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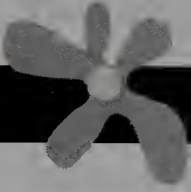
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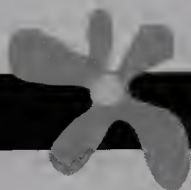
FOREWORD

The 1960s were a period of immense change in America. What many view as the complacency of the 1950s gave way to increased radicalism in the 1960s. The newfound activism of America's youth turned an entire generation against the social conventions of their parents. The rebellious spirit that marked young adulthood was no longer a stigma of the outcast but rather a badge of honor among those who wanted to remake the world. And in the 1960s, there was much to rebel against in America. The nation's involvement in Vietnam was one of the catalysts that helped galvanize young people in the early 1960s. Another factor was the day-to-day Cold War paranoia that seemed to be the unwelcome legacy of the last generation. And for black Americans in particular, there was the inertia of the civil rights movement that, despite seminal victories in the 1950s, had not effectively countered the racism still plaguing the country. All of these concerns prompted the young to speak out, to decry the state of the nation that would be their inheritance.

The 1960s, then, may best be remembered for its spirit of confrontation. The student movement questioned American imperialism, militant civil rights activists confronted their elders over the slow progress of change, and the flower children faced the nation's capitalistic greed and conservative ethics and opted to create a counterculture. There was a sense of immediacy to all this activism, and people put their bodies on the line to bring about change. Although there were reactionaries and conservative holdouts, the general feeling was that a united spirit of resistance could stop the inevitability of history. People could shape their own destinies, and together they could make a better world. As sixties chronicler Todd Gitlin writes, "In the Sixties it seemed especially true that History with a capital H had come down to earth, either interfering with life or making it possible: and that within History, or threaded through it, people were living with a supercharged density: lives were bound up with one another, making claims on one another, drawing one another into the common project."

Perhaps not everyone experienced what Gitlin describes, but few would argue that the nation as a whole was left untouched by the radical notions of the times. The women's movement, the civil rights movement, and the antiwar movement left indelible marks. Even the hippie movement left behind a relaxed morality and a more ecological mindset. Popular culture, in turn, reflected these changes: Music became more diverse and experimental, movies adopted more adult themes, and fashion attempted to replicate the spirit of uninhibited youth. It seemed that every facet of American culture was affected by the pervasiveness of revolution in the 1960s, and despite the diversity of rebellions, there remained a sense that all were related to, as Gitlin puts it, "the common project."

Of course, this communal zeitgeist of the 1960s is best attributed to the decade in retrospect. The 1960s were not a singular phenomenon but a progress of individual days, of individual years. Greenhaven Press follows this rubric in *The Turbulent Sixties* series. Each volume of this series is devoted to the major events that define a specific year of the decade. The events are discussed in carefully chosen articles. Some of these articles are written by historians who have the benefit of hindsight, but most are contemporary accounts that reveal the complexity, confusion, excitement, and turbulence of the times. Each article is prefaced by an introduction that places the event in its historical context. Every anthology is also introduced by an essay that gives shape to the entire year. In addition, the volumes in the series contain time lines, each of which gives an at-a-glance structure to the major events of the topic year. A bibliography of helpful sources is also provided in each anthology to offer avenues for further study. With these tools, readers will better understand the developments in the political arena, the civil rights movement, the counterculture, and other facets of American society in each year. And by following the trends and events that define the individual years, readers will appreciate the revolutionary currents of this tumultuous decade—the turbulent sixties.



INTRODUCTION

The Year of Idealism

Since its inception as a nation, the United States has suffered through several turbulent periods of change in the effort to uphold democratic values and principles. These periods of struggle are characterized by the confrontation of opposing forces attempting to uphold essential civil liberties—equality, representation, the right to vote—that have become pivotal to the American way of life. American history is rife with such examples. The initial challenge of the American Revolution centered on a changing desire for self-government. Years later, the outbreak of the Civil War challenged the Southern institution of slavery and threatened the sovereignty and solidarity of the nation. In the early twentieth century, women redefined the male concept of feminine value and won the right to vote. Historically, efforts to guarantee these civil liberties came from many unassuming individuals whose courageous idealism helped redefine the nation's concepts of democracy.

The beginning of the 1960s was marked by a series of events that exemplified or tested the country's democratic idealism. The rapidly growing civil rights movement, given new life by student and black activists, increased racial tensions in most southern states but forced the federal government to begin the necessary process for reappraising equality and the protection of civil liberties in America. The United States also tried to show off its principles of industry and achievement by competing with its cold war foe, the USSR. In fact, several advances in space-related science and technology catapulted the United States back into the forefront of technological leadership. And on earth, tensions abroad were exacerbated by numerous political confrontations between the United States and the Soviet Union as America attempted to export its democratic ideals to emerging nations like South Vietnam. Finally, in the new decade, the apathy that had characterized the youth of the 1950s was exchanged for a new

sense of liberalism, one that required active participation in a democratic society. By the end of 1962, the convergence of these events and the subsequent successes achieved through the accomplishments of those involved reinforced the importance of protecting American idealism even at the cost of redefining the ideals behind civil liberties to reflect the changing needs of an evolving society.

Maintaining Technological Superiority

For nearly a year American scientists had to watch, with increasing frustration, the successful space flights of the Russian cosmonauts. In April 1961 Russia's Yuri Gagarin became the first man to orbit the earth. He was followed a few months later by a second Russian cosmonaut, Gherman Titov. Titov's flight shattered much of the world's confidence in America as a dominating force in science and technology. The Soviets' *Vostok-2* spacecraft carried Titov around the planet seventeen times in a twenty-five-hour flight. Within the span of five months, the Soviet Union had launched two men into space while the American space program continued to suffer from serious setbacks.

In previous years, American scientists invented powerful technologies for use in the fields of atomic energy and jet propulsion. American scientists conquered diseases that prevented thousands of individuals from leading fulfilling lives. American engineering rebuilt a postwar Europe and worked in a coordinated effort to improve the infrastructure of many third world nations. Now, for the first time, the nations of the world looked at the United States as a follower rather than as a leader. The United States set this precedent when it watched the Russians launch the first communications satellite into space, *Sputnik II*, on October 4, 1957. The U.S. space program had yet to be first in achieving a viable success. Now, with the recent achievements of the Soviet space program, other nations wondered if the United States was falling far behind Soviet know-how and speed. In essence, a nation that could not best the technological advances of its rivals would be a poor influence on emerging nations that craved industrial and scientific advancement.

When U.S. astronaut John Glenn finally orbited the earth in his space capsule *Friendship 7* in February 1962, the impact on Americans was immediate. The mood of the nation's millions changed in an instant from frustration and suspense to exultation.

The *New York Times* reported, “A spell had been broken; the American people and with them the whole Western world need no longer stare as if hypnotized at Soviet successes with pricks of doubts in their hearts as to whether there is not some deep deficiency in the democratic order.”¹ In May 1963, astronaut Gordon Cooper would beat the Soviet record of seventeen orbits around the earth by flying a record twenty-two orbits, showing once again that American industry and ingenuity remained superior to that of its rival nations.

Establishing Equality

While conquests in space seemed miraculous or otherworldly, the United States in 1962 still had to contend with issues closer to home. When America was still only a loosely organized group of individual colonies, the protection of freedom from an oppressive government became the impetus for breaking away from the tyranny of the British government. Once freedom was gained from England, the government of the United States created the Bill of Rights within the Constitution to guarantee that all citizens were afforded equal opportunities in society. However, in a cruel ironic fashion, the U.S. government did not recognize the equality of the African slaves who were kidnapped and brought to America to work in the agriculture-based economy of the South. The U.S. government was now free from political oppression from England, but its laws worked to promote a similar oppression for blacks in the newly created nation.

After the Civil War, the large numbers of freed slaves still living in the South were persecuted by a growing number of laws designed to keep blacks and whites separate. These laws, which created segregation as a legal institution, were called Jim Crow laws. The powerful white political structure of the South used these laws to create barriers that would prevent African Americans from gaining access to opportunities afforded white citizens by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

In 1962, with almost one hundred years of freedom from slavery, blacks were still living in a state of oppression that guaranteed a status of inequality. Many individuals had already acted to incite change within the Jim Crow system. A significant stand against segregation occurred in 1955 when Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. Her act sparked a citywide boycott of the bus system by blacks that lasted

more than a year. When the boycott ended, the Montgomery city bus system dropped its policy of segregated seating, a landmark victory that paved the way for civil rights activists to achieve the greater demands of the civil rights movement during the 1960s.

Jim Crow and the Right to Vote

Victories like the one in Alabama were slow in coming, and Jim Crow laws still kept many blacks from embracing the ideals America espoused. Although blacks had the right to vote, specific local laws in southern states deterred blacks from exercising that right. In 1961 and 1962, student activists from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) invaded southern states, including Alabama and Georgia, to help black activists register voters in the black community. The challenges faced by these white and black activists from the North included developing ways to work around Jim Crow laws and creating methods to protest by using nonviolence in the face of hostile reaction by segregationists.

The Jim Crow system that prevented African Americans and many urban, working-class whites from voting consisted of a literacy test and a poll tax, a fee people had to pay in order to vote. These obstacles were the preferred Jim Crow devices of many southern states for keeping African Americans and poor whites away from the polls. These laws worked in different ways. According to historian C. Vann Woodward, "The literacy test was a 'judgment call.' A white election official listened to voters read . . . and decided who was literate and who was not. According to this . . . most whites were literate and most blacks were not."² The poll tax was aimed at stopping both blacks and poor whites from going to the polls. The poll tax was administered in ways that would create significant problems for poor people of both races who tried to vote. "For instance, the tax was due six months before the election and you had to save your receipt and take it to the polls with you. Furthermore, these rules were often enforced only on the people who they were meant to keep out of a voting booth,"³ Woodward contends. Taking into account that most southern blacks at this time were poor and illiterate, the constitutional right to vote would not be realized until legal barriers to voting were dismantled by new laws. Without the vote, blacks would never be able to establish a voting constituency that could work to elect new leaders with a progressive vision, a vision that would hopefully enact laws that protected equality rather than abolish it.

Student-Led Voter Registration Drives

The battleground for fighting against the Jim Crow laws was established in 1962 through the hard work of student activists in the voter registration campaigns, which were made up of registration drives and public nonviolent protests. SNCC worked in Albany, Georgia, and in Selma, Birmingham, and Montgomery, Alabama, in the effort to end segregation. Its job was to make sure the number of registered black voters increased. From the start, the workers from SNCC, as well as Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), faced opposition from whites and from conservative African Americans. In a *New York Times* interview, Albany mayor Asa D. Kelley Jr. stated that white residents were "sick and tired of outside agitators fomenting strife and interrupting business and advocating the violation of our ordinances and saying that they intend to turn the town upside down."⁴ Although many in the white community resented the involvement of white activists in the voter registration drives, this coordination between white and black activists was crucial to achieving success with the voter registration movement.

The voter registration drives were organized almost solely by the emerging student movement on college campuses. The increase in student involvement in political activity has been attributed to many factors. More students were attending colleges or universities than ever before, and many viewed their college experience as a political awakening and realized that the university was a potential training ground for achieving political change. Dissatisfaction with the American political system was intensified as more and more liberal youths, through their participation in college-based student groups, viewed the government as an oppressive force that was not living up to the idealism set forth in the Constitution. These liberal youths realized that outside the university, they had a much less effective voice. The only place they could enact some kind of social change was through the university system. *Time* magazine reported that "The American university has suddenly become a political arena—the prime forum for a generation that has lost faith in the ability of regular political institutions to solve such national problems as war, race and poverty. As a result, the university is losing whatever neutrality it professes."⁵ Focusing on political values of freedom and equality, student groups emerged on college campuses nationwide and worked steadily with black activists in the South

to change the political infrastructure there.

Many critics of the voter registration movement felt that white students should not have involved themselves in a black cause. Black activists such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X were already gaining media attention for the voting issue, but SNCC members considered action necessary to force the issue. The student involvement allowed young radicals to seize on democratic ideals and principles and put them into direct action in order to change outdated laws and political systems, and ultimately these demonstrations were successful. As historian David Steigerwald argues, "The protests destroyed the pervasive fear in the black community"⁶ that had prevented African Americans from standing up to local authorities in the face of prejudicial legislation.

Unfortunately, violence also followed the registration drives and hindered efforts to end discrimination. In August 1962, the Shady Grove Baptist Church in Albany, Georgia, was fire-bombed four days after SNCC workers had conducted a meeting there. Such acts of terrorism would continue to follow the civil rights movement and its leadership as hard-line defenders of Jim Crow put up a losing fight. The constitutional mandate of true representative democracy was finally reaching a large section of America that had been previously powerless to bring about change. The right to have one's voice heard in the political system, an American ideal, would soon exorcise Jim Crow from the American South.

Exporting American Idealism Abroad

While the American public fought fervently for changes in civil rights in the early 1960s, the U.S. government worked to quell the spread of communism throughout the globe. President John F. Kennedy promised in his inaugural address to defend the liberties of all people in all nations: "We pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required, not because the Communists may be doing it [creating tyranny], not because we seek their votes, but because it [defending liberty] is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."⁷ The year 1962 was marked by two examples of America exporting its ideals to other nations: Vietnam and Cuba.

The increase in U.S. military commitment to South Vietnam was an opportunity to oppose a political system that was in direct conflict with the beliefs and values that the United States up-

held. The United States concerned itself with aiding countries that were not in a military or economic position to offer a defense against threats to their freedom. Asia was already being torn apart by Communist control. China and North Korea had adopted Communist political systems, allying themselves with the Soviet Union. The United States believed that if Vietnam also adopted a Communist government, then Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, India, and other Asian nations would quickly follow suit. According to news reporter Homer Bigart, President Kennedy and other U.S. officials agreed that “American support to Vietnam has always been based on the fear that Communist control of this country would jeopardize all of Southeast Asia.”⁸

Vietnam was important symbolically to the United States. A military victory against the Communist North Vietnam regime would be added to the vast achievements already made against other Communist rivals. Lesser nations looked to the United States to champion causes against oppressive governments. The U.S. military viewed Vietnam as the arena for preventing what it saw as a global threat to the freedom of people in all nations. Unfortunately, Vietnam would become the greatest burden of the United States and cause the emergence of an antiwar movement that would reshape ideas regarding what constitutes an oppressive political force.

A second opportunity to defend American freedoms in 1962 involved Cuba, a small Communist country located ninety miles south of Florida. In the fall of 1962, there was a noticeable increase in shipments of Soviet military equipment into Cuba. On September 11, 1962, the Soviet government stated that “the armaments and military equipment sent to Cuba are designed exclusively for defensive purposes.”⁹ Then, on October 14, 1962, U.S. spy planes discovered evidence that nuclear weapons were being deployed to Cuba. After an intense investigation and after several conferences with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev, President Kennedy addressed the nation on October 22 and informed the American public that the two nations were on the brink of war.

The direct confrontation between the two global superpowers had to be decided without the use of military intervention. In both Korea and the emerging Vietnam conflict, the United States relied too heavily on military solutions and had paid a heavy price for this policy. In clandestine meetings with the Soviets over the next few days, the U.S. government hammered out a

compromise. The Soviet Union had been uncomfortable with the placement of nuclear weapons in Turkey, a U.S. ally. The Soviets promised to remove their nuclear weapons from Cuba if the United States would remove its nuclear missiles from Turkey. President Kennedy did not wish to appear politically weak, so the arrangement was kept secret. Kennedy did warn the Soviet premier, however, that if a deal was not reached quickly, the U.S. military was prepared to invade Cuba. On October 28, 1962, after several tense days of negotiations, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles from Cuba. For the American public, who had remained ignorant of the compromise, the announcement of the end of the standoff brought a sigh of relief. The United States appeared to have won this highly climactic cold war confrontation. At the same time, the United States proved politically that it could best its rivals without escalating the situation to one of military conflict. This worked to maintain a sense of belief in the power of democracy as an influential force in world politics.

Setting the Stage for Other Events

The year 1962 was important because it set the stage for a number of events that would shape the moral and ethical climate of the nation in the years to come. The early voices of women activists were beginning to speak out against discrimination in the workplace. Sexual freedom was gaining interest, and the sexual practices of adults would become the subject of study in *The Kinsey Report*.

Drug experimentation gained popularity in the emerging counterculture movement. Professor Timothy Leary was fired from Harvard University for his insistence on continuing his drug experiments with LSD, work that he deemed socially valuable for its impact on the behavior and mental health of prison inmates. Leary went on to publish several books that taught many individuals in the counterculture movement to use drugs as a way to liberate the mind.

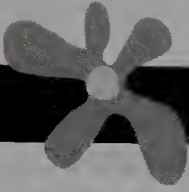
Finally, many of the white student activists whose work was important for affecting change in the South went back to college campuses and fought for the freedom of speech, which was challenged by university administrators who feared the loss of government funding due to antiwar activities on college campuses in later years. In each instance, the disparity between American idealism and the reality of American social conventions was exemplified and tested, and Americans learned that only by ques-

tioning the nation's values could true social change occur.

The year 1962 was not a silent one, but neither was it a year that benefited from the fruits of much of its labor. Small victories were achieved that allowed greater victories to be won in the years to come. The year 1962 is perhaps best remembered as a year that inspired many Americans to step away from the apathy of the 1950s, and brought to the forefront of American activism the great minds and workers who would eventually change the ethical landscape of the United States.

Notes

1. *New York Times*, "Glenn! Big Lift for U.S.," February 25, 1962, p. A1.
2. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 68.
3. Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, p. 76.
4. Quoted in Claude Sitton, "Negroes Defy Ban; March in Georgia," *New York Times*, July 22, 1962, p. A22.
5. *Time*, "The Generation Gap," May 16, 1962, p. 33.
6. David Steigerwald, *The Sixties and the End of Modern America*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995, p. 262.
7. John F. Kennedy, "Inaugural Address," in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: 1961–1963*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1964, p. 33.
8. Homer Bigart, "A Very Real War in Vietnam, and the Deep U.S. Commitment," *New York Times*, September 9, 1962, p. E3.
9. Quoted in Adlai Stevenson, "U.N. Security Council Hears U.S. Charges of Soviet Military Buildup in Cuba," *Department of State Bulletin*, November 12, 1962, p. 724.



ARTICLE 1

The U.S. Military Establishes a Vietnam Command Center

By Louis Kraar

Prior to 1962, the U.S. involvement in Vietnam consisted of economic assistance to the South Vietnamese government and the provision of military advisers for organizing the fighting groups of the South. These advisers were to train and equip South Vietnamese rebels and organize them into an effective fighting force. One of the major obstacles confronting military advisers was the lack of cooperation and organization between the different fighting factions in South Vietnam. The U.S. military advisers became more dependent on their own troops and equipment. Therefore, as the U.S. military became more entrenched in Vietnam, it became necessary to continue to ship an undisclosed amount of equipment and ground troops to Vietnam under the guise of military aid. This problem led military officials at the Pentagon to believe that the Military Advisory Assistance Group (MAAG), which oversaw the role of military advisers, had outgrown its original function. This development made it more practical to establish a command center in South Vietnam.

This article, by *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Louis Kraar, discusses the need for a new military role. U.S. military officials created

the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV). This command center's role was to oversee the shipment of troops, helicopters, weapons, and supplies and to help military advisers develop better strategies for fighting the Communist threat in North Vietnam. This commitment of troops and supplies, as well as continued economic aid to South Vietnam, pointed at the U.S. government's preparations for war despite the White House's insistence that U.S. troops would not be allowed to engage in combat against North Vietnam. By the end of 1962, however, the United States was fully committed to ground combat against the Communist forces in North Vietnam.

The U.S. role in helping fight South Vietnam's war against Communist guerrillas is expanding far beyond its original "advisory" capacity, and American involvement in the Southeast Asian struggle probably will continue to grow.

That's the principal significance of the new and unusual U.S. Military Assistance Command for Vietnam [MACV], which the Pentagon announced will be set up right away. Lt. Gen. Paul D. Harkins, currently deputy Army commander in the Pacific, will be promoted to full general and fill the new post. Creation of the command, a defense spokesman asserted, emphasizes that "we intend to win" the battle.

It also underscores the scope of the U.S. contribution to this bitter war against the Viet Cong, as the Red guerrillas from North Vietnam are called. Such a top command is considered necessary to oversee the rapidly expanding U.S. operating forces in South Vietnam. Technically, Americans are not engaged in combat. But, in this kind of war, the line between so-called support and actual fighting is extremely thin.

The Need for a Command Center

American helicopter companies and transport planes are hauling Vietnamese troops to battle; the U.S. Navy is helping patrol the coasts of the beleaguered country; the U.S. Air Force is helping the Vietnamese fly "training missions" in newly arrived planes; and GIs are operating communications in remote areas, coaching South Vietnam army operatives in intelligence methods, and even participating in jungle patrols to seek out the Viet Cong.

The idea behind such extensive help: To give South Vietnam sufficient material support, training and transportation so that its

forces can assert effective control over large areas of the country dominated by Communists. It may take months before it's clear whether the effort is paying off, officials here stress. U.S. strategists, among other things, are hoping the Republic of Vietnam's forces will launch a counter-offensive and spend more effort seeking out guerrillas instead of staying tied to fixed posts.

Meantime, Pentagon leaders figured, the U.S. position in South Vietnam has clearly outgrown the limits of the Military Advisory Assistance Group, or MAAG, organized when we started military aid to South Vietnam in 1956. Similar outfits administer military aid in many countries, but they never operate Army helicopter companies against hostile forces and take on other operating missions, as American troops are now doing in South Vietnam. Thus, officials believe, the new command is better suited to the role of U.S. forces in South Vietnam. The MAAG, headed by Lt. Gen. Lionel C. McGarr, will be under the new command. . . .

The Quiet Buildup of Troops

Announcement of the new command in itself calls attention to the U.S. commitment in South Vietnam, which has quietly grown in recent months. The build-up has such high priority that Defense Secretary [Robert] McNamara has made two weekend trips to confer with Pacific Command leaders in Hawaii, and he'll soon make another such journey. American forces in South Vietnam probably now total more than 3,000 men, but no one will say the precise level.

Officials won't disclose the number of Americans in South Vietnam for a specific reason: The Geneva accord of 1954, which ended the Indochina War, limits outside technical advisers in South Vietnam to 685 men.

But the flow of additional GIs into the guerrilla-infested country has been observed for several months. Two Army helicopter companies, comprising about 400 soldiers and 40 H-21C helicopters, recently arrived in Saigon, the capital. These helicopters carry a pilot, co-pilot, and 12 combat soldiers. With no show of secrecy, they have been hauling South Vietnam troops to engage the Viet Cong. As soon as more Vietnamese pilots are trained, however, the Yanks will play a less active role, it's understood. Two of these American helicopters have been shot down and several others damaged by Communist gunfire.

Meantime, the Navy has been working with South Vietnamese

to tighten patrols of rivers and the coastline, as well as to hasten production of junk vessels. And the Air Force is training Vietnam flyers how to fight with single-engine T-28 propeller planes that have been armed with rockets. U.S. Army troops operate as far down as the company level as advisers to the Republic of Vietnam army. Officials concede American GIs may be killed or wounded in South Vietnam, even if their role is considered non-combative.

South Vietnam's Role

Despite the expanded U.S. effort, planners here call the steps taken by South Vietnam more decisive for the future. With American prodding [South Vietnamese] President Ngo Dinh Diem is raising his army to about 200,000 from 170,000 men.

Less certain—though viewed by U.S. experts on South Vietnam as essential—are moves by President Diem to increase his government's efficiency and popular support. American officials, however, insist South Vietnam is firmly committed to its authoritarian and controversial ruler, although many U.S. policy-makers are skeptical of his chances of holding the support of the rural population. One such official remarks with a shrug: "We'd have a pretty hard time finding a better horse to back."

Significantly, the Americans are building more radio stations so President Diem can better reach remote villages. Also opening up the country is a parallel push to build and expand airfields in the heavily forested, mountain-dotted land.

The Stakes in Vietnam

In addition to its military stake in South Vietnam, the U.S. has placed much political and moral weight on preserving the anti-Communist government there. If South Vietnam falls, officials often maintain, other non-Red lands in Southeast Asia would soon succumb to communism. The American economic stake in South Vietnam is great, too; the U.S. has given the country about \$1 billion in military and economic aid since 1954.

Military grants alone through last June [1961] totaled about \$500 million, and this fiscal year, ending June 30, military aid is estimated at \$100 million.

The Reds are continuing their own buildup of forces in South Vietnam. Full-time Viet Cong soldiers, a few years ago estimated at about 3,000 men, currently are believed to total 8,000 to

9,000. Another 8,000 or more troops operate as guerrillas, led by regular Viet Cong officers at the local level, according to U.S. estimates. . . .

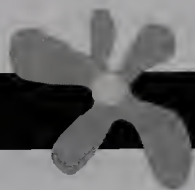
Using the still open corridor through Laos from North Vietnam, Red infiltration is continuing, according to defense sources here. These infiltrators are principally “cadres,” small groups of trained men who roam the countryside and organize civilian South Vietnamese into units that wage guerrilla war against the government. The cadres have no fixed military bases, but go into a village and move on after a few nights.

The Future of U.S. Involvement

The U.S. course from now on in South Vietnam is not expected to be a dazzling array of announced actions—such as last summer’s military expansion for the Berlin crisis. Rather, defense sources indicate, the approach will be on a step-by-step, graduated basis.

As each step is taken, policy-makers plan to weigh results—on the Viet Cong, on South Vietnam and on world opinion generally. So far, the trend is toward greater U.S. participation.

The new command in South Vietnam, however, does provide a framework for bossing large numbers of regular U.S. combat forces—if they are ever committed.



ARTICLE 2

The United States Trades Soviet Spy for U-2 Pilot

By Robert E. Thompson

In May 1960 air force pilot Francis Gary Power's U-2 reconnaissance plane was shot down by a Soviet missile while flying a reconnaissance mission over the Soviet Union. He was captured by the Soviets and put on trial for espionage. He pleaded guilty to the charge and was given a ten-year sentence in a Soviet prison. With cold war tensions increasing, and with the expansion of Communist aggression into Eastern Europe, the White House's efforts to free Powers from the Soviet government were put on hold.

The United States was not the only country performing acts of espionage during the cold war. On November 15, 1957, Rudolf Abel, a Russian spy posing as an American businessman, was convicted of conspiracy charges on the basis that he had attempted to obtain defense information about U.S. military projects for the Soviet Union. Abel was sentenced to thirty years in prison. Through behind-the-scenes negotiations, the Soviet Union agreed to release Powers in exchange for Abel. This article, by *Los Angeles Times* political correspondent Robert E. Thompson, discusses the details concerning the Powers-Abel exchange. The exchange was made on the Glienicke Bridge, which joins democratic West Berlin to the Communist-controlled Potsdam.

Robert E. Thompson, "Exchange Is Made in Dramatic Meeting on German Bridge," *Los Angeles Times*, February 10, 1962. Copyright © 1962 by the *Los Angeles Times*. Reproduced by permission.

U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers, held captive by the Russians for nearly two years, was released today in a dramatic swap for Russian spy Rudolf Abel and is already on his way home.

The prisoners were exchanged on the Glienicker Bridge between West Berlin and East Germany early today.

Just before Powers was released, Frederic Leroy Pryor, a 28-year-old Michigan student picked up in East Berlin on Aug. 25 and accused of spying, was freed by the East German Communists.

President [John F.] Kennedy was waiting up for word of the exchange. He was notified five minutes after the transfer on the bridge. The White House then announced the release of Powers to newsmen who had been routed from bed to receive the dramatic news.

The End of an Effort to Free Powers

Powers, 32, had been in prison since his high-altitude reconnaissance plane crashed on Soviet soil in May, 1960. He pleaded guilty to espionage after a trial in Moscow and was sentenced to 10 years—three in prison and seven in a prison colony.

The White House said efforts to obtain Powers' freedom "have been under way for some time."

Abel was sent to federal prison after his conviction in New York for espionage in 1957. He had been serving time in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.

The White House gave these details of the prisoner transfer this morning:

The prisoners were exchanged on the Glienicker Bridge, which crosses the Havel Wannsee [River] between West Berlin and Potsdam in East Germany. Powers walked onto the bridge from Potsdam and Abel from the American Sector of West Berlin.

Powers flew quickly out of Berlin toward Washington, where family members said they expect to see him about 1:30 P.M. today.

Powers flew from Berlin to Wiesbaden, Germany, and changed planes there, taking off for Washington between 4:30 A.M. and 5 A.M. (EST). Newsmen and photographers were barred from the base, and there was no official announcement of Powers' route or arrival time.

(A Soviet source said that when Powers was released from Vladimir Prison Thursday he declared, "I will never fly over the

Soviet Union again.” Powers said he was in good health and spirits as he began his journey home.)

The Details Kept Secret

(U.S. spokesmen in Berlin declined to give any further details on the exchange, explaining that they were under instructions to say that all comment must come from Washington. U.S. officials in Berlin were taken completely by surprise by the White House announcement of Powers’ release.)

Powers’ wife, Barbara, and his parents were notified about five minutes before the White House announced publicly that the U-2 pilot had been freed.

Sources indicated that Powers will be available to the press after he visits with his family and confers with government officials. His exact professional status remained up in the air, although government officials said he had been accumulating pay ever since his arrest.

Trading Spy for Spy

The same sources emphasized that President Kennedy and Salinger had not discussed either the Powers case or the arrest of Pryor with Soviet Premier [Nikita] Khrushchev’s son-in-law Alexei Adzhubei when he was in Washington last week.

Abel, who was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment in 1957, was moved from Atlanta Penitentiary early Wednesday and flown to New York City. He was kept at the federal detention headquarters there until Thursday afternoon when he was flown by an Air Force C-118 from McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey to Tempelhof Airdrome in Berlin.

In Berlin he was placed in a cell at 4:15 P.M., Berlin time, Friday and kept there until the exchange this morning.

Pryor, a native of Owasso, Mich., who was arrested in Berlin last August, was released at the Friedrichstrasse border point between East and West Berlin.

His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Millard H. Pryor of Ann Arbor, Mich., were in Berlin, having been there since their son was arrested. Pryor was arrested for spying in East Berlin in August after finishing two years of study at the Free University of Berlin. No written charge ever was filed against him, and, according to U.S. authorities, he absolutely was not involved in espionage activities.

The Crimes of Rudolf Abel

Abel was sentenced by Judge Mortimer W. Byers in New York on these three counts:

1) Conspiracy to transmit defense information to the Soviet Union, for which he was given 30 years in prison.

2) Conspiracy to obtain information, for which he received 10 years and a \$2,000 fine.

3) Conspiracy to act in the United States as an agent of a foreign government without notifying the secretary of state, for which the penalty was five years and \$1,000.

Judge Byers sentenced Abel on Nov. 15, 1957, to serve his sentences concurrently. Abel, who had been found guilty by a jury, appealed through the U.S. Supreme Court, but the court affirmed the sentence on March 28, 1960. . . .

Powers was a former Air Force lieutenant who worked for Lockheed Aircraft Co. as a civilian pilot on so-called weather flights for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

He received \$30,000 a year.

The U.S. first claimed that the U-2 operating from Incirlik Air Force Base in Turkey, had wandered off course and Powers was forced to land because of oxygen equipment failure.

Khrushchev later released pictures of Powers and his smashed plane, and declared the Russians shot Powers down with rockets at 65,000 ft.

One of the more embarrassing chapters of U.S. diplomatic history followed.

U-2 Incident Increases U.S.-Soviet Tension

The Soviet premier demanded that President [Dwight] Eisenhower apologize publicly. President Eisenhower called off the spy flights but this did not soften Khrushchev's anger.

Moscow prosecuted Powers in a dramatic trial.

Today's release was the second of Soviet-held U.S. fliers since President Kennedy took office.

In January, 1961, Mr. Kennedy announced release of two RB-47 crewmen, Capt. John R. McKone of Topeka, Kan., and Capt. Freeman B. Olmstead, of Elmira, N.Y.

They had been held captive almost seven months after their reconnaissance plane was shot down over Arctic waters July 1, 1960.



ARTICLE 3

The First American Orbits Earth

By John Glenn

On February 22, 1962, astronaut John Glenn became the first successful U.S. astronaut to orbit the Earth. In this firsthand account of the space flight, excerpted from his 1962 pilot's report of the flight, Glenn recounts the anxiety of the experience of flying into space from liftoff to reentry. He describes the power of the rocket engines during liftoff, the pull of the g-forces as his spacecraft *Friendship 7* broke free from the earth's gravity and entered orbit, and the beauty of the sunrises and sunsets he witnessed as he orbited the earth three times. Glenn also discusses several of the in-flight scientific experiments he performed so that scientists on Earth could have a greater understanding of how such things as weightlessness affected the human body.

When Glenn landed, he was received as a national hero. His successful spaceflight renewed enthusiasm within the nation that the United States was a technological leader, countering world opinion that the U.S. space program could not overcome setbacks to compete with the successful space program of the Soviet Union. The ultimate success of Glenn's flight committed President John F. Kennedy and the U.S. Congress to provide the necessary funding to the U.S. space program, which eventually developed the first spacecraft capable of taking the first astronauts from Earth to the surface of the Moon.

Preparation, transfer to the launch pad, and insertion into the spacecraft went as planned. The technicians and I had been through the entry to the spacecraft many times.

As with every countdown, short delays were encountered when problems arose. The support for the microphone in the helmet, an item that had been moved and adjusted literally thousands of times, broke and had to be replaced. While the spacecraft hatch was being secured, a bolt was broken and had to be repaired. During this time I was busy going over my checklist and monitoring the spacecraft instruments. . . .

All the members of the Mercury [the name assigned to the first three manned space orbits of 1962–1963] team have been working towards this space flight opportunity for a long time. We have not dreaded it; we have looked forward to it. After 3 years we cannot be unduly concerned by a few delays. The important consideration is that everything be ready, that nothing be jeopardized by haste which can be preserved by prudent action.

The initial unusual experience of the mission is that of being on top of the Atlas launch vehicle [the final rocket that will detach from the space capsule] after the gantry has been pulled back. Through the periscope, much of Cape Canaveral can be seen. If you move back and forth in the couch, you can feel the entire vehicle moving very slightly. When the engines are gimballed, you can feel the vibration. When the tank is filled with liquid oxygen, the spacecraft vibrates and shudders as the metal skin flexes. Through the window and periscope the white plume of the lox (liquid oxygen) venting is visible.

Lift-Off Is Successful

When the countdown reached zero, I could feel the engines start. The spacecraft shook, not violently but very solidly. There was no doubt when lift-off occurred. When the Atlas was released there was an immediate gentle surge that let you know you were on your way. The roll to the correct azimuth [the horizontal angle of a ship's bearing] was noticeable after lift-off. I had preset the little window mirror to watch the ground. I glanced up after lift-off and could see the horizon turning. Some vibration occurred immediately after lift-off. It smoothed out after about 10 to 15 seconds of flight but never completely stopped. . . .

The acceleration buildup was noticeable but not bothersome. Before the flight my backup pilot, Astronaut Scott Carpenter, had

said he thought it would feel good to go in a straight-line acceleration rather than just in circles as we had in the centrifuge and he was right. Booster engine cut-off occurred at 2 minutes 9.6 seconds after lift-off. As the two outboard engines shut down and were detached, the acceleration dropped but not as sharply as I had anticipated. Instead, it decayed over approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ second. There is a change in noise level and vibration when these engines are jettisoned. I saw a flash of smoke out the window and thought at first that the escape tower had jettisoned early and so reported. However, this flash was apparently deflected smoke coming up around the spacecraft from the booster engines which had just separated. The tower was jettisoned at 2 minutes, 33.3 seconds, and I corrected my earlier report. I was ready to back up the automatic sequencing system if it did not perform correctly and counted down the seconds to the time for tower jettisoning. I was looking at the nozzles of the tower rockets when they fired. A large cloud of smoke came out but little flame. The tower accelerated rapidly from the spacecraft in a straight line. I watched it to a distance of approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. The spacecraft was programmed to pitch down slowly just prior to jettisoning the tower and this maneuver provided my first real view of the horizon and clouds. I could just see clouds and the horizon behind the tower as it jettisoned.

After the tower fired, the spacecraft pitched slowly up again and I lost sight of the horizon. I remember making a comment at about this time that the sky was very black. The acceleration built up again, but as before, acceleration was not a major problem. I could communicate well, up to the maximum of $7.7g^1$ at insertion when the sustainer-engine thrust terminates.

Just before the end of powered flight, there was one experience I was not expecting. At this time the fuel and lox tanks were getting empty and apparently the Atlas becomes considerably more flexible than when filled. I had the sensation of being out on the end of a springboard and could feel oscillating motions as if the nose of the launch vehicle were waving back and forth slightly.

Friendship 7 Enters Orbit

The noise also increased as the vehicle approached SECO (sustainer engine cutoff). When the sustainer engine cutoff at 5 min-

1. A g is defined as the amount of pull that gravity exerts on an object as it pulls farther away from the earth's surface.

utes, 1.4 seconds and the acceleration dropped to zero, I had a slight sensation of tumbling forward. The astronauts have often had a similar sensation during training on the centrifuge. The sensation was much less during the flight, and since the spacecraft did pitch down at this point it may have been a result of actual movement rather than an illusion.

Separation from the Atlas Rocket

There was no doubt when the clamp ring between the Atlas and the Mercury spacecraft fired. There was a loud report and I immediately felt the force of the posigrade rockets which separate the spacecraft from the launch vehicle. Prior to the flight I had imagined that the acceleration from these three small rockets would be insignificant and that we might fail to sense them entirely, but there is no doubt when they fire.

Immediately after separation from the Atlas, the autopilot started to turn the spacecraft around. As the spacecraft came around to its normal aft viewing attitude, I could see the Atlas through the window. At the time I estimated that it was "a couple of hundred yards away." After the flight an analysis of the trajectory data showed that the distance between the launch vehicle and the spacecraft should, at this point, be 600 feet. Close enough for a rough estimate. I do not claim that I can normally judge distance so close. There was a large sized luck factor in the estimate; nevertheless, the facts do give an indication that man can make an adequate judgment at least of short distances to a known object in space. This capability will be important in future missions in which man will want to achieve rendezvous, since the pilot will be counted on to perform the final closing maneuver. . . .

The First Experience of Manual Control

The autopilot turned the spacecraft around and put it into the proper attitude. After my initial contact with Bermuda, I received the times for firing the retrorockets and started the check of the controls. This is a test of the control systems aboard the spacecraft. I had practiced it many times on the ground in the Mercury procedures trainer and the test went just as it had in the trainer. I was elated by the precision with which the test progressed. It is quite an intricate check. With your right hand you move the control stick, operating the hydrogen peroxide thrusters to move the spacecraft in roll, pitch, and yaw. With your left hand you switch

from one control system to another as the spacecraft is manually controlled to a number of precise rates and attitudes.

This experience was the first time I had been in complete manual control, and it was very reassuring to see not only the spacecraft react as expected, but also to see that my own ability to control was as we had hoped.

Following this controls check I went back to autopilot control and the spacecraft operated properly on autopilot throughout the first orbit. . . .

The Experience of Weightlessness

Weightlessness was a pleasant experience. I reported I felt fine as soon as the spacecraft separated from the launch vehicle, and throughout the flight this feeling continued to be the same.

Approximately every 30 minutes throughout the flight I went through a series of exercises to determine whether weightlessness was affecting me in any way. To see if head movement in a zero g environment produced any symptoms of nausea or vertigo, I tried first moving, then shaking my head from side to side, up and down, and tilting it from shoulder to shoulder. In other words, moving my head in roll, pitch, and yaw. I began slowly, but as the flight progressed, I moved my head more rapidly and vigorously until at the end of the flight I was moving as rapidly as my pressure suit would allow. . . .

In another test, using only eye motions, I tracked a rapidly moving spot of light generated by my finger-tip lights. I had no problem watching the spot and once again no sensations of dizziness or nausea. A small eye chart was included on the instrument panel, with letters of varying size and with a “spoked wheel” pattern to check both general vision and any tendency toward astigmatism. No change from normal was apparent. . . .

To provide medical data on the cardiovascular system, at intervals, I did an exercise which consisted of pulling on a bungee cord once a second for 30 seconds. This exercise provided a known workload to compare with previous similar tests made on the ground. The flight surgeons have reported the effect that this had on my pulse and blood pressure. The effect that it had on me during the flight was the same effect that is had on the ground—it made me tired.

Another experiment related to the possible medical effects of weightlessness was eating in orbit. On the relatively short flight of

Friendship 7, eating was not a necessity, but rather an attempt to determine whether there would be any problem in consuming and digesting food in a weightless state. At no time did I have any difficulty eating. I believe that any type of food can be eaten as long as it does not come apart easily or make crumbs. Prior to the flight, we joked about taking along some normal food such as a ham sandwich. I think this would be practical and should be tried. . . .

The View from Space

As I looked back at the earth from space, colors and light intensities were much the same as I had observed when flying at high altitude in an airplane. The colors observed when looking down at the ground appeared similar to those seen from 50,000 feet. When looking toward the horizon, however, the view is completely different, for then the blackness of space contrasts vividly with the brightness of the earth. The horizon itself is a brilliant, brilliant blue and white.

It was surprising how much of the earth's surface was covered by clouds. The clouds can be seen very clearly on the daylight side. The different types of clouds—vertical developments, stratus clouds, and cumulus clouds—are readily distinguished. There is little problem identifying them or in seeing the weather patterns. You can estimate the relative heights of the cloud layers from your knowledge of the types or from the shadows the high clouds cast on those lower down. . . .

Only a few land areas were visible during the flight because of the cloud cover. Clouds were over much of the Atlantic, but the western (Sahara Desert) part of Africa was clear. . . . In this desert region I could plainly see dust storms. By the time I got to the east coast of Africa where I might have been able to see towns, the land was covered by clouds. The Indian Ocean was the same.

Western Australia was clear, but the eastern half was overcast. Most of the area across Mexico and nearly to New Orleans was covered with high cirrus clouds. As I came across the United States I could see New Orleans, Charleston, and Savannah very clearly. I could also see rivers and lakes. I think the best view I had of any land area during the flight was the clear desert region around El Paso on the second pass across the United States. I could see the colors of the desert and the irrigated area north of El Paso. As I passed off the east coast of the United States I could see across Florida and far back along the Gulf Coast.

Over the Atlantic I saw what I assume was the Gulf Stream. The different colors of the water are clearly visible.

I also observed what was probably the wake of a ship. As I was passing over the recovery area at the end of the second orbit, I looked down at the water and saw a little "V." I checked the map. I was over recovery area G at the time, so I think it was probably the wake from a recovery ship. When I looked again



John Glenn is the first U.S. astronaut to orbit the earth. His spacecraft, Friendship 7, is recovered after its historic flight.

the little “V” was under a cloud. The change in light reflections caused by the wake of a ship are sometimes visible for long distances from an airplane and will linger for miles behind a ship. This wake was probably what was visible. . . .

The Intensity of Sunsets from Space

Some of the most spectacular sights during the flight were sunsets. The sunsets always occurred slightly to my left, and I turned the spacecraft to get a better view. The sunlight coming in the window was very brilliant, with an intense clear white light that reminded me of the arc lights while the spacecraft was on the launching pad.

I watched the first sunset through the photometer which had a polarizing filter on the front so that the intensity of the sun could be reduced to a comfortable level for viewing. Later I found that by squinting, I could look directly at the sun with no ill effects, just as I can from the surface of the earth. This accomplished little of value but does give an idea of intensity.

The sun is perfectly round as it approaches the horizon. It retains most of its symmetry until just the last sliver is visible. The horizon on each side of the sun is extremely bright, and when the sun has gone down to the level of this bright band of the horizon, it seems to spread out to each side of the point where it is setting. With the camera I caught the flattening of the sun just before it set. This is a phenomenon of some interest to the astronomers.

As the sun moves toward the horizon, a black shadow of darkness moves across the earth until the whole surface, except for the bright band at the horizon, is dark. This band is extremely bright just as the sun sets, but as time passes the bottom layer becomes a bright orange and fades into reds, then on into the darker colors, and finally off into the blues and blacks. . . . I think that the eye can see a little more of the sunset color band than the camera captures. One point of interest was the length of time during which the orbital twilight persisted. Light was visible along the horizon for 4 to 5 minutes after the sunset, a long time when you consider that sunset occurred 18 times faster than normal. . . .

Friendship 7 Maneuvers for Reentry

After having turned around on the last orbit to see the particles, I maneuvered into the correct attitude for firing the retrorockets and stowed the equipment in the ditty bag.

This last dawn found my attitude indicators still slightly in error. However, before it was time to fire the retrorockets the horizon-scanner slaving mechanism had brought the gyros back to orbit attitude. I crosschecked repeatedly between the instruments, periscope presentation, and the attitude through the window.

Although there were variations in the instrument presentations during the flight, there was never any difficulty in determining my true attitude by reference to the window or periscope. I received a countdown from the ground and the retrorockets were fired on schedule just off the California coast.

I could hear each rocket fire and could feel the surge as the rockets slowed the spacecraft. Coming out of zero-g condition, the retrorocket firing produced the sensation that I was accelerating back toward Hawaii. This sensation, of course, was an illusion.

Following retrofire the decision was made to have me reenter with the retro package still on because of the uncertainty as to whether the landing bag had been extended. This decision required me to perform manually a number of the operations which are normally automatically programmed during the reentry. These maneuvers I accomplished. I brought the spacecraft to the proper attitude for reentry under manual control. The periscope was retracted by pumping the manual retraction lever.

As deceleration began to increase I could hear a hissing noise that sounded like small particles brushing against the spacecraft.

The Intense Heat of Reentry

Due to ionization around the spacecraft, communications were lost. This had occurred on earlier missions and was experienced now on the predicted schedule. As the heat pulse started there was a noise and a bump on the spacecraft. I saw one of the straps that holds the retrorocket package swing in front of the window.

The heat pulse increased until I could see a glowing orange color through the window. Flaming pieces were breaking off and flying past the spacecraft window. At the time, these observations were of some concern to me because I was not sure what they were. I had assumed that the retropack had been jettisoned when I saw the strap in front of the window. I thought these flaming pieces might be parts of the heat shield breaking off. We know now, of course, that the pieces were from the retropack.

There was no doubt when the heat pulse occurred during reen-

try but it takes time for the heat to soak into the spacecraft and heat the air. I did not feel particularly hot until we were getting down to about 75,000 to 80,000 feet. From there on down I was uncomfortably warm, and by the time the main parachute was out I was perspiring profusely.

The reentry deceleration of 7.7g was as expected and was similar to that experienced in centrifuge runs. There had been some question as to whether our ability to tolerate acceleration might be worse because of the 4½ hours of weightlessness, but I could note no difference between my feeling of deceleration on this flight and my training sessions in the centrifuge.

After peak deceleration, the amplitude of the spacecraft oscillations began to build. I kept them under control on the manual and fly-by-wire systems until I ran out of manual fuel. After that point, I was unknowingly left with only the fly-by-wire system and the oscillations increased; so I switched to auxiliary damping, which controlled the spacecraft until the automatic fuel was also expended. I was reaching for the switch to deploy the drogue parachute early in order to reduce these reentry oscillations, when it was deployed automatically. The drogue parachute stabilized the spacecraft rapidly.

Deploying the Parachute and Landing in the Ocean

At 10,800 feet the main parachute was deployed. I could see it stream out behind me, fill partially, and then as the reefing line cutters were actuated it filled completely. The opening of the parachute caused a jolt, but perhaps less than I had expected.

The landing deceleration was sharper than I had expected. Prior to impact I had disconnected all the extra leads to my suit, and was ready for rapid egress, but there was no need for this. I had a message that the destroyer *Noa* would pick me up within 20 minutes. I lay quietly in the spacecraft trying to keep as cool as possible. The temperature inside the spacecraft did not seem to diminish. This, combined with the high humidity of the air being drawn into the spacecraft kept me uncomfortably warm and perspiring heavily. Once the *Noa* was alongside the spacecraft, there was little delay in starting the hoisting operation. The spacecraft was pulled part way out of the water to let the water drain from the landing bag.

During the spacecraft pickup, I received one good bump. It was probably the most solid jolt of the whole trip as the spacecraft swung against the side of the ship. Shortly afterwards the spacecraft was on the deck.

I had initially planned egress out through the top, but by this time I had been perspiring heavily for nearly 45 minutes. I decided to come out the side hatch instead. . . .

The Success of the Mission

The flight of the Friendship 7 Mercury spacecraft has proved that man can *adapt* very rapidly to this new environment. His senses and capabilities are little changed in space. At least for the 4.5-hour duration of this mission, weightlessness was no problem.

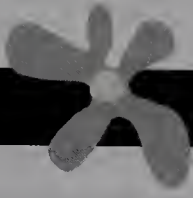
Man's adaptability is most evident in his powers of observation. He can accomplish many more and varied experiments per mission than can be obtained from an unmanned vehicle. When the unexpected arises, as happened with the luminous particles and layer observations on this flight, he can make observations that will permit more rapid evaluation of these phenomena on future flights. Indeed, on an unmanned flight there likely would have been no such observations.

Most important, however, the future will not always find us as power limited as we are now. We will progress to the point where missions will not be totally preplanned. There will be choices of action in space, and man's intelligence and decision-making capability will be mandatory.

Our recent space efforts can be likened to the first flights at Kitty Hawk. They were first unmanned but were followed by manned flights, completely preplanned and of a few seconds duration. Their experiments were, again, power limited, but they soon progressed beyond that point.

Space exploration is now at the same stage of development.

From all of the papers in this volume, I am sure you will agree with me that some big steps have been taken toward accomplishing the mission objectives expressed at the beginning of this paper.



ARTICLE 4

Silent Spring and the Environmental Movement

By Ralph H. Lutts

Rachel Carson was a writer, scientist, and ecologist. She had a love of nature that stemmed from her early years on her mother's farm in Pennsylvania. She studied biology at Pennsylvania College for Women in 1929 and pursued studies in marine biology and zoology, earning a master's degree for the latter in 1932. Her career as a writer began in 1932, drafting natural history studies for the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries. Carson also wrote nature-based articles for several large newspaper markets. In 1936, she became the editor for all publication printed by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Carson performed much of her early work in marine biology, writing several books on the subject, including *The Sea Around Us* (1952), a book about marine ecology, which received enough fame that she was able to retire in 1952 and live on her income from her writing.

In 1962, Carson published her most controversial work, *Silent Spring*, a book that revealed the awful consequences of DDT use on the environment. DDT, or dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane, is a lethal pesticide. Its use by farmers and others in the agriculture industry had been widespread since 1939 because it was so effective in controlling insects. A few scientists had written about potential DDT hazards to the environment in the mid-1940s, but only in scientific papers. In

Ralph H. Lutts, "Chemical Fallout: Silent Spring, Radioactive Fallout, and the Environmental Movement," *And No Birds Sing: Rhetorical Analysis of Rachel Carson's Silent Spring*, edited by Craig Waddell. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000. Copyright © 1985 by Ralph H. Lutts. Reproduced by permission.

Silent Spring, Carson explained how the toxic chemical survived in some insects that were resistant to its effects. As these insects were swallowed up by birds, the levels of DDT increased and progressed up the food chain, killing some animals while leaving others to transmit the toxin. The result would potentially impact humans. Carson's message that people cannot totally control nature, or eradicate species they do not like, came through clearly. She advocated integrated pest management, using a minimum amount of chemicals combined with biological and cultural controls. Ironically, Rachel Carson died in 1964 from an aggressive form of breast cancer, a disease that later studies have shown she contracted from exposure to chemicals while researching her book.

In the following selection, Ralph H. Lutts describes the tremendous impact Carson's book had on the environmental movement. One reason for the book's influence, he argues, is that the public was prepared to accept Carson's warnings about pesticides due to the already existing fears of nuclear fallout. Lutts is a professor of environmental history who has taught at Hampshire College, Goddard College, the University of Virginia, and Virginia Tech.

The landmark book *Silent Spring* played a vitally important role in stimulating the contemporary environmental movement. Never before or since has a book been so successful in alerting the public to a major environmental pollutant, rooting the alert in a deeply ecological perception of the issues, and promoting major public, private, and governmental initiatives to correct the problem. It was exceptional in its ability to combine a grim warning about pesticide poisoning with a text that celebrated the living world. *Silent Spring* has been compared in its social impact to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (United States. Cong. Senate. Subcommittee on Reorganization and International Organizations of the Committee on Government Operations. Interagency Coordination in Environmental Hazards (Pesticides). 88th Cong., 1st sess. 1964, pt. 1. Washington: GOP, 1964.) ; John Kenneth Galbraith described it as one of the most important books of Western literature (*New York Times Book Review*, June 3, 1979, p. 13); and Robert Downs listed it as one of the "books that changed America" (book of same name, 1970, pp. 260–61).

Rachel Carson's case against the indiscriminate use of pesti-

cides prevailed in the face of powerful, well-financed opposition by the agricultural and chemical industries. Despite this opposition, she prompted national action to regulate pesticides by mobilizing a concerned public. The book established a broad constituency for addressing the problem—broader, perhaps, than that enjoyed by any previous environmental issue. Never before had so diverse a body of people—from bird-watchers, to wildlife managers and public-health professionals, to suburban home owners—been joined together to deal with a common national and international environmental threat. Her success in the face of what might have been overwhelming opposition suggests there was something significantly different between the response to *Silent Spring* in 1962 and the pesticide-control efforts of the first half of the century.

The issue of pesticide pollution was not new. Since the introduction of Paris green around 1867, highly toxic compounds of lead and arsenic were widely used in agriculture despite the significant health hazards they presented. As one example, seventy-five million pounds of lead arsenate were applied within the United States in 1944; eight million pounds were even used in the 1961–62 crop year when DDT was preeminent. In the early decades of their use, these toxic chemicals could sometimes be found as visible coatings on farm produce in retail markets. Over the years, stories of acute poisonings and warnings of the dangers of chronic toxicity appeared in the press. Everyone was warned to scrub or peel fruits and vegetables before they were eaten. Many public-health officials attempted to institute strong regulations and strict residue tolerances, but the general public, medical profession, and agriculture industry showed only limited concern. This relative indifference to the hazards of pesticides in the first half of the century stands in stark contrast to the vocal outcry following the publication of *Silent Spring*.

Why is it that the book's publication in 1962 had such a major impact upon the public? The answer to this question might reveal a great deal about the origins of contemporary environmental concerns, but no one has examined it systematically. A number of answers have been suggested, focusing most often upon Carson's extraordinary skill and reputation as a writer, the general circumstances surrounding the rise of pesticide use and misuse, the publisher's marketing strategy, and the chemical industry's response. Many authors have also noted the growing

public awareness of a variety of environmental problems, including water and air pollution. One of the major events to bring the hazards of pesticides to public attention was the “cranberry scare” of 1959 when people were warned against eating this traditional fruit during the Thanksgiving season because of pesticide contamination. The thalidomide syndrome also came to the public’s attention shortly before the publication of *Silent Spring*, and the pictures of the distorted infant limbs caused by a supposedly beneficial drug certainly made people pay greater attention to Carson’s message (*The House of Life: Rachel Carson at Work*, 1972, p. 261; *Since Silent Spring*, 1970, pp. 50–51; *Scientific American*, 1962, pp. 29–35).

There was another issue, however, that played an equal or greater role in preparing the public to accept Carson’s warning—an issue that has been largely overlooked. She was sounding an alarm about a kind of pollution that was invisible to the senses; could be transported great distances, perhaps globally; could accumulate over time in body tissues; could produce chronic, as well as acute, poisoning; and could result in cancer, birth defects, and genetic mutations that may not become evident until years or decades after exposure. Government officials, she also argued, were not taking the steps necessary to control this pollution and protect the public. Chemical pesticides were not the only form of pollution fitting this description. Another form, far better known to the public at the time, was radioactive fallout. Pesticides could be understood as another form of fallout.

People in the United States and throughout the world were prepared, or preeducated, to understand the basic concepts underlying Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* by the decade-long debate over radioactive fallout preceding it. They had already learned that poisons, in this case radioactive ones, could create a lasting global danger. . . .

Strontium 90

Oh where, oh where has the fallout gone,
Oh where can the poison be,
Why right in the milk and the other things
That the milkman brings to me.

Sen. George Aiken (Rep., VT) was displeased with this and other songs sung by “certain pacifist groups.” In 1962, he asked a con-

gressional hearing witness whether he did not think “it was a great calamity that the critics of the use of milk and other dairy products did not advise the Maker before He set up the original milk program?” The senator’s pique was prompted by the universal presence of strontium 90 in milk products, the resulting public anxiety regarding their wholesomeness, and the tremendous emotional leverage that the fear of radioactive milk gave the opponents of nuclear weapons.

A radioactive isotope, strontium 90 (Sr-90) has a half-life of twenty-eight years, making it a long-lasting component of fallout. Soon after World War II, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) recognized that Sr-90, which is chemically similar to calcium, can accumulate in bones and possibly lead to cancer (*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, April 1949, p. 119). In August 1953, its presence in animal bones, milk, and soil was first confirmed by the Lamont Geological Observatory. Lamont established a worldwide network for sampling human bone, and within a few years found Sr-90 present in “all human beings, regardless of age or geographic locations.” Sr-90 found its way into humans via the ecological food chain, as fallout in the soil was picked up by plants, further concentrated in herbivorous animals, and eventually consumed by humans. . . .

These and other studies, and the wide publicity they received, brought the issue of radioactive fallout very close to home. No longer was fallout a problem limited to a few Japanese fishermen or western ranchers. People around the nation knew that invisible radioactive material was in the air they breathed and lodged within their own and their children’s bones. In learning about this hazard they also learned about the ecological food chain, the biological concentration of these materials, and the cancer and other radiation-induced effects that might strike them in future years. . . .

Chemical Fallout

Silent Spring was published on 27 September 1962—one month before the Cuban missile crisis and one year before the signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty; almost three years after the release of the film version of *On the Beach* and two years before the release of Stanley Kubrick’s *Dr. Strangelove: Or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*. The nation was steeped in years of debate about nuclear weapon and fallout, which served as a point of reference to help people understand the hazards of

pesticides and as a fearful symbol to motivate action.

The environmental and health hazards of radioactive materials were on Rachel Carson's mind as she wrote the book. In the summer of 1960, while deeply involved in writing *Silent Spring*, she also worked on a revised edition of *The Sea Around Us*. In a new preface, she wrote about the impact of fallout and of the ocean disposal of nuclear wastes upon the marine environment. She described how marine organisms can concentrate radioisotopes and wrote, "By such a process tuna over an area of a million square miles surrounding the Bikini bomb test developed a degree of radioactivity enormously higher than that of the sea water." In creating these materials, she warned, we must face the question of whether we "can dispose of these lethal substances without rendering the earth uninhabitable" (xi-xiii).

It is no accident, then, that the first pollutant Carson mentioned by name in *Silent Spring* was not a pesticide but strontium 90. Well known to the American public, Sr-90 was a tool to help her explain the properties of pesticides. Early in *Silent Spring* she wrote:

Strontium 90, released through nuclear explosions into the air, comes to earth in rain or drifts down as fallout, lodges in soil, enters into the grass or corn or wheat grown there, and in time takes up its abode in the bones of a human being, there to remain until his death. *Similarly*, chemicals sprayed on croplands or forests or gardens lie long in soil, entering in a chain of poisoning and death. (6, emphasis added) . . .

Similarities Between Fallout and Pesticides

I am not suggesting that using fallout as an analogy for pesticides was a central part of the design of this very sophisticated book. As a thoughtful person who was aware of the issues of her time, however, it was impossible for Carson not to have been influenced by the decade of public discussion and debate. Both Carson and her editor, Paul Brooks, were well aware of the similarities between the effects of fallout and pesticides. And while, when interviewed nearly twenty-two years after publication of *Silent Spring*, Brooks did not recall that this was a major part of their conversation (Brooks, *Personal Interview*, August 1984), there is now evidence that he had suggested to Carson that she make the comparison. Carson and her book were products and representatives of their time, as well as shapers of it.

Fallout, one might say, was “in the air” and it is a tribute to Carson’s perceptive skill as an author that she was able to recognize and take advantage of the deep-seated cluster of social concerns surrounding it in the public’s mind. Not only did she tap into this anxiety and direct it toward pesticides, she also used the public’s existing understanding about the hazards of fallout to teach about the similar hazards of chemical poisons. Just as strontium 90 could travel great distances, enter the food chain, and accumulate in human tissue, so too could pesticides. Just as radioactive materials could produce chronic rather than acute poisoning, so too could pesticides. And just as exposure to radiation could produce cancer, birth defects, and mutations, so might pesticides. The public already knew the basic concepts—all it needed was a little reminding.

A distinctive feature of the contemporary environmental movement is a profound and pervasive element of fear. It is a fear that, for good or ill, colors and sometimes distorts virtually every popular analysis of major environmental problems. This is not simply a fear that we will deplete a particular natural resource, lose pristine wilderness, or be poisoned. It is the belief that we may well be facing the “end of history,” that we as a species might be doomed. This anxiety burst to the surface with the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is rooted in the omnipresent threat of nuclear destruction.

The generation that promoted Earth Day 1970 grew up in the shadow of nuclear destruction. This threat became a tacit part of the way in which people understood their world. It is no surprise then, that the belief in the imminent end of the earth became integrated with more traditional conservation concerns. This younger generation did not create the anxiety, nor did its elder, Rachel Carson. She did, though, write one of the first and most eloquent books bridging the gap between the environmental movement and this new fearful vision of Armageddon.



ARTICLE 5

Bob Dylan: A New Voice Singing New Songs

By Gil Turner

Bob Dylan appeared in New York's Greenwich Village folk scene in 1961. He performed nightly at coffeehouses singing traditional blues songs and accompanying various acoustic artists on harmonica and guitar. In March 1962, Dylan released his first album, *Bob Dylan*. The album was a collection of songs written over the past year as a performer in the folk scene.

In April 1962, Bob Dylan wrote "Blowin' in the Wind," an antiwar song that inspired many of his contemporaries, like Joan Baez and Tom Paxton, to write songs of protest. As a result, folk performers became a standard fixture at many of the civil rights and antiwar protests that characterized the decade of the 1960s.

In this October 1962 article, music critic and performer Gil Turner discusses his early memories of Bob Dylan at the folk house Gerde's in Greenwich Village. Turner hosted the "Monday Night Hoots" at Gerde's and recalls the impact that Dylan's sudden appearance had on the folk music scene in New York.

Although Bob Dylan began his career as a folksinger, he was not limited to this category of music. In 1966, at the Newport Folk Festival, he shocked his audience by playing an electric guitar. As a result, he was banned from the festival and did not return as an acoustic per-

former until the summer of 2002. Dylan still performs and has several albums to his credit. His music and performing style continue to influence young performers.

Let me drink from the waters where the mountain streams flood,
Let the smell of wild flowers flow free through my blood,
Let me sleep in your meadows with your green grassy leaves,
Let me walk down the highway with my brothers in peace.

These are the words of the most prolific young songwriter in America today. Bob Dylan has sung them, along with scores of songs he “put together,” in coffee houses, night-clubs, taverns, “strip joints,” living rooms and the stage of Carnegie Recital Hall. At the age of 21 he has won critical acclaim, a Columbia recording contract, and a clear place as a significant figure in American folk music.

In February 1961 Bob Dylan landed on the New York Island at the end of a zig-zaggy thumb ride across the country from S. Dakota. He was wearing a pair of dusty dungarees, holey shoes, a corduroy Huck Finn cap and he had a beat-up Gibson guitar and two squeaky harmonicas. He wanted a try at singing his “folky” songs for the people in the big city and to meet the man whose life and music had had a great influence on his own—[folksinger] Woody Guthrie. He had first seen Woody in Burbank, California, a number of years before but had had only opportunity to watch and listen from a distance and say a brief hello after the program. The second meeting bridged the gap of several generations and began a friendship based on the love of good songs and a common view toward life.

Dylan's Interest in Songwriting

Born in Duluth, Minnesota, in 1941, Bob Dylan began his “rambling” at the age of a few months. For the next nineteen years he made his home in Gallup, New Mexico; Cheyenne, S.D.; Sioux Falls, S. D.; Phillipsburg, Kansas; Hibbing, Minn.; Fargo, N.D.; and Minneapolis. He dates his interest in music and his own singing “as far back as I can remember.” Everywhere he went his ears were wide open for the music around him. He listened to blues singers, cowboy singers, pop singers and others soaking up music and styles with an uncanny memory and facility for assimilation. Gradually, his own preferences developed and became

more clear, the strongest areas being Negro blues and country music. Among the musicians and singers who influenced him were Hank Williams, Muddy Waters, Jelly Roll Morton, Leadbelly, Mance Lipscomb and Big Joe Williams.

Developing a Musical Style

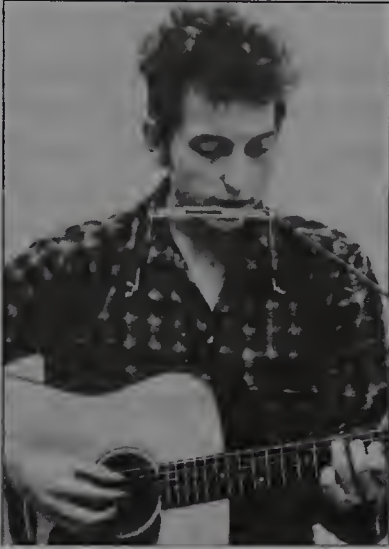
Dylan's first appearances in New York were at hootenannies held in the afternoon hours in Greenwich Village coffee houses. It was at one of these that I first heard him, blowing blues harmonica with singer guitarist, Mark Spoelstra. There was apparent in his singing, playing and lyric improvisation an expressive freedom seldom encountered among white blues singers. Bob Dylan in performance, however, is more than a blues singer. His flare for the comic gesture and the spontaneous quip, the ability to relate his thoughts on practically any subject from hitch-hiking to the phoniness of Tin Pan Alley, and make it entertaining, make Bob's stage personality. It is not a contrived, play-acted personality. One gets the impression that his talk and story-telling on stage are things that just came into his head that he thought you might be interested in.

Part of Dylan's magnetism lies in the fact that he is not the slightest bit afraid of falling flat on his face. If he gets an idea for a song or a story, he does it on the spot without worrying about whether it will come out exactly polished and right. There's a sense of "what's he going to do next?" Whatever comes it is often as much a surprise to the performer as to the audience. Harry Jackson, cowboy singer, painter and sculptor, summed up a Dylan performance rather graphically one night: "He's so god-damned real, it's unbelievable!"

A Focus on Substantial Topics

Reality and truth are words that Bob Dylan will use often if you get him into a serious discussion about anything. They are his criteria for evaluating the world around him, the people in it (especially other folksingers), songs to sing and songs to write. If the reality is harsh, tragic, funny or meaningless, it should be thought about, looked at and described. Says Dylan, "I don't have to be anybody like those guys up on Broadway that're always writin' about 'I'm hot for you and you're hot for me - ooka dooka dicka dee.' There's other things in the world besides love and sex that're important too. People shouldn't turn their backs on 'em just be-

cause they ain't pretty to look at. How is the world ever gonna get any better if we're afraid to look at these things?" Some of "these things" are discrimination, capital punishment, lynching, fallout shelters and peace. ("The best fallout shelter I ever saw is the Grand Canyon. They oughta put a roof on it and let all the generals and bigshot politicians go and live in it. They seem to like these fallout things pretty much so let 'em live in 'em.")



Bob Dylan

Although he can execute some intricate blues runs, do fancy three-finger picking and play in a variety of open tunings, Dylan sticks mostly to simple three-chord patterns and a rhythmic, driving flat-picking style. For him, the words are the important thing and don't need a lot of show-offy instrumental ballast to help them out. "I could sing 'Porgy and Bess' with two chords, G and D, and still get the story across."

His vocal style is rough and unpolished, reflecting a conscious effort to recapture the earthy realism of the rural country blues. It is a distinctive, highly personalized style combining many musical influences and innovations.

His first Columbia album, titled simply "Bob Dylan," while capturing some really superb performances, does not show the breadth of his talent. It contains only one humorous selection—a talking blues about some of his New York experiences—and one other song of his own composition, "Song to Woody." With this relatively minor reservation, the record can be wholeheartedly endorsed as an excellent first album and also, incidentally, as a reflection of the growing maturity of the Columbia A & R department. According to advance reports, the second Bob Dylan album will contain a good deal more of his original songs which usually reveal him at his interpretive best.

Critical Response to Dylan's Music

Dylan's reception from the critics has been mixed and promises to stir up controversy as his audience grows. Robert Shelton of the *N.Y. Times* finds him to be "bursting at the seams with tal-

ent” and is appreciative of his “originality and inspiration,” while *McCall*’s magazine regards him as “a young man with the style and voice of an outraged bear.” Dylan’s reaction to the latter: “Hah, they don’t even know what a bear sounds like. Probably never saw one. Anyway, I don’t even know if it’s so bad to sound like a bear. When a bear growls, he’s really sayin’ somethin’.” *Newsweek* says he “looks and acts like the square’s version of a folksinger” (whatever that might be). A prominent critic privately dubs him the “Elvis Presley of folk music.” The latter designation is not meant to be derogatory, but merely reflects his wide appeal to young audiences.

His night club appearances at Gerde’s Folk City in New York have attracted predominantly youthful and enthusiastic audiences while the elders in the crowd seemed puzzled at his style of singing. Several teenage imitations of Dylan, harmonica, Huck Finn cap and repertoire, have already made their appearance in the Greenwich Village folksong scene. Although he maintains his performance is not consciously tailored for the young, the largest portion of his growing following is made up of persons near his own age.

Dylan’s Focus on Language

While Bob is a noteworthy folk performer with a bright future, I believe his most significant and lasting contribution will be in the songs that he writes. . . . Dylan avoids the terms “write” or “compose” in connection with his songs. “The songs are there. They exist all by themselves just waiting for someone to write them down. I just put them down on paper. If I didn’t do it, somebody else would.” His method of writing places the emphasis on the words, the tune almost always being borrowed or adapted from one he has heard somewhere, usually a traditional one. I remember the first night he heard the tune he used for the “Ballad of Donald White.” It was in Bonnie Dobson’s version of the “Ballad of Peter Amberly.” He heard the tune, liked it, made a mental record of it and a few days later “Donald White” was complete. About this song Dylan says: “I’d seen Donald White’s name in a Seattle paper in about 1959. It said he was a killer. The next time I saw him was on a television set. My gal Sue said I’d be interested in him so we went and watched. . . . Donald White was sent home from prisons and institutions cause they had no room. He asked to be sent back cause he couldn’t find no room

in life. He murdered someone 'cause he couldn't find no room in life. Now they killed him 'cause he couldn't find no room in life. They killed him and when they did I lost some of my room in life. When are some people gonna wake up and see that sometimes people aren't really their enemies but their victims?"

Protest Songs

One night, two months ago, Bob came flying into Folk City where I was singing. "Gil, I got a new song I just finished. Wanna hear it?" The song was "Blowin' in the Wind," one of his best efforts to date in my opinion. I didn't recognize the tune at the time and neither did Bob, but Pete Seeger heard it and pegged the first part of it as an imaginative reworking of "No More Auction Block."

In one of his songs rejecting atomic war as a possible solution for differences among nations he says:

If I had riches and rubies and crowns
I'd buy the whole world and I'd change things around,
I'd throw all the guns and the tanks in the sea,
For they all are the mistakes of our past history.

His concluding lines for a "Ballad of Emmett Till"

If you can't speak out against this kind of thing
A crime that's so unjust.
Your eyes are filled with dead man's dirt
Your mind is filled with dust.
Your arms and legs must be shackled and chained
Your blood must cease to flow,
For you would let this human race
Fall down so godawful low.

From a lively song celebrating the bold actions of students on the civil rights front:

Red and white and brown and black,
We're ridin' this train on a one-way track
We got this far and we ain't turnin' back
We ain't gonna grieve no more.

There's a time to plant and a time to plow
A time to stand and a time to bow,

There's a time to grieve but that ain't now
We ain't gonna grieve no more.

Dylan's flare for the comic is usually put to use in the talking blues form. His "Talking Bear Mountain" is based on newspaper stories of counterfeit tickets sold for an excursion and the resultant overcrowding of the boat. "Talkin' New York" satirizes some of his early troubles in the big city. "Talkin' Havah Nagilah" was made up especially for members of the audience that shout out requests for songs way out of his line.

Dylan is adamant in his insistence that his songs remain as he has written them without being watered down. There is at least one major record company A & R man bemoaning Dylan's stubbornness in refusing to alter one of his songs. He wanted to use "Gamblin' Willie" for one of his popular recording stars, but wanted a verse changed so that the cause of Willie's gambling became an unfortunate love affair. Dylan refused on the ground that Willie was a real person whom he knew and the change would not conform to the truth as he knew it.

Dylan's plans are simply to keep on singing wherever people want to hear him (but preferably not in night clubs) and putting down songs as fast as they come into his head. The present record is five songs in one night. The latest is a song about black-listing, inspired by the case of John Henry Faulk. The chorus of it goes:

Go down, go down you gates of hate,
You gates that keep good men in chains.
Go down and die the lowest death,
And never rise again.



ARTICLE 6

Baker v. Carr: A New Hope for Black Voters

By William J. Brennan

On March 26, 1962, the case of *Baker v. Carr* was decided by the Supreme Court, changing how the legislative districts would be apportioned in the United States. The case was the result of sixty years of representative discrimination in the state of Tennessee. Tennessee legislative or voting districts, before 1962, were divided based on the race and population demographics of these districts. Such information was provided by the U.S. Census Bureau every ten years. In Tennessee, the voting districts were established in 1901, and based on census information from that year, a time when major cities had a majority of white citizens. In the sixty years that followed, major shifts in population demographics occurred. Rural blacks moved into the larger cities seeking work in factories and industry. Soon, large cities like Memphis changed from being mostly white to mostly black. Suddenly, these older legislative districts needed to be redrawn to serve the needs of their changing population, but Tennessee had failed to redraw voting districts since the 1901 census. The effect of this disallowed blacks equal representation in the state legislature. It also kept blacks in a position where their vote could have influenced their representatives in public office to lobby for much-needed financial assistance for black

communities whose poorly funded schools and social service institutions were in desperate financial need.

When the Supreme Court overturned *Baker v. Carr* in 1962, it stated that state legislatures that move too slowly on the issue of reapportionment could be sued by local governments. The effect of this decision was immediate. Cities all over the state of Tennessee immediately sued the state government so that reapportionment could be done quickly in order to establish more equitable voting districts. The effect was felt in other states also. In Georgia, a state run by a similarly segregationist apportionment system called the unit system, voters sued immediately and within a year changed all of Georgia's voting districts. This case was vital for the eventual passage of the Voter Rights Act of 1964, signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson. This selection is from the opinion delivered by Supreme Court justice William J. Brennan, a justice known for supporting liberal policies, especially in the area of civil rights.

This civil action was brought under 42 U.S.C. § 1983 and 1988 to redress the alleged deprivation of federal constitutional rights. The complaint, alleging that by means of a 1901 statute of Tennessee apportioning the members of the General Assembly among the State's 95 counties, "these plaintiffs and others similarly situated, are denied the equal protection of the laws accorded them by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States by virtue of the debasement of their votes," was dismissed by a three-judge court convened under 28 U.S.C. § 2281 in the Middle District of Tennessee. The court held that it lacked jurisdiction of the subject matter and also that no claim was stated upon which relief could be granted. 179 F. Supp. 824. We noted probable jurisdiction of the appeal. 364 U.S. 898. We hold that the dismissal was error, and remand the cause to the District Court for trial and further proceedings consistent with this opinion.

The 1901 Tennessee Apportionment Statute

The General Assembly of Tennessee consists of the Senate with 33 members and the House of Representatives with 99 members. The Tennessee Constitution provides in Art. II as follows:

"Sec. 3. Legislative authority—Term of office.—The Legislative

authority of this State shall be vested in a General Assembly, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, both dependent on the people; who shall hold their offices for two years from the day of the general election.

“Sec. 4. Census.—An enumeration of the qualified voters, and an apportionment of the Representatives in the General Assembly, shall be made in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and within every subsequent term of ten years.

“Sec. 5. Apportionment of representatives.—The number of Representatives shall, at the several periods of making the enumeration, be apportioned among the several counties or districts, according to the number of qualified voters in each; and shall not exceed seventy-five, until the population of the State shall be one million and a half, and shall never exceed ninety-nine; Provided, that any county having two-thirds of the ratio shall be entitled to one member.

“Sec. 6. Apportionment of senators.—The number of Senators shall, at the several periods of making the enumeration, be apportioned among the several counties or districts according to the number of qualified electors in each, and shall not exceed one-third the number of representatives. In apportioning the Senators among the different counties, the fraction that may be lost by any county or counties, in the apportionment of members to the House of Representatives, shall be made up to such county or counties in the Senate, as near as may be practicable. When a district is composed of two or more counties, they shall be adjoining; and no county shall be divided in forming a district.”

Thus, Tennessee's standard for allocating legislative representation among her counties is the total number of qualified voters resident in the respective counties, subject only to minor qualifications. Decennial reapportionment in compliance with the constitutional scheme was effected by the General Assembly each decade from 1871 to 1901. The 1871 apportionment was preceded by an 1870 statute requiring an enumeration. The 1881 apportionment involved three statutes, the first authorizing an enumeration, the second enlarging the Senate from 25 to 33 members and the House from 75 to 99 members, and the third apportioning the membership of both Houses. In 1891 there were both an enumeration and an apportionment. In 1901 the General

Assembly abandoned separate enumeration in favor of reliance upon the Federal Census and passed the Apportionment Act here in controversy. In the more than 60 years since that action, all proposals in both Houses of the General Assembly for reapportionment have failed to pass.

The Basis for Complaint

Between 1901 and 1961, Tennessee has experienced substantial growth and redistribution of her population. In 1901 the population was 2,020,616, of whom 487,380 were eligible to vote. The 1960 Federal Census reports the State's population at 3,567,089, of whom 2,092,891 are eligible to vote. The relative standings of the counties in terms of qualified voters have changed significantly. It is primarily the continued application of the 1901 Apportionment Act to this shifted and enlarged voting population which gives rise to the present controversy.

Indeed, the complaint alleges that the 1901 statute, even as of the time of its passage, "made no apportionment of Representatives and Senators in accordance with the constitutional formula . . . but instead arbitrarily and capriciously apportioned representatives in the Senate and House without reference . . . to any logical or reasonable formula whatever." It is further alleged that "because of the population changes since 1900, and the failure of the Legislature to reapportion itself since 1901," the 1901 statute became "unconstitutional and obsolete." Appellants also argue that, because of the composition of the legislature effected by the 1901 Apportionment Act, redress in the form of a state constitutional amendment to change the entire mechanism for reapportioning, or any other change short of that, is difficult or impossible. The complaint concludes that "these plaintiffs and others similarly situated, are denied the equal protection of the laws accorded them by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States by virtue of the debasement of their votes." They seek a declaration that the 1901 statute is unconstitutional and an injunction restraining the appellees from acting to conduct any further elections under it. They also pray that unless and until the General Assembly enacts a valid reapportionment, the District Court should either decree a reapportionment by mathematical application of the Tennessee constitutional formulae to the most recent Federal Census figures, or direct the appellees to conduct legislative elections, primary and general, at

large. They also pray for such other and further relief as may be appropriate.

The Earlier Dismissal by the Lower Court

Because we deal with this case on appeal from an order of dismissal granted on appellees' motions, precise identification of the issues presently confronting us demands clear exposition of the grounds upon which the District Court rested in dismissing the case. The dismissal order recited that the court sustained the appellees' grounds "(1) that the Court lacks jurisdiction of the subject matter, and (2) that the complaint fails to state a claim upon which relief can be granted. . . ."

In the setting of a case such as this, the recited grounds embrace two possible reasons for dismissal:

First: That the facts and injury alleged, the legal bases invoked as creating the rights and duties relied upon, and the relief sought, fail to come within that language of Article III of the Constitution and of the jurisdictional statutes which define those matters concerning which United States District Courts are empowered to act;

Second: That, although the matter is cognizable and facts are alleged which establish infringement of appellants' rights as a result of state legislative action departing from a federal constitutional standard, the court will not proceed because the matter is considered unsuited to judicial inquiry or adjustment.

We treat the first ground of dismissal as "lack of jurisdiction of the subject matter." The second we consider to result in a failure to state a justiciable cause of action.

The District Court's dismissal order recited that it was issued in conformity with the court's *per curiam* opinion [a court's opinion as a whole, rather than the opinion of a specific judge]. The opinion reveals that the court rested its dismissal upon lack of subject-matter jurisdiction and lack of a justiciable cause of action without attempting to distinguish between these grounds. After noting that the plaintiffs challenged the existing legislative apportionment in Tennessee under the Due Process and Equal Protection Clauses, and summarizing the supporting allegations and the relief requested, the court stated that

"The action is presently before the Court upon the defendants' motion to dismiss predicated upon three grounds: first, that the

Court lacks jurisdiction of the subject matter; second, that the complaints fail to state a claim upon which relief can be granted; and third, that indispensable party defendants are not before the Court.” 179 F. Supp., at 826.

The court proceeded to explain its action as turning on the case’s presenting a “question of the distribution of political strength for legislative purposes.” For,

“From a review of [numerous Supreme Court] . . . decisions there can be no doubt that the federal rule, as enunciated and applied by the Supreme Court, is that the federal courts, whether from a lack of jurisdiction or from the inappropriateness of the subject matter for judicial consideration, will not intervene in cases of this type to compel legislative reapportionment.” 179 F. Supp., at 826.

The court went on to express doubts as to the feasibility of the various possible remedies sought by the plaintiffs. 179 F. Supp., at 827–828. Then it made clear that its dismissal reflected a view not of doubt that violation of constitutional rights was alleged, but of a court’s impotence to correct that violation:

“With the plaintiffs’ argument that the legislature of Tennessee is guilty of a clear violation of the state constitution and of the rights of the plaintiffs the Court entirely agrees. It also agrees that the evil is a serious one which should be corrected without further delay. But even so the remedy in this situation clearly does not lie with the courts. It has long been recognized and is accepted doctrine that there are indeed some rights guaranteed by the Constitution for the violation of which the courts cannot give redress.” 179 F. Supp., at 828.

In light of the District Court’s treatment of the case, we hold today only (a) that the court possessed jurisdiction of the subject matter; (b) that a justiciable cause of action is stated upon which appellants would be entitled to appropriate relief; and (c) because appellees raise the issue before this Court, that the appellants have standing to challenge the Tennessee apportionment statutes. Beyond noting that we have no cause at this stage to doubt the District Court will be able to fashion relief if violations of constitutional rights are found, it is improper now to consider what remedy would be most appropriate if appellants prevail at the trial.

The District Court was uncertain whether our cases withholding federal judicial relief rested upon a lack of federal jurisdiction or upon the inappropriateness of the subject matter for judicial consideration—what we have designated “nonjusticiability.” The distinction between the two grounds is significant. In the instance of nonjusticiability, consideration of the cause is not wholly and immediately foreclosed; rather, the Court’s inquiry necessarily proceeds to the point of deciding whether the duty asserted can be judicially identified and its breach judicially determined, and whether protection for the right asserted can be judicially molded. In the instance of lack of jurisdiction the cause either does not “arise under” the Federal Constitution, laws or treaties (or fall within one of the other enumerated categories of Art. III, § 2), or is not a “case or controversy” within the meaning of that section; or the cause is not one described by any jurisdictional statute. Our conclusion . . . that this cause presents no nonjusticiable “political question” settles the only possible doubt that it is a case or controversy. Under the present heading of “Jurisdiction of the Subject Matter” we hold only that the matter set forth in the complaint does arise under the Constitution and is within 28 U.S.C. § 1343.

The Basis for Supreme Court Action

Article III, § 2, of the Federal Constitution provides that “The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority. . . .” It is clear that the cause of action is one which “arises under” the Federal Constitution. The complaint alleges that the 1901 statute effects an apportionment that deprives the appellants of the equal protection of the laws in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Dismissal of the complaint upon the ground of lack of jurisdiction of the subject matter would, therefore, be justified only if that claim were “so attenuated and unsubstantial as to be absolutely devoid of merit.” *Newburyport Water Co. v. Newburyport*, 193 U.S. 561, 579, or “frivolous,” *Bell v. Hood*, 327 U.S. 678, 683. That the claim is unsubstantial must be “very plain.” *Hart v. Keith Vaudeville Exchange*, 262 U.S. 271, 274. Since the District Court obviously and correctly did not deem the asserted federal constitutional claim unsubstantial and frivolous, it should not have dismissed the complaint for want of jurisdiction of the

subject matter. And of course no further consideration of the merits of the claim is relevant to a determination of the court's jurisdiction of the subject matter. . . .

Since the complaint plainly sets forth a case arising under the Constitution, the subject matter is within the federal judicial power defined in Art. III, § 2, and so within the power of Congress to assign to the jurisdiction of the District Courts. Congress has exercised that power in 28 U.S.C. § 1343(3):

“The district courts shall have original jurisdiction of any civil action authorized by law to be commenced by any person . . . [t]o redress the deprivation, under color of any State law, statute, ordinance, regulation, custom or usage, of any right, privilege or immunity secured by the Constitution of the United States”

Prior Precedents of Jurisdiction

An unbroken line of our precedents sustains the federal courts' jurisdiction of the subject matter of federal constitutional claims of this nature. The first cases involved the redistricting of States for the purpose of electing Representatives to the Federal Congress. When the Ohio Supreme Court sustained Ohio legislation against an attack for repugnancy to Art. I, § 4, of the Federal Constitution, we affirmed on the merits and expressly refused to dismiss for want of jurisdiction “In view . . . of the subject-matter of the controversy and the Federal characteristics which inhere in it. . . .” *Ohio ex rel. Davis v. Hildebrant*, 241 U.S. 565, 570. When the Minnesota Supreme Court affirmed the dismissal of a suit to enjoin the Secretary of State of Minnesota from acting under Minnesota redistricting legislation, we reviewed the constitutional merits of the legislation and reversed the State Supreme Court. *Smiley v. Holm*, 285 U.S. 355. And see companion cases from the New York Court of Appeals and the Missouri Supreme Court, *Koenig v. Flynn*, 285, U.S. 375; *Carroll v. Becker*, 285 U.S. 380. When a three-judge District Court, exercising jurisdiction under the predecessor of 28 U.S.C. § 1343(3), permanently enjoined officers of the State of Mississippi from conducting an election of Representatives under a Mississippi redistricting act, we reviewed the federal questions on the merits and reversed the District Court. *Wood v. Broom*, 287 U.S. 1, reversing 1 F. Supp. 134. A similar decree of a District Court, exercising jurisdiction under the same statute, concerning a Ken-

tucky redistricting act, was reviewed and the decree reversed. *Mahan v. Hume*, 287 U.S. 575, reversing 1 F. Supp. 142.

The appellees refer to *Colegrove v. Green*, 328 U.S. 549, as authority that the District Court lacked jurisdiction of the subject matter. Appellees misconceive the holding of that case. The holding was precisely contrary to their reading of it. Seven members of the Court participated in the decision. Unlike many other cases in this field which have assumed without discussion that there was jurisdiction, all three opinions filed in *Colegrove* discussed the question. Two of the opinions expressing the views of four of the Justices, a majority, flatly held that there was jurisdiction of the subject matter. Mr. Justice Black joined by Mr. Justice Douglas and Mr. Justice Murphy stated: "It is my judgment that the District Court had jurisdiction . . .," citing the predecessor of 28 U.S.C. § 1343 (3), and *Bell v. Hood*, *supra*. 328 U.S., at 568. Mr. Justice Rutledge, writing separately, expressed agreement with this conclusion. 328 U.S., at 564, 565, n. 2. Indeed, it is even questionable that the opinion of Mr. Justice Frankfurter, joined by Justices Reed and Burton, doubted jurisdiction of the subject matter. Such doubt would have been inconsistent with the professed willingness to turn the decision on either the majority or concurring views in *Wood v. Broom*, *supra*. 328 U.S., at 551. . . .

Fighting the Statute to Acquire Representation

A federal court cannot "pronounce any statute, either of a State or of the United States, void, because irreconcilable with the Constitution, except as it is called upon to adjudge the legal rights of litigants in actual controversies." *Liverpool Steamship Co. v. Commissioners of Emigration*, 113 U.S. 33, 39. Have the appellants alleged such a personal stake in the outcome of the controversy as to assure that concrete adverseness which sharpens the presentation of issues upon which the court so largely depends for illumination of difficult constitutional questions? This is the gist of the question of standing. It is, of course, a question of federal law.

The complaint was filed by residents of Davidson, Hamilton, Knox, Montgomery, and Shelby Counties. Each is a person allegedly qualified to vote for members of the General Assembly representing his county. These appellants sued "on their own be-

half and on behalf of all qualified voters of their respective counties, and further, on behalf of all voters of the State of Tennessee who are similarly situated. . . .” The appellees are the Tennessee Secretary of State, Attorney General, Coordinator of Elections, and members of the State Board of Elections; the members of the State Board are sued in their own right and also as representatives of the County Election Commissioners whom they appoint.

We hold that the appellants do have standing to maintain this suit. Our decisions plainly support this conclusion. Many of the cases have assumed rather than articulated the premise in deciding the merits of similar claims. And *Colegrove v. Green*, *supra*, squarely held that voters who allege facts showing disadvantage to themselves as individuals have standing to sue. A number of cases decided after *Colegrove* recognized the standing of the voters there involved to bring those actions.

These appellants seek relief in order to protect or vindicate an interest of their own, and of those similarly situated. Their constitutional claim is, in substance, that the 1901 statute constitutes arbitrary and capricious state action, offensive to the Fourteenth Amendment in its irrational disregard of the standard of apportionment prescribed by the State’s Constitution or of any standard, effecting a gross disproportion of representation to voting population. The injury which appellants assert is that this classification disfavors the voters in the counties in which they reside, placing them in a position of constitutionally unjustifiable inequality *vis-à-vis* voters in irrationally favored counties. A citizen’s right to a vote free of arbitrary impairment by state action has been judicially recognized as a right secured by the Constitution. . . .

It would not be necessary to decide whether appellants’ allegations of impairment of their votes by the 1901 apportionment will, ultimately, entitle them to any relief, in order to hold that they have standing to seek it. If such impairment does produce a legally cognizable injury, they are among those who have sustained it. They are asserting “a plain, direct and adequate interest in maintaining the effectiveness of their votes.” *Coleman v. Miller*, 307 U.S., at 438, not merely a claim of “the right, possessed by every citizen, to require that the Government be administered according to law. . . .” *Fairchild v. Hughes*, 258 U.S. 126, 129; compare *Leser v. Garnett*, 258 U.S. 130. They are entitled to a hearing and to the District Court’s decision on their claims. “The very essence of civil liberty certainly consists in the

right of every individual to claim the protection of the laws, whenever he receives an injury.” *Marbury v. Madison*, 5 U.S. (1 Cranch) 137, 163.

The Mistake Made by the District Court

In holding that the subject matter of this suit was not justiciable, the District Court relied on *Colegrove v. Green*, *supra*, and subsequent *per curiam* cases. The court stated: “From a review of these decisions there can be no doubt that the federal rule . . . is that the federal courts . . . will not intervene in cases of this type to compel legislative reapportionment.” 179 F. Supp., at 826. We understand the District Court to have read the cited cases as compelling the conclusion that since the appellants sought to have a legislative apportionment held unconstitutional, their suit presented a “political question” and was therefore nonjusticiable. We hold that this challenge to an apportionment presents no nonjusticiable “political question.” The cited cases do not hold the contrary.

Of course the mere fact that the suit seeks protection of a political right does not mean it presents a political question. Such an objection “is little more than a play upon words.” *Nixon v. Herndon*, 273 U.S. 536, 540. Rather, it is argued that apportionment cases, whatever the actual wording of the complaint, can involve no federal constitutional right except one resting on the guaranty of a republican form of government, and that complaints based on that clause have been held to present political questions which are nonjusticiable.

We hold that the claim pleaded here neither rests upon nor implicates the Guaranty Clause and that its justiciability is therefore not foreclosed by our decisions of cases involving that clause. The District Court misinterpreted *Colegrove v. Green* and other decisions of this Court on which it relied. Appellants’ claim that they are being denied equal protection is justiciable, and if “discrimination is sufficiently shown, the right to relief under the equal protection clause is not diminished by the fact that the discrimination relates to political rights.” *Snowden v. Hughes*, 321 U.S. 1, 11. To show why we reject the argument based on the Guaranty Clause, we must examine the authorities under it. But because there appears to be some uncertainty as to why those cases did present political questions, and specifically as to whether this apportionment case is like those cases, we deem it necessary first to consider the contours of the “political question” doctrine. . . .

The Importance of the Equal Protection Clause

We come, finally, to the ultimate inquiry whether our precedents as to what constitutes a nonjusticiable “political question” bring the case before us under the umbrella of that doctrine. A natural beginning is to note whether any of the common characteristics which we have been able to identify and label descriptively are present. We find none: The question here is the consistency of state action with the Federal Constitution. We have no question decided, or to be decided, by a political branch of government coequal with this Court. Nor do we risk embarrassment of our government abroad, or grave disturbance at home if we take issue with Tennessee as to the constitutionality of her action here challenged. Nor need the appellants, in order to succeed in this action, ask the Court to enter upon policy determinations for which judicially manageable standards are lacking. Judicial standards under the Equal Protection Clause are well developed and familiar, and it has been open to courts since the enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment to determine, if on the particular facts they must, that a discrimination reflects *no* policy, but simply arbitrary and capricious action.

This case does, in one sense, involve the allocation of political power within a State, and the appellants might conceivably have added a claim under the Guaranty Clause. Of course, as we have seen, any reliance on that clause would be futile. But because any reliance on the Guaranty Clause could not have succeeded it does not follow that appellants may not be heard on the equal protection claim which in fact they tender. True, it must be clear that the Fourteenth Amendment claim is not so enmeshed with those political question elements which render Guaranty Clause claims nonjusticiable as actually to present a political question itself. But we have found that not to be the case here. . . .

When challenges to state action respecting matters of “the administration of the affairs of the State and the officers through whom they are conducted” have rested on claims of constitutional deprivation which are amenable to judicial correction, this Court has acted upon its view of the merits of the claim. For example, in *Boyd v. Nebraska ex rel. Thayer*, 143 U.S. 135, we reversed the Nebraska Supreme Court’s decision that Nebraska’s Governor was not a citizen of the United States or of the State and therefore could

not continue in office. In *Kennard v. Louisiana ex rel. Morgan*, 92 U.S. (2 Otto) 480, and *Foster v. Kansas ex rel. Johnston*, 112 U.S. 201, we considered whether persons had been removed from public office by procedures consistent with the Fourteenth Amendment's due process guaranty, and held on the merits that they had. And only last Term, in *Gomillion v. Lightfoot*, 364 U.S. 339, we applied the Fifteenth Amendment to strike down a redrafting of municipal boundaries which effected a discriminatory impairment of voting rights, in the face of what a majority of the Court of Appeals thought to be a sweeping commitment to state legislatures of the power to draw and redraw such boundaries.

Gomillion was brought by a Negro who had been a resident of the City of Tuskegee, Alabama, until the municipal boundaries were so recast by the State Legislature as to exclude practically all Negroes. The plaintiff claimed deprivation of the right to vote in municipal elections. The District Court's dismissal for want of jurisdiction and failure to state a claim upon which relief could be granted was affirmed by the Court of Appeals. This Court unanimously reversed. This Court's answer to the argument that States enjoyed unrestricted control over municipal boundaries was:

"Legislative control of municipalities, no less than other state power, lies within the scope of relevant limitations imposed by the United States Constitution. . . . The opposite conclusion, urged upon us by respondents, would sanction the achievement by a State of any impairment of voting rights whatever so long as it was cloaked in the garb of the realignment of political subdivisions. 'It is inconceivable that guaranties embedded in the Constitution of the United States may thus be manipulated out of existence.'" 364 U.S., at 344-345. . . .

We conclude that the complaint's allegations of a denial of equal protection present a justiciable constitutional cause of action upon which appellants are entitled to a trial and a decision. The right asserted is within the reach of judicial protection under the Fourteenth Amendment.

The judgment of the District Court is reversed and the cause is remanded for further proceedings consistent with this opinion.



ARTICLE 7

The Noticeable Rise of Student Activism

By Nan Robertson

During the 1950s, student activism was nearly nonexistent. Fear of prosecution by the House Committee on Un-American Activities prevented many liberals from speaking out against obvious acts of social injustice. America's academic and college-aged youth were not encouraged to get involved in political issues, thus their voices remained silent until the early 1960s. In the new decade, the political climate had changed and political activist groups sprouted up on campuses to champion such causes as integration, nuclear disarmament, and protest of the impending war in Vietnam. These activists, although small in number, were extremely outspoken and gained national attention in the media through their involvement in antiwar sit-ins and lunch-counter protests against segregation.

In this May 14, 1962, *New York Times* article, Nan Robertson, a feature writer for the *New York Times* and recipient of the Pulitzer Prize in journalism, discusses the rise in student interest in both foreign and domestic political issues. Educational institutions became recruitment centers for political action groups. Many groups like the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) organized liberals into action on hundreds of college campuses nationwide. Although the rise in student activism centered on liberal politics, other organizations advocating greater conservative policies like the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) devel-

oped and maintained a continued presence on college campuses and within metropolitan communities throughout the 1960s, taking up stances against the antiwar movement as the decade progressed and the war in Vietnam escalated.

The “silent generation” has found a voice.

Before today ends, American college students will have picketed something or someone, started a sit-in somewhere or marched someplace.

Two years ago they might have been demanding later dating hours or making a panty raid on a girls’ dormitory.

Today the students may be picketing a Communist or John Birch Society speaker, sitting-in at a segregated lunch counter in Alabama, calling for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, marching in a “Ban the Bomb” demonstration or rallying for Senator Barry Goldwater, the national political hero of the student right.

It seemed fitting as a sign of the times when the Senator’s son announced recently that he would like to spend his energies on the Peace Corps as “something worth while” and the Senator’s daughter revealed she wanted to work in Israel on a cooperative farm.

Changes That Influenced Activism

In the late Nineteen Forties and the Nineteen Fifties, political and social action was not unthinkable for college students, but it was sporadically engaged in. World War II stifted the leftist student activity of the late Nineteen Thirties. For almost twenty years after the war’s beginning, such movements fired only the irreducible minimum of several million students at America’s 1,400 four-year colleges.

In the era of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in the Nineteen Fifties, student political activity fell to almost nothing.

What is happening now, and why? The adult world hears student voices loudly talking peace, civil liberties, integration and, most surprising of all, conservatism. How much is noise and press releases and how much is substance?

Ten campuses in all parts of the country were visited within four weeks in a search for the answers. Hundreds of personal interviews with national and local student leaders and professors

close to the students were conducted. In addition, there were telephone interviews reaching a score of other campuses.

Three Contributing Factors

These three significant answers should be passed on immediately:

First, today's political and social activity involves only a small fraction of the student body on the right and on the left—but a fragment that is vocal, militant, organized, growing and full of determination. The proportion, with some exceptions, ranges from 1 to 10 per cent of the student body at the most.

Second, on a number of campuses, the Young Democrats believe the adult world is too conservative and the Young Republicans believe it is not conservative enough. The activists appear to be drifting left of President Kennedy and right toward Senator Goldwater.

Third, the vast majority of American students remains quiet, inactive and uncommitted. But they are by no means unaware or unconcerned with national and international issues.

Overcoming Apathy Through Activism

The wonder is that there are any student movements here at all. Europe, Asia and Latin America historically breed students who can and have overthrown governments. Neither American parents nor college administrations encourage such political activity.

In the United States, the fundamental concept of higher education is what one sociologist called “a four-year moratorium from the real world.”

Despite this, the outsider who goes onto campuses today faces a bewildering proliferation of initials, many forming a word one can pronounce and all standing for new political and social action groups.

Although the numbers of liberal and conservative activists are small, they produce a spreading effect, like pebbles thrown into a pool. All but one of the colleges visited reported increased activity, often called “dramatic” and dating usually from 1960. Yet the students everywhere talk incessantly, sometimes disgustedly and sometimes apologetically, about the “apathy” on their campuses.

At the Berkeley campus of the University of California they were talking about how lively Wisconsin was. At Wisconsin they were saying the same about Berkeley. At Harvard University, revered among students almost everywhere else for intellectual

and social ferment, one student said:

"Well, of course, Harvard is well known for its widespread apathy."

"In the Nineteen Fifties they didn't talk about apathy," said one Midwestern administrator. "They were apathy. It got so bad one of our professors started a 'Stick Your Neck Out' club. The middle is beginning to awake, and one of the signposts is much larger crowds for left-wing and right-wing speakers."

The busiest and most popular speakers this spring have been Senator Goldwater (who appears to have just visited, is soon to visit or is currently holding forth on any given campus), and William F. Buckley Jr., founder of the *National Review* and the intellectual darling of the conservative students. Both speakers also draw many liberals and middle-of-the-roaders.

A close third is the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, the most famous of American religious integrationist leaders. Malcolm X, a Black Muslim, is in strong demand for his shock speeches on black segregation and supremacy. And the Nobel Prize winner Dr. Linus Pauling has a heavy schedule of campus speaking engagements. To student peace groups, Dr. Pauling has become the "good scientist" for his stand against nuclear testing.

But few human molders of opinion have appeared before as many students as has "Operation Abolition," the film picturing students of Berkeley and, by projection, American youth, as dupes of the Communist conspiracy for demonstrating against the Committee on Un-American Activities.

On every campus reached, it has been shown at least once and often several times amid boos, catcalls and cheers from student audiences that packed auditoriums.

The Rise of the Quiet Middle

As for student action, the following paragraphs give a handful of clues to recent political and social ferment on just five of the campuses visited.

At Berkeley, the following nine student groups have been formed this year: Turn Toward Peace, Student Peace Union, Women for Peace, Gradualists for Peace, Black Nationalists, Americans for Democratic Action, Democratic Socialist Club, Moral Rearmament and one nonactivist conservative study group, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. Young Americans for Freedom, an activist conservative group, may be formed soon.

Despite the right-wing Californians' epithet of "little Red schoolhouse" for Berkeley, most of its students are in the middle and fall into the Rockefeller, Nixon or Kennedy camps. This quiet middle made its presence strikingly known during the President's visit last March. Reacting against disarmament groups and others that planned to picket Mr. Kennedy, students garnered almost 8,000 signatures within several days for a petition welcoming the President. And more than 80,000 students and others packed the the Berkeley stadium to applaud him.

"They wanted to tell the world: 'This is Berkeley, not those other guys,'" said the vice chancellor for student activities. "It's the first time we've heard a peep out of the middle."

At the University of Texas in Austin, white students recently forced integration in two movie houses and a dozen local restaurants through "stand-ins" and boycotts.

The student body this year voted overwhelmingly for integration in athletics and strongly for the same in housing. The chancellor of the university system is on their side. Ranged against them is the nine-man Board of Regents appointed by the Governor of Texas.

Two Negroes, both girls, have been elected to the student government for the first time.

In another development, the Texas Young Republican Club has become a giant among campus G.O.P.'s. Insignificant two years ago, it now has 700 members, probably the largest single college political group in this country. Its membership is solidly for Senator Goldwater.

Until 1960, Spelman, a tiny Negro girls' college in Atlanta, had the reputation of being a local finishing school for the "black bourgeoisie." A number of its 500 students have now been arrested and served time in jail in the sit-ins. And Spelman has achieved a reputation around Atlanta as the most politically conscious Negro girls' school in the region.

This year, a busload of Spelman students went up to Washington in February for a peace march. It was the first student group from the South, a "one-issue" region for generations, to participate in a disarmament demonstration.

At Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wis., one of the two largest Catholic colleges in the country, with 11,000 students, the Young Republicans have come out of nowhere to raise a storm. There are 126 Young Republicans there now against 100 Young

Democrats. The galvanizing force of the campus Republicans is Peter Wheeler Reiss, a cum laude graduate of M. U. and now a law school senior.

He is proud of being the chapter leader of the John Birch Society, wishes to erect a statue of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy on the campus, wants to abolish the progressive income tax and supports former Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker for President. Around him is a coterie of about a dozen self-styled "Birch-sympy," or those who espouse the views of the Robert H.W. Welch Jr. radical-right group.

From Grinnell, a small, isolated college in Iowa, fourteen students went to Washington in November for a three-day "peace fast" and walked in front of the White House.

Their venture involved the entire student body of 1,100 emotionally and almost half of it actively. The example of the fourteen spurred other Iowa students to go to the capital and culminated last February [1961] in the nation-wide march on Washington of 3,000 to 5,000 students.

The news bureau director at Cornell University in Ithaca put it this way:

"I don't know what's got into the students. They seem to be demonstrating up here all the time on one thing and another."

What quickened the sluggish student masses of the Nineteen Fifties?

The spark came from the most unlikely people in the most unlikely place, taking a most peculiar action. The moment can be pinpointed.

Integration Compels Student Involvement

On Feb. 1, 1960, four Negro students from North Carolina A. & T. College asked for service at a segregated Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C. When it was refused, they continued to sit quietly. Other sit-ins, arrests and violence followed quickly.

These first acts of rebellion caused the massive chain reaction that is still continuing all over the South. Thousands of students have participated in sit-ins, stand-ins, wade-ins and pray-ins, and, according to Prof. David Riesman at Harvard, co-author of "The Lonely Crowd," "they dragged the Negro adults in their wake."

College students and teachers agree that the sit-ins electrified campuses both North and South, not only stirring the conscience

of the nation but also impelling its children to act. The sit-ins are now the most solid, sustained and successful of all social-action student movements. . . .

There were the student riots in San Francisco against the House committee in the spring; sympathy boycotts against Woolworth stores all over the North; fund-raising drives for more sit-ins, Freedom Rides and now Negro voter education; student response to the Peace Corps and such private "work overseas" groups as Crossroads Africa and Harvard's Project Tanganyika.

The years 1960 and 1961 also saw the emergence of vocal, militant young conservatives.

The Importance of John F. Kennedy

Teachers and students believe that the election of John F. Kennedy in 1960 accelerated almost all these movements. Peter Scharfman, one of the editors of *Comment*, Harvard's newest political journal, believes that Mr. Kennedy has given impetus to both liberal and conservative action.

"There's a new regime in Washington," said Mr. Scharfman, "A young, vigorous regime. The liberal students think: 'At last, what we say matters.' The conservatives feel threatened. They say: 'We'd better get out and do something. We're rolling down the road to Godless socialism.'"

Professor Riesman says: "The phenomenon of the Kennedy campaign and election was one of the most important events in the rise of student movements. Ike was older, a benign and apolitical President. Kennedy's drive and personality are entirely in contrast."

Academic and Political Pressures

Two other often-given reasons for the increase in student activity are the increased seriousness of the students because of rising academic standards and the menacing pressure of outside events.

A *Comment* editor said: "You don't look on college as just four years of fun when you have to work hard in high school to get in and stay in. Before, college was a relaxed thing. More people now want to care, want to do something. They're looking for causes."

The newest cause, one rapidly coalescing and cooperating with adult groups, is the student peace movement.

Most student groups have sprung up this school year, follow-

ing the resumption of Soviet nuclear testing last fall and the world-wide horror and outrage it provoked. Adult movements bloomed at the same time.

Although liberal students can be attracted to peace groups, many members are unpolitical or politically innocent. They have never joined other social action groups and, only a couple of years ago, would have been horrified at the thought of picketing the United Nations or marching before the White House.

There are also more girls in these groups than in others on the left and right. This is understandable. As potential mothers, they fear genetic distortion. One girl student explained why she was in the disarmament movement:

“Basically, the girls in college want to get married and have babies. Who wants to have a baby with two heads?”

There are historical precedents for many of these student movements. But there is no forerunner in this century for the conservative movement. It is this group that fascinates and puzzles adults.

Many, but not all, organized conservative students come from middle or upper-class Republican or Southwest Democratic parents. They resent and are revolting against what they call the “liberal establishment.”

Some are reacting to what they call the “liberal dogmatism” of their elders. This includes the majority of the faculty members in the great American universities. The conservatives also disagree with a number of textbooks on economics, history and political science.

Difficulties Facing Conservative Groups

The two national conservative student groups, the nonactivist Intercollegiate Society of Individualists and the activist Young Americans for Freedom, established in 1960, have as yet made no headway in the South.

Neither group attracts Negroes and they draw few Jews, although the Y.A.F.’s national chairman, Robert Schuchman of Yale, is Jewish. So also is its New England regional director, Harvard’s Howard Phillips. One of Y.A.F.’s founders, the man who made conservatism intellectually respectable among students, is 36-year-old Mr. Buckley, a Catholic.

A number of students talked to on this recent tour, including some conservatives, called the student conservative movement a myth. This comment was an exaggeration.

It is easy to discern that student conservatives are, for the first time, vocal, coalesced, active, financed by wealthy adults, with many new student publications. They have achieved respectability on campus. But they are not as numerous as the public believes them to be.

What the editor of *Advance*, Harvard's liberal Republican magazine, called "the self-inflating growth in membership" can be traced directly to the Y.A.F.—the noisiest, most flamboyant and most controversial of all right-wing student groups. It was strongly denounced by conservative students in private interviews around the country.

The most spectacular Y.A.F. action to date was its sponsorship of a Conservative Rally for World Liberation from Communism this March, when Madison Square Garden was packed with 18,000 persons who cheered Senator Goldwater and others.

The wide press coverage led adults to wonder about the Y.A.F.'s strength, and the strength of the conservative movement.

Depending on which Y.A.F. press release one reads, the membership runs between 21,000 and 30,000 persons on 185 American campuses. This would boil down to between 113 and 167 members a campus.

Here is a typical sampling of colleges visited. The statistics come from Y.A.F. members and other conservatives.

At Berkeley with 22,000 students, there is one Y.A.F. member who hopes to get thirty others to join.

At the University of Texas, with 19,000 students, there are fifty Y.A.F. members compared with 700 conservative Young Republicans.

At the University of Wisconsin, with 20,000 students, twenty belong to the Y.A.F. Wisconsin's Conservative Club has forty members, the Young Republicans, 230, also conservative.

The largest Y.A.F. chapters are at Yale, with 150 to 200 members in a student body of 8,000, and at Harvard-Radcliffe, with 100 members on a campus where there are 13,000 students.

Goals of Conservative Groups

According to some conservatives, Y.A.F. members' conduct is both ungentlemanly and unconservative, since they engage gleefully in rallies, picketing of liberals and "victory walks" to counter "peace walks." They also issue floods of exaggerated press releases.

This last characteristic recently led *Insight and Outlook*, the University of Wisconsin's conservative journal, to label Y.A.F. "mimeocracy."

As for ideologies, conservative students believe in limited government, private property, the free market and victory over communism.

So far, the three major issues that have galvanized liberal students—civil liberties, civil rights and peace—have been ignored or derided by conservative students.

They do rally around Senator Goldwater, whom they find "young-looking," "dynamic" and "determined to win over communism."

The liberals have suffered for lack of a national political hero since Adlai E. Stevenson refused to go after the Democratic nomination at the 1960 convention.

It may well be that the dramatic, direct action of the first two years of this decade will decline with less marching, picketing and rallying. Already, a new sophistication can be detected. A few students now speak of influencing sources of power rather than public opinion.

They talk more about working power structures of the two adult political parties. They are considering lobbies, influencing Congressmen and presenting their views before school boards, churches, labor unions and Chambers of Commerce.

Some feel the need to inform themselves better on the means and goals of such complicated causes as integration and disarmament.

"I think grown-ups had better learn about these student groups," said one girl at Wisconsin. "They dismiss us as beatniks. The beats don't engage in politics. They reject the real world. We're dying to jump in with both feet."



ARTICLE 8

The Port Huron Statement

By Students for a Democratic Society

By the end of the 1950s, most Americans shied away from political involvement. The decade-long persecution of Communists by Senator Joseph McCarthy left a majority of Americans silent on the emergence of new political issues, including the burgeoning civil rights movement and the concerns over America's deepening involvement in Vietnam. During the short period from 1960 to 1962, an increasing number of white student activists took active roles as organizers in Mississippi and Alabama, working to remove civil rights barriers against blacks. To these small few, such inequalities were unacceptable. In 1962, after several months of meetings and preparations, a national convention was held for the formation of a new political group called the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). It was their goal to motivate young people into activism by transforming the university system into a training ground to teach students how to eliminate the increasing antidemocratic social policies of the United States. In these excerpts from the Port Huron Statement, named after Port Huron, Michigan, the site of the June 11–15, 1962, SDS National Convention, the student leaders outline the major obstacles facing student activism. They, furthermore, reject the role of the university as a storehouse of knowledge that exists for the sole purpose of government exploitation.

In the years after 1962, SDS played an essential role in organizing the campaign against the war in Vietnam. By the late 1960s, several of the key founders of SDS were prosecuted for inciting acts of violence

as a way to implement social change. The foremost example involves Tom Hayden who, along with Huey Newton of the Black Panther Party and Abbie Hoffman of the counterculture group Yippies, was arrested for causing a riot at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. This trial became known as the Chicago Eight trial. By the end of the 1960s, SDS lost its effectiveness due to changing political strategies and fragmented leadership.

We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.

When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world; the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people—these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.

As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract “others” we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two, for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.

While these and other problems either directly oppressed us or rankled our consciences and became our own subjective concerns, we began to see complicated and disturbing paradoxes in our surrounding America. The declaration “all men are created equal. . .” rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North. The proclaimed peaceful intentions of the United States contradicted its economic and military investments in the Cold War status quo.

The United States Faces Domestic Paradoxes

We witnessed, and continue to witness, other paradoxes. With nuclear energy whole cities can easily be powered, yet the dominant nation-states seem more likely to unleash destruction greater than that incurred in all wars of human history. Although our own technology is destroying old and creating new forms of social organization, men still tolerate meaningless work and idleness. While two-thirds of mankind suffers under nourishment, our own upper classes revel amidst superfluous abundance. Although world population is expected to double in forty years, the nations still tolerate anarchy as a major principle of international conduct and uncontrolled exploitation governs the sapping of the earth's physical resources. Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than "of, by, and for the people."

Not only did tarnish appear on our image of American virtue, not only did disillusion occur when the hypocrisy of American ideals was discovered, but we began to sense that what we had originally seen as the American Golden Age was actually the decline of an era. The worldwide outbreak of revolution against colonialism and imperialism, the entrenchment of totalitarian states, the menace of war, overpopulation, international disorder, supertechnology—these trends were testing the tenacity of our own commitment to democracy and freedom and our abilities to visualize their application to a world in upheaval.

Fighting Against Apathy

Our work is guided by the sense that we may be the last generation in the experiment with living. But we are a minority—the vast majority of our people regard the temporary equilibriums of our society and world as eternally functional parts. In this is perhaps the outstanding paradox; we ourselves are imbued with urgency, yet the message of our society is that there is no viable alternative to the present. Beneath the reassuring tones of the politicians, beneath the common opinion that America will "muddle through," beneath the stagnation of those who have closed their minds to the future, is the pervading feeling that there simply are no alternatives, that our times have witnessed the exhaustion not only of Utopias, but of any new departures as

well. Feeling the press of complexity upon the emptiness of life, people are fearful of the thought that at any moment things might be thrust out of control. They fear change itself, since change might smash whatever invisible framework seems to hold back chaos for them now. For most Americans, all crusades are suspect, threatening. The fact that each individual sees apathy in his fellows perpetuates the common reluctance to organize for change. The dominant institutions are complex enough to blunt the minds of their potential critics, and entrenched enough to swiftly dissipate or entirely repel the energies of protest and reform, thus limiting human expectancies. Then, too, we are a materially improved society, and by our own improvements we seem to have weakened the case for further change.

Some would have us believe that Americans feel contentment amidst prosperity—but might it not better be called a glaze above deeply felt anxieties about their role in the new world? And if these anxieties produce a developed indifference to human affairs, do they not as well produce a yearning to believe that there *is* an alternative to the present, that something *can* be done to change circumstances in the school, the workplaces, the bureaucracies, the government? It is to this latter yearning, at once the spark and engine of change, that we direct our present appeal. The search for truly democratic alternatives to the present, and a commitment to social experimentation with them, is a worthy and fulfilling human enterprise, one which moves us and, we hope, others today. On such a basis do we offer this document of our convictions and analysis: as an effort in understanding and changing the conditions of humanity in the late twentieth century, an effort rooted in the ancient, still unfulfilled conception of man attaining determining influence over his circumstances of life.

Prioritizing Values in a Corrupt Society

Making values explicit—an initial task in establishing alternatives—is an activity that has been devalued and corrupted. The conventional moral terms of the age, the politician moralities—“free world,” “people’s democracies”—reflect realities poorly, if at all, and seem to function more as ruling myths than as descriptive principles. But neither has our experience in the universities brought us moral enlightenment. Our professors and administrators sacrifice controversy to public relations; their curriculums change more slowly than the living events of the

world; their skills and silence are purchased by investors in the arms race; passion is called unscholastic. The questions we might want raised—what is really important? can we live in a different and better way? if we wanted to change society, how would we do it?—are not thought to be questions of a “fruitful, empirical nature,” and thus are brushed aside.

Unlike youth in other countries we are used to moral leadership being exercised and moral dimensions being clarified by our elders. But today, for us, not even the liberal and socialist preachments of the past seem adequate to the forms of the present. . . .

Theoretic chaos has replaced the idealistic thinking of old—and, unable to reconstitute theoretic order, men have condemned idealism itself. Doubt has replaced hopefulness—and men act out a defeatism that is labeled realistic. The decline of utopia and hope is in fact one of the defining features of social life today. The reasons are various: the dreams of the older left were perverted by Stalinism and never re-created; the congressional stalemate makes men narrow their view of the possible; the specialization of human activity leaves little room for sweeping thought; the horrors of the twentieth century symbolized in the gas ovens and concentration camps and atom bombs, have blasted hopefulness. To be idealistic is to be considered apocalyptic, deluded. To have no serious aspirations, on the contrary, is to be “tough-minded.”

In suggesting social goals and values, therefore, we are aware of entering a sphere of some disrepute. Perhaps matured by the past, we have no formulas, no closed theories—but that does not mean values are beyond discussion and tentative determination. A first task of any social movement is to convince people that the search for orienting theories and the creation of human values is complex but worthwhile. . . .

We regard *men* as infinitely precious and possessed of unfilled capacities for reason, freedom, and love. In affirming these principles we are aware of countering perhaps the dominant conceptions of man in the twentieth century: that he is a thing to be manipulated, and that he is inherently incapable of directing his own affairs. We oppose the depersonalization that reduces human beings to the status of things—if anything, the brutalities of the twentieth century teach that means and ends are intimately related, that vague appeals to “posterity” cannot justify the mutilations of the present. We oppose, too, the doctrine of human incompetence because it rests essentially on the modern fact that

men have been “competently” manipulated into incompetence—we see little reason why men cannot meet with increasing the skill the complexities and responsibilities of their situation, if society is organized not for minority, but for majority, participation in decision-making.

Realizing Society’s Potential

Men have unrealized potential for self-cultivation, self-direction, self-understanding, and creativity. It is this potential that we regard as crucial and to which we appeal, not to the human potentiality for violence, unreason, and submission to authority. The goal of man and society should be human independence: a concern not with image of popularity but with finding a meaning in life that is personally authentic; a quality of mind not compulsively driven by a sense of powerlessness, nor one which unthinkingly adopts status values, nor one which represses all threats to its habits, but one which has full, spontaneous access to present and past experiences, one which easily unites the fragmented parts of personal history, one which openly faces problems which are troubling and unresolved; one with an intuitive awareness of possibilities, an active sense of curiosity, an ability and willingness to learn.

This kind of independence does not mean egotistic individualism—the object is not to have one’s way so much as it is to have a way that is one’s own. Nor do we deify man—we merely have faith in his potential. . . .

Principles of Participatory Democracy

As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation.

In a participatory democracy, the political life would be based in several root principles: that decision-making of basic social consequence be carried on by public groupings;

that politics be seen positively, as the art of collectively creating an acceptable pattern of social relations;

that politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation

and into community, thus being a necessary, though not sufficient, means of finding meaning in personal life;

that the political order should serve to clarify problems in a way instrumental to their solution; it should provide outlets for the expression of personal grievance and aspiration; opposing views should be organized so as to illuminate choices and facilitate the attainment of goals; channels should be commonly available to relate men to knowledge and to power so that private problems—from bad recreation facilities to personal alienation—are formulated as general issues.

The economic sphere would have as its basis the principles:

that work should involve incentives worthier than money or survival. It should be educative, not stultifying; creative, not mechanical; self-directed, not manipulated, encouraging independence, a respect for others, a sense of dignity, and a willingness to accept social responsibility, since it is this experience that has crucial influence on habits, perceptions and individual ethics;

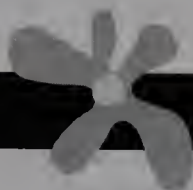
that the economic experience is so personally decisive that the individual must share in its full determination;

that the economy itself is of such social importance that its major resources and means of production should be open to democratic participation and subject to democratic social regulation.

Like the political and economic ones, major social institutions—cultural, educational, rehabilitative, and others—should be generally organized with the well-being and dignity of man as the essential measure of success.

In social change or interchange, we find violence to be abhorrent because it requires generally the transformation of the target, be it a human being or a community of people, into a de-personalized object of hate. It is imperative that the means of violence be abolished and the institutions—local, national, international—that encourage non-violence as a condition of conflict be developed.

These are our central values, in skeletal form. It remains vital to understand their denial or attainment in the context of the modern world.



ARTICLE 9

The Albany Movement

By Martin Luther King Jr.

In 1961–1962, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a student activist group, came to Albany, Georgia, to challenge the city's policies of segregation. From the start, the SNCC workers faced opposition from whites. Many segregationists felt that the white student activists who were involved with SNCC did not belong in Albany working side by side with the black community, but despite protests from the white community, SNCC's "Freedom Riders" continued to conduct voter registration drives. In November 1961, the black community formed the Albany Movement and selected as its president Dr. William G. Anderson, a young black doctor. Mass meetings were called, protesters marched, and by mid-December more than five hundred demonstrators had been jailed. With so much publicity, Martin Luther King Jr. was invited to help lead the protests. King was a leading figure in the civil rights movement and had waged successful desegregation campaigns since the late 1950s.

In this excerpt from his autobiography (which includes segments of his diary of the incident), King explains how he was jailed in December 1961 for his participation in the protests, but was bailed out of jail by an unknown party. King also explains how he would be jailed twice more before the end of the movement's protest activities in the summer of 1962. From King's perspective the Albany Movement was a failure, but many members of the black community disagreed. Two months af-

Martin Luther King Jr., *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, edited by Clayborne Carson. New York: Warner Books, 1988. Copyright © 1988 by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Copyright renewed in 1998 by Coretta Scott King. Reproduced by arrangement with the Estate of Martin Luther King Jr., c/o Writers House Inc. as agent for the proprietor, New York, NY.

ter King left Albany, the movement's success with the voter registration efforts led an African American businessman to secure enough votes in a city election for a city commission seat. The following spring, all of the segregation statutes were removed from the Albany law books.

As Rosa Parks triggered the Montgomery bus protest, so the arrival in December 1961 of eleven Freedom Riders had triggered the now historic nonviolent thrust in Albany. This Freedom Ride movement came into being to reveal the indignities and the injustices which Negro people faced as they attempted to do the simple thing of traveling through the South as interstate passengers. The Freedom Rides, which were begun by the young, grew to such proportion that they eventually encompassed people of all ages. As a result of this movement, many achievements had come into being. The Interstate Commerce Commission had said in substance that all bus terminals must be integrated. The dramatic Albany Movement was the climax to this psychological forward thrust.

The Albany Movement, headed by [Albany Baptist minister] Dr. W.G. Anderson, was already functional and had developed a year-long history on the part of the Negro community to seek relief of their grievance. The presence of staff and personnel of variegated human relations fields gave rise to the notion that Albany had been made a target city, with the ominous decision having been made months before—probably in a “smoke-filled New York hotel room.” The truth is, Albany had become a symbol of segregation's last stand almost by chance. The ferment of a hundred years' frustration had come to the fore. Sociologically, Albany had all the ingredients of a target city, but it could just as easily have been one of a hundred cities throughout the deep and mid South. Twenty-seven thousand Negroes lived in Albany, Georgia, but a hundred years of political, economic, and educational suppression had kept them hopelessly enslaved to a demonic, though sophisticated, system of segregation which sought desperately and ruthlessly to perpetuate these deprivations.

The Significance of Albany

Negroes, wielding nonviolent protest in its most creative utilization to date, challenged discrimination in public places, denial of

voting rights, school segregation, and the deprivation of free speech and assembly. On that broad front, the Albany Movement used all the methods of nonviolence: direct action expressed through mass demonstrations; jail-ins; sit-ins; wade-ins, and kneel-ins; political action; boycotts and legal actions. In no other city of the deep South had all those methods of nonviolence been simultaneously exercised.

The city authorities were wrestling with slippery contradictions, seeking to extend municipal growth and expansion while preserving customs suitable only in a backward and semi-feudal society. Confronted by the potency of the nonviolent protest movement, the city fathers sought to project an image of unyielding mastery. But in truth they staggered from blunder to blunder, losing their cocksureness and common sense as they built retaining walls of slippery sand to shore up a crumbling edifice of injustice.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference gave full moral and financial support to the Albany Movement and the noble efforts of that community to realize justice, equal rights, and an end to second-class citizenship.

For us the first stage of victory required that Negroes break the barrier of silence and paralysis which for decades suppressed them and denied them the simplest of improvements. This victory was achieved when nonviolent protest aroused every element of the community: the youth, the elderly, men and women in the tens of thousands. Class distinctions were erased in the streets and in jail as domestics, professionals, workers, businessmen, teachers, and laundresses were united as cellmates, charged together with the crime of seeking human justice.

The Beginning of the Protest

On December 16, 1961, the Negro community of that city made its stride toward freedom. Citizens from every quarter of the community made their moral witness against the system of segregation. They willingly went to jail to create an effective protest.

I too was jailed on charges of parading without a permit, disturbing the peace, and obstructing the sidewalk. I refused to pay the fine and had expected to spend Christmas in jail. I hoped thousands would join me. I didn't come to be arrested. I had planned to stay a day or so and return home after giving counsel. But after seeing negotiations break down, I knew I had to stay.

My personal reason for being in Albany was to express a personal witness of a situation I felt was very important to me. As I, accompanied by over one hundred spirited Negroes, voluntarily chose jail to bail, the city officials appeared so hardened to all appeals to conscience that the confidence of some of our supporters was shaken. They nervously counted heads and concluded too hastily that the movement was losing momentum. . . .

When the Albany Movement, true to its promise, resumed protest activity in July 1962, it invited the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to share leadership with it. As president of the SCLC, I marshaled our staff of personnel experienced in nonviolent action, voter registration, and law.

Ralph [Abernathy] and I had been called to trial along with two other Albany citizens in February. Recorder's Court Judge A.N. Durden deferred judgment until Tuesday, July 10.

The Jail Diary

Tuesday, July 10: We left Atlanta in a party of seven via Southern Airlines to attend court trial in Albany, Georgia. The party included Juanita and Ralph Abernathy, Wyatt Walker [SCLC officer], Ted Brown [civil rights activist], Vincent Harding [author, activist], Coretta [King's wife], and myself. We left Atlanta around 7:45 A.M. and arrived in Albany promptly at 8:50. We were met at the airport by Andy Young, who had preceded us the night before, Dr. William Anderson, and the two detectives who had been assigned to us by the city. We proceeded directly to Dr. Anderson's residence. There we had breakfast and discussed our possible action in the event we were convicted. Dr. Anderson brought us up to date on the temper of the Negro community. He assured us that the people were generally enthusiastic and determined to stick with us to the end. He mentioned that several people had made it palpably clear that they would go to jail again and stay indefinitely. From all of these words we gradually concluded that we had no alternative but to serve the time if we were sentenced. Considering church and organizational responsibilities we concluded that we could not stay in more than three months. But if the sentence were three months or less we would serve the time. With this decision we left for court.

At 10:00 A.M. Judge Durden called the court to order. He immediately began by reading a prepared statement. It said in short that he had found all four defendants guilty. The four defendants

were Ralph Abernathy, Eddie Jackson, Solomon Walker, and myself. Ralph and I were given a fine of \$178 or forty-five days on the streets. Jackson and Walker were given lesser fines and days, since, according to the judge, they were not the leaders.

Ralph and I immediately notified the court that we could not in all good conscience pay the fine, and thereby chose to serve the time. . . .

After a brief press conference in the vestibule of the court we were brought immediately to the Albany City Jail which is in the basement of the same building which houses the court and the city hall. This jail is by far the worst I've ever been in. It is a dingy, dirty hole with nothing suggestive of civilized society. The cells are saturated with filth, and what mattresses there are for the bunks are as hard as solid rocks and as nasty as anything that one has ever seen. . . .

The rest of the day was spent getting adjusted to our home for the next forty-five days. There is something inherently depressing about jail, especially when one is confined to his cell. We soon discovered that we would not be ordered to work on the streets because, according to the Chief, "it would not be safe." This, to me, was bad news. I wanted to work on the streets at least to give some attention to the daily round. Jail is depressing because it shuts off the world. It leaves one caught in the dull monotony of sameness. It is almost like being dead while one still lives. To adjust to such a meaningless existence is not easy. The only way that I adjust to it is to constantly remind myself that this self-imposed suffering is for a great cause and purpose. This realization takes a little of the agony and a little of the depression away. But, in spite of this, the painfulness of the experience remains. . . .

Kicked Out of Jail

About seven-thirty on the morning of July 13, we were called and notified that Chief Pritchett wanted to see us. They asked us to dress in our civilian clothes. We did that and went to see Chief Pritchett at about nine o'clock. At which time, the Chief said to us that we had been released, in other words that our fine had been paid. I said, "Well, Chief, we want to serve this time, we feel that we owe it to ourselves and the seven hundred and some-odd people of this community who still have these cases hanging over them." His only response then was, "God knows, Reverend, I don't want you in my jail." This was one time that I was out of

jail and I was not happy to be out. Not that I particularly enjoyed the inconveniences and the discomforts of jail, but I did not appreciate the subtle and conniving tactics used to get us out of jail. We had witnessed persons being kicked off lunch counter stools during the sit-ins, ejected from churches during the kneel-ins, and thrown into jail during the Freedom Rides. But for the first time, we witnessed being kicked out of jail. . . .

A Day of Penance

In order to demonstrate our commitment to nonviolence and our determination to keep our protest peaceful, we declare a “Day of Penance” beginning at 12 noon today [July 26, 1962]. We are calling upon all members and supporters of the Albany Movement to pray for their brothers in the Negro community who have not yet found their way to the nonviolent discipline during this Day of Penance. We feel that as we observe this Day of Penance, the City Commission and white people of goodwill should seriously examine the problems and conditions existing in Albany. We must honestly say that the City Commission’s arrogant refusal to talk with the leaders of the Albany Movement, the continued suppression of the Negro’s aspiration for freedom, and the tragic attempt on the part of the Albany police officials to maintain segregation at any cost, all serve to create the atmosphere for violence and bitterness.

While we will preach and teach nonviolence to our people with every ounce of energy in our bodies, we fear that these admonitions will fall on some deaf ears if Albany does not engage in good faith negotiations. . . .

In Jail for the Third Time

Friday, July 27: Ralph Abernathy and I were arrested again in Albany at 3:15 P.M. (for the second time in July and the third time since last December). We were accompanied by Dr. W.G. Anderson, Slater King, the Rev. Ben Gay, and seven ladies. This group held a prayer vigil in front of City Hall, seeking to appeal to the City Commission to negotiate with leaders of the Albany Movement. When we arrived at the city hall, the press was on hand in large numbers and Police Chief Laurie Pritchett came directly over to us and invited us into his office. When we declined, he immediately ordered us arrested.

Around 9 P.M., one of the officers came to the cell and said

Chief Pritchett wanted to see me in his office. I responded suspiciously, remembering that two weeks ago, we were summoned to Pritchett's office, only to discover that we were being tricked out of jail. (A mysterious donor paid the fine, \$178 for each of us.) Today, we were determined that this would not happen again. So, I told the officer that Pritchett would have to step back to our cell. The officer reacted very bitterly, but he apparently got the message to Pritchett because the Chief came immediately and said: "Come on, Doctor. I am not trying to get you to leave. There is a long-distance call for you from a man named Spivak."

The call turned out to be Lawrence Spivak from the Meet the Press TV program. I was scheduled to be on the program, Sunday, July 29. He was very upset and literally begged me to come out on bond. I immediately called [Attorney] (C.B.) King and the Rev. Wyatt Walker, my assistant, to the jail and sought their advice. We all agreed that I should not leave and suggested that Dr. Anderson, president of the Albany Movement, get out on bond and substitute for me. Dr. Anderson agreed and I decided to remain in jail.

Saturday, July 28: I was able to arrange with Chief Pritchett for members of my staff to consult with me at any time. We held our staff meetings right there in jail. My wife, Coretta, also came to see me twice today before returning to Atlanta.

When Wyatt came to the jail, I emphasized that more demonstrations must be held with smaller numbers in front of the city hall instead of large marches because there is so much tension in the town. . . .

Waiting for the Court's Decision

Tuesday, July 31: I was very glad to get to court today because I had a chance to see my wife and my friends and associates who are keeping the Albany Movement going. I also had a chance to consult with Wyatt during the recesses. He told us demonstrations were going on while we were in court and that some of the youth groups led by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee were testing places like drugstores and drive-ins and motels.

Later, my father came to me with the Rev. Allen Middleton, head of Atlanta's SCLC chapter. I was happy to hear that my mother has adjusted to my role in the Albany Movement. She understood that I still had to remain in jail as long as necessary. I

told Dad to invite some preachers in to help him carry on the church, but he told me, "As long as you carry on in jail, I'll carry on outside."

Wednesday, August 1: My father and Dr. Middleton came to see me again this morning and told me they spoke at the mass meeting last night at Mt. Zion Baptist Church. The crowd was so large



Martin Luther King Jr.

they overflowed into Shiloh Baptist across the street, where nightly mass meetings are usually held. Dad said he would remain through today's hearing and listen to Chief Pritchett's testimony about how he had to arrest Negroes to protect the white people from beating them. Dad said he told the people I didn't come to Albany on my own but I was invited there by the city officials to visit their jail.

Thursday, August 2: I learned about President Kennedy saying that the commissioners of Albany ought to talk to the Negro leaders. I felt this was a very forthright statement and

immediately dictated a statement to the President commending him on his action.

Friday, August 3: They recessed the court hearing until Tuesday. I still have the feeling it is too long and drawn out and that the people should keep demonstrating no matter what happens.

Saturday, August 4: More demonstrators were arrested all day today and later on Pritchett came back and asked them to sing for him. "Sing that song about 'Ain't Going to Let Chief Pritchett Turn Me Around,'" he asked. I think he really enjoyed hearing it. The other jailers would just stare and listen.

Sunday, August 5: Today was a big day for me, because my children—Yolanda, Martin Luther III, and Dexter—came to see me. I had not seen them for five weeks. We had about twenty-five minutes together. They certainly gave me a lift. . . .

Tuesday, August 7: We went back to court today. As I listened to the testimony of the State's witnesses about how they were trying to prevent violence and protect the people, I told Ralph it was very depressing to see city officials make a farce of the court.

Wednesday, August 8: Today was the last day of the hearing

and Ralph and I testified. Although the federal court hearing offered some relief from the hot jail, I was glad the hearings were over. It was always miserable going back to the hot cell from the air-conditioned courtroom. I was so exhausted and sick that Dr. Anderson had to come and treat me for the second time.

Thursday, August 9: Even though we decided to remain in jail, "We Woke Up This Morning with Our Mind on Freedom." Everyone appeared to be in good spirits and we had an exceptionally good devotional program and sang all of our freedom songs.

Later, Wyatt and Dr. Anderson came and told me that two marches were being planned if Ralph and I were sentenced to jail tomorrow. All of the mothers of many prisoners agreed to join their families in jail including my wife, Mrs. Anderson, Wyatt's wife, Young's wife, Ralph's wife, and the wife of [attorney] William Kunstler.

Friday, August 10: The suspended sentence today did not come as a complete surprise to me. I still think the sentence was unjust and I want to appeal but our lawyers have not decided. Ralph and I agreed to call off the marches and return to our churches in Atlanta to give the Commission a chance to "save face" and demonstrate good faith with the Albany Movement.

I thought the federal government could do more, because basic constitutional rights were being denied. The persons who were protesting in Albany, Georgia, were merely seeking to exercise constitutional rights through peaceful protest, nonviolent protest. I thought that the people in Albany were being denied their rights on the basis of the first amendment of the Constitution. I thought it would be a very good thing for the federal government to take a definite stand on that issue, even if it meant joining with Negro attorneys who were working on the situation.

The Failure of the Albany Movement

Our movement aroused the Negro to a spirited pitch in which more than 5 percent of the Negro population voluntarily went to jail. At the same time, about 95 percent of the Negro population boycotted buses, and shops where humiliation, not service, was offered. Those boycotts were remarkably effective. The buses were off the streets and rusting in garages, and the line went out of business. Other merchants watched the sales of their goods decline week by week. National concerns even changed plans to open branches in Albany because the city was too unstable to en-

courage business to invest there. To thwart us, the opposition had closed parks and libraries, but in the process, they closed them for white people as well, thus they had made their modern city little better than a rural village without recreational and cultural facilities.

When months of demonstrations and failings failed to accomplish the goals of the movement, reports in the press and elsewhere pronounced nonviolent resistance a dead issue.

There were weaknesses in Albany, and a share of the responsibility belongs to each of us who participated. There is no tactical theory so neat that a revolutionary struggle for a share of power can be won merely by pressing a row of buttons. Human beings with all their faults and strengths constitute the mechanism of a social movement. They must make mistakes and learn from them, make more mistakes and learn anew. They must taste defeat as well as success, and discover how to live with each. Looking back over it, I'm sorry I was bailed out. I didn't understand at the time what was happening. We lost an initiative that we never regained. We attacked the political power structure instead of the economic power structure. You don't win against a political power structure where you don't have the votes.

If I had that to do again, I would guide that community's Negro leadership differently than I did. The mistake I made there was to protest against segregation generally rather than against a single and distinct facet of it. Our protest was so vague that we got nothing, and the people were left very depressed and in despair. It would have been much better to have concentrated upon integrating the buses or the lunch counters. One victory of this kind would have been symbolic, would have galvanized support and boosted morale. But I don't mean that our work in Albany ended in failure. And what we learned from our mistakes in Albany helped our later campaigns in other cities to be more effective. We never since scattered our efforts in a general attack on segregation, but focused upon specific, symbolic objectives.



ARTICLE 10

The Death of a Sex Symbol: Marilyn Monroe

By Charles E. Davis Jr.

In August 1962, the most recognizable starlet of Hollywood, Marilyn Monroe, was found dead in her Brentwood, California, apartment from an apparent overdose of sleeping pills. Her death was a major blow to many Americans as she represented youthful zeal, success, and sexual freedom for an entire generation. She starred in the classic film *Some Like it Hot* and married successful American icons like baseball great Joe DiMaggio and playwright Arthur Miller. Her death sent a mixed message to many Americans who felt that success translated into happiness. Her suicide revealed that her many achievements as an actress and noted personality were undercut by legal problems and depression. In this August 6, 1962, *Los Angeles Times* article, political correspondent and staff journalist Charles E. Davis Jr. examines some of the personal issues behind her death and reflects on the starlet's failed search for acceptance in both Hollywood and her own personal life.

When they found Marilyn Monroe, one of her hands grasped a telephone.

Perhaps she had called for help.

She had been calling for help all her life.

Three husbands didn't help.

She had carried her problems to psychiatrists.

Charles E. Davis Jr., "Help She Needed to Find Self Eluded Marilyn All Her Life," *Los Angeles Times*, vol. LXXXI, August 6, 1962. Copyright © 1962 by the *Los Angeles Times*. Reproduced by permission.

Marilyn—Hollywood's most famous blonde since Jean Harlow—was born into insecurity and never escaped it, despite the tremendous wages paid her by the film studios.

A History of Personal Trouble

"I am trying to find myself as a person," she told an interviewer not long ago. "Sometimes that's not easy to do. Millions of people live their entire lives without finding themselves. Maybe they feel it isn't necessary.

"But it is something I must do. The best way for me to find myself as a person is to prove to myself I am an actress. And that is what I hope to do."

For the 36 years she lived, she was trying to prove she was not Norma Jean Baker, an unwanted illegitimate child.

She was born in Los Angeles General Hospital June 1, 1926. Her mother was a film cutter named Gladys Baker. Her father, Edward Mortenson, a handsome Danish immigrant, disappeared before Marilyn was born. He reportedly was killed in a motorcycle crash in Ohio the year of her birth.

Marilyn's mother suffered a nervous breakdown after Marilyn was born and was committed to an institution.

Both of her mother's parents had died in asylums.

Marilyn became a public charge and her childhood was so dreary it could have been lifted right from a Charles Dickens' book.

She was shunted from one foster home to another. Life was a succession of floors to scrub and stacks of dirty dishes to wash.

In one of the homes, a male roomer violated her.

Marilyn escaped into marriage when she was only 16. Her first husband was an aircraft worker named Jim Dougherty. He is now a Los Angeles policeman.

When he went into the merchant marine, she got a job as a paint sprayer in a war plant. Their marriage was never resumed and she divorced him in 1946.

Grim as her childhood was, Marilyn could still look back and recall some happy moments.

James Bacon, Associated Press reporter, recalled that he sat with Marilyn in her dressing room at RKO [movie studio] the day before Christmas, 1951, and that she told him:

"This picture is the greatest thrill of my life. When I was a little girl I was in a foster home near 'here,' on Melrose Ave."

Remembering an Early Christmas

"The people who were boarding me for the county paid me five cents a month allowance for washing all the dishes. There were hundreds of them.

"They had kids of their own, and when Christmas came there was a big tree and all the kids in the house got presents but me. One of the other kids gave me an orange.

"I can remember that Christmas Day, eating that orange all by myself. And I could look up and see the RKO water tower.

"I think that's when I decided that someday I would be an actress and maybe I would get inside that studio.

"And here I am. It's a real dream come true."

Yes, the dream came true, but Marilyn Monroe remained Norma Jean Baker.

Marilyn, the Sex Symbol

Last March the Hollywood Foreign Press Assn. gave her an award as the world's favorite star. Bacon was at the awards banquet and recalled it like this:

"I sat near her. She gulped wine by the glassful. When her name was called, she had to be helped out of her chair onto the stage.

"She accepted the award almost in a caricature of herself."

Marilyn got her first big movie break when she made a brief appearance in 1950 in "Asphalt Jungle."

Male movie viewers saw her sexy wiggle on the screen and letters poured in to the studio. They wanted to see more of Marilyn.

Marilyn had been working as a photographer's model before appearing in the movie. She had posed in the nude for calendar photos. She needed the \$50 the photographer paid her.

The manufacturer, it might be noted, netted about \$750,000 on the famous Monroe nude calendars.

Marilyn's studio, 20th Century-Fox, was aghast when the nude calendars were circulated, but the publicity didn't hurt Marilyn.

"I didn't do anything wrong," Marilyn said.

"Didn't you have ANYTHING on?"—a reporter asked her.

"Just the radio," said Marilyn with a smile.

From "Asphalt Jungle," Marilyn went on to star in a series of pictures that grossed more than \$200 million.

She had the well wishes of the entire world when she married baseball idol Joe DiMaggio in January, 1954.

They took off for Honolulu and then Tokyo on their honeymoon. The military asked Marilyn to make a stopover in Korea to visit our soldiers. It was an explosion. More than 30,000 airmen, marines and soldiers crowded into her first three shows.

"She outdrew Cardinal Spellman two to one," said a marine officer.

Marilyn and DiMaggio returned to California and took a honeymoon house in Beverly Hills.

The marriage came unglued quickly. Many said it was because their careers clashed. Marilyn hired attorney Jerry Geisler and obtained a divorce in October, 1954, after testifying briefly that



Marilyn Monroe poses with her new husband, playwright Arthur Miller, in 1956. Her death in 1962 shocked many Americans.

while she sought “love, warmth and affection” from DiMaggio, all he favored her with was “coldness and indifference.”

The two remained good friends after the divorce and frequently had dates together.

In fact, DiMaggio consoled her in Florida after the breakup of her third marriage to playwright Arthur Miller.

Changing Her Image

Marilyn's marriage to Miller, whose play, “Death of a Salesman,” had won a Pulitzer Prize, marked her “intellectual” period. She buried her nose in books. She absented herself from Hollywood. She announced she would become a “method” actress.

Marilyn and Miller were married in June, 1956, in a civil ceremony in White Plains, N.Y., and repeated their vows several days later in a religious ceremony performed in Connecticut by Rabbi Robert Goldberg.

Then they flew off to London with 27 pieces of luggage on a honeymoon.

“We both need some quiet and privacy,” said Miller before their departure. “Being married to a girl like Marilyn is like living in a goldfish bowl.”

After her marriage to DiMaggio, Marilyn had announced that she wanted to have “five little DiMaggios.”

Unsuccessful at Motherhood

Children were denied her. She had three pregnancies and three miscarriages during her marriage to Miller. The marriage to Miller survived until January, 1961, when she obtained a Mexican decree [divorce].

The idyll of the platinum blond movie star and the intellectual playwright was shaken when Marilyn developed a crush on her leading man, French actor Yves Montand, during the filming of “Let's Make Love.”

Marilyn fell for Montand in a big way.

“Next to Marlon Brando,” she said, “I think he is the most exciting man I have ever met.”

But when the picture was finished, Montand returned to Paris and to his wife, Academy Award winning actress Simone Signoret.

Miss Signoret said she was aware of the romance, declaring:

“I know Marilyn Monroe loved my husband. I can only say that I admire her taste in men.”

Marilyn was deeply hurt when Montand was later quoted as saying, "Marilyn had a school girl's crush on me. She will get over it."

Montand denied that he said such a thing.

"First of all," he said, "I don't know the meaning of a school girl crush—and no Frenchman would ever make such an ungallant statement." . . .

Marilyn's last completed picture was in 1960 with [Clark] Gable in the "Misfits," which had been written specially for her by Miller. Gable died of a heart attack shortly after the film was completed.

The actress was famous for delaying pictures because of illness, fancied or real, and for always being late for appointments.

She was fired by 20th Century Fox after her repeated absences from the set during the filming of "Something's Got to Give." This was last June.

Picture Shelved

When her co-star, Dean Martin, refused to accept Actress Lee Remick as a replacement, the studio although it had already spent \$2 million on the picture shelved the project.

On an earlier picture, the one with Montand, Marilyn's inability to keep steady working hours added nearly \$1 million to the budget, but the producer, the late Jerry Wald, took a philosophical view.

"True, she's not punctual," he said. "She can't help it. But I'm not sad about it. I can get a dozen beautiful blonds who will show up promptly in make-up at 4 A.M. each morning, but they are not Marilyn Monroe."

But not all producers agreed with Wald.

"In some curious way, she's touching," said a top executive at 20th Century-Fox. "But so are the married men with children, who helped build this industry. One hundred and four people show up for work daily and sit doing nothing but watch the money being thrown away."

Her Way of Life

Tardiness was a way of life with Marilyn. She once kept a Rockefeller waiting for more than two hours at a public ceremony in New York.

One of the few occasions she was not late was when she was

presented to the Queen of England in 1956.

Once she had a scheduled press interview. She met the reporters at the door at the appointed hour, then asked them to help themselves to drinks while she finished her makeup.

She returned four hours later.

On another occasion, she spent seven hours making up for a premiere.

In Need of Psychiatric Care

Marilyn, who had been under psychiatric treatment prior to her death, couldn't understand why the studio fired her from "Something's Got to Give."

"I really was sick, really sick," she said. "My agent notified them I was coming back to work the next Monday. I really was."

"This is something that Marilyn can no longer control," said one of her studio bosses. "Sure, she's sick. She believes she's sick. She may even have a fever, but it's a sickness of the mind. Only a psychiatrist can help her now."

Norma Jean Baker needed help. She never found it.



ARTICLE 11

Tragedy from a Pill Bottle

By Joan Braddon

When thalidomide first came on to drugstore shelves in Europe, it was considered as an achievement in prescription medicine for its ability to treat a variety of conditions. It was an effective tranquilizer and sleep drug, as well as an effective treatment for nausea in pregnant women. The drug's immediate success was touted by German and Swedish expectant mothers who claimed that the drug was a miracle cure for easing morning sickness. This success was soon overshadowed by a new tragedy as these thalidomide users gave birth to several thousand babies with severe congenital defects, the most common of which was being born without arms and legs. Scientists established thalidomide as the common link between these deformed babies, but not before this awful birth defect became a trademark side effect for pregnant women who used the new drug.

Before this tragedy was discovered, the American manufacturer of the drug distributed the product to more than twelve hundred doctors who prescribed thalidomide to more than fifteen thousand women. The federal Food and Drug Administration was not notified of this distribution because drug manufacturers, under the drug testing laws of 1962, did not need to notify the FDA of any such distribution as long as it was for the purpose of clinical testing. Furthermore, doctors did not need to notify patients that the drug was still under evaluation. Because of this loophole in public policy, many thalidomide users who were pregnant suddenly faced the question of whether it was better to give

birth to a deformed child or to have an abortion. The legal battle of Phoenix native, Sherri Finkbine, to obtain an abortion was a notable court case during this controversy.

Sherri Finkbine, a resident of Arizona, was an actress and mother of four. While vacationing in Europe, she was prescribed thalidomide for a pregnancy-related illness. She brought back some of the pills and continued to take them during the early critical stages of fetal development. When the stories of the deformed babies reached the United States, Sherri Finkbine decided that it would be better to have an abortion than to give birth to a deformed child. At this time in Arizona, abortion was not legal except when the health of the mother was in danger. Sherri Finkbine took her case to court but was eventually denied the right to an abortion, and she had to travel to Sweden to receive an abortion. This incident sparked the abortion debate during a decade that was already facing several social challenges. Although her case was denied, it eventually led to the passage of *Roe v. Wade*, which legalized abortion in the United States.

The following August 13, 1962, selection from *Newsweek* editorialist Joan Braddon examines the thalidomide tragedy and offers a critique of the FDA and drug testing policies and heavily criticizes the drug manufacturers for misleading the American public.

There are pills for every human need. A white one brings on sleep and a pink one produces alertness. A third aids conception and a fourth keeps blood flowing through an ailing heart. There are even pills to induce happiness. Last week, amid the sorrow of the worst disaster in pharmaceutical history, the world learned how a pill can create misery—and belated action.

What medical testimony and government investigation failed to achieve in thousands of hours and hundreds of reports, the thalidomide tragedy has accomplished with strong and sudden impact. Dramatically, vividly, the pill-taking public has learned that drugmakers and doctors are not infallible, that present laws are lax, and that the stream of new pills which flood the market at the rate of about one every three days are not necessarily wonder drugs.

More than 7,000 malformed children—some with all limbs missing, some with flipperlike limbs (phocomelia, from the

Greek, *phoke*, meaning seal, and *melos*, meaning limb)—is a heavy price to pay for this education. By the time the last babies are born in 1963 to mothers who took sedatives chemically based on thalidomide during the second month of pregnancies, the toll may be 6,000 in West Germany; another 1,000 may be British; perhaps half a dozen will be American. Fully two-thirds will survive. Most will have normal intelligence and life spans; all, like Britain's 11-month-old Mandy Hornsby, will be physically handicapped. "We love her the same as our other four children," said Mandy's mother.

Yet the lessons learned from the thalidomide tragedy were invaluable. Americans heard, many for the first time, that a doctor legally can give a patient an unapproved new drug as part of clinical testing without telling the patient that the drug is still experimental. They also learned that a dangerous drug can pass into household medicine cabinets without any hint of its lethal nature. Thalidomide originally seemed so harmless that when Chemie Grünenthal brought it out in West Germany in 1958, it could be purchased without a prescription. Sold by Grünenthal under the trade name Contergan—and sold in the British Commonwealth by Distillers (Biochemicals), Ltd., under the trade name Distaval—thalidomide became known as "The Sleeping Pill of the Century." Called Softenon in liquid form and distributed to children as a pacifier, thalidomide also became known as "West Germany's Baby-Sitter." Mothers took it to relieve the nausea of early pregnancy. For more than a year that it was on the market, no one raised any public doubts about the safety of thalidomide.

Another sad lesson was that the Food and Drug Administration, the government body regulating pharmaceutical products, is poorly staffed and equipped. Twelve chemists, twelve full-time doctors, and two part-time doctors make up the entire New Drugs Section. They must screen more than 600 new drugs a year. They have no laboratories at all in which to conduct their own tests; they must depend solely upon the word of the manufacturer. "We have recommended a 25 per cent increase in the Food and Drug Administration's staff, the largest single increase in the agency's history," President Kennedy told his news conference last week, "and the full amount was voted today by the Conferees of Congress."

This move should improve the U.S. system of approving new drugs, which, although riddled with loopholes, is probably the world's best of a bad lot. In West Germany, for example, a phar-

maceutical firm need convince only itself that a drug is safe enough to sell.

If what exists is frightening, what might have been is worse:

- If thalidomide, instead of causing such a rare and obvious defect as phocomelia, had caused, for instance, a heart ailment, the safety of the drug might have gone unchallenged for decades.

- If Dr. Widukind Lenz, a West German pediatrician, had not decided early in 1960 to make a thorough investigation into the background of phocomelia cases (after fifteen known cases of phocomelia in West Germany in ten years, a dozen cropped up in 1959), tens of thousands more babies might have been affected before the cause was suspected.

- If thalidomide had been developed by American scientists, the West German disaster almost certainly would have occurred instead in the U.S. Had Dr. Frances Oldham Kelsey, the FDA pharmacologist, not chanced upon European evidence to bolster her hunch that the drug might be harmful, the new product ultimately would have received sanction from the Food and Drug Administration. For preventing "a major tragedy of birth deformities in the U.S.," President Kennedy is awarding her a medal this week.

Thalidomide is now discredited, but the damage already done cannot be undone. In England and Canada last week, members of Parliament charged that their own health officials had been scandalously slow in banning thalidomide and demanded the government pay medical expenses for phocomelia babies. Money, of course, can help, and some parents bravely talked of rehabilitation for their children. "Everything we have, or will have, will go to help our son," said a 22-year-old Ontario man, whose newborn son is armless and legless. Slightly encouraged after a visit from a 15-year-old high-school girl who, with artificial legs, attends public school, skates, and leads a nearly normal life, the father said: "We didn't know whether to keep our son or put him in an institution. But after seeing that girl, we want him to have the same chance she did." Others like Mrs. Sherri Finkbine, were less sanguine.

Drugs in Doubt?

Above all, thalidomide has raised some disturbing questions: Are other "safe" drugs now on the market causing ailments less quickly noticed? How can they be detected? Are some drugs per-

haps causing serious diseases in adults? How can another drug tragedy be prevented?

Even as the thalidomide disaster was unfolding, another drug was being questioned last week. An article in the *British Medical Journal* warned that an oral contraceptive tablet—marketed as Enovid, Conovid, Anovid, or Enavid—may cause thrombophlebitis, an inflammation of the walls of the veins, which in turn can lead to blood clots. The reason for the alarm was that four British women who had been taking the pill had developed thrombophlebitis and that one of them had died. In the U.S., the FDA revealed that 26 cases have been reported among the million women taking Enovid here. Six of the 26 were fatal. As yet, the FDA said, no evidence has been found that the tablets caused the deaths, but both the manufacturer, G.D. Searle and Co. of Chicago, and the government have the drug under “intensive investigation.” A statement from Searle pointed out that the usual incidence of thrombophlebitis among women between ages 15 and 45 is one case per 1,000—without Enovid.

The Drugmakers

The prime responsibility for safe, effective drugs lies, of course, with the U.S. pharmaceutical industry. At the same time, a prime responsibility of the nation's 1,300 drug houses—like any industry—is also to show a profit—which they do on a gross of \$2.6 billion a year for prescription and \$7.5 million for non-prescription drugs.

The two responsibilities are not necessarily contradictory. In the process of making money, the drug industry has turned out antibiotics, tranquilizers, hormones, and heart medicines which have demonstrably increased American life spans and dramatically decreased the amount of time spent in hospitals for each illness. The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, representing the 140 drug houses which make 95 per cent of American ethical—i.e., prescription—drugs, points out that this year an estimated \$248 million will be spent by its members for research. But the ethical drug business is highly competitive, and in the struggle to produce newer and better products the industry has not always been perfectly ethical. Some drug firms, for example, have placed misleading advertisements in medical journals.

But, more significantly, some drug companies have given new products inadequate testing. Some firms, according to Dr. Louis

Lasagna, associate professor of pharmacology at Johns Hopkins, test drugs only on small experimental animals like mice and rats before trying them on humans. "All drugs should be tested on higher animals such as dogs—perhaps monkeys would be better," Dr. Lasagna says. Such tests are not required by law.

How good are the doctors who are solicited to conduct clinical tests for drug companies planning to bring out a new drug? "The only qualification for these investigators," says Dr. Helen Taussig, the Johns Hopkins expert on congenital diseases, "is that they have medical degrees." And FDA Commissioner George P. Larrick testified last week before a Senate committee. "We have never gotten a satisfactory definition of such a medical investigator." Attracted by the fees paid by drug companies ("One firm offered the \$1,000 to test a drug," a Washington, D.C., physician said last week), a few doctors have been known to fabricate test results.

The FDA

Working in a dingy temporary building near Washington's Capitol Hill, the undermanned and overworked New Drugs Section of the FDA checked 693 new drug applications last year, 282 of them for human use (the rest were veterinarian drugs). They approved 99 intended for humans. "Considering its difficulties," says Dr. Lasagna, "the FDA does a damn good job." What the FDA needs most is time to check the claims made for each new drug on the basis of animal and clinical tests reported in the applications—often a dozen thick notebooks. For, by law, unless an application is rejected within 60 days it is automatically accepted.

The hazards of the system can be seen in the fact that in the past four years twenty drugs have been withdrawn from the market after FDA approval. These include an antihistamine called Sandostene which destroyed blood cells, a muscle-relaxant called Flexin which caused liver damage, and MER-29, like Kevadon (North American trade name for thalidomide) a product of William S. Merrell Co. MER-29 was designed to lower blood cholesterol level. But after distribution to 300,000 patients, it was withdrawn two months ago because of its side effects, including eye cataracts.

Only luck, it is clear, kept hundreds of pregnant American women from taking thalidomide. Existing drug regulations, Republican Sen. Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota said last week,

“contain loopholes through which you could drive a South Dakota wagonload of hay.”

The present law under which the FDA operates dates back to 1938, and says simply that before a drug manufacturer can sell his products he must prove the labels are correct and the drug safe. Drugs still being tested are exempt; the few regulations controlling this area are left to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. “We expect to issue some new regulations soon,” said the new HEW Secretary, Anthony Celebrezze. “It seems clear that some tightening up needs to be done.”

Sen. Estes Kefauver, however, insists FDA’s control of the manufacture and testing of drugs be given more than a mere tightening up. For nearly three years, the Tennessee Democrat has conducted hearings on the drug industry which have filled 26 volumes. The bill which grew out of the hearings tried to regulate everything from the price of drugs to the content of brochures sent physicians. Last April, President Kennedy sent the Senate a letter endorsing most of the ambitious Kefauver bill, but in June he apparently decided it didn’t have a chance. In what Kefauver later described as a “secret meeting”—he wasn’t invited—an HEW representative and such drug-reform-bill foes as Sens. James O. Eastland and Everett Dirksen wrote a new, watered-down version, known as the Drug Industry Act of 1962.

The thalidomide tragedy now seems to have changed both the Congress’s view of the need for drug reform, and the Administration’s willingness to fight for it. At his news conference last week, President Kennedy said the Drug Industry Act “does not go far enough.” Backed by the Administration, Senator Kefauver plans two amendments: One would remove the present 60-day time limit in which the FDA must reject a new drug; the second would require FDA approval for any non-licensed drug to be tested on humans.

The Real Risk

Until new legislation governing drugs is passed, many U.S. doctors seemed willing to use a rule of thumb: Don’t prescribe for pregnant women any drug that has been on the market less than five years. One Philadelphia gynecologist went further. “We’ve all seen sudden deaths in the nursery after twelve hours of life—respiratory deaths,” he commented. “I think these deaths could be caused by potent drugs given to pregnant women.”

What about the chance of drugs now on the market harming adults by, for example, causing liver damage or a susceptibility to cancer? "There's a very good chance that there are drugs whose full toxicity we don't understand," says Dr. Lasagna. "Look how long aspirin has been on the market, and it was only in the last decade that it was found to produce gastrointestinal hemorrhage in some cases." But, as Dr. Lasagna says, that in itself is no reason "to stop selling aspirin." The real problem, as he sees it, is that "too many people are taking too many pills." This problem, in turn, is not strictly a pharmaceutical one. Rather, it goes to the basis of modern medical practice. As the store of scientific knowledge about the human body increases, the ability of any one M.D. to grasp the new data decreases. And sometimes, for some doctors, "keeping up with the literature" has come to mean reading mainly promotional brochures. At the same time, a public filled with the wonders of "wonder drugs" demands a daily new miracle from the healing arts.

"Taking any pill is a risk," Dr. Lasagna concludes. "If you really need the pill, it's worth the risk."



ARTICLE 12

My Admission to the University of Mississippi

By James Meredith

For three years, African American student and former air force cadet James Meredith's attempts to enroll at the University of Mississippi were blocked repeatedly by segregationists, including the Mississippi governor Ross Barnett. In the final days of September 1962, an executive order was issued by President John F. Kennedy granting Meredith the right to enroll, but he still faced difficulties getting onto campus due to the dangerously large crowd of segregationists assembled at the campus in protest of Meredith's admission.

In this firsthand account of the incident, excerpted from Meredith's 1966 book, *Three Years in Mississippi*, he recalls meeting with his escort at a naval air base in Mississippi where he was to be shuttled onto campus via helicopter. When he arrived, he was escorted into the campus dormitory by federal troops. He remembers hearing the sounds of violence from his dormitory room as protesters clashed with National Guard troops called into federal service. He describes the remains of the violence he heard while he was escorted to the registrar's office to enroll, unaware that people had been injured and killed the night before trying to prevent this very act. Finally, he relates the burden of responsibility that was now his as his successful enrollment symbolized a new opportunity for southern blacks in America. Meredith left the univer-

sity after only eighteen months to work with civil rights groups. In 1966, he organized the "Walk Against Fear" march, in which he was wounded by a sniper. In 1968, he received a degree from Columbia University and remains active in politics today.

The two days—September 30 and October 1, 1962—may well go down in history as one of the supreme tests of the Union. The use of force to defy the legitimate mandates of the world's most powerful government is basically significant. Insurrection against the United States by the state of Mississippi became on these days a reality.

Executive Orders

The state of Mississippi had clearly shown its intention not only to threaten to use violence, but to use it. In the face of this direct challenge the federal government had no choice but to act to enforce its authority. President John F. Kennedy acted at the crucial moment on September 30, 1962, by issuing a proclamation and executive order:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas the Governor of the State of Mississippi and certain law enforcement officers and other officials of that State, and other persons, individually and in unlawful assemblies, combinations and conspiracies, have been and are willfully opposing and obstructing the enforcement of orders entered by the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi and the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit; and

Whereas such unlawful assemblies, combinations and conspiracies oppose and obstruct the execution of the laws of the United States, impede the course of justice under those laws and make it impracticable to enforce those laws in the State of Mississippi by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings; and

Whereas I have expressly called the attention of the Governor of Mississippi to the perilous situation that exists and to his duties in the premises, and have requested but have not received from him adequate assurances that the orders of the courts of the United States will be obeyed and that law and order will be maintained;

Now, therefore, I, John F. Kennedy, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code 1, particularly sections 332, 333 and 334 thereof, do command all persons engaged in such obstructions of justice to cease and desist therefrom and to disperse and retire peacefully forthwith.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 30th day of September in the year of our Lord Nineteen Hundred and Sixty-Two, and of the independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Eighty-Seven.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

BY THE PRESIDENT:
Secretary of State.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PROVIDING ASSISTANCE FOR THE REMOVAL OF UNLAWFUL OBSTRUCTIONS OF JUSTICE IN THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

Whereas on September 30, 1962, I issued proclamation No. 3497 reading in part as follows [quoted in entirety above] and

Whereas the commands contained in that proclamation have not been obeyed and obstruction of enforcement of those court orders still exists and threatens to continue:

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10, particularly sections 332, 333 and 334 thereof, and section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The Secretary of Defense is authorized and directed to take all appropriate steps to enforce all orders of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi and the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit and to remove all obstructions of justice in the State of Mississippi.

Section 2. In furtherance of the enforcement of the aforementioned orders of the United States District Court for the South-

ern District of Mississippi and the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, the Secretary of Defense is authorized to use such of the armed forces of the United States as he may deem necessary.

Section 3. I hereby authorize the Secretary of Defense to call into the active military service of the United States, as he may deem appropriate to carry out the purposes of this order, any or all of the units of the Army National Guard and of the Air National Guard of the State of Mississippi to serve in the active military service of the United States for an indefinite period and until relieved by appropriate orders. In carrying out the provisions of Section 1, the Secretary of Defense is authorized to use the units, and members thereof, ordered into active military service of the United States pursuant to this section.

Section 4. The Secretary of Defense is authorized to delegate to the Secretary of the Army or the Secretary of the Air Force, or both, any of the authority conferred upon him by this order.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

The White House
September 30, 1962.

Making Final Preparations

The call now went out all over the United States for U.S. marshals, border patrolmen, and federal prison guards. As political appointees in their local areas, the marshals were not fighting men, nor were all of them trained in the art of riot or mob control. The usual background for a marshal is some form of police work. Moreover, due to the unusual nature of this assignment, it was necessary for the chiefs to have training sessions at Millington Naval Air Station for the marshals.

The marshals brought back some exciting tales about their training-school experiences. One of the problems was the fact that no one could distinguish a marshal from anyone else. The newsmen took immediate advantage of this and joined their ranks. One newsman, less (or more) astute than the others, secured a horse. He somehow convinced the navy guard that he was an inspector and proceeded to the practice area where he reviewed and recorded the action of the trainees and took numerous photographs. Somebody got suspicious and apprehended the

horseman. Two of the other newsmen in the ranks then began to feel uncomfortable, especially when the marshals started to look suspiciously at the cameras that they carried instead of guns. They broke out of the ranks and ran for the fence. The military might have its shortcomings but they keep good fences around their installations, and the newsmen were caught. The government was in a worse predicament after they were caught than it had been before. The two newsmen were well-known correspondents for the nation's biggest news media. What would the government do with them? It finally brought them back to the barracks and asked me if I would let them interview me. I had been carefully shielded from the press up to then. I don't know if the newsmen demanded me as an alternative or if the government offered me as a bribe.

In the meantime, the Army was moving in, in great force. The entire Naval Station had been turned into a drill field. One of the most notable things to me was that Negro officers and men were with the army units. Many of the drill sergeants were Negro non-commissioned officers.

After the last futile attempt to enroll, it was evident that I would become more and more isolated. Finally, on September 29 the moment came when I was left on my own. There were no more advisers at this point. Of course, I could understand the position of the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] Legal Defense and Educational Fund, since the case was completely out of the legal field now and they were so far removed from the scene and the pertinent facts, that it would have been unwise for them to advise me to go or not to go.

Adding everything up and weighing it, I am absolutely sure that my greatest uncertainty was over the talk about a deal between the federal government and the state of Mississippi. Any one thinking about this matter afterwards might fail to understand or appreciate my apprehension regarding a possible deal during this crucial period. It must always be remembered that I was a Negro in Mississippi and I was acutely aware of my history as a Negro. The Negro had existed for a long time; the whites had existed for a long time; the federal union had existed for a long time; the state of Mississippi had existed for a long time; and the question that we now faced—the extension of citizenship rights to the Negro—was not new. Certainly, there must have been deals made in the past between the federal government and Mis-

Mississippi. How could I, a Negro, who had never once received my due, and who knew of not one single occasion where any of my foreparents on the Negro side had received his due, not be concerned about this prospect, especially when no official of the federal government would commit himself or his government as to the exact extent of its involvement?

It was Sunday. [Mississippi governor Ross R.] Barnett had had his greatest day of triumph the day before at the "Ole Miss" football game in Jackson, and General [Edwin A.] Walker had issued his famous call for volunteers to come to Mississippi [to protest Meredith's admittance]. Activity was at a peak at Millington. We would go today. Late in the afternoon we boarded the "Ole Miss" special. Ironically, it was the first time we had changed planes. The Florida pilot had had to return home; we had a new plane and a new pilot, but the three traveling companions—[federal Marshal James] McShane, [Justice Department agent John] Doar, and Meredith—were the same. We took off and arrived in Oxford before the final clearance was given; we had to circle the airport for some time before the word came from Washington to land.

Arriving at Baxter Hall Dormitory

When we landed, the Oxford airport was unrecognizable. There were rows of Air Force and other planes, mostly transport planes, and hundreds of marshals. The two most noticeable things were the floodlights and the tense atmosphere. We unboarded and hurried through a host of men wearing U.S. deputy marshal armbands, all of whom seemed to close in on us. We then slowly proceeded in a caravan to Baxter Hall and arrived there between dusk and darkness. The campus was completely vacated. There were no obvious signs that school was in session. The entire student body had either caught the "Barnett Special" train to Jackson or found their own means of getting to the football game. Without ceremony, we moved into Baxter Hall to spend the first night; there was not even a dorm chief present to give me the rules of the hall.

I suppose you could call it an apartment. Since they knew some government men would be staying with me, I had been assigned two bedrooms, a living room, and a bathroom. The first thing that I did was make my bed. When the trouble started [i.e., the rioting in response to Meredith's enrollment left several students dead], I could not see or hear very much of it. Most of the

events occurred at the other end of the campus, and I did not look out the window. I think I read a newspaper and went to bed around ten o'clock. I was awakened several times in the night by the noise and shooting outside, but it was not near the hall, and I had no way of knowing what was going on. Some of the students in my dormitory banged their doors for a while and threw some bottles in the halls, but I slept pretty well all night.

I woke up about 6:30 in the morning and looked out and saw the troops. There was a slight smell of tear gas in my room, but I still did not know what had gone on during the night. I did not find out, until some marshals came and told me how many people were hurt and killed.

Some newspapermen later asked me if I thought attending the university was worth all this death and destruction. The question really annoyed me. Of course, I was sorry! I hadn't wanted this to happen. I believe it could have been prevented by responsible political leadership in Mississippi. As for the federal government, the President and the Attorney General had all the intelligence facilities at their disposal, and I believe that they handled it to the best of their knowledge and ability. I think it would have been much worse if they had waited any longer. Social change is a painful thing, but the method by which it is achieved depends upon the people at the top. Here they were totally opposed—the state against the federal government. There was bound to be trouble, and there was.

The Long-Awaited Act of Registration

There was no lingering or turning back now. At eight o'clock the three of us—McShane, Doar, and Meredith—with a retinue of marshals and soldiers left Baxter Hall for the Lyceum Building to get on with the long-delayed business of my registering as a student at the University of Mississippi. The signs of strife and warfare from the night before were everywhere. But at this moment the power of the United States was supreme. Even the Mississippi National Guard had proven without a doubt that its first loyalty was to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States—the President.

The border patrol car in which we rode to the administration building was a shattered example of the violence of social change. We had used this car to make our first attempt to enroll on September 20, 1962, and then it had been a spotless, un-

marred specimen. Now it was battered and smashed: bullet holes had riddled the sides; the windows were all shot out. McShane sent one of the deputies back into Baxter Hall to get a couple of Army blankets to put over the back seat so that we could sit down. The marshals had suffered also. It would have been hard to find one who did not bear some mark of the process of violent change: Bandages, bruises, and limps were the rule.

We entered through the back door of the Lyceum Building. Fortunately, I did not know that it was the back door at the time; otherwise, I would have had to confront the question of whether this was a concession to the Mississippi "way of life." It was a dismal day. Even the newsmen were spiritless. Inside the room behind a desk sat Ellis, the Registrar. He was a lone stand-out, the only man on the scene with spirit—a spirit of defiance, even of contempt, if not hatred. Doar stated our purpose and the Registrar pointed to a group of forms to be filled out by me. I looked at them and filled out all but one—my class-schedule form. As I studied it, obviously Ellis knew what was on my mind. One course on my schedule not only was a duplicate of one with the same title which I had already completed with the grade of A, but when I got to the class, I found that the instructor was using



James Meredith (pictured with U.S. marshals) became the first African American to enroll at the University of Mississippi.

the very same textbook. Ellis said to me, “Meredith (he is the only official at the university who did not address me with the usual title of courtesy), you may as well sign.” I tried to discuss the matter with him, but it was no use. I signed and decided to take the matter up through other channels. The schedule was later changed to suit my needs.

We left the room. The press had been patient and I consented to stop and talk briefly with them. There was not too much to ask and less to say. The first question asked me was, “Now that you are finally registered, are you happy?” I could only express my true feeling that, “This is no happy occasion.” Truly, this was no time for joy.

Unexpected Support

On my way out of the Lyceum Building, I encountered my first Negro. What would his reaction be? What would our relationship be? What would be our communication? He had his cleaning tools, as all Negroes on the campus must keep them visible, and under one arm was tucked a broom. As I walked past, he acted as if he had not even noticed anything unusual on the campus, but just as I passed he touched me with the handle of his broom and caught my eye. I got the message. Every Negro on the campus was on my team. Every black eye would be watching over me at the University of Mississippi. Later on, I got to know this fellow very well. He told me that he just had to let me know that they were with me all the way, and to bump me with the broom handle was the best way he could think of to communicate with me.

Instruction Begins

At nine I attended my first class; it was a course in Colonial American History. I was a few minutes late and was given a seat at the back of the room. The professor was lecturing on the English background, conditions in England at the time of the colonization of America, and he pretended to pay no special attention when I entered. When the U.S. marshals decided to come inside the room, however, he asked them to remain outside. This was a precedent that was followed during my entire stay at the university. I think there were about a dozen students in class. One said hello to me and the others were silent. I remember a girl—the only girl there, I think—and she was crying. But it might have

been from the tear gas in the room. I was crying from it myself.

I had three classes scheduled that day. I went to two; the third did not meet because there was too much tear gas in the room.

Forging Ahead in the System

This day, October 1, 1962, was a turning point in my three years in Mississippi. The first phase—to breach the system of “White Supremacy”—had been accomplished; even if I only had a toe-hold in the door, the solid wall had been cracked.

The return up the hill to Baxter Hall, after attending the classes, also marked a turning point in my own personal struggle to contribute what I could to the fight for human freedom and dignity. I felt a sudden release of pressure that I perhaps cannot put into words. I recall that I remarked to John Doar about this feeling of relief, and he did not seem to understand at all. Perhaps this was not the time for philosophizing, since I was the only one who had gotten any rest the night before. But I had the feeling that my personal battle was over. The pressure from that inner doubt, always present in one’s mind, that one’s best might not be good enough, was now released. The often debated question of whether or not I would break before the system bulged no longer troubled my mind.

To me, it seemed that the ultimate outcome was relatively insignificant; whether or not I went on to graduate appeared to be a minor issue. The important thing was that I had the privilege of choice. At the same time I was aware that Negroes recognized only “Success” and “Titles,” and I had bypassed the title several times, knowing full well that if I should fail in this effort, I would be soon forgotten. However, as we slowly ascended the hill toward Baxter Hall, it appeared to me that the particular steps that I had chosen to take in an effort to carry out the mandate of my Divine Responsibility had been proper and timely.



ARTICLE 13

Banning Religious Prayer in Public School

By Hugo Lafayette Black

In 1962, the U.S. Supreme Court decided on a case that would affect the national public school system's ability to conduct religious prayer. The case of *Engel v. Vitale* was first brought before the Supreme Court in October 1961. A group of ten parents sued the Board of Education of Union Free School District No. 9 in New Hyde Park, New York, for having the following prayer said aloud in the presence of a teacher every day: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence on Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country." The prayer was composed by the New York State Board of Regents, a state agency with broad supervisory powers over the state's public schools, and it was part of the regents' "Statement on Moral Spiritual Training in the Schools." The parents, who originally sued in the lower courts of New York, challenged the constitutionality of such a prayer citing that it violated the First Amendment.

After losing their case in the New York court system, the plaintiffs appealed directly to the Supreme Court. In this June 25, 1962, decision, written by Justice Hugo Lafayette Black, a justice known for his adherence to the literal meaning of the Constitution, the Supreme Court overturned the ruling of the lower courts by citing a violation of the First Amendment. This Supreme Court decision banned the practice of any religious prayer in America's public school system.

Mr. Justice Black delivered the opinion of the Court. The respondent Board of Education of Union Free School District No. 9, New Hyde Park, New York, acting in its official capacity under state law, directed the School District's principal to cause the following prayer to be said aloud by each class in the presence of a teacher at the beginning of each school day:

"Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country."

This daily procedure was adopted on the recommendation of the State Board of Regents, a governmental agency created by the State Constitution to which the New York Legislature has granted broad supervisory, executive, and legislative powers over the State's public school system. These state officials composed the prayer which they recommended and published as a part of their "Statement on Moral and Spiritual Training in the Schools," saying: "We believe that this Statement will be subscribed to by all men and women of good will, and we call upon all of them to aid in giving life to our program."

School Prayer Violates the First Amendment

Shortly after the practice of reciting the Regents' prayer was adopted by the School District, the parents of ten pupils brought this action in a New York State Court insisting that use of this official prayer in the public schools was contrary to the beliefs, religions, or religious practices of both themselves and their children. Among other things, these parents challenged the constitutionality of both the state law authorizing the School District to direct the use of prayer in public schools and the School District's regulation ordering the recitation of this particular prayer on the ground that these actions of official governmental agencies violate that part of the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution which commands that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion"—a command which was "made applicable to the State of New York by the Fourteenth Amendment of the said Constitution." The New York Court of Appeals, over the dissents of Judges Dye and Fuld, sustained an order of the lower state courts which had upheld the power of New York to use the Regents' prayer as a part of the daily procedures of its

public schools so long as the schools did not compel any pupil to join in the prayer over his or his parents' objection. We granted certiorari [the order a court issues to review a decision by a lower court] to review this important decision involving rights protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

We think that by using its public school system to encourage recitation of the Regents' prayer, the State of New York has adopted a practice wholly inconsistent with the Establishment Clause. There can, of course, be no doubt that New York's program of daily classroom invocation of God's blessings as prescribed in the Regents' prayer is a religious activity. It is a solemn avowal of divine faith and supplication for the blessings of the Almighty. The nature of such a prayer has always been religious, none of the respondents has denied this and the trial court expressly so found:

"The religious nature of prayer was recognized by Jefferson and has been concurred in by theological writers, the United States Supreme Court and State courts and administrative officials, including New York's Commissioner of Education. A committee of the New York Legislature has agreed.

"The Board of Regents as *amicus curiae* [friend of the court], the respondents and intervenors all concede the religious nature of prayer, but seek to distinguish this prayer because it is based on our spiritual heritage. . . ."

The petitioners contend among other things that the state laws requiring or permitting use of the Regents' prayer must be struck down as a violation of the Establishment Clause because that prayer was composed by governmental officials as a part of governmental program to further religious beliefs. For this reason, petitioners argue, the State's use of the Regents' prayer in its public school system breaches the constitutional wall of separation between Church and State. We agree with that contention since we think that the constitutional prohibition against laws respecting an establishment of religion must at least mean that in this country it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by government.

It is a matter of history that this very practice of establishing governmentally composed prayers for religious services was one

of the reasons which caused many of our early colonists to leave England and seek religious freedom in America. The Book of Common Prayer, which was created under governmental direction and which was approved by Acts of Parliament in 1548 and 1549, set out in minute detail the accepted form and content of prayer and other religious ceremonies to be used in the established, tax-supported Church of England. The controversies over the Book and what should be its content repeatedly threatened to disrupt the peace of that country as the accepted forms of prayer in the established church changed with the views of the particular ruler that happened to be in control at the time. Powerful groups representing some of the varying religious views of the people struggled among themselves to impress their particular views upon the Government and obtain amendments of the Book more suitable to their respective notions of how religious services should be conducted in order that the official religious establishment would advance their particular religious beliefs. Other groups, lacking the necessary political power to influence the Government on the matter, decided to leave England and its established church and seek freedom in America from England's governmentally ordained and supported religion.

It is an unfortunate fact of history that when some of the very groups which had most strenuously opposed the established Church of England found themselves sufficiently in control of colonial governments in this country to write their own prayers into law, they passed laws making their own religion the official religion of their respective colonies. Indeed, as late as the time of the Revolutionary War, there were established churches in at least eight of the thirteen former colonies and established religions in at least four of the other five. But the successful Revolution against English political domination was shortly followed by intense opposition to the practice of establishing religion by law. This opposition crystallized rapidly into an effective political force in Virginia where the minority religious groups such as Presbyterians, Lutherans, Quakers and Baptists had gained such strength that the adherents to the established Episcopal Church were actually a minority themselves. . . .

Safeguarding Against Religious Domination

By the time of the adoption of the Constitution, our history shows that there was a widespread awareness among many

Americans of the dangers of a union of Church and State. These people knew, some of them from bitter personal experience, that one of the greatest dangers to the freedom of the individual to worship in his own way lay in the Government's placing its official stamp of approval upon one particular kind of prayer or one particular form of religious services. They knew the anguish, hardship and bitter strife that could come when zealous religious groups struggled with one another to obtain the Government's stamp of approval from each King, Queen, or Protector that came to temporary power. The Constitution was intended to avert a part of this danger by leaving the government of this country in the hands of the people rather than in the hands of any monarch. But this safeguard was not enough. Our Founders were no more willing to let the content of their prayers and their privilege of praying whenever they pleased be influenced by the ballot box than they were to let these vital matters of personal conscience depend upon the succession of monarchs. The First Amendment was added to the Constitution to stand as a guarantee that neither the power nor the prestige of the Federal Government would be used to control, support or influence the kinds of prayer the American people can say—that the people's religions must not be subjected to the pressures of government for change each time a new political administration is elected to office. . . .

New York Mandated Specific Beliefs

There can be no doubt that New York's state prayer program officially establishes the religious beliefs embodied in the Regents' prayer. The respondents' argument to the contrary, which is largely based upon the contention that the Regents' prayer is "non-denominational" and the fact that the program, as modified and approved by the state courts, does not require all pupils to recite the prayer but permits those who wish to do so to remain silent or be excused from the room, ignores the essential nature of the program's constitutional defects. Neither the fact that the prayer may be denominationally neutral, nor the fact that its observance on the part of the students is voluntary can serve to free it from the limitations of the Establishment Clause, as it might from the Free Exercise Clause, of the First Amendment, both of which are operative against the States by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment. Although these two clauses may in certain instances overlap, they forbid two quite different kinds of govern-

mental encroachment upon religious freedom. The Establishment Clause, unlike the Free Exercise Clause, does not depend upon any showing of direct governmental compulsion and is violated by the enactment of laws which establish an official religion whether those laws operate directly to coerce nonobserving individuals or not. This is not to say, of course, that laws officially prescribing a particular form of religious worship do not involve coercion of such individuals. When the power, prestige and financial support of government is placed behind a particular religious belief, the indirect coercive pressure upon religious minorities to conform to the prevailing officially approved religion is plain. But the purposes underlying the Establishment Clause go much further than that. Its first and most immediate purpose rested on the belief that a union of government and religion tends to destroy government and to degrade religion. The history of governmentally established religion, both in England and in this country, showed that whenever government had allied itself with one particular form of religion, the inevitable result had been that it had incurred the hatred, disrespect and even contempt of those who held contrary beliefs. . . .

Separating Religion from Politics Guarantees Religious Choice

It has been argued that to apply the Constitution in such a way as to prohibit state laws respecting an establishment of religious services in public schools is to indicate a hostility toward religion or toward prayer. Nothing, of course, could be more wrong. The history of man is inseparable from the history of religion. And perhaps it is not too much to say that since the beginning of that history many people have devoutly believed that "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of." It was doubtless largely due to men who believed this that there grew up a sentiment that caused men to leave the cross-currents of officially established state religions and religious persecution in Europe and come to this country filled with the hope that they could find a place in which they could pray when they pleased to the God of their faith in the language they chose. And there were men of this same faith in the power of prayer who led the fight for adoption of our Constitution and also for our Bill of Rights with the very guarantees of religious freedom that forbid

the sort of governmental activity which New York has attempted here. These men knew that the First Amendment, which tried to put an end to governmental control of religion and of prayer, was not written to destroy either. They knew rather that it was written to quiet well-justified fears which nearly all of them felt arising out of an awareness that governments of the past had shackled men's tongues to make them speak only the religious thoughts that government wanted them to speak and to pray only to the God that government wanted them to pray to. It is neither sacrilegious nor antireligious to say that each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave that purely religious function to the people themselves and to those the people choose to look to for religious guidance.

It is true that New York's establishment of its Regents' prayer as an officially approved religious doctrine of that State does not amount to a total establishment of one particular religious sect to the exclusion of all others—that, indeed, the governmental endorsement of that prayer seems relatively insignificant when compared to the governmental encroachments upon religion which were commonplace 200 years ago. To those who may subscribe to the view that because the Regents' official prayer is so brief and general there can be no danger to religious freedom in its governmental establishment, however, it may be appropriate to say in the words of James Madison, the author of the First Amendment:

“[I]t is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. . . . Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other Religions, may establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other Sects? That the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute three pence only of his property for the support of any one establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment in all cases whatsoever?”

The judgment of the Court of Appeals of New York is reversed and the cause remanded for further proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion.

Reversed and remanded.



ARTICLE 14

On the Buildup of Soviet Missiles in Cuba

By John F. Kennedy

In 1962, with tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States increasing, an air reconnaissance flight over Cuba revealed that the Soviets were in the process of installing nuclear missiles on that island nation. In the thirteen days following this discovery, President John F. Kennedy imposed quarantine on all ships bound for Cuba, effectively blockading the island. Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev protested the quarantine while insisting that no Soviet missiles were in Cuba. The United States countered with photos of the missile installations. The two sides squared off, and the world appeared to be on the brink of a nuclear war. Eventually, behind-closed-door diplomacy brokered a deal. The Soviet Union agreed to withdraw from Cuban soil, and the United States agreed to remove medium range missiles deployed in Turkey.

In this speech, delivered to an American television audience on October 22, 1962, President Kennedy states that the placement of nuclear missiles in Cuba is a threat to national security and a threat to the Western Hemisphere, and he demands the immediate removal of these weapons from Cuba. The crisis, once resolved, led to the nuclear test ban treaty of 1963, in which both the United States and the Soviet Union recognized a need for disarmament and a decrease in the production of nuclear weapons.

This Government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet Military buildup on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere.

Upon receiving the first preliminary hard information of this nature last Tuesday morning at 9 A.M., I directed that our surveillance be stepped up. And having now confirmed and completed our evaluation of the evidence and our decision on a course of action, this Government feels obliged to report this new crisis to you in fullest detail.

Explaining a Nuclear Threat

The characteristics of these new missile sites indicate two distinct types of installations. Several of them include medium range ballistic missiles capable of carrying a nuclear warhead for a distance of more than 1,000 nautical miles. Each of these missiles, in short, is capable of striking Washington, D.C., the Panama Canal, Cape Canaveral, Mexico City, or any other city in the southeastern part of the United States, in Central America, or in the Caribbean area.

Additional sites not yet completed appear to be designed for intermediate range ballistic missiles—capable of traveling more than twice as far—and thus capable of striking most of the major cities in the Western Hemisphere, ranging as far north as Hudson Bay, Canada, and as far south as Lima, Peru. In addition, jet bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, are now being uncrated and assembled in Cuba, while the necessary air bases are being prepared.

This urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base—by the presence of these large, long range, and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction—constitutes an explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americas, in flagrant and deliberate defiance of the Rio Pact of 1947 [which prevented the establishment of military bases in the Western Hemisphere] the traditions of this Nation and hemisphere, the joint resolution of the 87th Congress, the Charter of the United Nations, and my own public warnings to the Soviets on September 4 and 13. This action also contradicts the repeated assurances

of Soviet spokesmen, both publicly and privately delivered, that the arms buildup in Cuba would retain its original defensive character, and that the Soviet Union had no need or desire to station strategic missiles on the territory of any other nation.

The Russian Government Denies Accusations

The size of this undertaking makes clear that it has been planned for some months. Yet only last month, after I had made clear the distinction between any introduction of ground-to-ground missiles and the existence of defensive antiaircraft missiles, the Soviet Government publicly stated on September 11, and I quote, "the armaments and military equipment sent to Cuba are designed exclusively for defensive purposes," that, and I quote the Soviet Government, "there is no need for the Soviet Government to shift its weapons . . . for a retaliatory blow to any other country, for instance Cuba," and that, and I quote their government, "the Soviet Union has so powerful rockets to carry these nuclear warheads that there is no need to search for sites for them beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union." That statement was false.

Only last Thursday, as evidence of this rapid offensive buildup was already in my hand, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko told me in my office that he was instructed to make it clear once again, as he said his government had already done, that Soviet assistance to Cuba, and I quote, "pursued solely the purpose of contributing to the defense capabilities of Cuba," that, and I quote him, "training by Soviet specialists of Cuban nationals in handling defensive armaments was by no means offensive, and if it were otherwise," Mr. Gromyko went on, "the Soviet Government would never become involved in rendering such assistance." That statement also was false.

A Clear and Present Danger

Neither the United States of America nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or small. We no longer live in a world where only the actual firing of weapons represents a sufficient challenge to a nation's security to constitute maximum peril. Nuclear weapons are so destructive and ballistic missiles are so swift, that any substantially increased possibility of their

use or any sudden change in their deployment may well be regarded as a definite threat to peace.

For many years both the Soviet Union and the United States, recognizing this fact, have deployed strategic nuclear weapons with great care, never upsetting the precarious status quo which insured that these weapons would not be used in the absence of some vital challenge. Our own strategic missiles have never been transferred to the territory of any other nation under a cloak of secrecy and deception; and our history—unlike that of the Soviets since the end of World War II—demonstrates that we have no desire to dominate or conquer any other nation or impose our system upon its people. Nevertheless, American citizens have become adjusted to living daily on the Bull's-eye of Soviet missiles located inside the U.S.S.R. or in submarines.

In that sense, missiles in Cuba add to an already clear and present danger—although it should be noted the nations of Latin America have never previously been subjected to a potential nuclear threat.

Testing American Resolve Through Aggression

But this secret, swift, and extraordinary buildup of Communist missiles—in an area well known to have a special and historical relationship to the United States and the nations of the Western Hemisphere, in violation of Soviet assurances, and in defiance of American and hemispheric policy—this sudden, clandestine decision to station strategic weapons for the first time outside of Soviet soil—is a deliberately provocative and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country, if our courage and our commitments are ever to be trusted again by either friend or foe.

The 1930's taught us a clear lesson: aggressive conduct, if allowed to go unchecked and unchallenged ultimately leads to war. This nation is opposed to war. We are also true to our word. Our unswerving objective, therefore, must be to prevent the use of these missiles against this or any other country, and to secure their withdrawal or elimination from the Western Hemisphere.

Our policy has been one of patience and restraint, as befits a peaceful and powerful nation, which leads a worldwide alliance. We have been determined not to be diverted from our central

concerns by mere irritants and fanatics. But now further action is required—and it is under way; and these actions may only be the beginning. We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of worldwide nuclear war in which even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth—but neither will we shrink from that risk at any time it must be faced.

An Initial Plan of Action

Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere, and under the authority entrusted to me by the Constitution as endorsed by the resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following initial steps be taken immediately:

First: To halt this offensive buildup, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation or port will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will be extended, if needed, to other types of cargo and carriers. We are not at this time, however, denying the necessities of life as the Soviets attempted to do in their Berlin blockade of 1948.

Second: I have directed the continued and increased close surveillance of Cuba and its military buildup. The foreign ministers of the OAS, in their communique of October 6, rejected secrecy in such matters in this hemisphere. Should these offensive military preparations continue, thus increasing the threat to the hemisphere, further action will be justified. I have directed the Armed Forces to prepare for any eventualities; and I trust that in the interest of both the Cuban people and the Soviet technicians at the sites, the hazards to all concerned in continuing this threat will be recognized.

Third: It shall be the policy of this Nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

Fourth: As a necessary military precaution, I have reinforced our base at Guantanamo, evacuated today the dependents of our personnel there, and ordered additional military units to be on a standby alert basis.

Fifth: We are calling tonight for an immediate meeting of the Organ of Consultation under the Organization of American States, to consider this threat to hemispheric security and to invoke articles 6 and 8 of the Rio Treaty in support of all necessary action. The United Nations Charter allows for regional security arrangements—and the nations of this hemisphere decided long ago against the military presence of outside powers. Our other allies around the world have also been alerted.

Sixth: Under the Charter of the United Nations, we are asking tonight that an emergency meeting of the Security Council be convoked without delay to take action against this latest Soviet threat to world peace. Our resolution will call for the prompt dismantling and withdrawal of all offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of U.N. observers, before the quarantine can be lifted.

Seventh and finally: I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless and provocative threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations. I call upon him further to abandon this course of world domination, and to join in an historic effort to end the perilous arms race



Cuban refugees listen to President Kennedy's announcement that the Soviet Union had been installing nuclear missiles in Cuba.

and to transform the history of man. He has an opportunity now to move the world back from the abyss of destruction—by returning to his government's own words that it had no need to station missiles outside its own territory, and withdrawing these weapons from Cuba—by refraining from any action which will widen or deepen the present crisis—and then by participating in a search for peaceful and permanent solutions.

This Nation is prepared to present its case against the Soviet threat to peace, and our own proposals for a peaceful world, at any time and in any forum—in the OAS [Organization of American States], in the United Nations, or in any other meeting that could be useful—without limiting our freedom of action. We have in the past made strenuous efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. We have proposed the elimination of all arms and military bases in a fair and effective disarmament treaty. We are prepared to discuss new proposals for the removal of tensions on both sides—including the possibility of a genuinely independent Cuba, free to determine its own destiny. We have no wish to war with the Soviet Union—for we are a peaceful people who desire to live in peace with all other peoples.

But it is difficult to settle or even discuss these problems in an atmosphere of intimidation. That is why this latest Soviet threat—or any other threat which is made independently or in response to our actions this week—must and will be met with determination. Any hostile move anywhere in the world against the safety and freedom of peoples to whom we are committed—including in particular the brave people of West Berlin—will be met by whatever action is needed.

An Appeal to Cuban Citizens

Finally, I want to say a few words to the captive people of Cuba, to whom this speech is being directly carried by special radio facilities. I speak to you as a friend, as one who knows of your deep attachment to your fatherland, as one who shares your aspirations for liberty and justice for all. And I have watched and the American people have watched with deep sorrow how your nationalist revolution was betrayed—and how your fatherland fell under foreign domination. Now your leaders are no longer Cuban leaders inspired by Cuban ideals. They are puppets and agents of an international conspiracy which has turned Cuba against your friends

and neighbors in the Americas—and turned it into the first Latin American country to become a target for nuclear war—the first Latin American country to have these weapons on its soil.

These new weapons are not in your interest. They contribute nothing to your peace and well-being. They can only undermine it. But this country has no wish to cause you to suffer or to impose any system upon you. We know that your lives and land are being used as pawns by those who deny your freedom.

Many times in the past, the Cuban people have risen to throw out tyrants who destroyed their liberty. And I have no doubt that most Cubans today look forward to the time when they will be truly free—free from foreign domination, free to choose their own leaders, free to select their own system, free to own their own land, free to speak and write and worship without fear or degradation. And then shall Cuba be welcomed back to the society of free nations and to the associations of this hemisphere.

Realizing the Cost of Freedom

My fellow citizens: let no one doubt that this is a difficult and dangerous effort on which we have set out. No one can see precisely what course it will take or what costs or casualties will be incurred. Many months of sacrifice and self-discipline lie ahead—months in which our patience and our will will be tested—months in which many threats and denunciations will keep us aware of our dangers. But the greatest danger of all would be to do nothing.

The path we have chosen for the present is full of hazards, as all paths are—but it is the one most consistent with our character and courage as a nation and our commitments around the world. The cost of freedom is always high—and Americans have always paid it. And one path we shall never choose, and that is the path of surrender or submission.

Our goal is not the victory of might, but the vindication of right—not peace at the expense of freedom, but both peace and freedom, here in this hemisphere, and, we hope, around the world. God willing, that goal will be achieved.



Mariner 2 Photographs Venus

By Marvin Miles

After the successful orbital flight around Earth by John Glenn in February 1962, NASA concentrated its resources on developing an unmanned satellite program to explore Venus and Mars. In August 1962, NASA launched the Mariner satellite program. The first planetary exploration satellites developed were *Mariner 1* and 2, a set of identical satellites specifically designed to explore Venus. The exploration program was scheduled to begin midyear, and on July 22, 1962, *Mariner 1* was launched from Cape Canaveral in Florida. Five minutes after launch, the rocket carrying *Mariner 1* went off course. Safety officials on the ground decided to abort the mission and *Mariner 1* was destroyed in flight by using a remote device. A month later, *Mariner 2* was launched successfully on August 27, 1962, sending it on a three-and-one-half-month flight to Venus.

The *Mariner 2* satellite conducted several important scientific experiments. It measured, for the first time, the solar wind, a constant stream of charged particles flowing outward from the sun. It also measured specific amounts of interplanetary dust, small particulate matter that originates within the solar system. In addition, *Mariner 2* made several observations about solar activity. The satellite detected high-energy charged particles coming from the sun, including solar flares, as well as cosmic rays that originated outside the solar system. The satellite also scanned the planet and revealed that the atmosphere of Venus was filled with cool clouds but had an extremely hot surface

temperature. The following article by *Los Angeles Times* science editor, Marvin Miles, explains what was discovered by *Mariner 2* as it flew by Venus on December 14, 1962. After passing Venus, *Mariner 2* malfunctioned due to several technical problems. *Mariner 2*'s signal was tracked by NASA until January 3, 1963, when it was no longer detectable. The spacecraft still remains in orbit around the sun.

Mariner 2 flew Friday within 21,500 miles of cloud-shrouded Venus and returned scientific data 36 million miles to earth in man's first triumph over interplanetary space.

The probe's singsong harmonic voice—eerie music from outer space—continued strong for the full 42 minutes of the historic pass as its instruments scanned earth's bright, mysterious neighbor despite critical on-board heating problems.

The crucial encounter culminated a flight of 109.5 days and 180.2 million miles that began Aug. 27 when the 447 lb. spacecraft was launched from Cape Canaveral.

In succeeding where Russian craft have several times failed, Mariner gathered more data on Venus than all earthbound astronomical studies to date.

The Discovery of New Information

Six experiments returned a wealth of scientific information on the planet that circles between earth and sun, although one partial failure at encounter reduced the amount of data on Venusian surface and atmospheric temperatures and the nature of the planet's cloud layers.

A scanning device that aimed microwave and infrared radiometers at the target planet failed to reduce its scan angle until the pass was well under way and cut the number of scans anticipated.

Data received should be ample, however, to determine such vital information as the Venus surface temperature, which is believed to be about 600 deg. F.—the boiling point of lead—too hot to maintain life as we know it.

Assessment of the telemetry data probably won't be available for a week or more, according to scientists at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, which designed the spacecraft and conducted the flight for the national space agency.

Mariner 2 already has returned to earth a fortune in data from its four interplanetary experiments which were operating during the Venus fly-by in conjunction with the radiometers.

Dr. William Pickering, JPL director, reported the probe discovered a steady solar wind—a thin, moving gas cloud plowing from the sun at a rate of 250–450 miles a second.

A Variety of Experiments Performed

It also has measured variations in the interplanetary magnetic field and determined that there was less cosmic dust in its path than there is in the neighborhood of earth.

So accurate were advance calculations of Mariner's fly-by speed that it was only 3 m.p.h. off at rendezvous. Flying 88,400 m.p.h. (relative to the sun) at the point of nearest approach—reached at 10 seconds before noon—the spacecraft whizzed past Venus at a relative speed of about 15,134 m.p.h.

Its peculiar up and down harmonic telemetry tones, which took almost 3.5 minutes to reach the earth at a speed of 186,000 miles per second, were explained as due to on-board shifting of communications between the six experiments.

In addition to the radiometers these included a magnetometer to measure the changes in planetary and interplanetary magnetic fields, an ion chamber and particle flux detector to measure charged particle intensity and distribution in space and in the vicinity of the planet, a cosmic dust detector and a solar plasma spectrometer to measure the intensity of low energy protons from the sun.

Problems Arise

Already concerned about mounting temperatures in the spacecraft as it flew nearer and nearer the sun, JPL engineers went through two rough periods early Friday morning when the probe twice failed to turn on its radiometers as it approached the planet.

The shift was to have been made automatically aboard the probe by a central computer and sequencer system.

A decision was made to send a command signal from JPL's Goldstone tracking station near Barstow.

Six and a half minutes after the command was transmitted at 5:35 A.M., Mariner 2 returned an acknowledgement that the signal had been received and the command executed. This was an all-time distance record in control communications.

Telemetry from the probe was received at the Woomera (Australia) tracking station as well as at Goldstone.

Goldstone additionally was tracking Venus with one of its 85-ft. radar antennas at the time of encounter and this operation should give an accurate cross check of the probe's trajectory and the distances involved to the target planet.

The Surface of Venus

At 10:55 A.M., 66 minutes before the point of closest approach, Mariner was 25,262 miles from the planet and its velocity was increasing as the result of Venusian gravity.

At this point the on-board scanners first detected the planet's surface.

At 11:17 A.M., 44 minutes before the closest approach, the probe passed the planet's dividing line between light and darkness and continued to pick up speed as it swept down and under Venus.

At 11:37 A.M. the planet moved out of sight of the scanning radiometers and 23 minutes later Mariner flashed by its point of closest approach.

Moving Away from Venus

Shortly thereafter the spacecraft returned from its encounter mode of operation to cruise mode, i.e., the radiometers were turned off and engineering telemetry on the function of the probe itself was resumed. The four interplanetary experiments continued to operate.

Dr. Pickering estimated Mariner 2 could be useful out to twice the distance it had flown at encounter if its systems continue to operate under the extreme heat built up by the sun.

Most critical system aboard was the earth sensor which stabilizes the spacecraft on one axis. Temperatures in this unit stood at an estimated 165 deg. Friday, 35 deg. over its design maximum.

The sensor already had degraded in capability as a result of the increasing solar heat, but the tightly-crossed fingers of JPL engineers saw it through the encounter period.

Once past Venus in a sharp curve induced by the planet's gravity, the spacecraft headed into a perpetual orbit of the sun, still singing its harmonic song.

On Dec. 27 it will reach its closest point to the sun—65,539,000 miles. At this point it will be 2.7 million miles from Venus and 44.2 million miles from earth.



CHRONOLOGY

- January 2:** The nighttime version of the television game show *Password*, with host Allen Ludden, premieres on CBS.
- January 24:** Music producer Brian Epstein signs a management contract with the Beatles.
- January 26:** The United States launches the Ranger 3 rocket into space and misses the moon by twenty-two thousand miles.
- February 9:** The U.S. Army establishes the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV).
- February 20:** John Glenn is the first American to orbit the earth in the Mercury spacecraft module *Friendship 7*.
- March 29:** Television talk-show host Jack Paar makes his final appearance on NBC's *The Tonight Show*.
- April 16:** Television news reporter Walter Cronkite begins anchoring *The CBS Evening News*.
- April 20:** Local bus company, the New Orleans Citizens Company, gives free one-way rides to blacks who will leave the South and move into northern cities.
- May 6:** The first nuclear warhead is fired from the USS *Ethan Allen*, a Polaris submarine.
- May 9:** The first laser beam is successfully bounced off the moon.
- May 23:** Astronaut Scott Carpenter orbits the earth three times in the Mercury spacecraft module *Aurora 7*.
- July 10:** Martin Luther King Jr. is arrested during a civil rights demonstration in Albany, Georgia; *Telstar*, the first geosynchronous communications satellite, is launched into orbit.
- July 11:** The first transatlantic television transmission is conducted via the *Telstar* communications satellite.
- July 17:** The Senate rejects a potential Medicare bill for the elderly.

July 21: More than 150 civil rights activists are jailed after a civil rights protest in Albany, Georgia.

July 27: The *Mariner 2* satellite is launched to begin a flyby mission to Venus.

August 11: The Beach Boys release their first single, "Surfin' Safari."

August 15: The Shady Grove Baptist Church in Albany, Georgia, is firebombed by segregationists.

August 17: The Beatles replace drummer Pete Best with Ringo Starr.

September 15: The United States wins the America's Cup.

September 23: ABC television launches its first color television series, *The Jetsons*.

September 30: Black student James Meredith registers for classes at the University of Mississippi.

October 1: Johnny Carson hosts his first installment of *The Tonight Show*.

October 14: The Cuban Missile Crisis begins as President John F. Kennedy becomes aware of missiles in Cuba.

October 22: Kennedy addresses the nation regarding the situation in Cuba and states his intention to impose a naval blockade on Cuba to prevent Soviet naval ships from unloading more weapons into the nation.

October 28: Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev orders the withdrawal of Soviet nuclear missiles from Cuba.

November 2: Kennedy announces that Cuban missile bases are being dismantled.

November 6: Republican candidate Richard Nixon loses the California gubernatorial race and tells the press that "You won't have Nixon to kick around any more."

November 20: The United States agrees to lift the naval quarantine of Cuba.

November 30: U Thant of Burma is unanimously elected third secretary-general of the United Nations.

December 6: Kennedy announces the decision to abandon the Skybolt ballistic missile program, a program that would have allowed a nuclear missile to launch from a plane moving at high speeds, on the grounds that it is currently technologically beyond U.S. engineering.

December 14: The *Mariner 2* satellite transmits photographs of Venus back to the earth.



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