *de facto* segregation in the North." In August, while leading a group of demonstrators through crowds of angry whites, Dr. King was hit on the head—just over the right ear—by a rock. He stumbled, but resumed marching. Nearly a thousand policemen were required to control a riot situation among the four thousand white spectators. The demonstrators' goal was to break down housing barriers, to end what in effect were segregated neighborhoods. They achieved a kind of victory when Chicago's civic leaders agreed to Dr. King's demands for an "open city," and promised to take steps to open all-white neighborhoods to Negroes.

At least two factors forced the shift in emphasis to the North: (1) Most legislation to eliminate racial barriers in the South had already been passed, and civil-rights leaders began to direct their aim at what they called *de facto* segregation in the North. (2) Negroes in northern ghettos, shunning the type of nonviolent protest favored by middleclass Negroes, began to look on spontaneous rioting and looting as a "legitimate" form of protest. While Dr. King's marches in Chicago followed the

older pattern of nonviolent protest, there were, in the same city, sporadic riots in the slums, breaking out because the city refused to allow fire hydrants to be used in the summer as sprinklers for Negro children.

Some social scientists came up with a partial answer to the riots. They noted that in periods of prosperity and social change, there is violence among the dispossessed, presumably because the poor are not sharing in the wealth or benefiting from the change.

The cries for black power and the widespread rioting had their effect on the white communities. Congressional mail ran strongly against a new civil-rights bill, especially against Title IV, which would have prohibited discrimination in the sale and rental of most dwellings. The House watered it down; the Senate killed it.

The pressure of white backlash also was apparent in the elections. (See Chapter 4, POLITICS AND PARTIES.)

Civil-rights organizations suffered financially also. With new emphasis on the North, and with the growing Negro militancy, many white liberals were either frightened away from the movement or were deliberately snubbed; and their enthusiasm toward the cause, and their contributions to it, began to dwindle.

In May, at a White House Conference on Civil Rights, Negroes and whites—including poor whites—discussed, and sometimes quarreled over, the many-sided problems of poverty and prejudice. A thick report and a large number of recommendations came out of the meeting—but, in a year simmering with leadership feuds, disenchantment, backlash, and frustrations, the conference seemed to have made an insignificant impact on the affairs of civil rights. Segregation in schools, twelve years after the Supreme Court had banned it, remained a constant and disturbing issue both in the South and North.



*Above:* Civil Rights leader James Meredith, grimacing with pain, pulls himself off Highway 51 in Mississippi after being ambushed by a lone white segregationist. Meredith had announced his 220-mile walk from Memphis to Jackson as a “march against fear” to encourage Deep South Negroes to register and vote.

*Right:* One of Meredith’s companions, Protestant Episcopal priest Robert Weeks of Monroe, New York, pleads for help from bystanders as Meredith lies bleeding from shotgun flesh wounds; Sherwood Ross, a Washington, D.C., newsman and Meredith’s press coordinator, is alongside. Meredith’s wounds were not serious; he rejoined the march two weeks later.





## CIVIL RIGHTS



*Above:* Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At their annual convention in July, Wilkins led his group in condemning the "black power" doctrine.

*Center:* At Canton, Mississippi, about twenty-five miles from their goal, the Jackson State Capitol, civil-rights marchers are driven out of a tent they have erected on schoolgrounds by state troopers with tear gas. Meredith, recovered, joined the march the next day. Internal clashes with "black power" factions blunted its effect.

*Below:* Martin Luther King, Jr., kneeling, at left, leads civil-rights marchers in hymn singing in an all-white section of Chicago's southwest side. King was hit above the ear by a stone thrown by one of the four thousand whites lining his route, but continued the march.





*Top:* On the streets of Cicero, Illinois, in September, a National Guardsman's bayonet draws blood from a bare-chested white youth who persists in blocking a civil-rights march. Fifteen were injured among the 3,000 spectators; 2,500 Guardsmen and police protected the 250 marchers.

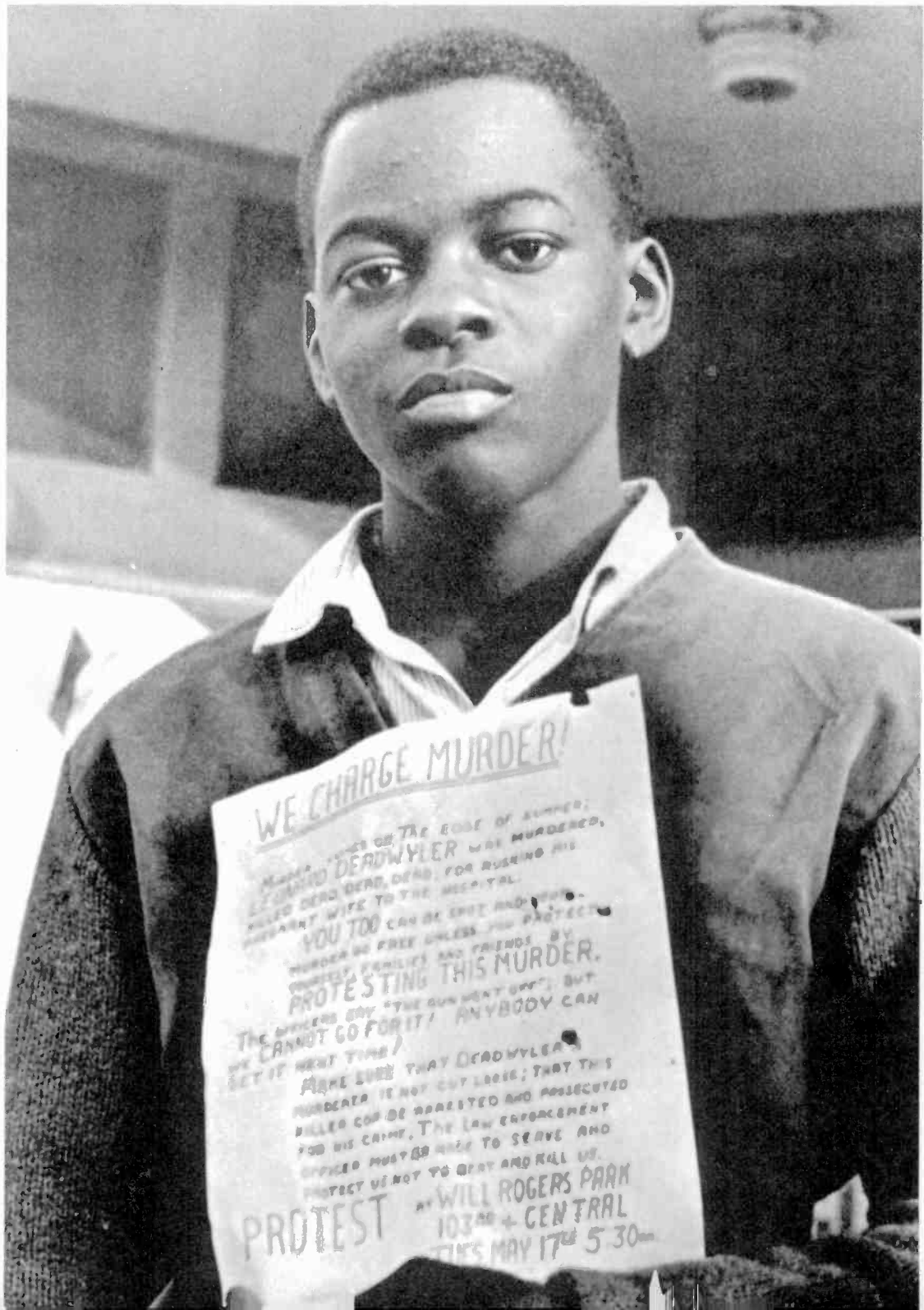
*Center:* A crowd of residents of all-white Gage Park on Chicago's southwest side display their answer to "black power" during a civil-rights march.

*Bottom:* This time the Chicago police lines protect the route of George Rockwell's extreme rightist group marching defiantly through a Negro neighborhood. A Negro youth who broke through their lines has been mauled by one of the marchers.



*Left:* At a December Senate subcommittee hearing on big-city problems, Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), declares the slogan "black power" is not a call for violence but for Negroes to rally strength for their improvement. A few days later, ex-CORE National Director James Farmer scored black power as a dangerous illusion.

*Below:* Down the heart of the Watts section in Los Angeles walks a Negro youth charging a policeman with murder in the death of Watts resident Leonard Deadwyler, as a coroner's inquest into the fatal shooting begins. Negroes stormed the courthouse; when a local TV outlet furnished live coverage, the audience dwindled. The policeman was exonerated.





JESUS DID  
NOT CHOOSE  
NON WHITE  
APOSTLES



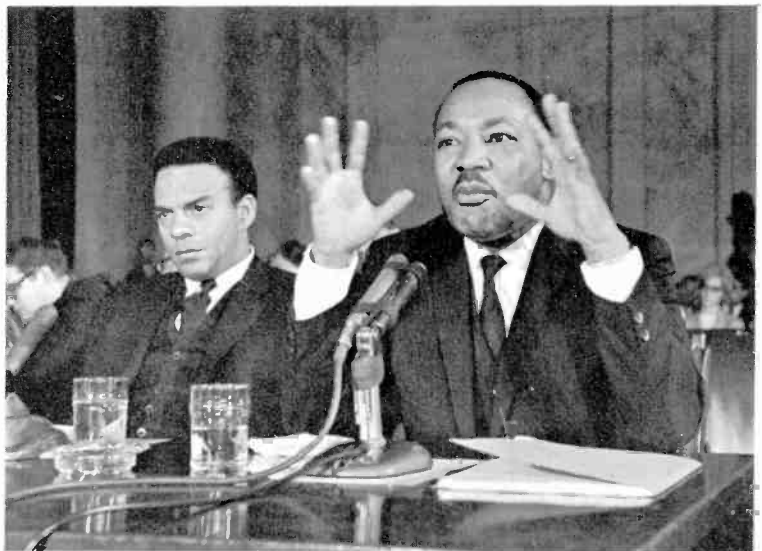
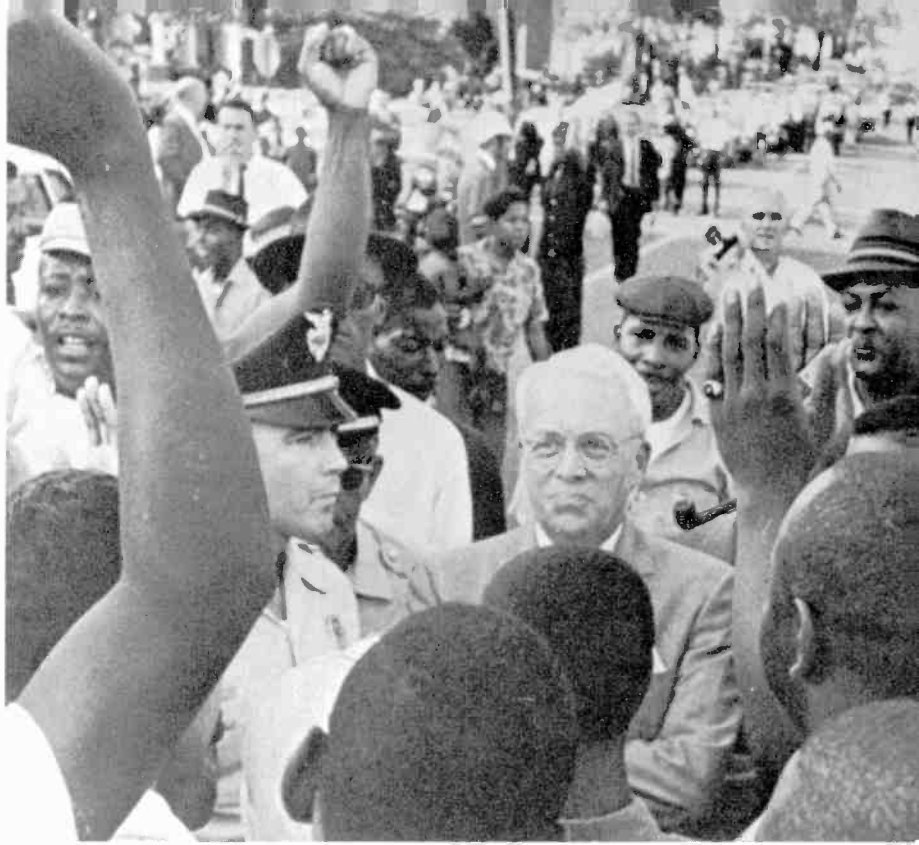
*Opposite:* A white woman pickets a Negro bishop's consecration in January in New Orleans. Harold R. Perry, appointed by Pope Paul as the nation's only Catholic Negro bishop, passes a placard held by Mrs. B. J. Gaillot, who was excommunicated in 1962 for her anti-integration activities. The sign facing the procession reads "Remember them, oh Lord, that defile the priesthood."

*Above:* In a day of rioting in Atlanta after a Negro has been shot, Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., stands firm as Negroes shouting "black power" mill around him when he tries to halt the demonstration. Another riot broke out after a shooting two days later. More than 35 were injured and 138 arrested in incidents that were condemned by civil-rights moderates.

*Below left:* Lucius D. Amerson smiles broadly and signals "V for Victory" after defeating two white candidates for sheriff of Macon County, Alabama. He is the first Negro to hold the position of sheriff in Alabama since Reconstruction.

*Below center:* The Catholic pastor of a parish in Milwaukee's Negro ghetto, the Reverend James Groppi (right), greets Roy Wilkins in September. Between them is a member of NAACP's Milwaukee Youth Council, which, led by Father Groppi, has been picketing the homes of members of an anti-Negro fraternal group—the Order of Eagles. The picketing stopped after the Eagles' leaders agreed to discuss issues with the NAACP.

*Bottom:* At a Senate subcommittee hearing, studying city problems and poverty, Dr. Martin Luther King urges a guaranteed income as a way to end poverty and slums. On his right is his executive assistant, Andrew J. Young. King condemned civil-rights violence, called the black-power slogan "very unfortunate," and said the Vietnam war should be stopped.





**Out by chopper! Battle-torn soldiers of the 1st Cavalry Division under fire sprint through a cemetery at Hoa Chau toward an evacuation helicopter. Prop wash whips up a dust storm.**

## 7. Vietnam

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, the complexion of the war in Vietnam changed gradually; but viewed in the light of this year's developments, the changes have been dramatic.

At the start of 1965, there were 23,000 American troops in South Vietnam, and they were still called "advisers"; by January, 1966, the American force totaled 181,000; by the end of the year, the total more than doubled, to 372,000, and the American fighting man by now was bearing the major brunt of the war.

The figure surpassed the number of American troops in Korea—327,000—during the peak of the Korean War in 1953. The October draft call, 46,200, was the largest since May, 1953, during the Korean War. And American casualties, in some weeks, surpassed those of the South Vietnamese casualties. From December, 1961, when the first American soldier died in an ambush in Vietnam, to the end of 1965, more than 1,300 Americans were killed in action in Vietnam. By the end of 1966, that number had increased by 5,344, for a total of over 6,600.

The steady escalation was unaccompanied by any clear promise that the Communists were ready for peace, despite a number of optimistic statements by American officials during the year. There was talk about "light at then end of the tunnel." General William Westmoreland, commander of United States forces in Vietnam, said, "A Communist military takeover in South Vietnam is no longer just improbable . . . it is impossible." Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge suggested the possibility that the Communists may just give up, without the formality of a surrender or peace negotiations.

But, at the close of the year, determined Communist forces were still in evidence in South Vietnam. There were several large-scale battles during 1966, and, for the most part, the Communists suffered heavy losses. One of the biggest battles of the war occurred November 3–12, about fifty miles north of Saigon, near Cambodia. The battle, called Operation Attleboro, lasted nine days. On the Communist side, there were several thousand troops,

including the best-trained and equipped Viet Cong division, and the 101st North Vietnamese Regiment. At the height of the fighting, 20,000 American and South Vietnamese troops were committed, a record number. These included the United States First and 25th Infantry divisions, the 196th Light Infantry Brigade, the 173rd Airborne Brigade and two South Vietnamese battalions. The allied forces killed nearly a thousand Communists, and Operation Attleboro was credited with thwarting a major offensive planned by the Communists.

Because of such failures by Communists in large-scale conventional combat, there was growing belief that North Vietnamese and Viet Cong strategists were planning to shift back to their original war plans—the small-unit, fast-moving guerrilla attacks and withdrawals.

American air attacks on targets in North and South Vietnam were so frequent during the year that they became almost routine. At the end of July, the United States bomber offensive extended to the so-called Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), which is a strip of buffer land dividing the two Vietnams. The United States charged that the North Vietnamese set up military camps and supply depots in the DMZ.

These raids added to the diplomatic tensions generated a month earlier by the opening of air attacks on the Hanoi-Haiphong area. There were Communist complaints that air raids on the Hanoi area hit civilian neighborhoods in the city. American officials at first denied any bombing of civilians. However, after an American correspondent's eyewitness account of heavy damage in populated areas in and around Hanoi, there were fresh explanations from Washington: that the American planes sought out strictly military targets but that there was the possibility that the damage had spread to civilian areas.

While the United States pressed its war effort with vigor, it pushed on intermittently with a peace offensive.

The year began with an extensive American peace initiative. High United States officials fanned out to the

world capitals in a concerted campaign to achieve a cease-fire and peace in Vietnam. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg sounded out Pope Paul, French President Charles de Gaulle, and British Prime Minister Harold Wilson; Vice President Hubert Humphrey toured Japan, Nationalist China, South Korea, and the Philippines; Ambassador-at-Large W. Averell Harriman and Assistant Secretary of State G. Mennen Williams also visited foreign capitals.

Along with the diplomatic campaign, the United States attempted to bring about "conditions of peace" by extending its pause in the bombing of North Vietnam—a lull that started during the Christmas season in 1965. All this was Washington's way of saying again that it was ready to enter "unconditional discussions." Communist China and North Vietnam denounced United States motives, and, at the end of January, the bombing of North Vietnam resumed.

Later in the year, Ambassador Goldberg offered in the United Nations a step-by-step de-escalation plan that the United States would adhere to if Hanoi would come up with assurances of taking corresponding steps. Again, there was no positive response from the Communists.

At the close of the year, appeals were made and hopes were expressed that the holiday truce agreements could lead to a more long-term peace arrangement.

Notable critics of the Vietnam war had opportunities to express themselves to the American public during the year. February was the month for the big-name dissenters.

In that month's edition of *Harper's Magazine*, retired Lieutenant General James Gavin warned that if the United States expanded the war in Vietnam, Communist China could be expected to enter the war and also attack South Korea. He proposed that the United States permanently call off the North Vietnam air strikes, withdraw its forces to enclaves along the South Vietnamese coast, and negotiate to end the war. The article stirred up heated controversy. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara said that Pentagon officers had considered the enclave idea, and all of them had rejected it.

Also in February, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held televised hearings on Vietnam. In his testimony, Gavin said United States policy had become "alarmingly out of balance." He added, "We have been escalating at the will of our opponents rather than on our own judgment." George Kennan, former diplomat and currently with the Institute for Advanced Study, testified: "Our military involvement in Vietnam has to be recognized as unfortunate. . . . It would be our aim to liquidate this involvement just as soon as this can be done without inordinate damage to our own prestige or to the stability of conditions in that area."

However, General Maxwell Taylor, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and former ambassador to South Vietnam, defended American aims, which he defined as the independence of South Vietnam and its

freedom from attack and a determination to show that a Communist war of liberation is costly, dangerous, and doomed to failure. Secretary of State Dean Rusk told the senators, "These are moments when toughness is absolutely essential to peace."

In March, congressional authorization of an extra \$4.8 billion for the war was interpreted as legislative support for President Johnson's "middle course" in Vietnam. The Senate voted for the authorization, 93 to 2, and the House by 392 to 4. In the Senate, where much of the criticism of the war was centered, an amendment offered by Senator Wayne Morse was killed, 92 to 5. Morse's amendment would have repealed the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution in which Congress gave President Johnson prior approval for "all necessary measures" to repel aggression in Southeast Asia.

Street demonstrations against the war—particularly the United States involvement in it—continued in this country and elsewhere. The twenty-first anniversary of the atom bombing of Hiroshima on August 6th, served as an excuse for a series of anti-Vietnam war protests across the country. On that day five thousand persons marched to Times Square in New York City; the Manhattan offices of the Dow Chemical Company were picketed to protest the firm's manufacture of napalm; a three-hour rally was held at Philadelphia's Independence Hall; four thousand marched in San Francisco; and there were also demonstrations in Cleveland, Denver, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Boston, and Atlanta.

In the volatile politics of South Vietnam, Premier Nguyen Cao Ky moved effectively to guard his position of power during the year. The premier was apparently encouraged by the warmth shown him by President Johnson in Honolulu (see Chapter 1, THE PRESIDENCY); and, anticipating no American interference, he initiated the dismissal of an ambitious rival general, Nguyen Chanh Thi, as commander of I Army Corps. The dismissal stirred Buddhist unrest, especially in the northern provinces of South Vietnam where General Thi held command. In a show of military force, Premier Ky put down the dissidents, which included pro-Thi troops in addition to a number of Buddhists.

In September, by Saigon's figures, more than 80 percent of the eligible voters turned out in national elections to choose 117 members for a constituent assembly. The assembly was to draft a constitution and draw up rules for organizing a permanent legislature. There were Viet Cong attempts to keep voters from the polls; some anti-Ky Buddhist elements urged a boycott. The large turnout was interpreted as victory for Ky, and for American diplomacy.

As for the Buddhists, who in the past were instrumental in bringing down governments in Saigon, the leadership among the dissidents was fragmented, and their political power seemed to have melted away by the end of the year.

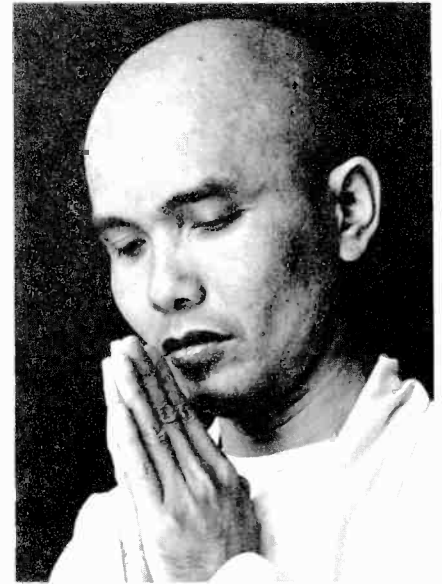
## VIETNAM



*Left:* An army medic, Thomas Cole of Richmond, Virginia, his left eye and cheek wounded, cradles a buddy's head while under fire in South Vietnam. These 1st Cavalry Division men have just taken this trench from its Viet Cong defenders.

*Below:* A muddy rice paddy is precious shelter against heavy Viet Cong fire for this foot soldier. This battle at An Thi raged for twenty-four hours.





*Above:* The foremost Buddhist political leader in Vietnam, and head of its United Buddhist Church, Thich Tri Quang, meditates during a rally at a Danang pagoda in mid-April. He strongly aided in quieting the anti-government Buddhist demonstrations.

*Top:* United States Ambassador to Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge (left) and Commander of United States Forces in South Vietnam, William Westmoreland (center), hold an informal conference with Presidential Adviser Walt Rostow during the Manila summer conference in October. Rostow's report in 1961 to President Kennedy, after a Vietnam mission, recommending greater United States effort, up to 10,000 "advisers," marked the beginning of deep United States involvement.

*Center:* In front of the American Embassy in Saigon, a demonstration in May against Premier Ky begins as one monk waves a Vietnamese flag and shouts protests, and another (right) starts his sitdown. Tear-gas grenades from Vietnamese troops dispersed the group.

*Below right:* North Vietnam's Premier Ho Chi Minh, leader of the state from its inception, attends a party in August to mark the twenty-first anniversary of North Vietnam's Declaration of Independence from the French in 1946. Ho, seventy-seven, was born in Central Vietnam, was a dishwasher in London, became a Communist in Paris in the twenties, and was then trained in Moscow.



## VIETNAM

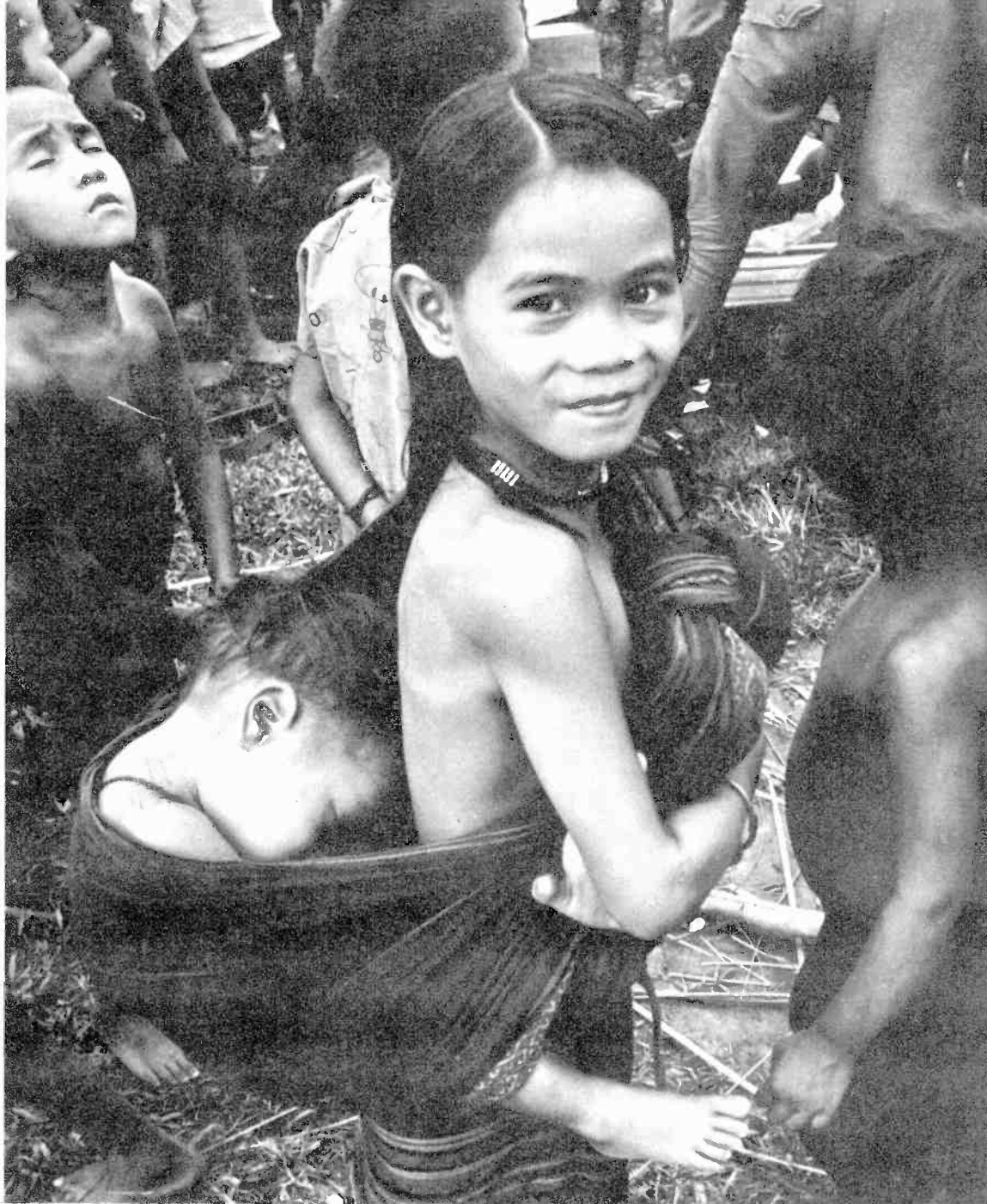


*Left:* A “get-out-the-vote” parade by government election workers in Saigon two weeks before the September 11th national elections. The big banner exhorts voters of Gia Dinh Province to vote the solid government ticket.

*Below:* Women and children crouch in muddy canal water as they take refuge from intense Viet Cong fire at Bao Trai in South Vietnam. Behind them, paratroopers of the 173rd Airborne Brigade are firing at the enemy. The women and children were found by the paratroopers when the latter assaulted a densely populated Viet Cong stronghold twenty miles west of Saigon. They were taken along for later evacuation, but had to go through several fire fights on the way.







*Above:* While her little sister sleeps snugly in a sling, this little Vietnamese Montagnard girl from the highland village of Dak To waits in line for treatment by medics of a United States Special Forces team visiting the village.

*Right:* On his lightning visit to South Vietnam on October 26th, President Johnson talks to American troops at the Camranh Bay base. Seated are (from left) General William Westmoreland, Commander of United States Forces in South Vietnam; Major General Nguyen Van Thieu, Vietnamese Chief of State; Premier Nguyen Cao Ky of Vietnam; and United States Secretary of State Dean Rusk.



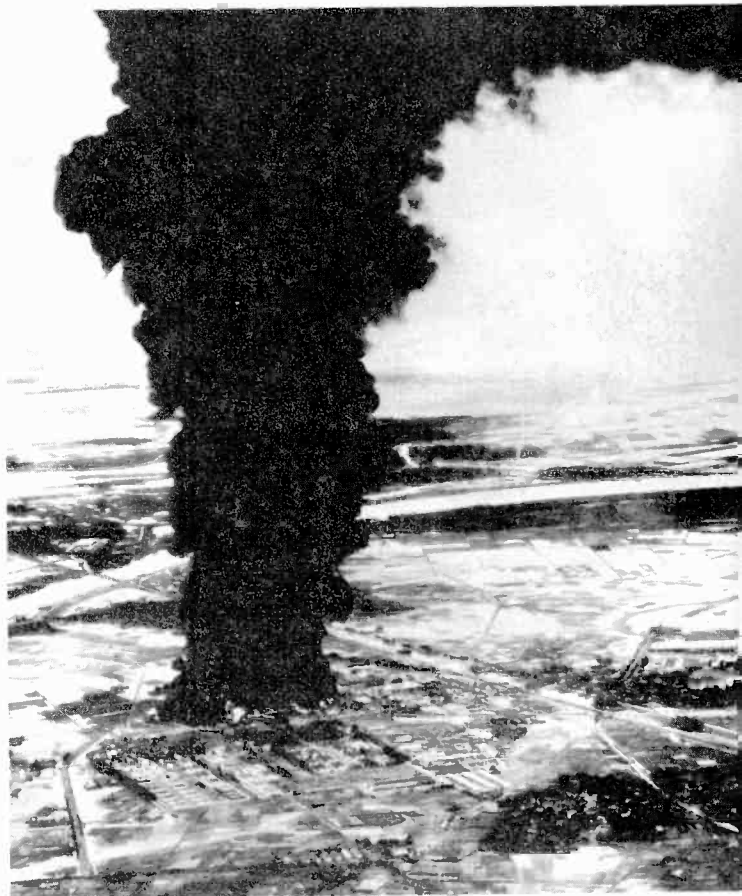
## VIETNAM



*Left:* The helicopter war. This is a CH-47A Chinook helicopter bringing the main body of troops into a secure landing zone during a drive against the Viet Cong.

*Below left:* Follow the leader. Three members of an Air Force Combat Control Team, the first ever to parachute into a combat zone, watch Vietnamese Army paratroopers drop into a Viet Cong-infiltrated area. The team jumped first to mark the drop zone for the paratroopers.

*Below right:* Oil tanks near the Vietnamese capital of Hanoi are hit by United States bombers in a June raid. Defense Department sources say the supply and support areas in foreground and next to the target were untouched.





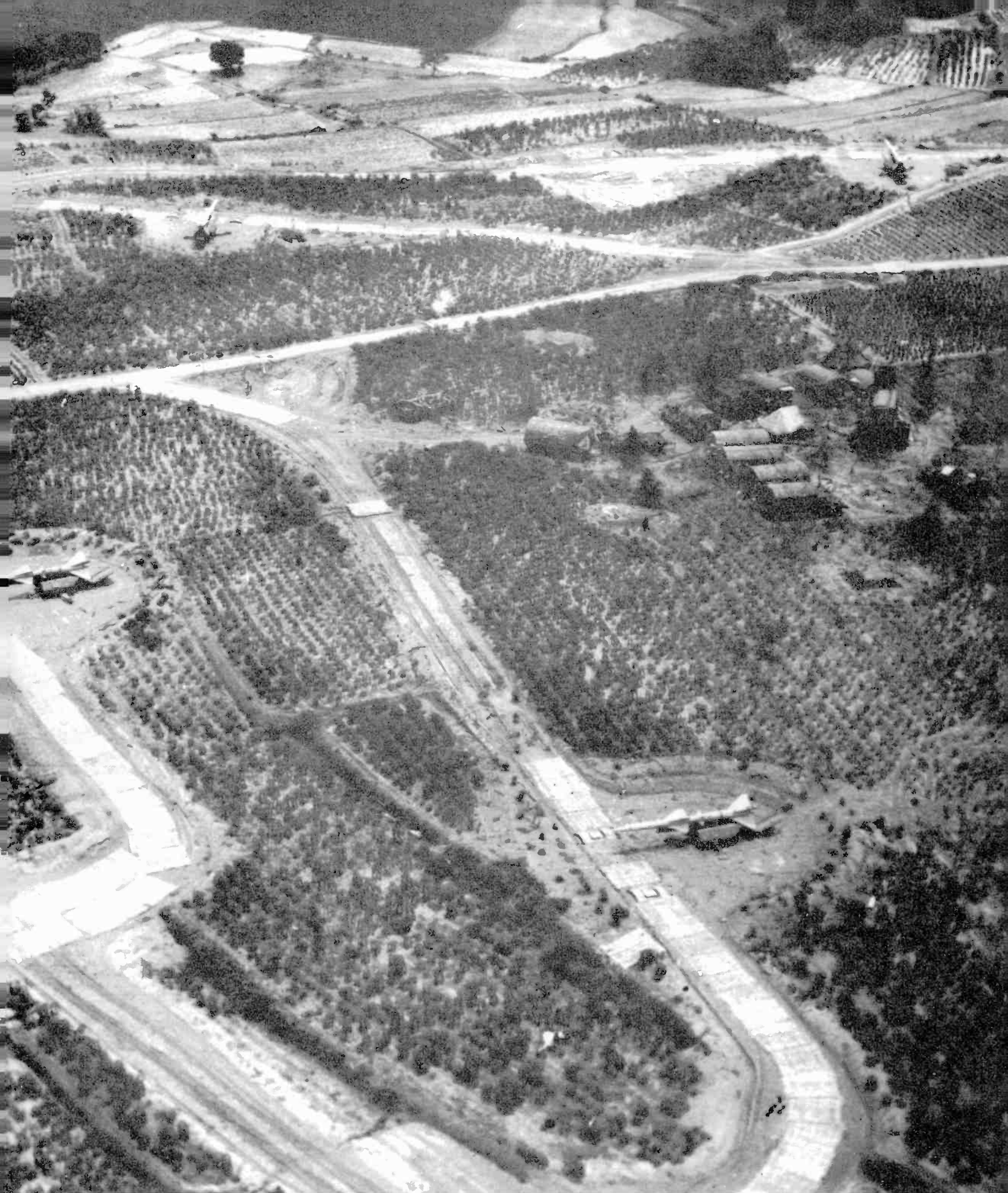
*Top:* Throughout March and April, antiwar demonstrations broke out in the United States, and found echoes abroad. Often antiwar demonstrators were heckled or beaten. Here, New York demonstrators (left) parade with placards across from the Stock Exchange. Police move in to separate them from the jeering hecklers at right.



*Center:* These peasant homes in Nam Dinh, North Vietnam, were bombed, according to Hanoi, by "US Aggressors as a military target." The photo was released through Polish sources in mid-December. Dispatches from Hanoi by Harrison Salisbury, respected *New York Times* reporter, during a year-end visit in Hanoi, created widespread controversy. They indicated that United States bombings had caused important civilian damage and loss of life.



*Bottom:* Captured American pilots are paraded handcuffed through the streets of Hanoi on their way to interrogation. Their captors threatened that United States airmen would be tried as war criminals. After warnings by the United States and appeals by Pope Paul and the UN's U Thant, Ho Chi Minh said there was "no trial in view."



An Air Force reconnaissance pilot catches a North Vietnamese missile site with four surface-to-air (SAM) missiles on their launchers. Guidance and control equipment is clustered in huts at upper right. These reconnaissance pilots fly unarmed RF-101 Voodoos.



*Left:* Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara unpacks a bulging briefcase on January 21st as he prepares to resume testimony before the combined sessions of the Senate's Armed Services Committee and Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. He appeared before the senators to urge approval of \$12.7 billion more to carry on the conflict in Vietnam.

*Below:* Various antiwar groups join in this "peace parade" down New York's Fifth Avenue, among them the W. E. DuBois Club, later under fire as a pro-Communist group.





*Ron Nessen, from Washington, D.C., went from UPI to NBC Washington in 1962. He covered the Vietnam War from September, 1965, until he was wounded nearly a year later. He returned to the United States for recuperation and reassignment as Latin American Correspondent.*

## Vietnam: Hopes and Realities

**Ron Nessen**

NBC News Vietnam Correspondent

THE YEAR 1966 BEGAN and ended with great hopes for peace in Vietnam. And that's all they amounted to: hopes.

American officials claim, rightly, that the buildup of United States troops, weapons, planes and helicopters in 1966 forced the Communists to hide from head-on battles and to concentrate instead on hit-and-run attacks, guerrilla warfare, and terrorism.

Time and again in 1966 American power smashed big Communist units when they could be found and engaged. But time and again in 1966 the Communists clobbered small American units when they could be caught off by themselves.

Rooting out small guerrilla bands and terrorists is a much tougher job and a much longer job than slugging it out with Communist battalions and regiments in open warfare. But that job must be done before the war can be won.

The war will never be won until every Communist political chief, tax collector, propaganda agent, and terrorist in every one of South Vietnam's 14,000 hamlets is rooted out and a Saigon government wins the loyalty of the hamlets.

This rooting-out campaign is called "pacification."

The same American officials who announce publicly that pacification is rolling rapidly on the highroad to success concede privately that the program is in a mess. Many of the first South Vietnamese pacification cadres trained at a special school turned out to be worthless. In one fifty-nine-man team fifty-seven men deserted.

Many cadre teams are afraid to sleep in the hamlets they are supposed to pacify because they fear the Viet Cong will come in the night and kill them.

One top American pacification expert explains, "The cadres are not undermotivated. They are over-scared."

So, a major strategy decision was made in 1966: Most of the South Vietnamese army would be pulled out of combat and given the job of guarding the pacification workers.

Some Americans think this could make matters worse. They think the soldiers may further alienate the villagers by treating them roughly, stealing their rice, chickens and pigs, and commandeering their homes. In some of the first hamlets where the troops were placed on guard duty, they seemed to do more sleeping than guarding. Even some of the soldiers were afraid to remain in the villages overnight.

Top American officials admit in private they don't know the answer to pacification. But until the answer can be found the war cannot be won.

The South Vietnamese themselves must supply the answer. If American troops take over the job of rooting out the Viet Cong agents in every hamlet and replacing them with a free government, then the United States will simply be occupying South Vietnam. Someday the occupation troops will have to go home, and then Saigon will be faced all over again with the problem of finding that answer.

In October, 1966, President Johnson, Prime Minister Ky, and the leaders of all the other nations fighting the Communists in South Vietnam met in Manila to discuss the progress of the war. Pacification, of course, was a main topic of conversation. Hand in hand with this went a United States proposal that South Vietnam declare an amnesty for all Communists who gave up and joined the government side. President Johnson wanted Prime Minister Ky to promise to give any defecting Communist a job under the Saigon government roughly equal to the job he held under the Viet Cong. In other words, a Viet Cong village chief who defected would be made the chief of a free village. Or a captain in the Viet Cong army would be made a captain in the South Vietnamese army.

The idea has been carried out halfheartedly at best. Understandably, many South Vietnamese don't want to give a good job to a man who only yesterday was trying to kill them.

Communist defections did increase in 1966, or so the official statistics claim. But almost no Viet Cong of any rank gave up. Most of the defectors seemed to be messengers, porters, and lowly foot soldiers, some of them kidnapped and impressed by the Communists in the first place.

Meanwhile, South Vietnam has its own enormous desertion problem. Perhaps as many as one out of every six members of the South Vietnamese armed forces

walked away from his unit and went home. Thousands more dodge the draft. There is no better proof that the Vietnamese are war-weary.

The biggest success story of 1966 in Vietnam did not take place on a battlefield at all. It took place in little shacks and open marketplaces and schools where millions of South Vietnamese voted freely for an assembly to write a new constitution.

The Viet Cong tried to stop the election by terror, but they couldn't.

The turnout was impressive, although probably not as high as the 80 percent the government claimed. Many who voted did so in order to obtain the identification cards they need. Communists and "neutralists" were barred from running for the assembly. So it was not a fully democratic election by American standards. But it was a great accomplishment for South Vietnam in the midst of a war.

The assembly met, bickered, and debated for a long time, and finally approved a constitution modeled after the American, French, and South Korean systems.

Now Prime Minister Ky says there will be an election for a civilian government in 1967, and then he and his military regime will step down. Ky has kept his promises on earlier steps toward civilian government, and there is no reason to think he will break his promise on this final step.

When and if South Vietnam elects a civilian government, it will be a big step toward destroying the Viet Cong claim that they are the only true representatives of the people.

Ky says his only ambition is to return to the Air Force. But many observers think he will resign from the military and run for president of a civilian government.

Ky has learned a great deal about the business of running a government. With great skill he has kept peace among the ambitious rival generals in his government. He follows the advice he receives in private from

American officials.

In the spring of 1966, Ky skillfully put down a revolt by a small group of militant Buddhists who thought they should run South Vietnam. Following the advice of then Ambassador Lodge and other American officials, the prime minister used just enough force to end the revolt, without using so much force that he would set off the kind of reaction that overthrew President Ngo Dinh Diem in a similar confrontation with the Buddhists in 1963.

Winston Churchill wrote that history offers no alternatives. Once a nation has chosen a course of action, it cannot change its mind, go back to the crossroads, and try another way.

Whatever wrong turns were taken in the past, President Johnson is committed to his course of gradually increasing the military pressure until the Communists give up their attempt to take over South Vietnam by force. The alternatives are even less attractive: Destroy North Vietnam and probably still not win, or give up the fight and allow the Communists to take over South Vietnam and probably much of the rest of Asia against the wishes of the people.

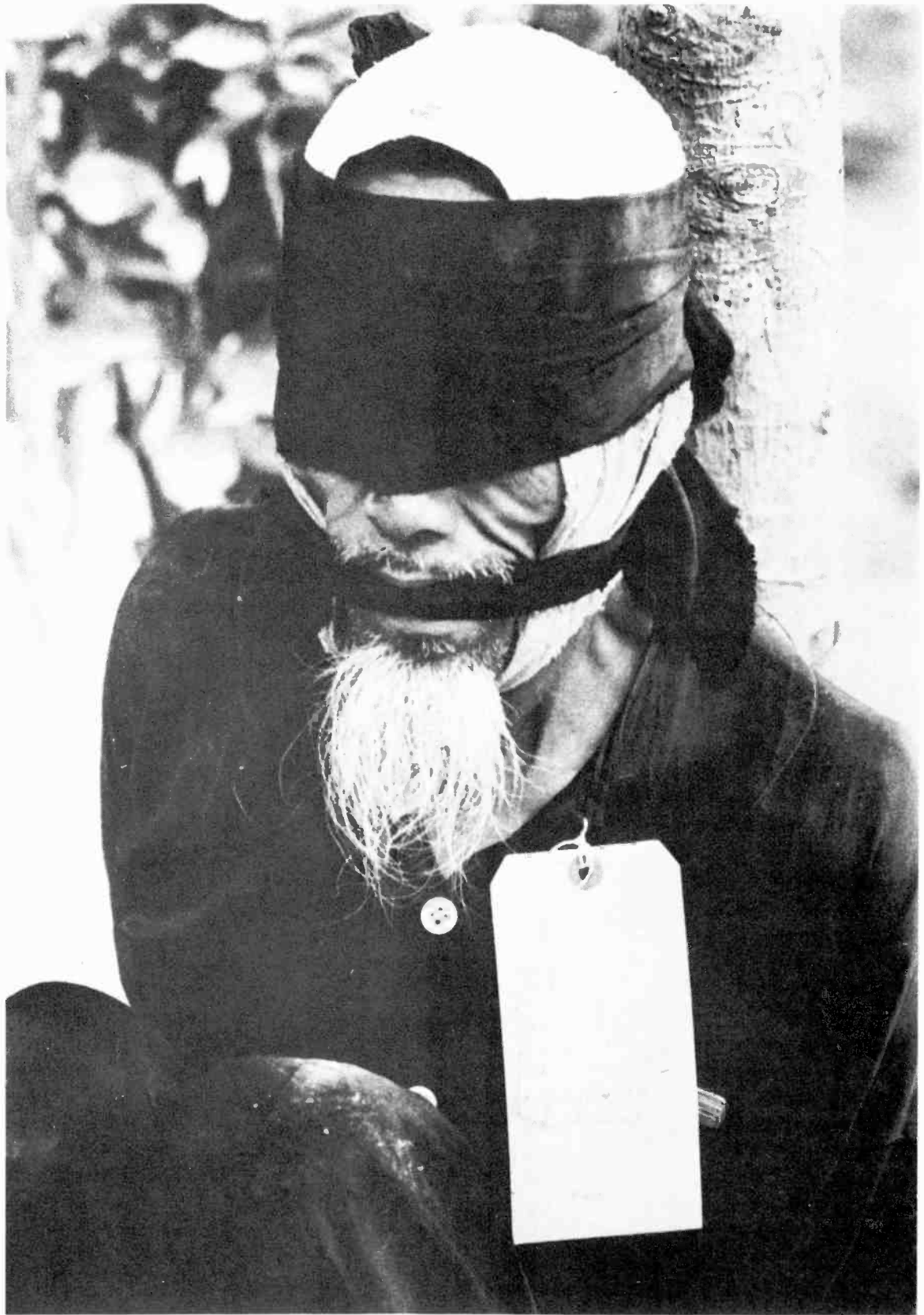
A more positive case can be made out for President Johnson's course. If the United States sticks it out and finally persuades North Vietnam to leave South Vietnam alone, then the United States can look back with pride at having helped create a free, democratic, prosperous nation where no such nation existed before.

As 1966 ended, there was a stalemate in Vietnam.

The United States could not lose the military war. But South Vietnam could not seem to win the pacification war.

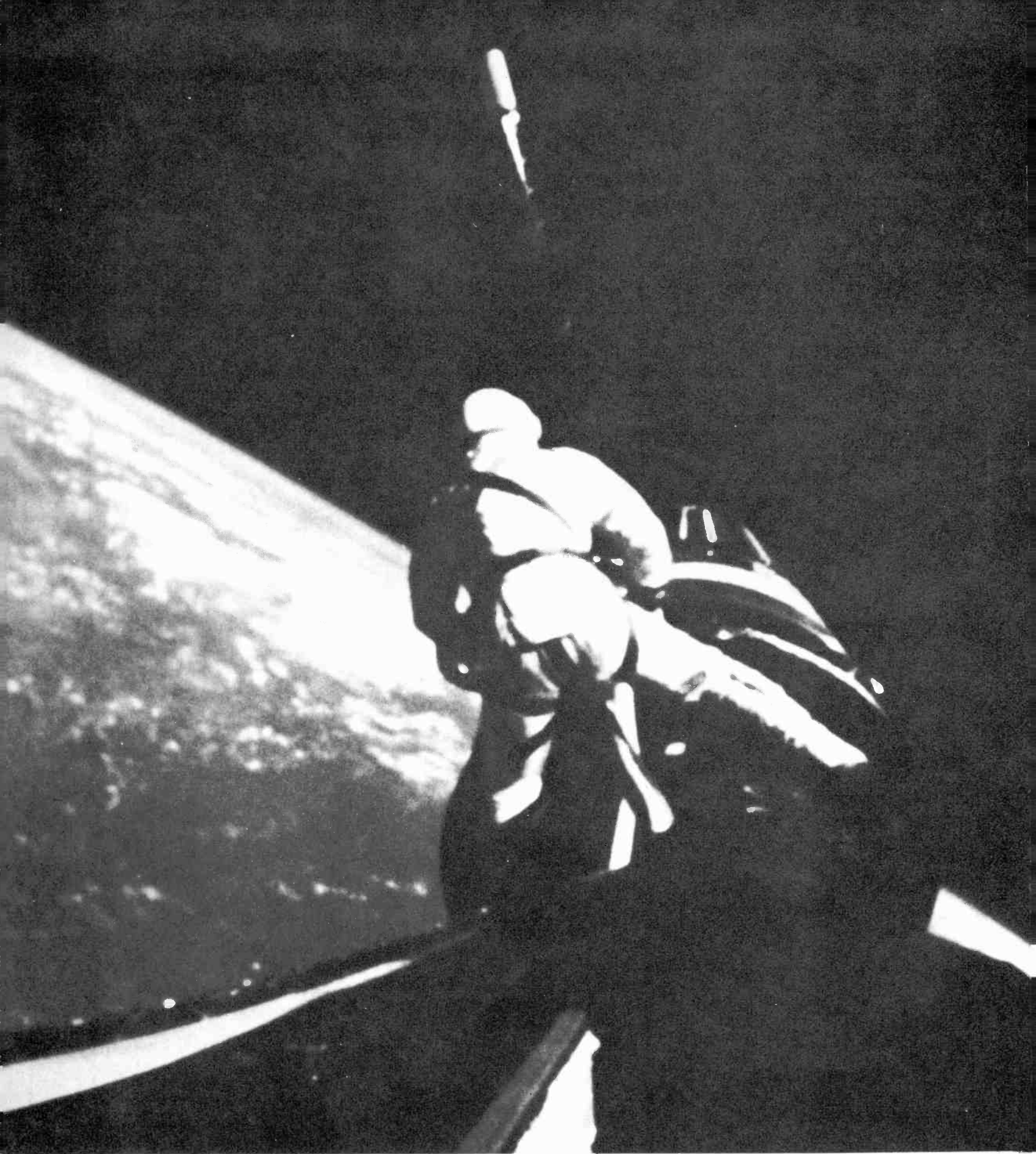
One thing can change the outlook: if the American people get tired of the war.

The French soldiers were forced to give up the first Indo-China war not by the Viet Minh at Dienbienphu, but by the French voters at home.



An old villager of Lap Thuan, near Danang (in South Vietnam), finds himself involved in a new grim game of tag. United States Marines have been cleaning out Viet Cong elements in the area. The bottom of his tag reads “. . . interrogate believe to known more than he knows.”





**Astronaut Gordon, like a cosmic broncobuster, fights his way along the spacecraft to attach a tether to the Agena docking vehicle. Gordon had less fortune with his walk in space, however. Exhaustion and fogged vision forced him back into the spacecraft after forty-four minutes.**

## 8. Space

IN 1966, THE UNITED STATES moved into the final phase of its push to put a man on the moon by the end of the decade. So much was learned during the year about outer space and man's ability to operate in it that the possibility loomed of a moon landing by the end of 1968, a full year earlier than the deadline proclaimed by President Kennedy in 1961.

A major question was whether this rush was still a race. The Soviet Union, though in 1966 it beat the United States in taking the first photographs ever snapped on the surface of the moon, passed the year without a single manned space shot. The Soviet's last manned shot was in March, 1965.

Speculations on Soviet intentions did not slow the American program. The United States sent out five two-man space voyages, completing all the steps of the Gemini program and setting the stage for the program that will culminate in the actual moon landing—Apollo. And American satellites took the most spectacular pictures ever made of the surface of the moon.

Progress was also made in other space projects. A world weather watch using information-gathering satellites continued to take shape. A relay satellite over the Pacific joined the network begun by the Early Bird over the Atlantic for intercontinental transmission of television programs and other communications. And at the United Nations, the United States and Russia agreed never to put weapons of mass destruction in space.

For the human drama of space, however, it was the manned space flights that held the stage in 1966. And for human drama, nothing before or since beat the first manned flight of the year, Gemini 8.

On March 16th, test pilot Neil Armstrong and Air Force Major David Scott began their Gemini 8 voyage by doing something new, and then for several tense hours appeared on the verge of giving up their lives for it. The "something new" was the first space linkup of two orbiting craft. One hundred and eighty-five miles over the

coast of Brazil, Armstrong and Scott closed the gap between their craft and an Agena target vehicle that had been launched ninety minutes earlier; then they eased the nose of the Gemini into the docking cone of the Agena, put out three mooring latches, and joined the vehicles' electrical systems.

All seemed to be in order; on the ground, the word came through that "all in all, the pilots are acting extremely ho-hum about the whole thing." Television networks that had been covering the feat resumed their normal schedules.

Suddenly Command Pilot Armstrong's voice crackled: "We are toppling end over end . . . we can't turn anything off . . . we are in a violent left roll." The two docked craft were cartwheeling crazily out of control, and viewers tuning in to the quickly revived television coverage found that for the first time in its space history, the United States might have lost two men in space.

The tumbling was for a time too violent to allow the astronauts to undock from the Agena; even when this was finally managed, the tumbling continued, and there was the added danger that the two might collide and explode. So Armstrong took the one step from which there was no turning back: he began to draw on his reentry fuel supply, the fuel for the final "going home" burst of energy. It worked, and the Gemini was stabilized.

Gemini 8's flight had to be ended, but the men were saved. A C-54 spotted their splashdown in the Pacific, five hundred miles east of Okinawa, and they were quickly recovered from the sea. Armstrong said of the ten-and-a-half-hour trip: "We had a magnificent flight—the first seven hours." The spin was later blamed on a simple electrical short circuit that caused an extra Gemini thruster to fire and start the spin.

Gemini 8, despite its shortened flight, had proved the very important point that two craft can dock in space. The maneuver is essential to the United States strategy for a moon landing, which will require the docking of an

Apollo mother ship and a smaller vehicle that will carry two of the Apollo's three crewmen from a moon orbit to the moon's surface, then return them to the mother ship for the trip back to earth.

Gemini 9, launched on June 3rd, caught up with its target vehicle for a docking maneuver, only to find the vehicles had not shed a protective collar that was to have dropped off after launch. The command pilot, Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Stafford, said the collar left the vehicle looking "like an angry alligator"; docking was impossible. But Gemini 9 had a new distinction. Navy Lieutenant Commander Eugene Cernan went outside the capsule for two hours and nine minutes, over six times the time any other man had spent in free space. In effect, he became a human satellite, bound to the capsule only by a twenty-five-foot white nylon lifeline that served as an oxygen and communications cord. The spacewalk was tiring; Cernan perspired freely; his sun visor fogged; and he had difficulty locating handholds on the ship. Plans were abandoned for him to strap on a Buck-Rogers-like power pack and propel himself with its jets.

After seventy-two hours and twenty-one minutes in space, Gemini 9 splashed down in the Atlantic within four miles of the carrier *Wasp*—the first landing close enough to target to be broadcast live by the waiting television cameras.

The next flight, Gemini 10, was in orbit from July 18th to 21st, and its crew—Navy Commander John Young and Air Force Major Michael Collins—made it do just about everything required of it. It flew higher than any manned ship before it (475 miles); it rendezvoused with two separate vehicles, then docked with one and remained linked to it, using the power of the unmanned vehicle as a sort of switch engine to change orbits; and Collins became the first astronaut ever to make two walks in space on the same flight. However, on the minus side, both astronauts suffered eye irritations, apparently from a leaking chemical; and Collins, while outside the capsule, lost his \$475 camera in space.

Gemini 10's flight may have been the quietest ever. When ground controllers radioed: "You're doing a commendable job of maintaining radio silence. Why don't you talk some more?" Collins replied, "What do you want us to talk about?"

Gemini 11 (September 12th to 15th) hit a top orbit of 850 miles, nearly double Gemini 10's record. It also set a speed record—up to 17,967 miles an hour (342 mph over the old record). When the command pilot, Navy Commander Charles "Pete" Conrad, Jr., saw an area five times the size of the United States below him, he exclaimed: "It's fantastic. We can't believe it. I can see all the way to the top of the world."

With his co-pilot, Navy Lieutenant Commander Richard Gordon, Conrad took Gemini 11 through another maneuver vital to moon landings. They began a quick chase of their target vehicle, and linked with it in their first orbit of the earth, a feat never before accom-

plished. Gordon also made a space walk, but after forty-four minutes he was so tired and blinded by perspiration that he had to return to the capsule.

Gemini 11's return to earth was the first ever controlled by the craft's own on-board computer. It worked beautifully, and put the capsule to within three miles of the recovery ship.

The problem of fatigue in space walks was finally overcome in the last shot of the Gemini series, Gemini 12 (November 11th to 15th). For the two space walks of Air Force Major Edwin Aldrin, Jr., the craft was outfitted with handgrips and footholds, and he used a telescoping handrail to move from the Gemini to the Agena target vehicle during docking. Perhaps most important, he took frequent two-minute rests, and never had to gasp for breath.

Gemini 12's landing was as perfect as those of its predecessors—just three miles from the waiting carrier.

With Gemini successfully completed, Apollo took over amid high optimism for a possible landing by the end of 1968, surely by the end of 1969.

As for Soviet intentions, many experts felt that Russia might have run into technical snags taking her altogether out of the moon race. The problem could be medical; two Soviet dogs that made a twenty-two-day space flight early in 1966 suffered serious dehydration and circulatory disorders. It could be a guidance problem; the manned Soviet flight of March, 1965, overshot its aiming point by six hundred miles.

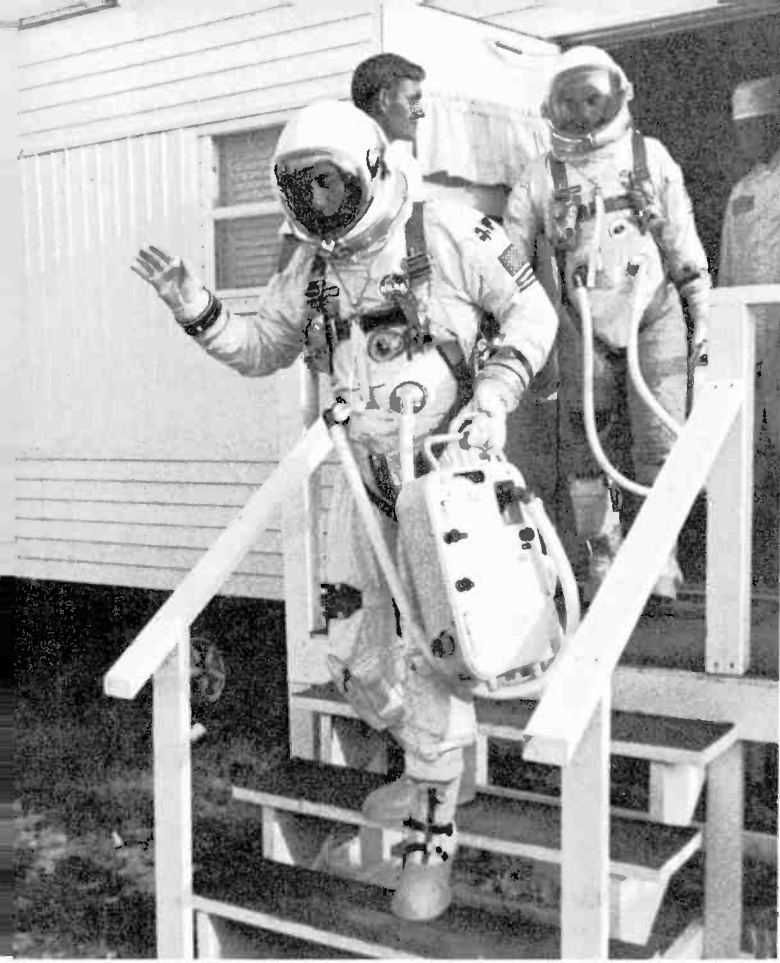
Or it could be financial. Some Soviet officials suggested that the moon project was not worth the money. (The United States Apollo program will cost \$21 billion; in comparison, Gemini cost \$1.3 billion—reflecting the fact that it's one thing to orbit the earth, quite another to go to the moon and back.)

It could also be, of course, that the Russians were still very much in the moon race; 1966 provided no definitive answer. The year was a busy one for moon research, with Russia firing five moon probes within less than eleven months. History's first closeup photographs of the moon were taken by a Soviet craft, Luna 9, which maneuvered cameras into a safe landing on the moon in February. The Soviets achieved a second "soft landing" in December with Luna 13. The three other Soviet moon shots of the year were sputniks to orbit the moon.

The United States guided Surveyor 1 to a soft landing in June and received about 11,000 high-quality photos of the moon's desolate surface. But the most detailed moon pictures came from the United States Orbiter 2 in November; flying just twenty-eight miles above the moon's surface, it sent back breathtaking views looking not unlike the South Dakota Badlands or the Rocky Mountains.

The question of whether or not the moon is covered with a debilitating layer of dust was still a matter of debate in 1966, though Soviet scientists reported that Luna 13 shot a probe into the moon's crust and found it about as firm as the soil on earth.

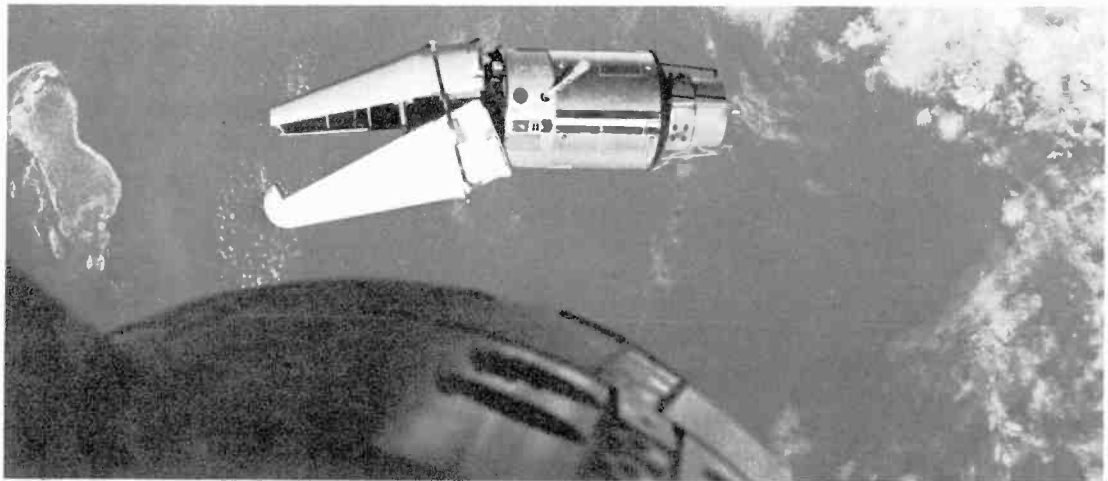
## SPACE

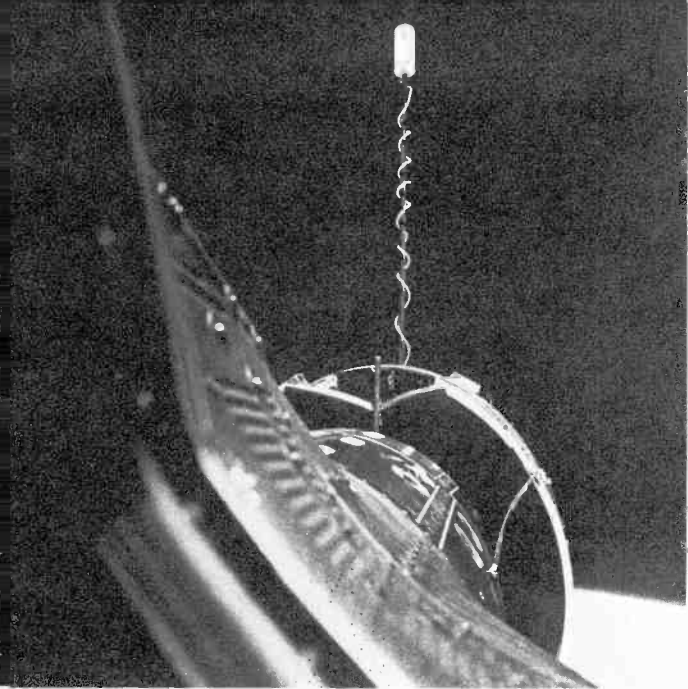


*Top:* Astronaut Thomas Stafford, despite a cumbersome space suit and an oxygen tank, manages to wave at a ground crew as he and fellow astronaut Eugene Cernan emerge from the trailer that has carried them to the launch pad for the flight of Gemini 9.

*Center:* In space orbit over the Caribbean, the target vehicle that Gemini 9 hoped to link up with fails to shed the protective shield covering its docking apparatus. Said Stafford, "It looks like an angry alligator." The description became part of space lore.

*Bottom:* Cernan, left, and Stafford—spacecraft hatches open—bob on the dune-like waves of the Atlantic while recovery helicopters clatter in to retrieve them and their craft after the on-camera conclusion of their Gemini 9 flight.





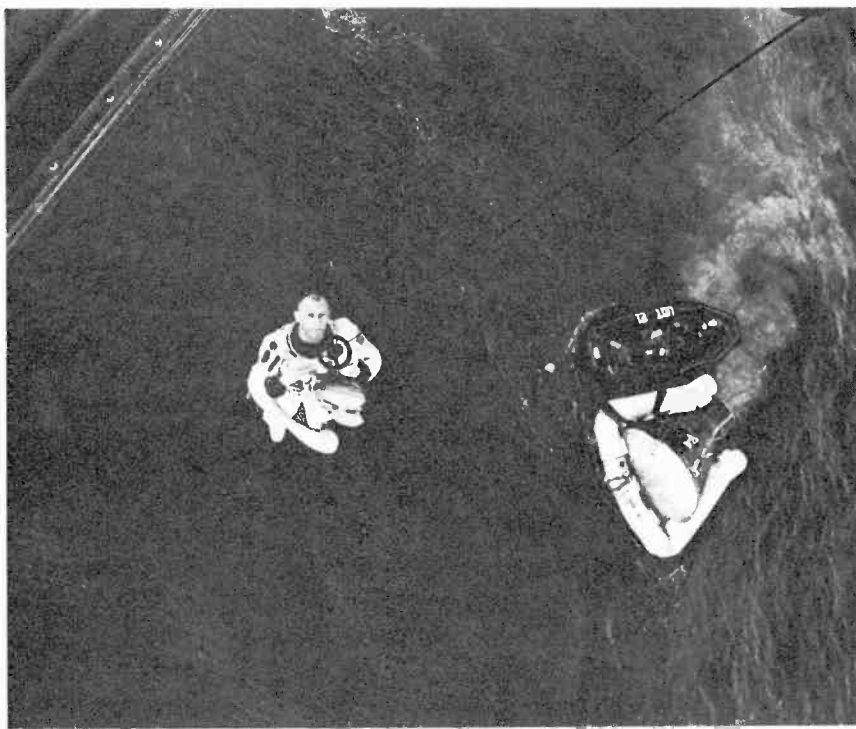
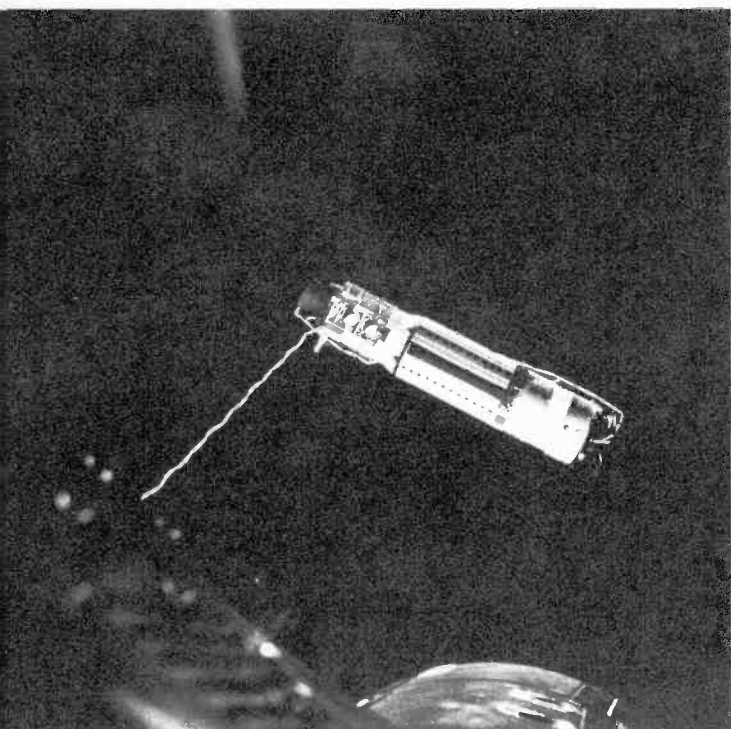
*Above left:* Soundless in space, moving inch by inch, the Gemini 10 spacecraft—with Astronauts John Young and Michael Collins at the controls—creeps toward the Agena docking vehicle to link up and fire into a higher orbit.

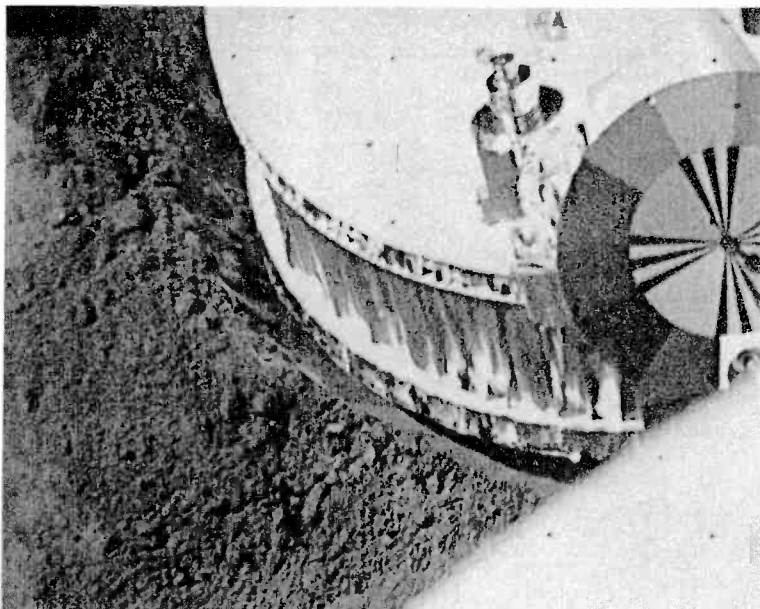
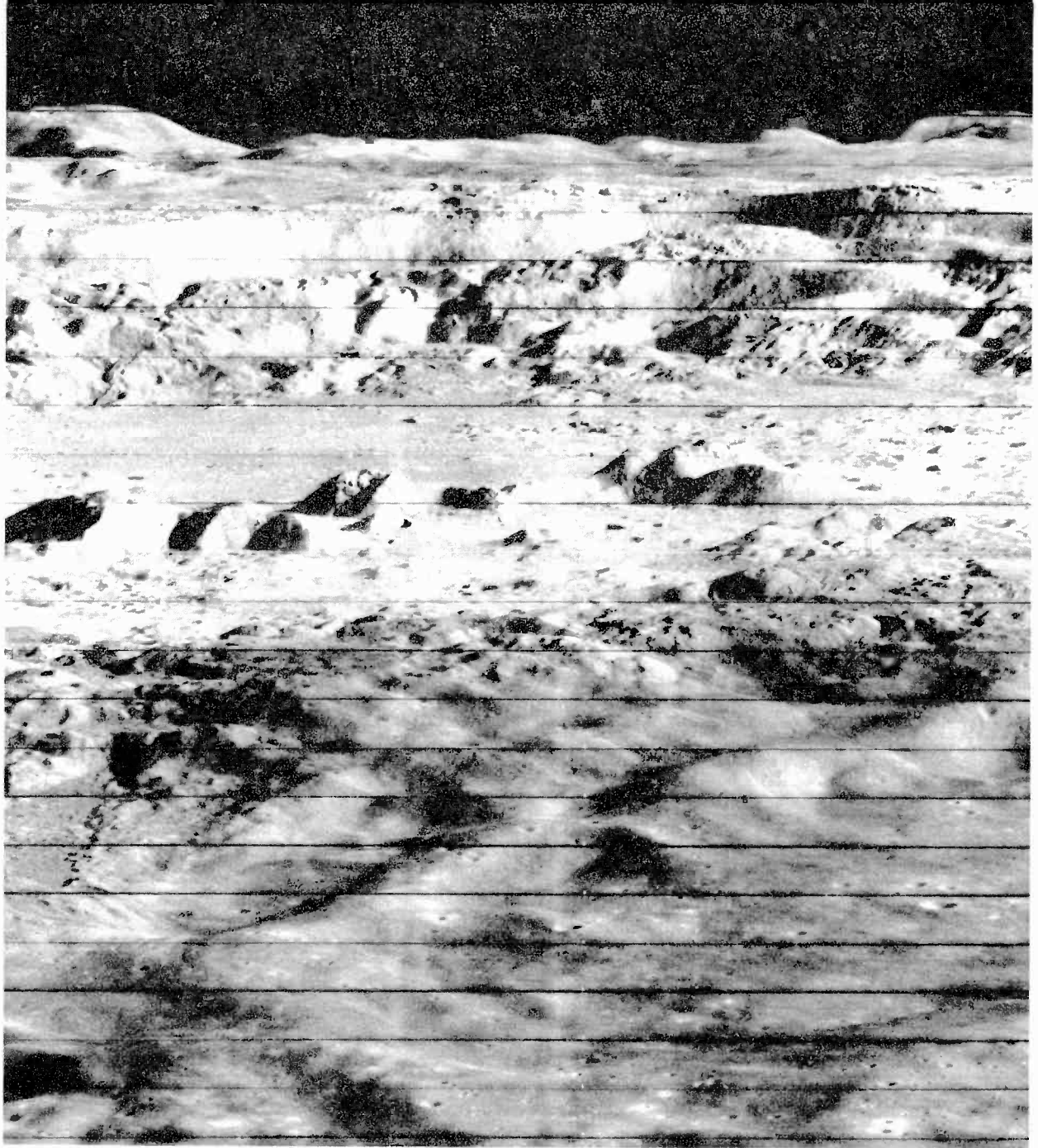
*Above right:* From 540 miles up, Astronauts Charles Conrad and Richard Gordon on Gemini 11 see a mighty wash of blue to the left and gold to the right—the Arabian Sea and the subcontinent of India.



*Below left:* The Agena docking vehicle drifts in the space void after the tether is jettisoned on the flight of Gemini 11. The tandem flight through space, with the capsule joined to the Agena, was one of the spectacular achievements of this flight.

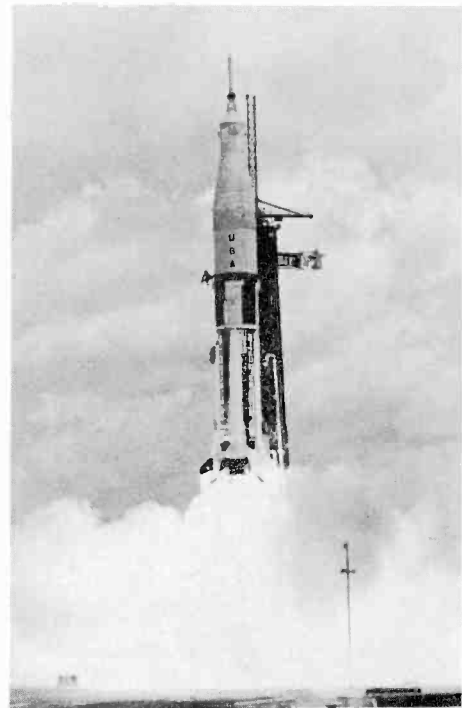
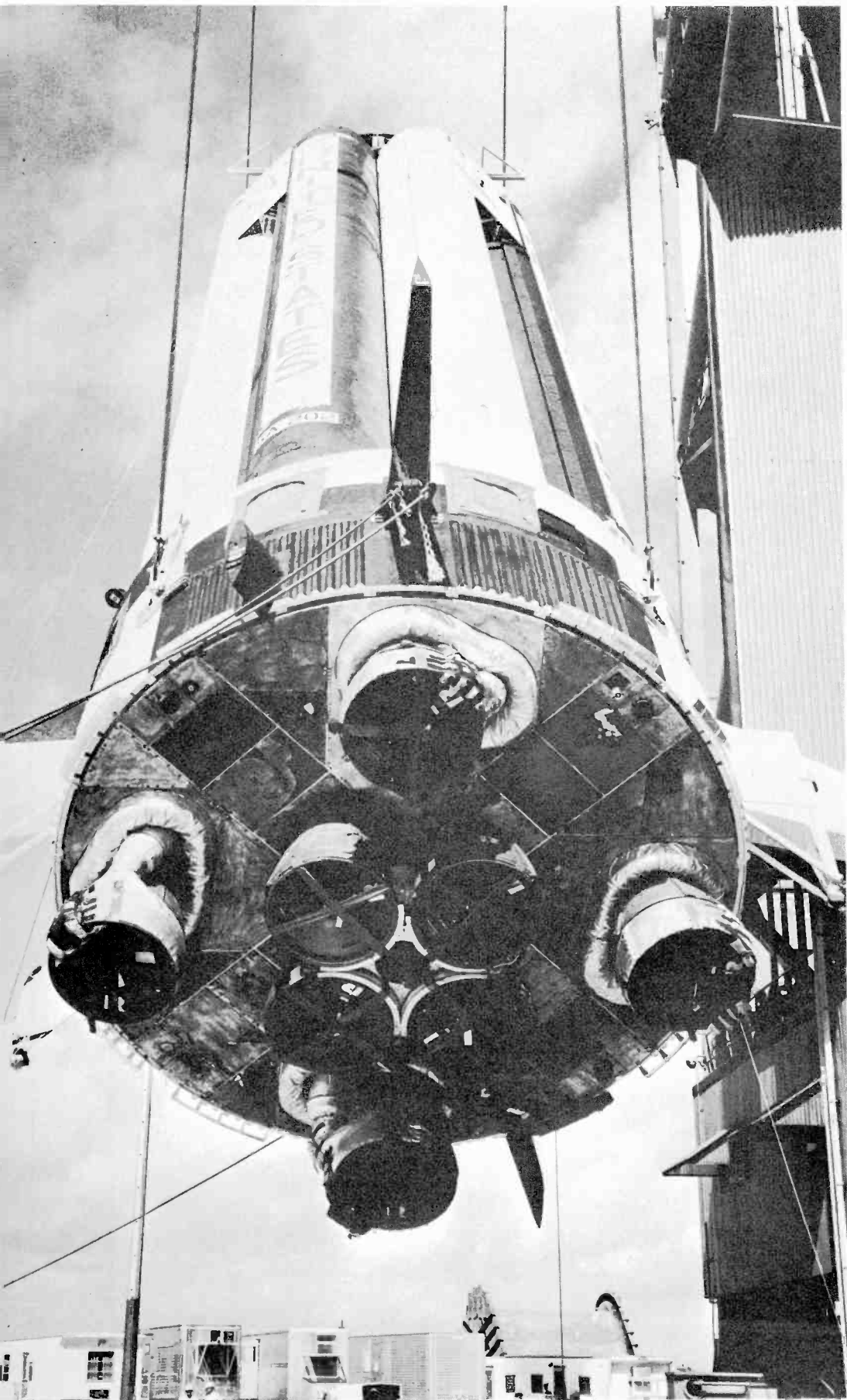
*Below right:* Astronaut Edwin Aldrin is hoisted up by a recovery helicopter, and the Gemini 12 spacecraft rides on its flotation collar in the Atlantic, as the Gemini two-man space-shot series comes to a triumphant conclusion.





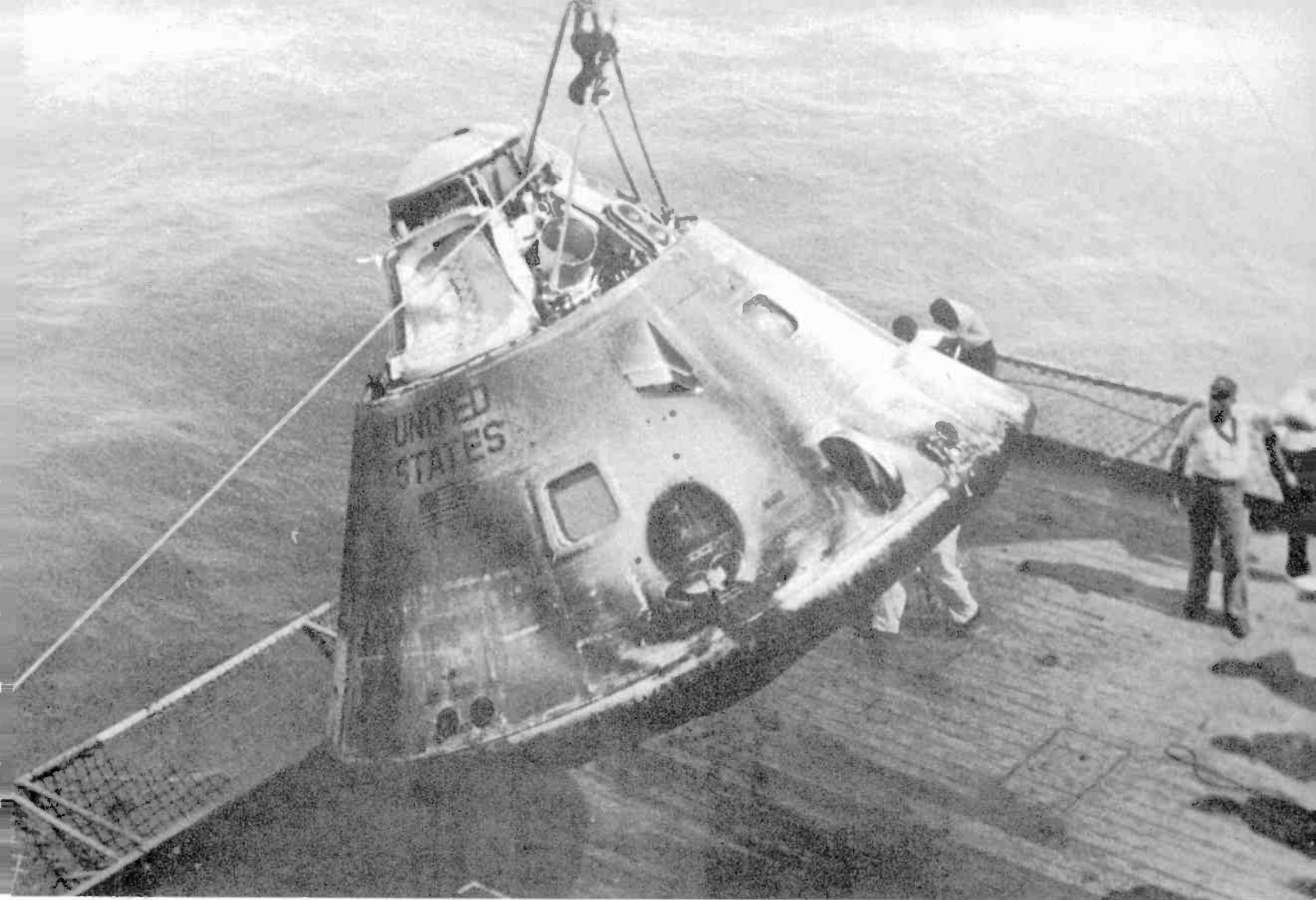
*Above:* This is the moon, in a picture sent back to earth in November by Lunar Orbiter 2, its cameras working away as the craft flew twenty-eight miles above the moon. The pictures give moon landing-site teams an idea of what they would encounter in the area of Copernicus: mountains a thousand feet high and sloping thirty degrees, rubble, loose blocks, and a "bubbling" terrain.

*Left:* Moon Dust. A footpad of the Surveyor crunches down on the moon in this remarkably detailed photograph sent as the Surveyor made a soft landing in June on this patch of lunar real estate.



*Above:* A Saturn launch vehicle carrying an unmanned Apollo spacecraft thunders off its pad at Cape Kennedy as the United States, still involved in the Gemini earth-orbit series, pushes ahead with plans to land on the moon. Cost of the entire moon, or Apollo, program: \$21 billion.

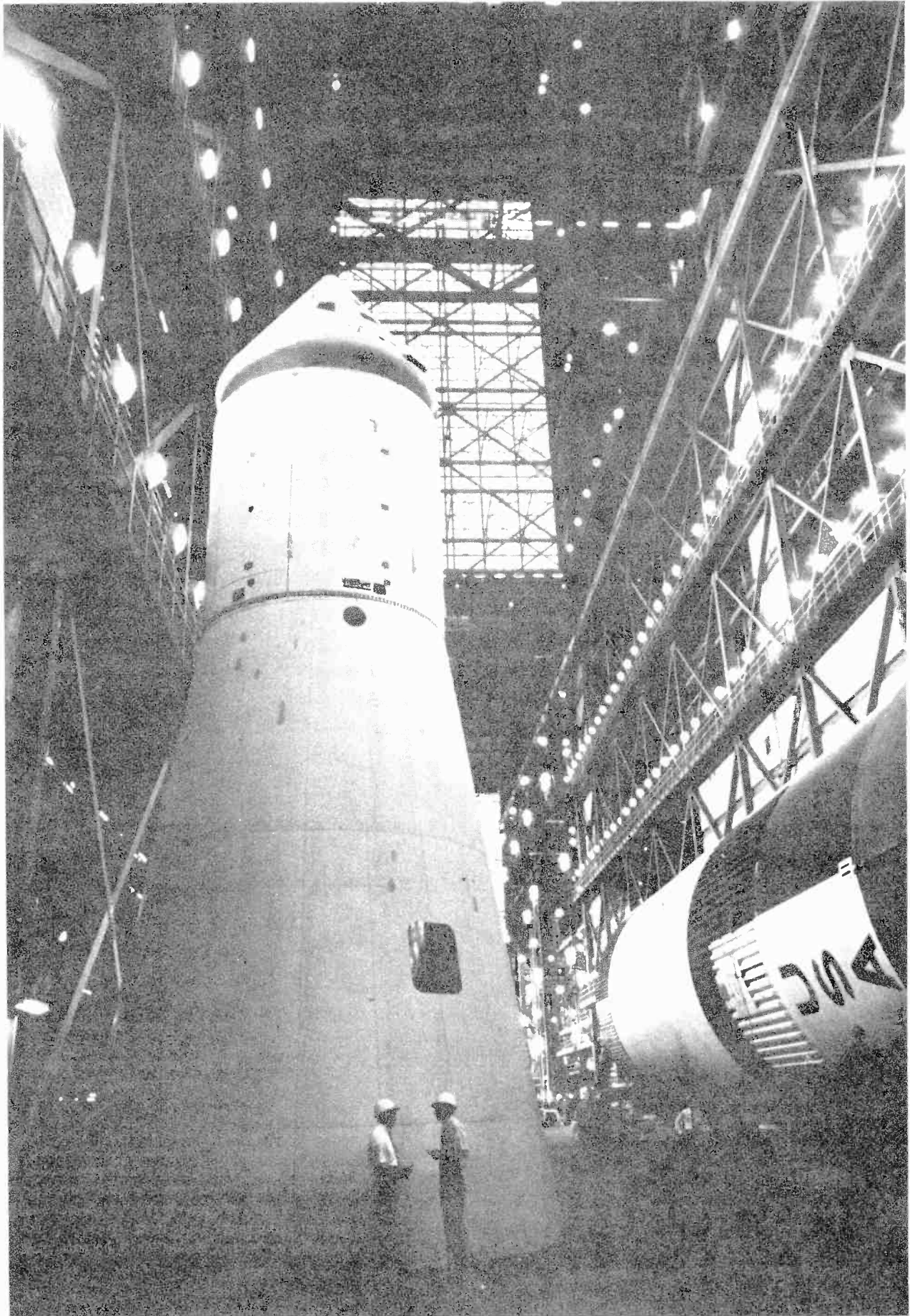
*Left:* Its eight rocket exhausts visible, a Saturn/Apollo launch vehicle is under assembly at Cape Kennedy for a verification flight to check out theories based on earlier flights undertaken as part of the program to put an American on the moon by the end of the decade.



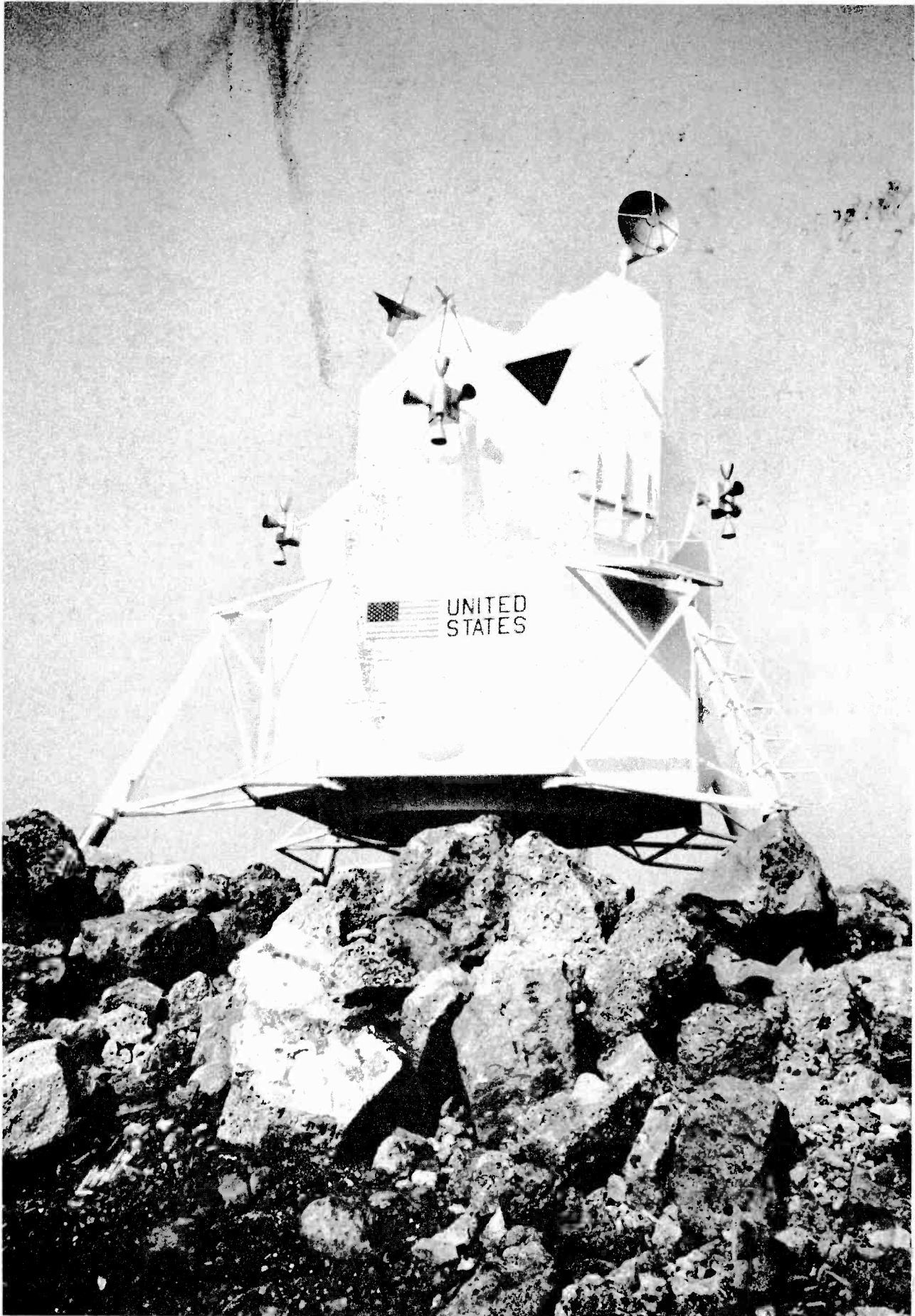
*Above:* An Apollo spacecraft is hoisted aboard the carrier *Hornet* after successfully completing an unmanned flight to test the heat-resistant capacity of its reentry shield, here scorched under the incredible heat generated by its meteor-speed return trip through the atmosphere.

*Left:* The Earlybird satellite, positioned high over the Atlantic, relayed this TV picture of the Gemini X1 spacecraft as Astronauts Charles Conrad and Richard Gordon concluded their flight. The splash-down, about two miles away from the recovery ship, brought the flight to an end, almost as if in the very living rooms of millions of viewers.





In the giant vertical assembly building at Cape Kennedy the conical Apollo vehicle that will carry three men to the moon stands in mock-up atop the final stage of its Saturn launch rocket. First stage of the Saturn, on its side, is at right.



A model of the Apollo Lunar Module, designed to make a manned landing on the moon's surface, stands on terrain chosen to approximate conditions United States spacemen will encounter. The mock-up is at NASA's Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, Texas.



A massive likeness of Charles de Gaulle forms in the grandstand of a Phnom Penh stadium as schoolchildren turn over panels to create the image of the French President on his visit to Cambodia. The trip was part of a thirty-thousand-mile world journey.

## 9. Western Europe

WESTERN EUROPE—IN FACT, most of Europe, lost its postwar inferiority complex during 1966. It had begun to develop a sense of itself, shrugging off what remained of the Cold War and shaking off the last vestiges of the Second World War that ended twenty-one years earlier.

French President Charles de Gaulle was the symbol, perhaps the exaggerated symbol, of European self-confidence. To many critics, his insistence of a Europe of, by, and for Europeans smacked of isolationism, narrow nationalism, and anti-Americanism.

De Gaulle exploded his bombshell on the Atlantic alliance during the year, forever changing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He withdrew France from NATO's military commands; he ordered NATO forces to leave French soil. NATO met at its Paris headquarters for the last time in December; its subsequent meetings were to be in Belgium.

These shifts reflected the change that Europe underwent since NATO was established in April, 1949. When it was organized, Western Europe was only preparing for an economic comeback, and its armed forces were in no shape to counter the military menace of the Soviet Union. West Europeans, gladly and jointly, snuggled under the United States nuclear umbrella.

But, since then, the Soviet threat appeared to have dwindled and, therefore, the philosophy behind NATO seemed to need redefinition. Among the allies, De Gaulle was the most stubbornly opposed to integrated commands, multilateral administration, and dependence on American military power and decisions. The exchange of visits during the year, between De Gaulle and Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin, symbolized the growing notion that Europe no longer was so concerned with the Cold War.

De Gaulle was not the only Western statesman to profess that view. Willy Brandt, the new West German foreign minister, referred to the need of a *détente* with the East. The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs George Brown argued for less costly allied

troop commitments in Germany. And French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville underlined his country's view that relations with the Communist world must be improved.

At any rate, the changes forced on NATO—by the times, in general, and by De Gaulle, in particular—evoked fresh questions about the future role of the Atlantic alliance and of the United States participation in it.

France exerted similar pressures on Western Europe's economic alliance, the Common Market, resisting any trend toward a supranational political organization. Its boycott of the market, begun the previous year, was called off in 1966, but only after France won concessions.

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson's government indicated that it intended to join the Common Market (more formally, the European Economic Community). But a crucial question remained: Would De Gaulle again veto Britain's membership? He did in 1963 on the ground that Britain was too closely tied to the United States and was not "European" enough.

Wilson's Labor Party emerged from the March 31st elections with a heady victory, achieving a ninety-seven-seat majority in the House of Commons, a vast improvement over the three-seat margin before the elections. It was the first time in fifteen years that the Labor Party bore clear responsibility for the fate of Britain.

But from that moment of triumph, Wilson was forced to wade through a morass of difficult problems. The integrity of the British pound was threatened, and Wilson resorted to the most severe austerity program imposed on Britons in peacetime. The economic brakes included tax increases, a temporary wage and price freeze, and restraints on credit buying; criticism poured in from many quarters, including labor unions.

Wilson also had to contend with critics for his government's moral support of American policies in

Vietnam and for failing to achieve a settlement with Rhodesia (see Chapter 11, AFRICA).

West Germany, after the postwar "economic miracle" that made it one of the world's most prosperous countries, also had economic troubles in 1966. Unemployment shot up; sales, especially of automobiles, fell off; it was said that factory workers became so concerned over holding their jobs that absenteeism fell to its lowest rate in years. It appeared the economy would need a firm push in the new year.

A new chancellor was on hand to undertake the job: Kurt Georg Kiesinger, chosen late in the year to replace Chancellor Ludwig Erhard. Erhard had never succeeded in convincing his countrymen he could lead with the same strength as his predecessor, Konrad Adenauer. As economic problems built up, Erhard made a pilgrimage to the United States in the hope of help; he got some of the fabled Johnson hospitality, and a tour of Cape Kennedy, but little more.

The sixty-two-year-old Kiesinger was an unlikely choice as Erhard's replacement. He had dropped out of national politics in 1958 and left Bonn to become minister-president of Baden-Württemberg. Moreover, he admitted having joined the Nazi Party in 1933 and never resigning. In postwar Germany, this was not the sort of impeccably anti-Nazi record that had characterized the new German leadership.

The outside world, as well as factions within West Germany, found Kiesinger's record hard to take. He protested in his own defense that after one year with the Nazis, he refused forever after to attend meetings or pay dues; that he opposed the program for the "education" of the Jews; that he helped in a plot to overthrow Hitler after the abortive assassination attempt of 1944; and that, after a year in an Allied prison at the end of the war, he was completely exonerated by de-Nazification authorities.

The fact that the Christian Democratic Party chose Kiesinger anyhow was even more controversial because of strong showings made in regional elections in 1966 by the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party, which picked up small but surprising representation in Hesse and Bavaria.

Because no party in Germany can muster a parliamentary majority, a coalition government was necessary. The Christian Democrats turned away from the Free Democratic Party that had supported the Erhard government, and looked instead to the larger Social Democratic Party, forming a new grand coalition and giving the Social Democrat's leader, West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt, the post of West German foreign minister.

There was immediate conflict in Kiesinger's new cabinet over whether to continue the Erhard government's close relations with Washington. It seemed likely they would continue to be close, though augmented by more ties to France and new ties to East Europe. Aside from

seeing the need for these ties to improve its economy, West Germany at the year's end was also fearful that the United States was now putting more effort into better relations with the Soviet Union than into solving West European problems. German fears were especially high on the nuclear issue—that the United States would renege on promises to give them a share in the nuclear defense of Europe, in order to get Soviet agreement to a nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

The upgrading of ties to East Europe was evident in West Germany even during the last months of the Erhard government. Trade with Communist East Germany increased by about \$10 million over the year. Few Germans were talking of actual reunification being possible at this point in history, but better relations were obviously being sought.

East Germany, however, required more courting and more concessions than Bonn was willing to give in 1966; and for the first time since 1963, the Communists refused to allow Christmas visitors through the Berlin Wall.

Another notable event in Western Europe occurred in Spain, where Francisco Franco permitted the country to take a step toward political liberalization. Franco, the chief of state, offered Spaniards a new constitution, and the government went to a great deal of effort to get the voters out in December to approve it. Nearly 90 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls, and nearly 96 percent of them voted to accept Franco's provision. These included a guarantee of religious freedom and relaxed government controls over the labor movement. It also called for direct elections for one-fifth of the members of Parliament; the rest will continue to be appointed by the government.

Spain was also the scene of one of the year's most bizarre international incidents. On January 17th, two United States Air Force Planes—one a B-52 nuclear bomber, the other a KC-135 jet tanker—collided while refueling in midair over Spain's southern coast, near Almería.

Three of the bombs fell in farmland at the village of Palomares. Their broken casings raised radiation fears; the village's tomato crop had to be destroyed, and hundreds of cubic feet of contaminated topsoil were scraped up, barreled, and shipped back to the States for burial at the atomic disposal grounds in South Carolina.

But a fourth bomb was still missing, and a world tutored in nuclear politics by Dr. Strangelove sat back with macabre humor to watch the search. Thousands of United States servicemen probed for it on land; search ships and submarines sought it offshore. Navy divers finally spotted it in 2,500 feet of water. Even then, the process of retrieving the bomb was literally a cliff-hanger; it might drop at any moment to far greater depths. Finally, eighty days after it dropped from the sky, the missing bomb, which meanwhile had slid 300 feet lower, was

brought to the surface of the Mediterranean in the claws of an underwater research vehicle.

Thus it was that the world got its first peek at an H-bomb. It turned out to be a very ordinary-looking affair, conveying few hints of its ominous power: just a cigar-shaped, silver-painted, ten-foot-long tube, in this

case slightly dented.

Then, to quiet Spanish fears that the waters had been contaminated, there was the odd spectacle of United States Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke taking two of his children for a swim in the fifty-nine-degree ocean that had once harbored a hydrogen bomb.

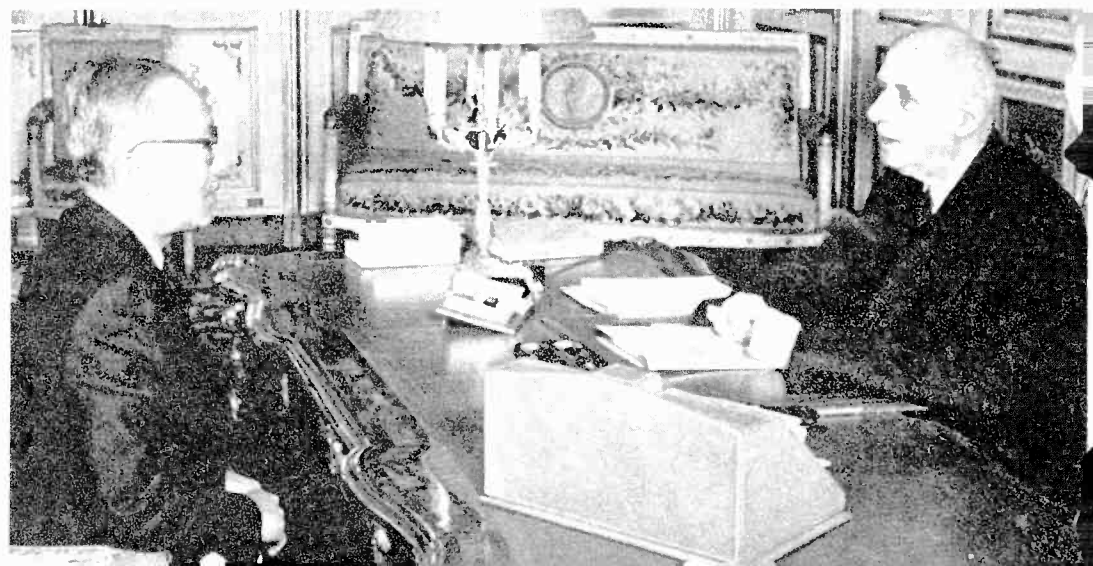


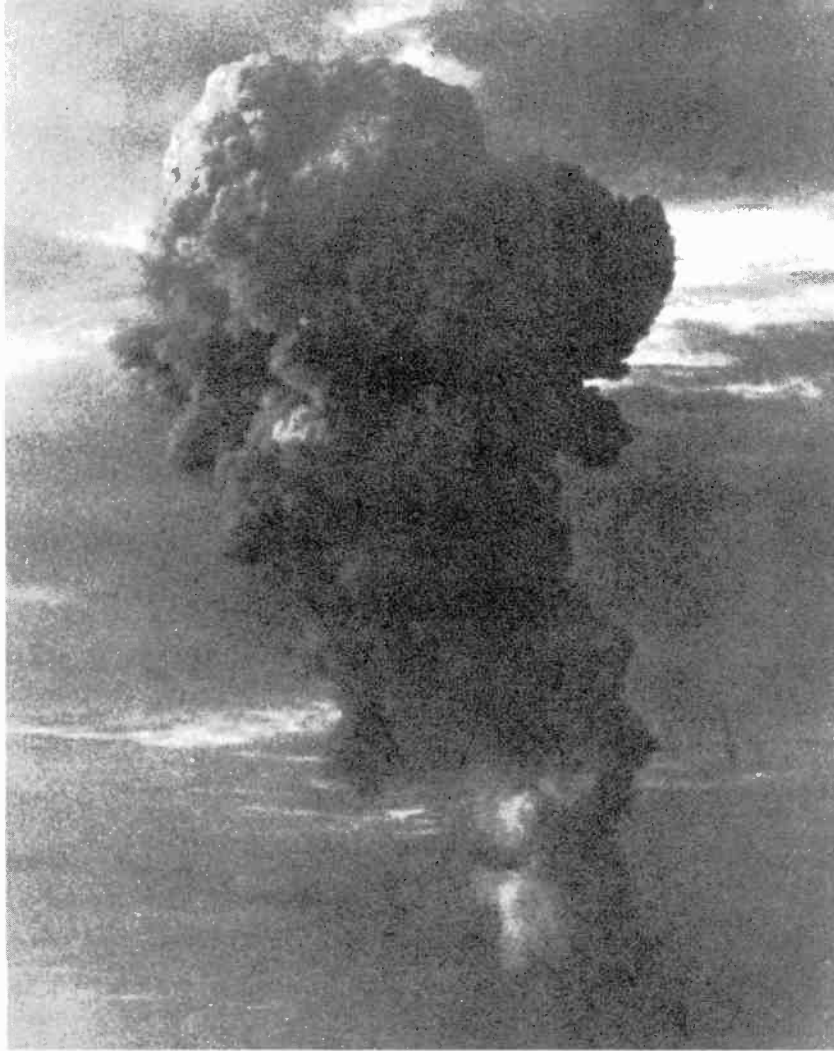
*"I have the feeling," Charles de Gaulle has written, "that Providence has created France for complete success or for exemplary failure. . . . My own life interest consists of in one day rendering her some signal service. . . ." So throughout the year, in conferences at home and in tours abroad, De Gaulle sought to reestablish France as the spokesman for a new Europeanism. By and large, however, De Gaulle's efforts are politely frustrated. Europe remains community-minded, and De Gaulle's policy—rightly or wrongly interpreted as one of "go it alone"—seems to offer as much peril as promise. The year, then, fails to answer, finally, the question of whether De Gaulle's "signal service" is pointing to complete success or exemplary failure.*

**Top:** In his uniform as a general, draped in honoring cord and shielded by a royal umbrella, De Gaulle arrives in Cambodia and is met by Premier Prince Norodom Sihanouk. De Gaulle made plain, to the satisfaction of the Cambodian government, that he is strongly opposed to American policies and efforts in neighboring Vietnam.

**Center:** De Gaulle meets with West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard to discuss the problems of national independence in an increasingly "collective"-minded Western Europe, and to allay any West German fears that De Gaulle's overtures to Russia for a *détente* would jeopardize German security.

**Bottom:** United Nations Secretary General U Thant visits Paris in the spring and discusses with De Gaulle the war in Vietnam. Both are critical of the role being played there by the United States. De Gaulle said the United States should pack up and go home.





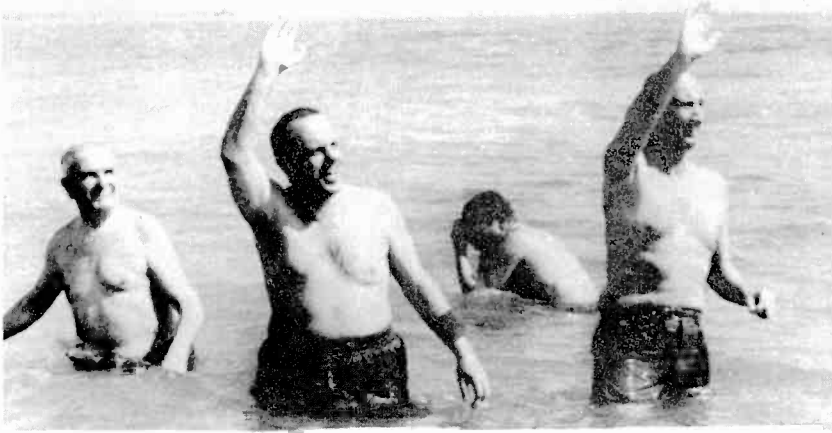
*Left:* The ominous mushroom cloud begins to form over a French possession in the South Pacific as De Gaulle pushes ahead with his program to make France a full-fledged nuclear power. Concurrently he refuses to go along with any efforts by other powers to block the spread of nuclear-weapon capability in the world. De Gaulle argued that such efforts would restrict France's rights as an independent world power.



*Above:* West Germany's Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger, left, of the Christian Democratic party meets with West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt of the Social Democrats on ending their parties' long feud in parliament and on forming a coalition government.

*Bottom left:* Solemnly, Kurt Georg Kiesinger is sworn in as the new Chancellor of West Germany as his onetime affiliation with the Nazi Party kicks up squalls of protest inside West Germany and out. Kiesinger, a Christian Democrat, went on to argue down the charges, form a coalition with the Social Democrats, and go to work on West Germany's growing unemployment and economic slippage.

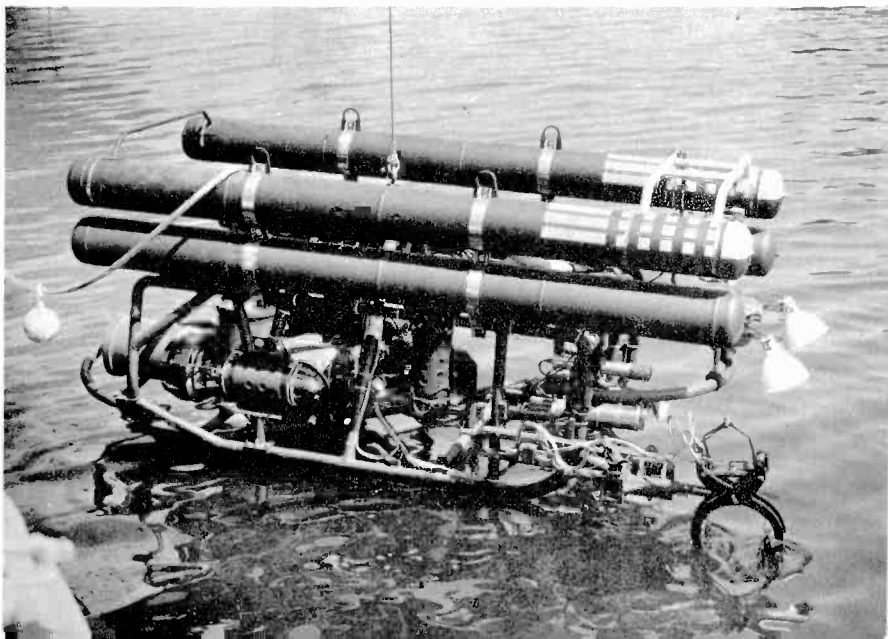
## WESTERN EUROPE



*Top left:* To show that the water off Palomares is fine—and not radioactive—Spain's chief of tourism, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, left, and American Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke wave a brave hurrah to the shore. Fraga and Duke donned trunks and jumped in to quiet fears that the H-bomb might have polluted the waters.



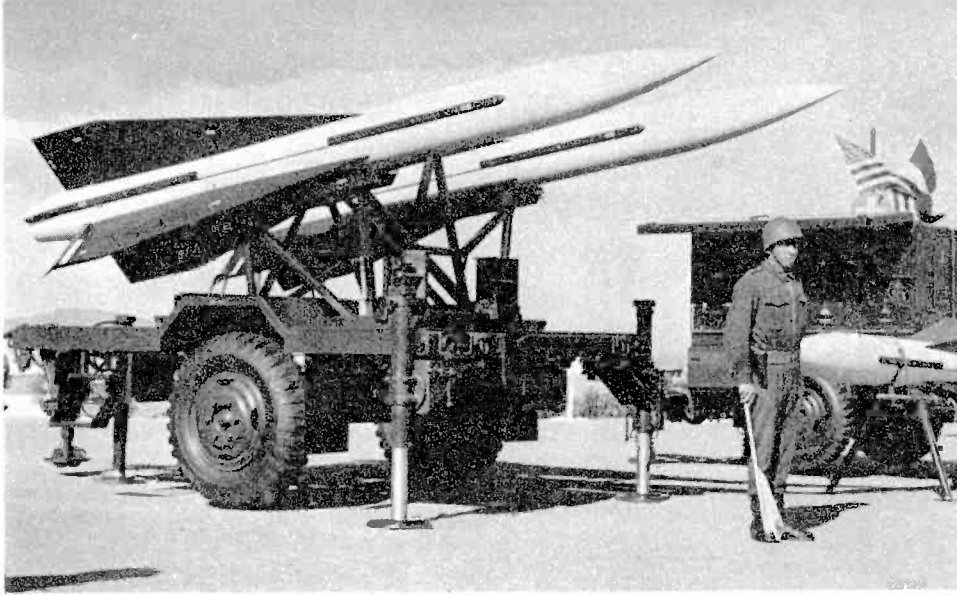
*Center:* An American admiral and a Spanish general exchange congratulations—and share in sighs of relief—as the last of four missing hydrogen bombs is recovered. This one was recovered off Palomares Beach, 2,800 feet down in the Mediterranean. The other three H-bombs were recovered on land. None of the four exploded.



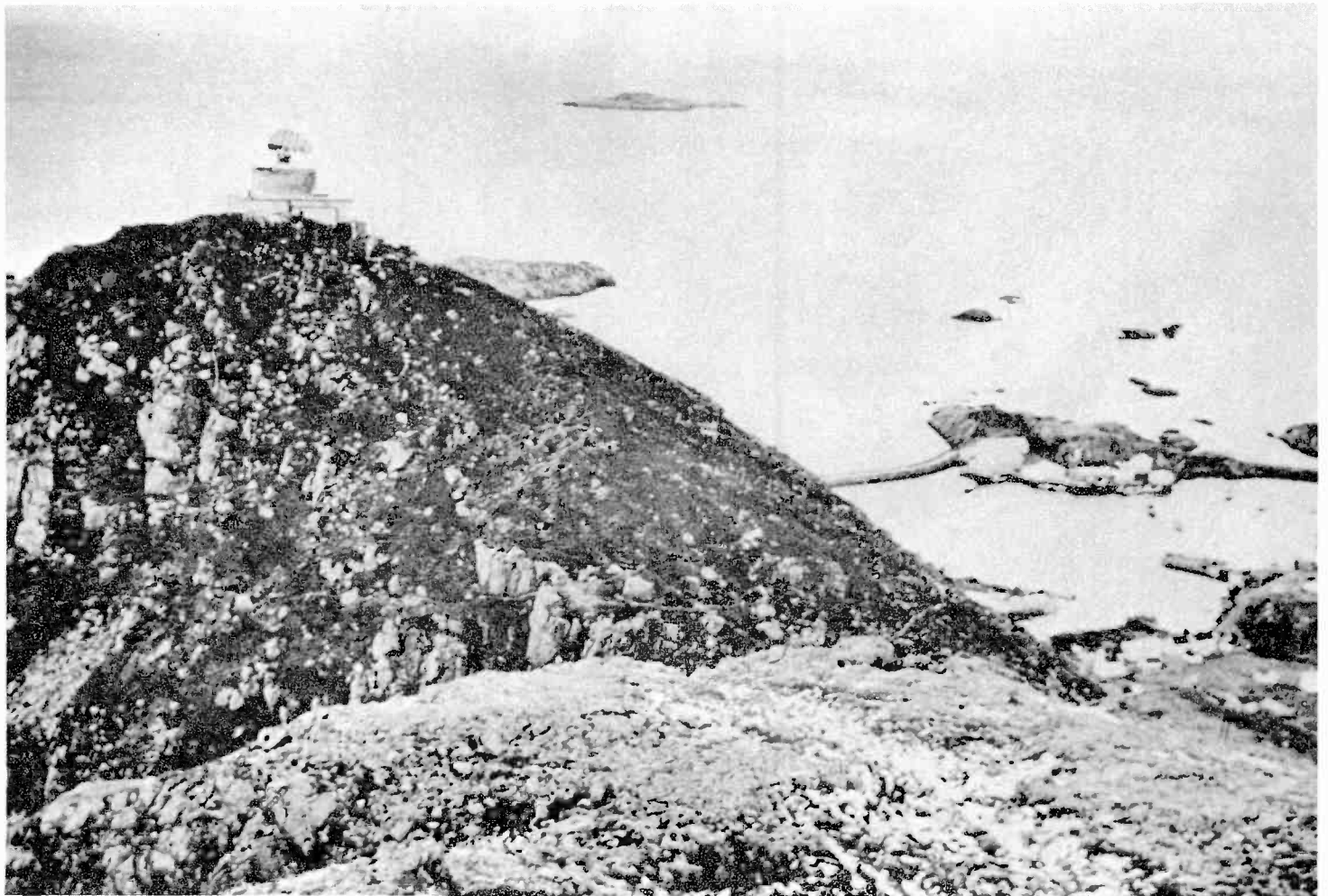
*Bottom left:* The actual device that plucked an atom bomb from the depths of the Mediterranean. The Navy developed CURV (Cable Controlled Underwater Research Vehicle), complete with ballast tanks, television eye, and remote-controlled claw.

*Naval Ordnance Test Station—Pasadena*



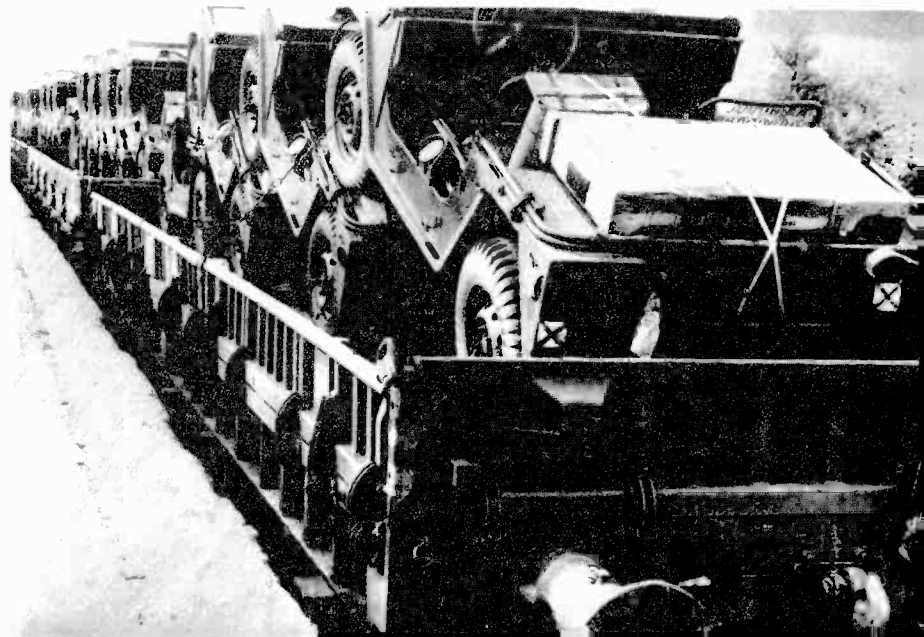


*Top left:* Hawk missiles are poised on their firing platforms, the first such rockets supplied to Greece in the United States' continuing program of military—as well as economic—aid to Greece, a member of NATO.

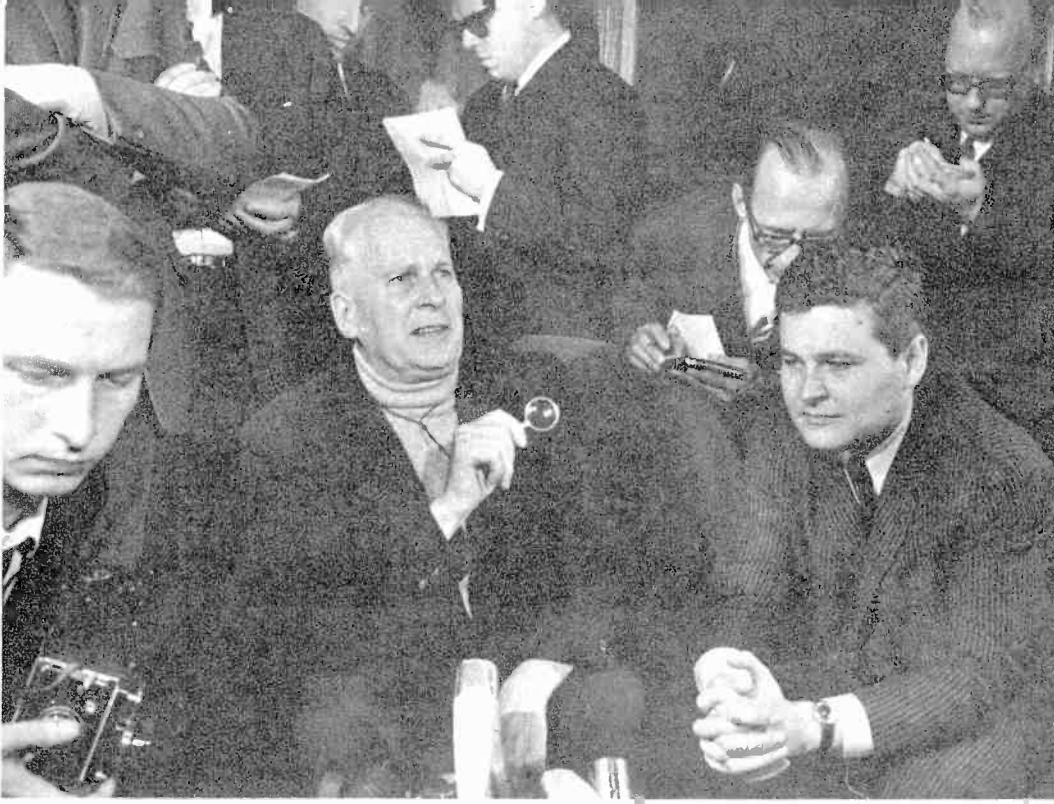


*Center:* Radar stations go up along the coast of Norway—another member of NATO—in a \$196-million program to protect the northern coasts and skies of Western Europe.

*Bottom right:* Jeeps are packed, along with everything else, when De Gaulle tells NATO that it must move its Western European headquarters elsewhere. The eviction came as part of De Gaulle's drive to amplify the voice of France in European affairs, and correspondingly soften the voice of the United States. The new host nation to NATO is Belgium, with headquarters in Brussels.



## WESTERN EUROPE



*Top:* Twirling his monocle, onetime Nazi youth leader Baldur von Schirach meets newsmen on his release after twenty years in Spandau Prison as a war criminal. His son Klaus is on the right.

*Center:* Albert Speer meets his waiting wife as Hitler's former munitions minister ends his twenty-year term as a war criminal, and walks out of Spandau.

*Bottom:* Twenty years earlier: Von Schirach and Speer at the war-crimes trials in Nuremberg. Speer is the first left on the back row, Von Schirach the third.





*Top:* Britain's Laborite Prime Minister Harold Wilson directs a finger—and a rebuttal—at an election-rally heckler chiding the government for its austerity campaign. Wilson's party won by a big victory, but Wilson's strict, if necessary, measure to interrupt an economic downslide cut quickly into party popularity.

*Bottom:* America's ex-movie star, George Raft, a figure on the London scene after gambling was legalized, checks the action at a roulette wheel in his Colony Club. The economic measures of the Wilson government helped slow down England's gambling boom.

*Top:* Spanish dictator Francisco Franco proposes a new constitution affording limited freedoms in the fields of religious worship, labor organization, elections, and public expression—freedoms virtually unknown in the twenty-seven years he has ruled Spain. The new freedoms, though, led to almost immediate unrest among students, workers, editors—and even priests of the Catholic Church.



*Center:* The biggest East-West commercial agreement is signed in Turin, Italy, calling for the Fiat Company to build a \$500,000,000 automobile plant in the Soviet Union, with a planned output of 2,000 cars daily. Soviet automobile minister A. M. Tarsov (left) waits his turn while Vittorio Valletta (right), Fiat's chairman, signs the historic document.

*Bottom:* A new coalition cabinet is formed in February by Italy's Christian Democratic Premier Aldo Moro (left). It marks the return of Amintore Fanfani as Foreign Minister (second from right). At this swearing-in ceremony in Rome, President Giuseppe Saragat (center) shakes hands with Vice Premier Pietro Nenni.





Russia flexes its missile muscle in a parade honoring the forty-ninth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Moscow said these "block-long" intercontinental missiles could hit any spot on earth.

## 10. The Soviet Sphere

THE THAW IN THE COLD WAR between the United States and Russia continued in 1966; if the full blossoming of spring still seemed years away, harbingers of that happy season were nevertheless in ample supply. The surprising thing was that this could be true despite Washington's openly proclaimed anti-Communist war in Vietnam. The *détente* with the West was undoubtedly speeded by Russia's increasing tensions with her eastern neighbor, Red China. It was, of course, an only partial relaxing; thus it was hardly surprising at all that the year ended with ominous signs of a new freeze in at least one area of United States-Soviet relations—the arms race.

The United States and the Soviet Union agreed in 1966 to begin direct commercial air service early in the new year between New York and Moscow. The Soviets relaxed visa restrictions that had kept thousands of families divided for two decades, since the German invasion; over seven hundred visas were issued during the year to Russians who wished to join relatives in America. At the United Nations, the two superpowers agreed on a treaty to prevent the military exploitation of the moon and other celestial bodies and to ban weapons of mass destruction from outer space. Though no such ban on weapons was in prospect here on earth, there were signs that both sides were closer to agreement on a treaty to slow down the rate at which new nations were gaining nuclear arms.

Trade concessions were made; Washington lifted restrictions on the export of hundreds of items to Communist nations, from diesel engines to suspenders. Both sides apparently decided that this was not only good business but good diplomacy as well.

The new era of better feeling involved the United States not only with the Soviets but with their Eastern European satellite nations as well. There was the obvious hope that the satellites could be encouraged along the increasingly independent paths they were already beginning to follow. One token of this bridgebuilding to Eastern Europe came when Washington raised its diplomatic rela-

tions with Hungary and Bulgaria to the ambassadorial level, where until now relations had been at the legation or ministerial level.

And if Shelley is to be credited for his contention that "poets are the unacknowledged legislators of mankind," it should be noted that the brash young Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko drew an excited response in his late-year tour of the United States.

Altogether, East-West relations reached their most accommodating level in years.

Could it be that the Kremlin was faced with, and was beginning to act on the question of whether it was the Chinese, and not the Americans at all, who were Public Enemy Number One? The year seemed to mark the Soviets' opening of the Cold War on a new front—China.

As Mao-Tse-tung's "cultural revolution" (see Chapter 13, RED CHINA) surged across China toward the Asian frontiers of Russia, the Soviet press launched a campaign unique in its journalistic annals. China, declared Moscow newspapers, had gone mad; the Chinese were creating a grave danger to the Marxist-Leninist cause. China was portrayed as a place of totalitarian terror, normal life there as a nightmare. And the Russians accused China of attempting to slow down or block her "fraternal" shipments of missiles and other aid to North Vietnam.

The Soviet leaders made obvious moves (though blandly denying them) toward rallying world Communist opinion to the point of reading the Chinese out of the Red bloc. Though this was not accomplished, it became obvious that the great bulk of the world's Communist leaders would opt for Russia when the time came to choose sides in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

Even Asian Communists recognized the greater maturity that could be expected from the Soviet leaders, as against the intemperate Chinese. Moscow became a diplomatic hero with its successful peacemaking effort at Tashkent, ending the Kashmir war between India and Pakistan. And in economic help, there was no question

that much more was to be gained from allying with the Russians.

The last important cultural ties between Moscow and Peking were cut when the Soviets, reacting to China's expulsion of Russian students, expelled the sixty-five young Chinese who were studying in Russia.

Throughout all this, both the Russians and the Chinese continued to send just enough help to the North Vietnamese to keep them in the war—at the same time accusing each other of sabotaging each other's efforts. But both the big powers appeared strongly interested in avoiding a direct confrontation with the United States.

There was periodic hope throughout the year that the Soviets might be helpful in mediating an end to the war, but they apparently no longer had enough influence in Hanoi to do so.

President Johnson described his overall goal in relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as to "shift from the narrow concept of coexistence to the broader vision of a peaceful engagement." After an October conference with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, Mr. Johnson explained his rationale: "We hoped they would know us better because we were the two great powers in the world. I think all of the other nations look to us to keep the peace of the world, so it is important that we understand each other and that we have the proper respect for each other."

It was soon obvious, however, that "proper respect" still included a big slice of fear. For more than a decade, the United States and the Soviet Union had maintained a nuclear balance of terror. But there was evidence toward the end of the year that Russia had begun to destroy that balance by deploying an antimissile system around some of its major cities.

Congressional demands began to build up that the United States follow suit with an antimissile system of its own. The Administration showed little desire to develop it, arguing that both sides would first spend billions of dollars to deploy missile defense systems, then billions more to design offensive missiles that could penetrate the systems—ending with no basic change in the strategic balance.

Washington held hope that the Soviets had not yet authorized a full-scale national network of antimissile missiles and that the Kremlin might still agree in the new year to halt the deployment.

If not, a costly new spiral in the arms race was in the offing. The United States already had a start on it, with an antimissile missile called the Nike X, which was still in the research stage after the expenditure of \$2.4 billion. To develop it fully might take \$30 billion or more, at a time when the United States, as well as the Soviet Union, already cutting back on fulfilling its domestic promises in order to meet its defense costs.

The Russians announced in 1966 that they were hiking their 1967 defense budget to 14.5 billion rubles, about \$16 billion in United States currency. But Western

experts said that a much bigger Soviet defense outlay was hidden in budget entries for such things as economic investment and scientific research. For comparison with United States defense spending, it was estimated that if the Russians paid for their defense establishment in the American marketplace, it would cost them \$50 billion to \$60 billion a year; the United States figure, including costs hidden in the military oriented activities of the Atomic Energy Commission and the space program, is about \$75 billion.

The reins of power in Russia continued to be divided between Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev and Premier Alexei Kosygin, but it was not really an even split. While Kosygin, as chairman of the Council of Ministers, did most of the front work and handled top diplomatic assignments, Brezhnev, controlling the Party machinery, was considered to be subtly but surely increasing the power leverage that he controlled. In December, on Brezhnev's sixtieth birthday, the bushy-eyebrowed party leader was awarded his country's highest honor, Hero of the Soviet Union, along with a Gold Star and the Order of Lenin—touching off speculation that a new Khrushchev-like "cult of personality" was in the making.

But most observers thought it highly unlikely that the Soviet people were in any mood to put up with another Khrushchev; a more plausible explanation for the attention being lavished on Brezhnev was that his authority was being built up to deal specifically with the deterioration within the Communist world, and not to put him in position to dominate all of his country's economic and political decisions.

Khrushchev had been ousted in 1964; the effects of the ouster were evident in Russia in 1966 in everything from art and poetry to corn-growing.

If Brezhnev and Kosygin had any remaining contempt for such bourgeois manifestations as jazz and Western fashions, they carefully kept their opinions to themselves. Soviet young people strolled Gorky Street in clothes indistinguishable from those worn by the growing number of tourists from the West. Jukeboxes blared the Beatles and Sinatra, and television stars wore velvet-colored jackets as they wailed English-language songs.

In the Soviet economy, the transition toward a more profit-oriented society, begun in 1965, was well under way. Salesmen learned they actually had to smile at their customers, for their wages were coming to depend not just on having goods on the shelf but also on making them sell. Not until 1968 will all Soviet industry have made the changeover from producing goods by abstract blueprint to producing what is actually useful and in demand, but already in 1966 it was evident that the profit motive was leading to a gratifying rise in productivity.

Soviet farm production also made striking gains in 1966. Some Western observers attributed it to a year of favorable weather, but Soviet officials gave credit to the broad reforms that followed the ouster of Khrushchev. Under the reforms, farmers were given higher prices,

more equipment and fertilizers, and even bonus payments if they exceeded their quotas. Whatever the cause, the Soviets harvested a record 171 million metric tons of grain in 1966. This was still well below the United States harvest of 181 million metric tons; and in addition, the Soviets have to feed a population of about 40 million more than in the United States. The Russian harvest seemed to be large enough to provide a surplus of wheat for export or storage, though at the same time the Soviets continued to buy wheat from the West.

Economic reforms were also extended during the year to some hotels, theatres, and even to a Moscow picture studio, where employees will henceforth be rewarded according to how well their films do at the box office. For the Russians, comfortable reliance on government subsidies had obviously become a thing of the past.

In November, 1967, the Russians will celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Soviet leaders are hoping to greet the day with the message that the Russian people are simultaneously getting more guns, more butter, more housing—and more television sets and more refrigerators—than at any time in the Soviet past. At the end of 1966, this seemed altogether possible.

As for the “satellite” nations of East Europe, they were no longer orbiting so surely around the Soviets as in the past. Partly because of the world Communist split be-

tween Moscow and Peking, and partly because of their own growing maturity, the smaller East European nations were more and more going their own ways.

Rumania is a good example of an ideological dropout from ironhanded Soviet control. Like North Korea in the East, Rumania in effect declared itself neutral in the Moscow-Peking dispute. Rumanian party chief Nicolae Ceausescu asserted his country's authority over its troops of the Warsaw Pact (the Communist equivalent of NATO). Brezhnev rushed to Bucharest for “talks,” but Ceausescu did not back down. Furthermore, Ceausescu was reported to have urged countries in which the Soviets still keep Russian troops—East Germany, Hungary, and Poland—to declare this no longer justified.

Economics also gave East Europeans a new sense of independence. East Germany, for instance, is now ranked in tenth place among the world's industrial powers; following the trend in other rising economies, it has moved toward less government planning in the economy in hopes of more efficiency and fewer bureaucratic delays. Though far from scrapping all planning, Walter Ulbricht, head of state, declared that “plants that fail to make a profit can no longer expect to live at the cost of others.” Among the year's changes for the East German worker: a cut in the work week in most areas to forty-four hours; a free Saturday every second weekend without a cut in take-home pay.

**Russia's Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko hears President Johnson outline a plan for better relations with the Soviet Union in conferences aimed at what the American President called “building bridges to the East.” Mr. Johnson described the meeting with Gromyko as “fruitful and helpful.”**







*Left:* A Swiss guard at the Vatican raises his rifle to salute Gromyko, departing after an unprecedented April conference with Pope Paul VI. Gromyko says, "We must unite in a search for peace despite differences of ideology and religion."

*Below:* Charles de Gaulle moves through smiling crowds in the city of Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad) during a state visit to improve relations with the Soviet Union. Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin, on De Gaulle's left, shares in the good mood. The visit brought promises of more cooperation by both sides. But there was disagreement on the question of German reunification.





## THE SOVIET SPHERE

*Left:* The face of the man who heads Russia's Communist Party—Leonid Brezhnev—stares out from the front pages of Moscow's newspapers on his sixtieth birthday. Brezhnev, while guardedly receptive to the American desire for “bridges between East and West,” criticized the United States for its policy in Vietnam.

*Below:* East German President, Walter Ulbricht, addresses a rally in the Soviet sector of Berlin, commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Berlin Wall. In his speech Ulbricht told the West to stop shedding “crocodile tears” over the barrier and face up to realities.





*Above:* Yevgeny Yevtushenko, one of Russia's "new poets," whose verse, exploring the soul of man under Communism, suggests wider freedoms for the artist in Russia . . .

*Right:* . . . but not too wide. Authors Yuli Daniel, left, and Andrei Sinyavsky, center, write critically of the Soviet system, have their works published abroad, and are sentenced to five to seven years at hard labor. Here they confer with their lawyer at a trial recess.





*Above:* Russian-made tanks of the Polish Army, hatches open and guns skyward, move along a Warsaw boulevard in a parade celebrating one thousand years of Polish history. Poland, however scarred her history by battles for independence, remained firmly in the Soviet sphere.

*Left:* Soviet-sphere intelligence workers make a poor choice for a comrade-in-espionage—Frank Mrkva of the State Department. Mrkva told how, in 1961, he was asked to join in a plot to plant a “bugging” device (which he holds, above) in an office of the State Department. Instead, Mrkva called in the FBI. The two spies—both with the Czech Embassy—left the country.



*Kenneth Bernstein, from Union, New Jersey, was a newspaper reporter who joined NBC in New York in 1955 as news writer. He covered top stories on four continents, notably in Latin America, before being assigned to Moscow in 1965.*

## East and West from the Kremlin

*Kenneth Bernstein*

NBC News Moscow Correspondent and Bureau Chief

IN 1966 THE GREAT POWER STRUGGLE between Moscow and Peking became, at last, so open that Russians were allowed to make little jokes about the Chinese comrades:

Children who erred were chastised for doing things “Chinese-style.”

Stalin was quoted as calling a Chinese Communist a radish—red on the outside but white inside.

A doting parent dubbed his incorrigible teen-age son “Red Guard.”

A Soviet diplomat was authorized to circulate the report that the Red Guards had wiped out all the cats in China for saying “Meow” instead of “Mao.”

The humor was strained. For Russians who lived through the Stalin era, the picture of present-day China was uncomfortably close to home. Terror, hunger, hardship, and deification of the leader—now “relics of the past” in the Soviet Union—were not what the average Russian of today thought Communism was all about.

The fever chart of Sino-Soviet relations, steadily worsening through the 1960's, showed a brief, mild jiggle of recovery after Kosygin and Brezhnev took power in 1964. They thought Nikita Khrushchev's tough line against Peking was imprudent. They tried to live and let live. It didn't work.

Soon the Chinese were calling the new Soviet leaders a Khrushchevite revisionist clique. After a long, pained silence and a stream of insults from Peking, the Kremlin answered back. Since then, the course has been steadily downhill: recriminations, declarations, demonstrations, official protest notes, expulsions, military buildups on

both sides of the disputed four-thousand-mile border. It looked like a collision course.

All the while, the Vietnam war was a focus, or perhaps a distraction. In the Communist world, the criterion of the faith came to be fidelity to “the heroic Vietnamese people” (meaning North Vietnam and the Viet Cong). In this context, each side in the Sino-Soviet dispute accused the other of heresy. Peking accused Moscow of stinting on aid to Hanoi, of sending insufficient quantities of obsolete weapons. Moscow accused Peking of delaying Soviet aid shipments, of denying air-transit rights to Soviet planes on the way to Hanoi, and ultimately of sabotage.

Hanoi was put in a most delicate diplomatic position. It needed the Chinese rice, rifles, and ammunition. It needed the Russian missiles and technicians. It could not choose sides.

One more capital was involved, of course: Washington. Fighting the Vietnam war, and trying to avoid a head-on conflict with Moscow, Washington was watching China's internal upheavals with mixed foreboding and hope.

Moscow-Peking-Hanoi-Washington. All four were now linked in a quadrangle supercharged with conflict. It was a quadrangle filled with more subtleties, jealousies, and dangers than any old-fashioned eternal triangle. Sometimes the Vietnam war, grave and dominating as it was, seemed but a fragment of a larger struggle.

From the Communist side, there was at least one point of agreement: Washington was the villain. It seemed, at times, to be the only point of agreement. The Russians accused the Chinese of collusion with the Americans. (Evidence: Meetings of United States and Chinese ambassadors in Warsaw, Chinese toleration of Hong Kong.) The Chinese accused the Russians of collusion with the Americans. (Evidence: Police suppression, though belated, of an anti-American riot in Moscow, agreement on the need for a treaty against nuclear proliferation, increasing Soviet ties with Western Europe.) Indeed, Chinese propaganda pressure on the Russians was so severe that early in the year a Western diplomat explained slow progress this way: “The Russians don't want the Chinese to catch them holding hands with the Americans.”

Every Soviet step toward agreement with the West had to be weighed not only objectively but also for its impact upon Peking. Under this pressure, Soviet policy toward the West was hamstrung. In the second half of 1966, the Kremlin apparently decided that the situation with China was so far beyond repair that China should not be a prime deterrent to better relations with the West. A series of minor agreements were put into the works—agreements as uncontroversial as cultural exchanges and an airline treaty. The Russians knew they would draw heavy fire from Peking. Soviet propaganda pressure against “American imperialism” and “American aggression in Vietnam” continued, but it did not prevent moves

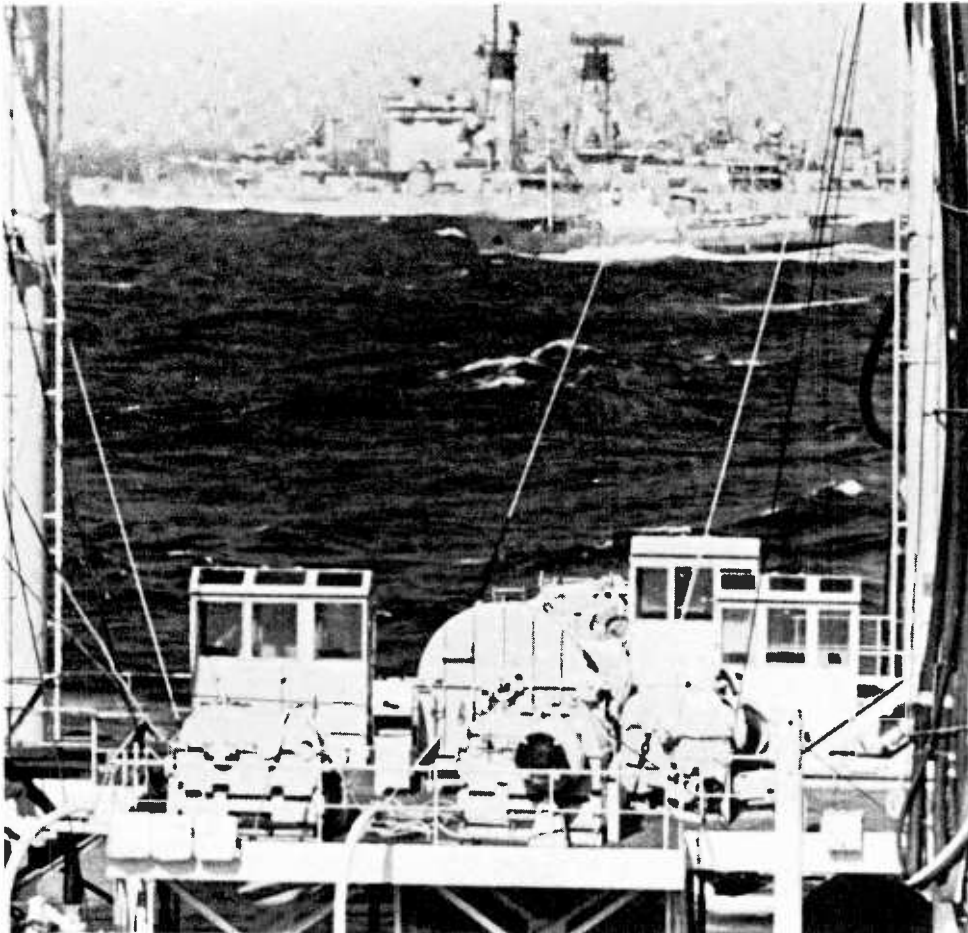
toward East-West stability. The Soviet national interest was seen to demand a *détente* with the West, regardless of Peking's howls.

At home, the Russian people were quietly told the score: China was in chaos, cooperation was impossible, vigilance was imperative, for the threat was real. The time had come to read the Chinese ex-comrades out of the world Communist movement. They had launched an official anti-Soviet policy; they had been treacherous toward "heroic Vietnam"; and they had subjected the entire Communist world to ridicule.

The Kremlin leaders began whipping up "spontaneous" calls for a summit meeting of Communists. It was slow going. Though most Communist parties deplored Peking's excesses, few were ready for a showdown. They feared it would help nothing. They wanted to sit it out and hope that the aftermath of China's internal power struggle would be a more rational outlook. The Russians

and their closest friends disagreed, and spread the word that "the time is ripe" for a world meeting. As the year ended, Soviet leaders were busy politicking among their allies, trying to organize a unanimous stand on what they now called "Mao Tse-Tung and his group" (in Communist parlance this denotes a less than legitimate regime). Under the new conditions of the Communist world, unanimity was a slippery goal; salesmanship, not ukase, was the means. For Moscow's former satellites could no longer be relied on to provide Pavlov's-dog reactions to Kremlin requests. They had to be coaxed.

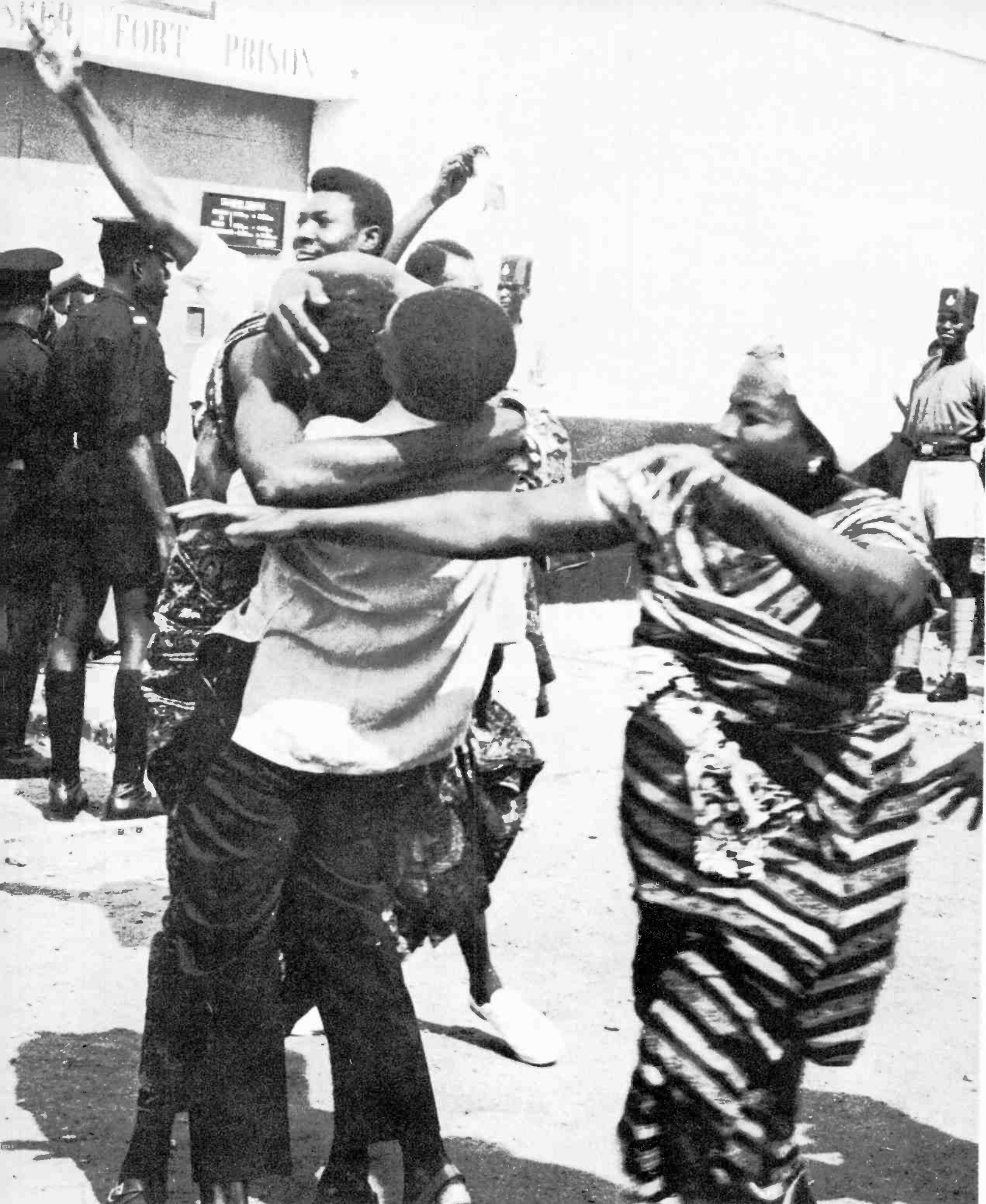
The interrelations of the Moscow-Peking-Hanoi-Washington quadrilateral were changing. Every time one of the capitals made a move, the others were rearranged like molecules in a chemical reaction. The tantalizing element of the equation was the great, unpredictable Sino-Soviet conflict, one of the most significant events of our time.



*Left:* An uninvited guest: A Russian trawler bounces over the Atlantic between a British tanker in the foreground and two American Navy ships, in the background, engaged in secret NATO war games.

*Below:* Communist Chinese students, on being expelled from Russia, carry a wreath of homage to the tomb of Lenin, from whose teachings, they say, Russia is straying. Only moments after this picture was taken, these students and Russian police were battling in the streets.





Nkrumah's ouster opens the jail doors, and out pour hundreds of political prisoners, their relatives laughing—and in some cases crying—for joy. Prison, exile, or execution, had been Nkrumah's way of handling the opposition.

## 11. Africa

AT ALMOST ANY GIVEN MOMENT during the year, some part of Africa was in turmoil. The continent seethed with two different sets of pressures: (1) those from outside Africa on the white-ruled regime of Rhodesia, and (2) revolutionary pressures within Black African countries.

The problem of Rhodesia occupied Britain and much of the rest of the world. It was a crisis when the year began and a crisis when the year ended. Near the close of 1966, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith held critical talks aboard a cruiser on the Mediterranean. These resulted in a working agreement that then went to London and Salisbury for ratification. Britain accepted, but Rhodesia rejected it.

The Rhodesian rejection prompted the United Nations Security Council to vote for mandatory economic sanctions; it was the first time the council had ever resorted to such sanctions to try to bring down a government. However, South Africa quickly announced that it had no intention of obeying the UN resolution, and, since South Africa is Rhodesia's principal trading partner, the sanctions appeared to lack teeth.

The Rhodesian crisis rose to a new level shortly before the year began—in November, 1965—when Prime Minister Smith unilaterally declared independence for Rhodesia after forty-two years as a British territory. Britain had been pressing the Rhodesian government, run by the white minority, to pledge firm guarantees that rule eventually will be turned over to the Africans, who form the majority of the population.

Elsewhere on the continent, in several countries ruled by Africans, it was another year of violence and political instability.

Leading Nigerian government officials were kidnapped and killed in a January revolt by some elements of the army. But the plot to overthrow the government failed when most of the army remained loyal. However, the incident sparked a political upheaval, and when the dust settled, an army major general, Johnson Aguiyi-

Ironsi, emerged as the new chief of state. He did not last long. In midsummer, Ironsi's government was overthrown during another army mutiny.

Nigeria, the largest African nation, with 56 million people, is rich in natural resources, and has the potential of becoming the continent's most powerful country. But old antagonisms, largely based on tribal rivalries, have prevented the formation of a strong, stable government.

President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was overthrown by a military coup while he was visiting Peking in February. It was one of several instances in which military officers began reaching for political power in Africa. Nkrumah was Ghana's first prime minister and was its president "for life"; he sought personal power while the country's economy faltered, and he drifted well into the Communist camp. After he was overthrown, thousands of Ghanaians cheered and danced in the streets of Accra.

In the Congo, a garrison of Katangese gendarmes rebelled, but President Joseph Mobutu's loyalist army virtually wiped them out. The Katangese were supporters of the exiled former premier, Moise Tshombe, and Mobutu seized on the rebellion to begin a political attack on all his enemies.

Coups and the threat of coups in almost every section of Africa reflected a growing crisis between the old and the new: The established nationalists were pitted against the political newcomers; tribalized Africans opposed the nontribalized; the country Africans were against the city Africans. The old revolutionaries who fought the early battles and suffered deprivations seemed determined, in some cases, to enjoy the fruits of their victory. But in reaching for absolute power and luxuries associated with the former white colonialists, they only built up resentments that led sometimes to their downfall.

In July, the International Court of Justice at The Hague handed down a ruling that stirred up Africa. The court rejected a case brought by two moderate countries, Ethiopia and Liberia, against the white government of



South Africa. They had charged that South Africa's apartheid laws in the territory of South-West Africa violated the League of Nations mandate, which allowed South Africa to govern the territory. The court ruled on a technicality, 8 to 7, that Ethiopia and Liberia lacked "standing," or direct interest, in the case and that, therefore, the court could not go into the merits of the case. Black Africa was angered and dismayed; South African Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd hailed it as a victory.

It was a fatal year, however, for Verwoerd, South Africa's prime minister since 1958. He was stabbed to death in September by a white South African who was later declared insane. The successor as prime minister, Balthazar J. Vorster, declared after taking office: "We ask only to be left in peace to work out our own salvation—we, the whites, coloreds, Indians, and Bantu." Vorster, the former Minister of Justice, seemed clearly inclined toward continuing Verwoerd's policies.



**Rhodesian Premier Ian Smith waits on a British warship off Gibraltar for a conference with British Premier Harold Wilson on the crisis brought on by the white minority's insistence that it continue to rule. The Smith-Wilson meeting failed amid rising talk of an economic boycott of the onetime African commonwealth.**

## AFRICA



British Prime Minister Harold Wilson (right) at the opening of a secret conference in January of Commonwealth leaders on the Rhodesia problem. Others are (from left) President Makarios of Cyprus, Justice Minister Wijemanne of Ceylon, and Prime Minister Pearson of Canada.



The United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg, makes clear at a Security Council session that Washington will support British moves for economic pressure—a boycott—on Rhodesia. The Council votes for sanctions, but their effect falls short: South Africa, Rhodesia's biggest partner in trade, says it has no intention of cutting off such trade.



*Above:* Stabbed by a white South African government messenger, Premier Hendrik Verwoerd is already dying as he is carried down the steps of South Africa's Parliament Building in Capetown. Verwoerd, target of a previous assassination attempt, was best known to the outside world as the architect of "apartheid," or the rigid separation of races. The stabbing, though, was never clearly established as motivated purely by political differences.

*Right:* The slain premier is replaced in office by the Justice Minister of South Africa, Balthazar Vorster, on the right. Vorster makes clear he will follow Verwoerd's racial policies. In these, Vorster is opposed by the president of South Africa's Liberal Party, author Alan Paton, left.





*Above:* Dancing and shouting, students in Ghana ready a huge bonfire of Communist magazines as the army, waiting until President Kwame Nkrumah leaves on a tour, moves in, takes over, and warns Nkrumah not to come back. The coup was also a severe setback for Communist China, whose influence had been rising steadily in the Nkrumah government.

*Right:* Ghana's President Nkrumah, blissfully unaware that he's being deposed, holds a bouquet of welcoming flowers on his arrival in Peking. Communist China's Party Chairman Liu Shao-chi, left, and Premier Chou En-lai join in the welcome. Nkrumah later returned to Africa, though not to Ghana, to plot his return to power.





*Above:* The Nigerian generals win support on the campuses as Lagos University students hail an attempted army takeover as signaling an end to an "era of tyranny . . . injustice . . . exploitation" and ushering in a regime of "peace and plenty." Rivalry within the army left some of the government intact—and some of the students disenfranchised.



*Above:* Out of the confusion in Nigeria emerges a new head of state, Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi. Ironsi takes over as other government officials are kidnapped and killed. But another army mutiny erupted, and Ironsi disappeared. He was found later, murdered, as Nigeria continued as a state shaken by internal tribal dissensions.



*Above:* Congo President Joseph Mobutu salutes Kinshasa (formerly Leopoldville) crowds at ceremonies marking the first anniversary of his military regime. Mobutu, in stern measures to unite the Congo Republic under his rule, restricted the authorities of provincial assemblies and ousted at least three governors for maintaining contact with opposition groups in exile.



*Above:* Rioting, looting, arson, and murder erupt in the western Nigerian town of Ibadan in the attempt of the army to take over the government. Shops were wrecked, automobiles burned, and the regional premier was shot to death.

*Left:* Orderly stores—and shopping—all but vanish in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) as continued jungle fighting in the Congo disrupts farming and transportation. One result: open-air stalls with sprawling displays and erratic prices.



**Border watch: An Israeli patrol, machine guns at the ready, scans the border with Syria in Upper Galilee. Israel contended that through this zone Syria had been infiltrating terrorists into Israel.**

## 12. The Middle East

ANTAGONISMS AMONG THE ARAB nations rose to such a pitch in 1966 that a desert version of the Cold War seemed in the making. Arab moderates and Arab revolutionaries still sat down together periodically in a Cairo conference room to discuss their common enemy, Israel. But though the gatherings were held under a painted quote from the Koran reading "You should adhere to the teachings of God and you should unite," outside the room the Arab split was venomous enough to set the whole Mideast on edge.

The hardened lines between the Arabs looked like this: on the left, Syria, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, and Algeria, all being armed by the Soviet Union; on the right, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Tunisia, armed by the United States; wavering between the two sides, the other Arab nations, fence-sitters.

Basically, the split was between revolutionaries on one side, monarchists or conservatives on the other. More concretely, the split involved land, and with it, money and power. The land in question was Israel, as it had been ever since the Israeli-Arab war of 1948 and the establishment of the Jewish state; and oil-rich Aden and the Federation of South Arabia, which will be up for grabs when the British pull out and end their "east of Suez" hegemony in 1968.

The only major outbreak of hostilities in 1966 was a sudden Israeli attack late on November 13th against the Hebron area of Jordan. Early on a Sunday morning, two armored columns of Israeli soldiers, backed by jets, tanks, and half-tracks, moved in on the Jordanian villages of Es Samu and Jimba.

Jordan claimed the attackers destroyed 140 homes and killed twenty of its soldiers; Israeli figures were substantially lower. But the attack was big enough to surpass anything seen in the Mideast in recent times.

Israeli insisted it was a reprisal raid for the recent derailing of a train and the death of three soldiers whose truck hit a land mine planted by Arab terrorists from

Jordan. It said there had been over sixty such sabotage incidents in two years of rising tensions. Premier Levi Eshkol conceded that Syria, not Jordan, was behind most of the terrorism; but the Israeli government contended that Jordan was doing too little to suppress terrorists within its territory.

Even within Israel itself, politicians were uneasy over their country's "reprisal," and a division was discernible along "hawk" and "dove" lines. But the sharpest reaction came in the form of censure by the United Nations Security Council. The Big Four—the United States, Russia, France, and Britain—all linked up in condemnation of Israel. But the vote had no more than a moral effect; in practical terms, tensions were not reduced, as new border incidents early in 1967 showed.

The Israeli issue seems destined to be perennial, but Arab nations increasingly began to use it in a new way—as a lever against one another. While King Hussein of Jordan used his influence to discourage terrorist raids on Israel, leftist Syria cheered the Palestinian Arabs who rioted in Jordan's streets, and said it would furnish arms to overthrow Hussein. There were Arab attempts to station outside Arab troops in Jordan, ostensibly to bolster the regime but in reality a sap on the country's strength.

Few observers at the end of 1966 were predicting an Arab war with Israel; rather, it seemed more likely that there would be a resumption of the Arab versus Arab conflict in Yemen. There, President Nasser's Egyptian troops fought for years on the side of a republican government that ousted the imam (king) in 1962, opposing Yemini mountain tribesmen armed by the royalist Saudi Arabians. That war seemed ready to end by stalemate—until the announcement of the British decision to pull out of South Arabia. As Britain's 1968 deadline approached, Nasser apparently had second thoughts about leaving Yemen, which would offer a handy jumping-off point for a foray into South Arabia to the south. Some Yemini republican moderates openly showed restiveness



at the continued presence of Egyptian troops, but they were arrested, and a new pro-Nasser regime was put in power.

On the other side, Saudi Arabia—the leading pro-Western government of the Mideast—began a hurried and massive arms buildup. And there were reports of pressures on the United States to be prepared to enter the struggle after the British departure, to protect Western oil interests.

The United Arab Republic, with its 200,000-man armed forces, is still the dominant Arab military power, but it has taken a major belt-tightening to support these troops and those in Yemen. The Soviet Union made new promises in 1966 to send wheat to help feed Egypt's 30 million people; but the United States, for both political and economic reasons, held up approval on Nasser's new requests for food shipments. Privately, the Administration seemed not to fear that Soviet influence would become overheavy; it also appeared rather relieved that other nations were responding to the problem of feeding the developing nations, allowing the United States to cut back on food shipments not only to Egypt but to other nations as well.

Though the Egyptians were courting the United States for wheat, Egypt declared it would have no more to do with United States Coca-Cola, Ford vehicles, or RCA products. The Arab Boycott Committee, representing thirteen Arab nations, extended its boycott to these companies in 1966, on the grounds that they were dealing with Israel. The Arabs currently had a boycott list of seven hundred firms and shipping companies, though some nations were tougher than others in enforcing the boycotts. Lebanese television, for example, still was carrying ads for a brand of outlawed razor blades—and anyone who wanted them found them easy to buy.

Israel, in the meantime, suffered through an overheated economy in 1966, applied a counteracting austerity policy, and suddenly found that its economy had cooled off so quickly that for the first time it had an unemployment problem. Manufacturers began looking for international markets to take up the slack. Among the foreign deals made was one by an Israeli company to make metal toys for a United States manufacturer whose own plants were needed for war production—raising the prospect of many "Made in Israel" labels under 1967 Christmas trees.



**Reprisal and ruin: Villagers return to the Jordanian settlement of Es-Samu, on the border, to find wreckage and death after Israeli forces attack the village in retaliation against terrorist raids. The severity of Israel's counteraction brought strong condemnation by the United Nations, and political unrest in Tel Aviv.**

## THE MIDDLE EAST



*Above:* Israeli forces move out for an attack on the Jordan village of Kalaat in response to Syrian terrorist raids launched from Jordan. Israel claimed that Jordan took inadequate measures to curb Syrian terrorist attacks mounted in Jordan.

*Center:* To the innocent eye, the scene is one of fields, trees, sleepy villages, and rolling hills. But the informed eye recognizes this as a trouble area of the Israel-Syria border—an area of gun emplacements, observation posts, and roving patrols.

*Below:* Israelis pick through the wreckage of an armored scout car destroyed by Syrians in a terrorist attack.



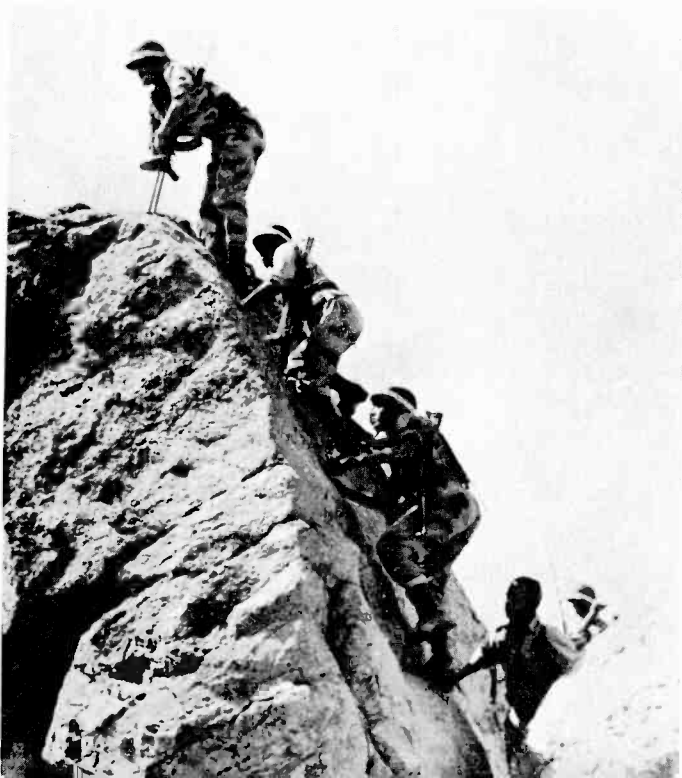


*Above left:* Bedtime in a bomb shelter: An Israeli baby is put to bed in a border village bomb shelter as tension mounts along the border with Syria. "The trouble," said one Israeli living on the border, "is that children are beginning to consider that war is a normal state of life."

*Above right:* Jordan's King Hussein, left, and King Faisal of Saudi Arabia have polite smiles for the cameramen when they meet for two days in Jordan. Behind the smiles, tension and suspicion: Faisal considers that the young king is too compromise-minded in the Arab world quarrel with Israel.

*Right:* The United Nations is caught up again in the tangled rivalries of the Arab world. United States Ambassador Arthur Goldberg studies a statement just made by Moussa Leo Keita, far right, of Mali, criticizing British policies in the protectorate area of South Arabia.





*Top:* Russia's Premier Alexei Kosygin returns the salute of the Cairo crowds in a two-day visit to solidify relations with Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, at right. Kosygin's visit helped to reinforce the notion that Nasser is neutral—in favor of the Soviet bloc.

*Center:* Yemen's ousted royalist leader Mohammed El-Badr, center, outside the cave he has used as headquarters since his 1962 ouster in a republican coup. He is surrounded by tribesmen supporters. Their American-made arms come from neighboring Saudi Arabia.

*Left:* An Egyptian army patrol in Yemen's northern mountains moves against royalist insurgents. Despite a truce agreement in November, 1965, clashes continued during the year. The Egyptian's specialized equipment is largely Soviet-supplied.



The face of a new China: a raised arm, a clenched fist, and the shout a pro-Mao slogan. This young man is typical of the Red Guards who rallied to support Mao early in the struggle to decide who shall rule China. (The Red Guards appeared in China in August and remained a keen instrument in the battle to keep Mao in power.)

# 13.

## Red China

SEVENTEEN YEARS AFTER DRIVING Chiang Kai-shek from the mainland, the leaders of Communist China went over the brink of a new revolution in 1966—one which Mao Tse-tung proclaimed as a rite of purification, but which to less mystical eyes looked like an old-fashioned personal power struggle.

In the same year, China set off three atomic explosions, one of them in October on the tip of a guided missile, and showed that the Asian giant will have to be considered—and feared—as a major atomic power far sooner than assumed when it first joined the “atomic club” in 1964. But an effective delivery system for China’s bombs was still some years away, and the major question in 1966 was what sort of regime will control the system when its development is complete.

If Mao Tse-tung, the all-powerful chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, has his way (and the betting at the end of 1966 was that he will, though at a cost), the regime to come will be held tightly in his grip—or the grip of his newly proclaimed heir, Defense Minister Lin Piao.

The “revolution” begun by Mao and Lin in the late spring of 1966 was called by them the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Its aim: to purge the country not only of all foreign influences, but also of all customs, trends, and people thought by Mao to be softening the determination of the nation to develop an altogether classless Marxist society. They wanted, they said, to “eradicate the concept of self,” to create a climate in which people work for love of the collective and not for “material incentives.”

Mao’s revolution began with simple declarations, playing musical chairs with the party’s hierarchy. But there was evident opposition within the power structure, for Mao quickly turned to a new instrument: the country’s youth, who were turned loose from their schools and universities to roam the nation proclaiming Mao’s wisdom. Their evangelizing soon began to wreak havoc

among cities and populaces that showed, however unwittingly, any signs of deviation from Mao’s revered teachings.

These youths became, in effect, Mao’s shock troops. They were called Red Guards—a name derived from the organization of porters and scouts who attended Mao’s Red army during the Chinese civil war of the 1930’s. In their new militant version, the Red Guards—with their khaki suits and red armbands—poured across the countryside, preaching their message of ideological correctness. They soon became a major burden on the population, demanding free food and free accommodations, commanding whole railway trains to take them on their journeys.

Reaching the cities, the Guards ran riot. More than 11 million descended on Peking in the last five months of the year, plastering walls with their posters (“We Declare War on the Old World”), defacing shrines, taunting foreigners, peremptorily changing place names (Peking’s Gate of Heavenly Peace was renamed The East Is Red Place, from a favorite Mao slogan). They invaded barbershops with stern warnings against “Western style” haircuts; pomade was vetoed as “capitalist smelling.” They even decreed a reversal of traffic signals: green lights would now mean stop, and red lights—the color of revolution—mean go.

By sheer weight of numbers, the Guards assured Maoists of control of whatever untrustworthy elements they were out to overcome. As 1966 ended, however, there were growing signs of resistance—and mass action—by Mao’s enemies, and early in the new year the resistance turned into outright physical clashes. The Guards seemed strong enough to keep the upper hand, but not without suffering casualties of their own.

Coherent assessments of the year’s events in China are forestalled by the fact that the Communist regime permits so few foreign newsmen and other observers within its borders. However, appearances are that Mao was

intent upon restoring to China some of the revolutionary spirit of his earlier years, a spirit he felt had flagged. His victory over Chiang Kai-shek was not only a victory ever farther behind; but in addition the regime had failed year after year to make good on its promises to the people.

It also seems likely that Mao was trying to regain effective day-to-day control of his country. Though he has always been undisputed chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, the largest in the world, he either lost or gave up some of his immediate control after the failure of the Great Leap Forward development program that he proclaimed in 1958 in hopes of a hurried transition to pure Communism. That program failed badly, actually setting China's development back by several years; many of Mao's comrades turned to practical, perhaps less Marxist, approaches to development.

Why the seventy-three-year-old Mao turned to Defense Minister Lin as his second-in-command is obscure. Lin, fifty-nine, had proven himself a fanatical follower of unmatched loyalty; presumably, he as much as anyone controls China's 2.7-million-man armed forces. On the other hand, most Chinese Communist officials would find it repugnant, not only ideologically but personally, to make an army officer their next leader. It would violate their tenets of Marxist faith.

In any case, a campaign of vilification against any possible rivals to Lin was carried out with increasing ferocity; among the targets of the purge were two of the highest leaders in China, President Liu Shao-chi and party Secretary-General Teng Hsiao-ping.

Hundreds of thousands of Red Guards gathered in the streets of Peking to shout denunciations of Liu and Teng as leaders of "bourgeois reaction." Liu was denounced as the "Khrushchev of China," a charge taken to mean he had been favoring the same flexibility in China's domestic and foreign policy as Nikita Khrushchev had adopted for Soviet policy. (It was Khrushchev's disagreement with Mao's uncompromising ideology that first led to the current Sino-Soviet split.)

The questions raised by the Chinese turmoil were not to be answered in 1966; rather, they fell among the apprehensions of 1967. Another matter for apprehension in 1967 was the question of the status of China as a nuclear power.

Most experts were surprised by China's atomic tests in 1966; the tests indicated an unexpected pace in the Chinese drive to develop a militarily effective nuclear weapons system.

It is now assumed that China has a small arsenal of nuclear weapons, though none yet of the power of a hydrogen bomb. It owns propeller-driven bombers that could carry its weapons into combat within a range of two thousand miles. In October, China demonstrated that it had developed a rocket delivery system with a range of about four hundred miles. But it's still estimated that it will be five to ten years before China has an armory of intercontinental ballistic missiles that could reach the

United States from Chinese soil or that could reach into the heartland of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, with China's three-year total of five atomic explosions, it became obvious that China would have to be reckoned with as a nuclear power much sooner than anyone admitted earlier.

As for the diplomatic route toward reckoning with China, the nations of the world seemed less inclined to follow it if the United Nations' vote on admitting Peking is taken as an indicator. In late November, the General Assembly voted 57 to 46, with 17 members abstaining, against substituting Communist China for Nationalist China as a member. The vote in 1965 had been 47 to 47 with 20 abstentions. The loss of favor was attributed to uncertainty over the outcome of Mao's "cultural revolution"; in addition, Peking lost the votes of a number of black African states apparently more tense over the threat of Chinese-directed subversion.

The vote was another victory for Washington's annual fight to keep Peking out of the UN. But there was sure to be renewed pressure in 1967 to convince the United States to take the initiative in finding a way of bringing Peking in and thus building a more complete world organization.

The United States did begin to loosen its ban on travel to China and other forbidden nations. Restrictions were first eased on travel to China by medical students and general scholars; then in July the State Department broadened the list to include people in "cultural, athletic, commercial, educational, public affairs and other fields"—a wide range, though still not including the general public. However, the gesture was largely symbolic, for China has shown no readiness to grant visas to American travelers.

The United States also offered during the year to exchange weather information and agricultural seeds with China, hoping that such obviously nonpolitical gestures might broaden relations. It also named a new, ten-man State Department advisory council on China that included four outspoken critics of the Administration's rigid China policy—possibly an indication of greater flexibility.

As the United States escalated the war in Vietnam, China's warnings against United States "imperialism" in Vietnam also escalated. Peking continued to funnel supplies to Hanoi. But the 50,000 or more Chinese soldiers in North Vietnam were still described as cadre and support troops, not combatants—and the biggest buildup of Chinese troops within its own borders was reported, not along the borders of Southeast Asia, but along the borders with the Soviet Union.

Domestically, Mao is generally credited with having made the simple matter of survival a surer thing for China's millions. But when Peking claimed in December that China had reaped its biggest agricultural crop in history in 1966, Western analysts were skeptical.

Chinese grain production in 1965 was 180 million metric tons to feed 750 million people. (The United

States harvests about the same amount to feed 198 million people.) Analysts took note of 1966's dry spell in the north of China, the floods in the south—and the disruptive effects of the Red Guards' rampage—and estimated that production must have dropped 3 million to 5 million tons from the 1965 level.

Chinese wages are low, but so are food prices, and no one starves anymore. But life is spartan and luxuries are few. (One survey found that there are nearly three times as many cars and trucks in Cuyahoga County, Ohio—where there are 706,653 vehicles—as in all of China.)



**Red Chinese Defense Minister Lin Piao, foreground, reads an official proclamation at a Peking rally as his mentor and old comrade-in-arms Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung looks on in impassive approval. (Lin, like Mao a "hard liner," appeared the chairman's choice to succeed him as the next ruler of Red China.)**





*Above:* The East moves West: Red China's Premier Chou En-lai, right, has a firm handshake for Rumanian Premier Ion Maurer when Chou arrives in Bucharest for eight-day "friendship talks," talks during which Chou hopes to exploit satellite restiveness in East Europe. The talks, however, seemed to have produced little.

*Right:* Some half-million Red Guards clap, cheer, and dance as Mao, left, tells a Peking rally that "antirevolutionists" are being purged from national leadership and that Lin Piao, here at his side, has taken over as commanding officer of the Red Guards.



## RED CHINA



*Left:* The armbands are red, the posters are of Mao, and the books are a collection of his sayings on revolution. The young men are the tough Red Guards who Mao hopes will keep the revolution treading a stern, straight path to old-fashioned Communism.

*Below:* Mao Tse-tung, foreground, bobs along in the Yangtze River to prove, as Red China said, that he is "resolute, unafraid, and able to surmount every difficulty." Peking propagandists said Mao swam 9.2 miles in an hour and five minutes. The Soviet press, dubious, commented, "This was somewhat better than the world record."





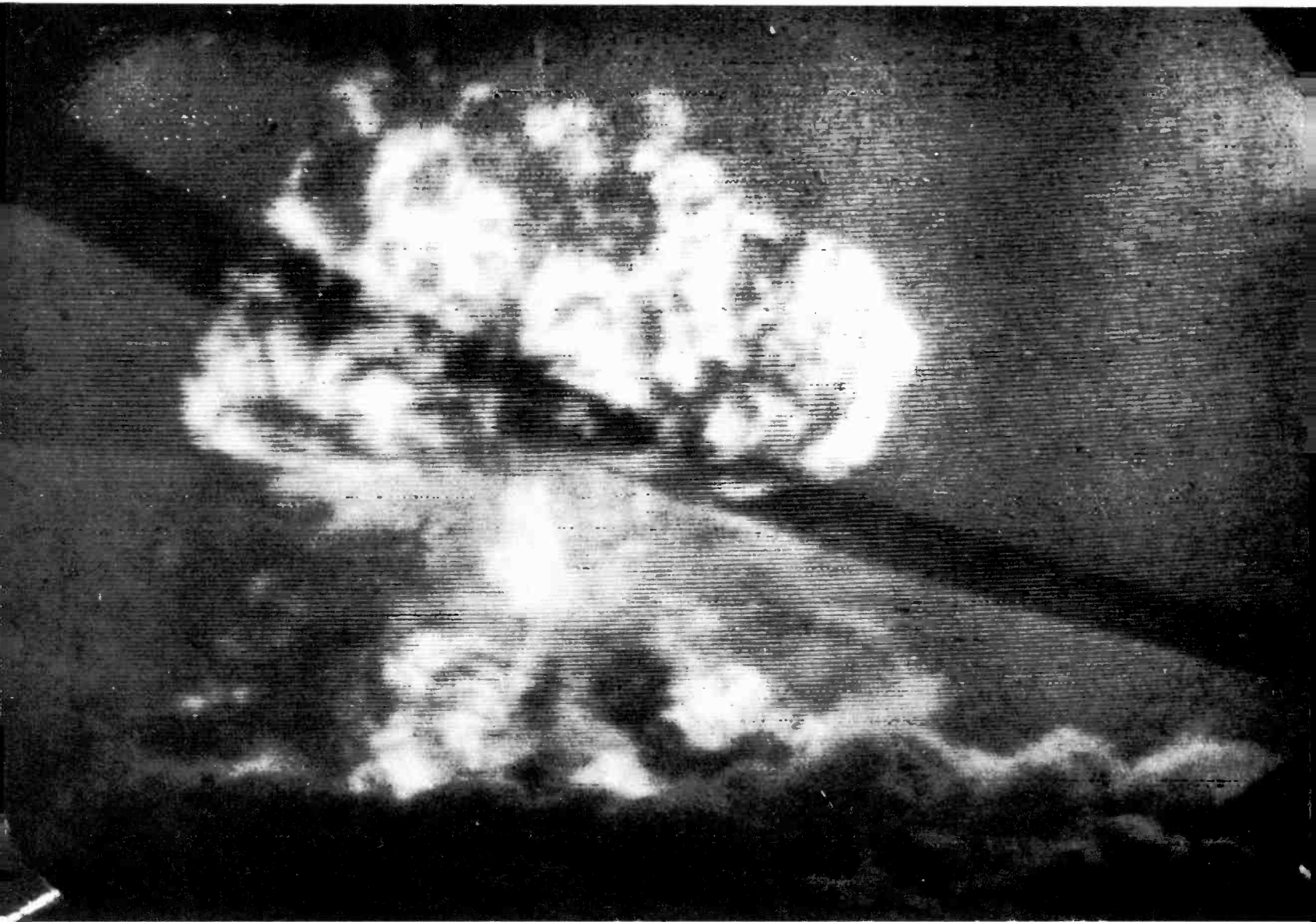


*Above:* Sister Eamon, eighty-five, is wheeled across the Red China border to Hong Kong. The Roman Catholic nun, expelled with seven other sisters by the Red Guards, fainted as she was making the trip.

*Right:* The scream of a warning siren sends Red Chinese fighter pilots racing across an airstrip where modern MIG jets wait to zoom up in a combat exercise. (American pilots rated Red Chinese fliers as "average to good," and their planes "adequate, but aging.")

*Opposite:* "Simple, serviceable, and a lot of it." That's one description of the Red Chinese Army, whose massed ranks choke the streets at a rally vowing to support the Vietnamese—North and South—in the war with the United States. (The year passed, however, without Chinese units joining the ground fighting.)





The fireball is climbing and the mushroom cloud is forming in this picture of an atomic blast set off by Red China. Peking, almost obsessively concerned with military security, released only the skimpiest information on the blast—and not until two years after the first explosion.



Atomic-blast films released by China in a forty-minute-long color film show a brick building being destroyed in the blast of what was believed to be the nation's third nuclear test. One thing was certain, though: Red China became a nuclear power years sooner than expected.



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## The Year of Mao

*Welles Hagen*

NBC News Correspondent in Hong Kong

RED CHINA, LONG A DORMANT volcano, erupted in 1966 more violently than even its enemies had believed possible. The eruptions have not ceased. It is likely to be several years before something akin to stability returns to the Chinese mainland.

To me, the most remarkable thing about China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966 is that it was born in the brain of one man—Mao Tse-tung. Most revolutions are mass movements, the largely spontaneous expression of passions generated in many breasts over a long period of time. Mao decided to launch the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution because he reasoned that the Chinese Communist Party and China's younger generation, as they appeared in the mid-1960's, were unworthy successors to the revolutionary cause he espoused. The present revolution is in the nature of postoperative surgery to correct the oversights of China's first Communist revolution.

It is the bitter power struggle in Peking and throughout China that has turned Mao's synthetic revolution into the real thing, that has made a septuagenarian's aberrant dream a national nightmare. What began as a mammoth rectification campaign in the Maoist tradition has become political guerrilla warfare. The intended victims of the Great Purge have had the temerity to fight back. In the short run they are not likely to win, or even to save themselves, but neither, in the long run, is Mao.

Some Western students of China believe that everything is happening as Mao had planned. I believe the evidence suggests otherwise. For one thing, the direction of

the cultural revolution has been notably erratic. It has been reported that Mao originally chose the mayor of Peking, Peng Chen, to lead the party task force in charge of the purge. Peng, who was then a powerful member of the Politburo, was found wanting in revolutionary fervor, and, a few months later, became a victim of the purge.

Communist Party work teams, sent to cleanse China's university campuses of people suspected of harboring un-Maoist thoughts, hobnobbed with professors and students and sent comforting reports back to the Central Committee. When Mao found out what was going on, he recalled the work teams and began looking for new purgers. The party was clearly unable or unwilling to purge itself, so Mao decided for the first time in his political career to seek assistance outside the party. His eye lighted on the 22 million Chinese born since the Second World War, a generation he considered too soft to inherit the revolution but whose fanatic devotion to him made them pliable instruments for intimidating older party members and re-creating a revolutionary climate in China. From their inception some time in June, 1966, the Red Guards have borne the stamp of improvisation. They have fought among themselves, split into countless unstable units, and often committed what Communists euphemistically call "excesses." The Red Guards have terrorized professors, opera stars, and retired pensioners; they have even cowed a number of factory managers and commune directors. But they have had less success in trying to overawe entrenched party bosses in China's provinces, all the more so because the provincial satraps in many places have organized gangs of their own.

The result was a stalemate that continued through the autumn. In the last weeks of December, 1966, Mao and his chief lieutenants decided to carry the purge into industry and agriculture by organizing "revolutionary" workers and peasants on Red Guard lines. Word went out that anyone in a position of authority was fair game for "criticism by the masses," which meant public humiliation and often dismissal. In Shanghai and other cities local officials and managers tried to defend themselves by being more revolutionary than the revolutionaries: they handed out fat year-end bonuses, distributed capital among the workers, and offered everyone a free ticket and time off to go make revolution in Peking or anywhere out of town. A few weeks later officials in rural areas began behaving in the same way.

Maoist propaganda, which is the only kind heard from China, has pictured these tactics as part of an organized conspiracy to sabotage the cultural revolution. Every outbreak of trouble in the provinces has been linked with the machinations of American imperialism and Soviet revisionism, as well as "antiparty" leaders in Peking. Wall posters have identified the chief culprits as China's titular head of state, Liu Shao-chi, and the Communist Party Secretary-General, Teng Hsiao-ping. Some China watchers have begun speaking of "the opposition" and describing the situation as if it were a civil war. As

far as I know, there is no basis for such conjectures. Neither Liu Shao-chi nor any other Chinese leader has ever openly advocated Mao's overthrow, and it is difficult to see how a nationwide insurrection could be launched and carried out over a period of months without a single public pronouncement to guide the rank and file.

Mao is, or believes he is, on the political offensive. It always behooves an attacker to undermine an enemy bastion before he attacks it by discrediting the defenders, sowing discord among them, and exaggerating the weight of the onslaught they face. These tactics apply as well to political guerrilla warfare as to the real thing, and Mao is a master of both. I have, therefore, a strong feeling that the crimes of provincial party leaders and other targets of Maoist propaganda in China are being advertised before they are committed rather than afterward in order to make it less likely that they will be committed at all.

The aim, after all, is to expunge un-Maoist thinking from China and to make the country totally responsive to the master's will or the will of those around him. But since thought is elusive, a well-fabricated deed is often the surest way to incriminate an intended victim and make certain that he is speedily removed from a position of authority.

None of which should be construed to mean that everything is going Mao's way. The fact that such a heavy propaganda smokescreen is laid down shows how stubborn the resistance is and how hard it is for the Maoists to replace men now in power with docile "revolutionary rebels." It also shows that the "rebels" themselves are divided and unsure how to proceed.

Even in Communist China the inertia of tradition, custom, and habit is not easy to overcome. Every district

party leader has his coterie of followers. Every industrial executive is part of the vast interlocking directorate of state-owned factories. Most Chinese workers and peasants live too near subsistence to jeopardize their livelihood by gratuitous attack on their immediate superiors. There is little need for an organized opposition to the kind of campaign Mao is waging; Chinese society at every level generates its own resistance. Moreover, all the old problems, like the peasants' land hunger, that the Communists succeeded in ignoring or solving after a fashion, have now returned to plague them. All the sores on the Chinese body politic have begun festering again.

This explains, to my way of thinking, why Mao and Lin Pao have now turned to the People's Liberation Army to carry the cultural revolution to victory. The defense minister was clearly reluctant to involve his troops in the great purge, but Mao may have insisted. The army is the Maoists' last resort, not because they are in any danger of being overthrown, as things now stand, but because the purge cannot be rammed through without bayonets. Even with bayonets it will be a pyrrhic victory.

As the Russians found out, it takes more than ardor and orthodoxy to run computer plants or nuclear-fission works. The technicians and engineers may be out for a while, but they will return. Even the party bureaucrats whom Mao so abhors will probably get back eventually because they know how to run the party, and the party is big business in China. Mao's triumph will be China's agony, but neither is likely to be very long-lived. It might have worked if Mao had been born in the sixteenth century when a reformer didn't have to worry about technology and foreign exchange.



Bodies soaked, but spirits undampened, Red Guards march through Peking in readiness for another assault on any evidence of "Western" ways: stores, street names, merchandise—and people. The caricatures portray President Lyndon Johnson in army uniform, ready to drop bombs or join in a bayonet charge.





Djakarta streets fill with angry Indonesian students in a wild demonstration demanding an end to violations of the constitution—violations in many cases committed by appointees of President Sukarno. Such demonstrations—and there were many—intensified pressure further to reduce Sukarno's almost dictatorial powers.

## 14. The Other Asia

BY THE TIME THE DUST of Indonesia's violent political storm had settled in 1966, a most dramatic shift was revealed. Communist China's influence, so powerful the previous year, had vanished; Indonesia's skirmishes with Malaysia, which once seemed interminable, were ended; and Djakarta's defiant pose against the West was dropped.

The developments began on September 30, 1965, when Communist groups tried to gain full control of the government by eliminating the top officers of the anti-Communist army. The army retaliated with a vengeance and stamped out the rebellion; in the bloodbath that followed, hundreds of Communists were reportedly killed.

The government banned the once-powerful Communist Party, returned as a member of the United Nations, and went once more to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for help in pulling Indonesia out of its economic mire.

Leftist President Sukarno was not deposed, possibly in deference to his role as a founder of the republic. But several of his aides were tried and convicted. Sukarno became a figurehead; his powers were stripped away and transferred to the anti-Communist General Suharto and other members of the new power structure.

In another Asian country, Thailand, there was persistent talk that Communist insurgents were intensifying their activities in the northern parts of the country. At the same time, there were recurring rumors that the United States military was taking an increasingly active role in Thailand.

About 35,000 American servicemen were stationed in Thailand, one of Washington's staunchest allies. Of his country's cooperation with the United States, Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn said, "Our intentions are the same." The words were spoken at the opening of the biggest airfield built in his country by the United States: an 11,500-foot runway at Sathip, on the Gulf of Siam. The runway was said to be capable of handling B-52's, the big bombers used to attack Communist targets in Viet-

nam. By the end of the year, there was no confirmation that the B-52's would be based in Thailand.

However, there was official acknowledgment that American servicemen and helicopters were aiding the Thai military in resisting Communist insurgents in the northern provinces. But, officially, the Americans played no combat role; they were merely advisers.

Another neighbor of Vietnam, Cambodia, occasionally complained of South Vietnamese or American war activity straying over onto its side of the border. But, on the whole, Cambodia softened its anti-American tone, which apparently had been calculated in past years to placate Communist China. The newer, softer line toward the West possibly reflected Cambodia's belief that South Vietnam will not necessarily be taken over by the Communists, after all.

Three Asian countries—Japan, Nationalist China, and South Korea—continued to enjoy the blessings of economic prosperity. But Japan's conservative government was shaken by scandal, prompting Prime Minister Eisaku Sato to revamp his cabinet. His Liberal Democratic Party faced national elections in 1967 with some trepidation.

India's prime minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, also reshuffled the cabinet. She had inherited most of the cabinet members from the late Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, whom she succeeded in January. The shakeup came after 200,000 Hindus rioted in front of the Parliament building in New Delhi, demanding a prohibition of the slaughter of cattle.

With Red China a continuing threat on India's northern borders, Mrs. Gandhi held a conference in her capital in late October with Presidents Tito of Yugoslavia and Nasser of Egypt. The communiqué issued after the meeting of the three "nonaligned" nations called for an immediate end to American air raids on North Vietnam "without any preconditions." Internally, India continued to be plagued by population growth and lack of industrial

development to match. As the year ended, both the United States and Soviet Russia announced, separately, that they would give India emergency grain to fight famine: 200,000 tons at once from Russia, 900,000 tons of American wheat early in 1967.

There were violent outbursts in Portuguese Macao in November. Police used rubber truncheons to subdue a group of Chinese trying to build a school without authorization. Groups of young leftist Chinese invaded and ran

wild in government buildings, and Portuguese police fought back. Several Chinese reportedly were killed, and Communist officials in a nearby province in China displayed their displeasure.

The Portuguese authorities, who apparently believed that Communist China was prepared to invade Macao, capitulated to the Chinese demands. The demands included suppression of anti-Communist activity by Chinese on Macao who support Nationalist China.



*Above:* Sukarno at a news conference strives to create the impression that he is still leader of Indonesia, but there is little doubt that the emerging strong man sits on his left, the army's General Suharto.

*Below:* Ruined barricades, smashed windows, broken walls, and documents littering the ground—this is Red China's embassy compound after anti-Communist riots in Djakarta during the spring.



## THE OTHER ASIA

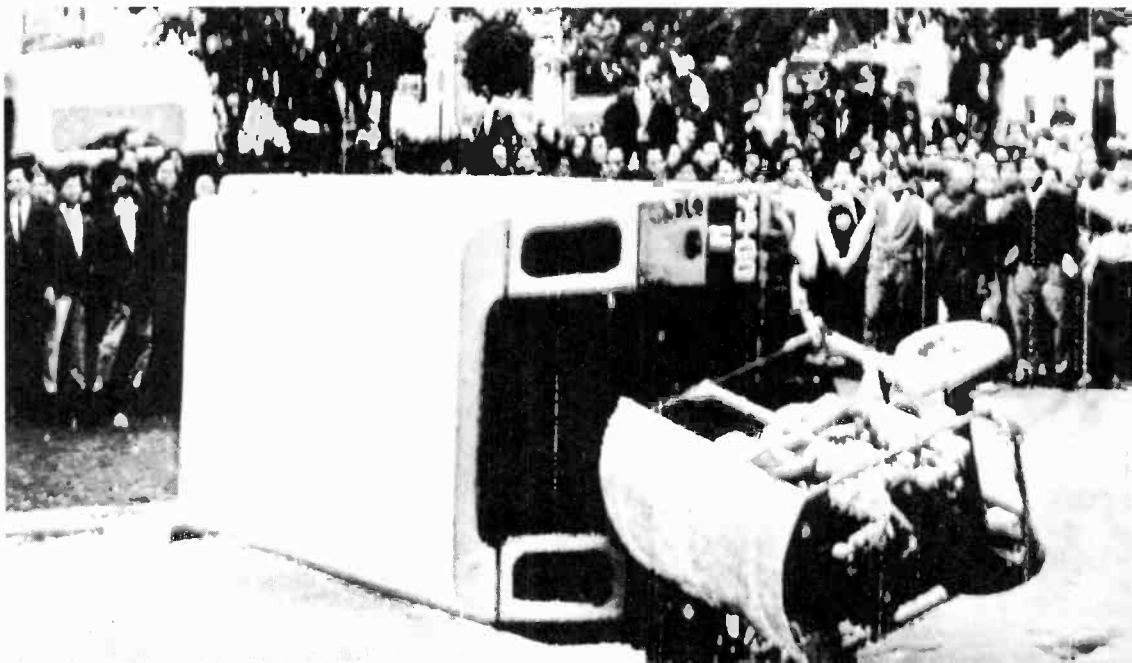


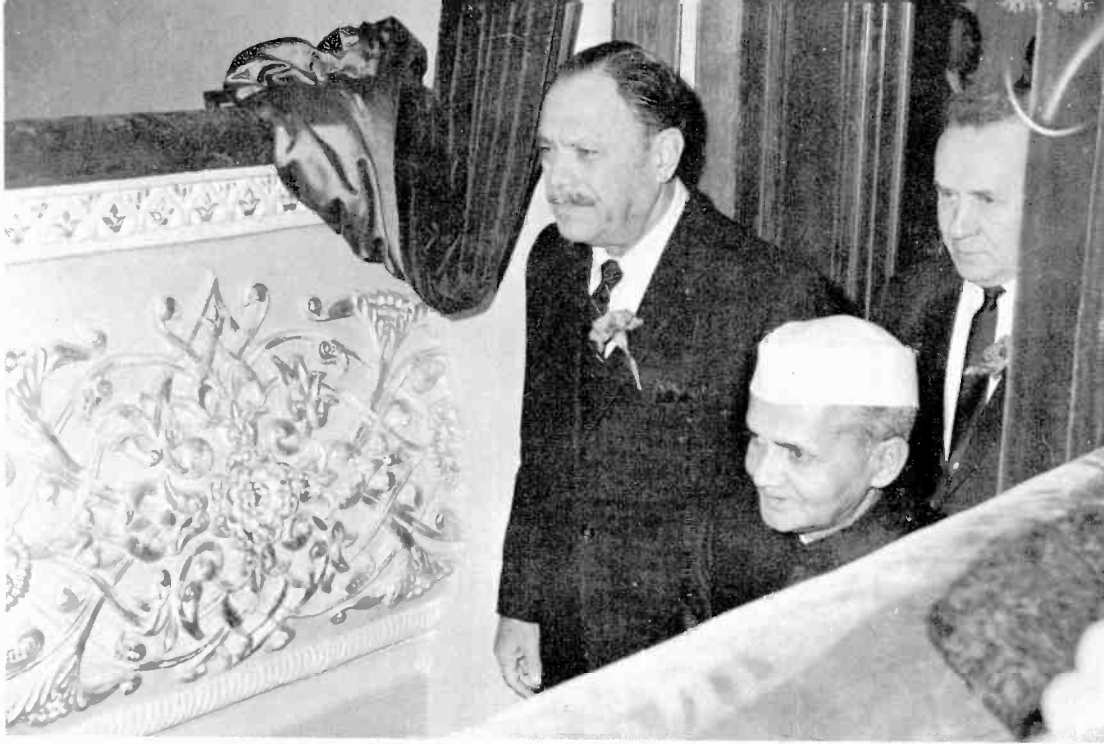
*Above:* Sentence: Death. Grim-lipped and intent, Dr. Subandrio stands in a military court in Djakarta to hear the verdict. Subandrio, the nation's onetime foreign minister, was found guilty of joining in a Communist conspiracy to seize power. At year's end he was still alive, but in prison.



*Center:* In Indonesia, the shift of power away from Sukarno leads that nation and Malaysia to end their undeclared war of three years and to restore friendly relations. Here, concluding their peace talks in Bangkok, Thailand, are Indonesia's Foreign Minister Adam Malik, left, and Malasia's Minister Tun Abdul Razak.

*Below:* A truck is overturned on a Macao street in fighting between left-wing Chinese nationals and police troops in the Portuguese-ruled island colony just off the coast of China. The disorders began when some Chinese attempted to build a school without Portuguese approval. But Peking, in demanding an end to Portuguese "brutality," used subsequent peace talks to impose restrictions on anti-Mao elements on Macao.





*Top:* Peace talks at Tashkent. Russia's Premier Alexei Kosygin discreetly brings up the rear as India's Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, right, and Pakistan's Prime Minister Ayub Khan meet in Russia to settle the Kashmir dispute. In the West, there was criticism that Russia had scored an impressive diplomatic victory in solving a problem that had defied efforts of Washington and London.

*Center:* Tragedy at Tashkent. Shastri dies of a heart attack just a few hours after the Kashmir talks end. Here Shastri's widow flings herself upon his body as a military guard waits to begin the burial march.

*Bottom:* Mrs. Indira Gandhi succeeds Shastri as Prime Minister of India, a post that had once been held by her father, Jawaharlal Nehru. Mrs. Gandhi announces her policy: Socialism at home, nonalignment abroad.





*Above:* America's new ambassador to Japan—U. Alexis Johnson—in his first official call on Prime Minister Eisaku Sato.

*Left:* Japanese police close in around two thousand left-wing students gathering to protest American policy in South Vietnam. The demonstration was touched off by the arrival of Secretary of State Rusk for a foreign ministers' conference. However, the Japanese government was quick to disavow any sympathy with the students' cause.



Hindu holy men smash through police barricades in New Delhi in demonstrations demanding a ban on the slaughter of cows—an animal sacred to the Hindus. Such clashes killed seven persons, injured forty-five, landed nearly fifteen hundred in jail, and forced the resignation of one cabinet minister.



Although use against the Viet Cong was not acknowledged by the Pentagon, American planes were based in Thailand. Here United States Air Force F-102 interceptors are on the flight line at Udorn Air Base, Thailand.



*John Rich, from Cape Elizabeth, Maine, after newspaper reporting, covered the Far East for nine years with INS, based in Tokyo. He joined NBC there in 1950, during the Korean War. In 1957 he was correspondent in Germany, spent two years as Bureau Chief in Paris, and in 1962 returned to Tokyo and his present post.*

## Non-Communist Asia: Nations in Motion

**John Rich**

Chief, NBC News, Far East

SHOCK WAVES RADIATING out from domestic upheavals in two of the Far East's most populous nations are affecting the lives of more than a billion Asians. For Communist China and its 700 million subjects, the year 1966 was a time of madness. For another 100 million people living on the Indonesian archipelago it marked the start back, at long last, on the road to sanity. Because of what has happened, the year 1966 marks a definite turning point in postwar Far Eastern history. For the non-Communist Asian world, against the background of the continuing Vietnam war, it is a turn for the better.

The Chinese internal strife, and Indonesia's change in national direction following the failure of a Communist-led coup, unquestionably have had salutary effects throughout the whole of non-Communist Asia. As the year ended, even a pattern similar to that of postwar Europe could be distinguished—progress within the non-Communist nations beginning to outdistance the sluggish advance (or outright failures) in the Communist camp.

By the end of 1966 this no longer seemed to be the century of Communist China. The leaders in Peking had failed badly and publicly. Chinese Communism ceased to be discussed seriously as the wave of the future in Asia. Most Sinologists agree that for the next twenty years, at least, China has little chance of reaching the level of a major world power.

Although the upheaval afforded sometimes amusement and occasionally concern, mainly it brought relief to the countries around China's southern and eastern periphery, while weakening their local Communist action

groups. For years, as Chinese strength and belligerency grew, these nations were resigning themselves to the prospect of living under the domination of a militantly aggressive giant. China, seemingly unified for the first time in modern history, became more menacing with each nuclear explosion at Lop Nor.

At the start of the year, the United States commitment in Southeast Asia was in doubt. The future, especially for nations tied to the United States, looked bleak indeed. Beyond America there was nobody to whom they could turn with the resources and capability to offer them an alternative to what seemed eventual capitulation to China's brand of Marxism. Some countries, like Cambodia, tried to anticipate the inevitable by breaking noisily with the West and embracing China. Others vacillated. The rest, already deeply committed, had no choice but to stick with the West, and hope for the best.

By year's end the change had been dramatic. The pressures began to ease. Ironically, it was the Soviet Union, China's former ally, that most plainly felt the heat, and began strengthening its borders in preparation for the eventual showdown within the Communist world. The early fascination some Asian leaders had found in the Chinese way of life quickly turned to disillusionment. Reading reports from the mainland, they thought that if this were the kind of future China proposed to export through its wars of national liberation, then they were hardly interested. Naturally, they began to cast their eyes elsewhere to find another model for their national goals.

Only a decade ago geopoliticians had dreamed up what was described as a historic competition between India and China, a battle for advancement that would decide the future shape of Asia. It was presented as a match between the world's two most populous countries to see which would succeed—the totalitarianism of Chinese Communism or the British-style democracy of India.

By the end of 1966 it appeared that the race was over by mutual default. Neither could claim victory, for, as far as Asians were concerned, both had lost. The world struggled to ship food to India just to keep her people alive. Life for the Chinese farmer was no better.

As Asians cast about for inspiration, they didn't have far to search. Japan, long ignored, suddenly emerged in 1966 into prominence as the pacesetter for the Far East. Quietly, under the umbrella of American military protection, Japan had risen to major status, the first Oriental country in history remotely to match the leading powers of the West in economic accomplishment.

Japan ended the year a stable, functioning democracy, making fantastic progress by Asian or any other standards. For a decade it had attained an average 10 percent yearly increase in its Gross National Product—the best record in the world. From the ashes of defeat only twenty years earlier the Japanese had built the highest standard of living in Asia. The tragedy was only that the gap between them and their Asian neighbors continued to widen. In many fields, from piano production



to supertankers, they led the world. During 1966 they surpassed the West Germans in steel output, to stand third in the world, behind the United States and Russia. They are second on the output of cars, trucks, and buses, and can count more television antennas on their rooftops than anyone outside the United States.

Japan, too, appears to have attained political stability. Elections were conducted peaceably, and the voters chose moderate, middle-road policies. Most important, through their industriousness they showed Asians that it is possible for an Asiatic society to attain for its people the better things of life for which they have always envied the West. The Japanese have done this without resorting to sloganeering or succumbing to the postwar trend of anticolonial violence. In this way, the Japanese success story is good for Asian self-respect.

To date, Japan has avoided much beyond a financially rewarding involvement in Southeast Asian affairs. In some places this may be because memories of World War II are still sharp. But Japanese political commitments to non-Communist Asia promise to grow. They are being pushed vigorously by the United States, which sees Japan as a powerful force for stability.

One of the most remarkable developments in Asia in 1966 was the speedy collapse of the so-called confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia after the fall from power of President Sukarno. Only a few months earlier the Indonesian leader had been threatening to destroy the new state of Malaysia; now the new Indonesian leaders restored fruitful cooperation between the two countries. The event illustrates how the posturing and plotting of a single individual can keep a large part of the world in turmoil. The collapse of the Peking-Djakarta axis removed a gnawing threat to Southeast Asia. In Indonesia itself more level-headed rulers have begun to lead the people of this naturally endowed, potentially rich nation out of the economic morass into which they had followed Sukarno. As Indonesia returned to the United Nations, her creditor nations met to try to help her avert financial collapse. There was again hope for the future.

Malaysia, too, freed from Indonesian border raids and subversive infiltration, again could turn its attention to its prospering economy and to improving life and welding together its multiracial citizenry.

Besides Japan, there are other bright spots in Asia. South Korea, for long appearing hopelessly dependent on American handouts, is finally moving toward economic self-sufficiency. Itself the victim of a long, destructive war, South Korea gives reason to hope that someday South Vietnam may find its way to nationhood and stability. The Korean people have gained a new confidence from their government's recent participation in Asian affairs. They are especially proud of having been able to make a repayment on past debts by answering America's appeal for forces to fight in Vietnam. Also, one of the big events of the decade was the resumption of relations between Korea and its former enemy, Japan. It closed the books

on one of Asia's oldest and most bitter feuds.

Formosa, while Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek theoretically awaits his chance to return to the mainland, has not been marking time. The economy has taken off on its own, and United States aid programs have been ended. Land reform, which the Nationalists unfortunately never thought about when they were on the mainland, has been pushed so successfully that Nationalist leaders boast they will use Formosa as a model when, and if, they go back home. Their chances of going back still seem slim, although not so utterly remote as they did before the power struggle began in Peking. Today, Formosa, with its rising standard of living, stands in sharp contrast to the bungling mismanagement on the mainland.

Certainly Asia's massive and historic problems have not ended or been solved. There are still poverty, illiteracy, insufficient food, disease, and overpopulation wherever one looks. But, most significantly, it is in the non-Communist world—Formosa, Japan, Thailand, Malaysia, and South Korea and of course Hong Kong—where the battle against these ancient scourges is being waged most effectively. Contrasted with this is the situation in the Communist Asian camp. China is weathering a crisis, and although by no means in mortal danger, is plainly in confusion. North Vietnam doggedly pursues a war it cannot win, and continues to expose its people to untold suffering. North Korea, now caught between China and Russia, is bogging down through lack of support while uncomfortably it watches the South Koreans pick up steam and pull away. Even in Cambodia, where Prince Sihanouk has wagered on China, his backers now seem to be having second thoughts and are showing signs of looking for ways to hedge their bets.

One of the most hopeful developments for the non-Communists is the growing trend toward regional cooperation among the free Asian nations. In 1966 an Asian Development Bank was established to provide funds to finance economic projects. The United States, for once, was not the largest contributor. The role of Japan as a helper is increasing, and the United States, feeling the pinch of its Vietnam commitment, is doubly happy to encourage the trend. The United States is in Asia, planning to stay for a long while, and more committed than ever before. But the emphasis henceforth will be to encourage Asians themselves to get together and form their own regional groupings to help themselves. Thus United States aid can be funneled to them on a multilateral basis. This appeals to the United States because it offers a way to channel help, while avoiding unilateral involvement. Asians are less likely to feel that they are surrendering their independence and less likely to evoke the emotional hangovers of colonial days.

The influence of American policy on the year's events in Asia is difficult to assess. It can hardly claim full credit for the favorable turn of the tide; yet indirectly its influence was undeniably large. The United States supplied the muscle when it was needed to support na-

tions wishing to resist aggression. Its very presence in a continuing and massive way in Vietnam emboldens non-Communist positions and actions. And it has provided the glue in terms of economic aid and moral backing to hold together the loose grouping of non-Communist states. Had America not persisted in Vietnam, but “cut and run” as some advised, the face of Asia today would look vastly different. At any rate, a cautious smile of satisfaction can be detected these days on the faces of our long-range policy makers.

The dire predictions made by some in 1965 have

not materialized. The United States pressed on with the Vietnam war through a massive buildup in the south and by bombing raids on the north. The Chinese were not provoked as some feared, into entering the war. Nor did the American action in Vietnam force the Chinese and Soviets to patch up their ideological split. Rather, the gulf has widened.

To American eyes, non-Communist Asia at the start of 1967 looks not only better than it did a year ago, but the best that it has in a decade.



President Chiang Kai-shek of Nationalist China salutes at a parade in Taipei, Taiwan, during the Double Ten celebration—on the tenth day of the tenth month each year—marking the birth of the Republic of China. Though Chiang continued to predict a Nationalist return to mainland China, his gains were economic during the year—not military. Taiwan, or Formosa, continued to enjoy rising prosperity.



**The Yankee goes home. Troops of the 82nd Airborne Division board a landing craft in September as, the elections over, the Inter-American military forces pull out. The left wing in Latin America tried to make propaganda capital of "Yankee intervention," but somehow this never became a major issue.**

## 15. Latin America

LATIN AMERICA AGAIN HAD ITS SHARE of political upheavals; at the same time, the traditional resistance to social and economic reform continued to be chipped away. Reform, slowly and sometimes reluctantly, gained acceptance.

However, the most dramatic development of the year involved more than reform; it marked the end of the civil war in the Dominican Republic—a year-long agony that involved the United States and other Latin American countries.

On June 1, Joaquín Balaguer, candidate of the center-rightist Reformista Party, was elected president of the Dominican Republic. The votes were 754,000 for Balaguer; 518,000 for Juan Bosch of the Dominican Revolutionary Party; and 45,000 for Rafael Bonnelly of the right-wing National Integration Party. A month later, Balaguer was sworn in, replacing Hector García-Godoy, who served as provisional president for ten months. On September 19th, the last of the Inter-American military force, sent into the Dominican Republic seventeen months earlier to keep the peace, withdrew from the country.

During the spring United States and Latin American representatives got together in Panama and later in Washington. The Latin Americans wanted trade preferences for their nations, and specific commitments under United States aid programs.

At another spring meeting, this time in Buenos Aires, the Latin American countries pressed their efforts for a treaty committing the United States to specific economic aid under the Alliance for Progress. The United States balked at specific commitments, and proposed a greater emphasis on Latin American self-help. Later, in a compromise, Washington agreed to a treaty, but one that makes only a general pledge to continue long-term aid.

The Alliance for Progress in 1966 reached the half-way mark in its originally scheduled ten years. But during the year the program was extended indefinitely. The United States, the financier, again put a billion dollars

into the program during the year through the Agency for International Development, the Export-Import Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, Peace Corps, and Food for Peace. The key financial arm of the Alliance for Progress is the Inter-American Development Bank. Its 1966 loan authorizations to member nations, \$396 million, was the highest in its three-year history.

There appeared to be greater emphasis on basic economic factors in the allocation of Alliance funds, and less on aid to cover budgetary deficits. Washington, furthermore, reminded Latin American leaders of their responsibility to match United States efforts.

By 1966, Alliance goals—economic development and fiscal reform—were generally accepted by the governmental leaders of Latin America. But businessmen, landowners, and workers whose interests were affected continued to resist change.

Supporters of the Alliance could point to a degree of affluence that has reached the grass-roots Latin American, especially in the larger cities, where shops were filled with luxury items; critics pointed to huge pockets of poverty that persisted (for example, in northeast Brazil, which is as big as the United States Midwest, the average income was under \$200 a year). Alliance supporters could also boast that at least one economic goal—an annual increase in per capita income of 2.5 percent—was reached for the past two years; others, more critical, saw the goal as too modest, and pointed, instead, to the need to find jobs for 2½ million young people who enter the labor market every year.

On August 14th, the fifth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress, President Johnson urged that the annual income growth target be raised from 2.5 percent to 4 to 6 percent per capita. He also called for economic integration of the nineteen republics in Latin America. Several Latin American leaders also urged some form of “common market.” This idea was translated into action when Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Ecuador agreed

to set up a common market in petrochemical products.

In a number of countries, economic problems led to political upheavals. On June 28th the Argentine government of President Arturo Umberto Illia was ousted by a military junta, which later dissolved congress, the supreme court, and all political parties. Retired Army General Juan Carlos Onganía was named president. The bloodless coup was encouraged by businessmen and landowners, who were disheartened by the country's economic plight and inflation and the Illia government's tolerance of left-wingers and Perónists. Strong opposition to the new government came from thousands of students in state universities. The students demonstrated against the seizure and closing of state universities and against the arrest and beating of students and professors. The schools, although state-owned, had been traditionally free of governmental interference.

In Brazil, plagued by inflation and political instability, the congress elected Marshal of the Army Artur Costa e Silva as the country's president, effective March, 1967, succeeding President Humberto Castelo Branco. The election of a president by the legislature, rather than by popular vote, was authorized in a constitutional amendment. Members of the Brazilian Democratic Movement, the only legal opposition party, boycotted the balloting. Castelo Branco later dismissed five of six opposition deputies in congress and, when they defied him by staying in the Chamber of Deputies, he suspended Congress. Castelo Branco accused the opposition of planning to block the inauguration of Costa as president. Costa, commenting on the political instability, remarked: "The root of the political problem is how to adjust the economic and social aspirations of the people to the capacity to produce and distribute."

Another leader, Bolivia's General René Barrientos Ortuno, who was elected president on July 3rd, also noted that economic development was his country's major aim.

A military coup was attempted on October 30th in Venezuela. The government survived, but had to contend with guerrilla activity in the mountains and with an outbreak in November in Caracas. The government also was forced to fight a fiscal battle; it was severely criticized for its oil and tax policies, including the government's huge claims for back taxes from foreign oil companies.

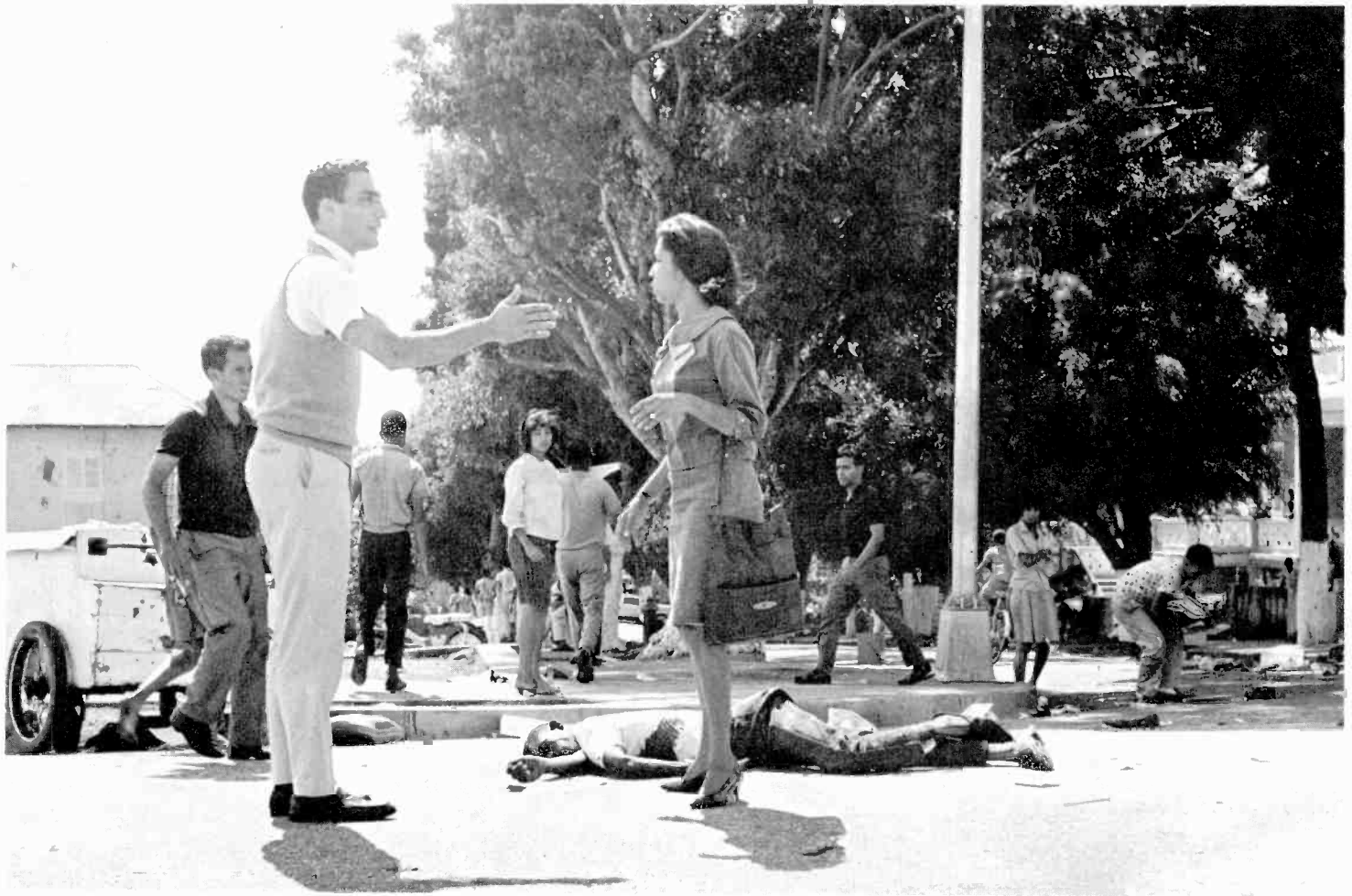
In Colombia, the National Front candidate for president, Carlos Lleras Restrepo, was elected on May 1st, but support for him lacked enthusiasm. Many upper- and middle-class voters, who support the National Front, were lukewarm about the election, and many simply did not bother to vote. Lleras, an economist, stressed the need for more jobs. One Colombian governmental proposal was to build a seaway between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. A study was authorized for the project, which, if completed, would be in competition with the Panama Canal.

In Guatemala, Julio César Méndez Montenegro was sworn in as president on July 1st, returning the government to civilians after three years of rule by the military.

Cuba's alleged plot to export its brand of revolutionary Communism to other Latin American countries made little or no headway in 1966. Premier Fidel Castro continued to denounce outsiders, from Communist Chinese to North Americans. Shooting incidents at the United States naval base at Guantanamo, Cuba, created short-lived excitement and international strain. During the first year of the airlift from Cuba to the United States, from December, 1965, to December, 1966, 44,454 Cuban refugees were flown to the United States.

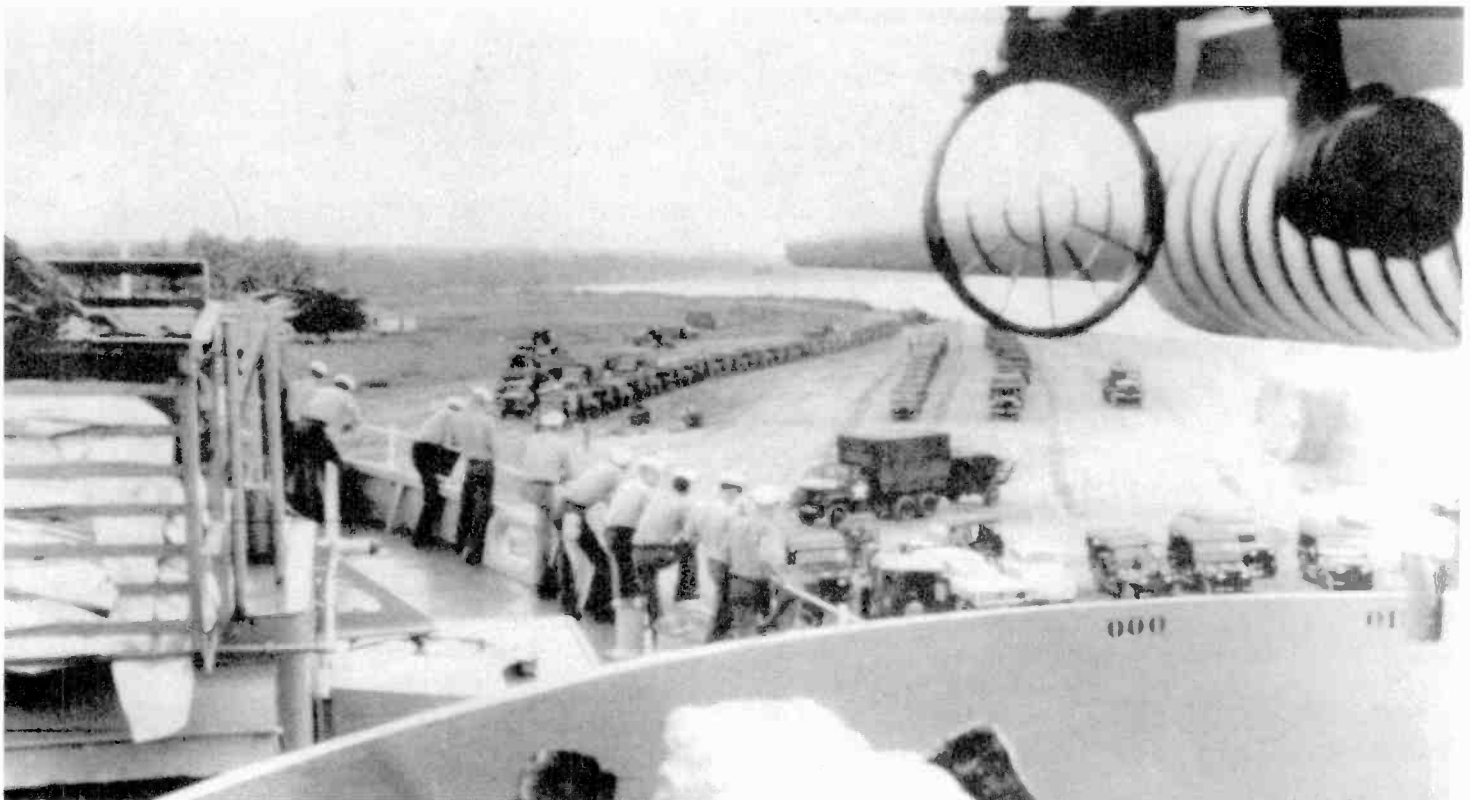


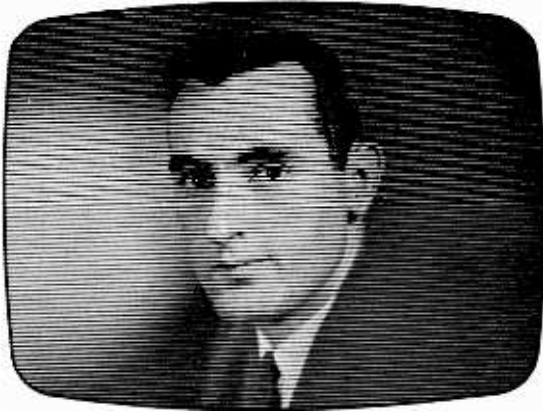
The Dominican Republic gets a new president on July 1st as Joaquín Balaguer, right, dons the sash of office. Balaguer was voted in after months of bitter, violent, and sometimes bloody campaigning. With Balaguer here is the president of the Dominican National Assembly, Pedro Valdéz.



*Above:* A woman is waved away from a victim of the fighting that broke out in February when Santo Domingo university students, protesting a cut in government funds for the campus, began throwing rocks at school guards and police. Police answered with gunfire.

*Below:* Altogether, some eight thousand Inter-American troops went into the Dominican Republic—and stayed for seventeen months. Their departure marked the end of a civil war that, the United States felt, could have ended in another extremist government in the Caribbean.





*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 there in 1961 as correspondent in Cuba; there, after two tumultuous years, including five stays in Castro's jails, he returned to the United States. His roving assignments have since included interviewing refugees in Miami, integration troubles in the South, riots in Panama, and insurrection in the Dominican Republic. His present base is Washington, from whence he roams the continent.*

## Latin America— Old Problems: New Approaches

*Richard Valeriani*

NBC News Latin American Correspondent

LATIN AMERICA IS A COLLECTION of disparate nations varying greatly in size, population, and resources, with distinctive characters and individual problems—unless you have to write about it in a thousand words or less.

Then, seen as a whole, and from the viewpoint of United States policy and problems, it becomes one big “troubled area,” where underdevelopment is aggravated by the threat of overpopulation.

It becomes a collection of clichés. And one of the bitter realities of the area is that the clichés, all distressingly true, have applied for so long. They continued to apply in 1966.

In general, the rich are still getting richer, while the poor are still getting poorer—as well as children. There is not enough food, not enough housing, not enough schooling, not enough industry, not enough agriculture, not enough trade, too much inflation, too much instability—and there are too many arms.

The winds of change blowing throughout the rest of the world have stirred only gentle breezes in Latin America.

In terms of United States policy, Latin America is a relatively secure area. With the exception of Cuba, the governments, although sometimes sullen, are friendly.

Much of the hysteria that attended Cuba's defection to the Communist bloc has subsided. But the Dominican intervention reflected how much the experience of Cuba still does influence American policy.

Fidel Castro stepped up efforts to export his revolution in 1966, but his call to convert the Andes into a Sierra Maestra went unheeded. Guerrilla activity in a handful of countries demonstrated his continued potential for troublemaking. Generally, however, the hemispheric policy of isolating Castro diplomatically and economically enjoyed quiet success.

The keystone of United States policy in the hemisphere is the Alliance for Progress—a massive program of self-help for Latin America with a United States commitment of at least a billion dollars a year in aid. In its first five years, the Alliance has achieved less than originally hoped for, but more than skeptics had foreseen.

New low-cost housing projects, schools, roads, and so on, scattered throughout the hemisphere testify to the workings of the Alliance.

But its chief impact to date may be more psychological than physical: The realization that change must come is beginning to seep through archaic social and economic structures in Latin America. There is increasing understanding of Teodoro Moscoso's observation: “The alternative is not between the *status quo* and violent revolution. It is between peaceful revolution and violent revolution.”

What is still lacking in general in Latin America is a commitment to improving the lives of people for the sake of that improvement, rather than merely accepting change as an alternative to violence.

Shortcomings have plagued the Alliance on all fronts—economic, political, and social.

One of the prime goals set forth at Punta del Este in 1961 was a 2.5 percent increase in per capita income per year. While the area as a whole has occasionally reached that figure, several nations individually have fallen short.

The modesty of that goal is underlined by Latin America's population growth rate—3.5 percent a year. At that rate, it's estimated the region's population will triple by the end of this century.

Politically, the impact of the Alliance has been disappointing. Eight Latin governments have been overthrown since the Alliance was framed. Military dictatorships rule in the two largest countries of Latin America—Argentina and Brazil.

Social reforms have been slow in coming. As one South American ambassador wrote during the year, “In too many of our countries, the ‘social order’ is synonymous with government *of* the minority, *by* the minority and *for* the minority.”

Too often, the Alliance is not reaching the people it is designed to help most. At the five-year mark, the vitality of the Alliance is coming more and more into question.

There's no doubt much of its dynamism died with

John F. Kennedy. Kennedy captured the imagination of Latin America as no other President in United States history. (His picture still adorns huts and hovels and mansions all over the hemisphere.)

President Lyndon Johnson has provided much of the same rhetoric as his predecessor, but little of the inspiration. His heavy-handed response to the crises in Panama and the Dominican Republic have revived old fears about the "real" attitude of the United States toward Latin America. (In the short run, the outcome of the Dominican crisis was satisfying to United States policy makers. The long-range effect is, of course, still to be determined.)

To revitalize the Alliance, attention is now being focused on economic integration—one of the low-priority goals at Punta del Este.

The presidents of the hemisphere will meet in

the spring of 1967 for the first time in more than a decade.

The theme of the meeting is "to strengthen the Alliance."

The major thrust at the summit will be the creation of a Latin American common market. It will also afford President Johnson, in face-to-face contacts with each nation's leaders, an opportunity to form some personal relationships and to strengthen his own image. Knowing his style, it is an opportunity he will exploit to the full.

The long-range approach implicit in the creation of a common market, added to the extension of the United States commitment to the Alliance for Progress, suggests a new awareness that problems that have endured for centuries are not going to be solved in a decade—or even two.



*Above:* Rio de Janeiro police charge into students during day-long demonstrations against the government of President Humberto Castello Branco. Passions were inflamed, and tempers exploded, as student orators whipped up their followers by fiery speeches against the United States.

*Right:* Isabelita, exiled Juan Perón's wife, turned up in Argentina to serve as a symbolic rallying point for the splintered and quarreling Peronista groups, still a reckonable political force. But the army took over the government, and former dictator Perón remained in exile.







**U Thant of Burma, Secretary-General of the United Nations, who hoped to retire from the post, describing it as rife with misery, frustration, and disillusionment. But in a furious year-long campaign, large and small powers alike persuaded him to serve another term as the indispensable man for the world organization.**

## 16. United Nations

THE UNITED NATIONS MANAGED to take a few positive steps during the year—an impressive achievement in view of the difficulties involved in getting an unwieldy world forum to arrive at decisions.

The most hopeful tentative agreement was worked out after months of labor by the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space: the first international treaty to govern the exploration of space. It prohibits nations from placing nuclear weapons or other means of mass destruction into orbit around the earth. It also prohibits countries from installing such weapons on the moon.

The two most powerful members of the UN, the United States and Russia, played crucial roles in drafting the treaty. In fact, without their agreement, reached in private meetings between American and Soviet representatives, the matter might have fallen by the wayside.

Soon after the treaty was announced, President Johnson called it the most important arms-control development since the 1963 treaty on the limited nuclear-test ban. As in the case of the earlier treaty, the new space agreement provides that all governments in and out of the UN, may adhere to it.

The Security Council broke new ground in December when it voted mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia, after the Rhodesian government turned down Britain's latest set of demands. The council had never before gone so far in setting up trade embargoes to try to force a government to its knees. (See Chapter 11, AFRICA.)

The UN also reached complete agreement in reelecting the Burmese diplomat U Thant as its Secretary-General for another term, to run until December 31, 1971. On September 1st, Mr. Thant jolted the delegates by announcing, "I have decided not to offer myself for a second term."

His job, as he made clear, was full of frustrations.

The Soviet Union, and France to a lesser extent, inhibited his freedom of action; the UN suffered from perennial financial miseries; and it showed conspicuous inability to do anything about Vietnam. Mr. Thant noted that the UN's prime mission was peace-keeping, but he added:

"Today, the pressure of events is remorselessly leading toward a major war, while efforts to reverse that trend are lagging disastrously behind. In my view, the tragic error is being repeated of relying on force and military means in a deceptive pursuit of peace."

The member nations, including Russia and the United States, were in no mood to get into a long, unrewarding squabble over a successor. Finally, Mr. Thant was persuaded to change his mind about leaving.

It was something of a victory for Mr. Thant. He was recommended unanimously by the Security Council and reelected unanimously by the General Assembly. Furthermore, the Security Council loosened the knot that had kept the Secretary-General's hands tied during emergencies by acknowledging that he should have freedom of action during crises.

In accepting the new term, Mr. Thant once again dwelt on his concern over Vietnam. He told the General Assembly:

"I shall seize every occasion to recall that this war must be ended and I will continue to regard it as my duty to make every effort on a personal basis to help promote a solution which will bring peace and justice to the people of Vietnam."

The annual debate over the admission of Communist China resulted in a victory for United States diplomacy again. A draft resolution to seat Peking (although Red China showed no interest in joining the UN) was beaten, 57 to 46, with 17 abstentions; the margin of victory was greater than in 1965, when the vote was 47 to 47, with 20 abstentions.

The Italians proposed a draft resolution that a committee be appointed to find out Peking's attitude

toward the UN. The resolution was rejected. The Canadians suggested that Communist China be put on the Security Council, with Peking and Taipei sitting in the General Assembly. This proposal was not put to a vote.

After an Israeli raid into Jordan—which Israel said was retaliation for terrorist attacks by Arabs—the UN Security Council censured Israel. The United States joined in the rebuke, the sharpest dealt by the UN to either side in the fifteen-year history of the Israeli-Arab border strife. The council warned Israel that any further military actions “cannot be tolerated” and would lead

to “further and more effective steps” to end them. The censure stopped short of threatening economic sanctions. (See Chapter 12, THE MIDDLE EAST.)

The General Assembly in October adopted a resolution ending white-ruled South Africa’s mandate over the South-West African territory. But no steps were taken to evict South Africa, which maintained possession of the territory.

The UN took in four new members: Guyana in September, Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland) and Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) in October, and Barbados in December, raising the total membership to 122.



## UNITED NATIONS



*Top:* Mexico: The Secretary-General listens as an authority on pyramids explains the history of the Teotihuacán structures, their steps and dome seen in the background.

*Center:* Paris: President de Gaulle comments that "the photographers are always with us," as U Thant emerges from a state luncheon in his honor at the Palais de l'Elysée.

*Right:* In the Security Council, the Secretary-General listens as Ambassador Arthur Goldberg criticizes Israel for attacking Jordan. The Middle East, with its peacekeeping and rehabilitation missions, has been one of the United Nations' chief concerns.

*Opposite:* London: The past looks down and the present listens as U Thant speaks in the House of Lords. His theme: The world is one.



*Left:* Premier Forbes Burnham bends to take his seat to formalize the admission of Guyana into the United Nations. Guyana was one of four new members admitted during the year, bringing membership to 122.

*Below:* The United Nations scores its biggest success of the year in coordinating the formation of a treaty governing the exploration and use of outer space—a treaty including a ban on nuclear weapons in such areas. Here Ambassador Arthur Goldberg signs for the United States.



## UNITED NATIONS



*Left:* Conferring in the corridor on whether to vote Red China into the United Nations are, from the left, representatives of Byelorussia, the Soviet Union, Guinea, and the United Arab Republic. Though the four voted to seat Red China, she was again denied admission.

*Below:* Part of the voting board in the General Assembly helps to tell the story of the voting on whether to expel Nationalist China and to seat Red China: 57 opposed, 46 in favor, 17 abstaining. The vote, though narrow, was considered a diplomatic victory for the United States.





*Above left:* Troops of non-Communist nations East and West on duty with a United Nations peacekeeping force on Cyprus, where, in June, the Security Council extends the force's tour for another six months in the hope of ending the fighting between Greeks and Turks on the Mediterranean island.

*Above right:* Schoolboys in Honduras line up for vaccination in the United Nations drive to eliminate malaria. Through the World Health Organization and through the Children's Fund, the UN continued to push ahead with programs to combat tuberculosis and build medical facilities in underdeveloped countries.

*Right:* Farmers in India experiment with a new rice-planting technique—only one of many such programs financed and directed by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. The FAO's World Food Program brought pledges during the year of \$205 million from participating nations.





*Pauline Frederick, from Gallitzin, Pennsylvania, began her notable career in Washington, D.C., as a feature-story writer. She joined NBC New York in 1953, and was soon appointed United Nations correspondent. From the UN she has reported on crises in Korea, Suez, Hungary, Cuba, and the Middle East. She has received thirteen honorary degrees, numerous awards, and for two straight years was the only journalist in a poll of the world's ten most admired women.*

## **U Thant's Mission**

***Pauline Frederick***

NBC News United Nations Correspondent

THE UNITED NATIONS CAME OF AGE in 1966, according to the calendar. It thereby exceeded the active life of the League of Nations by two years. Nevertheless, there was evident in the newer organization a weakness similar to that which sapped the vitality of its predecessor. Member states—particularly the major ones—were not willing to entrust pursuit of their self-determined national interests to UN procedures instead of to the traditional exercise of power.

When the United Nations was established in San Francisco in 1945, there were glowing hopes and prophecies that this would be a cooperative effort to save the world from war. The impetus for this change in nation behavior had come from World War II when it was seen how conflict anywhere could become war everywhere. Shortly afterward it was recognized, too, that the atomic age into which the UN was launched held the threat of mass suicide unless future disputes were taken to the conference table instead of, as in the past, to the battlefield.

However, the year 1966 opened, as it closed, with the Vietnam war a grim reminder that nations, regardless of their commitment to the principles of the UN Charter, were not always ready "to settle their disputes by peaceful means," "refrain . . . from the threat or use of force," and "first of all [to] seek a solution by negotiation" to threats to the peace. The reason was the old one that had haunted the League of Nations: Sovereign states were reluctant to surrender national policy goals to the hazards of collective action.

The year found Secretary-General Thant ready to leave his post, mainly because of the war in Vietnam—then changing his mind and agreeing to remain for a new five-year term because of the same war.

Hope of progress toward peace in Southeast Asia was high when 1966 began, with the United Nations in the picture as a possible peacemaker. The United States had extended its interruption of the bombing of North Vietnam beyond the Christmas truce. Ambassador Arthur H. Goldberg invited "the Secretary-General or any member of the United Nations to do what in his opinion or in its opinion would help to contribute toward a peaceful settlement." However, on the last day of January, President Johnson ordered a resumption of the raids on North Vietnam because the United States felt there had been no positive response from Hanoi to peace overtures. At the same time, the President asked for a Security Council meeting to consider an American resolution calling for a conference at which the first order of business would be a cease-fire.

After some debate, and with no votes to spare, Vietnam was finally inscribed on the Council's agenda on February 2nd. Then there was a recess for consultations. Nearly a month later, Council President Akira Matsui of Japan reported to the members that differences of view on the issue "had given rise to a general feeling that it would be inopportune for the Council to hold further debate at this time." That UN body never resumed its meetings on the subject of Vietnam.

This should have occasioned no surprise to American officials, who knew from four private-opinion polls that there was general opposition to UN involvement at this stage. For one thing, China and North Vietnam could not be represented on an equal footing with the United States. A Cold War debate would force the Soviet Union to take a hard public position against the United States that would destroy any hope of private cooperation toward a settlement. The Soviet Union, France, and to a lesser extent Britain, were opposed to UN intervention in a problem that was the responsibility of the Geneva Conference.

Vietnam was the most discussed topic in the General Assembly that convened in September. Yet that body, too, found it as useless as the Security Council to try to do anything about the war.

With the UN bodies impotent before the conflict, Secretary-General Thant continued his private efforts to try to find a road to peace. He looked on the struggle as one in which a small nation and its people were trying to survive, not as an ideological contest among the big powers. He said three steps were essential to creating the climate necessary for negotiations: First, there must be an end to the bombing of North Vietnam; second, there must be deescalation of all military activities in the South; third, there must be a willingness to talk with all parties—that is, the United States would have to deal with the political arm of the Viet Cong.



Nevertheless, the war escalated and so did Thant's warnings about the threat to world peace. He returned from a visit to Moscow to say there was danger of a major conflict, since the Soviet Union had pledged all possible assistance to North Vietnam.

The Secretary-General had promised to disclose in June whether he would accept a new term of office when his tenure expired on November 3rd. He then postponed this decision through the summer until September 1st. In the meantime there arose a chorus of pleas from all over the world for him to stay on. Appeals came from President Johnson, Vice-President Humphrey, Secretary of State Rusk, Ambassador Goldberg, and some members of Congress, among others.

There was shock and surprise, therefore, when U Thant announced on September 1st that he had decided not to offer himself for a new term. In his statement of renunciation, the Secretary-General reflected gloomily on the failure of member states to cooperate with the UN in building and keeping the peace. Among other things, the Soviet Union and France had refused to pay their past debts for peacekeeping, and the future of this important function was clouded by deadlock. But those who knew best the thinking of this Burmese pacifist were aware of Thant's despair over being able to do anything about the Vietnam war. He had come to the conclusion that as a private citizen he might be able to function more effectively.

UN members were thus confronted with a unique situation—a Secretary-General whom the major power blocs agreed on, yet who wanted to quit. Knowing that selection of a successor would probably paralyze the UN for at least a year because the United States and the Soviet Union had to agree on the man, new pressure was mounted to persuade Thant to change his mind. American and Soviet officials were particularly active in this campaign. The concern of Thant for peace and the future of the UN were subjects of intensive private consultations among Council members.

At this time, too, top-secret negotiations were under way to bring the American and North Vietnamese ambassadors together for talks in Warsaw in December. Thant was assured that this would be a hopeful step. He was convinced that he could be more helpful in any under-

taking to advance peace in Southeast Asia if he would remain at his post.

It thus became a foregone conclusion that when the Security Council and General Assembly on December 2nd unanimously named U Thant for a five-year term he would accept. However, he said, "The threats to peace in many parts of the world, and more particularly in Vietnam, are for me a continuing source of anxiety and even anguish. . . . I shall seize every occasion to recall that this war must be ended and I will continue to regard it as my duty to make every effort on a personal basis to help promote a solution which will bring peace and justice to the people of Vietnam."

Before long it was demonstrated again how easily hopes for a Vietnam peace could be thwarted. Plans for the Warsaw conference fell through. The North Vietnamese withdrew their willingness to participate, accusing the United States of bad faith in bombing the environs of Hanoi on December 13th and 14th.

The year 1966 ended on the realization that the United Nations, created "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," could only stand helplessly by while the flames of conflict engulfed Southeast Asia. Neither the Security Council, the General Assembly, nor the Secretary-General was able to exert the influence needed to compel observance by any of the parties of the principles set forth in the Charter: to settle their disputes by peaceful means.

So, facing 1967, Vietnam hung over the peace organization like a pall. There was no voiced fear that the UN was in imminent danger of going out of existence. Of course, the UN's worldwide programs continued to improve health, elevate the destitute toward a decent standard of living, teach the illiterate, and remove barriers to scientific and cultural exchange. Yet there was the heavy realization that the second international organization that man had built to offer a substitute for war, was currently failing in its primary function.

Unless this trend were arrested, the organization could become just one more debating society that busies itself with some good works, using whatever resources the members have provided after they take care of their swelling military budgets.

**PART**

**2**

**LIFE IN AMERICA**



**"Man, the visions stretches. . ."** A user of the hallucinogenic drug LSD describes the experience, one that seems to twist, dissolve, or attenuate the sights around him, as illustrated by this impressionistic photograph. The advocates of LSD said, "It manifests the mind." The Food and Drug Administration said, "Watch out for this stuff."

## 17. Youth and Revolt

THE YOUTH REVOLT THAT FLAMED with steady blue intensity in 1965 seemed to wane and flicker during the year. On campuses—centers of youthful rebellion—the protest was not so shrill in 1966; the New Left student activists were less active, and, in the world of Howard University's Dr. Bernard Fall, "This is not the wild and woolly teach-in atmosphere of last year."

That is not to say that America's young people were suddenly struck dumb by any means.

There were student protests, over a number of issues. The one issue that had all but collapsed on campuses was civil rights, which, not long ago, was the burning issue among college students. However, the techniques of civil-rights protests lingered—the sit-in's, marches, and freedom songs—although the issues were different.

Some demonstrations were related to the Vietnam war, particularly when nationwide Selective Service education tests were held. (The results were to serve as guides for draft boards to determine student deferments.) There were antidraft sit-ins at schools in Illinois, New York, and Wisconsin. And groups of antiwar students heckled Defense Secretary Robert McNamara at Harvard, and General Earle Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, at Brown.

After long months of uncharacteristic silence by leaders of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, an anarchistic uprising against the school administration began late in the year; a partially successful class boycott went into effect. Elsewhere, there were student protests against tuition increases.

The latest thrill drug, LSD, supposedly was gaining adherents among many young people, and the federal Food and Drug Administration sent letters to 2,000 colleges and universities asking them to take precautionary action. (See Chapter 26, MEDICINE AND SCIENCE.)

No proof materialized that the use of the drug was widespread. But during the year much public attention

in this area was aroused through the activities of Dr. Timothy F. Leary, forty-five, a Harvard psychologist. He had conducted experiments with students there in 1963, using LSD, for which he had been dismissed. Two weeks after the FDA letter went out, Dr. Leary was arrested in a rented house in suburban New York on narcotics charges. He later announced the founding of a psychedelic (mind-expanding) religion, the League of Spiritual Discovery. He said he would go to court to permit his group, which included several in their twenties, sacramental use of LSD under his constitutional right of religious freedom.

Some qualified observers of youth in 1966 felt that "the turned-on generation"—rebellious, alienated people in their teens and twenties—was more talk than fact. This seemed hardly the case, especially at such places as Greenwich Village and adjoining East Village in Manhattan and Sunset Strip in Hollywood, where the bearded, long-haired, overdramatic, giddy atmosphere of youthful revolt is concentrated and overt. Along Sunset Strip, for several weekends in autumn, teen-agers organized into mobs to fight the police; the riots were prompted by efforts of Sunset Strip businessmen to evict youngsters who all but took over the street, which previously served a predominantly adult clientele.

A quieter rebellion was carried out by high school individualists in various parts of the country—boys who sported long hair in Mod fashion and girls who wore brief mini skirts, even after school officials ordered them to desist. In the case of two sixteen-year-old boys in New York City, the principal separated them from their classes and confined them to a wooden bench in the dean's office. The boys won the support of the New York Civil Liberties Union, which appealed to the State Education Commission. The state upheld the boys and ordered the school to let them back into their classrooms.

Resistance to authority by individuals, protest demonstrations, and riots are outward signs of youthful

rebellion. Examples of these were not lacking in 1966; on the other hand, they did not reach epidemic proportions. But, though there may have been fewer outbursts,

that did not necessarily indicate a basic shift in the long-range "moral revolution," in which the attitudes and behavior of young people are changing from year to year.



The long-tressed coiffure—another sign of young rebellion—is, probably, here to stay—on Sonny as well as daughter. For these five Chicago lads a problem: no bathing cap, no swimming in the pool.



*In Los Angeles, in December, attempts to thin the ranks of the youngsters roaming along Sunset Strip rallies them in noisy reaction and focuses national attention on the "Battle of the Strip"—Here are scenes—*



**Top:** The rock, the stomp, the long hair (and the electronics) are all here in this haven for the hippies on Hollywood's Sunset Strip.

**Center:** Sometimes the strain becomes too much on the Strip, exhilaration explodes into violence, and police—complete with paddy wagons—are called in to quiet things down.

**Bottom:** With the "Mod" look and the mini skirt, restless youth parades before baffled and remote adults viewing the drama, vitality—and confusion—of the Strip.

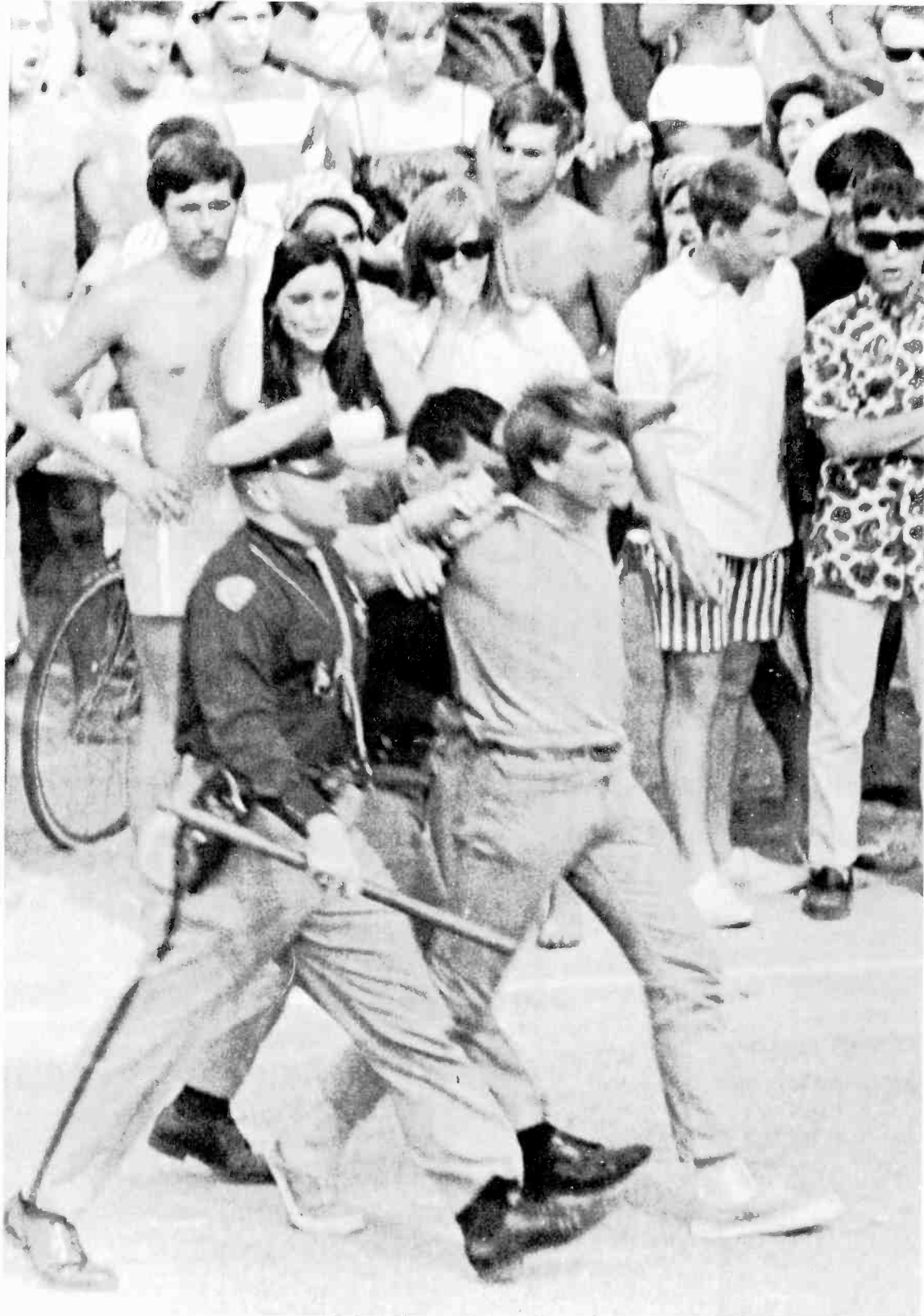




*Top:* Former University of California student Mario Savio, paper in hand, addresses sit-ins in a Berkeley campus building, as a demonstration starts against three Armed Services recruiters. University officials said most of the sit-ins were nonstudents.

*Center:* Demonstrators "sitting in" at the University of California at Berkeley jeer and jostle as police move in to make arrests during a protest against military recruiters on the campus.

*Bottom:* Chicago University students pull an on-campus sit-in to protest the school policy of providing grades and class rankings to help establish a student's draft status.



**Arms pinioned, a youth is shoved along by Fort Lauderdale, Florida, police during an Easter holiday rally in which youthful exuberance flared into rowdiness—and police moved in to disperse some two thousand boys and girls. Such rallies, occurring across the nation, were other manifestations of restless youth in revolt.**





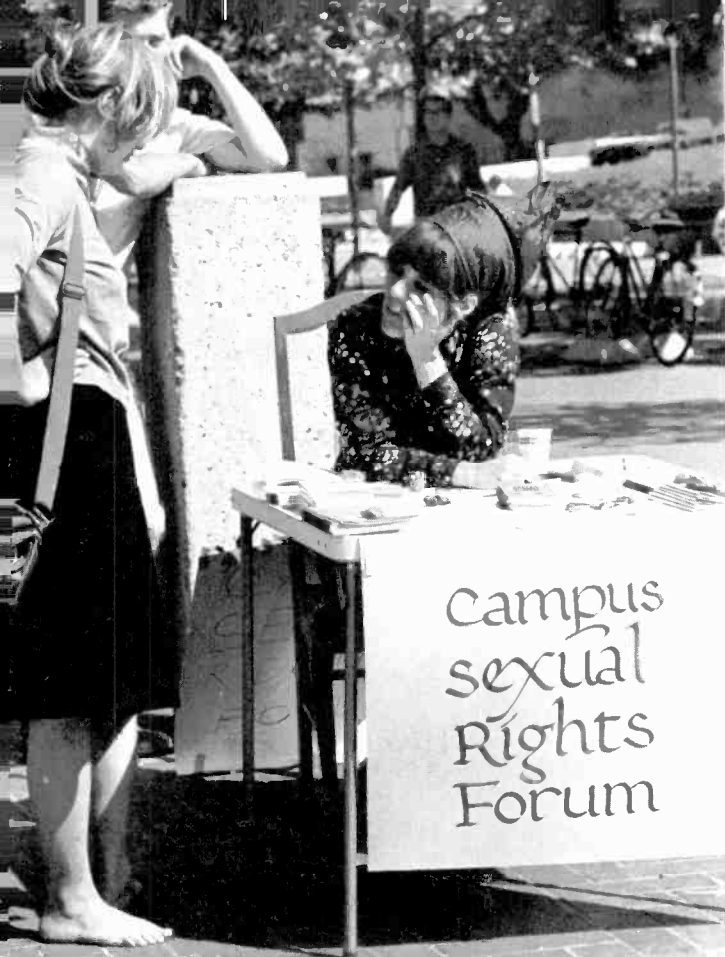
*Top:* Brows furrowed, shoulders hunched, Boston University students pore over questions in a Selective Service examination to determine whether they will retain their draft deferments. The test idea led to antidraft demonstrations on various American campuses.

*Center:* Defense Secretary Robert McNamara walks into a troubled reception at Harvard. He was booed, badgered, interrupted, and heckled in general on the subject of the draft and the war in Vietnam. University officials later sent an apology to McNamara.

*Bottom:* Novelist Ken Kesey of San Francisco, associated with the LSD movement, sits disconsolately after his arrest on a narcotics charge.



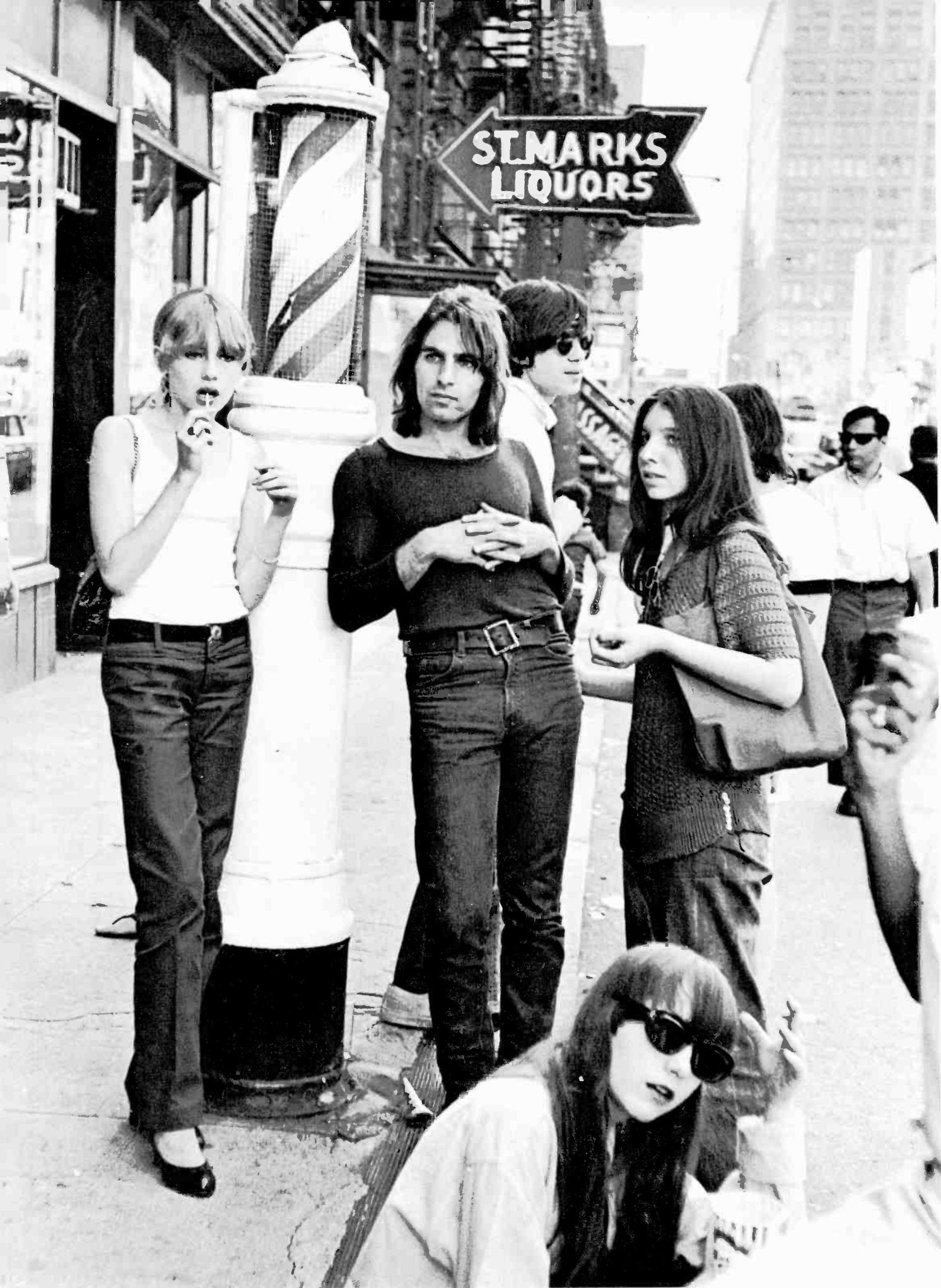
## YOUTH AND REVOLT



*Left: Sex, Vietnam, civil rights, academic latitude, who should run the school—students at the Berkeley campus of the University of California had almost any number of “causes” in which they could take part. And many did.*

*Below: The Grand Old Man of the Beat Youth Movement—Poet Allen Ginsberg—at a New York rally to end the war in Vietnam.*





In East (of Greenwich) Village, teeny-boppers—youngest of the hip set—relax between “takes” of an underground film.



*Chester Robert Huntley, from Cardwell, Montana, began his career with a Seattle newspaper in 1934, and shortly thereafter moved to its radio station as a news reporter. After posts with other networks, he joined NBC News in New York in 1955. The next year he was teamed with David Brinkley, a young Washington correspondent, to report the national conventions. From this grew the famous Huntley-Brinkley Report, which has won every major TV news award in its ten-year span. Huntley makes frequent trips around and out of the country on reportorial and background assignments.*

## These Exciting Young People

**Chet Huntley**

NBC News Correspondent

AT THE BEGINNING OF 1966, young America, in the ten to twenty-four age bracket, numbered approximately 50 million! They constituted an awesome multitude, and were generally characterized as representing and harboring a vast range of social restiveness.

Many—too many—of them talked too knowingly about “pot,” and some of them had experimented with LSD. Sex held few mysteries. The girls paraded unabashed in mini skirts, and peered at the world through clouds of drooping hair. The boys ventured into ever tighter trousers, and boycotted the barbershop. The rebellion of some took the form of organized bestiality roaming the country on motorcycles, while the rebellion of others was contained in demands for “student power.” Everywhere the attitudes, mores, convictions, and beliefs of parents were questioned; and parents no longer could establish a principle by simply enunciating it. They had to *prove* it. The same skepticism was applied to foreign policy, religion, the selective-service laws, law enforcement, manners, and politics.

Most of the college campuses of the country were crowded, and the inundation had caused the institutions of higher learning to become more selective in their admission processes. The result was that there were more bright, attractive, and capable youngsters on the campuses than ever before. They seemed to ask tougher questions and their doubts were somewhat more articulate.

Perhaps it all made some sense. We of the “great depression” generation had, indeed, worried and fretted about material well-being. For a decade we were not sure that the American economic system had the inherent strength to guarantee its own survival or that it deserved our confidence. Some of our generation flirted with all sorts of old and new economic and social theories. Not being sure that we were going anywhere at all, we had little time to question why or to what purpose.

Today’s youngsters have grown up or are growing up in a period of unmatched American prosperity, and they reveal little interest in economics. With material well-being assured, they have begun to be concerned with the purpose of it all. Why? To what end? They have discovered something lacking in the materialism of their parents, and they insist that wealth must serve some more enduring end.

These are exciting youngsters.

There is such a thing in our younger American society rightfully called the “New Left.” Some of it may be Marxist-oriented but not the majority. College presidents, journalists, and sociologists have been trying to determine what the manifesto and the objectives of the New Left are, but to little avail. However, the New Left appears to be convinced that the only way to get to where it intends to go, wherever that may be, is to destroy all existing institutions. To a degree, this is a rejection of the established order as total and as severe as that of the “Hell’s Angels.” To whatever degree the New Left was responsible for the ultimate dismissal of Clark Kerr as president of the University of California, it tends to look upon its role in that episode with some satisfaction. Nor is the New Left concerned that its excesses show signs of arousing the extreme right; for it reasons that ultimately the majority of the moderate center will join with it to defeat the right and leave the left in command.

Every section of the American youth society today appears to be activist, whether it is engaged in a struggle for a voice in the administration of a university or organizing a softball team. These youngsters know the sciences of organization; they know how to get publicity, how to attract attention. They were quick to see and understand how activism did achieve some results in the civil-rights struggle. Restaurants, department stores, and waiting rooms did integrate following the “walk-ins,” the “sit-ins,” and other demonstrations. Similar activist tactics are now employed in behalf of every conceivable cause. The latest disturbance on the campus of the University of Wisconsin was in behalf of the questionable “right” of male students to visit girls in the upstairs rooms of the women’s dormitories.

These are our youngsters of the 1960’s. It is quite obvious that their society has not yet been determined; but whatever it is, it will not be the one we knew and the one for which we are largely responsible. There is reason, still, to hope that these youngsters will do better than we; but can’t they do it with just a little more grace?



In the Sistine Chapel at Vatican City, Michelangelo's magnificent "Last Judgment" spreads behind Pope Paul VI and Dr. Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury and spiritual leader of the Anglican communion, at the first such meeting in the history of the two churches. The purpose of the meeting: "To open a dialogue that will lead to unity in truth . . ."

## 18. Religion

CHURCHES IN 1966 REMAINED in the ferment that had begun earlier in the decade with the Vatican Council among Roman Catholics, and with the move among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews toward more forthright action on social issues. There were also some oddities during the year, including a labor union for priests, charges of heresy against a bishop, and a free-swinging debate on the unlikely question "Is God dead?"

The civil-rights movement continued to be the biggest channel for clergymen and laymen who felt that the Church had long since abdicated its role as an active conscience on grave social issues. As in previous years, these churchmen continued to unfurl their banners in rights marches, increasingly so as the protests moved from South to North. However, a strong argument could be made for the view that civil-rights activists are still a small minority of churchmen and that the great mass of churchmen are either indifferent or hostile to Church involvement in such causes. An example came in Chicago as a Catholic nun in a street march was violently attacked by a jeering white mob—a mob that religious periodicals pointed out consisted, not of atheists or other enemies of the church, but of fellow Catholics. Blood spilled over her bib; she was hospitalized. "I only wish," she said, "we had taught them better."

The war in Vietnam was also grasped as an issue for religious concern. The General Assembly of the National Council of Churches—representing most of the nation's major Protestant and Orthodox denominations—called for turning the Vietnam issue over to the United Nations, and for a halt in the bombing of the North regardless of whether Hanoi offered any reciprocal moves. In addition, the assembly called for "more candor" in Administration statements on the war.

Roman Catholic concern over the morality of the war was expressed time and again by Pope Paul. At Christmas, he announced the hope that both sides would achieve a "miracle of goodwill" and extend the holiday

truce into a lasting settlement. No extension was forthcoming, but a controversy was. Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York, during his holiday visit to the troops, said that the war was "a war for civilization" and that "less than victory is inconceivable."

It was not only the Communist nations that found the cardinal's remarks at sharp variance with the peace efforts emanating from Rome. A general furor ensued that was obviously embarrassing to the Vatican. One high Vatican source said of Spellman, "He did not speak for the Pope or the Church."

The war debate among Catholics was something that probably would not have reached the intensity it did, without the liberalizing influence of the Ecumenical Council, which ended late in 1965. The deliberations of the council also had many other repercussions and results in 1966.

Among them, relations between Catholics and Protestants probably reached the highest level of cordiality in history. Joint services were organized, and the Pope directed the Secretariat for Christian Unity to cooperate with Protestants in producing and distributing a common translation of the Bible. In March, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the spiritual leader of the Anglican communion, paid the first official visit ever to the Pope, who in a gesture of goodwill slipped his fisherman's ring off his own finger and onto the archbishop's.

The Pope also lifted the ban of excommunication on Catholics who marry outside the Roman Church, and in various other ways softened the Church's laws on mixed marriages.

In the United States, "meatless Fridays" became a matter of personal choice, as the country's Catholic bishops put an end to the fish-on-Friday rule as a means of penance.

The move toward decentralizing the Catholic Church's structure led to the Pope's announcement that a synod of bishops, for the most part democratically

ected, would meet in Rome in September to debate Church issues and advise him on Church government. In the United States, the Church's bishops democratized their hierarchy by electing officers to chair future meetings.

At the outer edge of this liberalizing process, a California priest announced the formation in November of a "labor union" through which priests could negotiate with their bishops on salaries and working conditions, but not on Church doctrine. He was the Reverend William DuBay, who had this to say: "Democratic structures and unions may appear as solutions that are too human for the Church. But it is the human church we are dealing with. Human problems demand human answers."

A big question that 1966 did not answer for Catholics was what, if anything, would happen to the Church's ban on artificial methods of birth control. Priests and laymen who favored changing the doctrine spoke out in increasing numbers. A Vatican commission on birth control headed by Cardinal Dopfner of Munich, reportedly liberal, delivered its findings to the Pope in late June. A decision that had been expected subsequently from the Pope himself was not forthcoming at year's end.

Among Protestants, the farthest-out issue of the year was embodied in the question "Is God dead?" The issue was far more complex than its razzle-dazzle slogan, but the slogan served to popularize a concern that had been extending itself underground for years: Does modern man still find any sense of reality in the conventional theological language in which God is described to him? The question was posed by an array of Protestant theologians who termed themselves "Christian atheists," and debate over it enlivened Sunday sermons across the country.

One opponent of the God Is Dead theology nevertheless found himself the center of a controversy with many apparent ties to it. This was the Right Reverend James A. Pike, who was bishop of the Episcopal Church's Diocese of California until resigning in midyear to become theologian-in-residence for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara.

Bishop Pike said, "I believe in God, but He's not the God who can be wrapped up in traditional religious categories." For calling into question such doctrines as the Trinity and the Virgin Birth, the bishop nearly had to undergo a heresy trial. More than a score of his fellow bishops demanded it, but the Church's House of Bishops compromised with a reprimand terming him irresponsible.

Bishop Pike, however, found the reprimand "too much to live with," and demanded a formal investigation of the charges against him—thus assuring that the theological questions he had raised will continue to be widely debated.

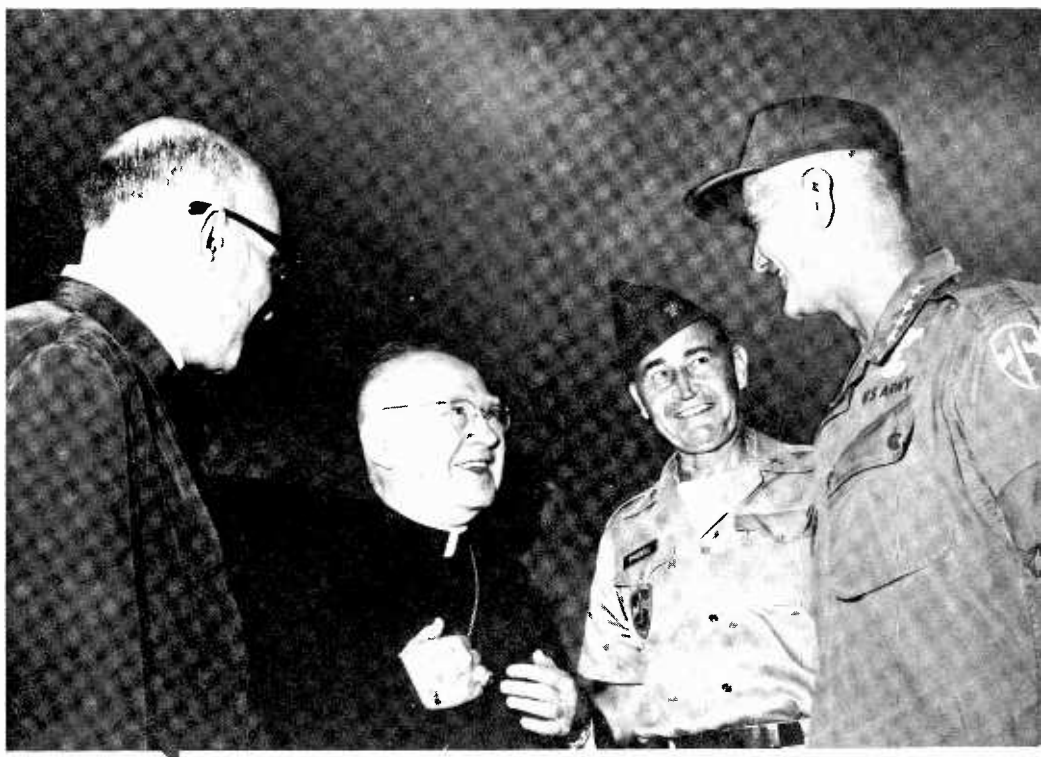
Other religious events of the year:

The World Council of Churches, representing 214 churches throughout the world, elected an American as its new Secretary-General: the Reverend Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, who had been chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church.

The Methodist Church and the Evangelical United Brethren voted to merge to form the country's largest Protestant denomination, with a combined membership of over 11,000,000.

The Reverend Dr. Billy Graham, in a month-long evangelizing crusade in London, preached to a total of 955,836 people, a record for any of his crusades.

**Controversy flares as Francis Cardinal Spellman, second from left, arrives for his annual Christmas visit to South Vietnam and tells troops that "less than victory is inconceivable." From the Vatican, hoping for a compromise in the war, came the comment: "He did not speak for the Pope or the Church." On the right is the United States commander in South Vietnam, General William Westmoreland.**

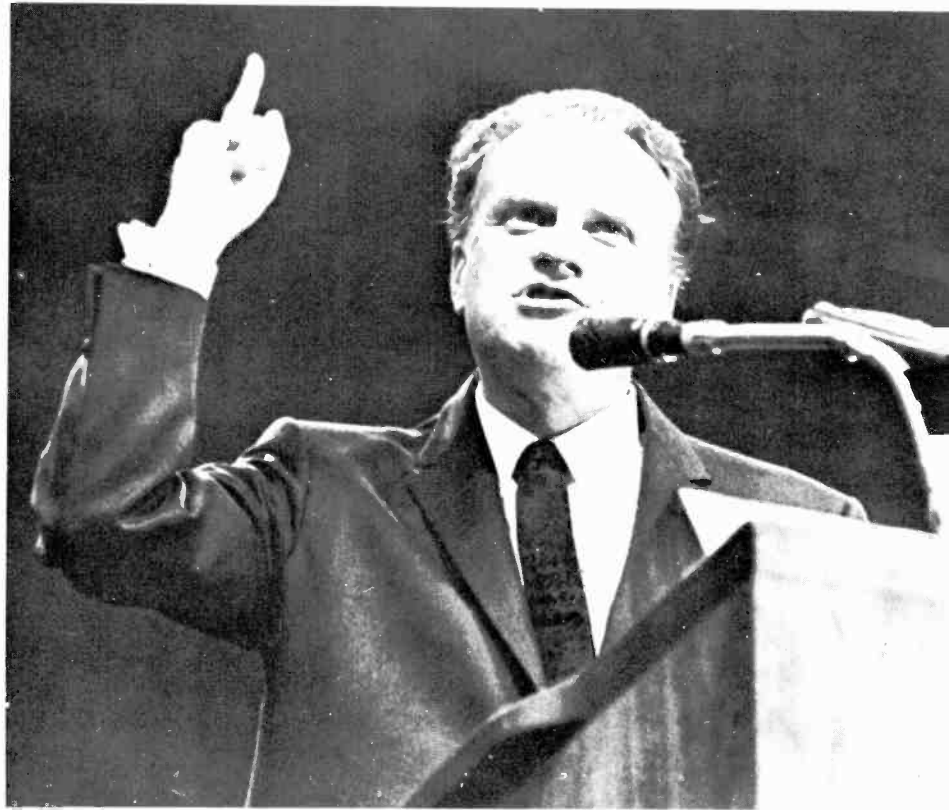


## RELIGION



*Above:* The Right Reverend James Pike of the Episcopal Church of California sits and smokes as his fellow bishops vote on whether he should be censured for questioning such basic Church doctrine as the Trinity and the Virgin birth. Dr. Pike said that God cannot be "wrapped up in religious categories." Censure was approved—but Dr. Pike went on to fight this, too.

*Right:* Evangelist Billy Graham in oratorical stride at a London revival meeting—heartened by the number of youths attending. There are mini skirts and long hair in the hall, but so, says Graham, are a sense of revival and a belief in God. His London tour lasted a month. Nearly one million persons attended the revival meetings.



The Reverend William H. DuBay reports as a religious counselor at a Santa Monica, California, addiction center after being suspended by Catholic authorities. He had refused to accept Church censorship of his writings.



The Reverend Eugene Carson Blake, the first American to head the 214-member World Council of Churches, returns from a council meeting in Switzerland to say he'll support the United States policy against Communism in Southeast Asia if other nations there support it. The council, meeting in Geneva, criticized all parties to the conflict.







The cool beat, the bossa nova, even rock-'n'-roll sound in chapels throughout America—and throughout the world—as churches move to modernize services. The scene here is from an Episcopal mass in Hartford, Connecticut. Parishioners were asked to rock along. They didn't.



Archbishop John P. Cody of Chicago tells a news conference that, if American Catholics choose to do so, beginning on December 2nd, they can eat meat on Fridays except during Lent. The hope is expressed, though, that American Catholics will abstain from meat on Fridays "by free choice." The ban was in effect for 1,100 years.



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## The Pope, the Vatican, and the Faithful

*Irving R. Levine*

NBC News Rome Correspondent and Bureau Chief

THE THREAT TO WORLD PEACE, particularly in Vietnam, preoccupied statements by Pope Paul VI in 1966. On no fewer than thirty-two occasions during the year, the Pope expressed himself on this theme—in documents, in messages, and in public talks. Many of his private audiences were concerned with the conflict in Southeast Asia; the Pope received Andrei Gromyko, Averell Harriman, Arthur Goldberg, and a procession of papal nuncios engaged in secret diplomacy to try to start peace negotiations. All to no avail.

The Pope's ardent efforts to stop the fighting (in one speech, he implored, "In the name of God, we cry, stop!") earned him a respectful audience in the Western world and among noncommitted statesmen (the year saw a correspondence on the subject of peace begin between the Pope and U Thant). But in the Communist world, the Pope's peace efforts were met with scorn or silence.

There was another preoccupation for the Pope. The year witnessed a crisis of authority in the Catholic Church. The crisis was far from resolved when 1966 ended, and it will not be resolved for some time to come.

Not only was the authority of the Roman Curia, the central agencies of the Church situated at the Vatican, being challenged, but also in some instances the authority of the Pope himself. The problem was an outgrowth

of the Ecumenical Council, and it might have been anticipated. The Council may not have reached the horizons that its initiator, Pope John XXIII, intended nor has it progressed as far as many of its participants had hoped, but it did take significant steps. Some of these produced echoes discordant to authorities at the Vatican whose prime duty is to maintain Church discipline as they see it.

The year 1966 saw decisions of the Ecumenical Council put into practice. The mass, the central religious rite of the Roman Catholic Church, was for the first time being widely conducted in the language of each country rather than in the traditional Latin. Catholics were given permission to attend prayer services with other Christian faiths. New catechisms were being written that conformed with the Council's revised attitude toward the Jews. A start was made on updating seminary curriculums. Nuns were given new freedom in their dress and their daily activities. The bishops began exercising judgments, independent of the Vatican, on marriages between Catholics and Protestants.

The Church's three thousand bishops had demonstrated beyond all doubt at the Ecumenical Council that an overwhelming majority considered decentralization of Church authority a prerequisite for carrying out the modernizing changes voted by the Council and for better serving followers of the faith.

But no central bureaucracy—whether it be a post office or the Holy Office—willingly separates itself from power. The Curia of the Roman Catholic Church is no exception. The ingredients of the crisis of authority were these: a Curia, reluctant to relinquish age-old prerogatives and practices; bishops and priests, having been exposed to liberal concepts at the Ecumenical Council and now impatient for change and progress; a Pope, often uncertain and hesitant in moments demanding decision.

The crisis manifested itself in many ways.

The most dramatic, even if not the most significant, manifestation was the decision of Charles Davis, Britain's leading Catholic theologian, to abandon the priesthood and the Catholic faith. Davis had played a prominent role at the Ecumenical Council, was the theological adviser to Britain's Cardinal John Heenan, and is the author of several widely respected books. Father Davis announced that he was disillusioned with the Pope and Vatican Curia institutions and with their failure to adapt to the needs of the times. Although Davis' motivations were considered suspect by some because his departure from the Church was synchronized with his announcement of intention to marry, sentiments similar to his were being expressed more discreetly by other priests. "I just do not accept Papal infallibility and primacy," Davis said, "nor do I see that there is any reasonable account that I can find of doctrinal development that would allow the doctrines of the Assumption and the Immaculate Conception to be imposed as dogmas of the faith."

A British newspaper reflected more than a solitary opinion in commenting: "The crisis of confidence in the

Catholic Church is very grave indeed when it causes a Charles Davis to leave it. It is a blow as bitter as the one Anglicans sustained 100 years ago when John Henry Newman departed for Rome.”

The post-Ecumenical strains and stresses were evident, too, on the issue of celibacy. The traditional rules of celibacy for priests had been questioned at the Ecumenical Council, and Pope Paul had tried to silence discussion. Once the Council ended, the unauthorized discussion resumed. One United States publication, the *National Catholic Reporter*, conducted a survey, and found that 62 percent of the priests who replied to its questionnaire favored a change in the ancient Roman Catholic requirement of celibacy.

Pope Paul maintained an aloof silence in the face of most challenges, but he spoke out when it appeared to him that the Jesuits, the largest and most influential religious order, were being infected by the virus of protest. A worldwide conference of Jesuits was taking place in Rome and the Pope assembled the delegates in the awesome setting of the Sistine Chapel. With Michelangelo's foreboding fresco of *The Last Judgment* as a backdrop, the Pope intoned a warning: “strange and sinister” reports had reached him that unwisely liberal Jesuits were seeking to lead the order along paths of weakened discipline and authority.

The crisis of authority was most widespread on the issue of birth control. Pope Paul had taken the matter out of the hands of the Ecumenical Council and had reserved for himself the pressing decision on whether new regulations were demanded by the world's population explosion, the deepening poverty in overpopulated lands, and the development of new contraceptive techniques. A papal commission composed of experts in many pertinent fields had recommended relaxation of the Catholic rules

forbidding chemical or mechanical contraceptives. After months spent studying the commission's report—and the objections to it by theological advisers—the Pope announced that he could not yet make up his mind and that in the meantime the old rules must be observed.

Whatever other considerations caused Pope Paul to delay, it seemed clear that in the prevailing climate of debate and dissent the Pope felt that to reverse the teachings of his predecessors on a subject as delicate as birth control might undermine the very authority of the Papal office.

The year 1966 made it clear that in trying to maintain a balance between the quest for the new and respect for the old, Pope Paul leans toward the latter consideration.

In his stewardship of an institution that has survived two thousand years by resisting capricious experimentation, abrupt changes in course, and modish winds, Pope Paul is naturally susceptible to conservative advisers who warn that the threads of faith can be unraveled by the ill-considered weakening of a dogma here and the snipping of a discipline there.

Pope Paul himself has formulated this attitude in an address to superiors of orders of nuns. He said:

“Shall we say that obedience has melted away to a democratic dialogue and to the will of a numerical majority or an enterprising minority?”

“Certainly no. Rather we will confirm the necessity of both a wise exercise of authority and a sincere practice of obedience. The structure and the spirit of religious life would be fatally compromised if authority and obedience should fail.”

The year 1966 clearly set the course for the Church and the Vatican for the reign of Pope Paul VI.



Christianity's efforts toward unity are illustrated by this service at St. Paul's Chapel of Trinity Church in New York. In the pulpit preaching the sermon is the Right Reverend John E. Hines, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church. Below, the Most Reverend John J. Maguire, Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, left, and Reverend Hieromonk Theodosius Lazor, of the Russian Orthodox Church, await their part in the service.



The changing face of the American classroom is illustrated by these students in the auditorium at a Montgomery County Maryland high school. But though more and more Negroes were enrolling in schools that were formerly segregated or restricted, the pace of integration remained—in the higher courts' opinion—too slow.

## 19. Education

THE ONCE-VIOLENT DESEGREGATION issue in the South evolved into a simmering dispute in 1966 between officials of the Federal government and those of a number of school districts. The issue reached a climax two days before the end of the year when the United States Court of Appeals in New Orleans ruled in favor of the government.

The key word in the dispute—one that had strong emotional overtones in many parts of the South—was “guidelines.” The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and particularly its Office of Education, withheld Federal funds from districts that refused to comply with its guidelines to desegregate schools.

The appeals court, in a 2-to-1 decision on December 29th, ruled that all grades, from kindergarten on up, should be desegregated by the fall of 1967 and that the HEW guidelines should be followed by Federal courts in school desegregation orders.

It was a clear-cut victory for Education Commissioner Harold Howe II, the driving force behind the strict enforcement of desegregation laws. During the year, Negro children in integrated schools in the South almost doubled; however, the total, under 400,000, represented less than 13 percent of the Negro schoolchildren in the South.

Howe came under heavy attack from several Congressmen, and was accused of going beyond his authority in trying to integrate schools. Representative L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina described Howe as a “man who talks like a Communist.” Representative James D. Martin of Alabama called for Howe’s immediate removal. Representative Paul Fino of New York complained that the education commissioner was a “socialized quack.” Other critics accused Howe of going “too far and too fast” and his enforcement officials of using “Gestapo” methods.

Racial issues loomed large in northern schools also, and the terms “*de facto* segregation” and “slum schools” were frequently used. Opinions differed on methods that

should be used in upgrading schools in the poor neighborhoods. The most emotional issues, in such cities as New York, Chicago, and Boston, continued to include one or more of the following: Quality education in slum schools, administration of schools in slum districts, re-districting of school lines, and busing of children from one district to another.

The year 1966 was also important in getting the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 off the ground. The Act, which was the first large-scale Federal school-aid bill, was designed to give better education to deprived children; to provide textbooks and library books to schools (one-third of the schools had no library); and to provide research funds and funds to construct special educational, scientific, and cultural centers. Those were what the Act called for on paper, but in actual practice there were difficulties, on the local level, in figuring the needs. There were misconceptions in some districts that the money could be used to build classrooms and raise salaries; some districts placed orders for school equipment, regardless of the need for them.

The church-state conflict, that finally seemed to be overcome with the passage of the Act, was merely transferred to another arena. For example, in New York, four organizations filed lawsuits in state and Federal courts, challenging the Act, which they charged violated the constitutional guarantee of separation of church and state. They also asserted that public-school officials discriminated in favor of parochial school pupils in administering the Act. The suits were brought by the American Jewish Congress, the New York Civil Liberties Union, the United Parents Associations, and the United Federation of Teachers.

Education, in 1966, was clearly one of the biggest businesses in the country, with the nation spending about 48 billion dollars a year for its schools—more than double the amount spent a decade before. Enrollment was up again, with 56 million people—or one-fourth of

the population—in schools, colleges, and universities. That was an increase of 2.6 percent over the previous year. The steepest rise was in higher education, with the enrollment climbing from 5½ million to 6 million. Public school enrollment, as of September, hit a record peak of 43,200,000. The number of public school teachers, 1,809,000, also was a record.

The pressures on the schools were exerted from universities on down. The demands were heavy for opening classrooms for preschool children. The National Education Association's Policy Commission, for example, urged free public schooling for all children at age four. In 1966, 4.3 percent of the nation's three-year-olds and 14.9 percent of the four-year-olds attended schools. Some of the preschool children attended classes under the Office of Economic Opportunity's program called Head Start. In July, the office reported that 580,000 children were taking part in the summer Head Start projects in 2,600 communities and that nearly 185,000 children were enrolled in the year-round and follow-through programs.

The fall school term produced a critical teacher shortage. It came as an extra shock because the situation

in recent years had improved with higher salaries and better working conditions. But the shortage this past September was described as the worst in some areas since the Second World War. Illinois was short 4,000 teachers; Ohio and Georgia, 2,000 each; North Carolina, 1,900; and Wisconsin, 1,100. The greatest need was for elementary teachers and high school mathematics and science teachers.

Teachers struck for higher pay, better working conditions, union representation, or for a larger voice in school administration. Among the institutions struck during the year were St. John's University in New York City, the nation's largest Roman Catholic university, Henry Ford Community College in Dearborn, Michigan, and school systems in New Orleans and Plainview-Old Bethpage, New York.

The president of the United Federation of Teachers, Charles Cogen, said that the teachers' union will be part of a "super-union" of professionals that is under formation within the AFL-CIO. The idea was to put teachers, actors, musicians, broadcast engineers, airlines pilots, and others under a single council.



To quicken the pace of integration, Education Commissioner Harold Howe, II, left, initiates so-called "guidelines," tying desegregation to Federal school funds. Criticism of Howe included such terms as "Communist . . . Gestapo . . . quack," but integration in the South did speed up.



An integrated elementary school in Rockville, Maryland. Says one teacher: "Once in school, and settled down, neither group really cares all that much about color."



*Above left:* **Operation Head Start:** A teacher, helped by a toy frog, shows a three-year-old how to shape her mouth to produce certain sounds of speech.

*Top right:* The "teacher" is on the television screen, and her voice is in the sound cartridge inserted just below the picture, in this music class at Churchill Road Elementary School in Fairfax County, Virginia. This is one of the aids being used to help overcome the teacher shortage.

*Center:* This teacher aid is a film-strip box, plugged in by the student and operated at his own speed as he sits in a cubicle—undistracted by slower or less interested pupils.

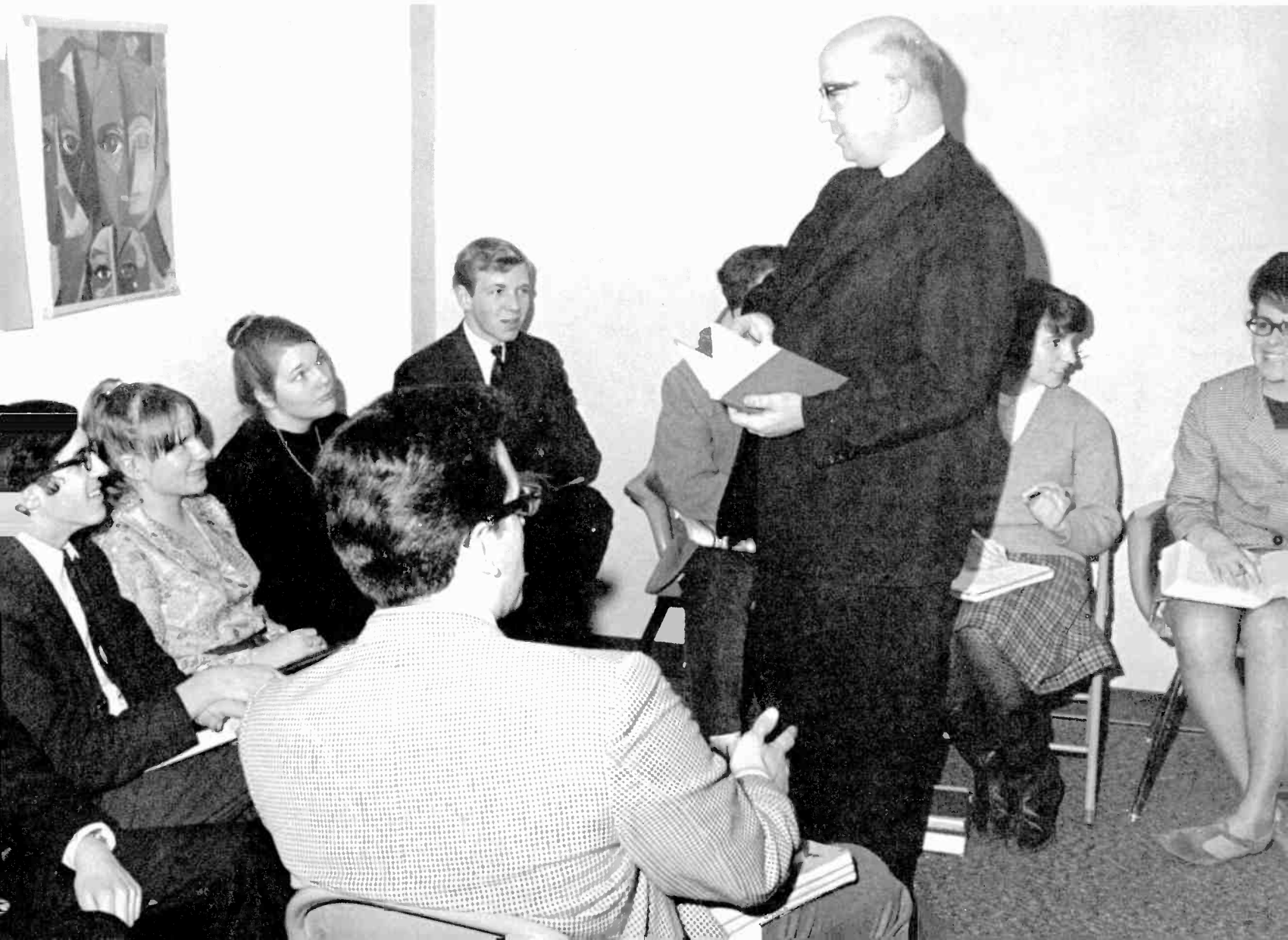
*Bottom:* The teacher of these second-graders turns on Channel 26 for the lecture of the day—pictures that give depth and meaning to words. Educational television programs came to be seen more and more in schools.





*Right:* Teachers and students join in picket lines outside St. John's University. The teacher, they argued, should have a voice in what is taught and how it is taught.

*Below:* The Reverend Peter O'Reilly lectures to students attending class at a "university in exile," set up by teachers striking against St. John's University in New York. Father O'Reilly headed a union chapter that walked out to protest dismissals and "insufficient freedoms on campus."



## EDUCATION

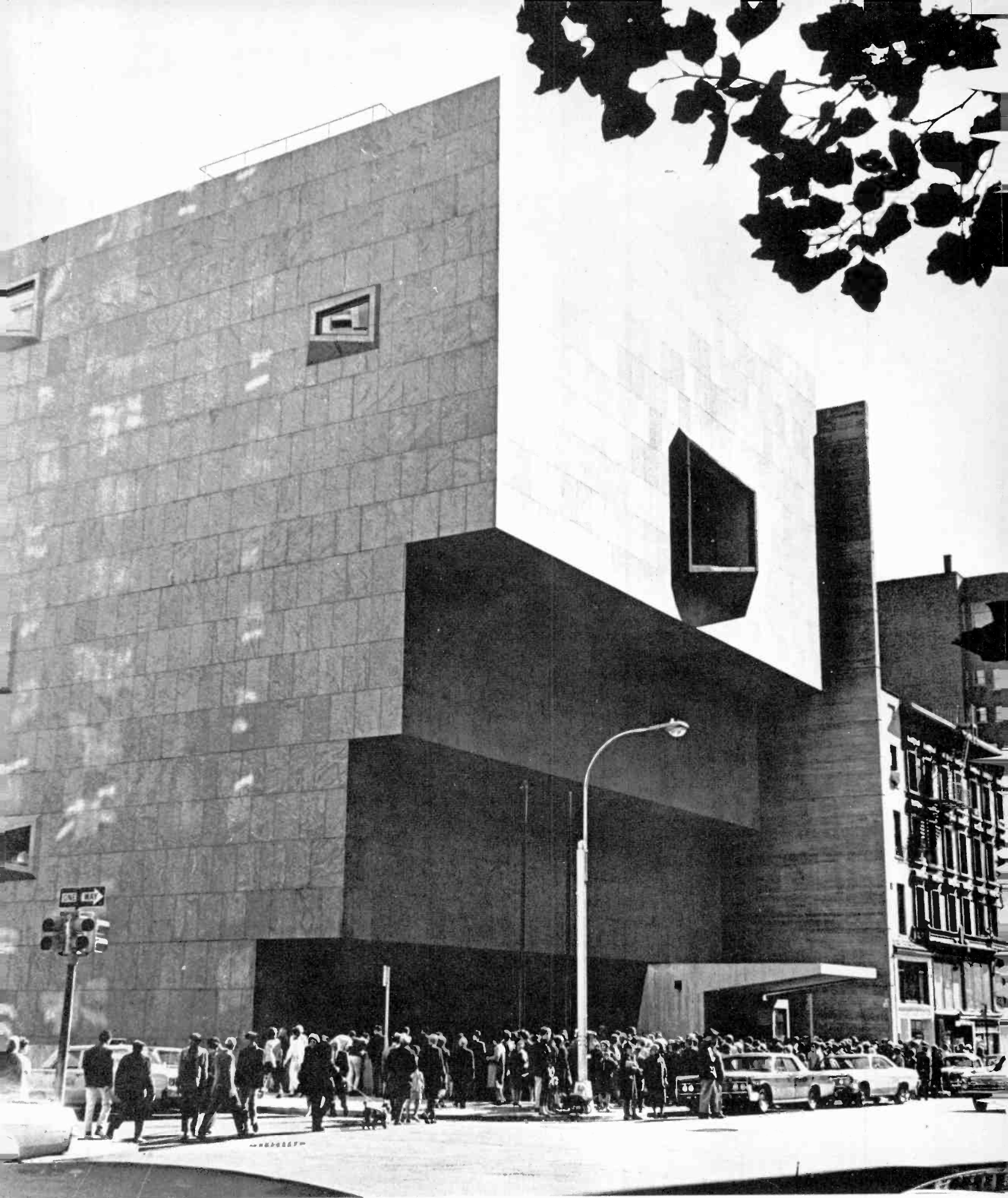


*Above:* The teaching of language has come a long way since a beginning French class learned to say, en masse, "La plume de ma tante . . ." In this Virginia high school class each student has his own cubicle, hears only himself and the teacher. Operating the console, the teacher can talk to the entire group or to any single cubicle.

*Center:* One student, one teacher . . . This language class at a college in Providence, Rhode Island, shows an electronic learning center in operation: each student, in his private booth, can dial any one of thirty pretaped lessons and questions. He then records his answers, and can listen to a playback for self-criticism.

*Below:* Tulsa, Oklahoma, students using TV screens to select their lecture assignment of the day at the Oral Roberts University's electronic learning laboratory.





The new Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City—strong, brooding, almost whale-like in its use of bulk. Cost: \$6 million. Architect: Marcel Breuer.

## 20. Art and Architecture

THE MUCH-TOUTED "CULTURAL EXPLOSION" of the early sixties continued through 1966 with no sign of a letup; more people saw and bought more works of art than at any previous time in history.

The biggest showing ever of Picasso, the worst tragedy ever in Italian art, the largest single art theft of modern times (solved in record time), and major donations of private collections—all made front-page news in 1966.

The Picasso showing, taking up the galleries of three museums in Paris, coincided with the eighty-fifth birthday of the world's most acclaimed living artist. It brought together more than a thousand paintings, drawings, sculptures, ceramics, and prints, covering his career from the time he was a prodigy of twelve. Reported still to be painting until 1:00 or 2:00 A.M. each morning, the artist was asked whether he would leave his Riviera villa to bask in the critical acclaim of Paris. "I go there only to see my dentist," Picasso replied. "At the moment I haven't got a toothache."

The massive floods that roared through much of Italy in November (see Chapter 29, DISASTERS) took a heavy toll of the city's priceless collections of Renaissance art. Chief among the losses was Ciambue's thirteenth-century "Crucifixion," its paint washed away by fourteen feet of water inside the Santa Croce Museum. Over eight hundred other objects of art were declared casualties; experts said that \$30 million or more would be needed to salvage damaged works and that the task could take as long as twenty years.

The great art theft came on the night of December 30th, when eight paintings valued at \$5 million to \$7 million were stolen from the Dulwich College Art Gallery in southeast London. Among the paintings were three by Rembrandt and three by Rubens. Scotland Yard called the job "very professional and tidy"; art dealers tended to call it stupid: the paintings were too famous to be sold as "hot" merchandise.

The thieves entered the building by boring holes

around a panel in a heavy, unused oak door at the side of the gray-brick building. They successfully avoided an electronic burglar alarm system, but within five days Scotland Yard had recovered the works—some from a rooming house, others stashed under a holly bush less than two miles from the museum—and a roundup of the accused thieves began. The paintings showed some minor damage, but most went back on display.

The United States will have another major public museum as the result of one of the major private donations of the year—millionaire collector Joseph Hirshhorn's decision to give four thousand paintings and fifteen hundred sculptures to the people. The Connecticut millionaire's collection, a mine of modern art, will be housed within three years in a Washington gallery and sculpture garden for which Congress appropriated \$15 million.

Yale University was the beneficiary of another major donation: \$35 million worth of British paintings, watercolors, drawings, prints, and rare books from the man thought of as the world's leading art collector, Paul Mellon. Mellon (Yale, 1929) also pledged \$12 million to build an art gallery and library in New Haven to house the collection.

French paintings from Mellon family collection made a dazzling show during the year to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of Washington's National Gallery. In San Francisco, the M. H. de Young Museum doubled in size when it opened a new Oriental wing underwritten and stocked by International Olympic Committee president Avery Brundage. The Cleveland Museum of Art celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with a spectacular \$5 million worth of new acquisitions.

Chicago pulled off a major coup by asking—and getting "for free"—a Picasso design for a fifty-foot steel sculpture to stand in front of the city's new \$87 million civic center—this despite the fact that Picasso has never even been to Chicago. Friends said he just had a warm place in his heart for its reputation.

In New York, the Whitney Museum of American Art moved into new quarters—a cantilevered structure whose stories jutted outward as they went up, rather than receding. The opening show surveyed American art from 1670 to 1966; and to start a search of American art for 1967 the Ford Foundation donated \$155,000 for the Whitney to look for talented artists living outside New York.

Puerto Rico got a new \$2 million museum in the Caribbean city of Ponce. Its collection, aimed at what one spokesman called “minor masters, rather than poor paintings of big masters,” is valued at \$3 million; it includes as well paintings done on the island itself.

Among the big art shows from abroad, so many missed New York that local critics were moved to ask whether the city was not becoming a “cultural backwater.” New York did not see the showing of sixty-seven Dutch masters that broke all attendance records in San Francisco; neither did it see the Polish treasures marking that country’s millennium of Christianity, nor the major exhibition of medieval art sent from France.

Other leading exhibitions of the year included a René Magritte survey and ninety-nine oils and watercolors by the nineteenth-century British romantic J. M. W. Turner, both at the Museum of Modern Art in New York; an exhibition in New York of the work of Mary Cassatt, the Philadelphia girl who went to Paris in 1874 and there became what is generally conceded as America’s greatest woman painter; and Matisse retrospectives in Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, and New York.

Three generations of Wyeths had exhibitions in 1966 that drew wide public attention. In Rockland, Maine, the Farnsworth Museum mounted an exhibition of the work of Newell Convers Wyeth, the illustrator who died in 1945; he was best known for his illustrations of *Treasure Island* and other children’s classics. His son, Andrew, now forty-nine, the master of giving a tragic edge to nostalgic and commonplace subjects, had a 223-work retrospective at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Then along came Andrew’s twenty-year-old son James with a forty-one-work exhibition, much in the style of his father’s, at the Knoedler Gallery in New York. James’s show was sold out before it opened, at an average price of \$1,200 a painting.

One of the major art controversies of the year came in Boston when Robert Motherwell’s “New England Elegy” was hung in the new John F. Kennedy Federal Building. There was a public furor when someone began seeing echoes of the assassination in the splotchy abstract mural. Motherwell held his ground, insisting the mural was totally abstract, “an expression of grief for someone dead, like a requiem mass.”

In contemporary art, there were lots of new words vying to be the successors of “pop.” “Top,” for topographical, was used to describe a rash of abstract works painted on three-dimensional canvases stretched around frames instead of being the usual flat and rectangular. “Kinetic” was the word for art-in-motion, combining painting, sculpture, and junk objects with changing lights, rolling balls, flailing armatures, swirling water.

Near Atlanta, after years of delay, work got under way in earnest on carving a Confederate version of Mount Rushmore out of the massive granite outcropping of Stone Mountain. Drillers directed by walkie-talkies and using jet torches are carving gigantic figures of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson on a façade of rock higher than a thirty-story building. Lee’s sabre will measure 50 feet; his horse Traveler, 141 feet from nose to tail, an example of why they will be called the largest sculptures in history.

In architecture the competition begun in 1959 to build a Franklin D. Roosevelt memorial in Washington finally produced a suitable design. Chosen was the plan by Marcel Breuer (designer of the new Whitney Museum) for seven free-standing walls arranged in massive granite triangles, to be built in West Potomac Park between the Washington and Jefferson monuments. Breuer called the memorial a place to relax, stroll, or sit around. The voice of FDR will be broadcast softly through loudspeakers. The cost: \$2 million to \$4 million.

For Ellis Island in New York harbor, a \$12 million shrine was designed to honor the 16 million immigrants who were processed through the island from 1892 to 1954. The island’s abandoned immigrant station and hospital will be left standing, covered with vines; to be built is a massive, vertically ribbed concrete cone, wrapped in winding ramps, and covered with plaques listing the names of as many immigrants as space will allow.

One of the nation’s oldest cities, Santa Fe, New Mexico, got a new state Capitol in 1966, a round, tan stucco building that critics dubbed “the little Pentagon” and that supporters insisted was in keeping with the city’s “territorial” style.

As for people buying art for its investment value, the outlook was for no bargains. The market grew ever tighter in 1966; things connoisseurs would have passed up entirely ten years earlier brought fantastic prices. The world’s art auction market is estimated to have quadrupled in a decade, to an annual auction figure of \$425 million. For the less affluent among buyers, Macy’s in New York joined the list of mass merchandisers of art in 1966; and Sears, Roebuck—which has sold over \$2 million in art works since 1962—opened a big new art gallery during the year in Chicago.

## ART AND ARCHITECTURE

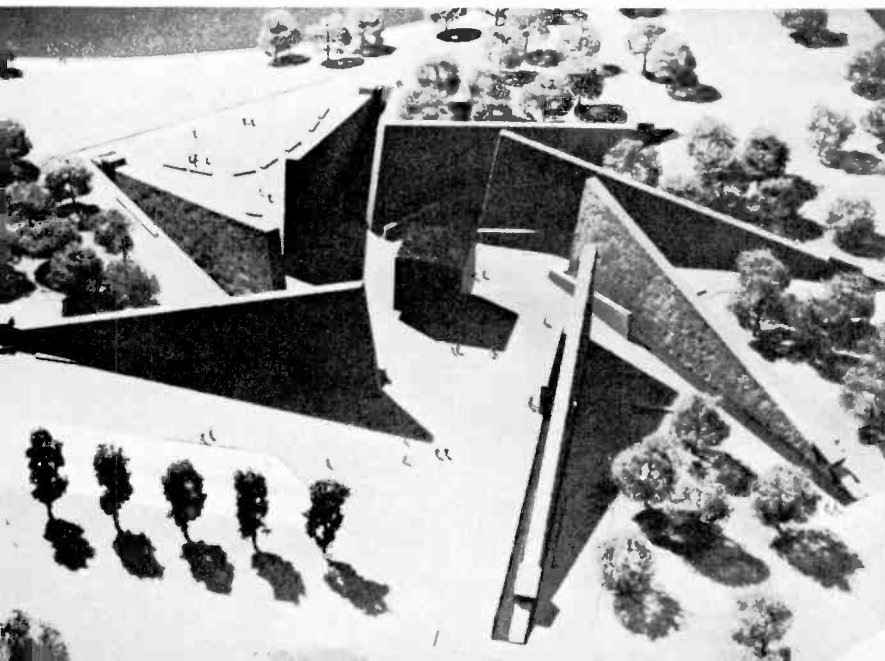


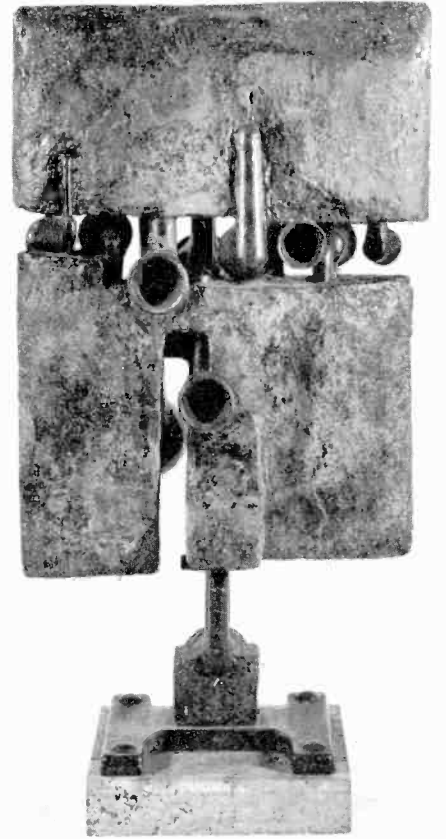
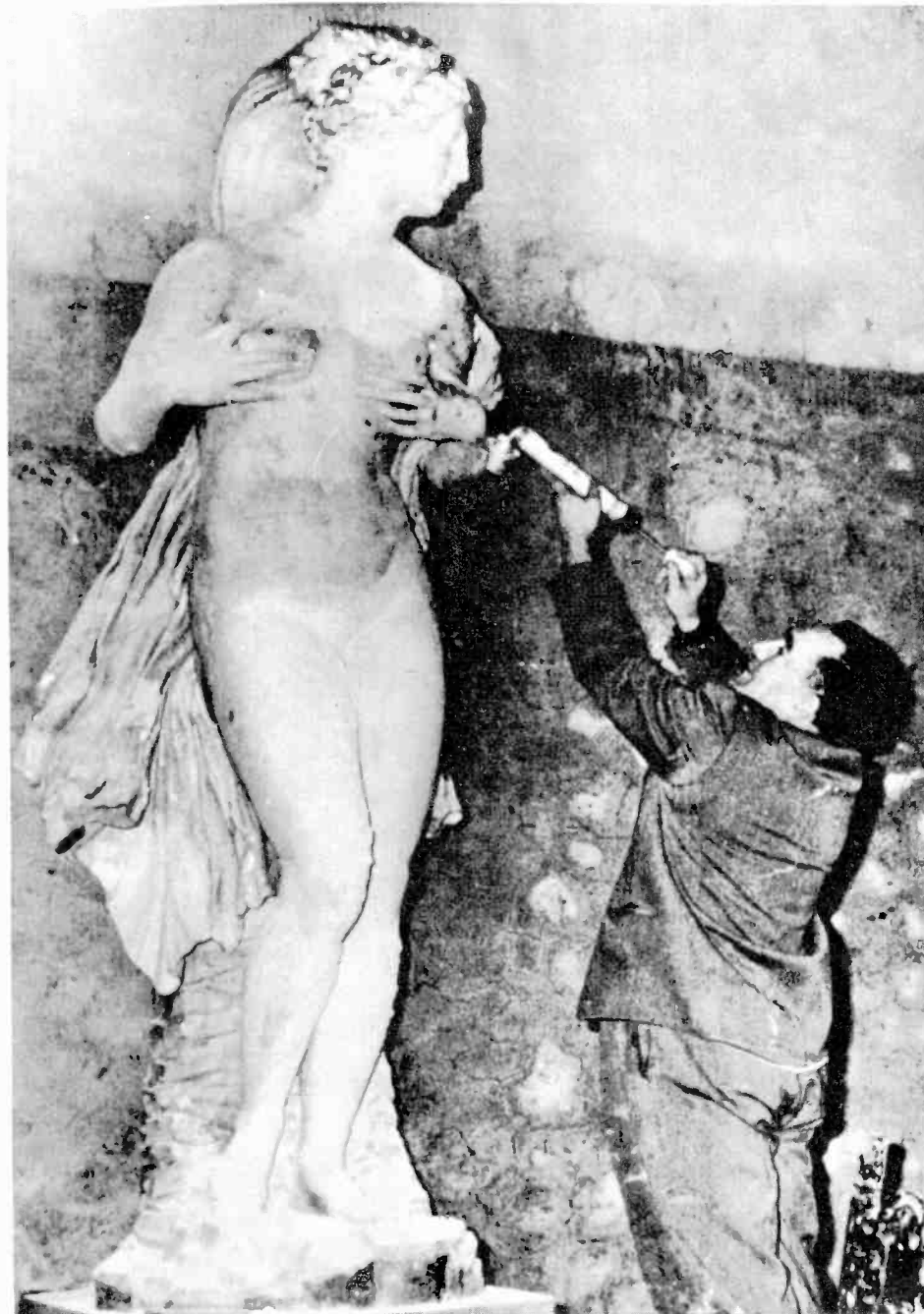
The city of Chicago asked Pablo Picasso to design an abstract sculpture for its new Civic Center Plaza. He did, and this is it. Chicagoans did not know whether it represented a bird or a woman or what. But they're happy: it's by Picasso, and he did it for nothing.



*Above:* The newest of state capitols—New Mexico's at Sante Fe—intended as a symbol of the sun, but rapped by critics.

*Left:* This is the model of what will become the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial in Washington—seven free-standing walls of granite. This is Marcel Breuer's design, selected after a six-year search.





*Above right:* Artist James Wines joins iron, cement, and geometry in this curious mixture of the forceful and inert. "Interceptor" is one of the "new modern" pieces at the Whitney Museum.

*Above left:* Mount Rushmore, Dixie Style: Heroes of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson, gradually emerge on the granite face of Stone Mountain near Atlanta. The monumental project, thirty stories tall, begun in the 1920's, after a model by Augustus Lukeman, has finally reached the halfway point.

*Left:* The sixteenth-century sculpture by Bartolomeo Ammanati, "Allegory of Earth," is cleansed with a spray gun in Florence's Palazzo Bargello Museum, to remove Arno River grime. The flood damage to ancient manuscripts and books was the worst in Italy's history.

## ART AND ARCHITECTURE



Sculptor Bernard Reder's bronze, "Harp Player II," was a prime attraction at the opening of the Whitney Museum.



*Right:* Paul Mellon, left, president of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, talks with John Walker, director, on its twenty-fifth anniversary. His father, Andrew J. Mellon, gave the gallery to the nation along with his personal collection.

*Below:* Designer Marcel Breuer's stylized ceiling is an art object itself at the September opening of the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York.







*Left:* Inside the new opera house, thirty-two crystal chandeliers are grouped to form a glittering center light. The chandeliers are a gift from the Austrian government.

*Below:* The new \$45-million Metropolitan Opera House at Lincoln Center in New York . . . a liting, airy departure from its heavily decorated predecessor. The architect of the new house was Wallace K. Harrison. One of the two large Chagall murals can be seen through the window on left.



## ART AND ARCHITECTURE



Twenty-nine-floor multiple dwelling units rise on the plaza of New York University—plus two floors for underground garaging. Architects: I. M. Pei and Partners. Architect-in-charge: James Ingo Freed.



The geometry of sea, sky, and hill is captured in this redwood cluster of vacation homes in the San Francisco area. Architects: Moore, Lyndon, Turnbull, Whitaker.



The Jesse H. Jones Hall for the Performing Arts in Houston, a reinforced steel and concrete structure that suggests strength and serenity. The hall opened in October with *Aida*. Architect: Caudill Rowlett Scott. Partner-in-charge: Charles E. Lawrence.



Jacqueline Kennedy, accompanied by Richard Goodwin, right (assistant to the late President), arrives at the offices of *Look Magazine*. Her attorney, Simon H. Rifkind, is center rear. Rifkind filed suit in court to block publication of the Manchester book excerpts; the suit was cleared by negotiations.

## 21. Books and Authors

A BOOK, NOT YET PUBLISHED by the end of the year, became the focus of one of the most awesome disputes ever to hit the publishing business. It involved the country's most celebrated family, the Kennedys.

The manuscript of *The Death of a President* was written by William Manchester. He was asked by Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy to relate the authoritative account of the period of the assassination of her husband. The book publisher, Harper & Row, also was handpicked by Mrs. Kennedy.

In undertaking the project, Manchester had agreed to get the Kennedys' prior approval before publishing his work. The author later said he thought he had received that approval in a telegram saying that the Kennedy family would place no obstacle in the way of publication of his book. Manchester arranged for a 60,000-word serialization of the manuscript in *Look Magazine*, to be followed by the 300,000-word publication of the book by Harper & Row.

Several changes had been suggested by representatives of the Kennedy family. However, the Kennedys, and particularly Mrs. Kennedy, objected to portions that remained in the manuscript, and insisted that the telegram did not mean that they had given the work its required approval.

The objections, apparently, were twofold: (1) Detailed accounts of Mrs. Kennedy's feelings and actions after the assassination which, she felt, invaded her privacy and that of her family. Much of these vivid accounts were based on a ten-hour tape-recorded interview Manchester held with Mrs. Kennedy. (2) Certain references to President Johnson which some people believed placed Mr. Johnson in a bad light, unfairly. There were also hints that recounting the incidents now would revive whatever old antagonisms there may have been between Mr. Johnson and the Kennedy supporters.

After Mrs. Kennedy took first steps in a lawsuit against the author and the publishers, in December,

negotiations for an out-of-court settlement began. An agreement was reached first with *Look*, which planned to start its series in early January. The magazine agreed to trim about 1,600 words from its series to meet Mrs. Kennedy's objections. Meanwhile, negotiations continued with representatives of Harper & Row.

Otherwise, the publishing industry completed a year that will not necessarily go down as a period of literary glory; it was, however, a year that vibrated with activity.

A record number of titles had been published—nearly 30,000, surpassing the book output for the previous year when the total was under 29,000.

But the publishing business was concerned with more than book output during the year. The management of the industry itself was stirred by acquisitions and mergers. The Radio Corporation of America bought Random House; the Columbia Broadcasting System purchased more than 10 percent of Holt, Rinehart & Winston's outstanding common stock; Simon & Schuster merged with Pocket Books; Raytheon acquired D. C. Heath, textbook publishers; and Xerox, General Electric, and IBM moved deeper into the publishing business.

The free publication of sensational books—called pornographic by some and tasteless by others—was hardly curtailed, despite the United States Supreme Court decisions which upheld obscenity convictions (See Chapter 3, SUPREME COURT). The books on many dealers' shelves, including the story of and the writings of the Marquis de Sade, indicated that almost anything goes in the publishing and distribution of books today. Perhaps the current position was best summed up by the American author whose vigorous and pathfinding writings in the thirties, starting with *Tropic of Cancer*, made him an authority on these matters, Henry Miller. Said Miller, from his Pacific Palisades home, at seventy-five, his critical antennae still vitally a-quiver: "I've written everything I want to say. It seems to me that the battle for freedom on the sex problem has been won."

The sensational best seller of the year was an expression of this new freedom shrewdly coupled with an established facet of public taste. Jacqueline Susann, whose previous appearance in book form had been a tome about a favorite poodle called *Every Night, Josephine!* produced a first novel titled *Valley of the Dolls*. It was a big ultra-inside-show-business book of the nightmare world of sex-as-weapon, of slipping youth and beauty. In the Susann book "dolls" are the capsules and pills that tranquilize the tortured inhabitants of the world she describes. The critics derided it, the public devoured it.

On the serious side of sex, certainly in intent, if not in distribution, there appeared the first volume in a series of continuing studies at the University of Washington in St. Louis, by William Howard Masters, M.D., and Virginia E. Johnson titled *Human Sexual Response*. A clinical study of physical sexuality reflecting extensive research, it was written and priced for professionals, yet contrived to reach significant popular sales.

In addition to the planned book by Manchester, other publications dealt with the period of President Kennedy's assassination. These books, along with magazine articles, provoked fresh doubts about the work of the Warren Commission which investigated the assassination. Lawyer Mark Lane's *Rush to Judgment*, which defended Lee Harvey Oswald, was the biggest seller among the crop of Warren Commission critiques. Another book, *Inquest*, by Edward Jay Epstein, probably had more to do with raising doubts among the objective thinkers. By the time the year was out, a number of influential people, including congressmen, thought that the Warren Commission left some unanswered questions; furthermore, a poll indicated that more than half of the Americans thought so too.

A book on automobile safety, which first came out in late 1965, turned into a best seller in 1966. The book, *Unsafe at Any Speed*, and its author, Ralph Nader, helped to prompt Congress to pass safety legislation. While Congressional hearings were under way, it was revealed that General Motors had hired detectives to investigate Nader—a revelation that resulted in apologies from GM and in powerful publicity for the book.

Another volume whose appearance might well influence future legislation was *Right to Bear Arms* by Carl Bakal. Coming out of the backwash of public concern over the free sale of firearms which had been highlighted by President Kennedy's assassination, Bakal argued cogently for control over the sale of deadly weapons, sprinkling his work with incisive, often shocking, revelations.

The present problem of poverty in America, particularly in our big cities, was tellingly documented by an important contemporary study by Oscar Lewis, *La Vida*, subtitled *A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty—San Juan and New York*. This description of three generations of Puerto Ricans in New York by a

noted anthropologist and sociologist received widespread attention.

A new poetry collection by the thirty-three-year-old Russian Yevgeny Yevtushenko, a 191-page book called *Yevtushenko Poems*, was released while the poet himself was on a tour of the United States. Students packed halls to hear the strapping blond poet recite his poems in Russian—a young poet hailed in the West as a free spirit inveighing against Stalinism.

Another Russian author, Valery Tarsis, who had written anti-Soviet works, received permission to leave his country to accept an invitation to lecture in the West. But another episode reminded the world that Russian authors have yet to be blessed with full literary freedom. Two writers, Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, were sentenced to hard labor in February for allegedly smuggling out and publishing anti-Soviet works abroad. Many writers in the West sent protest messages to Moscow. Sinyavsky and Daniel, who wrote under pseudonyms, were accused of acting as "tools to fan psychological warfare against the Soviet Union."

Stand-out biography of the year was *Papa Hemingway*, by A. E. Hotchner. It described the last fourteen years of the great author's life as eyewitnessed by "Hotch," who in those years grew from chance interviewer to literary agent and intimate. There were questions in some quarters as to the author's taste; Hemingway's widow herself sought the courts to suppress the book, but there was no question as to Hotchner's affectionate intent.

A distinguished entrant in the same field was *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain* by Justin Kaplan. The book brought new insight into the complex personality of the beloved American author, and high praise for its writer.

Two Churchill biographies made their mark during the year. One was Lord Moran's *Churchill*, by the late Prime Minister's doctor from 1940 until Sir Winston's death. The first volume of a biography by Churchill's son, Randolph, covered the elder Churchill's youthful years, from 1874 to 1900.

Surprise nonfiction best seller of the year was a \$4.95 paperback, *How to Avoid Probate*, by Norman F. Dacey, that offered a way for millions of Americans to administer their own estates, and bypass the expensive and time-consuming probate courts. Over 550,000 copies were sold from the spring, when Crown Publishers, Inc., took it over from its author-publisher, to the end of the year, and as 1967 dawned sales were still going strong.

Among other successful nonfiction productions were three historical accounts: Barbara Tuchman's *The Proud Tower*, which described the world before World War I; *The Last 100 Days*, by John Toland, and *The Last Battle*, by Cornelius Ryan. The last two books were accounts of Hitler's Germany in 1945.

A number of books dealt with the Presidency and public policy: particularly noticed were a political biog-

raphy by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak titled *Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power* and Philip Geyelin's study of the LBJ foreign policy, *Lyndon B. Johnson and the World*.

Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* failed to illuminate fully what he meant by the term the "nonfiction novel." But the book's story of murder in Kansas, and his portraits of the killers, won high praise. *In Cold Blood* quickly became a widely publicized best seller. Less pretentious in approach, yet fascinating and bone-chilling in its detailing of an alleged psychopath in action, was Gerold Frank's *The Boston Strangler*. Frank's extraordinary repertorial digging was matched by his narrative skill. The work is a casebook that may become a classic.

In fiction the year was marked by a variety of themes and styles in the publications that clicked with the critics or public, or both. Along with *Valley of the Dolls*, the cash register rang for another of Harold Robbins' skillfully fashioned sex-formula novels, *The Adventurers*. Bernard Malamud's *The Fixer*, a deeply felt novel of a Jew's betrayal in Czarist Russia, was hailed by the reviewers and the public too. A humorous antiwar novel by Robert Crichton, *The Secret of Santa Vittoria*, was a sleeper success. Similarly the critics praised the spirit and flavor of the Greek-American novel by Harry Mark Petrakis, *A Dream of Kings*.

Two political novels were widely noted: *All in the Family* by Edward O'Connor, a story of a Boston family involved in high politics (with obvious contemporary allusions), and Allen Drury's *Capable of Honor*, the third in his series which began with the Pulitzer Prize winner *Advise and Consent*.

Veteran newspaperwoman Adela Rogers St. John brought out her first religious novel, *Tell No Man*, which got little critical acclaim but a devoted circle of readers. Louis Auchincloss contributed *The Embezzler*, about the moral decline of a financial broker; John Barth, who had built a minor cult with his *Sot-weed Factor*, received split verdicts for his *Giles Goat-Boy*, a huge rambling satire which somehow charmed, somehow missed. And the year's most popular historical novel was probably James Clavell's *Tai-Pan*, an exciting tale of love and opium in 1840 Hong Kong.

All these were native-bred works; the novel from overseas that seemed to make the major impression was from England: Graham Greene's *The Comedians*, a compelling story about revolutionaries in Haiti.

In the fiction world of spies and criminals there were two leading entrants which stood clearly above the usual plethora of who-wrote-it who-dunnits. Helen MacInnes'

carefully fashioned *The Double Image* was a highly tense, highly successful story of Russian and Allied spies and counterspies centering around NATO. The subtle and complex style of Vladimir Nabokov was again revealed with great success in his *Despair*, a typically ironic crime story of deception and intrigue in 1930 Berlin.

It was not a big year for humor. S. J. Perelman presented another of his sparkling collections, in the midst of a deluge of nonbooks like *Happiness Is a Dry Martini* or *How to Be a Jewish Mother*, both left over from 1965. His *Chicken Inspector No. 23* kept alive the weirdly mad yet truly gay world that is his special creation.

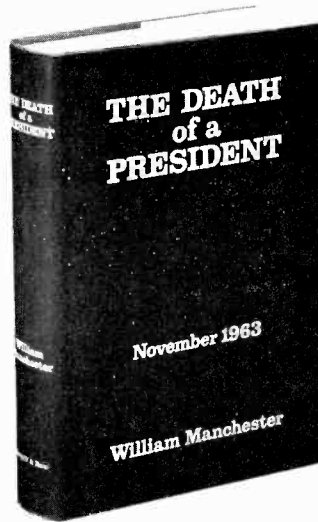
Sam Levenson expanded his TV image in his familiar and winning fashion with his semi-biography *Everything But Money*. Another TV alumna descended to print with the appearance of *Phyllis Diller's Housekeeping Hints*.

An underground book that achieved considerable notoriety was *MacBird*, a grimly comic parody of *MacBeth*, in which the King (President) slayer was a thinly veiled LBJ. The dollar paperback (published by the author, Barbara Garson, and her husband), was a slashing satire on the Presidency and the whole political "Establishment." At year's end there was interest over the forthcoming off-Broadway presentation of the book.

The year brought one notable event in American lexicography, the appearance of the first completely new unabridged dictionary in many years, *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, with Jess Stein heading the corps of editors who had been at work for seven years on its over 250,000 entries. When the third edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary* appeared in 1961, there had been lively criticism of its principles and style. The Random House work encountered warm comments from its first reviewers; since it appeared late in the year, more definitive appraisals await maturer study.

The 1966 Pulitzer Prizes in Letters, awarded for works published the previous year, went to Katherine Anne Porter, for fiction (*The Collected Stories of Katherine Anne Porter*); Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., for biography (*A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*); Edwin Way Teale, for general nonfiction (*Wandering Through Winter*); and Richard Eberhart, for poetry (*Selected Poems*).

Nobel Prizes for Literature in 1966 were awarded to "two outstanding Jewish authors"—Shmuel Yosef Agnon, seventy-eight, who lives in Israel and writes his novels in Hebrew; and Nelly Sachs, seventy-four, who lives in Stockholm and writes poetry in German.

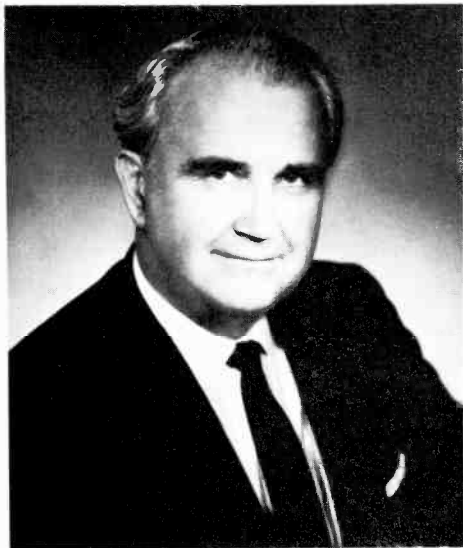


The controversial book, 710 pages. The dark-blue jacket suggests a night sky with stars. Harper & Row.

William Manchester, author of *The Death of a President*. His taped conversation with Mrs. Kennedy about her intimate recollections of the assassination and its sequel was a focal point of the controversy.

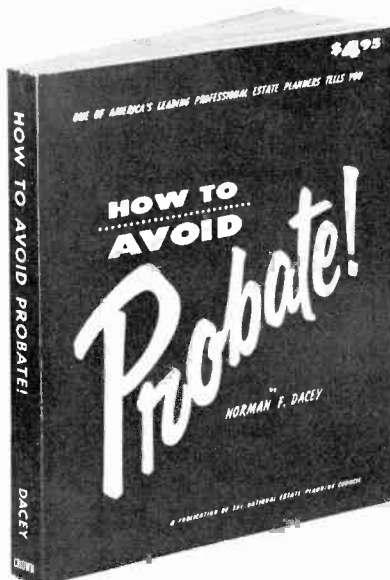


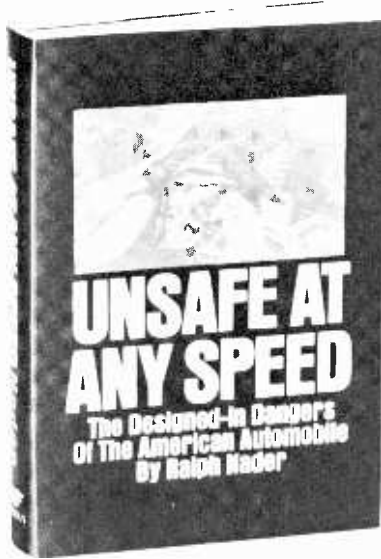
Best-selling author Jacqueline Susann, her book clasped in her lap, is interviewed on Gypsy Rose Lee's TV program. Actress Jane Wyatt sits between. The novel, including picture sales and overseas editions, promised to net over \$2 million. Bernard Geis Associates.



Norman F. Dacey, author of *How to Avoid Probate!* Dacey, a financial counselor, published the first edition himself; he was astounded as orders piled in.

Dacey's book has sold over a half-million copies. At the rear are pages of detachable forms for do-it-yourself estate handling. Crown Publishers, Inc.



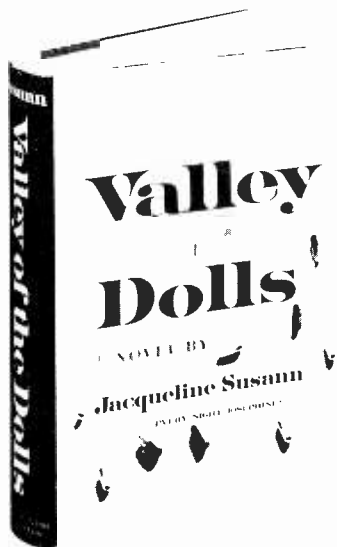


## BOOKS AND AUTHORS

Ralph Nader, thirty-two, whose book *Unsafe at Any Speed* led General Motors to probe secretly his family and background. GM president James Roche publicly apologized to Nader at a Senate hearing. In November Nader sued GM for \$26 million. The book is singly credited with creating new safety legislation for the American motorist in car construction. Grossman Publishers.



The best-selling Jacqueline Susann novel. Many claimed the four central female characters were inspired by specific famed figures of Hollywood and Broadway. The varicolored objects on the jacket are tranquilizer "dolls." Bernard Geis Associates.



Above right: Mark Lane, author of *Rush to Judgment*. The New York lawyer's book was the best seller among a half dozen volumes questioning the Warren Commission Report. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Left: Truman Capote, author of *In Cold Blood*. A newspaper account of a Kansas mass killing led to his journey to the scene and his three-years work on the "nonfiction" novel. Random House.

Right: Best-selling author Allen Drury. His *Capable of Honor* confirmed him as the leading novelizer of political Washington. Doubleday & Co., Inc.







In Stockholm Concert Hall, Israel's first Nobel laureate, S. Y. Agnon, bows to the applause of a king, Sweden's Gustaf. Novelist Agnon was honored for his "profoundly characteristic and narrative art." Arab ambassadors boycotted the award ceremony.



At the Nobel Prize ceremony in Stockholm, Nelly Sachs shyly accepts her literature award from King Gustaf. The German-born poetess moved to Stockholm during the Nazi persecution.

## BOOKS AND AUTHORS



*Above:* A unique combination of sportswriter, reporter, and grande dame, Adela Rogers St. John scored with *Tell No Man*. Mrs. St. John started writing at eighteen. Doubleday & Co., Inc.

*Center:* An ensemble demonstration by the author herself of *Phyllis Diller's Housekeeping Hints*. The decor is by chance, the French bread is real. Doubleday & Co., Inc.

*Below:* An old American bookselling custom, the author's autograph party. This one is at a Philadelphia department store for Sam Levenson and his *Everything But Money*. Simon & Schuster, Inc.



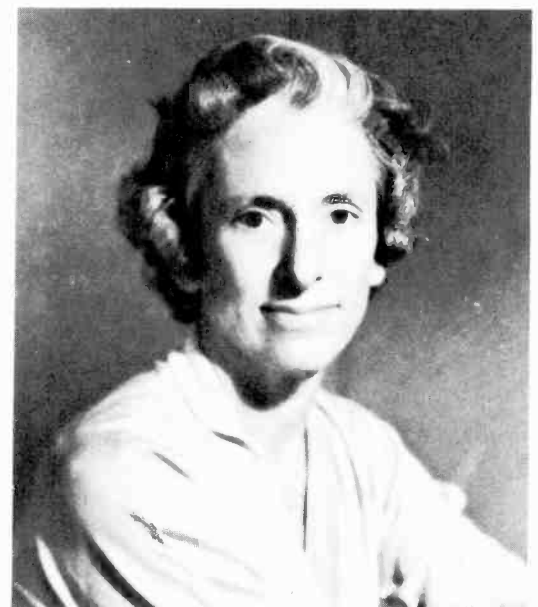
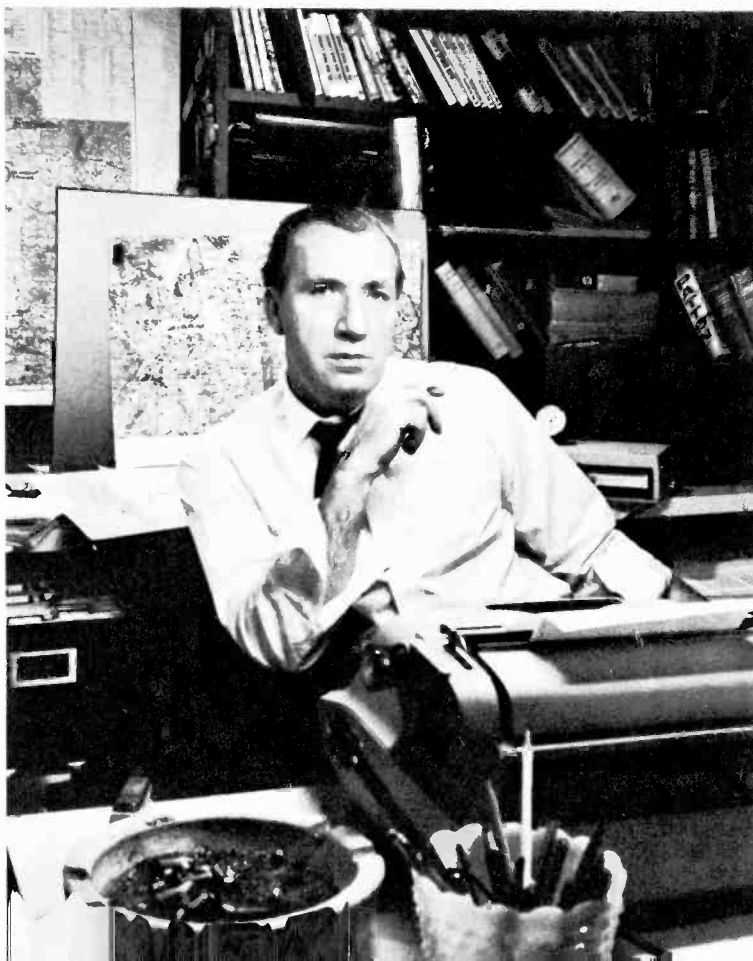


*Above left:* Historian and presidential adviser, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., conferring with President Kennedy on one of *A Thousand Days*. His 1965 Pulitzer Prize winner about JFK was one of two books from previous years still on *Publishers' Weekly* best-seller list. The other was *Games People Play* by Dr. Eric Berne, Grove Press. Houghton Mifflin Company.

*Above right:* James Clavell, author of *Tai-Pan*. His novel of Hong Kong smugglers in the days of sail was the leading "period piece" of the year. Atheneum Publishers.

*Below left:* Riding the crest of interest in World War II that he helped build with his *Longest Day*, Cornelius Ryan scored again with his detailed account of Hitler's downfall, *The Last Battle*. Simon & Schuster.

*Below right:* Barbara Tuchman, who proved again her special gifts in re-creating and revealing the recent past. Her book, *The Proud Tower*, about the belle époque repeated the success of her first book, *The Guns of August*, about the start of World War I. Macmillan.





*Above left:* Jess Stein, editor-in-chief of *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, holds a copy of the 10-pound, 2,091-page volume. Appearing in November, one-third of the half-million-copy first printing had been sold by year end.

*Above right:* Dr. William H. Masters, gynecologist, and Mrs. Virginia E. Johnson, psychologist, authors of *Human Sexual Response*, the best-selling report on their twelve years of clinical study. Little, Brown and Company.

*Above center:* The author of the surprise best seller *The Secret of Santa Vittoria* Robert Crichton, who worked five years on this first novel. His father, Kyle Crichton, was a leading magazine editor and liberal writer of the thirties. Simon & Schuster.

*Center right:* In *Double Image*, Helen MacInnes sharpened her style to produce the top selling spy story of the year. It was the fifteenth novel for the Scotch-born writer, who is married to the classical scholar and essayist Gilbert Highet. Harcourt, Brace & World.

A view of a slum area in San Juan, typical of the environments in Puerto Rico and New York, analyzed by Oscar Lewis in his book *La Vida*. Random House.

*Below right:* Edwin O'Connor, author of *All in the Family*, a story of a Boston family's involvement in politics. The parallel to the Kennedy family boosted its sales. Little, Brown and Company.





The chorus struts, the all-girl jazz band blares out, and the chorines up front signal their own special welcome, while Joel Grey, at top, as the MC, leads the proceedings with a death's-head grin in "Wilkommen—Welcome," the transfixing theme song of *Cabaret*. Scene designer Boris Aronson placed a giant mirror atop the nightclub set to intensify the feeling of a corrupt 1930 Berlin.

## 22. Theatre, Music, and Dance

THE BIGGEST THEATRICAL EVENT of the year had a title so long that no one even tried to call it by its full name: *The Persecution and Assassination of Marat as Performed by the Inmates of the Asylum of Charenton Under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade*. This was quickly abbreviated to *Marat/Sade*. Critical acclaim was tremendous. NBC News critic Edwin Newman called it "one of the most remarkable theatre pieces of our time."

*Marat/Sade* was as unusual as it was remarkable. In it, German playwright Peter Weiss combined song, dance, mime, and declaration into a powerful assault on the spectator's senses. Drawing both from Bertolt Brecht and Antonin Artaud (the Frenchman who called for a "theatre of cruelty" to shock the onlooker into awareness), *Marat/Sade* was really a play within a play. The actors played lunatics in turn playing roles in a drama by a fellow inmate, the Marquis de Sade, concerning the stabbing of the French revolutionary Marat by Charlotte Corday; at the same time, playwright Weiss had De Sade and Marat carry on a philosophical dialogue pitting the dark poet of individuality against the revolutionary's insistence on social progress and man's perfectibility.

Two companies of actors performed *Marat/Sade* on Broadway during the year: Peter Brook's Royal Shakespeare Company from England, and then, at year's end, an American group, the National Theatre Company. The British company filmed the play for 1967 release.

Another Weiss play, *The Investigation*, also hit Broadway in 1966. Though less spectacular than *Marat/Sade*, it brought to New York the trend in German theatre toward portraying contemporary history on the stage. *The Investigation* was a recital, from transcripts, of the Frankfurt atrocity trials of 1964-1965, in which the defendants were the Nazis who ran Auschwitz.

Broadway also had a run of British plays during the year, as the London theatre world continued at a level of excitement compared by many to the high days of the Renaissance.

Among American plays, three of the year's big hits were musicals. In January, an adaptation of a Fellini film, retitled *Sweet Charity*, starring Gwen Verdon and with stunning choreography by Bob Fosse, reopened to legitimate Broadway the venerable Palace Theatre, the mecca of vaudeville lovers of the twenties. The Verdon all-out performance, sparking a brilliant production, was widely acclaimed. In May, *Mame*, a musical-comedy version of Patrick Dennis' *Auntie Mame*, starred Angela Lansbury as the high-stepping, ageless kook whose antics had carried her through a best-selling novel, then a play, and a movie. Theatregoers wanting tickets were told to pick any date—after December; the show was one of the liveliest drawing cards since *Hello, Dolly!* Among the fall openings, *Cabaret*, a musical based on the Christopher Isherwood Berlin stories and John Van Druten's play *I Am a Camera*, was a big new hit. It brought Lotte Lenya and Jack Gilford back to Broadway and drew rave notices for a skilled but little-known player, Joel Grey, as the leering nightclub host.

Tennessee Williams put two one-acters together under the title *Slapstick Tragedy*, but they closed after seven performances. Edward Albee's *Malcolm* fared no better, but he followed this failure with a critical success, *A Delicate Balance*, an ironic drama about the conflicts between friendship and self-interest, showing for this controversial playwright a new vein of comedy and warmth.

Broadway had another refreshing import—this time a high-spirited and ingenuous musical review, *Wait a Minim!* from South Africa via London. The all-white yet somehow integrated cast charmed their audiences with their relaxed comedy and songs, often illustrated with native instruments. Off-Broadway produced a new playwright for whom critics predicted important things: Jean-Claude van Itallie. His three short plays grouped as *America Hurrah* combined the theatre of the absurd with pop art to depict a speeded-up modern world with

poignant humor and wisdom.

One of the most-talked-about theatrical events of the year involved a show that never opened—*Holly Go-lightly*, producer David Merrick's planned musical adaptation of Truman Capote's novel *Breakfast at Tiffany's*. The book was adapted, then tried out; readapted and tried out again; then turned over to Edward Albee to readapt the adaptation. When Merrick saw a preview of the final version he shrewdly gave up, canceled the opening, and returned a reputed \$1 million in advance sales. The cost to backers: over \$400,000.

In less costly ventures, Merrick canceled an entire performance of *Philadelphia, Here I Come!* by all appearances only to keep a newspaper critic—Stanley Kauffmann of the *New York Times*—from reviewing a preview instead of opening night; and he summarily withdrew the press tickets of NBC's critic Ed Newman in protest over reviews to which he objected. A public and a critical fraternity educated to Merrick's unconventional publicity ploys took it all in stride.

There was a trend in 1966 toward plays of political protest. Shows castigating Washington for its war in Vietnam included *US*, in London; and *Viet Rock*, a compilation of cliché attitudes toward the war, seen first at the Yale Drama School in New Haven, then off-Broadway.

Another theatre trend was the move of more and more universities to establish graduate schools of drama, turning out theatre professionals just as doctors or accountants are turned out. A booming market for theatre talent was developing in the nation's twenty-five or more regional theatres (among those added in 1966 was a superbly equipped, \$1.2-million repertory house in Atlanta).

A new home arrived for one of the theatre's traditional foundlings—the puppet. Bil and Cora Baird designed and built a puppet theatre in New York's Greenwich Village—a life's dream for these two master puppeteers. During the summer they broke in their two-hundred-seat theatre with shows for youngsters of the Head Start program, while preparing an all-puppet satirical musical revue, aimed at adult audiences, which was warmly received in the fall. During the year millions of TV viewers had watched the skilled work of the Bairds manipulating puppet astronauts in and out of capsules, while Gemini events were going on, beyond camera view, in outer space.

The largest opera house in the world—the new Metropolitan Opera in New York's Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts—opened in the fall of 1966. The house is as long from front to rear as a forty-seven-story building is tall. Opening night brought the first performance of a new American opera, Samuel Barber's *Antony and Cleopatra*, with Shakespeare's text set to modern music. The opera was spectacular in staging, but most bravos were saved for the house itself. Its cathedral-

like splendor broke no new architectural ground, but acoustically it was judged perfect; technologically it was the most advanced in the world; and its lobby boasted an imposing array of art—including a pair of Chagall murals, and three Maillol bronze nudes.

The Met sold out for every performance, yet still turned away thousands. Even so, the management late in the year announced a hike in ticket prices to cover costs—setting the top at \$15.50, up from an already healthy \$13. A spokesman explained that the move to the new house had been like a family's moving from a cottage to a castle and finding the new upkeep staggering.

The old Met, however, was hardly a cottage (it had cost \$1.7 million to build in 1883, a high figure then, though the cost in the 1960's for the new Met was \$45.7 million), and there were court battles through the year by New Yorkers who wanted to preserve the venerable if soot-stained edifice from being replaced with an office skyscraper. But the wreckers won out and were scheduled to put their hammers to the building in early 1967. As a measure of the nostalgia felt for the old Met, the public clamored to buy the some 1,611 tassels from its curtains at \$5 each; dressing-room doors went for \$10; each of eight ceramic water fountains brought \$500.

The year was marked by significant contributions to the subsidizing of serious music in America. In July the Ford Foundation announced it would give over \$80 million in grants to some sixty American symphony orchestras over a ten-year period. The gifts ranged from \$325,000 for Jacksonville, Florida's, Orchestra to \$2½ million to each of fourteen major orchestras in the nation. Because much of this giant bounty was to be given on a matching basis, these grants would have the effect of pumping well over \$100 million into the money chests of American orchestras in the next decade.

Funds were found for two established orchestras to buy rural sites to start permanent summer festivals of their own: the Cleveland Orchestra with an outdoor home near that city, and the National Symphony of Washington, which found the right spot between the Capitol and Baltimore. It appeared that they would soon mount major musical events for summer, fashioned after the Tanglewood Festival. The increasingly active National Council on the Arts allocated \$400,000 of Federal funds to establish a National Chamber Orchestra, and another \$300,000 toward a new art frontier, an American Lyric Theatre, to be directed by Jerome Robbins, for exploring the combined fields of music, dance, and drama.

The Boston Opera won kudos in 1966 as one of the country's most adventuresome companies, when it staged Arnold Schoenberg's twelve-tone masterpiece *Moses and Aaron*. The work included a second-act orgy scene that was turned into a stylized ballet; despite Boston's conservative reputation, it was performed with impunity.

One of the most glamorous figures of the symphonic

world made news by announcing he would leave his choice post. Leonard Bernstein, conductor and director of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony. He had nurtured the orchestra through the adjustments of its move from venerable Carnegie Hall in 1962 and had weathered the tempest raised by acoustical difficulties in its new home at Philharmonic Hall. Now he announced that he would leave the orchestra when his contract expired in 1969. He declared he wanted to devote more time to composing. Speculation immediately arose about the successor to this key spot in the music world. At year's end there was no intimation who would follow him.

In popular music, 1966 could be summarized as the year of "folk rock," newest offspring of the rock 'n' roll school of droning insistent rhythms, which had its start in the days of Elvis "the Pelvis" Presley. The long-maned English group that had pretty much set the present pattern in looks and sound, the Beatles, were still mighty in their field. They made a fourteen-city North American tour and grossed about \$100,000 a night.

Yet the question was now being asked whether the Beatles were not on the wane. One member, John Lennon, raised public hackles during the year when he was quoted as saying the group was "more popular than Jesus." As the furor over this remark subsided, Cardinal Cushing of Boston commented that Lennon was right. Said the cardinal: "That group is better known than Christianity throughout the world." In New York a crowd of only five-hundred screaming teenagers turned out to swoon at the Beatles' arrival, where there had been ten thousand the year before. But their records, like "Rubber Sole" and "Revolver," continued to make the best-seller lists.

If there was one area in which the Beatles were clearly losing out, it was in the degree of oddness in their name. The year saw the arrival of such pop groups as Sigmund and the Freudian Slips, Dow Jones and the Industrials, the Grateful Dead, and the Dirty Shames.

In the field of pop recordings, however, it was apparent that the folk-rock, shock-rock, go-go brand of music, although dominating the airwaves and the discothèques, was not the only style that had appeal. Actually the best-selling LP was "Whipped Cream and Other Delights" by Herb Alpert and the Tijuana Brass, and he had two other smash discs during the year. Melody-loving diehards paid tribute to the sound track of the movie from Richard Rodgers' *Sound of Music* followed in popularity by the *Doctor Zhivago* score. But the solid base of pop record circulation, both LP's and singles, was built on the sale of discs by a group of now familiar names; the Beatles, the Mamas and the Papas, and the Supremes. To them the year added a sensational new quartet, the Monkees. Their first effort, a single titled "Last Train to Clarksville," zoomed near the top even before their TV series started in October. At year's end their first LP, "More of the Monkees," was sitting solidly on the top of the list. Yet indestructible Frank Sinatra was

still scoring, this year with his "Strangers in the Night" and the album "A Man and His Music." Among the other name singers, girl of the year was Barbra Streisand with her LP "Color Me Barbra" and a newcomer, a soldier turned folk singer, Staff Sergeant Barry Sadler found his "Ballad of the Green Berets" a surprise hit of the year.

Among classical records, best sellers included a release of Eugene Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra in the Mahler Symphony Number 10 and "Opening Nights at the Met" a three-disc memento of the old opera house. Chopin recitals by brilliant young Van Cliburn, and prodigious master, Artur Schnabel, were neck and neck on the best-seller classical album list. A recording made at Carnegie Hall of the triumphant return to the concert stage after many years' absence of Vladimir Horowitz found a rush of buyers. It appeared from these record leaders that public taste in classical music was fairly traditional. The one surprising note was the newfound interest in the original and prophetic American composer Charles Ives, reflected in the strong sales of his Symphony Number 4, recorded by Leopold Stokowski and his American Symphony, and "Bernstein Conducts Ives" with the New York Philharmonic Symphony.

A stereo-tape cartridge was marketed during the year that could play an eight-track audio tape in a tape deck mounted either in the car or at home; there were predictions that the innovation would cut sharply into the long-playing disc as the standard for recorded music. Car windows began showing up with decals warning "Shh, I'm listening to stereo." Records were selling at the rate of \$830 million a year, but manufacturers said they would sell 1.5 million new tape cartridges in 1967.

The market was also booming for musical instruments—a quarter of a million pianos were sold, a million and a half guitars. The number of amateur musicians in the United States was estimated at nearly 40 million—making music second only to reading as the country's most popular leisure-time activity.

The year was an active one in the world of ballet, sparked by liberal financial aid from the omnipresent foundations, and the maturing of an exciting young dance group, the Robert Joffrey Ballet, into appointment at one of New York's most important posts.

Joffrey, thirty-seven, half Afghan, half Italian, was born in Seattle. The brilliant choreographer and teacher founded his company in New York in 1956. Since that date, the company had slowly built its competence and style, while touring throughout the world for the United States State Department and on its own, across the nation. Their spring appearance in New York for a brief one-week series was a smash hit. The Ford Foundation then backed the group with a \$500,000 grant, and in the fall the Joffrey ballet was named as the permanent ballet at the dance mecca of New York, the City Center, taking the place vacated by the New York City Ballet, which had moved to Lincoln Center. The Joffrey Com-



pany shows promise of making modern dance history with the leadership of Joffrey himself, the creative choreography of Gerald Arpino, once its leading male dancer, and under the general direction of Alexander Ewing.

In the summer, the stunning new \$4 million Saratoga Performing Arts Center was inaugurated at that ancient resort in the Adirondacks with a month-long season by the New York City Ballet, which chose Balanchine's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for opening night. It was the first time a major ballet company offered itself as a permanent outdoor attraction.

As in the field of music, the kindling influence of foundation and public funds, notably the National Council of the Arts, was strongly felt in the world of dance. The council gave a nick-of-time grant of \$100,000 to the American Ballet Theatre. Seven choreographers, including José Limon and Anna Sokolow, received grants. Continuing its interest in the roots of the American dance tradition, the council supported Martha Graham in bringing her original creations to a nationwide audience with over \$100,000 for a transcontinental tour.

Russia's Bolshoi Ballet toured thirteen United States cities in 1966, maintaining its reputation as one of the most impressive assembly of classic dancers in the world. Other East European imports included the ebullient gymnasts of the Rumanian Folk Ballet.

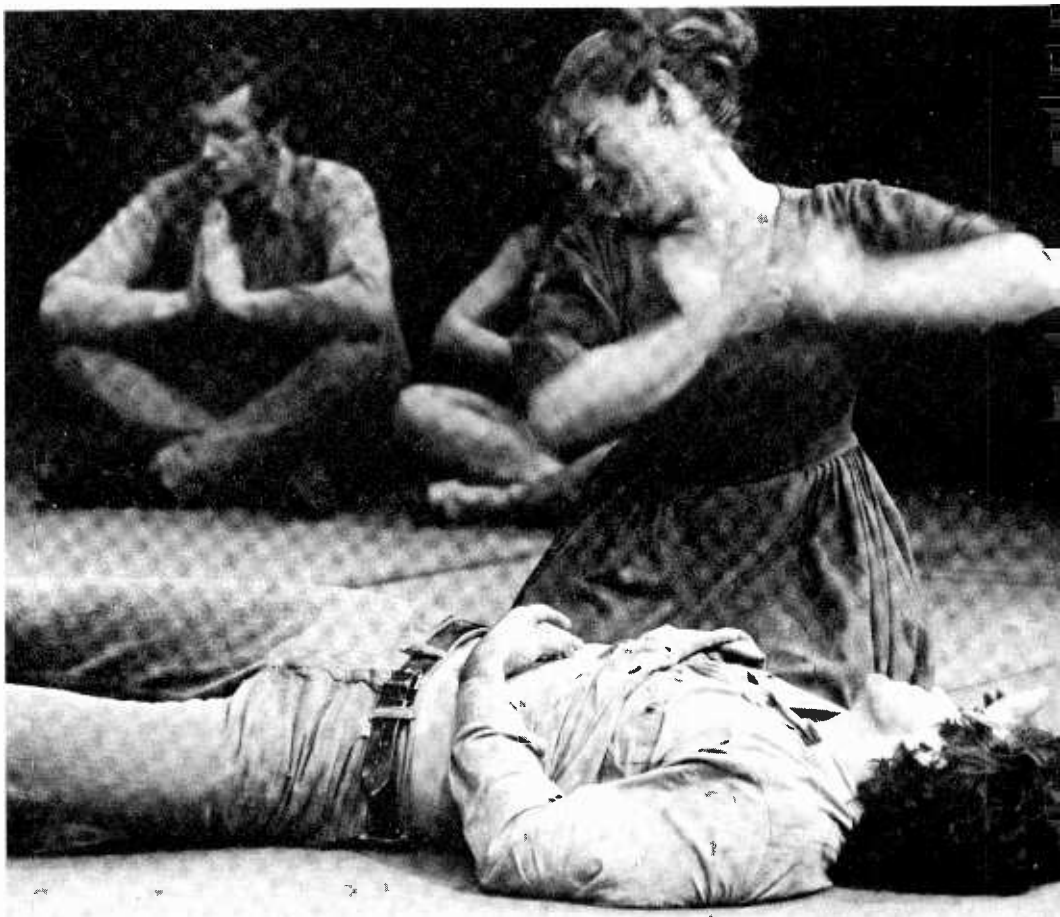
In the specific area of modern dance, an art prominently pioneered by Americans, the biggest market continued to be Europe. The Paul Taylor dance group found it could draw six times as large an audience in Europe as at home. The Merce Cunningham dancers won the golden star for choreography at the Paris International

Dance Festival, but nevertheless could not raise the money in the United States for a Broadway season. However, when Martha Graham (now seventy-one) and her company traveled the United States for the first time in sixteen years on her American tour, she drew bravos where in the past she had met puzzlement. "Dance," she declared, "has finally become one of the world's necessities as well as one of its joys."

And, as if to confirm this at the grass-roots level of social dancing, the world's largest discothèque—Cheetah, a rock-'n'-roll Roseland—opened on Broadway. It served to its young patrons only soft drinks and only their kind of music. Its walls literally bulged with crowds of teeny-boppers and oldsters in their twenties, flocking like lemmings to dance their latest rhythmic innovations on what used to be the frug and the watusi.

In December a deeply probing work on the financial problems of theatre, music, opera, and dance in America was published by the 20th Century Fund, its title "Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma" by two Princeton economists, William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen. Its finding, based on authoritative study, was that the performing arts in the United States cannot become self-supporting. Unlike industry, where machines bring higher productivity, the performing arts must, the authors found, suffer an ever-increasing income gap of expenditures over earnings, which they now describe as reaching \$23 million per year. By 1975 they estimate the performing arts will have to raise \$60 million to cover the gap. Their study gave vivid proof of the thesis that increasing governmental or foundation subsidy will be needed to keep these arts vital in America.

A dramatic moment from the off-Broadway, antiwar drama *Viet Rock*. The distraught mother, Sharon Gans, wails over her wounded soldier-son, Gerome Ragni, against a background of the chorus in attitudes of Eastern meditation.





## THEATRE, MUSIC, AND DANCE

*Left:* Real-life husband and wife, Jessica Tandy and Hume Cronyn as the married couple in Albee's *A Delicate Balance*, sharing counsel and sherry on the contradictions of modern society.

*Below:* All the boys and one of the four girls in a South African song-dance from *Wait a Minim!* The wit and charm of this talented octette made their intimate revue a sleeper hit of the year.

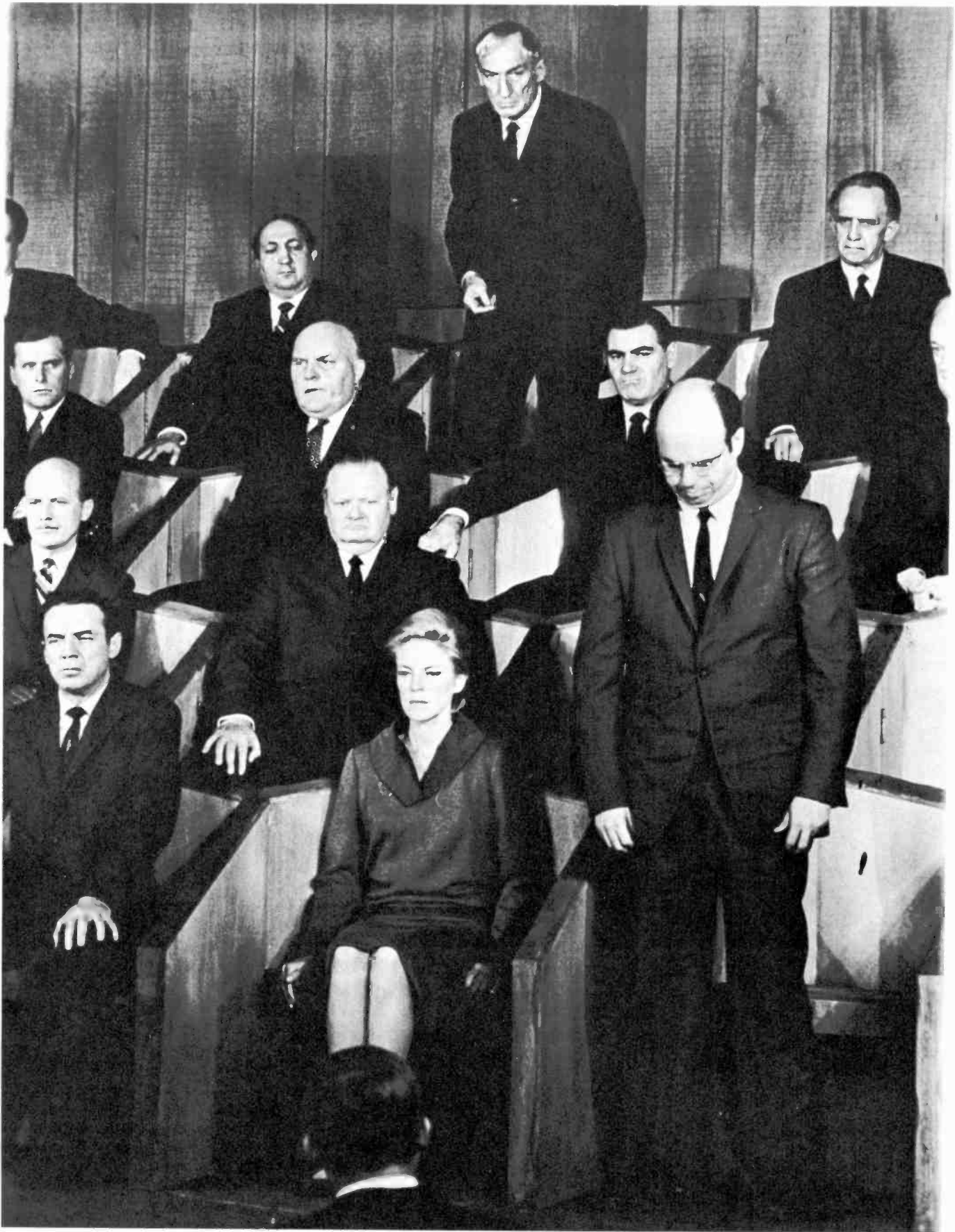




*Left: Angela Lansbury, whose singing and dancing were sheer delights in the hit musical comedy *Mame*.*

*Below: Shock, nightmare frenzy, and philosophy combine with brilliant direction and cast to make a stage achievement of *Marat/Sade*. Many critics called it the biggest theatrical event of the year.*





A honeycomb of Nazi defendants forms a grim pattern, echoing the monotonous piling on of horror and self-justification in the Peter Weiss play about the concentration camp trials, *The Investigation*.



The lockstep march of conformity in modern life is satirized in Jean-Claude van Itallie's shrewd and penetrating off-Broadway hit *America Hurrah*.

One of the bitter-sweet moments in the up-and-mostly-down life of Gwen Verdon in *Sweet Charity*. Here Gwen, the dance-hall hostess, is living it up in the apartment of her jet-set host, just moments before she loses him. Verdon's performance was a personal triumph.



A puppet king goes into action as Master Puppeteer Bil Baird pulls the strings backstage at the new Bil Baird Theatre in Greenwich Village which the Bairds (Bil and Cora) designed especially for puppet presentations. It is the first so built in America.





Opening night at the new Met found some 3,800 celebrities in the audience and a record gate of \$400,000. Onstage was *Antony and Cleopatra*. But the feeling was that the real star of the night was the new Met itself.



*Above:* With the decision made to rip down New York's old Metropolitan Opera House, some of the world's greatest opera stars on closing night pack the stage, link arms, and join in "Auld Lang Syne." Strenuous efforts were made to save the old building, if only as a historical landmark. The wreckers won out.

*Right:* Tickets go for up to \$200 as the new Metropolitan Opera House opens at Lincoln Center in New York City—an edifice called "inspired in design and perfect in acoustics." The cost: \$46 million.





In his eightieth year, Artur Schnabel serenely employs his supreme artistry as he records a Chopin waltz.



Justino Díaz and Leontyne Price in the title roles of *Antony and Cleopatra*, the Samuel Barber opera commissioned for the opening of the new Metropolitan Opera House in New York in September.

A young giant, in power and popularity, among American pianists, Van Cliburn, gazes into the imagined world of a nineteenth-century Chopin mazurka.







*Above:* The Beatles at a press conference in Chicago during another tour of America. Despite interludes of controversy, the mop-haired quartet was still very much on the best-seller lists. From the left: Paul McCartney, George Harrison, John Lennon, and Ringo Starr.

*Right:* Caught in the act! The birth of a best-selling disc—whether new swinger or old favorite. Frank Sinatra at a recording session—with a fillip to mark his own inner beat. Alongside him is old pal Dean Martin.

*Below:* The hills fill the heart of Julie Andrews in *The Sound of Music* for the film's Oscar win, and also this year for the best-selling Richard Rodgers disc, made from the picture's soundtrack.

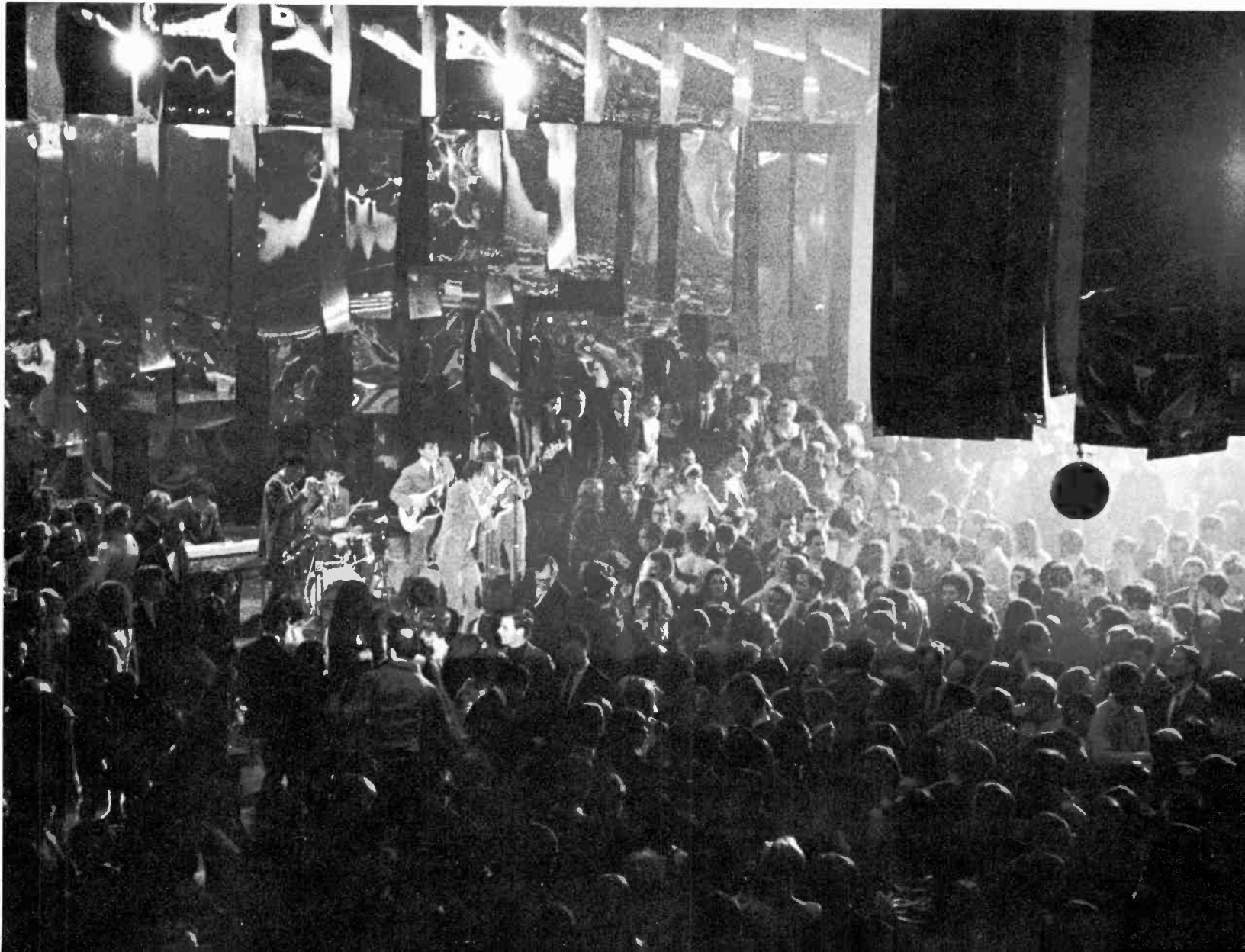




## **THEATRE, MUSIC, AND DANCE**

*Left:* The "Young Man with a Horn," Herb Alpert and the Tijuana Brass, whose distinctive style, based on the Mexican mariachi bands, nailed his albums to the top of the list.

*Below:* The Cheetah, this year's leading contribution to the discothèque craze. On the site of one of New York's old-line dance halls, the young crowd flocks together for the latest "in" dances.





A bond of limitless fun links The Monkees, from Mike Nesmith, on the left, through Micky Dolanz and Peter Tork to elfin David Jones as they cluster here on a set for their TV series. Their pop rock records, starting with "Last Train to Clarksville," were the surprise hit of the year.



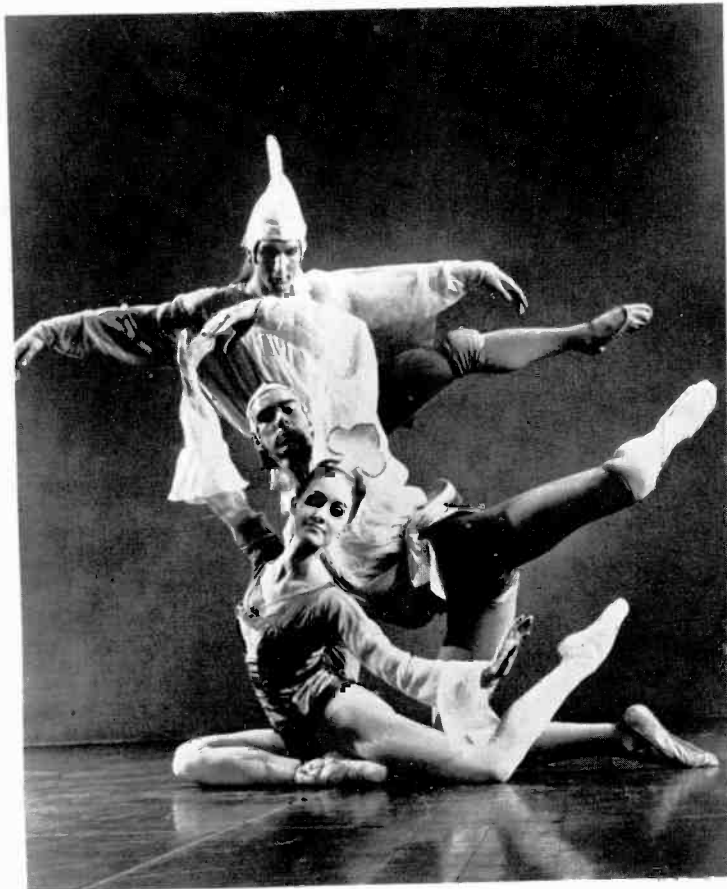
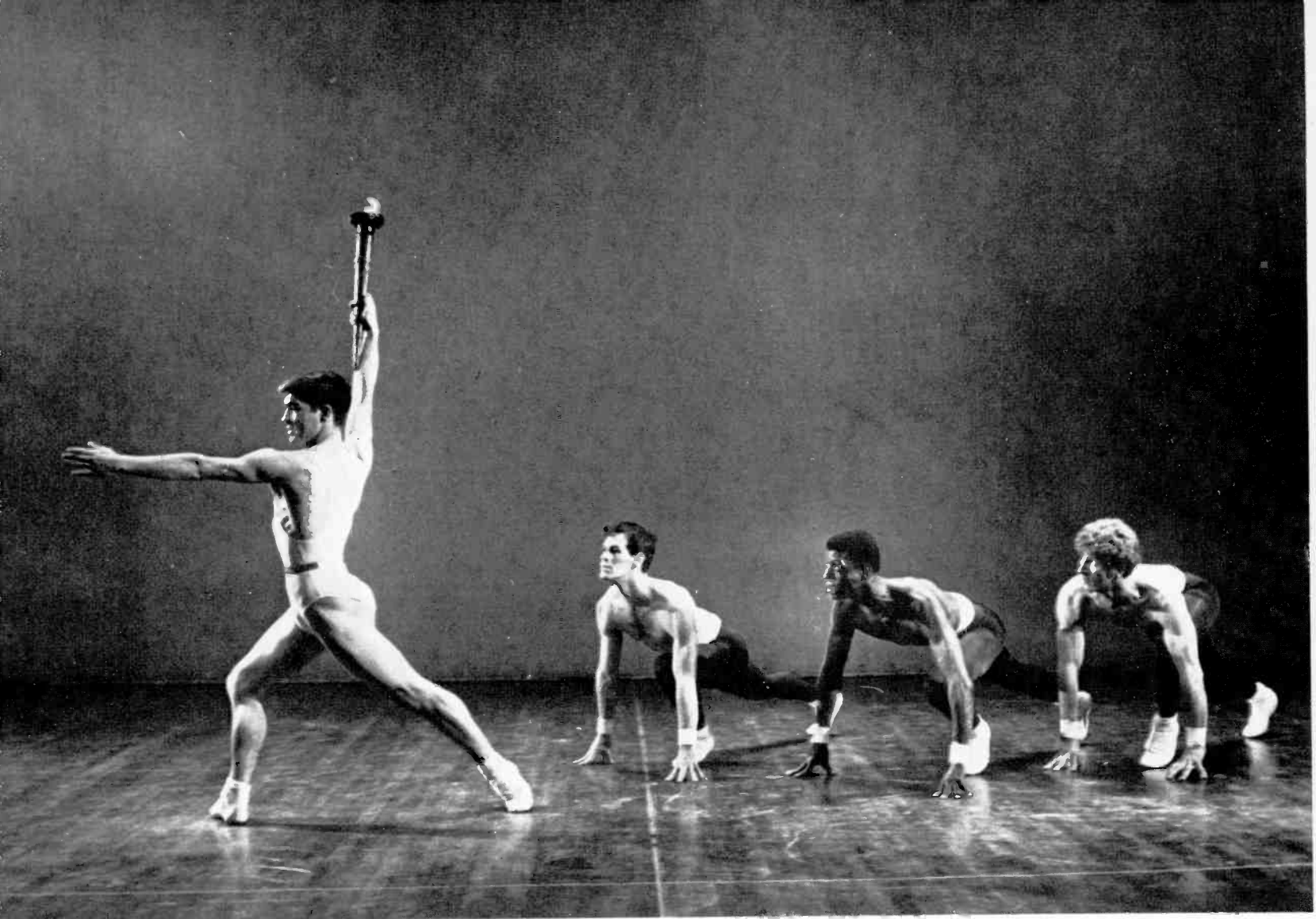
Staff Sergeant Barry Sadler of U.S. Special Forces, recuperated and home from Vietnam, records his first album in New York. His song "Ballad of the Green Berets" was the top-selling single of the year.

High on the list of rhythm and blues groups: The Supremes. The three girls, Florence Ballard, top; Mary Wilson, bottom; and Diane Ross, all in their early twenties, began singing as an amateur group while attending high school in their home town, Detroit. : *Right*



The Mamas and The Papas: Michelle Gilliam, John Phillips, Cass Elliott, and Denny Doherty. From the Virgin Islands to Hollywood's recording studios with "California Dreamin'," their folk rock is now tops in record favorites.





*Above:*

The ancient Greek games inspired Gerald Arpino, whose choreography is interpreted in the proud tautness of these members of the Joffrey Ballet in a scene from *Olympics*. The company has no stars; its members are listed alphabetically.

*Left:*

A Far East tour for the State Department led to Robert Joffrey's ballet *Gamelan*. Excerpts were done by invitation at the White House. It was not fully unveiled until its New York debut.



The imperishable artistry of Martha Graham in *The Legend of Judith*, a feature of her transcontinental tour.



*Dear John*, the Swedish film with Christina Schollin and Jarl Kulle as the waitress and the freighter captain. The appeal of the picture, despite unusually frank scenes and dialogues, lay mostly in gentle candor in its treatment of the couple's little dreams challenged by their larger fears.

## 23. Movies

NINETEEN SIXTY-SIX WAS THE YEAR when Hollywood snapped its restraints. Film makers were given much wider scope in the use of bold language and lusty scenes.

Twice during the year, before a new code was drawn up, the movie industry's Production Code denied a purity seal to two top-rated pictures: first, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* for profanity and vulgarity; then to the British film *Alfie* because of its treatment of abortion. But in both instances the appeal board of the Motion Picture Association of America overturned the earlier decisions.

The rulings were handwritings on the wall—signs that the old purity code was outdated.

After Jack Valenti, forty-four, the former aid to President Johnson, was named president of the MPAA in April, the Association began drawing up new rules. The modernized code, the first major revision since 1930, was announced in September. It dropped several old prohibitions, such as those against nudity and profanity; it also made it clear that films of artistic worth could receive the seal of approval even though they contain scenes that may be considered indelicate, immodest, or overly sexy by some. The understanding was that such pictures would be labeled as "Suggested for Mature Audiences."

Although the new permissive code permits Hollywood to compete on the same level with foreign producers, it raises another kind of problem. What may be permissible on the theatre screen might appear too indelicate for the television screen. And television has become a major market for the moviemakers. MPAA members last year grossed about \$350 million through worldwide television sales, and the market shows every sign of growing, taking off from the smash success of a TV showing of the *Bridge on the River Kwai*. Foreign and American producers already practice one form of tailoring pictures to particular audiences—shooting special scenes suitable to certain countries. There's now the possibility that film makers also may shoot television versions of

controversial scenes.

The internationalization of Hollywood continued its trend during the year, with the production of American-financed and American-distributed films in foreign countries. The American picture *The Sand Pebbles* was made in Taiwan; *The Bible* was produced in Italy! *Khartoum* in the Sudan, and *Is Paris Burning*—logically—in Paris. During 1966, more than 60 percent of the American-financed pictures were made outside the United States. Lower production costs abroad, plus the desirability of authentic locale, explain, in part, the trend toward overseas production.

Hollywood also underwent management changes during the year. A new team of administrators took control of Paramount; Warner Brothers was removed from the control of the Warner family; and United Artists was being merged with a large holding company, the Transamerica Corporation.

One celebrated picture, made in the United States solely for distribution abroad, was shown in this country in response to what truly was great popular demand. Congress, after being flooded with petitions, granted special permission for the commercial showing, in this country, of *Years of Lightning, Day of Drums*, the United States Information Agency's tribute to President Kennedy.

Among pictures intended from the start as commercial products, three of the most successful were carryovers from the previous year: *The Sound of Music*, *Doctor Zhivago*, and *Thunderball*. The last, top money picture of 1966, was one of the popular James Bond capers, which produced a crop of imitators and spoofers, such as *Our Man Flint*, *The Silencers*, and *Where the Spies Are*.

Among successful American comedies were *The Russians Are Coming, The Russians Are Coming* and *The Fortune Cookie*. Three foreign hits were the Swedish *Dear John*, the Czechoslovakian film *The Shop on Main Street*, and the French film *A Man and a Woman*.





*Above: The Shop on Main Street* director, Jan Kadar, and co-director Elmark Klos proudly hold their picture's Oscar, the first time the award went behind the Iron Curtain.

*Right: A scene from Czechoslovakia's Oscar-winning The Shop on Main Street, a poignant story of the individual in collision with the state. Joseph Kroner, left, and "owner of the shop" Ida Kamin-ska. The picture was judged the best in the foreign-language field.*



Lynn Redgrave, who won a Film Critics' Award in *Georgy Girl*.



## MOVIES



*Above:* This year's Oscars to the top performers: Lee Marvin, for his double role as town drunk and badman in *Cat Ballou*, and Julie Christie of Britain for her title role in *Darling*.

*Right:* Anouk Aimee, as the young widow, and Jean-Louis Trintignant, as the racing driver who awakens her love, in a scene from the prizewinning French picture *A Man and a Woman*.



Vanessa Redgrave, in *Morgan!*



*Top: The Group*, based on the best-selling novel by Mary McCarthy, was flossy, well intentioned, and sometimes diverting, but—unlike the book—failed to capture the members of “the group” as individuals.



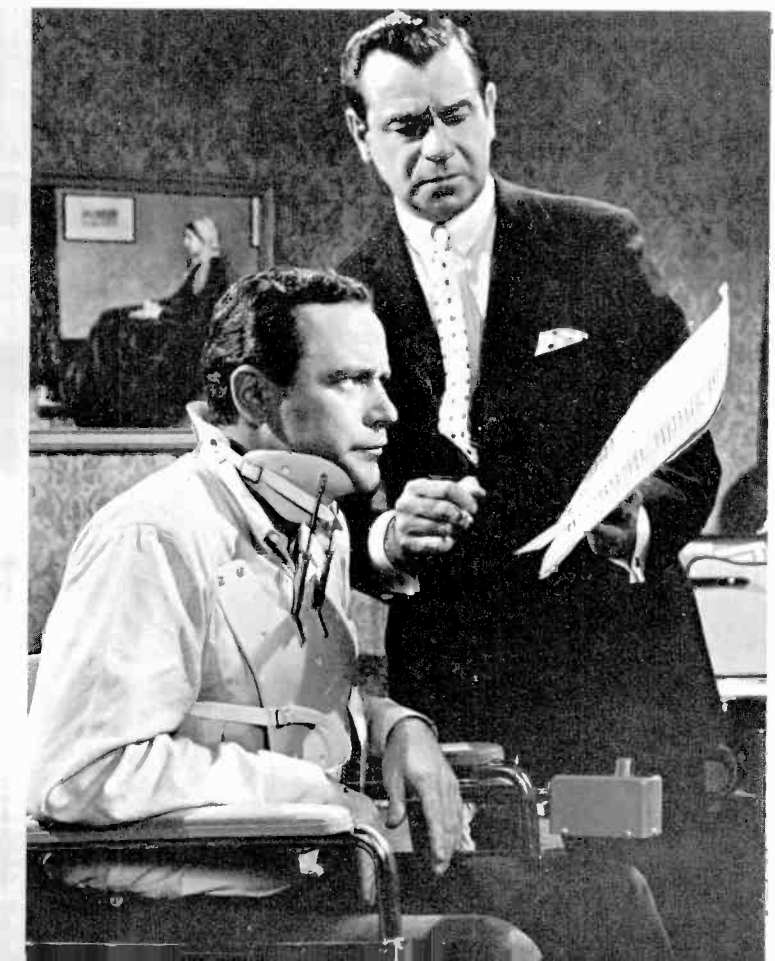
*Center: The heroine of Born Free*, Elsa the lioness, with her foster parents Bill Travers and Virginia McKenna, who raised her from a cub. The Joy Adamson best seller was filmed in Kenya where the story actually took place.



*Bottom left: In The Russians Are Coming . . .* the shore-party commander of a Russian submarine grounded off a New England village is Alan Arkin. Next to him is Brian Keith. An armed and alerted citizenry behind them includes Jonathan Winters, ready for anything.



*Bottom right: Steve McQueen* is the center of a barrier on the gangplank as an American seaman is hustled away from a mob in *The Sand Pebbles*, the story of an American gunboat in China in the fermenting 1920's.



*Top left:* Michael Caine, in the title role, shares a tender moment with Julia Foster, one of his numerous "birds," in *Alfie*, another highly acclaimed motion picture, controversial in its frankness.

*Top right:* Cain (Richard Harris) slays Abel (Franco Nero) in the filming of episodes from *Genesis* in *The Bible*, produced by Dino De Laurentiis and directed by John Huston, who also played Noah.

*Center left:* Debbie Reynolds strums away to the amusement of Juanita Moore and Monique Montaigne in *The Singing Nun*.

*Center right:* Zero Mostel makes a pitch for sympathy, affection, understanding, and so on, in this scene with Inga Neilson in *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum*.

*Left:* Immobilized cameraman Jack Lemmon, his injuries largely imaginary, is instructed in the art of feigning agony by money-minded Walter Matthau in *The Fortune Cookie*.



*Left:* A reflection in movies of the vogue for “camp”: outrageously noble adventures in bizarre settings. Boy Wonder Robin (Burt Ward) and Batman (Adam West) land their Batcopter and prepare to wing into action in *Batman*. It was inspired by the TV series.

*Center left:* Paul Scofield as Sir Thomas More holds firm to his principles before the questions of Orson Welles as Cardinal Wolsey in *A Man for All Seasons*, winner of three New York Film Critics’ Awards: the best picture of the year, the best screenplay, and, for Scofield, the best performance by an actor.

*Center right:* The college teachers and their wives in the sometimes noisy, sometimes pretentious, but often searing film of Edward Albee’s drama *Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* Here are Richard Burton, Elizabeth Taylor, George Segal, and Sandy Dennis. Miss Taylor won a New York Film Critics’ Award for her unvarnished portrayal.



Pop Artist Andy Warhol’s *Chelsea Girls*, which included their use of the split, or double, screen, was made as an “underground” movie, but found its way into some commercial theatres.



## MOVIES



*Top:* The USIA film documentary *Years of Lightning, Day of Drums*, with a scene of the late President watching a Polaris missile submarine exercise at a United States naval base.

*Center:* Skip Ward at the wheel of the jeep carrying the first American troops into the capital in a scene from *Is Paris Burning?* Filmed on location, the picture was a massive and ambitious effort that fell short of critical acclaim.

*Right:* Louis Nizer, General Counsel, listens while Jack Valenti announces the industry's new production code at the Motion Picture Association of America headquarters in New York.





**The satellite earth station at Paumalu, Hawaii. Its massive disk, via Lani Bird satellite, made the first regularly scheduled live TV links between Hawaii and the United States.**

## 24. TV and Radio

THE NUMBER OF TELEVISION SETS in the world passed the 200-million mark in the fall of 1966—the magazine *Television Age* pinned the figure down at exactly 201,110,166; 75 million of these were in the United States alone—indicating that if the medium was not yet a critical success, its popular hold was not going to be denied.

Despite the attraction of TV, radio held its own in broadcasting's growth. There were 250 million radio sets in United States listeners' hands, including 65 million in cars, and new sets are selling at the rate of 23 million a year.

What were people watching and listening to? In radio, 80 percent of the air time had become recorded music, the rest largely news and "talk-shows" that invited listeners' telephone participation. In television, besides the standard fare of daytime soap operas and quiz shows and nighttime dramatic series, there was increasing emphasis on news programming.

In addition, there were Hollywood movies, for which the networks had developed what appeared to be an insatiable appetite. Viewers could watch old movies four nights of the week in 1966, and it seemed likely they would be able to watch them seven nights a week by 1970.

The big question was where all the movies would come from. The market had grown so tight by 1966 that it cost ABC \$2 million to buy rights for two showings of *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (though apparently it was worth the price; 66 million people watched the first showing alone). Seeing that the backlog of movies would soon be gone whatever the price, the networks began looking to the day when Hollywood's major occupation would be the making of two-hour movies specifically for TV, with theatre showings to follow and not precede airing.

The year 1966 was also one in which practically all shows went color. There were still plenty of black-

and-white sets in 1966, but by December 31st, a total of 9,750,000 homes had color sets, some 17.3 percent of all TV households; almost 4½ million new color sets had been sold within the past twelve months.

Entertainment fare for the year was largely a matter of imitating the old formulas—westerns, situation comedies, science-fiction thrillers. A hit variation on the formula came with ABC's "Batman," an overnight SMASH series so intentionally bad that the arbiters of "pop" culture decided it must be good, and watched it in droves. By-products of the new series took up where James Bond items trailed off; Batmania produced everything from lunch-pail insignias and sweatshirts to a new rock-'n'-roll dance dubbed the "batussi."

Some shows were turned out during the year that brought particularly high critical praise: among them, the CBS production of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, with Lee J. Cobb and Mildred Dunnock re-creating their original Broadway roles; NBC's *American White Paper: Organized Crime in the United States*, a comprehensive three-and-a-half-hour study in prime time of organized crime in the United States and its devastating effects on the lives of individuals and the nation's economy; and ABC's dramatic adaptation of Katherine Anne Porter's story *Noon Wine*, with Jason Robards, Jr., and Olivia de Havilland.

Popular favorites, however, followed the predictable course. The top ten in the ratings after the opening of the fall season ran in this order: "Bonanza," "Red Skelton," "Andy Griffith," "Bob Hope/Chrysler Theatre," "Saturday Night at the Movies," "The Lucy Show," "Rat Patrol," "Jackie Gleason," "Sunday Night Movie," and "Walt Disney."

The men most influential in picking programs for the three big networks admitted openly that they were violating their own taste in what they chose, saying their main object was the biggest rating. There was also the question during the year about the broadcast industry's



continuing blue-stockinged approach to material that books and movies were ceasing to censor. One network executive offered this rationale: "People expect television to be an island of serenity in a troubled sea."

As news events grew more violent in 1966, news programming continued to broaden its coverage. The networks spent nearly \$150 million in covering everything from Vietnam and space shots to fires and crimes of passion. Regular TV fare was often preempted for special public-affairs programs such as the live coverage given the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's hearing into United States foreign policy. When there was skimping, there was controversy. CBS News president Fred Friendly, reacting to his network's decision to bypass some of the committee's sessions, declared that the decision was "a business, not a news, judgment," and resigned (later joining the Ford Foundation as its TV adviser).

The status of network radio remained that of the poor relative, once rich and influential, who had been displaced in the 1950's by the advent of the newcomer, TV. Radio was omnipresent, as always, but it was listened to in the car or in teen-agers' rooms alongside their record players, in lunchrooms, service stations, and predominantly at the beach, pool, or alongside the hammock. While console sets moved slowly from dealers' shelves, the little "personal" radios went like hotcakes. The competition among the electronics designers to outwit the sleek and ingeniously miniaturized imported transistors, mainly from Japan, brought numerous innovations, ranging down to cigarette-pack size or built into portable phonographs, desk clocks, books, bottles, and model cars of vintage design.

The year saw the introduction in some half dozen of the biggest cities of "nothing but news" stations that seemed to prosper as a reaction of the maturer audience to the overwhelming presence of pop and rock music. The news awareness of the nation was certainly at a higher level than in the past.

A significant development occurred in the field of FM programming. Perhaps with a hidden desire to bring back the "good old days" of radio, and certainly in line with its mandate to guard and improve the broadcast spectrum, the FCC placed a final date on one of its regulations. It ordered that all FM stations that were merely duplicating the program of their AM parent or sister were, effective on January 1st, to cut down their duplicating to a maximum of 50 percent. Since almost all the network key stations and important stations in

the major cities had FM twins, which were 100 percent duplicates of their regular radio programs, it was plain that a good amount of new programs would have to be made available to listeners at the turn of the year. The quality of these programs, and the varied or venturesome nature of their content, remained to be seen—that is, heard.

The advent of global communications satellites brought fewer changes to television than had been predicted; the explanation seemed to be the high cost of using the satellites. However, the Communications Satellite Corporation (Comsat) announced it hoped to lower the tariffs in the new year, presumably a move that would lead to more live programming from abroad.

A new satellite was put into orbit over the Pacific late in the year, completing the network begun by the Early Bird satellite over the Atlantic; there were heady predictions that someday even wars might be carried live to viewers in the United States.

In August, the Ford Foundation made a set of satellite proposals that, if adopted, would revolutionize the television industry by greatly strengthening the network of nonprofit educational TV stations. The proposal called for building a nonprofit communications satellite system that would relay commercial TV shows across the country (the networks now use the land lines of American Telephone and Telegraph), and then use a big bite of what the networks paid for the service to help support educational TV.

There were 105 educational TV outlets in the United States in 1966, but nearly all depended on private donations for their funds, an uncertainty that kept most of them constantly in financial difficulty.

Hearings on the Ford idea were set for 1967. The plan was sure to lead to major controversy, for it would deprive both AT&T and Comsat of the bulk of their television-relay revenues.

For those not happy with anyone's TV shows—commercial or not—there were new developments in do-it-yourself TV. For about \$1,400 and up, you could buy your own home-use videotape recorders and playback machines. Colleges snapped them up for instructional purposes; professional entertainers used them to study their own stage movements. But no rush was evident among tired businessmen to go home at night, flick on the home TV system, and spend the evening watching the latest epic recorded earlier in the day by their wives and children.

## TV AND RADIO



*Above left:* *Nightmare* on the Bob Hope-Chrysler Theatre, with Julie Harris and Farley Granger in a tense drama of marriage, money, and murder. NBC.

*Center:* "Gallegher Goes West" finds cub reporter Roger Mobley on his hands and knees—and in the line of fire—just as two gunslingers are about to blast each other. From Walt Disney's "Wonderful World of Color." NBC.

*Below:* Little Joe Cartwright (Michael Landon) and his TV father, Lorne Greene, wait off-camera during the filming of an episode in the top-rated western "Bonanza." NBC.





*Left: In **Barefoot in Athens**, Peter Ustinov, as Socrates, is tended by Richard Ward as his solicitous executioner, while Anthony Quayle, as the arrogant king, and Geraldine Page, as the philosopher's shrewish wife, look on with concern. NBC.*

*Below: "I Spy" star Bill Cosby is the center of attention from cast, crew, and urchin onlookers in a narrow street in Naples. The shifting foreign locale of the series typified an increasing TV trend. NBC.*



## TV AND RADIO



*Top:* "The Honeymooners" take off on one of their chaotic trips: from the left, Jane Kean, Art Carney, Sheila MacRae, and Jackie Gleason. CBS.



*Center:* Lucille Ball tries to cajole bearlike banker Gale Gordon into cosigning a loan on "The Lucy Show." CBS.

*Bottom left:* That's Frances Bavier as Aunt Bee, laying down the law to her nephew, Sheriff Andy Taylor, in "The Andy Griffith Show." CBS.

*Bottom right:* George Segal, left, as Biff, and James Farentine as Hap listen while Willy Loman, their father, as played by Lee J. Cobb, spins his self-deluding story of success, in *Death of a Salesman*. CBS.





**Top left:** Shirley Booth as the neurotic mother tensely discusses with her son, Hal Holbrook, the plight of his sister, Barbara Loden, and her life without "gentlemen callers" in *The Glass Menagerie*. CBS.



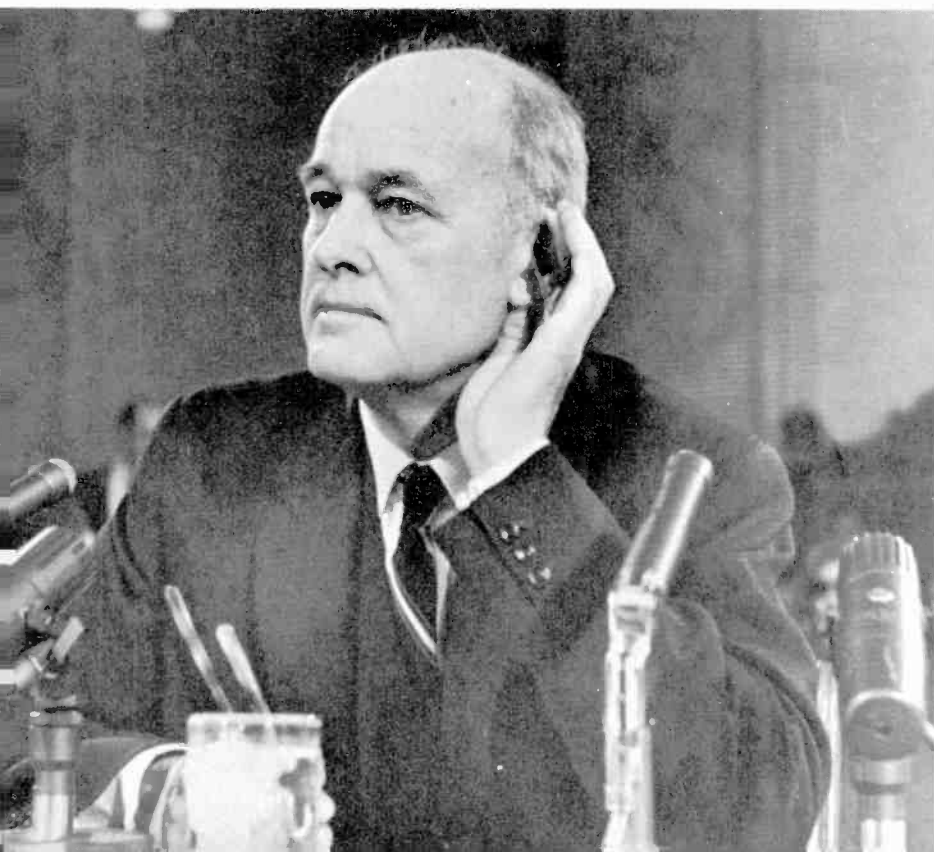
**Top right:** Elizabeth Montgomery as Samantha is almost as startled as her transfixed husband, Darrin (Dick York), at another demonstration of her powers in this scene from "Bewitched," which gives an occult twist to familiar domestic-situation comedy. ABC.



**Center:** Two great singing names gather to discuss their favorite tunes. Bing Crosby, as the evening's host, greets Ella Fitzgerald on "Hollywood Palace." ABC.



**Riding the adventure-action wave** inspired by World War II, the four commandos of the "Rat Patrol" encounter (and overcome) another enemy action in fighting Rommel's tanks in North Africa. ABC.



*Top left:* Geraldine Page and Donnie Melvin in the touching show based on Truman Capote's story "Christmas Memory." ABC.

*Top right:* William Holden, as the sailor goof-off turned commando, in *The Bridge on the River Kwai*. The TV showing of the 1957 movie set new highs for purchase price and audience. ABC.

*Center:* Faithful viewers: a family in Africa settles around the set for "Bonanza," the most popular United States-produced program abroad. The program's weekly audience was set at 350 million persons in seventy countries. NBC.

*Left:* Former Ambassador to Russia George Kennan cups an ear to catch a question at the Foreign Relations Committee hearing. A decision not to carry these sessions live prompted the resignation of Fred Friendly as president of CBS News.



*Left:* A leading talk jockey, Brad Crandall of WNBC, New York, trades punches with a listener who has called in. The nation's local radio stations were filled with this new breed of performers, ranging from polite and urbane to purposefully abusive. WNBC.

*Below:* Among the year's developments was an early example of a long-promised electronic device: the home video tape recorder. This model can record TV shots in the home or off the air for instant playback. Educational institutions have found new applications for this device.





A familiar cluster in American life: teen-agers in curlers, a bowl of sweets, soda pop, and a portable radio.





Limbs stretching, muscles taut, Koufax, away in late season, winds up with a fireball for the Phillies' batter. By now, Sandy, bedeviled by an ailing arm and arthritis, was already thinking of retirement.

## 25. Sports

THE AMERICAN SPORTS SCENE in 1966 saw old records broken; the once invincible New York Yankees fell to the American League cellar; Cassius Clay continued to dominate the boxing world; and Sandy Koufax retired at the end of a great season from the game where he had made his mark. Suffering from arthritis, and with an ailing and painful arm, he made an outstanding contribution to the pennant drive of the Los Angeles Dodgers in the National League, and then, still at the height of his popularity and success, announced his retirement. This came at the end of a great season, with 27 wins, 317 strikeouts, and an ERA of only 1.73!

The Baltimore Orioles made a shambles of the American League pennant race, and then proceeded to win four straight from the Los Angeles Dodgers to become World Series champions. Frank Robinson, hitting, home-run, and RBI champ for the League, was the hero for the Orioles; he had only this season joined Baltimore from Cincinnati, and became the first man to win the Most Valuable Player Award in both leagues, and the first to win the triple crown in the League since Mickey Mantle accomplished the feat.

The New York Mets climbed to ninth place, one notch above the cellar, for the first time in their history, while over in the other league, the cellar position was taken by the Yankees, for the first time in more than half a century.

There was one no-hitter pitched in 1966; the feat was accomplished by Sonny Siebert of Cleveland. The Alou brothers, Matty of Pittsburgh and Felipe of Atlanta, finished in one-two position in the batting averages, hitting .342 and .327, respectively. The National League's MVP went to Roberto Clemente, while Willie Mays continued to be a home-run slugger, having amassed, by the end of the season, a lifetime total in the majors of 542; but the outlook that he will ever surpass Babe Ruth (the only man ahead of him) is remote, for Ruth had 714.

Two new members were added to Baseball's Hall of Fame, Ted Williams and Casey Stengel. The Milwaukee Braves became the Atlanta Braves, and this touched off a court battle that the Atlanta forces won, and a former Air Force general, William Eckert, became the new Commissioner of Baseball.

There were 25 million paying customers for baseball.

There are two footballs, professional and college, and there are two professional footballs: the National and the American Football leagues. Long in dispute and in competition with each other for college players, they entered into a truce that is destined soon to lead to merger.

Still playing as separate leagues, in the National, Green Bay had no difficulty winning the Western Conference, ending the season with a record of 12 won, 2 lost. In the Eastern Conference, Dallas came out on top, with a 10-3-1 record, while the New York Giants, emulating what the Yankees had done in baseball, easily captured the cellar position, with 1 win, 12 losses, 1 tie. Over in the American League, Buffalo and Kansas City were respective winners of the Eastern and Western divisions.

Attendance continued to grow in the two leagues, with a total for both of 7½ million. Most Valuable Player awards went to Bart Starr, quarterback of the Green Bay Packers, in the NFL, and Len Dawson, playing the same position for the Kansas City Chiefs of the AFL. Jim Brown, a dominant figure in the sport for almost a decade, retired at the beginning of the year.

College football had one of its most exciting moments when Notre Dame met Michigan State. Before a crowd of more than 80,000 persons, and a television audience estimated to have run as high as 33 million, Michigan State took a 10-0 lead, and when Notre Dame tied the game and froze the ball, it ended in a tie.

Notre Dame and Michigan State were given ranks of one and two, followed by Alabama, who alone among major schools was undefeated and untied for the season. After these teams, coaches' polls and writers' polls placed Georgia, UCLA, Purdue, Nebraska, Georgia Tech, Southern Methodist, and Miami (Florida).

In the annual classic, played before a crowd of 100,000, Army overwhelmed Navy, 21-7. The Big Ten championship was won by Michigan State, and the Big Eight by Nebraska, while the Southern Conference honors were shared by Alabama and Georgia. The Ivy League saw its first triple tie in history, with Dartmouth, Princeton, and Harvard all finishing on top.

At the end of the year, interest was centered on the bowl games: Purdue against Southern California in the Rose Bowl, Southern Methodist and Georgia in the Cotton Bowl, Alabama and Nebraska in the Sugar Bowl, Georgia Tech facing Florida in the Orange Bowl, and there were other bowls as well—the Gator Bowl, the Bluebonnet Bowl, the Liberty Bowl.

It was Cassius Clay, or Muhammad Ali, in boxing, and at the end of the year no serious challengers were in sight, except the Draft Board. After defeating George Chuvalo in Toronto (in a bout originally scheduled against Ernie Terrell, who ducked out of the battle), Clay went on a European tour. In quick succession, he scored a knockout against Henry Cooper in London, then another knockout against Brian London, followed by a technical KO of the German Karl Millendenberger. Returning to the United States with far greater popularity than when he had left it, Clay knocked out Cleveland Williams in the third round, and the few people who still recognized Ernie Terrell as champion had little popular backing.

A few titles changed hands during the year. Emile Griffith defeated Dick Tiger for the middleweight championship, and upon acquiring that title, relinquished the welterweight crown, which was then taken over by Curtis Cokes. Dick Tiger of Nigeria, in the meanwhile, having lost the middleweight crown to Griffith, now put on a few pounds and defeated José Torres to head the light-heavyweight division.

Boxing was faced with two great problems as the year closed: pressure against the sport because of its brutality, and the confrontation between Cassius Clay and the Draft Board.

College basketball had its upset in the Texas Western team, which went through a 23-game winning streak, lost one regular season game, and then defeated Kentucky in the National Collegiate Athletic Association final, by a score of 72-65. In the National Invitation Tournament, on the other hand, the favored Brigham Young toppled New York University, 97-84. Top scorers and other heroes of the season included Dave Schellhase of Purdue, Cazzie Russell of Michigan, Clyde Lee

of Vanderbilt, and Dave Bing of Syracuse. But coaches and fans alike were watching with interest a New Yorker, Lew Alcindor, who joined the UCLA varsity team and in his first game scored 56 points. Height? Alcindor is just a shade under 7 feet 1½ inches, and it is not certain whether he is still a growing boy.

Turning to the professional scene, it was again the Boston Celtics who won the National Basketball Association title, for the eighth time in a row. Red Auerbach, for many years the Celtic's coach, moved into an executive position with the team, and Bill Russell became player-coach. He was the first Negro to be head coach (the equivalent of manager of a major-league team in any American sport).

The dominant player in the majors was Wilt Chamberlain, who led the Philadelphia 76ers on an end-of-season spurt that brought it into first place, only to be defeated by the Celtics in the playoffs, the latter winning four of five. The Celtics nosed out the Los Angeles Lakers, winning the championship by a single basket. Like the Yankees in baseball and the Giants in football, the New York team, the Knickerbockers, ended up in last place in the Eastern Division. It was the seventh consecutive year that the Knicks had had the cellar to themselves (although their won-lost record was better than that of Detroit, in the Western Division, but the Knicks' Cazzie Russell, whom they obtained in the draft, gave new hope to their discouraged fans. With the Michigan star signed up, the cry was, "Wait till next year."

World records fell in track and field, but none more dramatic than when Jim Ryun ran the mile in 3:51.3 at the All American meet in Berkeley, California, on July 17, shaving 2.3 seconds from the mark held by Michel Jazy. This was Ryun's greatest, but not his only, triumph, for during the year he established a half-mile world record of 1:44.9, and American records for distances ranging from 800 meters to 2 miles.

In shorter distance runs, new world records were set by Tommie Smith, including 19.5 seconds for 200 meters.

World pole-vault records were smashed, both for indoor and outdoor, the former going to Bob Seagren (17 feet ¾ inch) and the latter to John Pennel (17 feet 6¼ inches). World decathlon records were likewise broken, by Russ Hodge and Bill Toomey.

A meet scheduled to take place in Los Angeles in July, with the track team of the Soviet Union facing that of the United States, was canceled. The Russians claimed that the cancellation was in protest against American fighting in Vietnam; some Americans countered that the Russians had a weak team, and did not want to face a sure loss.

The Montreal Canadiens again won the 1966 National Hockey League championship, defeating the Detroit Red Wings in the playoff for the Stanley Cup. The

New York Rangers, like several other New York teams, had undisputed possession of the cellar. The outstanding player of the year was Bobby Hull, left wing for the Chicago Black Hawks, who set a record by scoring 54 goals in one season.

At the end of the year, the new 1966-1967 season was halfway over, and the New York Rangers, with a new head coach, were in the lead. The National Hockey League was preparing a major expansion in the 1967-1968 season, with six new teams entering the field.

Australia continued to dominate the international amateur tennis scene, winning the Davis Cup and monopolizing the United States championship matches at Forest Hills.

In the Davis Cup eliminations, the United States lost to a strong team from Brazil, and the latter was then eliminated by India.

At Wimbledon, the best American hope, Dennis Ralston, was defeated in the quarter-finals by Spain's Manuel Santana, and Santana went on to win the coveted title, defeating the Australian Owen Davidson. Santana, however, fared less favorably in the United States play at Forest Hills, where he lost in the semifinals to the Australian John Newcombe. In one of tennis's major upsets, Fred Stolle, another Australian, defeated his fellow countryman Roy Emerson by the crushing score of 6-4, 6-1, 6-1, and then Stolle went on to win the crown.

Tennis did have its happy moment for the United States in the person of Mrs. Billie Jean King, who won the Wimbledon title and contributed to American victory for the Wightman Cup. At Wimbledon, Mrs. King decisively defeated Maria Bueno of Brazil; Miss Bueno, however, again won the women's title at Forest Hills.

In skiing, France was the unquestioned champion, winning 12 out of 18 medals at the world championships held in Portillo, Chile. Any small hope that America would shine was shattered when the star of the American team, Billy Kidd, fractured his leg in practice. The best American performer was a sixteen-year-old girl from Bishop, California, Penny McCoy, who took third place in the special slalom.

Soccer was gaining ground in the United States, where numerous colleges were putting teams on the field, but abroad it continued to be a major sport. For the first time, England won the World Cup, meting out a defeat to West Germany, 4-2. A soccer game in New York attracted a crowd of more than 40,000.

In golf, Billy Casper emerged as the biggest money winner, trailed by Jack Nicklaus, each going over the \$100,000 mark. Casper won the United States open, and was named Player of the Year by the Professional

Golfers' Association; Arnold Palmer won the Los Angeles Open and several other tournaments, and came within a breath of the United States Open; and Nicklaus won the Augusta Masters and the British Open.

Horse racing: The Kentucky Derby and the Preakness were both won by Kauai King, but the outstanding horse of the year was Buckpasser, who won the Everglades and the Flamingo, was unable to compete in the Derby, broke the one-mile record, and earned over \$1,200,000.

Harness racing grew in popularity, with attendance going over the 23 million mark, and betting at the tracks over \$1,500,000,000. Bret Hanover was voted the outstanding harness horse of the year.

In auto racing, it was Mario Andretti who won the United States Auto Club championship; Jack Brabham of Australia took major racing victories in Europe and won the World Road Racing title; while Graham Hill, an English driver, won the Indianapolis 500-mile race. Thirty-three autos were entered in the Indianapolis race, and 14 of them were in a single accident on the first lap.

Harvard had no peer in the field of rowing, easily defeating Yale and all other competitors, and then traveling to England to win the Thames Challenge Cup.

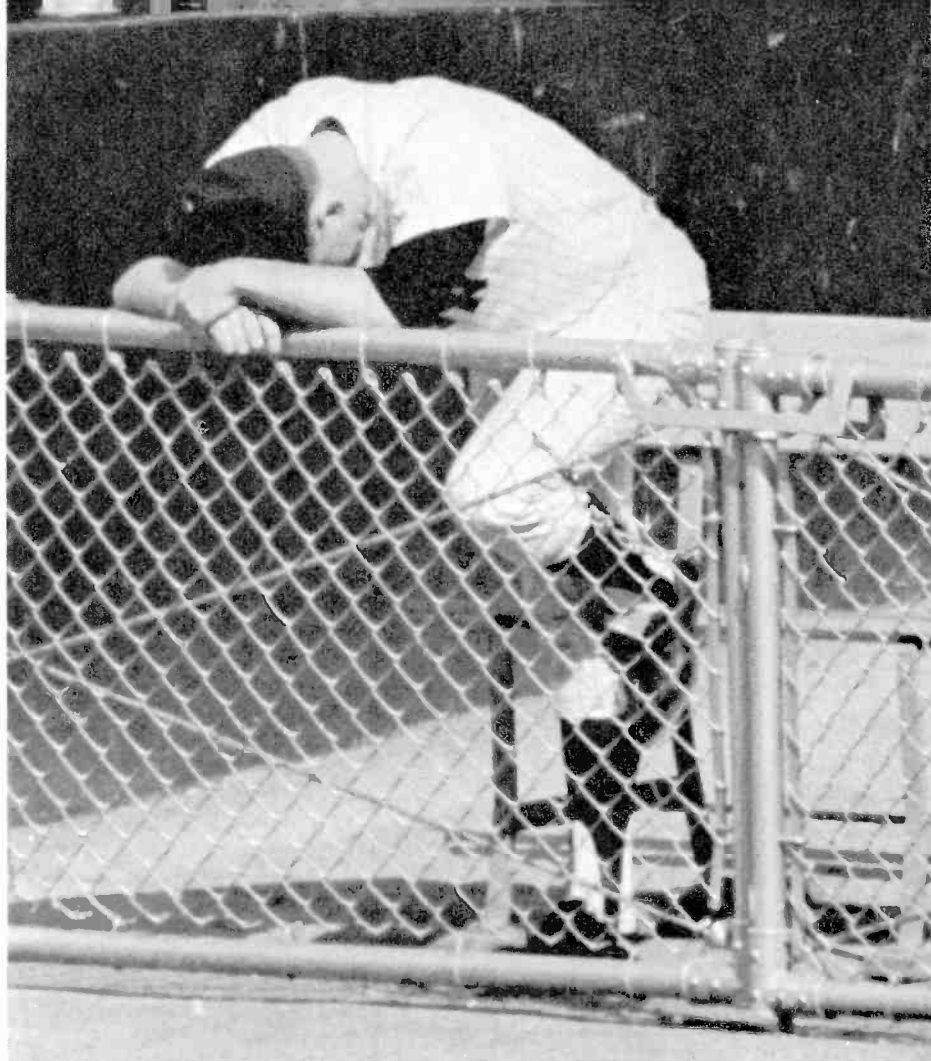
In swimming, it was mainly a year of broken records. More than half of all world records in swimming were broken, some more than once. Don Schollander of Yale was an individual triple winner at the AAU national outdoor championships, where he took five gold medals, and he was victorious in two events when the United States met and defeated Russia in Moscow. Charles Hickock of Indiana University also took two first places in Moscow, and among his other honors took six gold medals at Mexico City's Little Olympics.

Nor does this begin to exhaust events in many games, sports, and leisure activities that have their fanatical followers and outstanding performers. Fencing, cycling, curling, softball, squash, tennis, badminton, billiards, bowling, roller skating, and ice skating—all had their moments of excitement. For many, bridge, chess, and checkers are sports, and for others tiddledywinks is not to be excluded.

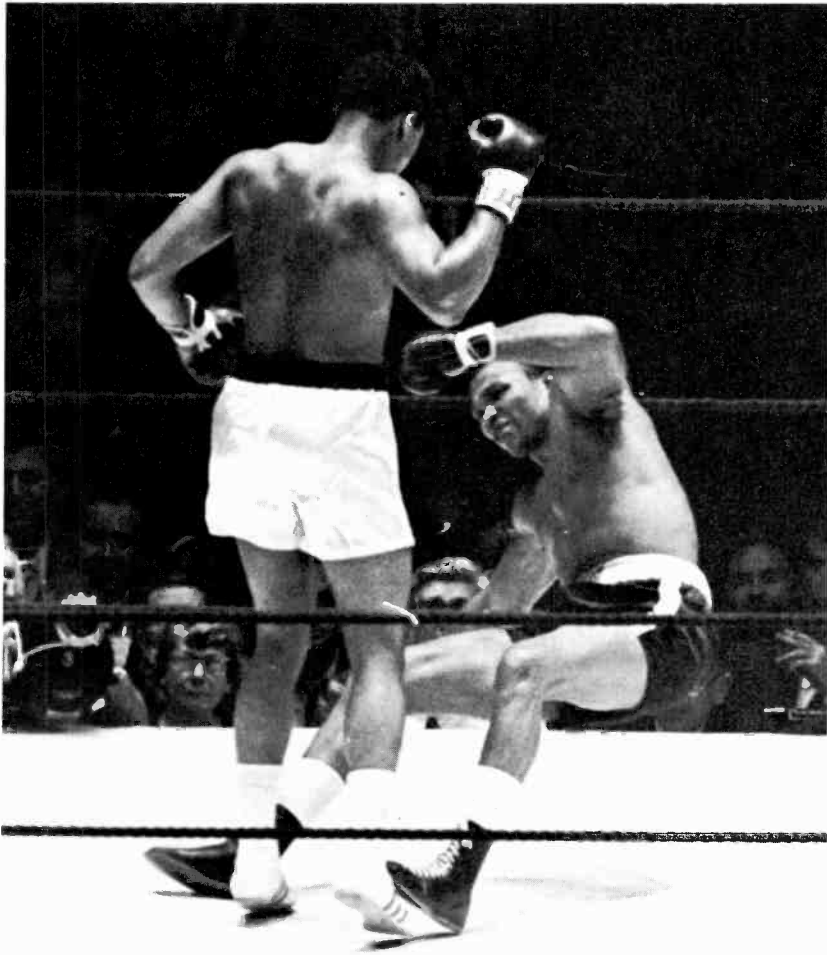
In America, there were more people watching more events in more cities than ever before. They watched in person and on television; they cheered new heroes and old ones; and marked new records in the books. But no one suggested that any of these records would last very long.

*Right:* Yankee pitcher Whitey Ford drops his head on the stadium fence after the Cleveland Indians take the game. The Yankees wound up in tenth place—below the New York Mets, who had zoomed to ninth.

*Below:* Baseman turns birdman as third-sacker Brooks Robinson of the Baltimore Orioles flies across Memorial Stadium infield to congratulate pitcher Dave McNally and catcher Andy Etchebarren after the final out of the World Series. The Orioles swept the Dodgers four straight.

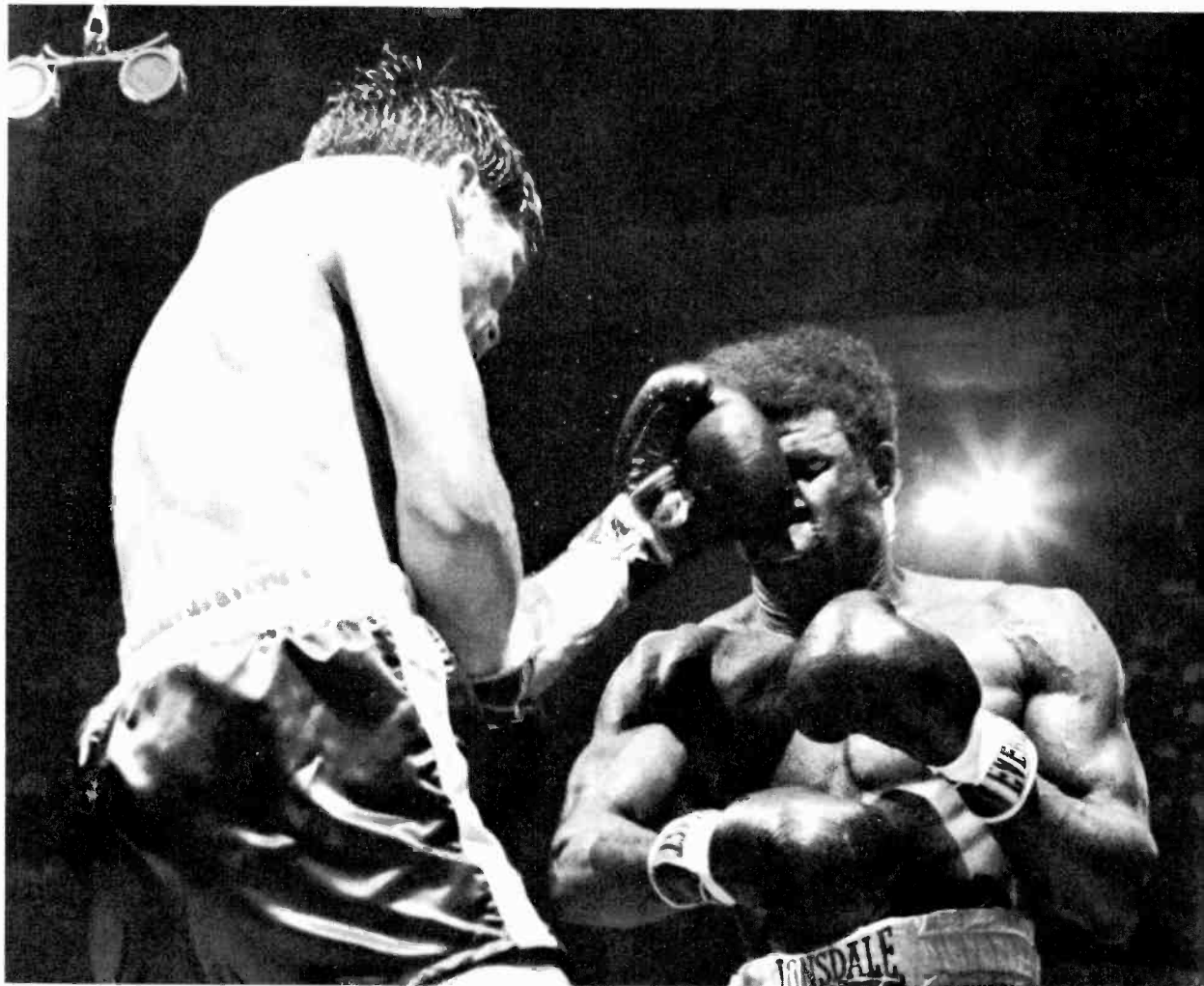


## SPORTS



*Left:* Cleveland "Cat" Williams goes down for the third time in the second round in his championship Houston go with Clay. In the next round Williams went down to stay, earlier than many expected.

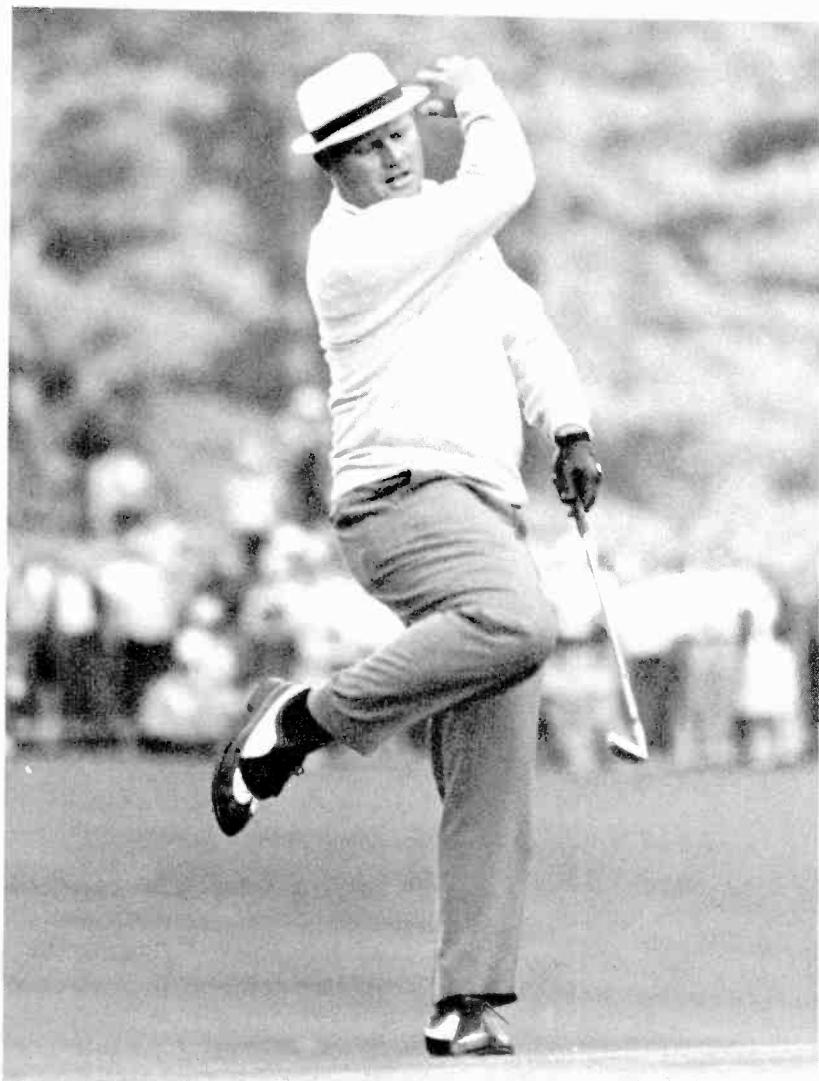
*Below:* Challenger Joey Archer drives a jarring left to the head of middleweight champion Emile Griffith in their title fight in Madison Square Garden. At the end of fifteen awesome rounds of boxing skill, human endurance and, at times, near-savagery, the nod went to Griffith.





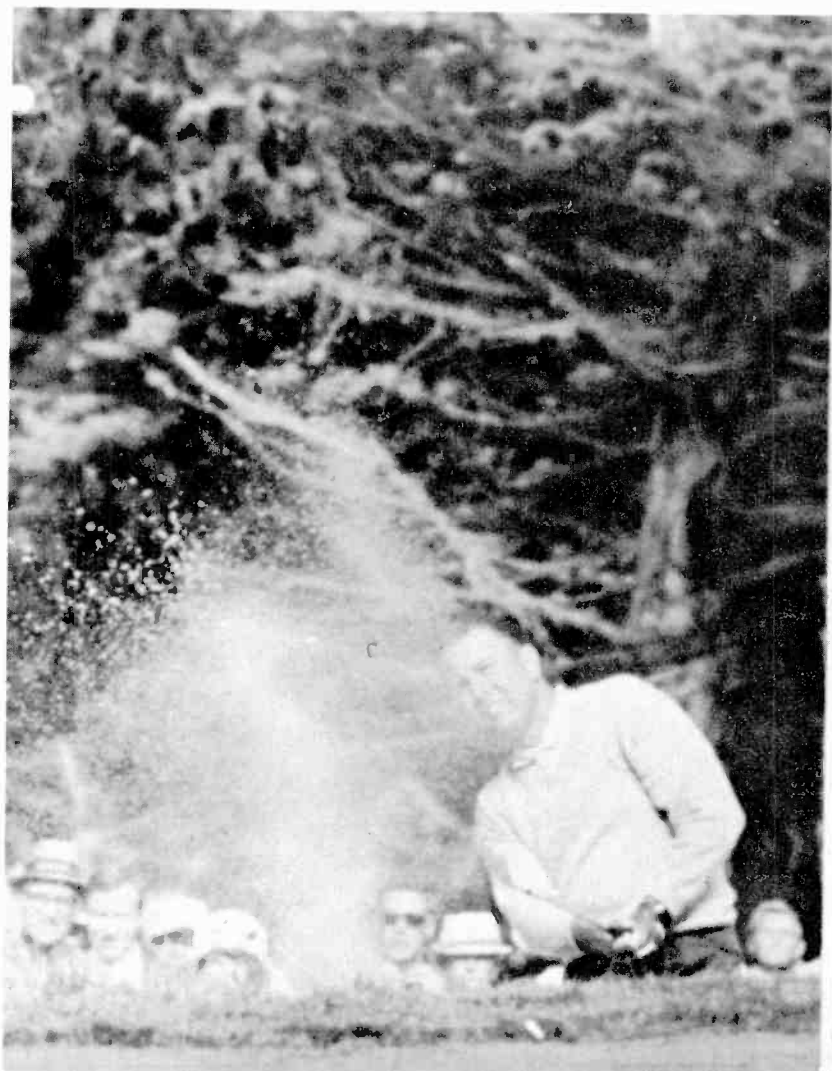
Canadian heavyweight George Chuvalo was caught with a hard right by Cassius Clay in their Toronto title bout, which was won by Clay, unanimously. Rugged, game, Chuvalo enjoyed a moral victory; he wasn't knocked out.

## SPORTS

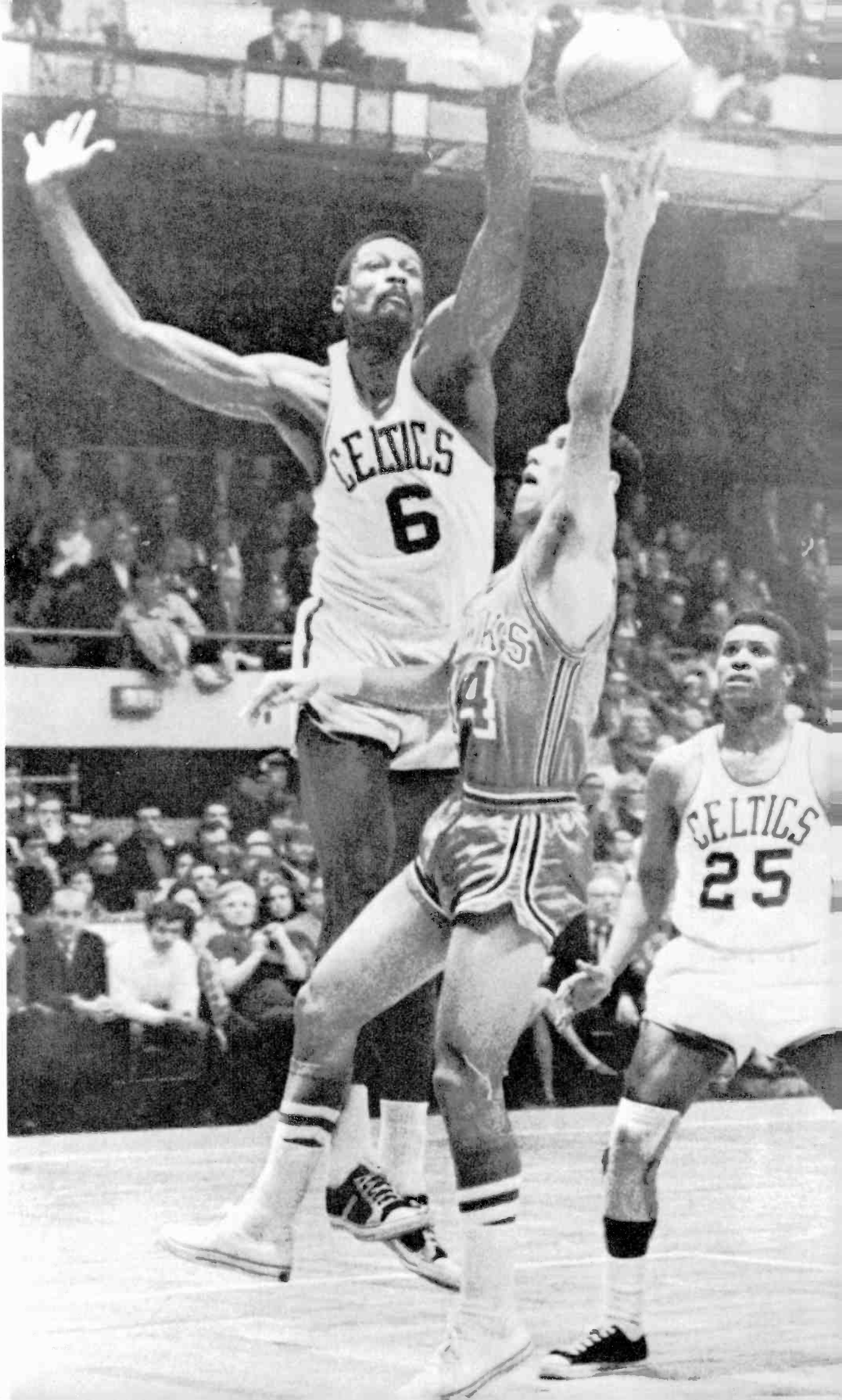


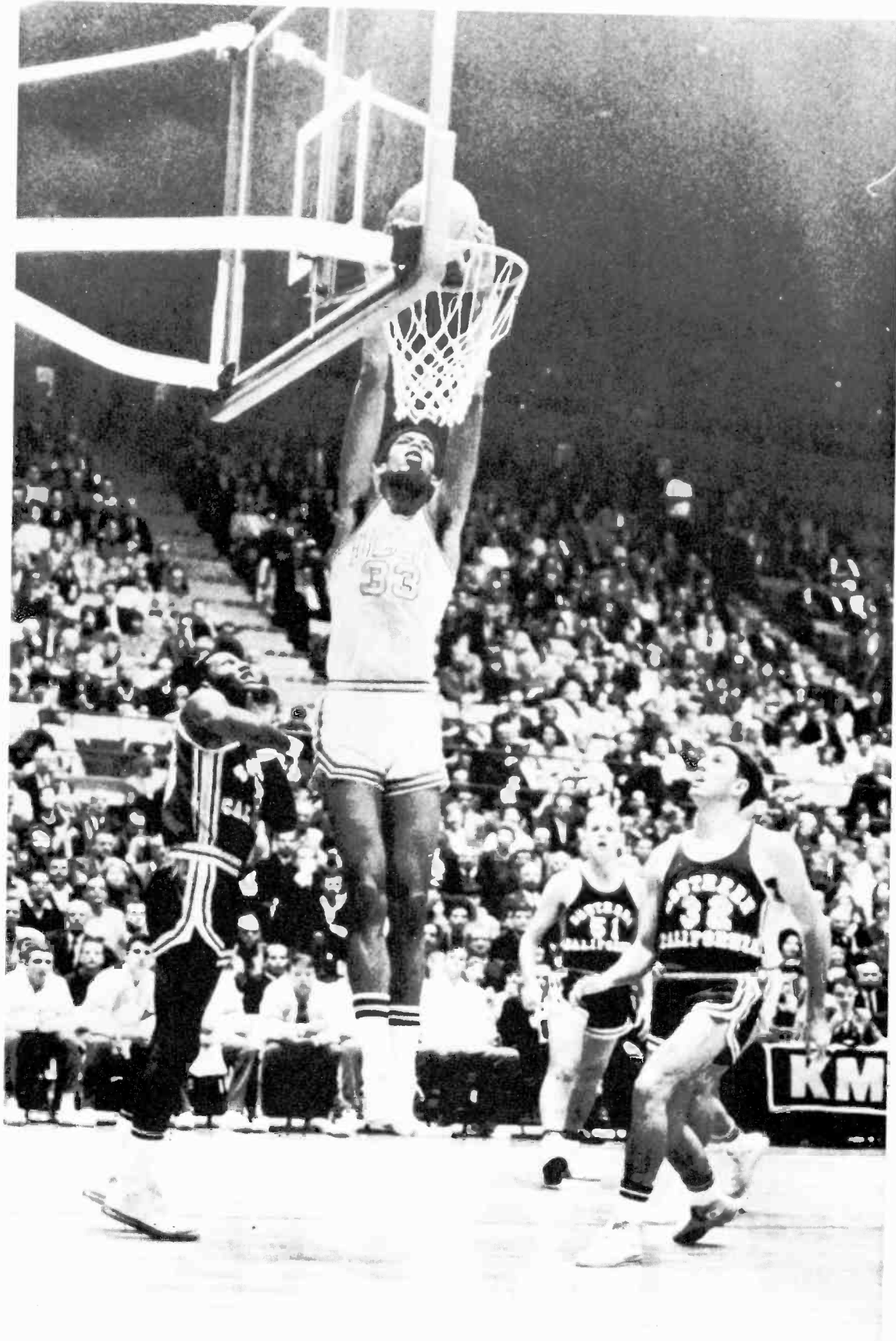
*Left:* Jack Nicklaus whirls in a flamenco-like spin as he birdies the fifteenth hole at the Augusta Masters. He went on to win that championship, and more than \$100,000 for the year.

*Below:* Billy Casper whaps one out of the trap (left) at the seventeenth hole of the United States Open, then raises his club in ecstasy as the ball trickles in for a birdie. Casper took the Open.



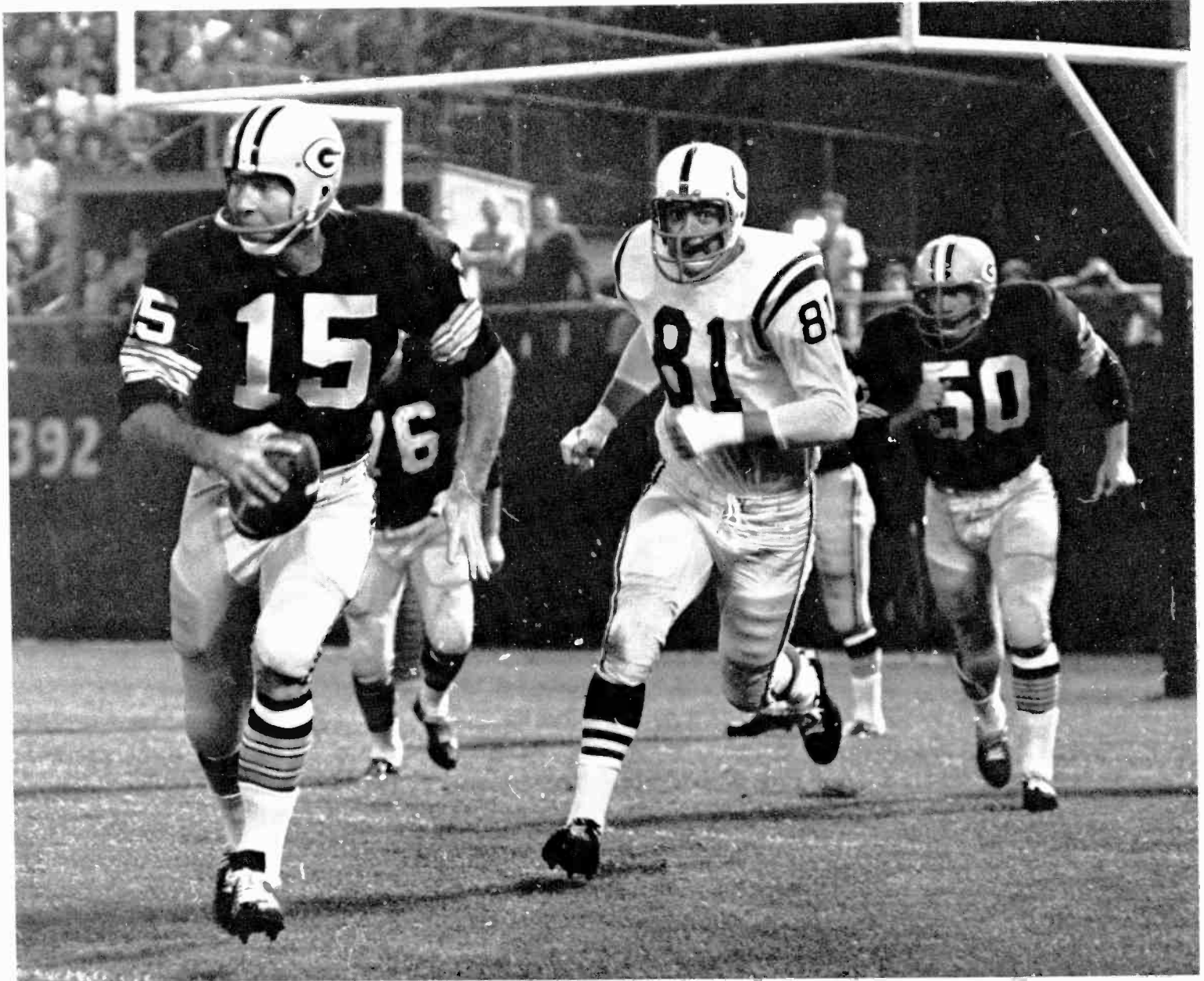






For Lew Alcindor—just a whisker under 7 feet-1½ inches tall—the basket is just a little hop up. His first game out, the UCLA sophomore scored 56 points.

**Bill Russell** of the Boston Celtics taps rebound from Len Wilkins of the St. Louis Hawks in a game at Boston. Later Russell became a player-coach.



**Quarterback Bart Starr of the Green Bay Packers, unable to pick up his receiver, decides to make a run for it—but Ordell Braase of the Baltimore Colts is moving in. Starr did pick up one thing before the season ended: a Most Valuable Player award.**



*Left:* John Pennel cries out in frustration and dismay as he ticks the crossbar in an effort to clear 17 feet in indoor-jump pole-vault competition. Later, in the outdoor jump, Pennel set a world record of 17 feet 6¼ inches.

*Right:* Jim Ryun of Kansas, running in the National AAU Championships, in June in New York, sets a local record for the mile: 3:58.6. One month later, on the West Coast, Ryun shaved this mark by over seven seconds.



Why hockey is sometimes indistinguishable from boxing and wrestling is illustrated by Bobby Hull of the Chicago Black Hawks, right, in the beginning of a scrap with Gary Bergman of the visiting Detroit Red Wings.

## SPORTS



*Above:* A lot of horse—fast horse: Kauai King with his rider, Donald Brumfield, in the winner's circle at the Preakness at Pimlico two weeks after his Derby win.

*Right:* The Ninety-second Kentucky Derby: Kauai King (right) first; Advocate (center), second; and Blue Skyer, third. The King as favorite took down a \$120,500 purse.

*Below:* Flying tires, screeching rubber, and careening racers pile up on the first lap of the Indianapolis 500 in this unique photo of a fourteen-car chain-reaction crash. Eleven cars were forced out, but there were no fatalities.





*Left:* So long from Sandy . . . Arthritis in his pitching arm has finally got the better of him, Koufax tells a Los Angeles news conference in November, so he is asking the Dodgers to retire him. Alongside is his attorney, Bill Hayes.

*Below:* Charles Dillon Stengel, right, and Theodore Samuel Williams—Manager Casey and Slugger Ted—stand proudly with their plaques as they are inducted into Baseball's Hall of Fame at Cooperstown, New York.





*Sandy Koufax, from Brooklyn, New York, began his spectacular career with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1955. During his dozen years as a Major League pitcher he achieved outstanding records on the field and received most of the major baseball awards. When arthritis forced his retirement, at the close of the year, he began a new career with NBC as a sportscaster.*

## Big Year

### *Sandy Koufax*

NBC Sportscaster

IT WAS AN EXCITING AND IMPORTANT year in the world of sports, and I followed the events not only as a participant who had been part of the baseball scene for a dozen years but also as one of the millions of enthusiastic sports fans in America. Attendance figures rose in many sports to points higher than they had ever reached before; new heroes came on the scene, and some old ones continued to win the plaudits of their followers; so many records were broken that it was difficult to find record books that were still up to date by the time they were published.

Baseball was of course my all-consuming interest, but a few words about important events in some other sports.

With millions attending baseball and football games, going to the track and jamming sports gardens to watch basketball and hockey, America is as much a sports-minded nation as any in the world. There are little leagues and school teams, professionals and amateurs, people glued to television sets, to the point where sports activities constitute a major interest not only for the youth but also for the entire populace. Women follow the games almost as much as do their husbands, and the end is not in sight. Side by side with the tremendous spectator interest, there have grown participation sports, with great increases in skiing, mountain climbing, and many others.

There was the historic merger of the National and American Football leagues that resulted in the playing of the first professional football championship game between the Green Bay Packers of the NFL and the Kansas City Chiefs of the AFL. Anyone, sports fan or not, who

came within twenty-five feet of a television set or a newspaper knew that the first Super Bowl game was to be played and televised by two networks on January 15th of this year. Kansas City surprised a lot of people by staying close to the powerful Packers for the first half, but at the final gun the might of the Green Bay team had asserted itself and the Chiefs wound up on the short end of a 35-10 score. The cry, however, among the followers of the newer professional league was one I had heard during the days the Dodgers were from Brooklyn—wait until next year.

Other eventful happenings during the year: Buck-passer earned a million dollars as a three-year-old thoroughbred; Bill Russell became the first Negro coach of a major sports team—the Boston Celtics of the National Basketball Association; jockey Johnny Longden, a grandfather, quit racing horses after riding his 6,032nd winner, in the San Juan Capistrano Handicap at Santa Anita; Cleveland fullback Jimmy Brown, the greatest in pro football, left the gridiron for a movie career; Jim Ryun set a new mile record of 3:51.3; Cassius Clay defended his world heavyweight boxing title five times; Billy Casper became golf's leading money winner with a total of \$145,723. In college football Notre Dame and Michigan State battled to a 10-10 tie in what the experts called the game of the decade.

In the World Series the Baltimore Orioles beat the Los Angeles Dodgers in four straight games. Four straight games—and in three the Dodgers were not permitted a run. The experts said the Orioles did not have good pitching, but manager Hank Bauer could not have had better pitching than that given him by Dave McNally, Moe Drabowsky, Jim Palmer, and Wally Bunker. The Baltimore win restored some prestige to the American League, which had seen its pennant winners fall to the National League in three previous World Series. If there was any consolation for the Dodgers or the National League, it might have come from the fact that two former NL players—Frank Robinson and Moe Drabowsky—were the determining factors in the Baltimore sweep.

Robinson, slugging outfielder obtained in a deal with the Cincinnati Reds, started and finished the Series scoring with home runs. Drabowsky was the lone relief pitcher used by the Orioles, and his contribution was of such importance that Manager Bauer said, "The turning point in this Series was when Drabowsky came in to shut the door on the Dodgers in the opener."

The Orioles had coasted to the American League pennant while the Dodgers, in typical National League fashion, did not win their league championship until the final game of the season.

It is my belief that the pennant race has a lot to do with how a club plays in the World Series. If a team has to go to the last two games of the season to win a pennant, it inadvertently lets down a little in the World Series. Ideally, in my opinion, a team would wrap up its league championship about five days before the sea-



son ends. Then it would still be at its peak while girding for the tussle with the other league.

Winning the race more than two weeks before the end of the schedule is not good, either, because a ball club could get stale waiting for the Series. Of course, that theory was shattered last year when the Orioles won so handily and then handed the Dodgers a 4-0 licking. But they clicked on all fronts. The pitching they were not supposed to have was superb, and together with their timely hitting and slick fielding (they did not make an error in four games) they just overpowered us.

Looking toward the future, I believe Baltimore has a good chance to win again if the pitching is as good as it was in the World Series. There is no question the Orioles are a great club as far as the rest of it is concerned.

In the National League, I think Pittsburgh and San Francisco have the outstanding ball clubs. Maury Wills, now with the Pirates, would help any team he plays for. He's got a winning attitude. The Dodgers are a lot better than most people think. If they play well together, they're going to win a lot of baseball games. There's always a feeling of confidence among the Dodgers players—most of them are used to being on a winning team.

Throughout the 1966 National League pennant race it seemed that none of the contending clubs wanted to win the championship. The Dodgers, Giants, or Pirates would lose two or three games in a row whenever there was the opportunity to surge out in front. But in the last two weeks they all played up to their potential, and the Dodgers were fortunate enough to eke out the pennant victory.

Baseball, overall, had a great year. Reports that the game was slipping were greatly exaggerated, it turned out. Combined attendance for the two leagues reached 25,132,209, an all-time record, and the people at NBC tell me the ratings on the weekly baseball telecasts averaged 58 percent higher than the year before.

Another factor, I think, is the very fact that we do not have one or two teams dominating the game, winning the pennant year in and year out. Whenever a team gets so strong that its winning a championship becomes a foregone conclusion, attendance will suffer.

Sports, in general, it seems to me, is getting better all the time from the viewpoint of the participants and the people who run the games and tournaments. Attendances are high, and the earnings of the professional athletes are keeping pace with the increased interest in the games.

I don't foresee any noticeable change in the scheduling and makeup of our national pastime, although I do think there will probably be expansion in the next two years. It stands to reason, from a business standpoint, that the American League has to get another ball club on the West Coast to create a natural rivalry for the California Angels such as the one enjoyed by the National League between the Dodgers and San Francisco Giants.

Who were the sports heroes of 1966? They are too numerous to mention, but each fan will have his favorite, based on the sport for which he has the greatest affection. I have already mentioned several of the great baseball figures, and the fans should not soon forget Frank Robinson, with his triple crown; the Alou brothers, Willie Mays, who continues to knock out the four-baggers, and others. I would want Cassius Clay, Jim Ryun, Wilt Chamberlain, Bill Russell, and Bobby Hull put into any gallery of the year's greats. As for picking the sports figure of the year, I don't know how writers can compare a tennis player with a great center for a basketball team. And whether it's a popularity contest or a genuine battle, I don't relish the idea of Wilt Chamberlain and Cassius Clay in one ring.

My retirement from baseball got an awful lot of attention in 1966—more attention than it deserved. Maybe I did quit a year too early—it's possible I could have had another fair season—but from my standpoint it's better than finding out that I quit a year too late.

I've been told by medical men that the arthritic condition in my left arm will not get better, and the unnatural act of throwing a baseball as hard as possible might hasten its disability by as much as fifteen years. People just don't go about beating their thumbs with a hammer.



**Yale's Don Schollander knifes through the pool near the finish line of the 400-meter freestyle race in the National AAU championships at Lincoln, Nebraska. The Olympic champ set a new world's record: 4:11.6.**



An artificial heart pump is being implanted in a patient by Dr. Michael De Bakey, left, of Baylor University in Texas, an operation which the scientific world hails as a breakthrough in treating heart ailments. This was the third such attempt to implant a heart pump—and until then the only successful one.

## 26. Medicine and Science

THE MAJOR NEWS OF THE YEAR in medicine was in the field of public health.

A long-disputed federally sponsored program of health care for the aged finally went into effect.

The program, known informally as Medicare, started off smoothly. There was no sudden overcrowding of hospitals, as some people had feared.

As the program went into operation, the United States Surgeon General, Dr. William Stewart, reported that 94 percent of the nation's general hospitals, containing 95.9 percent of all hospital beds suitable for Medicare patients, were in compliance with laws governing hospital standards and provisions against discrimination. President Johnson said: "More extensive preparation [had been made] to launch this program than for any other peaceful undertaking in our nation's history."

Medicare is a federally financed system of paying health-care bills. Its two major features are: (1) the hospital insurance program, primarily to pay the cost of hospital care, and (2) the voluntary insurance program to pay doctor bills.

In November, Americans were made acutely aware of air pollution, the target of heightened local, state, and federal government attacks in recent years. A layer of warm air in the atmosphere caused a phenomenon called "inversion," in which the lower air was trapped in a stagnant pocket—along with sulfur, carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide, and other poisons. The worst day was Thanksgiving, when a thick smog settled over many parts of the eastern seaboard. Millions of persons suffered discomfort, such as smarting eyes and rasping throats. But for some people, the situation was more dangerous. Hospitals reported an increase in emergency admissions of patients suffering from asthma and other chronic lung conditions. On the weekend following Thanksgiving, a cool breeze swept away most of the smog, but the relief came only after a dramatic reminder of a need for action on the air pollution problem.

Public health officials continued their attack on smoking with new sets of figures, backed up by findings of cancer groups. The U.S. Public Health Service reported in March that, based on a year's study of 42,000 American families, there were 12 million more chronic ailments among adult Americans than there would have been if they didn't smoke. In November the Service reported that the mortality rate from lung cancer had continued upward during the two years 1962-1964.

In the first broad-based study of smoking and women, the American Cancer Society found the death rate of heavy (two packs or more a day) smokers in women aged forty-five to fifty-five was double that of nonsmokers, for men in the same age group it was almost four times. Reasons for the difference, said the report: women started smoking later than men, smoked fewer cigarettes per day, and inhaled less deeply. Other reports all agreed that despite antismoking campaigns and package labeling there was little reduction in smoking. The U.S. Department of Agriculture estimated that Americans were currently smoking at the average rate of 215 packs per year, a rate exceeded only by the 1963 rate of 217 packs. This worked out to 12 cigarettes per day for everyone over sixteen in the land. The U.S. Surgeon General's famed report, considered the starting point of official action on smoking dangers, was released in January 1964.

In the medical regulatory field, the federal government began taking a more hardheaded attitude. Behind the new push was Dr. James Lee Goddard, who became commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration in January. The energetic new commissioner reshaped FDA, streamlined its methods, updated the testing of drugs for safety and efficacy, and quickly won a reputation as a controversial champion of the consumer and patient. He sought new legislation to protect the consumer; he attacked some activities of the drug industry, including its advertising techniques.

In another medical area of widespread public interest, oral contraceptives, commonly called "the pill," news was made by a government report. In August, just six years after the pill was first marketed in the United States, a federally sponsored committee of medical experts reported that they could find no evidence that their use, even over extended periods, was unsafe. The following month a Public Health Service report, based on a study of some 5,000 married women under forty-five, found that birth control pills were being used by 15 percent of all married women under forty-five and one-third of those aged twenty to twenty-four; among white, non-Catholic college graduates of this young group 85 percent had used them or planned to. Among Roman Catholic wives 15 percent used them "to regulate fertility" compared with 25 percent of non-Catholics. Use among Catholic wives was highest in the below-thirty age group.

Paralleling, and probably influencing these findings was the repeal of the last state law forbidding circulation of birth control information, when Massachusetts dropped its ban in May. The repeal had been aided by the liberalized views of Cardinal Cushing of Boston. In 1965, when the new law was being discussed he had spoken of his sympathy for people "who are having problems with large families and are worried sick about the church's teachings. I'm praying all these problems will be settled by the Vatican commission's report (see Chapter 18, RELIGION).

Government took action in another area which had mushroomed suddenly into public awareness: the hallucinatory drugs, psilocybin, a mushroom extract; mescaline, from the peyote cactus; and especially lysergic acid diethylamide or LSD. Food and Drug Administrator Dr. James Goddard sent a letter to the nation's colleges and universities warning of the widespread availability of the drugs on campuses and the extreme hazards of their use, and asked for laboratory inspections and other protections. Sandoz Pharmaceuticals, the Swiss-based firm whose Dr. Albert Hoffman accidentally discovered LSD in 1938, as sole United States distributor, recalled it from the market.

The varied areas of medical practice produced outstanding developments in two fields, heart surgery and cancer. During the year, a National Heart Institute study predicted that a workable artificial heart can be developed within the next ten years, if present research programs are adequately supported. There already are devices to control the pace of the heartbeat; there are artificial heart valves and tubing to replace arteries leading to the heart; surgeons are able to open the heart to repair its walls; the pumping of the heart can be taken over by a heart-lung machine while repairs are being made. Furthermore, during the year, there was dramatic news of major breakthroughs in heart surgery.

In April, under the direction of Dr. Michael DeBakey of Baylor University's College of Medicine, a team

of doctors in Houston operated on Marcel De Rudder, a sixty-five-year-old Westville, Illinois, patient suffering from a damaged heart valve. It was the third known experiment to extend life by inserting an artificial heart pump developed by Dr. DeBakey. The pump was attached successfully, and the heart valve was repaired, but the patient died five days later of other causes. DeBakey repeated the operation in May on a sixty-one-year-old Navy officer with the same results.

Across the nation, in New York, another surgical innovator performed a successful heart pump operation in mid-May. Dr. Adrian Kantrowitz in Maimonides Hospital, Brooklyn, implanted a heart-assist device of his own design, worked out with his brother, Arthur, at the Avco Research Laboratory in Massachusetts. The Kantrowitz device was about the same size as DeBakey's but operated to push blood through the left ventricle rather than bypass it, and was intended to be permanently rather than temporarily implanted. The patient was Mrs. Louise Ceraso, sixty-three. She lived thirteen days before succumbing to a stroke, the longest survival time of the five who had undergone this type of operation.

During the same month that these artificial heart operations were occurring, a signal event in the dawning field of human transplants was announced. St. Vincent's Charity Hospital in Cleveland revealed that the world's first successful transplant of a mitral heart valve had taken place there the month before. Dr. Earle B. Kay and a surgical team performed the epochal operation on a forty-seven-year-old woman, Mrs. Raymond Wilmer, who was reported to be "doing well."

Then on September 6th, the first known survivor of a heart-pump operation, Mrs. Esperanza de Valle Vasquez, thirty-seven, of Mexico City, walked out of Methodist Hospital in Houston. A heart pump had been implanted into her on August 7th by Dr. DeBakey and his surgical team. It was removed ten days later after permitting her heart, damaged by rheumatic fever, to heal itself. After a three weeks' hospital rest she walked out unaided.

On the cancer front there were no dramatic developments, although numerous awards of high distinction, including Nobel prizes, to cancer researchers during the year reflected the intense concern and activity surrounding the search for the basic cause of this major killer-disease. The mounting evidence of the relationship of smoking and cancer heightened this interest.

At the International Cancer Congress in October, a United States scientist, Dr. Umberto Saffioti, reported that animal tests showed that Vitamin A inhibited lung cancers. In Detroit, research teams at Wayne State University reported very promising results on two projects: one that had developed a new drug that seemed to be a specific against liver cancer in rats, and another in which cancer sufferers were helped by a vaccine derived from their own malignant cells.

In cancer treatment, an important addition to the arsenal of radiation therapy was announced. In December,

at New York's Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, the first units of the Firestone Radiation Therapy Center were opened. When completed, it will be the world's largest and most complete concentration of such equipment. Among the Center's equipment are a betatron for X-ray electron skin treatments, three cobalt, and a linear accelerator for deep-seated therapy. The center on its current operation can now treat 250 patients on a single shift day.

The growth of electronics in recent years has brought many improvements in medical care and treatment. The cardiac pacemaker, which electrically times a failing heart, is an example of past successes. There were numerous new applications this year. Closed circuit TV found expanding new medical uses. Surgeons used TV to trace the course of instruments on the actual operating scene, while other TV screens, combined with X ray, actually gave what was practically a motion picture of the internal progress of an operation. A combination of TV and the electron microscope gives research scientists greatly increased new flexibility in exploring the innermost structure of cells, and X-ray pictures are now being stored on video tape for later reviewing and long-distance consultation. Even color TV has entered the medical arena with its advantages over black and white in diagnosis and instructions.

Johns Hopkins University announced that it has a team of doctors working experimentally to change men to women and women to men. These operations have been sanctioned by the Maryland courts so that rulings are not necessary for each individual case. The chairman of the Gender Identity Committee at Johns Hopkins, Dr. John Hoopes, said that of ten patients operated on in Baltimore, three have been married and three others were engaged. Of those who married, two were women converted to men; one was a man whose sex was changed to female.

The 1966 Nobel Prize in Medicine went to two Americans—belated awards for cancer research done years ago. The winners were a pathologist, Dr. Pegton Rous, eighty-seven, of Rockefeller University of Chicago, for his discovery of the role of viruses in cancer, and a surgeon, Dr. Charles B. Huggins, sixty-five, of the University of Chicago, for the hormone treatment of prostate cancer.

While medical news was a major focus of public interest, developments in other scientific disciplines, although not spectacular, revealed the great body of research and fieldwork that was proceeding on many fronts.

In news of astronomy, the most spectacular celestial show of a lifetime occurred after midnight November 17, but a cloud cover over the earth prevented its viewing from most of the United States. It was a breathtaking "Leonid shower"—a shower of meteors, with the constellation Leo for a backdrop.

Leonid showers are brilliant affairs once every thirty-three years, but the last sensational event occurred in 1833, when about 10,000 meteors an hour were visible

over the eastern United States. Last November, a crowd of viewers gathered in New York City's Central Park, but the astronomical show was completely obscured, as it was throughout the East, by clouds and haze. But in the Southwest, viewers saw a historic shower, one surpassing the Leonids of 1833. During its peak, for about twenty minutes, dazzling meteors were seen falling at a rate of 140,000 an hour—a show which probably will not be repeated for earth-viewers for another 133 years.

Astronomers at Mount Wilson and Palomar observatories in California again excited attention with their deep-sky searchings and interpretations, which were seized on by fellow scientists in the continuing controversy over the origin of the universe, the "big-bang" versus the "steady-state" theory. The first group holds that our universe is spreading outward from one fantastic original explosion; the others see the cosmos as a changing expanding system of energy units in space that remains pretty much the same without a beginning or end.

Involved in this controversy is the role of the "quasar" or quasi-stellar radio source. Quasars, perhaps the most distant objects in our cosmos, although relatively insignificant to telescopes, are strong emitters of radio noise, which in the new science of radio astronomy, is an index of enormous energy. The first quasar was spotted and described by Allan Sandage of Mount Wilson in 1960. His colleague, Maarten Schmidt, later developed evidence that these objects are enormously distant from the earth, a fact which fits in with the big-bang theory.

Against this background then, special attention was paid in 1966 to reports that perhaps quasars were not so very distant. In March, Halton Arp, of Mount Wilson and Palomar, reported that some quasars may be associated with fairly nearby galaxies. Then in June, Fred Hoyle of Cambridge and Geoffrey Burbidge of the University of California, reported a study on a large group of the already known quasars, which supported Arp's theory on their relative nearness. These findings gave some new support to the "steady state" theory, which had been badly hit by the discovery of quasars themselves.

In archeology, a discovery in South America raised new speculation as to early Asiatics who may have stumbled on the shores of the Americas centuries before Columbus. In Valdivia on the Pacific coast of Ecuador Drs. Betty J. Meggers and Clifford Evans of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington had been working the site of an ancient settlement. They unearthed pottery fragments and other human handiwork at a deep level of this ancient fishing settlement which, after exhaustive study and comparison, they found to have direct connection with the pottery of the Jomon culture of primitive Japan. They produced evidence that the decorations and designs they found, thus far unknown in the New World, were a match, and an only match, with this unique style which dates back to 3000 B.C. Their theory: a group of Japanese fishermen, driven far from their home waters by a tor-

nado, had drifted east across the Pacific to this most western landfall of South America. If so, the date of the first arrival of Old World visitors to our hemisphere is pushed back a thousand years or more.

A major aid for the atomic physicist was the completion this year of the largest and probably the most expensive scientific tool in the world, the Linear Accelerator at Stanford University of California. Brainchild of Dr. Wolfgang K. H. Panofsky, Professor of Physics at Stanford, the machine was two miles long, cost over 100 million dollars, and could speed electrons through its tube with energies of more than 20 billion electron volts. Six months after its beam was first turned on, the accelerator was running better than two shifts a day as teams of scientists worked on their experiments in high-energy physics.

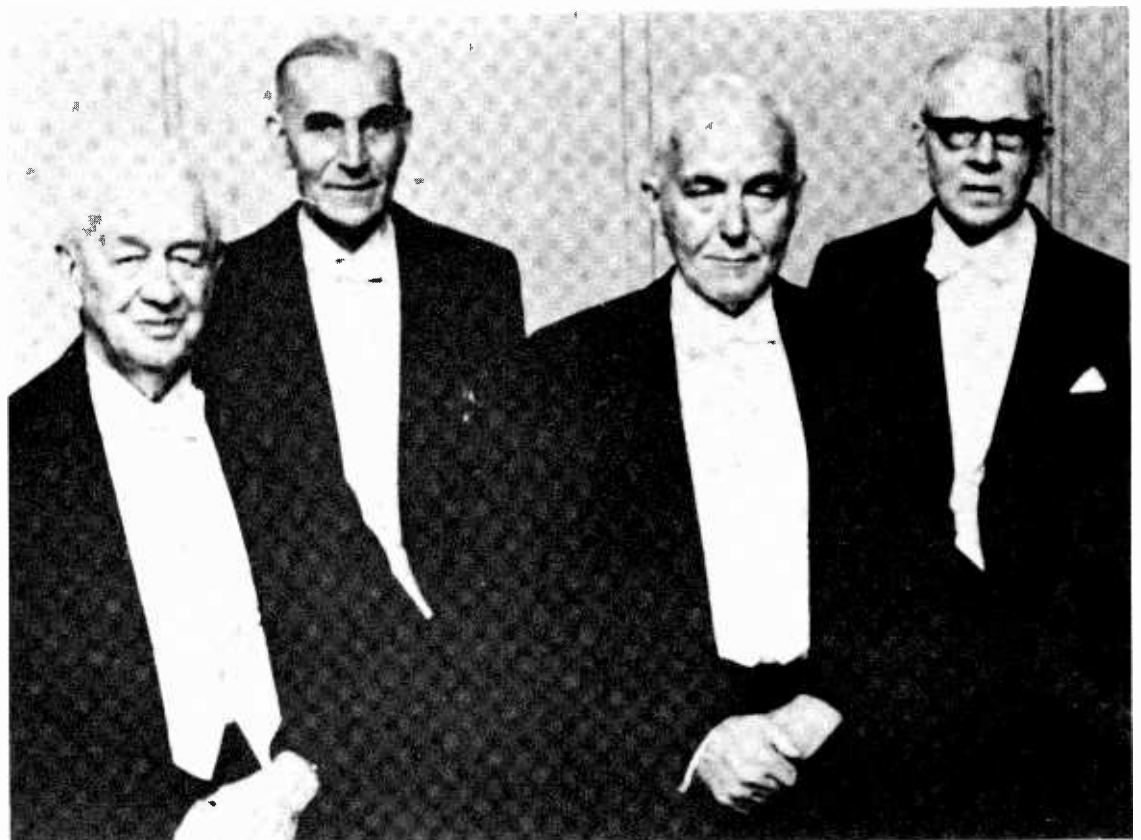
The worlds of science and human psychology met head-on throughout the year in the strange half-worlds of the UFO's—Unidentified Flying Objects. There were sightings of flying saucers throughout the land—in New England, New Jersey, Michigan, North Carolina, Oklahoma, as well as in many a backyard after a Saturday night party. Generally scientists were skeptical of any actual basis for these reported experiences, but now they refrained from their former derision. U.S. Representative Ford of Michigan asked for Congressional investigation after sightings in his state. The official consultant on

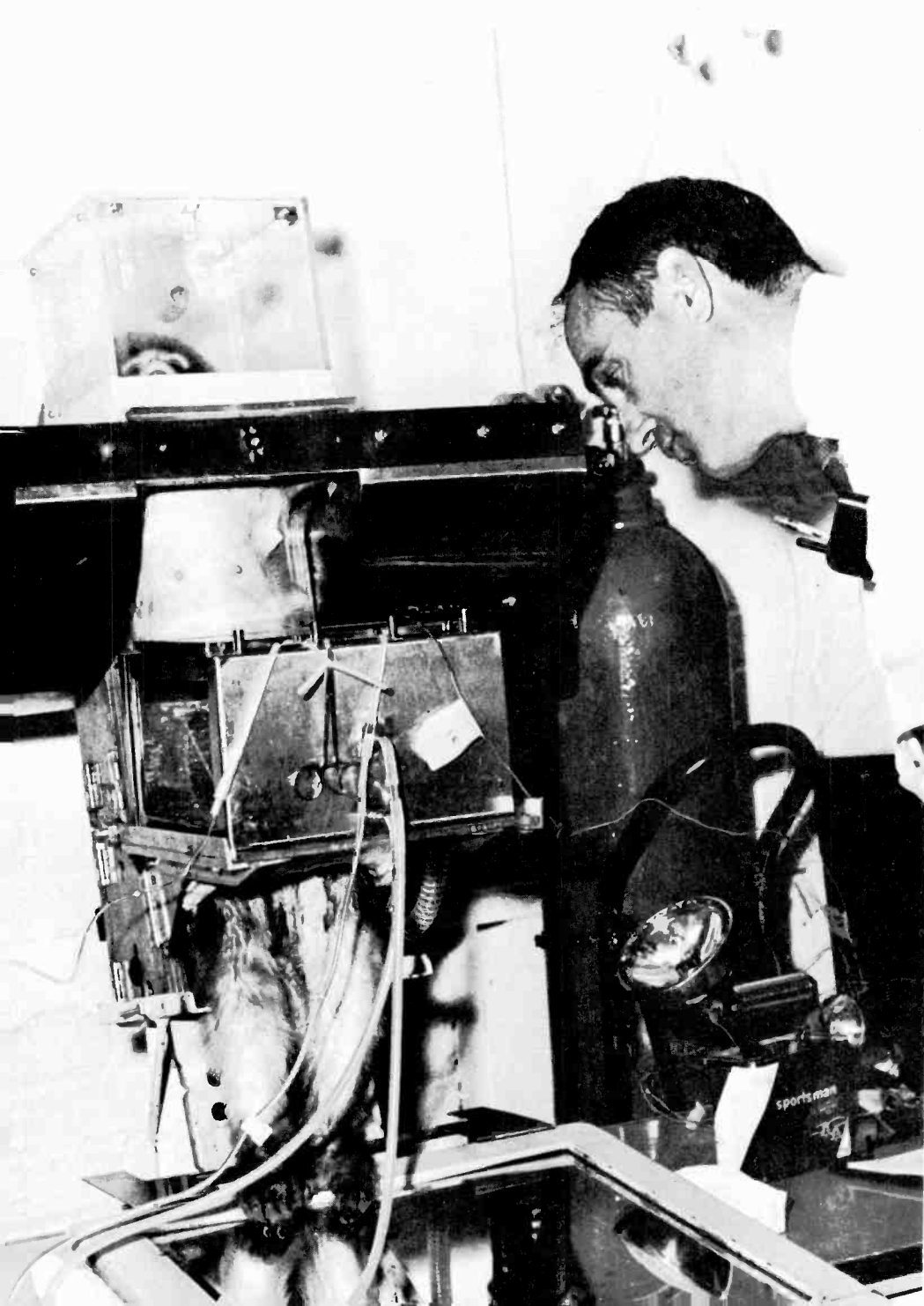
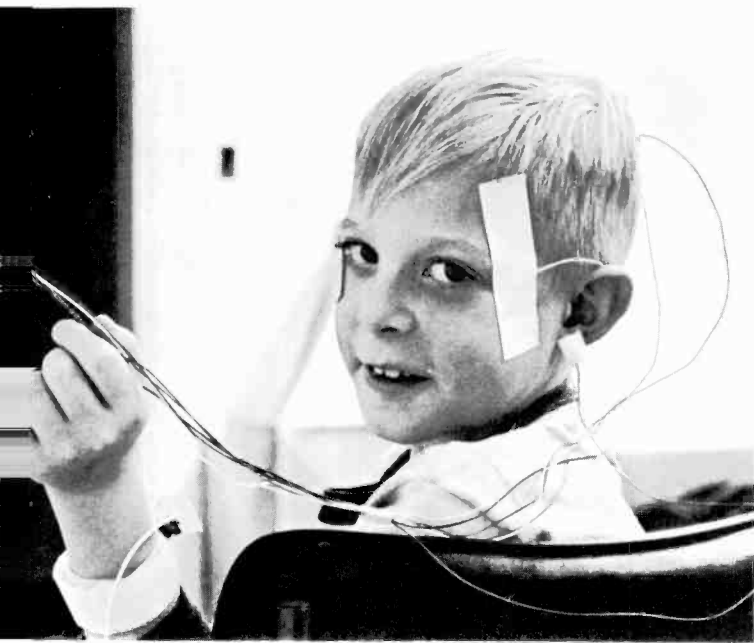
UFO's for the Air Force, Dr. J. Allen Hynek, an astrophysicist, said that UFO's "could no longer be dismissed with a shrug." In October the Air Force gave a \$330,000 contract to the University of Colorado to study the phenomena. A New England couple in a national magazine spread described their visit aboard an actual UFO, an experience buried in their subconscious which they declared was revealed by hypnosis. At year's end, while speculation was high, proof of any sighting was absent.

Apart from medicine, there were notable prize awards for distinguished work in science fields. President Johnson presented the first Fannie and John Hertz Foundation Award, \$20,000, for achievement in applied physical science to Dr. Ali Javan, thirty-nine, a physics professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Dr. T. H. Maiman, thirty-eight, president of Korad Corporation. They were honored for the development of the laser beam.

Among the Nobel Prizes, the award for chemistry went to Prof. Robert S. Mulliken, seventy, of the University of Chicago, for fundamental work on the electronic structure of molecules. The physics award went to a Frenchman, Prof. Alfred Kastler, sixty-four, who had worked closely with scientists at M.I.T. He was cited for his research on levels of energy inside the atom. When announcing its awards, the Nobel Committee noted that their Peace Prize for 1966 had been deferred.

**Nobel medical and science awards for the year go to Peyton Rous, left, of New York, for medicine: the discovery of tumor-inducing viruses. Alfred Kastler, Paris, physics: work on the structure of the energy levels inside the atom. Charles Huggins, Chicago, medicine: discoveries in the hormone treatment of cancer of the prostate. Robert Mulliken, Chicago, chemistry: research on the chemical bond of atoms in a molecule.**





*Above left:* Asthma and the psyche: Eight-year-old Dale Hamilton of St. Louis, Missouri, sits in a Denver hospital—electrodes attached to the ear, eye, head, wrist, and chest to measure nervous activity when he dreams. The question: Is there a connection between emotional makeup and physical response? Anxiety and asthma?

*Above right:* Two doctors credited with developing an effective vaccine against German measles—Dr. Harry Meyer, Jr., foreground, and on his left, Dr. Paul Parkman. Here Meyer and Parkman examine two of the 34 girls who participated in the experiment.

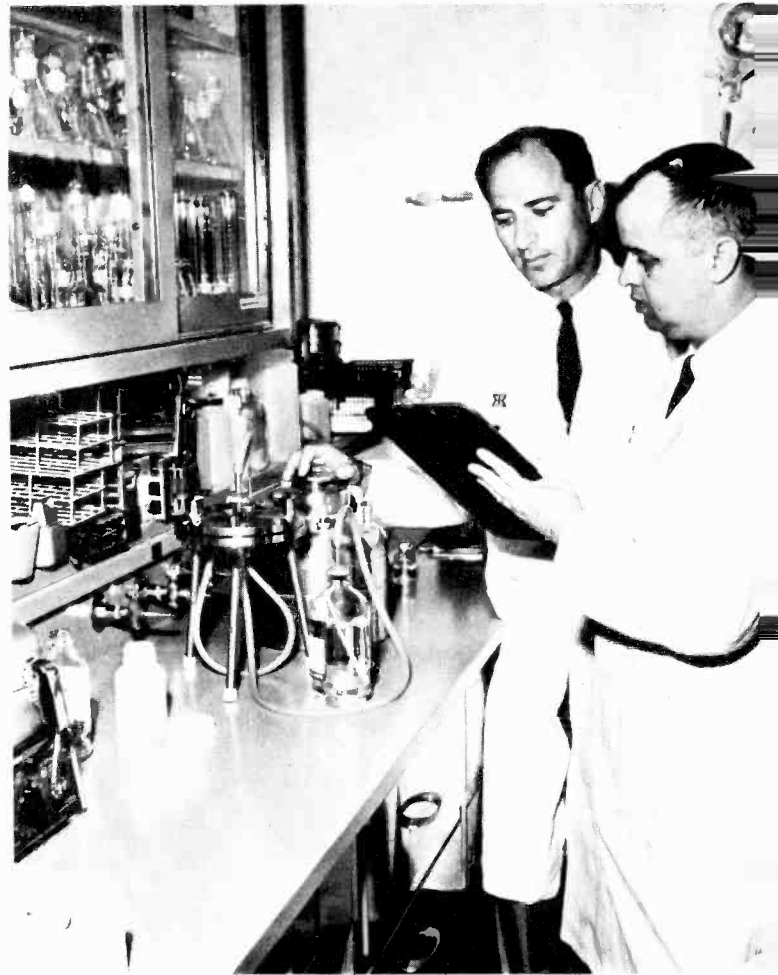
*Left:* Fetal life for the first time outside the womb! This mother monkey, tranquilized by drugs, is joined by umbilical cord to the unborn but living fetus in a fluid-filled metal box. Development is being checked by Dr. Donald Pickering of the University of Nevada—the first man to sustain mammal life outside the womb.



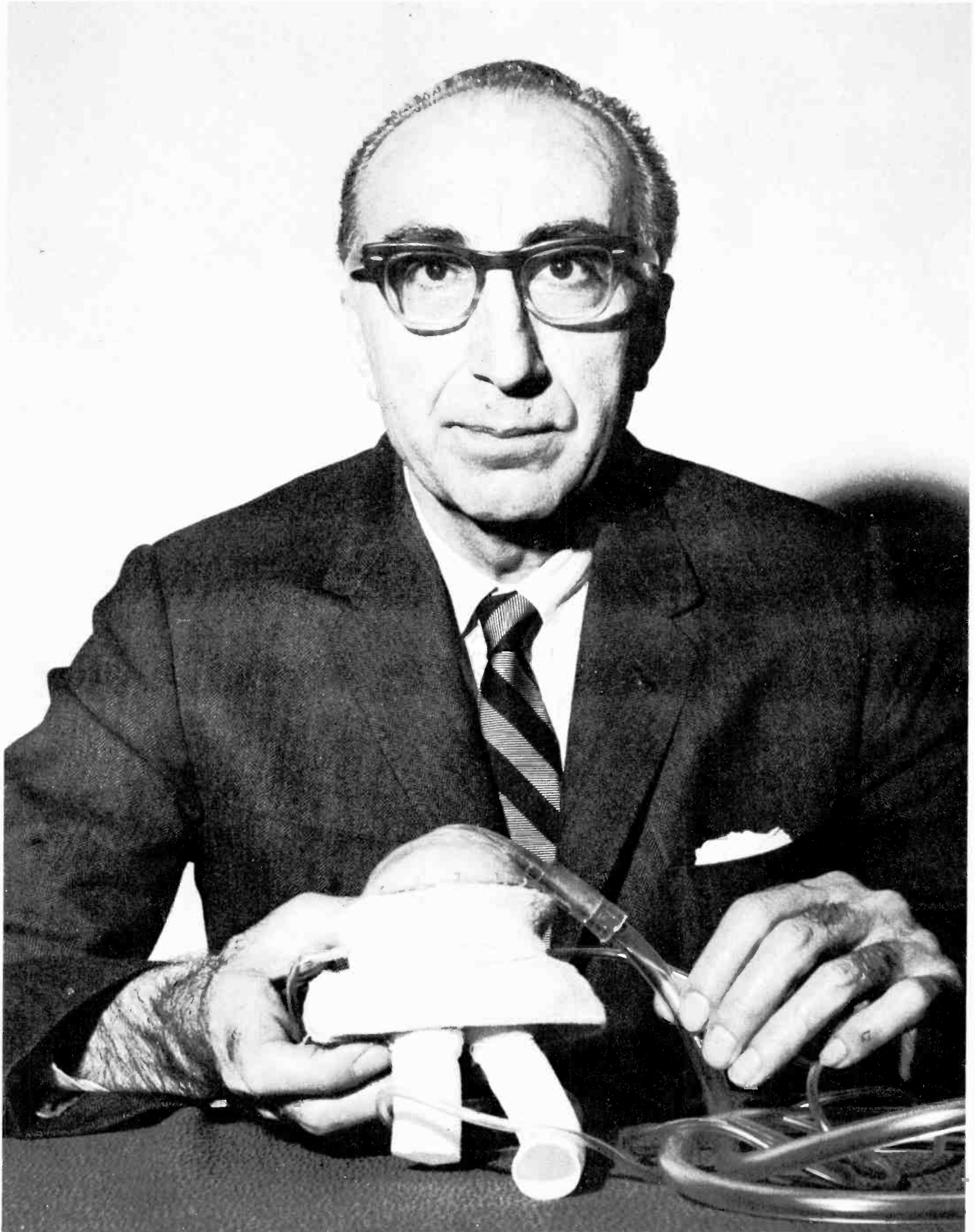


*Left:* A revolutionary birth-control drug is developed by Dr. Gertrude van Wagenen and Dr. John Morris of the Yale University Medical School. The so-called "morning-after tablet" was an effort to curb the ominous boom in world population, while accommodating religious or legal objections to contraception.

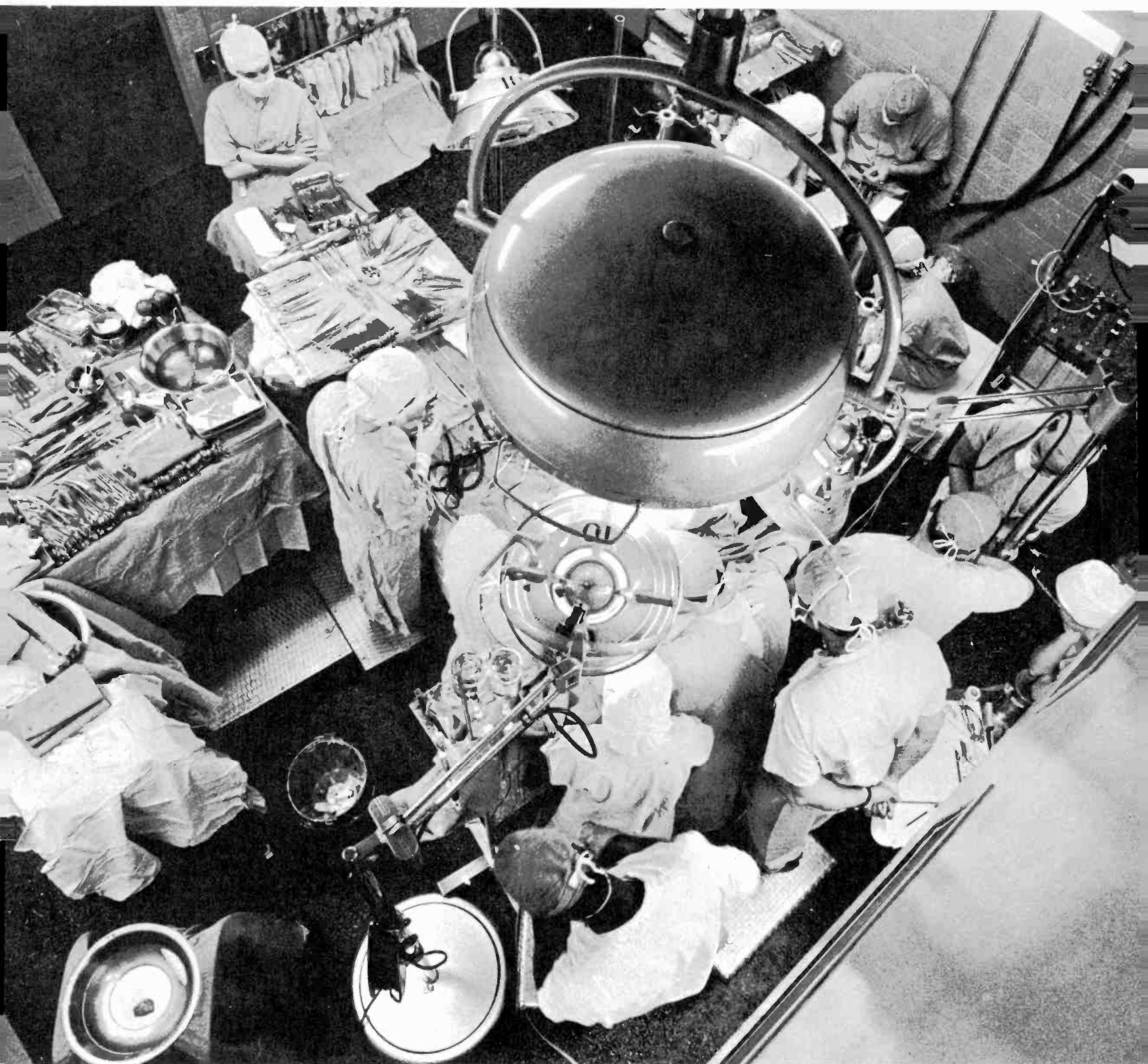
*Right:* Gains are scored in the long battle against hemophilia—the inability of the blood to clot—as two Los Angeles researchers develop a new concentrate. Left is Dr. Edward Shanbron—beside him Dr. Murray Thelin, himself a hemophiliac, who was treated with the new product. Hemophilia—so-called "disease of kings"—afflicts up to 100,000 Americans each year.



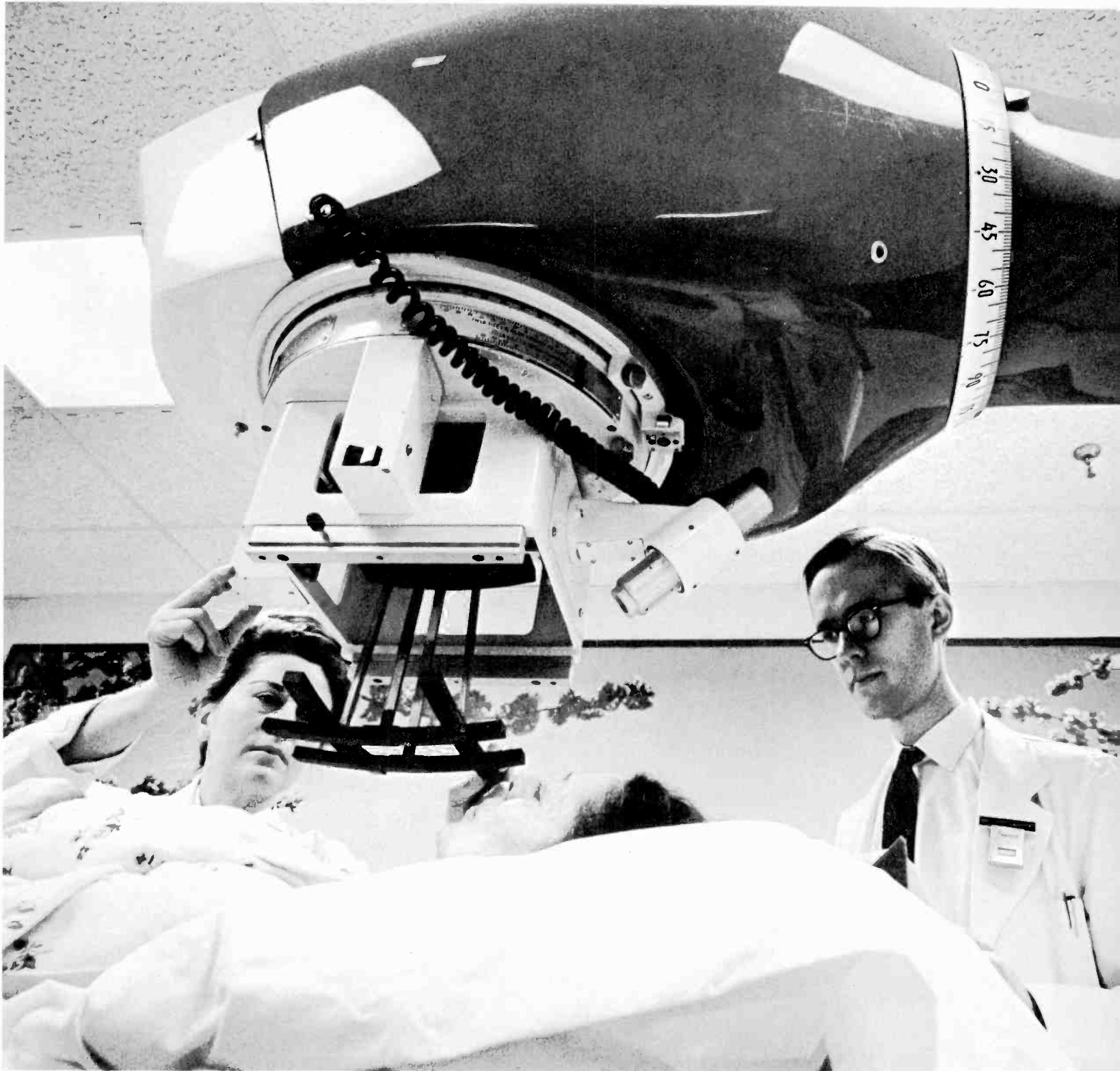
Stars fall on Arizona! This 3-minute photograph from atop Kitt Peak shows dozens of Leonid meteors streaking in against a background of equal length star-tails. The circle at mid-left marks a meteor's end in a fireball explosion; above it shines the first-magnitude star Rigel in Orion.



**Dr. De Bakey holds a plastic heart pump of the type that figured in his Texas surgery. De Bakey's work came amid predictions by the National Heart Institute that a workable artificial heart will be available by 1976.**



Open-heart surgery, once considered dangerously revolutionary, if not farfetched, begins to approach the commonplace, as a 14-man team of surgeons and their aides in Boston attach a heart-lung machine to a patient to keep him alive while they replace a main heart valve.



One of the cobalt units at the new Russell Firestone Radiation Center in New York. A technician sets up a treatment for a neck tumor under the radiologist's supervision. The powerful radiation burst is timed from 30 to 60 seconds. The tube on the housing precisely measures the distance from the cobalt source to the tumor.

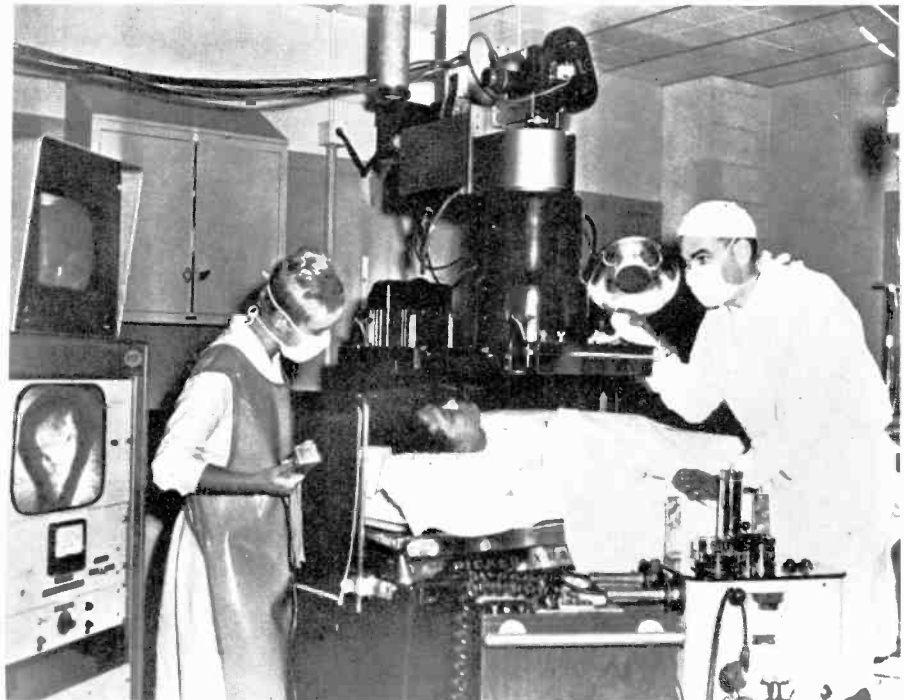


*Left:* Outside the shielded cobalt room at the Firestone Center a radiologist checks the patient's position by a TV monitor. The radiation prescription is alongside.

*Below:* The long fight against cancer. In a Wayne State University research program, a patient's own tissue helps to fight the malignancy. Researchers here, seeking a cancer vaccine, measure the amount of cancer antibody protein in a patient's blood. Cancer during the year killed some 300,000 persons in the United States.



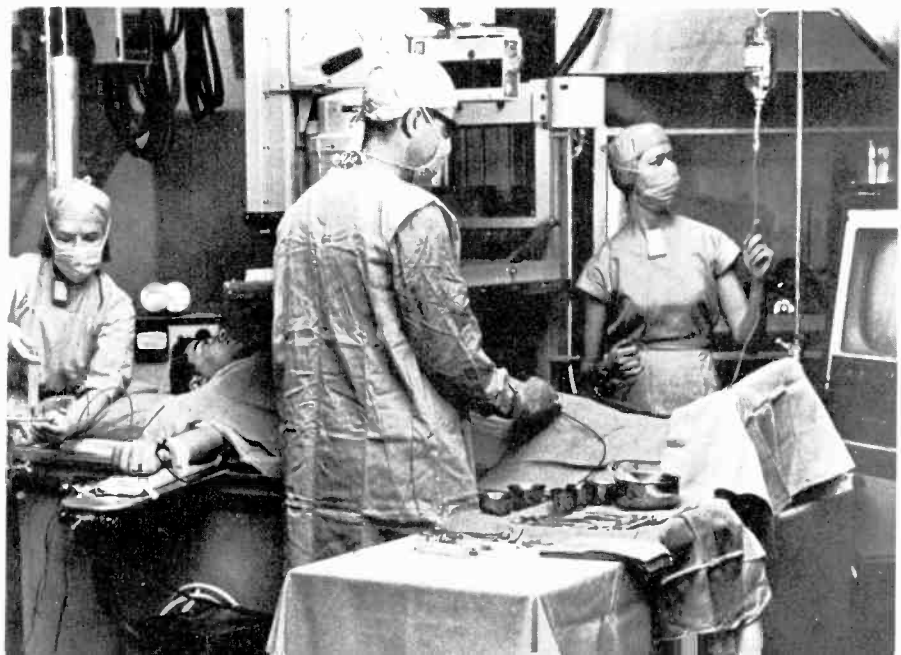
## MEDICINE AND SCIENCE

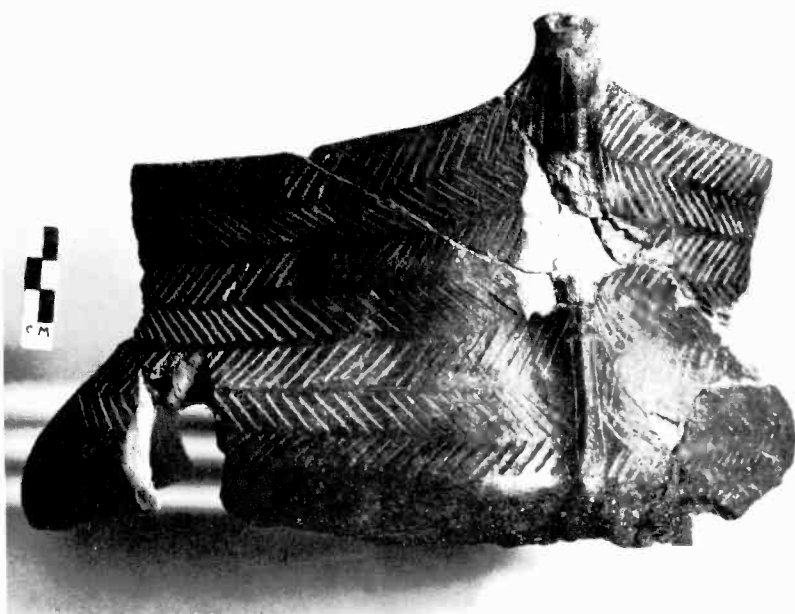
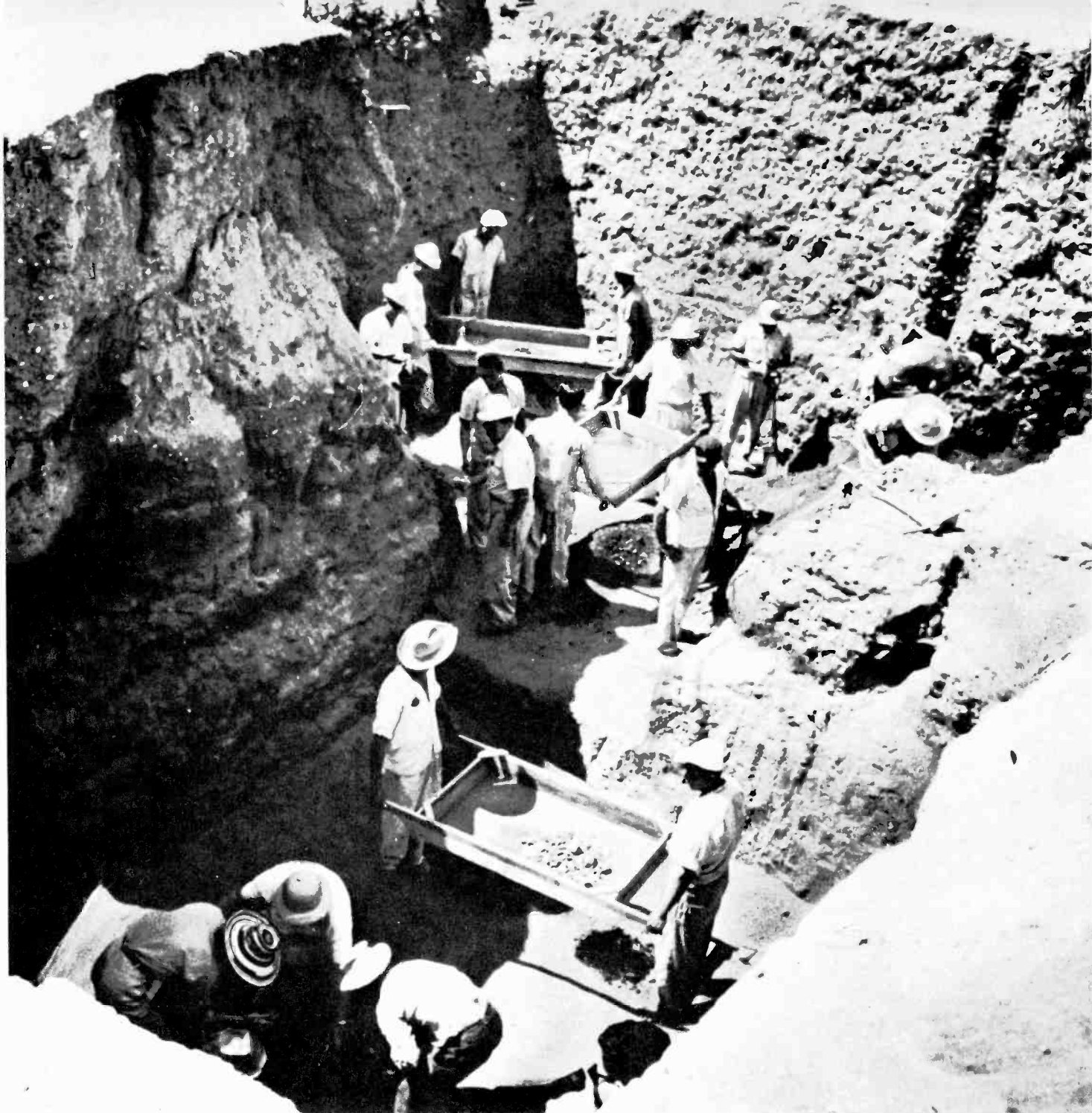


*Top:* Dr. Adrian Kantrowitz, in Brooklyn's Maimonides Hospital, positions the dacron and plastic heart ventricle into his patient's chest. In this successful heart-pump operation a sixty-three-year old woman survived with the device for 13 days until her death from other causes.

*Center:* X-ray pictures in motion as the doctor, guiding the apparatus, views the TV screen. The images can be recorded on tape for later study.

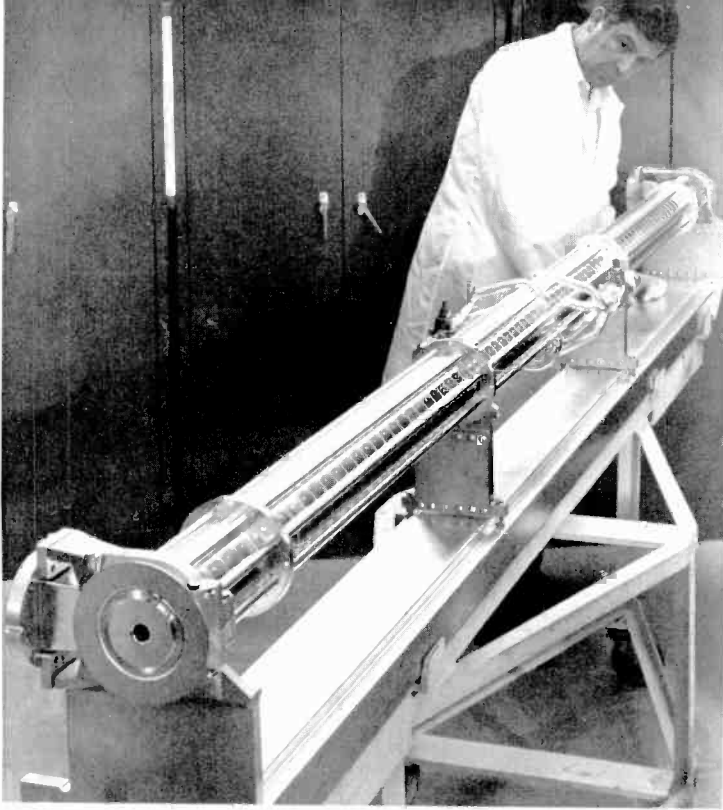
*Right:* The surgeon watches a TV screen (right) to check the progress of a catheter he is feeding via a vein into the patient's heart. The technique has developed new diagnostic aids in heart defects.





*Above:* Workers sift debris for man-made fragments at the deepest level of the Valdivia, Ecuador, dig from which pottery with designs close to those of primitive Japan was unearthed. Dr. Betty Meggers (in striped hat) of the Smithsonian Institution team bends over a find.

*Left:* A 6-inch-high pottery fragment unearthed in Ecuador that was a leading clue in the discovery of Asiatic contacts with the New World 5,000 years ago. The rim decorated with a peak reveals a style common nowhere except in Jomon pottery of primitive Japan.



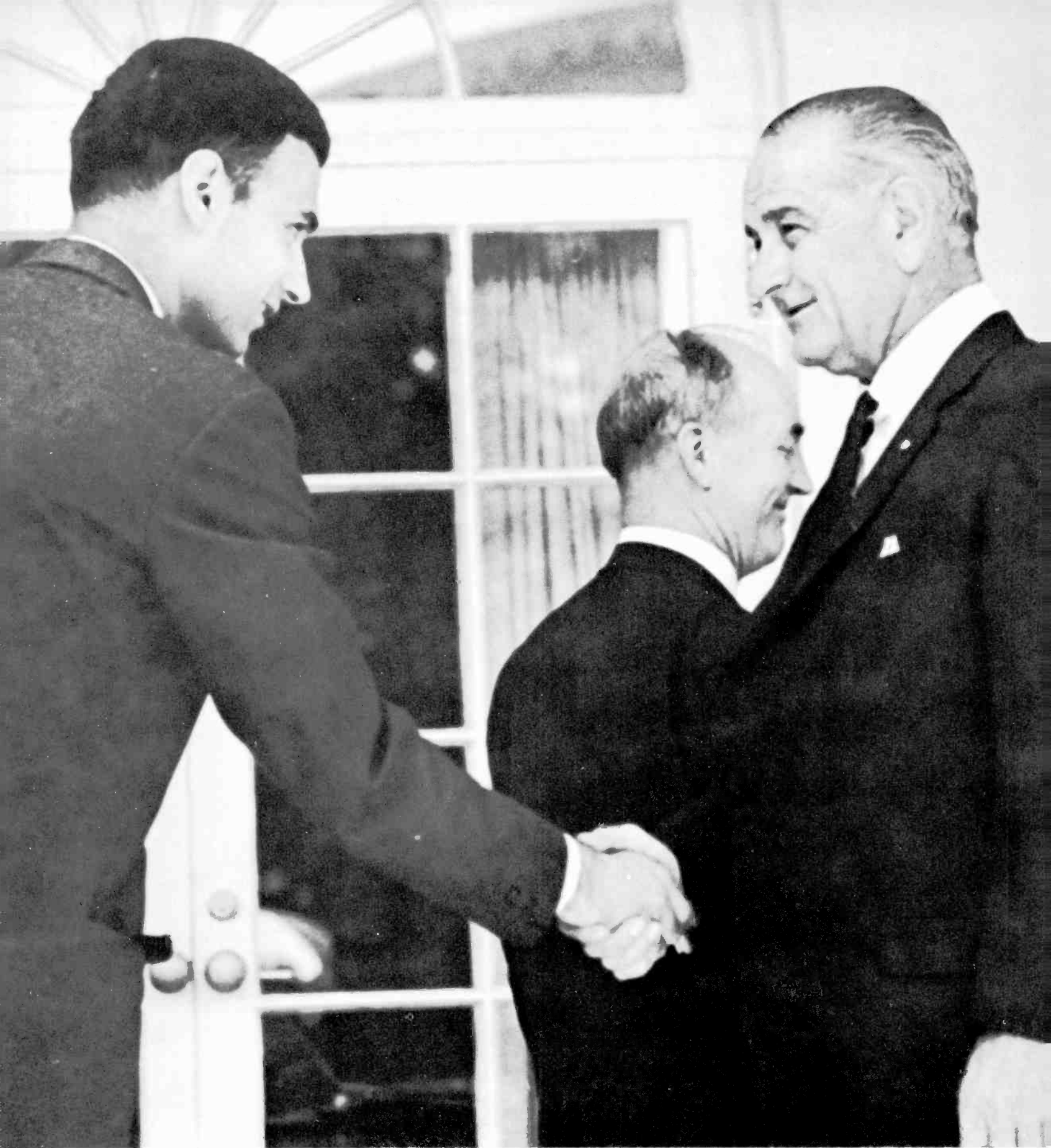
## MEDICINE AND SCIENCE

A section of the 2-mile accelerator tube. The tiny atom particles pick up enormous energy in their speed-of-light journey down the 4-inch tube.

The 2-mile-long linear accelerator at Palo Alto, California. Its copper tube is buried 25 feet down to absorb all radiation. In the foreground, the two giant target buildings that receive the beam; they are shielded by tons of scrap from dismantled warships.







Author and automobile critic Ralph Nader shakes hands with the President just after Mr. Johnson signs bills in September calling for safer automobiles and safer highways. Nader's book, *Unsafe at Any Speed*, published in February, and subsequent testimony before Congressional hearings aroused the public—and the automotive industry—to the need for more, and better, safety features in the American car.

# 27.

## Automobiles

“FROM NOW ON, WE MUST be concerned not just with the nut behind the wheel—but with the nut in the wheel itself, with all the parts of the car and its design.”

These are the words of Senator Abraham Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut and chairman of a Senate subcommittee that delved into the problem of auto safety. In 1966, the oratory was not just political. Congress looked back to the 1965 traffic toll—49,000 deaths—and voted an auto-safety bill requiring that all cars, beginning with the 1968 models, meet a set of minimum safety standards set by the government.

Legislation was also passed to encourage states to be more active in highway safety. The government was authorized to spend \$381 million over three years to promote non-Federal safety programs. States that failed to begin safety programs by the end of 1968 were threatened not only with losing out on this fund, but with losing part of their Federal highway aid as well. State efforts were urged in such programs as safer highway construction and maintenance, better vehicle inspection, and more driver education.

The congressional action was not without its notes of industry resentment. General Motors was found to have made an investigation of the private life of auto critic Ralph Nader (they found nothing awry), and in general the auto makers complained the safety features would be costly, troublesome, and perhaps even cause a cutback in production.

However, many 1967 cars appeared with new safety features: collapsible steering columns to keep drivers from being impaled; and independent front and rear brakes, one set to work if the other failed. Safety rules for 1968 models were yet to be absolute, but among twenty-three new rules proposed under the new law by the National Traffic Safety Agency were these: six seat belts instead of four, a more heavily padded interior, better tires, less glare from the surface finish, passenger headrests to minimize “whiplash” injuries; and better de-

fogging, defrosting, and lighting systems.

One thing immediately required by the new safety legislation was that auto companies notify the government when they recall cars because of possible mechanical defects. A count at the end of the year showed that nearly 10 million such recalls had been made since 1960—roughly one of every six vehicles manufactured. Only a fraction of these were actually found defective, but public announcements of the recalls had much to do with a new public consciousness of auto manufacture.

Aside from a mass of new safety features, what’s to come in autos? The 1967 models did not look radically different from those of 1966. The international auto show in Manhattan in April exhibited cars of the near-future with such things as retractable windshield wipers, greater all-around visibility, and swing-open rear windows. An Ohio State University research team showed a car that could drive without a driver, activated by electronic cables buried beneath the surface of the road; the researchers said public freeways could be using the system within fifteen years.

If there was one body design trend that stood out when the big three showed their 1967 models in the fall of the year, it was the specialty or “personal” car, the low-slung stylish vehicle that looks as much like a sports car as possible without being one. The trend was started by Ford with its Mustang in 1964. Now everybody was aboard: Chevrolet with its Camaro, Pontiac with Firebird, Plymouth with the Barracuda, the Dodge with the Charger, Mercury with the Cougar, and most expensive, the Cadillac Eldorado. Keeping its pace-setting style was the ancestor of all this in the U.S., the Ford Thunderbird with a new and heavier body. But this piling on of new promises of power and performance, while at the same time safety features of padding and extra brakes were being added, only illustrated anew the split personality of an industry that was keeping one eye on Washington and the other on the sales chart.

Another trend visible at the shows was the non-compactness of the compact car. Yielding to public taste, and since the threat of the European small car was now clearly at an end, the manufacturers were stretching the little cars back up to the size where they had originally been a half dozen years ago.

There were two "sudden death" stories among auto names in the year, and one newcomer. An attempt was made to revive two famous makes of the classic car days: the Duesenberg and the Cord. A single shining new Duesenberg was turned out, priced near \$20,000, then the company folded. As to Cord, the company that took over the old name managed to produce about 100 examples before that venture also collapsed. But in Milwaukee, the firm of S.S. Automobiles—two young Stevens brothers, grandsons of pioneer automotive engineer Clifford Stevens—were turning out the Excalibur at a slow but steady rate. This modern version of the old Mercedes SSK racer, a two-seater with no doors and outside exhaust pipes, had found a niche with the sports car enthusiast who likes precision with his nostalgia, and can reach up to its \$8,000 ticket.

The most important change for the future in the auto world stems neither from the safety crusade nor from the cosmetics of styling. As a matter of fact, it's not really new. This is the electric car, which flourished early in the century but lost out to the internal-combustion engine. Now that air pollution has become a major nationwide problem, exhaust-free electric cars may make a decisive comeback. The big problem remains a suitably long-lasting, easily rechargeable battery, but the big auto companies expect to surmount that problem, and they could be in the electric-car business within the decade.

In the meantime, the old-fashioned, gasoline-powered, safety-questioned 1966 automobiles continued

to sell at a pace topping 8 million a year, down just a bit from 1965, but not bad for a dying breed.

Late in the year, Ralph Nader—the auto critic mentioned earlier, whose private life was investigated by General Motors—filed a multimillion dollar suit against GM and the investigators the corporation had hired. He charged them with invasion of privacy, intimidation, and harassment.

In testifying before the Ribicoff subcommittee, Nader said he had been followed, that unwarranted investigations had been made into his sex life and his politics, and that he was approached by girls who might have been trying to lure him into compromising situations.

General Motors conceded that it had run a "routine" investigation on Nader, but contended this was justified to determine Nader's qualification as an auto critic. The Ribicoff panel, however, pursued the issue; and in March the nation was treated to the spectacle of the president of General Motors, James M. Roche, making a public apology to Nader and the congressmen. Roche said that the investigation had been undertaken without his personal knowledge but that he would not try to "excuse, condone or justify" it and, in the full glare of television lights, added: "To the extent that General Motors bears responsibility, I want to apologize here and now to the members of this committee and to Mr. Nader." However, Nader's court suit kept the issue alive into 1967.

If car sales across the nation were trending off, as year end indicators suggested, it is possible that some buyers were waiting for the 1968 cars, and the biennial major model changes. More probably, with the coming of the Federal Safety Standards throughout the 1968 lines, a good number of buyers were holding off for what they expected would be a safer vehicle as their family car.

Students at Indiana's South Bend High School lie out in rows on the campus grass to dramatize the state's traffic death toll. More cars, faster cars, and super-highways put the road toll for the year at some 1,500 deaths in Indiana, 52,500 for the nation.





*Above:* How safe is the school bus? Two typical vehicles, each loaded with dummy passengers, collide head on in a University of California experiment to test how much good the safety belt does. In the crash, the dummies in the bus on the left, which were fitted with safety belts, remained upright.

*Below:* The dummies in the other bus, which were not fitted with safety belts, were ripped out of their seats and slammed forward in the crash, which was staged as part of the university's safety-research program.



This is General Motors' Electrovair, an experimental car on a Corvair chassis that runs by batteries. One big attraction of the electric car: it would help solve the problem of air pollution.



*Above:* The front and rear views of the silver-zinc battery packs that power the GM experimental Electrovair II. Its performance is claimed to be similar to a conventional car of this size except for its cruise range of 40-80 miles before recharge, against 250-300 miles on a tank of gasoline.

*Right:* Ever wonder where we got the jazz-age word "doozy," meaning something terrific? Here, from the Duesenberg. The ultra-luxurious automobile, a favorite with European royalty and Hollywood stars 35 years ago, went out of production. Here is its new and only prototype, which was planned to be available at \$19,500.



## AUTOMOBILES



*Top:* The new and latest version of the car that started the trend to specialty or "personal" models, the Ford Mustang. The sports car flavor dominates: larger tires are a new safety feature.

*Center:* The new Camaro, Chevrolet's entry into the specialty car group. Body features include concealed headlamps and simulated hood louvers. The nose sports a wide "bumblebee" paint band.



The new Plymouth Barracuda, a specialty car that accents aerodynamic styling. The rear design reflects the Gran Turismo look.



*Above:* Most expensive car among the 1967 stock models—the Cadillac Limousine listing at \$10,500. With an overall length of 20 feet 4½ inches, it is also the longest.

*Right:* Something new and different in an option for the luxury buyer. The new Imperial offers the Mobile Director, a front seat that rotates 180 degrees to face rear, plus a folding utility table.

*Below:* The luxury end of the “personal” car line, the Cadillac Eldorado, only car in the group, along with the Oldsmobile Toronado, to offer front-wheel drive.





*Above:* Approaching the end of the 24-hour endurance race in June at Le Mans, France, the Ford GT Mark II. This was the first time an American-designed car ever won this classic event.



*Above:* Bruce McLaren, left, and Chris Amon, after their victory at Le Mans in the Ford GT Mark II. Their average time was 125.11 mph. Henry Ford II, center, reflects joy in his cars taking first three places.

More of the home on the road: The stereo tape player. An upbeat extra appliance, it has even become a built-in on some models. The cartridge feeds easily into the dashboard slot.







The campus tower turns into a fortress for Whitman as police bullets hit the walls—and nothing else. Whitman had consulted a Texas University psychiatrist months earlier. The doctor's notes described him then as "oozing with hostility."

## 28. Crime

THERE WERE SOME HORRENDOUS ACTS by lone individuals in the United States in 1966.

In the far south side of Chicago, on July 14th, a man forced his way into a two-story house that served as a dormitory for young nurses at Chicago's Community Hospital. He had a knife and a revolver. He tore up bed-sheets, bound the hands of the nine nurses in the house, took their money, and led them one by one into other rooms—one by one, except for Corazon Amurao, twenty-three, an exchange student from the Philippines. She rolled under a bed, and the intruder apparently forgot her. Shortly after 6:00 A.M., hearing no more noises about the house, Miss Amurao dashed to a window ledge and shouted, "They are all dead! My friends are all dead!"

The bodies of the other eight were found in the house. Apparently none of them had put up a fight; they were either too paralyzed by fear or they thought the man meant them no harm. Five died by strangulation, three by stabbing. None showed evidence of sexual molestation.

Three days later a man named Richard Speck, a twenty-four-year-old unemployed seaman and laborer, was rushed to Cook County Hospital to be treated for self-inflicted wrist wounds; he had been found in a skid-row hotel. The doctor on duty recognized him from an alarm sent out by the Chicago police, who had identified Speck from photos shown to Miss Amurao and from fingerprints. Speck was an ex-convict. He pleaded not guilty and had little to say. A tattoo on one arm read "Born to raise hell."

At year's end, he was awaiting trial.

In the early afternoon of August 1st, people suddenly began to falter and topple on the campus of the University of Texas at Austin. It was not the Texas sun; they were being gunned down by a sniper. Atop the university's twenty-seven-story tower, an honor student in architectural engineering, Charles Whitman, was firing with deadly accuracy. He was using such an arsenal—three rifles, two pistols, a shotgun—that for a while it was

not apparent he was alone. He had lugged the weapons to the tower in a foot locker, along with food and water for a lengthy siege. Tragically lengthy: ninety minutes, during which his bullets struck forty-four persons, fourteen of whom (including an unborn child) were killed. Finally an off-duty policeman, Romero Martínez, managed to get to the top of the tower, rush Whitman, and fire. Whitman died immediately. Later, the police found the bodies of Whitman's mother and his wife at their homes, apparently killed the night before. He left a note explaining that they had to die to "save them the embarrassment of what [he] was going to do." Whitman's note also asked for an autopsy to see whether he had a mental disorder; the autopsy found a pecan-size nonmalignant tumor, but doctors said there was a questionable link between this and his act. Whitman was twenty-five, a former Boy Scout leader, and an ex-Marine.

About 5:00 A.M. on the morning of Sunday, September 18th, Mrs. Loraine Percy, the wife of the Republican candidate for the United States Senate, Charles Percy, heard low moans from the hallway of the Percy's seventeen-room mansion on the Lake Michigan shore at Kenilworth, Illinois, north of Chicago. She followed the sounds beyond the room of her sleeping daughter Sharon, and into the room of Sharon's twenty-one-year-old twin Valerie. A shadowy figure was bending over Valerie's bed; he turned a powerful flashlight into the face of Mrs. Percy, who, blinded, ran to set off the mansion's burglar alarm.

Mr. Percy ran to the room, found the man gone, but his daughter bloodsoaked and inert. By the time a neighborhood doctor arrived, she was dead—her skull fractured by a blunt instrument, and at least ten stab wounds in her face, throat, chest, and abdomen.

The New Year came with no trace of Valerie's killer.

The terror in Mesa, Arizona, came on a Saturday in November, at the Rose-Mar College of Beauty, a mile and a half from the home of high school senior Robert B.

Smith, eighteen, a withdrawn young man and a loner, but never a troublemaker. Carrying a brown paper bag containing two hundred feet of nylon cord, two hunting knives and a .22 caliber pistol, Smith walked to the beauty parlor, where he found five women, a three-year-old girl, and a baby, and herded them into a back room. He forced them to lie on the floor, spread out like spokes on a wheel, and then began squeezing off bullets. When the police arrived he was still standing near his victims. One woman and her daughter were dead; three of the other women were mortally wounded. The fifth woman was in serious condition. The baby was shot in the arm, but survived, shielded by its mother's body.

Smith calmly told the police of having mulled over his plan for weeks. He said, "I wanted to get known, just wanted to get myself a name."

Those are but a few of the crimes in the United States in 1966. They were the most publicized, and thus the ones with the greatest impact on an aghast public. But they were a minute part of the statistics.

President Johnson said that major crimes in the United States in 1966 were being committed at the rate of 2.7 million a year, more than five a minute. The FBI said this rate was 46 percent higher than five years ago.

Increasing crime is not just an American problem. The FBI: "Foreign crime figures confirm the fact that most, if not all, nations are today faced with absolute increases in the volume of crime, and that these increases are occurring in a pattern similar to the United States' experience."

However, the crime *rate*—the number of crimes a year for every 100,000 persons—is still far higher in the United States than in most other countries. For example, the annual murder rate in England is 0.4 for each each 100,000 persons; here it is 5.1.

Many law enforcement officials were fearful during the year that the police had been handcuffed in their work by judicial restrictions on searches and interrogations. But one of the FBI's discoveries was that the percentage of crimes solved in the United States was just about the same as in England and Canada—about 25 percent in each country.

Britain had a major problem during the year with prison escapes—more than eighty. Causing the biggest uproar was the escape in October of George Blake, a former diplomat serving a forty-year sentence for espionage. Lord Mountbatten, named to make an urgent inquiry into the British penal system, concluded that the country had "no really secure prison."

In the courts, one trial drawing especial attention in 1966 was that of Dr. Sam Sheppard, who twelve years earlier had been sentenced to life in prison for the second-degree murder of his wife, bludgeoned to death in her bedroom in Shaker Heights, Ohio. The Supreme Court reversed the conviction, finding that the publicity accom-

panying the trial was "prejudicial." The jury in Sheppard's new trial deliberated for one day, then acquitted him.

In Freehold, New Jersey, Dr. Carl Coppolino, thirty-four, was acquitted of murder in the 1963 death of William Farber, the husband of Coppolino's acknowledged mistress at the time. But with that acquittal, he was whisked off to Florida to stand trial in 1967 on charges of killing his first wife, Carmela, in 1965 in Sarasota. Her death certificate listed the cause of death as a heart attack; Florida prosecutors said it was murder.

Jack Ruby, who was sentenced to death in 1964 for the killing of Lee Harvey Oswald, the accused assassin of President Kennedy, had the sentence lifted during the year. The Texas Court of Appeals said he had not been properly warned of his rights to remain silent and that the trial should not have been held in the inflamed atmosphere of Dallas. But Ruby went into the New Year suffering from inoperable cancer in Dallas' Parkland Hospital, leaving a new trial in doubt.

James Hoffa got closer to prison in 1966. The Supreme Court affirmed his jury-tampering conviction and eight-year prison sentence, handed down at a trial in Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1964. Hoffa's lawyers began legal maneuvers to keep him out of jail.

There were no major stories during the year involving organized crime. But there were reports that gangsters were being tempted by yet another lucrative new field: bootleg drugs. Industry spokesmen said that racketeers were beginning to invade the prescription drug market, under cover of pressure for lower drug prices.

After the Texas-tower slaughter, President Johnson called for Congress to get to work on gun-control legislation. The issue was debated on Capitol Hill, but no new laws were forthcoming. The case for tighter gun laws included this statistic from the FBI: In England, where there are such laws, only 10 percent of all murders are committed with firearms, compared to 57 percent in the United States.

Mr. Johnson also announced a streamlining of programs for rehabilitating prisoners, with emphasis on prison programs that permit inmates to hold regular jobs or attend school by day, then return to their cells at night; and on "halfway houses" that try to reintroduce prisoners to society gradually by letting them live and work in a community before they are released from custody.

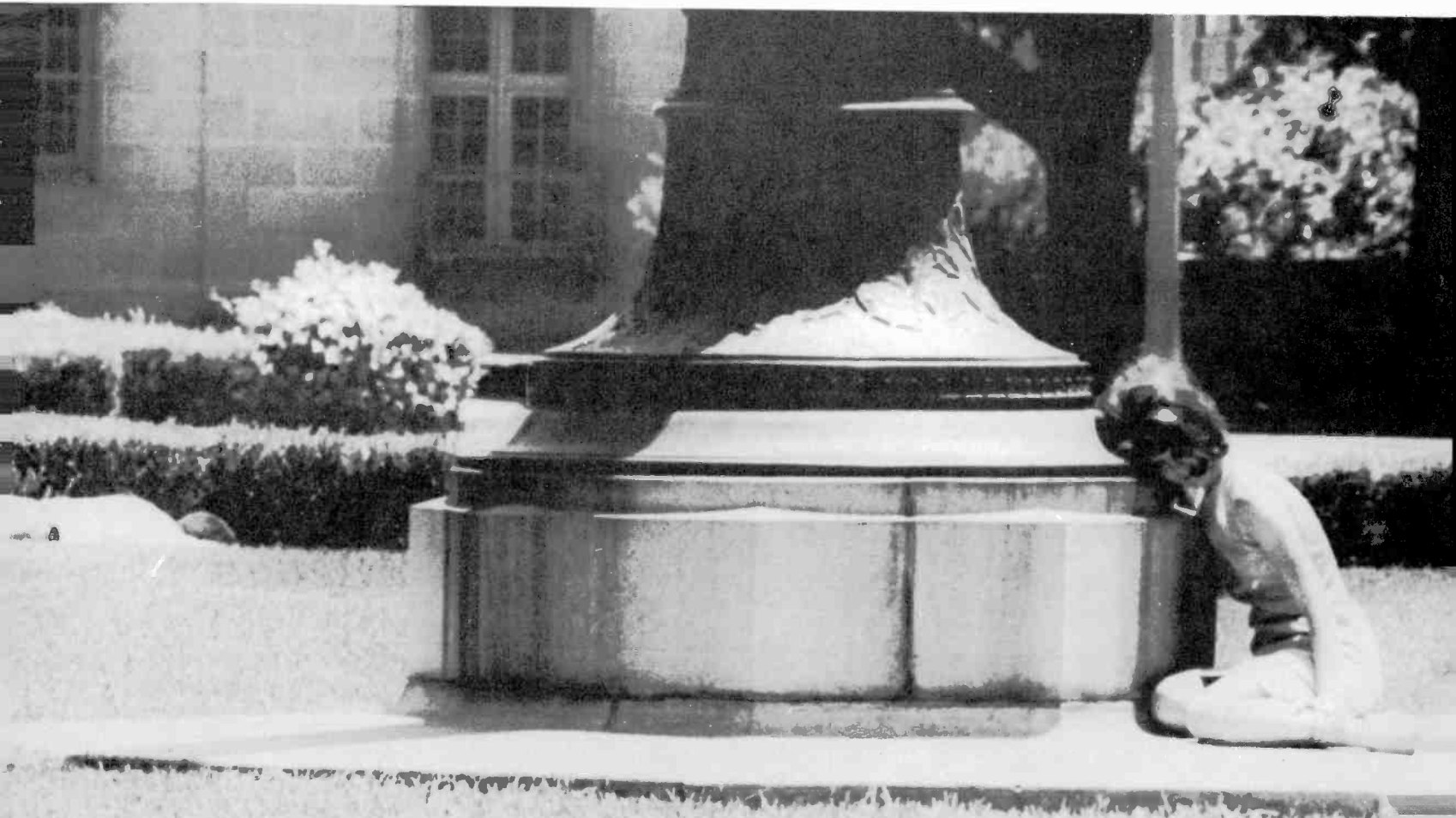
As an overall point of view toward the crime rate, Mr. Johnson had this to say: "Strike down poverty and much of crime will fall with it. Punish the criminal? By all means. But if we wish to rid our nation of crime, if we wish to stop hacking at its branches, we must cut its roots and we must drain its swampy breeding place; and that swampy breeding place—you know where it is—it's in the slums of this nation."

## CRIME



The Texas sniper: Charles Whitman, twenty-four. He was "a good boy . . . who liked guns," said his father.

A University of Texas coed covers behind a flagpole, and one of the thirty to be wounded slumps to the grass as mad sniper Charles Whitman sprays death from the campus tower.





Shocked by grief—and fear—classmates join the family beside the casket of twenty-year-old Mary Ann Jordan, one of eight student nurses savagely strangled in their South Chicago quarters. Mary Ann was staying with friends for the first time.



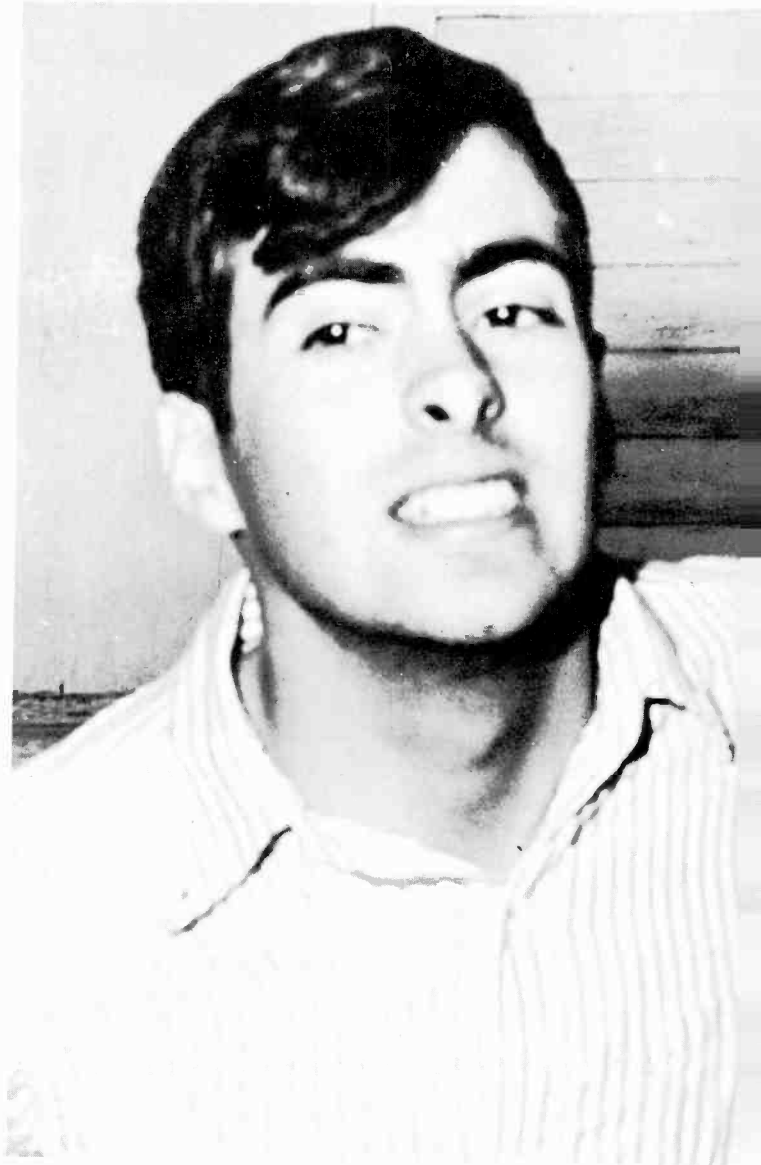
*Above:* Richard Speck, suspect in the murder of the nurses, in Cook County Hospital after his arraignment and plea of innocence. Part of the tattoo on his left arm is visible.

*Left:* Chamber of death . . . Three bodies of the eight slain nurses were found in this bedroom.

## CRIME



Death lies ahead: twenty-one-year-old Valerie Percy, on an Illinois Senate campaign trip with her nominee father Charles, only days before she was beaten and stabbed to death in the family's Lake Kenilworth home. The killer has not been found.



*Above:* Robert B. Smith, eighteen, who killed five women in a Mesa, Arizona, beauty parlor. He reportedly told police he conceived his idea after reading about the mass slayings in Chicago and Texas. The pistol was a birthday gift from his father.



*Left:* Circle of death . . . Police draw a chalk line around the back room of the beauty parlor where young Smith forced his victims—seven women and children—to lie down, and then started firing. He was still there when police arrived.



*Above:* Pennsylvania state troopers keep their rifles at the ready, but kidnap-killer William Hollenbaugh is dead. For seven days, using a kidnapped seventeen-year-old girl as a shield, Hollenbaugh had kept up a running gun battle with posses hunting him in the wooded country. One FBI man was killed. It was believed that Hollenbaugh was the "mad sniper" who had been terrorizing the area for two years.

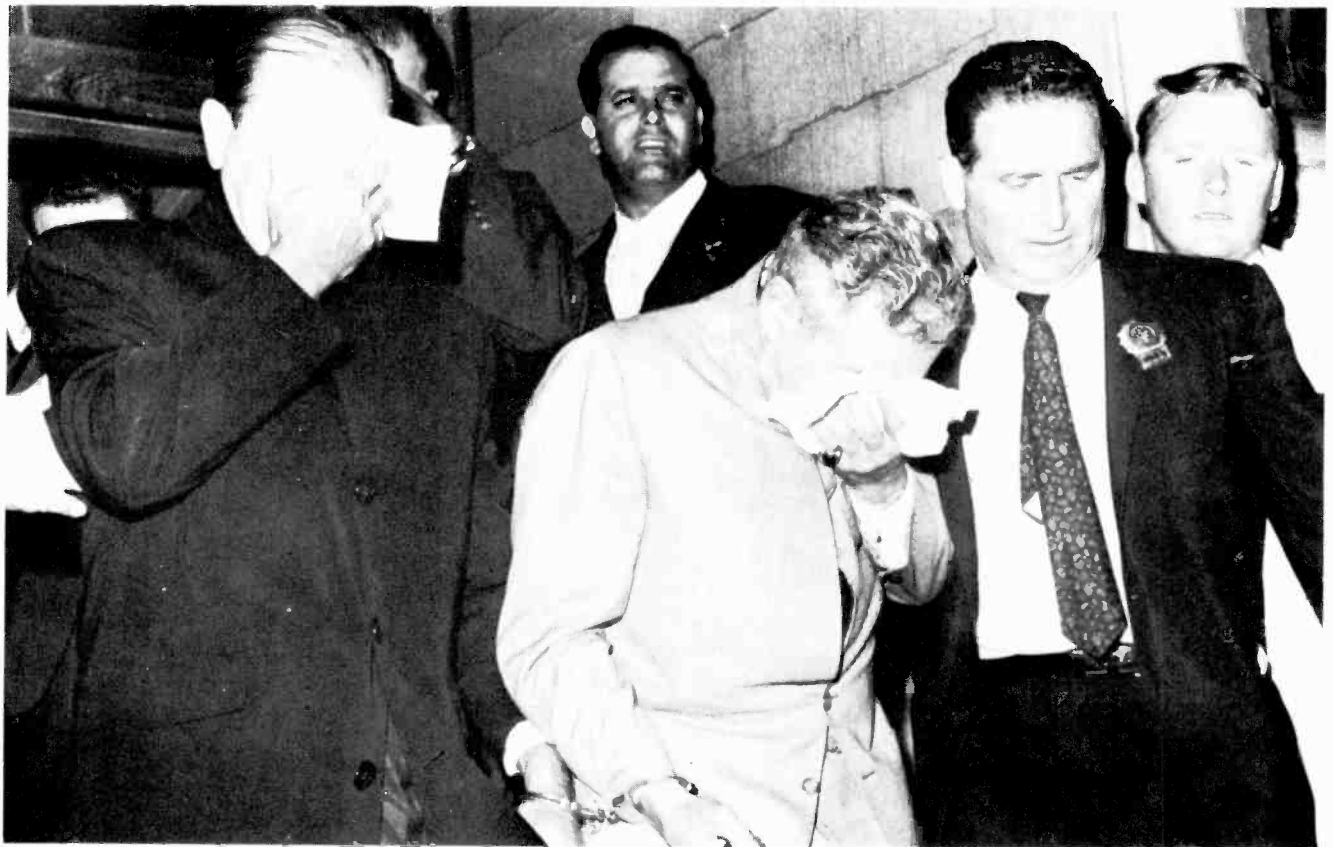
*Right:* Peggy Ann Bradnick, the seventeen-year-old Appalachian Valley girl, smiles over a bouquet of roses after her week's captivity. Kidnapper Hollenbaugh had fed her canned beans and corn. Said Peggy, "He was as lonely as a human being can get."



## CRIME



Would-be bank robber Larry Howard, twenty, of a three-man holdup team, is still clutching the currency as police rush into an Indianapolis bank. A burglar alarm that quietly let the police know what was happening turned the trick.



*Above:* Alleged "big men" in the Mafia, restricted by handcuffs, use handkerchiefs or coats to cover up as police lead them out of the restaurant. The raid was described by a district attorney as part of a campaign to rid New York of "top hoodlums."

*Left:* Expecting someone? A waiter parts the curtains of a restaurant in Queens, New York, where police surprised thirteen alleged Mafia barons. A district attorney later called them "some of the top hoods of th U.S." The police said they were holding a "little Apalachin" crime convention. The thirteen said they were just having lunch. Bail: \$100,000 each.





Flood waters in Corvallis, Oregon, swept her automobile off the road and into the torrent, but Mrs. Ray Shilling managed to squirm out of her sinking, swirling car and battle her way to safety.

## 29. Disasters

PERHAPS THE MOST HEARTBREAKING event of the year occurred on October 21st when a coal-slag avalanche, loosened by rain, smashed into the tiny Welsh mining village of Aberfan, killing 148 persons. The toll included 113 children—representing nearly half of the school population of the village—who died in the rubble of their demolished schoolhouse. The funeral services for the victims touched the hearts of people all over the world, and almost four millions of dollars in donations poured in from many countries to help rebuild Aberfan.

In Turkey's eastern provinces, which sit on an earthquake belt, a series of severe jolts in August left dozens of villages in ruins. The tremors were the country's worst in twenty-three years, killing 2,477 people, injuring 1,494, and leaving up to 100,000 persons homeless.

In Italy, some of the worst floods since the Middle Ages killed scores of people, drowned cattle, pushed entire forests down the slopes of a mountain, made thousands of people homeless, and dealt a heavy blow to the economy of one-third of Italy. In Florence, the November floods destroyed or damaged millions of dollars' worth of paintings, jewelry, and rare manuscripts. Venice, too, was flooded by the wind-driven waters, with St. Mark's submerged under ten feet.

Other disasters:

*Fires:* In the hills overlooking Los Angeles in November, a forest fire raged out of control. Strong winds whipped up the flames, which destroyed 2,100 acres of forest land, killed fourteen fire fighters and severely burned twelve others.

On October 18th, twelve New York City firemen died when a floor of an office building caved in during a fire. It was the worst disaster in the department's 101-year history.

Fire swept through an old apartment hotel in downtown St. Paul, Minnesota, on January 6th, killing nine persons and injuring seventeen.

*Airplane Crashes:* A Japanese jetliner, on February 4th, plunged into Tokyo Bay, killing 133 persons—the worst single-plane disaster in history. A month later, 64 of 72 persons aboard a Canadian Pacific DC-8 were killed when it crashed at Tokyo International Airport. And, eighteen hours later, a British Overseas Airways Boeing 707 crashed on the slopes of Japan's Mount Fuji, killing all 124 persons aboard, including 89 Americans.

An Air India Boeing 707 jet, bound for New York from Bombay, crashed into a ridge of Mount Blanc near the French-Swiss border on January 24th. All 117 aboard were killed.

Eighty-one were killed on April 22nd when a military chartered American Flyers Airline Lockheed Electra, flying from Fort Ord, California, to Fort Benning, Georgia, crashed near Ardmore, Oklahoma. Ninety-two servicemen and six crew members were aboard.

*Sea Disasters:* Two tankers, the *Alva Cape* and the *Texaco Massachusetts*, collided in a channel near New York Harbor on June 16th. The *Alva Cape* carried more than four million gallons of inflammable naphtha; explosions after the crash killed thirty-three seamen and injured sixty others. Twelve days later, while the naphtha cargo was being removed from the *Alva Cape*, another series of explosions killed four more persons and injured nine. The hull was towed out to sea and shelled to the bottom.

Fire aboard the aircraft carrier *Oriskany*, off the South Vietnamese coast, killed forty-three United States Navy men on October 26th. It was the Navy's worst accident of the Vietnam war. Ten days later, fire broke out aboard the carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, also off South Vietnam. Eight persons were killed.

Twenty-five-foot waves battered the freighter *Daniel J. Morrell*, which sank to the bottom of Lake Huron on November 30th. There were thirty-three aboard; only one survived. It was the worst Great Lakes disaster in eight years.

A Greek ferry carrying 281 persons sank into the Aegean Sea on December 8th, with heavy loss of life.

*Tornadoes:* A series of tornadoes ripped through central Mississippi and Alabama early in March, killing 52 and injuring 497. Hardest hit was Jackson, Mississippi, where twelve people died when a shopping center was virtually demolished.

Tornadoes hit Topeka, Kansas, on June 8th, killing seventeen and injuring about five hundred persons. Property damage was estimated at \$150 million; every major building at Washburn University was either damaged or destroyed.

*Floods:* Four days of heavy rainfall in Brazil caused flood-

ing and landslides, resulting in the death of 239 persons. The worst damage occurred in shantytown slums outside Rio de Janeiro.

*Heat:* A heat wave east of the Rockies in late June and early July was blamed for the deaths of many elderly persons. In St. Louis, which sweltered under twenty consecutive days of hot weather, 146 deaths were attributed to the heat.

*Blizzards:* Two of the worst blizzards on record struck the nation: across the South and eastern states in late January, the eastern and the northern plains, and Midwest states in March. The snow was blamed for at least 247 deaths.

**Her village in ruins, her heart torn by grief, a Turkish girl sobs in the rubble that once was her home in Varto.**





*Above:* Rescue workers comb through the wreckage after an avalanche of coal slag smashes down upon this school in the Welsh mining village of Aberfan. It was the last morning class before half-term holiday.

*Below:* The caskets of the Aberfan dead are laid out in rows for a mass burial. Up to fifty bodies remained buried in the slide.



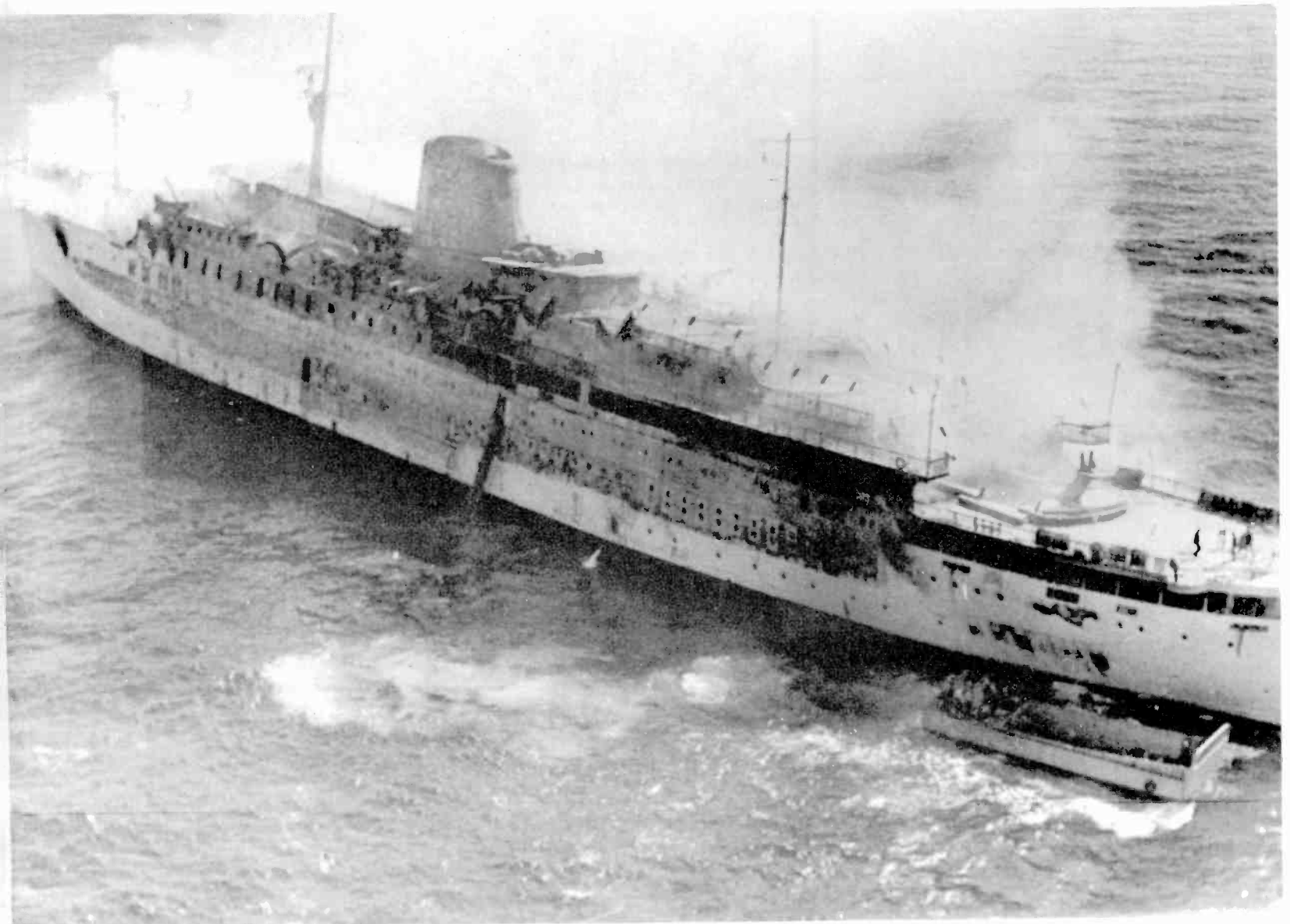


*Left:*

The crew of the aircraft carrier *Oriskany* gathers on deck while a fire-fighting contingent tries to fight back flames before they reach the carrier's bomb-storage areas. The fire flared up as the *Oriskany* stood off North Vietnam. Forty-three navy men, mostly pilots, died, trapped in their staterooms.

*Below:*

A navy landing craft, lower right, pulls alongside with a fire-fighting crew to battle flames on the cruise ship *Viking Princess*, burning about thirty miles off Cuba. The Norwegian-owned ship was towed to port with three dead of its 498 passengers.





**New York City firemen doff their helmets and bow their heads when the body of a dead comrade is carried from a still-burning office building. Twelve firemen died when a floor collapsed on them during the blaze.**



*Left:* The tremor lasted only a few seconds, but these Ugandans lost their home. A series of earthquake jolts in March hit an area spreading from Africa to North China.

*Below:* Roof gone, walls smashed, automobiles flung about like toys . . . this home in Tampa, Florida, grimly illustrates what can happen when a tornado slices through the neighborhood. This twister came out of the Gulf of Mexico in April.



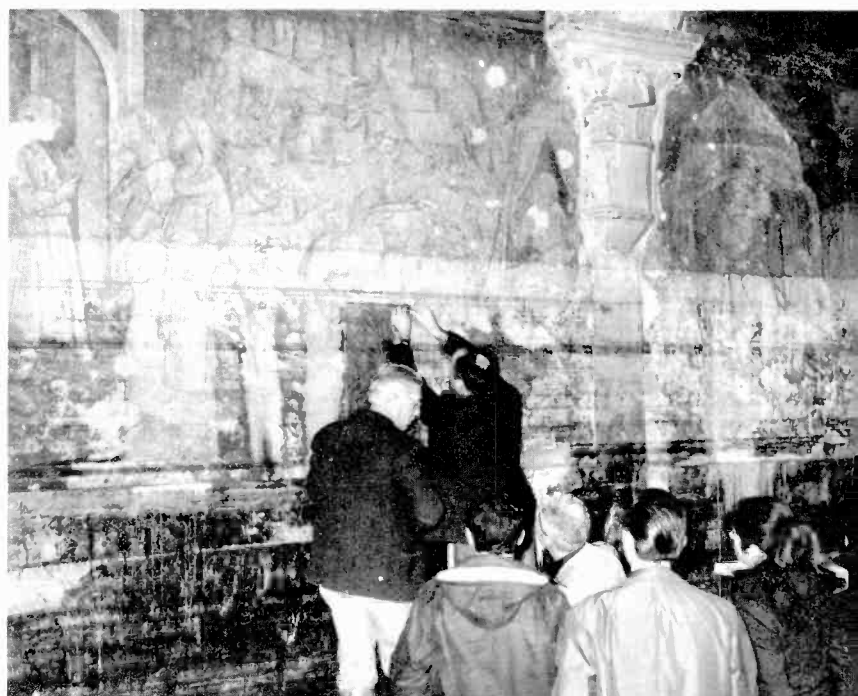


*Above:* Florence's Basilica of Santa Croce and its square stand in mud, water, and oily slime from a flooding Arno River. Irreplaceable art in the city known as the "treasure chest of the Renaissance" was destroyed.

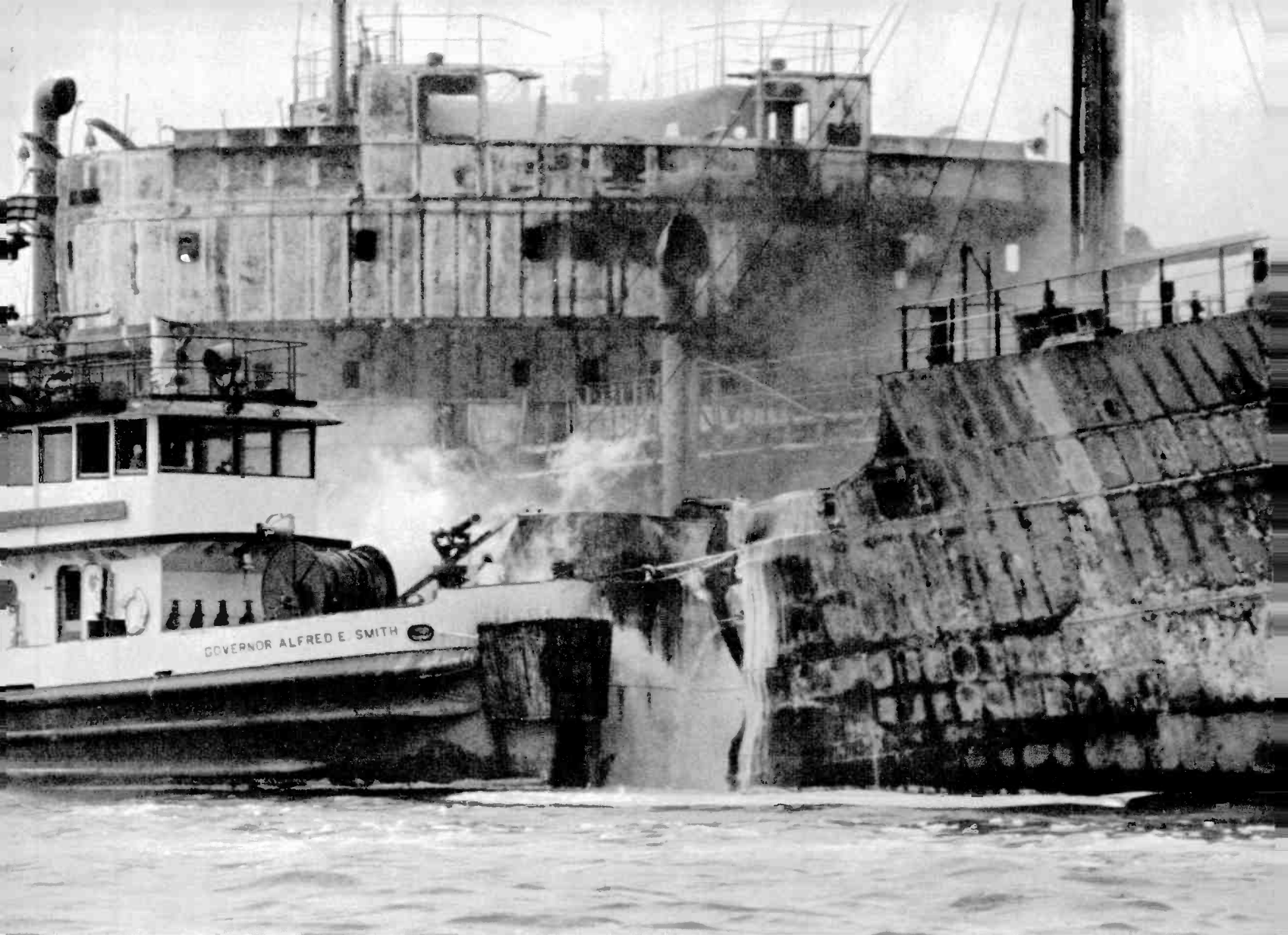
*Below left:* Books—many of them valuable beyond price—are attacked by mold after the Arno flooding. The workers here are drying and cleaning the books; they will then treat them with an antimold gas. Some two million such

antique books and precious manuscripts were damaged in the flood.

*Below right:* Restoration experts begin work on an Uccello fresco, a fifteenth-century masterpiece in a Florence church inundated by the rampaging Arno. The monetary losses ran into the millions—the loss to culture was incalculable.



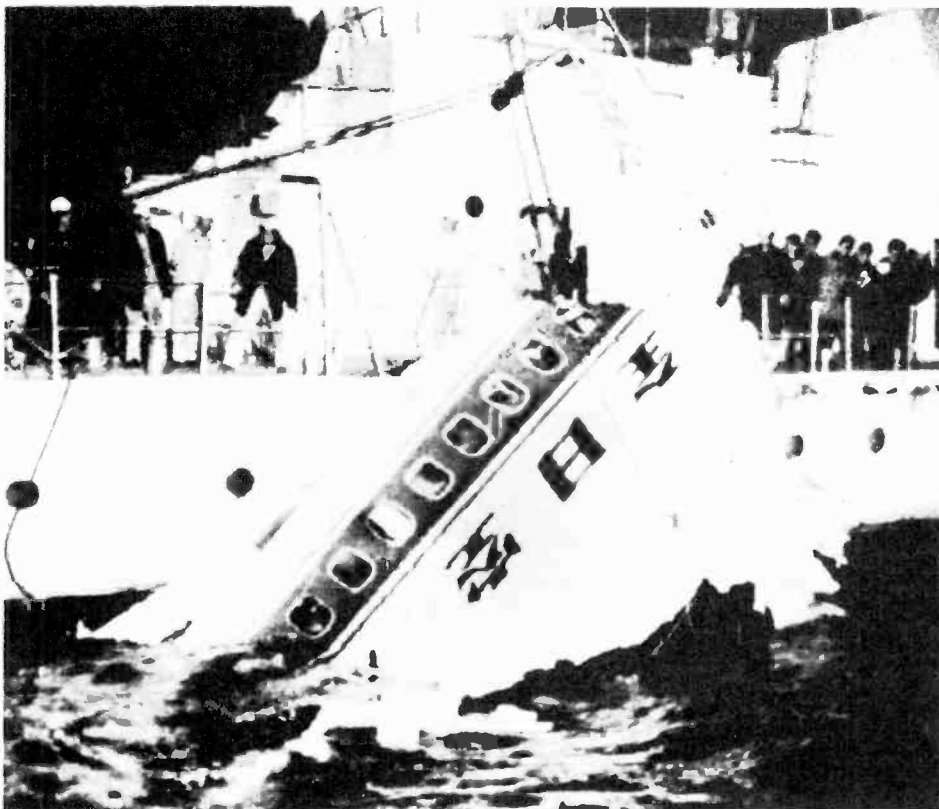




*Above:* The British tanker *Alva Cape*, her starboard side ripped open in a collision with the tanker *Texaco Massachusetts*, is sprayed with anti-fire foam after her cargo of inflammable naphtha exploded after the crash.

*Right:* Smoke and flame leap from the *Alva Cape*, her sides already ripped open, as a United States Coast Guard cutter slams high-explosive shells into her to sink the dangerous hulk 125 miles out in the Atlantic. Finally, after fifty-five rounds were fired, the *Alva Cape* went down.





*Above: The scar of battle opens like an ugly mouth in the face of the liner Michelangelo, berthing in New York after a brutal Atlantic spring crossing. The Michelangelo's opponent in the trip: a storm at sea that flung waves sixty feet high against the ship, killing two passengers and a crewman.*

*Left: Chunks of a Japanese domestic airliner are hoisted up by a rescue boat after the plane crashed into Tokyo Bay in February, killing 133 persons.*



At a happening in New York's Central Park, "the look" complete and in action: mini skirt, boots, textured white stockings, the unkempt fall, heavy eye makeup, and the pale lips and nails.

## 30. Fashions and Fads

THE REMARKABLE UNITED STATES FASHIONS of 1966 had their roots in Paris. In the summer of 1964 a small underground movement originated in the workrooms of high-price designer André Courreges, who created a new look. He intended it for the privileged few. But within two years it inflamed the youth and the masses into a worldwide revolution that wound up with the psychedelic leg.

The Courreges timing was uncanny!

Across the channel the young were already in revolt—part of that revolt is the bizarre quality of today's fashion. The year of the absurd! The year of the leg!

Perhaps for the first time the female waist, bust, and neck gave way in importance and focus to legs in the anatomy of high style. Some designers exposed it—some covered it up—and as a result two international vogues emerged for women of all ages: the mini skirt—and pants.

It was Courreges who actually originated the climb of the skirt in that 1964 showing, and the "outer space" look in fashion. It was not just the creation of the dress—it was a total look that he launched—and it is one that is still orbiting. He raised the skirt from the accepted line below the knee to a daring two inches above. He ignored the body, eliminated the waist, used architectural lines for clothes, and emphasized the structural look with riveted seaming detail. Naturally the helmet replaced the hat, and boots—all kinds of boots—replaced the shoe. The leg itself was left to one of two extremes; either white (pure white) textured stockings, or no stockings at all, but always with boots.

The fashion-minded young of all ages quickly identified with this far-out, liberated image, and its success was immediate. The long-brewing compulsive need for the young to distinguish themselves from their elders was all that was needed to launch the struggling talents of very young English designers, and the kooky wares of Carnaby Street.

The most celebrated to come on—and capture—

this new scene was London's Mary Quant. In the groove herself, she sensed what the restless Mods wanted, and produced it at prices they could afford. With her came Mod fashions and the mini skirt. She received the O.B.E. for making both world famous.

The prototype of the mini-skirted, mini-bosomed Mod look is also English, a 91-pound Cockney blonde with a short-thatched haircut, big gray eyes, and long legs, who at sixteen became world famous as "Twiggy." She started at what would seem to be the top when in February, 1966, London's *Daily Express* called her the "girl of the year." The kids in England are devoted to her—her image has been a criterion of "the look."

The Mod and Carnaby street look in clothes swept the United States in 1966. It became standard uninhibited gear for the very young and many of the not so young. Curiously it also influenced young men's as well as women's and boys' and girls' fashions simultaneously.

As women's skirts went up, stockings climbed to an all-time fashion high, and for the first time in history, women of all ages thought—and bought—a stocking wardrobe. Heavy textured stockings, lace stockings, metallic stockings, lattice and crocheted stockings; not only in white, but in blue, green, purple, orange, magenta, and pink—all made the leg high-style.

To complete "the look," boots, which had always been reserved for inclement weather, were now to be seen going everywhere—to the office, campus, cocktails, theatre, and even metallic boots for formal evenings. Here again fashion created the need and the desire for a new wardrobe—and as a result young and old acquired a wardrobe of boots. Yves St. Laurent, tops in Paris couture, also drew attention to the leg. St. Laurent made news by covering it, and pants, in fact pants suits became accepted high style. He created the pinstripe gangster suit and the "smoking" (a takeoff of the tuxedo) for women.

In America, the pants suit epidemic spread from coast to coast, and appeared wherever fashion-setting

women chose to appear. Modestly it began as a traveling uniform, then elaborate versions, bejeweled and glittering, were seen at private parties and ultimately at gala balls. It was only when pants suits, elegant and otherwise, were worn to swank restaurants that they started to meet censorship and create problems for the better-known maître d's. New York City's Colony and "21" banned the pants suit, while other top restaurants kept their fingers crossed, imploring discretion on the part of their famed or social guests, and cautiously let the bars down. The young, of course, couldn't have cared less, and pants—just pants or pants suits—were worn by them everywhere.

Another bizarre development, with couture roots, was the cutout. This style trend, which obviously centered on exposure, showed everything it could show and still be called a dress! For instance, a series of plate-size holes would detail the waist of a dress—or large armholes would leave the top of the dress held to the skirt at only two strategic points. There were eye-catching bare mid-ribs, created in every known geometric form.

The cutouts ultimately mutilated the organic concept of the dress to such an extent that, in self-defense, the body stockings or full length tights became fashion as well. In its role as a basic form of protection, the body stocking became the foundation for cutout clothes and also for the "birdcage" and clear plastic mini dresses, both of which were tops on the lists of kooky clothes.

But exposure went further in fashions and fads!

Either at home or abroad it was mostly men that ignited the fashion revolt. Among the most noted agitators was California's Rudi Gernreich. It was he who actually dropped the biggest bomb and set off the most controversial press when he designed the topless bathing suits. Hundreds of stores in the United States ordered them, hoping only to cash in on the wild publicity. That summer, local police patrolled the beaches, and slapped summonses on the vast numbers that were sold!

Two years before, Carol Doda, a California dancer turned hostess, started the vogue for topless waitresses, and introduced the idea to the cloistered halls of San Francisco's late night spots. The local police patrolled these new frontiers, badgered them, and then gave up. New York, however, took a dim view of the "fixed strip," when one Ruby Diamond, bared to the waist, served

drinks in New York's Crystal Room—the law stepped in and handed her summons #270653 for indecent exposure!

As some fashions and fads went selectively bare, others went for the covered-up, junked-up look.

Consistent with the Carnaby influence on men's fashion, the covered-up military look for girl "swingers" as well as boys simply had to come forward. It did not arrive with ceremony from a designer's drawing board, but from the seedy stock of London's thrift shops and Portobello Road's stalls, as well as the Army & Navy stores throughout the United States. From such imaginative bazaars the eccentrics bought and wore the most eccentric of the late twenties' and the most absurd of World War I uniforms. It was the heyday of "camp." Even moth-eaten furs were high fashion too, not because they suited the military look, but because any thrift shop worth its salt and any junk shop worth its stall had an impressive supply of just such finery. By natural association to the "camp" followers, worn-out furs became part of the military-Mod fashion syndrome.

"The Look" literally required a total look—and if you were "in" you went for the whole bit. The whole bit meant a wig, exotic eye makeup, obviously fake eyelashes, pale lips and paler nails, and wild jewelry. Everything was intended to exaggerate—nothing was to look natural! The wig teased and puffed out was to exaggerate the contour of the head, and even the "fall" (which was just an up-dated version of the long hair switch) was seized on by the younger ones to effect very long hair worn loosely over the shoulders or to the waist. Heavy eye makeup and long false lashes intensified the eyes, while beige or white lipsticks almost eliminated the mouth. Even men responded to the big cosmetic swing, and new industries boomed—with hair sprays for men, aftershave powder puffs, and even "executive eyelashes" for the alluring executive.

Jewelry has always had its place in all of fashion's history. It had a very definite offbeat place this year, mostly on the ear with the biggest earrings ever conceived. The bigger the hairdo, the bigger the earrings—the longer the fall, the longer the earrings!

That was "The Look" for 1966.

## FASHIONS AND FADS



*Above:* Glittering in bugle beads and metallic sequins—and not quite indistinguishable behind the mask—is Princess Lee Radziwill, turning up at author Truman Capote's New York party for guests he decided were America's Beautiful People.

*Right:* Mrs. Henry Ford, in butterfly mask, at the Capote party for Beautiful People. The term emerged as a designation for the socially preferred. At the turn of the century these people were called the Four Hundred, in later years Café Society, then the Jet Set. Now the B.P.





*Above left:* Wear it once, then throw it away. If you wish. The dress is made entirely of paper, a material that began to turn up in dresses for town and home wear and gowns for formals. The model (flesh and blood) is Diane Wilkins, America's Junior Miss of the Year.

*Above right:* Milady's suit with trousers—full-length and with a slight bell—became *de rigeur* for all occasions, dining and dancing as well as a trip to the market in suburbia.

*Left:* Wigs and falls came on strong throughout the year. When synthetic tresses became available new vistas opened up for pool-side Loreleis.

## FASHIONS AND FADS



*Above left:* Dior shows off this street attire—a mixture of jolly tar, dour Scotsman, and just plain soccer player. The culottes and the low belt dare to emphasize the hip. Knee-high socks and flat-heeled shoes are another “re-innovation.”

*Above right:* The peek-a-boo—another way-out fashion—appears to emphasize not the dress, but the lack of dress, at least in some areas. This is piqué, black, white, and a little drafty.

*Left:* In New York, Ruby Diamond holds a summons issued when she reported for work as a topless waitress in the Crystal Club. So-called “pasties,” city police ruled, did not meet the standards of modesty.





*Above left:* Here comes the bride—in a mini gown of shimmering vinyl, cut high in front, low in back, and metallic-strapped sandals—at least as a London fashion show envisioned her.

*Above right:* There's the mini . . . there is also the super mini. For the men, the trim look: the low-slung, hip-hugging trousers with a wide belt. Courtesy, Carnaby in London.

*Right:* Raingear for go-go. British designer Paul Blanche decided this was just the thing for a rainy day: a flared hipster mini skirt and jacket. The legs are a concession to esthetics, the boots a concession to rain.



*Right:* London designer Mary Quant shows off her O.B.E. (Order of the British Empire) after receiving the award from Queen Elizabeth. The Mod fashions she introduced to the world gave a hefty boost to Britain's economy.

*Below:* London's Mod look for the male comes to the States. The swinger man in the foreground is swinging in the "gambler's suit." To the right, his friend in green and gold hip-hugging paisley corduroy and wide belt.





*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 emerged as a popular on-camera figure. Based in New York, she has also gone to India to cover the Jacqueline Kennedy trip, as well as around the nation when "Today" changes locale.*

## The Craze For Youth – 1966 Style

**Barbara Walters**

NBC "Today" Reporter

"FROM THE BACK you can't tell them apart . . . and from the front, you're sorry you can!"

Terse words spoken by a bewildered husband about his wife and daughter in the year 1966. For 1966 will go down in fashion history as the year that Mama took up her skirts, took down her hair, and threw away her perspective in a compulsive attempt to push back the years.

No one was immune. The Duchess of Windsor announced that she would wear knee socks around the pools of Palm Beach and Jacqueline Kennedy, emulated by millions of American women, was photographed in a coat four inches above her knees. Women bared bowlegs, knock-knees, thin thighs, and fat ankles, and to those few who demurred, wondering if their gams passed the test, designer Mary Quant had this advice, "If you don't have good legs, cut them off."

With the short skirts came shoulder-length hair, long white stockings, any shiny flat-heeled black patent-leather pumps. Sixty-year-old matrons took on the appearance of boarding-school juniors, and those who didn't rejoice in looking like little girls, flattened their chests and boasted of being mistaken for little boys.

As New York cosmeticians advocated rouged knees and hairdressers added long falls of fake curls to middle-aged heads, the youth craze spread its diaper rash across the country, seemingly affecting everyone. Fifty-year-old Frank Sinatra sang "It's Been a Very Good Year," and married twenty-year-old Mia Farrow. Cary Grant, old

enough to be a grandfather, produced pictures of his newly born baby in the arms of his twenty-six-year-old wife. Forty-seven-year-old Judy Garland admitted she wore her fourteen-year-old daughter's dresses. In the past, it had been enough to *think* young, but in 1966 one had to *be* young by hook or by crook or by costume or by plastic surgery or, finally, by injection.

The leading women's magazines nonchalantly ran articles giving the cost and variety of cosmetic plastic surgery. *Vogue Magazine* went further, and devoted its pages to the praise of the controversial doctor in Switzerland who injects the old with the young cells of a newborn lamb.

Then *Time Magazine* devoted a cover story to that new minority, "The Middle Aged," and saddened many a lusty forty-year-old male by photographing, as the symbol of middle age, Lauren Bacall.

As the youth boom became an uncontested fact, the experts tried to explain its cause and effect. A reliable economist insisted that short skirts forebode a depression. "Remember," he said, "the great depression of 1929 came right after the Flapper age." As if to prove him right, the market slumped.

A historian concluded that short skirts were most often followed by long wars and that peace was synonymous with long skirts. As proof, he cited the "New Look of Christian Dior" that swept the country right after World War II.

But most thinkers agreed that the fervent seekers of youth were actually seeking some understanding of, and defense against, the new, aggressive, ever-present, ever-popular teen-ager. Never before had youth been so prominent or so important. Never before had parents felt so threatened.

The new symbol of middle age herself, Lauren Bacall, summed things up this way for me. "I think of myself as a young modern, but to my seventeen-year-old son and my thirteen-year-old daughter, I'm an eighteenth-century antique. But," she added, "that's all right with me. Instead of trying to be the way I was yesterday, I try to get the most I can out of today."

"And do you worry about getting old?" I asked.

"I've never been old," Miss Bacall replied. "It's a whole new experience, and I've learned to look forward to new experiences."

Another reaction came from Dr. Herbert Peiser, a New York psychiatrist who works primarily with teenagers. "Adults are altogether too much in awe of adolescents," he told me. "In giving them their due unduly, we not only confuse them, but end up trying too hard to be like them." His advice: "Think old. It's better for everyone."

"Think old": what nice, comforting words, especially if one translates them to mean think mellow, think mature, think for oneself and, finally, act like oneself.

And if that poor bewildered husband we met at the beginning of this article is still around, we suggest he try

a new 1966 game on the frantically identical mothers and daughters. It is a game that guarantees that you'll be able to pinpoint the age of a lady, not by looking at her, but by listening to her. If, for example, she thinks a jitterbug is a garden insect, if she knows Jane Withers only as a lady plumber, and if she wouldn't be caught dead buying

a Frank Sinatra record, she's under thirty-five.

However, if she remembers when girls who looked like Barbra Streisand did something about it, if she regrets the passing of running boards, and if she wouldn't be caught dead buying a *Nancy Sinatra* record, then she's over thirty-five—no matter how short her skirts are!



Pop fashion designer Tiger Morse arrives for an opening in her gown of hand-stitched tapestry material, of the type usually seen covering a sofa. What appears to be a butterfly on her cheek is, indeed, a butterfly—preserved.



**Admiral Chester Nimitz, eighty, World War II Pacific Naval Commander.**

## 31. Obituaries

SOME OF THE BEST-KNOWN and most highly respected names in show business passed from the boards in 1966. Perhaps the most fabled of all was Walt Disney, who created the most popular movie stars ever to come from Hollywood: Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, Pluto the dog-like dog, and Goofy, the stand-up dog in overalls. Disney drew universal accolades, won a total of twenty-seven Oscars, and had the rare distinction of being praised by everyone from the American Legion to the Soviet Union. The garage-studio of his early years grew into one of the most modern studios in the world, turning out full-length movies and television features. His \$100-million entertainment empire also included one of the country's most popular tourist attractions, Hollywood's Disneyland; and at the time of his death in December he was building another Disneyland in Florida. He was sixty-five years old; his death was attributed to acute circulatory collapse, following lung surgery the month before.

Buster Keaton, "the Great Stone Face" of the silent movies who made a comeback late in life with television and cameo roles in movies, was seventy when he died early in the year. Francis X. Bushman, the flashing-eyed idol of the early silents, was eighty-three.

Montgomery Clift was only forty-five, the victim of coronary arteriosclerosis. The sensitive actor became an instant star with *Red River* in 1948, but though he won four Oscar nominations, he never won an Oscar. Other of his movies were *From Here to Eternity* and *A Place in the Sun*.

Other show-business deaths included actor Clifton Webb, seventy-two; Al Kelly, the double-talk artist, sixty-nine; and Gertrude Berg, the Jewish-momma figure of "The Goldbergs" series, sixty-six.

Sherman Billingsley, the founder and owner of what had once been Manhattan's most noted nightclub—the Stork Club—died at the age of sixty-six; so, at the same age, did Billy Rose, who held the distinction of being the biggest single stockholder in AT&T (160,000 shares).

Sophie Tucker, "the last of the red hot mamas," was seventy-eight and had spent fifty years on the cabaret circuit; she died of lung cancer. Ed Wynn was seventy-nine; his career embraced vaudeville, comedy, Broadway musicals, films, and radio. Lenny Bruce, one of the best of the "sick" comedians, who had been plagued by obscenity trials ("People should be taught what is, not what should be," he said of his approach) and dwindling income, was found dead in his Hollywood home at the age of forty—apparently the victim of an overdose of narcotics.

Hedda Hopper, whose syndicated column had reported on the antics of show business since 1938, died at the age of seventy-five. One of her revelations was that Clark Gable wore false teeth.

In politics, Harry Flood Byrd—the aristocratic Virginian who retired in 1965 after thirty-three years in the United States Senate—died at the age of seventy-nine after spending four months in a coma. He ruled over a powerful political organization in his home state, and in Washington his conservative philosophy was turned to slowing down passage of many bills he did not like. Byrd was also the world's largest individual apple grower, with five thousand acres of orchards around Berryville, Virginia.

Christian A. Herter, a former Republican governor of Massachusetts, and Secretary of State under President Eisenhower, died at seventy-one. Since 1960, he had walked with crutch-canes; he had suffered from a serious arthritic condition for twenty-five years.

Hendrik Verwoerd, sixty-four, the Prime Minister of South Africa, was assassinated (see Chapter II, AFRICA).

Alberto Giacometti, whose skeletal sculptures drew 400,000 people to the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1965, died of a heart attack in Paris at the age of sixty-four. The Swiss-born sculptor once said of life versus art: "I prefer the sight of a bird living in the sky

to any masterpiece of art." Another distinguished European artist, the French sculptor and painter Jean Arp, a founder of the Dada movement, died at seventy-eight in Basle.

The noted American sculptor William Zorach died in Bath, Maine, at seventy-nine. His massive, rounded figures grace Radio City Music Hall, as well as many museums.

Anne Nichols, the playwright author of *Abie's Irish Rose* died at seventy-five. Lillian Smith was sixty-eight; when her novel *Strange Fruit* appeared in 1944, it gave a more thoroughgoing account than any previous American work of race relations in the South.

The "father of surrealism," French poet and philosopher André Breton, was seventy. One of the best of the new American poets, Frank O'Hara, died of injuries after being hit by a beach buggy on Long Island; he was forty.

Marguerite Higgins, the only woman news correspondent in the Korean War (of whom one GI said, "Maggie wears mud like other women wear makeup"), contracted a rare tropical ailment from a sandfly bite in Vietnam, and died at the age of forty-five. She had shared a Pulitzer Prize in 1951.

Death came to two great American merchants, Bernard F. Gimbel, eighty-one, head of the Gimbel's and Saks Fifth Avenue chains; and Sebastian Kresge, ninety-nine, founder of the nationwide chain of five-and-dime stores.

Blanche W. Knopf, who brought many distinguished European authors to American readers, died at seventy-one. She was the wife of noted publisher Alfred A. Knopf.

The "Red Dean" of Britain's Canterbury Cathedral—the Very Reverend Dr. Hewlett Johnson, dubbed "Red Dean" because of his Communist sympathies, died after a severe fall, at ninety-two.

An American clergyman well known for his civil-rights activities, the Reverend Robert W. Spike, died of head injuries inflicted by an assailant who entered his room at the new religious center at Ohio State University in Columbus. He had been head of the National Council of Churches' Race Commission, and then administered the University of Chicago's new doctor-of-ministry program.

Margaret Sanger, after fifty years of highly success-

ful crusading for birth control, died at the age of eighty-two. She once said her aim was to make "every child a wanted child." One of the country's best-known campaigners for treating the mentally ill, Dr. William Menninger, died at sixty-six.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., the radio commentator and partisan of the Far Right, died at sixty-three. Mrs. Elizabeth Nightingale Graham, who as Elizabeth Arden turned out the beauty products that made her a millionaire, was eighty-two.

Lal Bahadur Shastri, Nehru's successor as prime minister of India since 1964, died at sixty-one in Tashkent, the Soviet Union, on January 11th, the day after signing a peace agreement there ending India's hostilities with Pakistan. The sparrow-like little statesman said, and proved in his life, that "small men are not necessarily weak men."

Two other well-known writers who died in 1966 were Evelyn Waugh, sixty-two, the British novelist (*The Loved One*, *Brideshead Revisited*, *Decline and Fall*, and so on); and Frank O'Connor, sixty-three, in his youth a revolutionary in the Irish Republican Army, then a world-famous novelist, playwright, and critic. O'Connor was best known for his mass of short stories in *The New Yorker* magazine (which had published forty-seven by the time of his death).

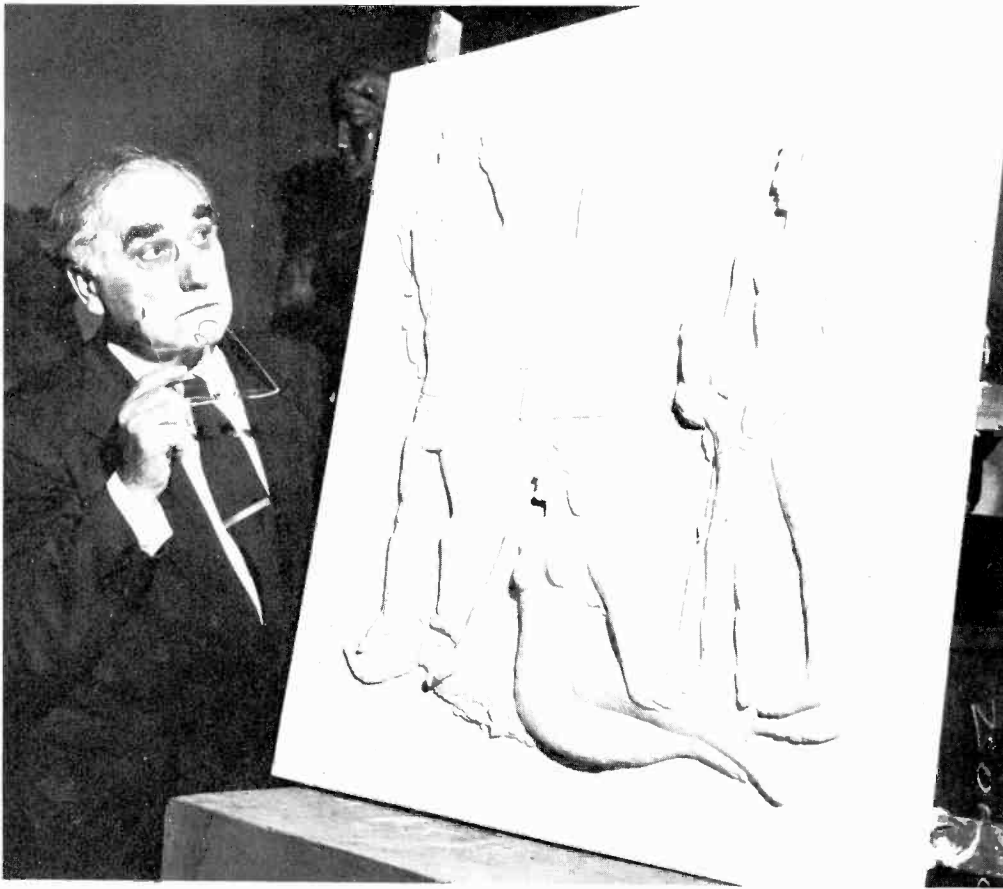
Hans Hofmann, the leader of the abstract expressionist movement in American art, died of a heart attack at eighty-five.

The country's most famous trainer of racehorses, James E. (Sunny Jim) Fitzsimmons, died at ninety-one. He started as a stableboy, and later trained such champions as Nashua and Bold Ruler.

Russel Crouse died at seventy-three; his thirty-two-year-partnership with Howard Lindsay had turned out such hits as *Life with Father* and *The Sound of Music*.

Admiral of the Fleet Chester W. Nimitz, who commanded the United States Pacific Fleet in World War Two, died at eighty in San Francisco.

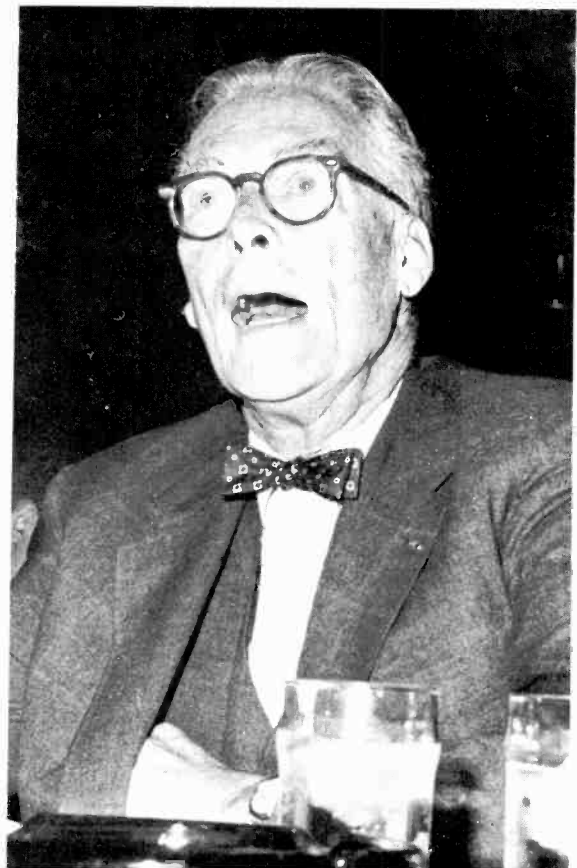
Finally, this item: Roy Rogers announced in 1966 that his famous palomino stallion Trigger had died in the summer of 1965 of old age. Rogers said he had not been able to bear breaking the news to Trigger's fans. Trigger had won star billing in eighty-six movies.



**Sculptor William Zorach, seventy-nine, here with a model rejected by a Houston bank as "too modern."**



**Bernard Gimbel, eighty-one, department store magnate.**



**Christian Herter, seventy-one, former Secretary of State.**





**Lillian Smith, sixty-eight,**  
author of *Strange Fruit*.



**Deems Taylor, eighty (left),** composer-author, and **Frank Chapman, sixty-seven,** baritone-teacher (with his wife, opera star Gladys Swarthout, who survives).



**Billy Rose, sixty-six,** songwriter and master showman turned financier and art patron.



**Hedda Hopper, seventy-five,** Hollywood columnist.



**Sophie Tucker, seventy-eight, *The Last of The Red Hot Mamas*.**



**Ed Wynn, seventy-nine, theatre genius called "The Perfect Fool."**



**Buster Keaton, seventy, the "stone-faced" movie comic.**



**Montgomery Clift, forty-five, Broadway and Hollywood star.**



**Clifton Webb, seventy-four, dancer turned actor.**



**Gertrude Berg, sixty-six, "Mollie Goldberg" of TV.**



**Francis X. Bushman, eighty-three, leading man of silent films.**



**Marguerite Higgins, forty-five, reporter in war and peace.**



**Dr. William Menninger, sixty-six, psychiatrist.**



**Margaret Sanger, eighty-two. Mission: birth control.**



Walt Disney, sixty-five, creator of Mickey Mouse.

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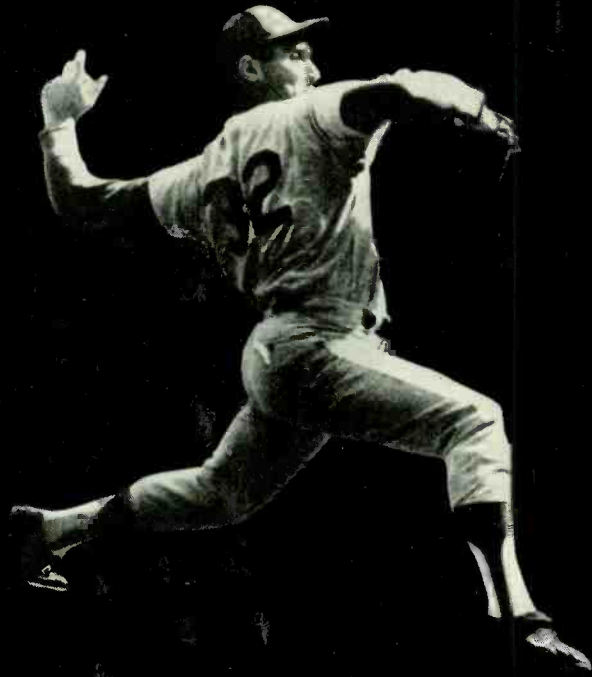
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