The Girl with the Delacroix Face

Kent State, May 4, 1970. This famous photograph by John Filo was taken moments after the Ohio National Guard opened fire on students protesting President Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. A runaway girl, Mary Ann Vecchio, age 14, kneels over the body of Kent State student Jeffrey Miller, 20, one of the four students killed in the incident. Filo, a university photography student, was in the photo lab when he heard shots outside. Filo remembers: "The bullets were supposed to be blanks. When I put the camera back to my eye, I noticed a particular guardsman pointing at me. I said, 'I'll get a picture of this,' and his rifle went off. And almost simultaneously, as his rifle went off, a halo of dust came off a sculpture next to me, and the bullet lodged in a tree."

In his 1971 book, *Kent State: What Happened and Why*, Author James Michener called the wailing Vecchio "The girl with the Delacroix face." Vecchio, now 59, has returned to Kent State several times in the interim for commemorative events, and she has met Filo, whose photograph won the Pulitzer Prize for 1970.

Jeffrey Glenn Miller was shot in the mouth while standing on an access road 270 feet from the Ohio National Guard. He was the closest of the four slain students to the guardsmen. Miller, from Long Island, had recently transferred to Kent State from Michigan State University.

"You G.. D… Sure Gonna Serve, I Know That"

The White House, December 7, 1963. Lyndon Baines Johnson was sworn in on Air Force One two hours and eight minutes after John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, but he had in fact been President from the moment of the fatal shot (ca. 12:30 p.m.) at Dealey Plaza. One week later, on November 29, 1963, President Johnson established the President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy (the Warren Commission) to determine who had killed Kennedy, how, and why. A taped phone call from November 28th reveals LBJ in his most insistent mode as he "persuades" Senator Richard Russell to sit on the commission. Russell (1897-1971) was one of Johnson's oldest friends. He was also LBJ's political mentor. But he did not want to serve on the commission, principally because he despised Chief Justice Earl Warren, the author of the great Supreme Court civil rights decisions of the era. LBJ achieved his goal by informing Senator Russell that he had already released the names of the commissioners to the press, including Russell's.

President Johnson was famous for his "bedside manner"—grabbing others by the lapels, pressing his finger into the other's chest, leaning into people's personal space, cajoling, bullying, threatening, wheedling, whatever it took to gain assent. Here he leans on Russell in the White House, just a week after the Warren Commission was announced. The photograph was taken by Yoichi Okamoto, the first official presidential photographer in American history.

The Calm Before the Storm: 1972

Faces of the Era: George McGovern was an unlikely nominee for the Presidency in 1972. He was a thoughtful, soft-spoken man whom Robert F. Kennedy called "the most decent man in the Senate." McGovern (1922-2012). a World War II hero and a former college professor, served in the U.S. Senate from 1963 to 1981. He was among the first members of Congress to question America's mission in Vietnam.

After the debacle of the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, McGovern was appointed to head a commission to reform the Democratic Party's nomination process. In 1972 he edged out Hubert Humphrey, Edmund Muskie, and George Wallace to become the Democratic nominee. But McGovern's presidential campaign stumbled badly from the start--after his vice presidential nominee Thomas Eagleton was forced off the ticket after he revealed that he had previously received electric shock treatments for depression. McGovern was too liberal for America in 1972, and he was somewhat unfairly tied to drugs, abortion, pacifism, and redistribution of wealth.

Although the Watergate burglary (June 17, 1972) and subsequent cover-up would eventually bring down the Nixon administration, it was not a factor in the 1972 election. In fact, McGovern lost the election by the second greatest landslide in presidential history. Nixon received 60% of the vote; McGovern won only Massachusetts and the District of Columbia; the Electoral College result was 520-17.

McGovern had an excellent sense of humor. Reflecting on his monumental defeat, he said, "You know, sometimes, when they say you're ahead of your time, it's just a polite way of saying you have a real bad sense of timing."

A Modified Limited Hang Out

Faces of the Era. John Dean was just 33 years old in 1972 when President Richard Nixon ordered him to manage the cover-up of the Watergate affair. Dean (1938-) was a White House Counsel to the President. He was one of the principal conspirators in the cover-up that followed the June 17, 1972, break in at the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate Hotel in Washington, D.C. Dean had not been aware of the Watergate incident until after the June 17, 1972, arrests.

When it became clear that the truth about the Watergate incident would come to light, along with the Nixon administration's other break ins, campaign tricks, and crimes and misdemeanors, and that Nixon's key insiders were planning to let Dean take the fall, he volunteered to cooperate with the FBI and Senate investigations in exchange for immunity or a reduced sentence. Dean later plead guilty to a single felony count, and served four months in a minimum security "safe house" in Maryland.

It was Dean who warned President Nixon on March 21, 1973, that defections of the Watergate burglars, coupled with the expenses of paying their legal fees and providing living expenses to their families, and Howard Hunt's determination to blackmail the White House for ever increasing payoffs, were creating a "cancer on the Presidency."

Dean became a national figure when he testified before the Senate Select Committee on Watergate, beginning June 25, 1973. He was the first witness to link Nixon directly to the Watergate crimes. The Nixon administration denied Dean's charges, accused him of lying about the President to reduce or eliminate his own likely prison sentence. In the months after the Senate investigators learned on July 16, 1973, that President Nixon had recorded most of his White House conversations, Dean's allegations were almost entirely confirmed.

In this photograph, taken in late June 1973, Dean waits to provide his electrifying testimony to the Senate select committee, while his wife Maureen sits loyally behind him in the gallery. Maureen (Mo) Dean became a minor, but evocative, icon in the Watergate hearings.

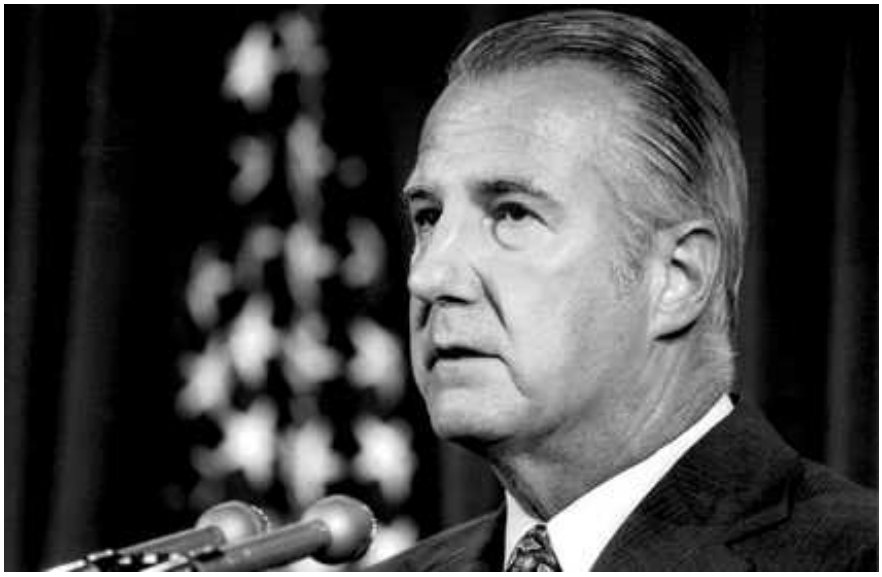
“An Effete Corps of Impudent Snobs”

Faces of the Era. Spiro Agnew (1918-1996) was Richard Nixon’s first vice president and his hatchet man. The former Maryland governor had come to Nixon’s attention when he emerged in the late 60s as a law and order advocate, and a critic of civil rights and campus demonstrations.

Because the President wanted America to regard him as the “New Nixon,” he attempted to take the high road and to address the country in measured terms, but he expected Agnew do denounce the administration’s enemies in much more forceful language. With the help of Nixon speechwriters William Safire and Patrick Buchanan, Agnew lashed out at the President’s critics, calling reporters "nattering nabobs of negativism" and "hopeless, hysterical hypochondriacs of history."

In the end, Agnew’s own corruptions brought him down. On October 10, 1973, the vice president resigned, the second vice president in American history to do so, the first for criminal behavior. He pleaded no contest to charges of tax evasion. He was accused of accepting more than $100,000 in bribes during his time as Maryland Governor—payoffs, it was alleged, that continued during his tenure as vice president. Agnew was fined $10,000 and received three years’ probation. Former Maryland Attorney General Stephen H. Sachs mocked the plea bargain as "the greatest deal since the Lord spared Isaac on the mountaintop."
During his years of disgrace, Agnew wrote a novel, *The Canfield Decision*, about a Vice President who was "destroyed by his own ambition." So they call that “ambition.”

White House tapes from 1971 reveal that President Nixon flirted with the idea of replacing Agnew on the 1972 re-election ticket. Agnew’s life ended with a small measure of rehabilitation. In 1995, his bust was placed in the U.S. Capitol alongside those of the other vice presidents of the United States. Agnew, who was present for the unveiling ceremony,was deeply moved by the experience.



A Valediction in North Dakota

John F. Kennedy (1917-November 23, 1963) and Bill Guy (1919-2013) were elected to high office in the same year: 1960. Kennedy became the 35th President of the United States and Bill Guy the 26th Governor of North Dakota.

They were both young, vigorous, articulate men of a new generation, "born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage," as JFK put it in his inaugural address. Both men had distinguished World War II records, both had lovely wives and handsome children, both declared that it was time for fresh leadership in America.

The Guys dined with President Kennedy on several occasions, including once when First Lady Jean Guy sat next to the writer John Steinbeck at the President's table. Bill Guy flew immediately to Washington, D.C., when the news reached him of Kennedy's death in Dallas. He paid his respects on behalf of himself, his family, and the people of North Dakota as President Kennedy's body lay in state in the East Room of the White House.

In this wonderful photograph, taken on September 23, 1963, Governor Guy walks with President Kennedy on the campus of the University of North Dakota, where JFK received an honorary degree and gave a short speech full of idealism, self-effacing humor, and a call to leadership. That was JFK's last visit to North Dakota. Less than two months later, he would become the fourth U.S. President to be assassinated.

The Tallest Buildings in the World

The twin towers of the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan were not much loved when they first loomed over the New York skyline. The north tower was completed in 1970, and the south tower two years later in 1972. Together they were considered brash, unimaginative, and lacking in beauty and subtlety. They were briefly recognized as the "world's tallest buildings;" in 1973 the Sears Tower in Chicago eclipsed them. By the time they were destroyed by Islamic terrorists on September 11, 2001, they represented only the fifth and sixth tallest buildings in the world.

This photograph, taken in 1971, captures the moment when the south tower neared completion. The Empire State Building, the Chrysler Building, and the Hudson River (left) and East River (right) can be seen in the background.

It was during this period, as the last touches were being put on the south tower, that North Dakota's celebrated couple Harold and Sheila Schafer bluffed their way to the top of the construction project by posing as inspectors—fitted out by Harold with hard hats and clipboards he bought nearby. At the time there were no guardrails along the four faces of the topmost floors of the building.

Two North Dakotans died in the 9-11 World Trade Center attacks. Ann Nicole Nelson of Stanley was working on the 104th floor of the north tower when it collapsed at 10:28 a.m. She was 30 years old. Devils Lake native James Halvorson also died in the attack. He was 56.

Summary Justice at Point Blank Range

Associated Press photographer Eddie Adams (1933-2004) took this infamous photograph on February 1,1968, in Saigon. It capture the precise moment when police chief Nguyen Ngoc Loan executed a handcuffed Viet Cong prisoner, Nguyen Van Lem, also known as Captain Bay Lop. The prisoner was provided no due process, no attorney, no court appearance, no time to defend himself or put his affairs in order.

Adams won the Pulitzer Prize for 1969 for the photograph, which brought the Tet Offensive into grim relief for the American (and world) public. According to critic David Perlmutter, whenever the Tet Offensive is discussed, "at least a sentence is devoted (often with an illustration) to the Eddie Adams picture."

Adams later wrote, "What the photograph didn't say was, 'What would you do if you were the general (Nguyen Ngoc Loan) at that time and place on that hot day, and you caught the so-called bad guy after he blew away one, two or three American people? … Two people died in that photograph: the recipient of the bullet and General Nguyen Ngoc Loan."

Two television crews also captured the execution.

Loan fled South Vietnam in 1975. He moved the United States, where he opened a pizza restaurant called Les Trois Continents in a Washington, D.C., suburb. He died on July 14, 1998, in Burke, Virginia. He was 67 years old.

The Era of Unlimited Expectations Ends

The Yom Kippur War between Israel and the Arab states (October 6-26, 1973) caused reverberations that found their way to the United States—and in fact, to the plains of North Dakota.

The war began when the Arab coalition, led by Egypt and Syria, launched a surprise attack on Israeli positions on Yom Kippur, the most sacred Jewish holiday. Most of the war took place in the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights, territories that were conquered by Israel in the Six Day War of 1967.

In response to U.S. support of Israel, including an emergency $2.2 billion arms allocation, the Arab members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) reduced their production and imposed an oil embargo on the United States. This created the 1973 energy crisis, what was called the "first oil shock." The world price of oil rose from $3 per barrel to nearly $12.

The energy crisis led to long lines at American gas stations, and some rationing.

Here in North Dakota, the world energy crisis generated greatly increased interest in lignite coal. New mines, power plants, and coal-fired gasification conversation facilities were proposed, and a slurry pipeline that would transport North Dakota lignite as far away as Arkansas. It was during this period of intense development pressure that North Dakota governor Arthur A. Link declared that he would not permit North Dakota to become "an energy sacrifice zone" for the nation, and that he could not support any economic development that represented a "one time harvest" of North Dakota resources. Link's opposition (and his adroit use of the North Dakota Water Commission) slowed the pace of development long enough to outlast the energy crisis. evaporated as the national panic subsided.

“The Problem that Has No Name”

Faces of the Era. Betty Friedan (1921-2006) helped to touch off the modern women’s movement with the publication of her book *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. Friedan was a writer, activist, and feminist, who helped to found the National Organization of Women (NOW) in 1966 and served as its first president.

To prepare for her15th Smith College reunion in 1957, Friedan conducted a survey of her classmates. She discovered that many of them felt unsatisfied and unfulfilled with their lives, with what Friedan began to call “the problem that has no name.”

The Feminine Mystique was a bold and influential indictment of American patriarchal society. “The shores are strewn,” Friedan wrote, “with the casualties of the feminine mystique. They did give up their own education to put their husbands through college, and then, maybe against their own wishes, ten or fifteen years later, they were left in the lurch by divorce. The strongest were able to cope more or less well, but it wasn’t that easy for a woman of forty-five to move ahead in a profession and make a new life for herself and her children or herself alone.”

Friedan defined “feminine mystique” as an artificial idea(l) of femininity that locks women into the role of wife, mother, and housewife, and convinces women that fulfilling their potential in other arenas is a betrayal of their purpose and their femininity. Women who press against such boundaries are regarded as “masculine,” “ambitious,” “pushy,” or “neurotic.”

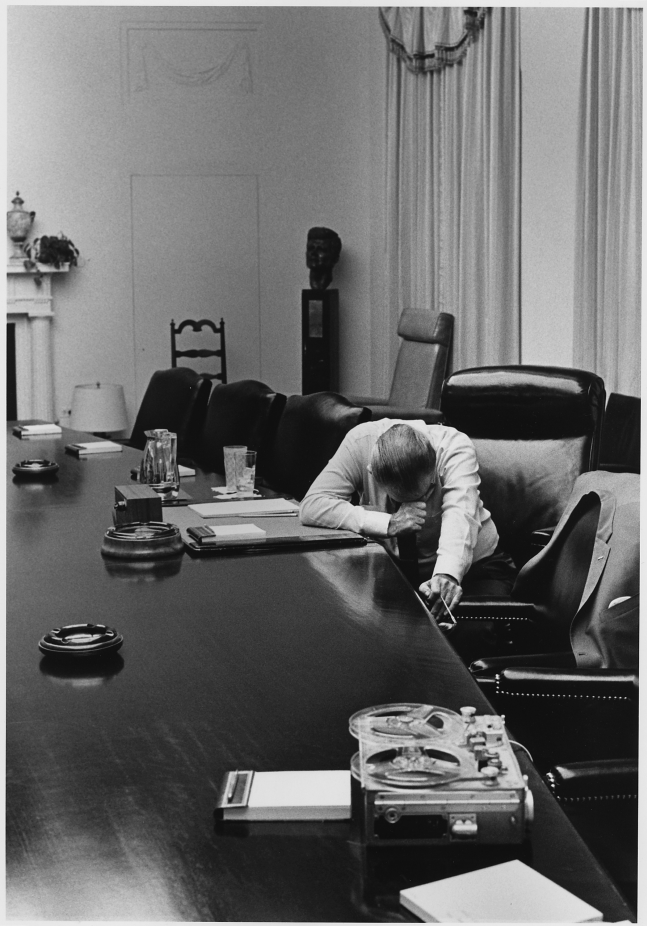
The book became a national bestseller. She wrote five additional books. “A woman,” she wrote, “is handicapped by her sex, and handicaps in the professions, or by refusing to compete with man at all.”

Jefferson Called it "Splendid Misery"

This magnificent and haunting photograph was taken on July 31, 1968. President Lyndon Johnson sits in anguish at a desk in the cabinet room of the White House, after a meeting with his closest advisers. The photographer was taken by Jack E. Kightlinger.

In fact, at the time of the photograph LBJ was listening to a tape recording of his son-in-law Charles Robb, then a captain in the Marine Corps in Vietnam. Robb sent his wife and father-in-law taped commentaries on his own experiences in Vietnam and the status of the war.

1968 was truly an *annus horribilis* in American history. In January North Koreans captured an American vessel in what it claimed were its territorial waters. This was the Pueblo Incident. Then, on January 31, the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong launched the surprise Tet Offensive that shattered any notion that the United States was winning the war and that our troops would soon be able to come home. In February America's most trusted man, Walter Cronkite, declared that the war could only end in stalemate, and that it was time for the United States to extricate itself from the nightmare of Vietnam as gracefully as possible. In March, Eugene McCarthy stunned LBJ and the nation by winning 42% of the vote in the New Hampshire primary, when it had been predicted that he would be lucky to do better than 10%. Two weeks later, LBJ's nemesis, a man he loathed and feared, Robert F. Kennedy also entered the race for the Democratic nomination for President.



Before the appalling spring was over, Martin Luther King (April 4) and Robert F. Kennedy had been assassinated (June 5).

By mid-summer scores of American cities were rocked by race riots.

To many, including Johnson, it seemed that American was coming apart.

And this great photograph was taken *before* the debacle of the Democratic National Convention, August 26-29, in Chicago.

Extremism in the Defense of Liberty

Faces of the Era. Barry Goldwater (1909-1998) embodied and inspired the conservative movement in the 1960s. The five-term senator from Arizona ran unsuccessfully for President in 1964.

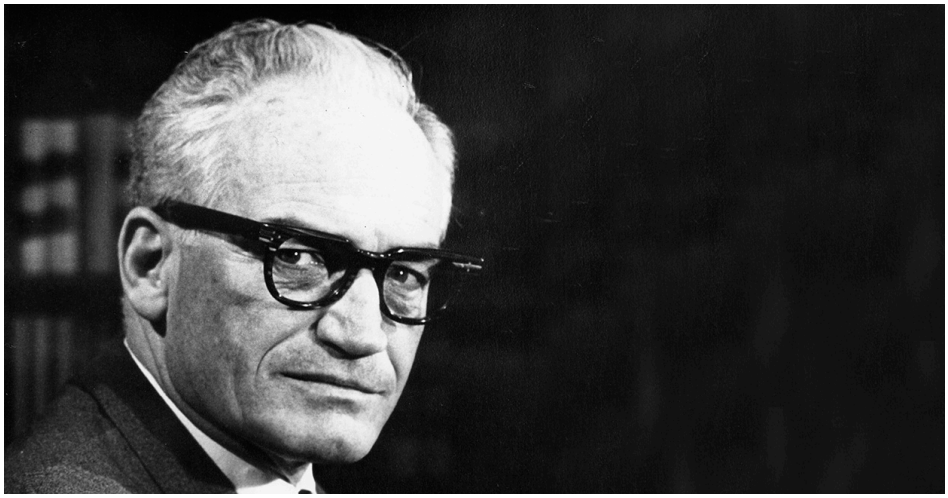
Goldwater terrified much of the American public and most of the Republican establishment when he vowed to defeat Soviet communism outright, to eliminate the welfare state, defy the labor unions, and win the war in Vietnam by using tactical nuclear weapons if necessary. At that same convention, Hollywood actor Ronald Reagan gave a stern and electrifying speech that established him as a serious voice in American conservative politics.

Lyndon Johnson defeated Goldwater resoundingly in the November 3, 1964, election. Johnson received 61% of the vote, the highest percentage since James Monroe won re-election in 1820. Johnson won 486:52 in the Electoral College. Even North Dakota broke with tradition to vote for the Democrat Johnson.

In his famous acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention at San Francisco in 1964, Goldwater said, "I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice! And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue!"

Goldwater was a man of many interests. He was a ham radio operator. He flew his own airplane. He was one of the first to float the canyons of the Colorado River for purely recreational experience. It was Goldwater who finally convinced Richard Nixon that he must resign to avoid impeachment. And it was Goldwater who grew so tired of the grip of the evangelical right on American politics that he said, in exasperation, "I think every good American ought to kick [Jerry] Falwell in the ass."

In his book, *the Conscience of a Conservative* (1960), Goldwater wrote, "I have little interest in streamlining government or in making it more efficient, for I mean to reduce its size. I do not undertake to promote welfare, for I propose to extend freedom. My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them."



After he retired in 1987, Goldwater's Senate seat was taken by Vietnam veteran John McCain.

A Separate Destiny for Black Americans

Faces of the Era. Malcolm X (1925-1965) fought to raise the self-esteem of black Americans, to convince them they did not have to let "the white devil" define them, and to re-connect American blacks with their African roots.

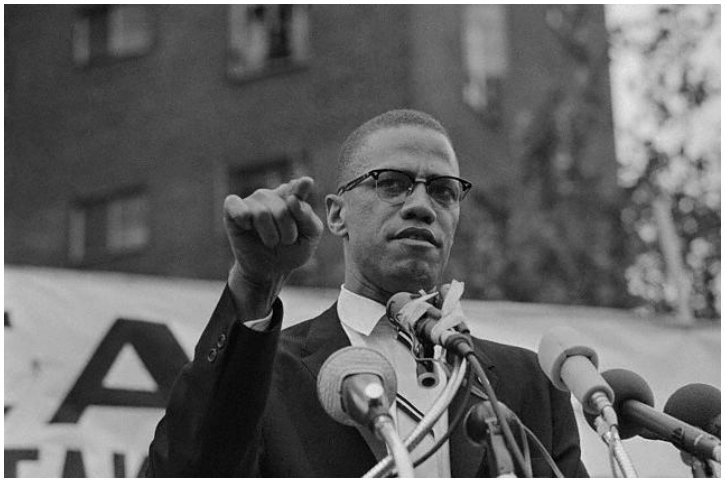
Born Malcolm Little, he survived an extremely difficult childhood and went on to become one of the most prominent and outspoken African-American leaders of his generation. His father was killed when he was just six, and his mother was confined to a mental hospital when he was 13. He was in prison for breaking and entering and larceny when he became a member of the Nation of Islam. When he was released from prison in 1952, he began his 13-year public speaking career. He denounced the Civil Rights Movement for its emphasis on integration. X advocated separation of the races and black supremacy.

He angered a large number of American people, when, in the wake of the assassination of John F. Kennedy, he said, less than two weeks later, "Chickens coming home to roost never did make me sad; they've always made me glad." For this he was never forgiven in some circles.

Eventually he rejected the Nation of Islam and its charismatic but corrupt leader Elijah Muhammad, made his spiritual journey to Mecca, and embraced a form of Sunni Islam. In a speech at Harvard Law School on December 16, 1964, he said, "Do you know what they call a negro scholar? Ph.D.? Professor? They call him a nigger."

With the help of Alex Haley, X wrote one of the most searing memoirs of the period, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. It was posthumously published in 1965. It is regarded as one of the most important non-fiction works of the post World War II period.

Malcolm X was assassinated in New York City on February 21, 1965. As he tried to quiet an unruly crowd in Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom, a man rushed forward and shot X in the chest with a sawed-off shotgun. Two other assailants rushed the stage firing semi-automatic handguns. X was pronounced dead at 3:30 p.m. at Columbia Presbyterian Hospital. He had been riddled with 21 gunshot wounds to the chest, arms and legs. His three killers were convicted of murder in March 1966 and sentenced to life in prison.



The Alabama Governor with the Populist Sneer

Faces of the Era. George Wallace (1919-1998) was one of the most colorful and controversial figures of the entire era. He served two consecutive terms as Governor of Alabama and two non-consecutive terms. Wallace won the 1962 Alabama gubernatorial race by appealing to the white citizens of Alabama who were frustrated by the social changes sweeping the South, many of them imposed by "outsiders" from the U.S. Courts, the Executive Branch, and the Ivy League.

At his inauguration in early 1963 he spoke defiance to the Civil Rights Movement. "In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever."

The following June Governor Wallace stood in front of Foster Auditorium at the University of Alabama to bar the enrollment of two African-American students. President Kennedy had ordered the U.S. Army to enforce racial integration at the Tuscaloosa campus. Wallace's defiant gesture became known as the "Stand in the Schoolhouse Door." Wallace blamed the "liberal" Massachusetts President and—of course—the Communists. "The President wants us to surrender this state to Martin Luther King and his group of pro-Communists who have instituted these demonstrations."

In many respects, Wallace was more of a populist than a racist. He denounced intellectuals as "pointy-heads who couldn't ride a bicycle straight," and he vowed, "If any demonstrator ever lays down in front of my car, it'll be the last car he'll ever lay down in front of." Some historians have concluded that he was privately quite progressive on race, but that he realized that his path to power would be easier if he aligned himself with the race anxieties and prejudices of the white citizens of Alabama.

Wallace ran for President in 1964, 1968, 1972, and 1976. In 1968 he ran as an independent. In 1972 he ran as a Democrat. He hoped in 1968 that he would get enough votes to force the election into the House of Representatives, in the hopes that southern and conservative Congressmen would choose him over Richard Nixon and Hubert Humphrey. His strategy failed, but he did siphon off enough votes from Nixon that the Nixon-Humphrey race was competitive.

By 1972 Wallace had mellowed. He announced that he was no longer a segregationist. He apologized for some of his earlier pronouncements. On May 15, campaigning at a shopping center in Laurel, Maryland, he was shot five times by a man named Arthur Bremer. Although Wallace survived the assassination attempt, one bullet had lodged in his spine, leaving him paralyzed from the waist down for the rest of his life.

Robert Kennedy after JFK's Death: Charisma and Compassion

This superb photograph captures the star power of Robert F. Kennedy, then the Attorney General of the United States. Kennedy (1925-June 6, 1968) had a well-earned reputation for ruthlessness and obsessive family loyalty, but some part of him was always also in tune with "the better angels of our nature." Here, in an open convertible, surrounded by people who wanted to reach out to touch him, he moves slowly along a California street.

Kennedy was so devastated by his brother's assassination that he passed through a long night of the soul for most of the five years that remained to him. He read Greek drama, poetry, and existential authors such as Camus and Sartre. He found some natural affinity with the poorest classes in American life, in spite of the fact that he grew up in great privilege. He took on the role of an American tribune—an advocate for the least privileged—in the manner of Tiberius Gracchus in ancient Rome. He spent time with Cesar Chavez and Hispanic field laborers in California. He lingered on Indian reservations, including the Pine Ridge in South Dakota, while his political advisers fumed that he was wasting critical campaign time on people who could not help him become President. He lectured his own children sternly at the dinner table about the lives of the have nots.

Knowing, as we do, that Robert Kennedy would be struck down by an assassin's bullet on June 5, 1968, in Los Angeles, we cannot look at a photograph like this one without wincing. Notice the men on the rooftop or leaning out of windows within easy range of the Senator from New York. Notice, too, that RFK has no visible security detail. Kennedy frequently emerged from these moments with his cufflinks or buttons stripped away, and his hands scratched, by enthusiastic crowds.

In the last weeks of his life, he said, "Surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to become in our own hearts brothers and countrymen once again."

The Last Moment of Kissinger's "Decent Interval"

America's misadventure in Vietnam began shortly after World War II and ended on April 30, 1975. More than 58,000 Americans died in the war, and well more than two million Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians. Although President Nixon declared that he had achieved "peace with honor" on January 23, 1973, the civil war in Vietnam went on for two more years before the North Vietnamese finally took possession of South Vietnam, including Saigon.

President Dwight Eisenhower said if we didn't support South Vietnam, a domino effect might carry all of southeast Asia into communist tyranny. John F. Kennedy said it was essential to show that American power in the world was credible, "and Vietnam is the place." Lyndon Johnson said he would not be the first President to lose a war, and certainly not in a "pissant" country like Vietnam. Richard Nixon said he would not be the first President to lose a war, and certainly not in a "shit-ass" country like Vietnam.

When South Vietnam collapsed in the spring of 1975, and the capital Saigon was overrun with North Vietnamese tanks and troops, the U.S. managed to evacuate virtually all Americans in the war zone and tens of thousands of South Vietnamese citizens.

In this, "the final photograph of the 60s," a long line of Vietnamese people press forward to board a helicopter headed to an aircraft carrier off the Vietnamese coast. The photograph, taken on April 29, 1975, is not of the U.S. Embassy as sometimes claimed. It was taken of the roof of an apartment complex where a CIA operative lived. The location was 22 Gia Long Street.

After all of that time and effort, in a war that shattered Vietnam and fractured American society, the most divisive adventure of the Sixties ended in ignominy. The best that Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger could say was that "a decent interval" had separated American withdrawal and the collapse of South Vietnam. The photograph was taken by Hubert Van Es for United Press International.

The Triumph of a Master Geopolitical Strategist, 1972

Richard Nixon's greatest achievement as President (1969-August 9, 1974) was his historic trip to China, February 21-28, 1972. The People's Republic of China had been isolated from the West since the communist takeover in 1949, during the administration of Harry S. Truman. The Republican Party had used the Democrats' "loss of China" as a political club for several decades. And Nixon, who had been one of the principal anti-Communist, anti-Mao figures in American public life, was perhaps the only American figure who could effect a rapprochement with the China and not commit political suicide.

Nixon's National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger made a secret visit to Beijing (then known as Peking) in July 1971, during a routine trip to Pakistan. He prepared the way for the President's visit seven months later. It was the first time an American President had visited China, one of the oldest and most distinguished civilizations in the world. The unprecedented visit would have ensured Nixon's re-election in 1972, even if he had faced an opponent more formidable than George McGovern.

Almost the moment he landed in Beijing on February 21, Nixon was given the opportunity to meet privately with Chairman Mao Zedong at his modest home in the Forbidden City. He had not expected the meeting with Mao, who was in failing health. Mao said, whimsically, "I believe our old friend Chiang Kai-shek would not approve of this." Which was to put it lightly.

President and Mrs. Nixon visited the Great Wall of China on February 24, 1972. The ancient structure, designed to protect the civilized people of China from barbarian hordes to the north, is more than 13,000 miles long. The President said a great wall of such magnitude and beauty could only have been made by a great people. He said that he had traveled halfway around the world to meet with Chinese leaders, but "it is worth coming 16,000 miles just to stand here and see the Wall."

The large American entourage included North Dakota's Eric Sevareid, who provided commentary for the CBS Evening News.

A Haunting Photograph of a Horrific War

This is one of the most horrifying photographs to emerge from America's long misadventure in Vietnam. Taken by photographer Nick Ut for the Associated Press on June 8, 1972, the photo depicts the naked Kim Phuc and several other South Vietnamese noncombatants fleeing from a misdirected napalm attack on the village of Trang Bang.

The photograph won the Pulitzer Prize and was selected as the World Press Photo of the Year in 1972.

Immediately after the photograph was taken, Ut led Kim Phuc and the other children to Barsky Hospital in Saigon. Doctors believed that she could not survive the extensive napalm burns that had led her to rip off her clothes in the attack. She remained in the hospital for 14 months and endured 17 surgical procedures before she was eventually released.

After the war, Phuc eventually found her way to Canada, where in 1997 she established the Kim Phuc Foundation, which provides medical and psychological assistance to child victims of war. Phuc has recently (October 2015) received a series of free laser surgeries in Miami that have greatly reduced the disfigurations she received in the 1972 attack.

On one of the notorious White House tapes that Nixon recorded 1971-1973, the President of the United States can be heard reacting to the publication of the chilling photograph: "I'm wondering if that was fixed." The New York Times was briefly uncertain about publishing the photograph because of Kim Phuc's nudity.

The other children in the famous photograph have been identified. From left to right they are: Phan Thanh Phouc, the youngest brother of Kim; and Kim's cousins Ho Van Bon and Ho Thi Ting. The soldiers behind the children are members of the South Vietnam Army 25th Division.

The Beginning of the British Invasion

The Beatles arrived in the America on Pan Am flight 101 on February 7, 1964. Although they had been surrounded by enthusiastic fans at Heathrow airport in Britain as they embarked, they were entirely unprepared for the reception they received in the United States. "There were millions of kids at the [JFK, NY] airport," Paul McCartney said, "which nobody had expected. We heard about it in mid-air. We thought, 'Wow! God, we have really made it.'" At least 5,000 fans had crowded the airport's arrival building.

The Beatles would return to the United States later that year, in August, and again in August 1965. Their 1966 visit to America, although very successful, was in part marred by John Lennon's statement that the Beatles were more popular than Jesus. The 1966 tour was the last of their concert appearances. Thereafter, until the *Let It Be* concert was recorded live on the roof of Apple studios in London, the Beatles confined their genius to studio recordings.

Two days after their arrival, the Beatles made their first U.S. television appearance. At least 73 million Americans watched the Beatles perform on the celebrated *Ed Sullivan Show*. In their first set the Beatles performed "All My Lovin'," "Til There Was You," and "She Loves You." Later in the show they performed "I Saw Her Standing There" and "I Wanna Hold Your Hand."

According to the History Channel, their performance of "She Loves You" changed the world. "What followed was perhaps the most important two minutes and 16 seconds of music ever broadcast on American television—a sequence that still sends chills down the spine almost half a century later.

One of the factors that made the Beatles so immensely popular in the early to mid-60s was their essentially innocent irreverence, good humor, and what the British call "cheekiness." They are clearly having a great time. They do not seem like exemplars of anarchy, revolution, or a dark sexual intensity in the photographs of this period.

“Thank God Almighty We’re Free at Last”

President Kennedy tried to talk Martin Luther King, Jr., out of his March on Washington in August 1963. Kennedy was afraid that a mass black gathering in Washington would make it more difficult to pass a Civil Rights bill in the United States Congress. When King refused to cancel the march, the Kennedy administration did what it could to make the event a peaceful success. More than a quarter of a million people gathered near the Lincoln Memorial on the Mall in Washington on
August 28.

King had a different speech in his hands when he approached the podium. But as he came to the end of his seven-minute speech, which had been only moderately effective, King heard gospel singer Mahalia Jackson prompt, “Tell them about the dream, Martin.” At that moment, Dr. King spontaneously determined to finish with a series of declarations he had voiced on a number of previous occasions, but not with great effectiveness. Thus King delivered what is now universally regarded as one of the greatest speeches in American history.

“I have a dream,” he repeated eight times as he delivered with increasing passion and rhetorical mastery a series of utopian propositions about American society that culminated in his marvelous statement, “I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.”

While the speech convinced the majority of Americans that Dr. King was a great man and a great orator whose leadership style deserved serious respect, the FBI suddenly decided that he was a national security risk. FBI agent William C. Sullivan wrote, “In the light of King's powerful demagogic speech yesterday he stands head and shoulders above all other Negro leaders put together when it comes to influencing great masses of Negroes. We must mark him now, if we have not done so before, as the most dangerous Negro of the future in this Nation from the standpoint of communism, the Negro and national security.” J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI kept King under surveillance for the rest of his life. In fact, in 1964 the FBI sent Dr. King an anonymous letter, in the “voice” of an angry racist, calling King a
“filthy, abnormal fraudulent” man and an atheist. The writer claimed to be aware of the sordid details of King’s extramarital affairs, and threatened to release them to the public if King did not commit suicide in the next 34 days. "There is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is."

This letter was written by the highest law enforcement agency of the United States of America. Martin Luther King, Jr., ignored the letter and continued to do his utmost on behalf of social justice in American for the remaining four years of his life.

Hubert H. Humphrey and the Politics of Joy

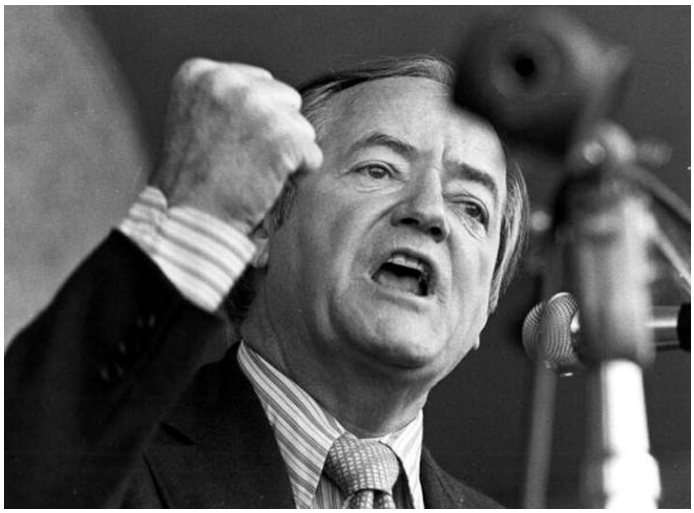
Faces of the Era. Hubert Horatio Humphrey (1911-1978) was a talented and passionate Democratic politician who was destined never to quite reach the pinnacle of American power. He was born in a room over his father's drugstore in Wallace, South Dakota on May 27, 1911.

Humphrey served as Lyndon Johnson's Vice President between 1964 and 1968. He was a perennial candidate for the presidency. He ran unsuccessfully in 1952, 1960, 1968, and 1972. In 1968 he was the Democratic nominee for the Presidency. It was one of the most tumultuous years in American history. Vice President Humphrey was caught between his loyalty to his embattled chief Lyndon Johnson and the anti-war wing of the Democratic Party, where Humphrey's deepest instincts lay. He did not distance himself from LBJ's Vietnam war policies until too late. On November 5th Humphrey lost to Richard M. Nixon by less than half a million votes (1%) of the vote in one of the tightest races in presidential history. He served twice as a U.S. Senator from Minnesota, from 1949-1964 and from 1971-1978.

By 1972 he was something of a caricature of himself. The gonzo journalist Dr. Hunter S. Thompson summed up the last phase of Humphrey's career in his book *Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail 1972*: "Hubert Humphrey is a treacherous, gutless old ward-heeler who should be put in a goddamn bottle and sent out with the Japanese current."

At the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, news anchor David Brinkley said, The Southern delegations that hated him, walked out on him twenty years ago, are now among his warmest friends, and the liberals to whom he was a hero twenty years ago are now among his warmest enemies." Still, Humphrey was one of the first white statesmen of the twentieth century to embrace equal rights for African-Americans.

The great moment of his political life came at the 1948 Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia. Speaking for the bold civil rights plank he managed to get his fellow Democrats to adopt, he said, "To those who say, my friends, to those who say, that we are rushing this issue of civil rights, I say to them we are 172 years (too) late! To those who say, this civil rights program is an infringement on states' rights, I say this: the time has arrived in America for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights!"



Humphrey was a great friend to labor. In 1977, before a meeting of the AFL-CIO he said, "The story of the labor movement needs to be taught in every school in this land… America is a living testimonial to what free men and women, organized in free democratic trade unions can do to make a better life."

Television Becomes the Center of Our Lives

Television came of age in the 1960s. The first televised Presidential debate occurred on September 20, 1960, in Chicago. Opinions vary about who actually won the debate, but John F. Kennedy's cool and relaxed television demeanor was so much more "natural" than that of Richard Nixon, with his sweaty upper lip and his intense five o'clock shadow, that he was widely perceived as the winner. Kennedy, who mastered what Marshall McLuhan called the "cool medium," routinely permitted televised news conferences, which were as witty and entertaining as they were an important tool of American democracy.

In 1945 there were only 10 million television sets in the United States. By 1960 there were 52 million sets. By 1970, 75 million.

It was on September 2, 1963, that CBS became the first of the three national networks to provide a full half hour of evening news, starring Walter Cronkite, who throughout the decade was regarded as "the most trusted man in America." The assassination of John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, and its aftermath, became one of the first truly shared national experiences in the United States. Vietnam was America's first televised war. Most of the adventures of the American Space Program of the 1960s (Mercury, Gemini, and Apollo) played out on live television, hosted by Walter Cronkite and North Dakota's own Eric Sevareid, who provided thoughtful commentary.

In 1964 the networks began broadcasting "in living color." The Age of Color Television is said to have begun in earnest in 1965. More than 600 million people worldwide watched live as Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin became the first humans to walk on the surface of the Moon, July 21, 1969.

On April 1, 1961, the creative producer Roone Arledge revolutionized televised sports with the premier of *ABC's Wide World of Sports*. On December 7, 1963, CBS introduced the first efficient use of "instant replay" during the annual Army-Navy football game. CBS commentator Lindsey Nelson felt the need to assure viewers, "Ladies and gentlemen, Army did not score again!"

Not everyone was convinced that television was a blessing. Newton Minnow, the director of the Federal Communications Commission, addressing the National Association of Broadcasters on May 9, 1961, famously said, "When television is good, nothing — not the theater, not the magazines or newspapers — nothing is better. But when television is bad, nothing is worse. I invite each of you to sit down in front of your television set when your station goes on the air and stay there for a day without a book, without a magazine, without a newspaper, without a profit and loss sheet or a rating book to distract you. Keep your eyes glued to that set until the station signs off. I can assure you that what you will observe is a vast wasteland."

In this wonderful photograph, a family hovers around a large black and white television set (high tech at the time). The medium clearly is the message.

The Environmental Era Begins

With the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962, America began to think seriously about the environmental health of the nation. Noting that between 1950-1962 the levels of DDT in human tissues had tripled, Carson condemned America's excessive use of DDT and other pesticides. Industry denounced Carson and dismissed her book as a "gross distortion of actual facts." President Kennedy was not so sure. He ordered his Science Advisory Committee to review the claims of *Silent Spring*. By 1972 DDT was banned in the United States.

A year later, in 1963, JFK's Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall published a book called *The Quiet Crisis*, calling attention to the pollution crisis in America.

For the remainder of the decade, a breathtaking flurry of environmental legislation was passed by the Congress of the United States.

-1965: The Water Quality Act, enhancing Federal control over water quality.

-1965: The Motor Vehicle Air Pollution Control Act sets the first federal automobile emission standards.

In August 1968 Paul Ehrlich published *The Population Bomb*, which posited that the world's environmental problems are caused by overpopulation. 1968 was also the year when *The Whole Earth Catalogue* was first published.

-1968: The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act.

On June 22, 1969, the Cuyahoga River in Ohio burst into flames, which shot five stories high before the fire could be extinguished.

-January 1,1970, the National Environmental Policy Act, requiring Environmental Impact Statements for federally funded developments.

All of this strenuous activity culminated on April 22, 1970, in the first celebration of Earth Day. An estimated 20 million people participated in the United States alone. In this photograph, Earth Day master of ceremonies Ian Einhorn addresses a gigantic crowd in Philadelphia's Fairmont Park.

The rest of the story: Einhorn may have loved the earth, but he was later convicted of killing his girlfriend Holly Maddux. He claimed that the crime. The jury was not even slightly convinced.

“We’re Going to Need a Bigger Boat”

The Sixties gave birth to a great number of outstanding and game-changing movies: *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962); *Dr. Strangelove* (1963); *Midnight Cowboy* (1969); *The Graduate* (1967); *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969); *The Birds* (1963); *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* (1967); *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967); *Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (1967); *Blow-Up* (1966); and *Cool Hand Luke* (1967).

But it was also a time of blockbuster films that were primarily just great entertainment: *The Sound of Music* (1965); *Marry Poppins* (1964); *Planet of the Apes* (1968); *Dr. Zhivago* (1965); *Goldfinger* (1964); and *West Side Story* (1961).

When it was released in 1975, *Jaws* immediately became one of the best-loved and most re-watched movies of all time. It really belongs to the 70s or the “post-60s” rather than to the Sixties themselves.

Directed by Steven Spielberg and based on Peter Benchley’s novel *Jaws* (1974), Jaws is the improbably of a giant murderous shark that kills innocent swimmers out of sheer malevolence rather than in self-defense or the search for food. *Jaws* is Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick* in the 1970s, complete with Ishmael (Richard Dreyfuss) and Ahab (Robert Shaw).

The film was shot mostly on location on Martha’s Vineyard in Massachusetts. It was one of the films that launched Steven Spielberg’s astounding career in Hollywood.

Jaws became the highest grossing film of all time before *Star Wars*. It was not that the turbulent social consciousness of the Sixties was over, but the American public was eager for sheer entertainment after one of the most exhausting decades in American history.

The Artistic Crime of the Century”

On August 7,1974, a French high-wire artist named Philippe Petit (1949-) surprised the world (and especially New York) when he made eight passes along a cable strung across the 130-foot distance between the North and South Towers of the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan.

Employing a specially made 26-foot balancing pole, Petit danced, lay down on the wire, and waved to onlookers while resting on one knee.

The stunt was unauthorized and illegal. Petit spent six years planning his adventure, after reading about the construction of the Twin Towers in a dentist office waiting room.

He “warmed up” for the most audacious of his performances by walking between the towers of the cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris in 1971. Two years later he walked a wire he strung between the two north pylons of the Sydney Harbour Bridge, in Sydney, Australia.

Preparing for the stunt was as difficult as the event itself. Petit had to determine how to sting the wire between two towers, to account for the natural sway of the towers in the wind, to get his gear to the top of the towers without being apprehended, and to get past security to make his way to the top of the building.

Just after 7 a.m. on August 7th, Petit began to piece his way across the wire. He was 1,350 feet above the street. He was balancing on a narrow wire fully a quarter of a mile high. "They called me," he later explained. "I didn't choose them. Anything that is giant and manmade strikes me in an awesome way and calls me.” Although the NY Police Department threatened to pluck him off the wire by helicopter, he persisted until it began to rain and then voluntarily re-entered the building,

Petit’s great feat helped generate public affection for the towers of the World Trade Center, then the tallest buildings in the world, but until then not widely accepted by the skeptical citizens of New York. The great urban philosopher Lewis Mumford had dismissed the towers as both ugly and merely utilitarian. The towers were still largely unrented at the time of the stunt. Realizing what Petit had done for their public relations, the Port Authorities of New York and New Jersey gave Petit a lifetime pass to the observation deck of the towers.

After he was arrested, public approval was so high that all charges were dismissed in exchange for Petit doing a free program for children in Central Park.

Petit’s adventure has been the subject of a documentary film, an award-winning children’s book, *The Man Who Walked Between the Towers*, and, most recently, a major motion picture, *The Walk*, released in September 2015, starring Joseph Gordon-Levitt as Petit. In 1986, Petit recreated Charles Blondin’s June 30, 1859, hire walk over Niagara Falls for an IMAX film.

The Hero with No Known Loyalties

The Sixties were a time of anti-heroes: Bonnie and Clyde, Dustin Hoffman's Benjamin Braddock in *The Graduate*, Peter Fonda and Dennis Weaver in *Easy Rider*, the delinquent Alex in Anthony Burgess' *A Clockwork Orange*. And of course Clint Eastwood (1930-), who has emerged as one of the greatest and most durable of 60s moviemakers.

Eastwood's windblown good looks, powerful jaw, and the combination of indifference and flippancy that marked his acting persona came to fruition just as a new genre of westerns, known as Spaghetti Westerns because they were mostly produced by Italian directors, burst on the international scene.

The greatest of those directors, Sergio Leone released what is known as the *Dollars Trilogy*: *A Fistful of Dollars* (1964), *For a Few Dollars More* (1965), and *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly* (1966). These are now among the best-remembered westerns in film history. They embody the spirit of anarchy and arbitrary violence that were a potent dynamic throughout the sixties.

The Dollars Trilogy starred Eastwood, who was best known until then for his role as Rowdy Yates in the television series *Rawhide*. Eastwood in these films was ironic, sarcastic, violent, cynical, and largely unconcerned with the civic or law and order concerns of the traditional western hero. He was called the Man with No Name.

Eastwood, one of the handful of serious Republicans in Hollywood, has won five Academy Awards, including two for best picture and two for best director, and five Golden Globes. He became one of the most iconic actors of the era, and he went on to become one of Hollywood's most talented producers and directors.

He starred in the *Dirty Harry* series, in the psychological thriller *Play Misty for Me*, and *Pale Rider*. He directed the acclaimed *Mystic River*, *Letters from Iwo Jima*, *Unforgiven*, and *Million Dollar Baby*.

A Second Front for the Fantasy World of Walt Disney

Walt Disney World opened in Orlando, Florida, on October 1, 1971. It is the most visited vacation resort in the world.

The property now covers 27,443 acres, featuring 27 Disney themed hotels, nine non-Disney hotels, four theme parks, two water parks, and four golf courses. Currently 47 million people visit Walt Disney World per year.

Disneyland opened in Anaheim, California in 1955. Four years later Walt Disney began looking for a second site. He knew that only 5% of Disneyland's visitors came from east of the Mississippi River, but that 75% of the American people live there. He selected the site near Orlando because of climate, proximity to interstate highways, an airport, and plenty of room to grow. In other words, Disney World is an example as well as a beneficiary of the enormous post World War II building and infrastructure boom in the United States, including President Eisenhower's Interstate Highway System, a great boom in major city airport construction, the explosion of new and expanded colleges and universities, the orbiting of communications and weather satellites that found their greatest expression in the 1960s.

At first Walt Disney World was only a more spacious and up-dated version of Disney World. In 1982, Disney opened EPCOT Center, dedicated to the celebration of human achievement, and what it tries to keep up with as futuristic possibilities for humankind. Because it also celebrates international culture, dozens of national pavilions, shops, and restaurants, it has come to be known as a "permanent World's Fair." EPCOT is an acronym for Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow, Walt Disney's concept of a utopian community in the "future."

More than 40,000 guests swarmed into the Magic Kingdom for the beginning of the three-day dedication on October 23, 1971. This photograph was taken that day.

The Beginning of the End for Detroit

This photograph could have been taken in any of 100 cities in the United States in the period 1966-71. In fact, it was taken in Detroit in 1967.

Precipitated by the police raid of an unlicensed bar, the 1967 Detroit Riot, also sometimes known as the 12th Street Riot, is regarded as one of the most destructive riots in the history of the United States. By the time it was over, on July 27, 1967, 43 people were dead and 1,189 were injured. More than 2000 buildings were destroyed. There were more than 7,200 arrests. It required more than 7,000 National Guard troops to restore order, and 2,000 army paratroopers.

In the years preceding the riots, more than 60,000 people were packed in the 460 acres of the Virginia Park neighborhood in Detroit. The slums were beset by the usual volatile conditions: chronic unemployment, job discrimination, police racism, heavy-handedness, and brutality, black on black crime, drugs, gangs, addiction and substance abuse, substandard schools, poor hospitals, broken families, families with one or more members in prison. And on and on and on.

Riots of this sort are not simple things. They represent a perfect storm of frustration, poverty, hopelessness, anger, oppression, and a precipitating event. In some larger social perspective, they provide a spasmodic catharsis for disappointments and rage that have been accumulating for many years.

As usual, the riots resulted in a range of initiatives and reforms, some of them important, but on the whole the riots did more damage than good in the Detroit and other cities.

In 1994, African-American Detroit mayor Coleman Young wrote, "The heaviest casualty, however, was the city. Detroit's losses went a hell of a lot deeper than the immediate toll of lives and buildings. The riot put Detroit on the fast track to economic desolation, mugging the city and making off with incalculable value in jobs, earnings taxes, corporate taxes, retail dollars, sales taxes, mortgages, interest, property taxes, development dollars, investment dollars, tourism dollars, and plain damn money."