

***Lady Bird
Johnson***



***At
White
House
Diary***

BEARS"—an expression we used to use when she was a little girl. Later on she came in and we talked over the difficulties of her possibly returning to the University of Texas where she would occupy a bedroom half the size of her room here, shared with two other girls, where everybody sleeps on the screened porch. No privacy. No place to study. And where would the Secret Service men stay? I am doubtful of the idea of an apartment, unless she knows extremely well the girls with whom she would share it. But I am afraid she is a little too dependent upon us, upon the haven and privacy of home—now this house.

When I look at the newspapers and read, "President Comes Back from Texas," "NATO, Vietnam, Among Problems Crowding Calendar," and I think of all those that I could add to that calendar, I know why there was no sense of elation as we walked in the door, fresh from a victory of over 61 percent, the largest majority since Roosevelt's election of 1936—and even surpassing that in terms of popular vote.

Tuesday, November 17

THE WHITE HOUSE

Today is our thirtieth wedding anniversary. But in spite of that a curious pall of sadness and inertia, a feeling of having come to a standstill and being bound up in gloom, which has enshrouded me for several days, does not abate. This mood is hard to shake, and how hard it is to get to work! For that reason more than any other, I begrudge it. I wore my green alaskine dress and Lyndon and I went downstairs into the Blue Room this morning to have our anniversary pictures taken.

In the afternoon I went out to see Marjorie and Walter Jenkins who are going home to Texas. It was a strange hour—very much the same, and very different. To me, Walter is as much a casualty of the incredible hours and burdens he has carried in government service as a soldier in action. An interesting and heartening note is the barrage of mail he has received in the aftermath, much of it from the general public, which seems so understanding of a man who had, indeed, reached the end point of exhaustion.

Walter has many friends who have called on him through the years, and they have rallied around to offer jobs and help him make a fresh start. It was a sad good-by for all of us. But one good thing, we know we'll always be seeing each other down the road.

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IMMEDIATE RELEASE

October 15, 1964

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT

Walter Jenkins has worked with me faithfully for 25 years. No man I know has given more personal dedication, devotion, and tireless labor.

Until late yesterday, no information or report of any kind to me had ever raised a question with respect to his personal conduct. Mr. Jenkins is now in the care of his physician and his many friends will join in praying for his early recovery. For myself and Mrs. Johnson, I want to say that our hearts go out with the deepest compassion for him and for his wife and six children -- and they have our love and prayers.

On this case as on any such case, the public interest comes before all personal feelings. I have requested and received Mr. Jenkins' resignation.

Within moments after being notified last night, I ordered Director J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI to make an immediate and comprehensive inquiry and report promptly to me and the American people.

#

The P appeared concerned for his ^{accountable} ~~logical~~ ^{member} ~~difficult~~
and spoke with sympathy for him as
one who, unaccountably, ~~had~~ had
fallen victim to a system which,
unfortunately, still includes
despite the best efforts of the
medical profession

44

When informed after addressing Cardinal Spellman's dinner

in honor of Alfred Smith of the charges made against

his assistant, the President's first reaction was an

expression of deep sympathy for the wife of the accused

and his six children as a result of the publicity. He

Immediately ordered a complete investigation for a full

revelation of all the facts.

ST MOU

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THE BOMB; THE OVERTHROW;
THE SQUEAKER; THE SCANDAL

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE



WILSON



JOHNSON

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

October 23, 1964 Vol. 84, No. 17

THE NATION

THE ADMINISTRATION

The Imponderables

Nothing, it had seemed, could conceivably stand in the way of Democrat Lyndon Johnson's inexorable march back to the White House.

But last week, during a few tumultuous days, a spectacular series of international and national events tumbled forth in bewildering array and threw a whole set of imponderables into a



JOHNSON WITH DOBRYNIN
Assurances.

presidential campaign that had previously seemed all too ponderable.

Good Old Rules? To start it off, the Soviet Union orbited the earth's first three-passenger spaceship, indicating that the Russians maintain at least a two-year lead over the U.S. The overthrow of Nikita Khrushchev raised anew the question of what kind of Communist enemy the U.S. faces. The election of a new Labor government in Britain posed for the U.S. the problem of establishing a new set of relationships with one of its oldest, staunchest allies. And the news that Communist China had exploded a nuclear device revived vivid fears in the hearts of many peoples, indicating as it did that the wherewithal to produce an atomic arsenal will, within the foreseeable future, be in the hands of the most irre-

sponsible government among the world's major powers. By all the good old rules of political reaction, these events should have strengthened President Johnson in his 1964 election run. In times of crisis, U.S. voters ordinarily flock to the cause of the man in office.

Johnson, who is perfectly familiar with these rules, behaved accordingly. He called off some politicking engagements, scheduled a weekend television speech to underline the seriousness with which he viewed the world situation.

Responsibility & Accountability. Yet, lest anyone think that that situation had deteriorated under his Administration, he also gave assurances. He talked for 45 minutes with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin, posed for pictures smiling and shaking hands, received vows that the new Soviet government would continue to seek peaceful co-existence. The President also let it be known that he had told Dobrynin that the U.S. would maintain its strength, even while trying to be considerate of the views of others. He reminded the Russian ambassador that it is "one thing to tell a man to go to hell, and another thing to make him do it."

Similarly, in his reaction to the Chinese nuclear explosion, the President promised that "if and when the Chinese Communists develop nuclear-weapons systems, the free-world nuclear strength will continue, of course, to be enormously greater."

All week Johnson's watchword was "responsibility"—a watchword that has proved tried and true in many another U.S. election year. But "responsibility" has many aspects, and one of them is accountability. And many a U.S. voter might feel that the President should be held accountable for a domestic event that burst onto the nation's front pages even amid the cannonade of foreign news: the resignation of Johnson's senior aide, Walter W. Jenkins, after disclosure of the fact that he had been arrested as a sexual deviate.

First reactions to the news about Jenkins were shock and sympathy, particularly for Jenkins' family. This was followed by a nationwide wave of ribald jokes—and no one realizes better than Lyndon Johnson how much it can hurt a politician to be laughed at.

Yet the events in the Soviet Union, Britain and Communist China, following news of the Jenkins affair in rapid

succession, seemed to overshadow it and to highlight the sorts of crises that would ordinarily figure to favor an incumbent President during an election year.

Thus, even after last week, Johnson remains likely to win. But the dimensions of his victory may be diminished to a degree that will help many state Republican candidates who might have been buried in a Johnson landslide.



WALTER JENKINS
Revelations.

The Senior Staff Man

(See Cover)

His head bowed, his face lined with weariness and worry, the President of the U.S. sat glumly on the dais in the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria. To his right and to his left, white-tied politicians traded good-natured gibes in the spirit of the Al Smith memorial dinner that Francis Cardinal Spellman stages each year. But the guest of honor smiled wanly or not at all. When his time came to speak, he cut his talk in half, delivered it in a hoarse monotone. Lyndon Johnson looked for all the world as if he had just lost one of his best friends.

In a sense he had, for just before the



JENKINS (FAR LEFT) AT WHITE HOUSE MEETING, DECEMBER 1963*
Access to any secret.

banquet began, the news broke that Special Presidential Assistant Walter W. Jenkins, 46, one of Lyndon's oldest, closest friends and most trusted aides, had been arrested on the night of Oct. 7 in a Y.M.C.A. washroom just two blocks from the White House and charged with "disorderly conduct (indecent gestures)." Moreover, newsmen checking into Jenkins' police record discovered that on Jan. 15, 1959 he had been arrested in the same washroom on a charge of "disorderly conduct (pervert)."

Even while President Johnson was brooding in the Waldorf ballroom, White House Press Secretary George Reedy summoned reporters to a special briefing in a makeshift press room near by. Red-eyed and visibly shaken, Reedy announced: "Walter Jenkins submitted his resignation this evening as special assistant. The resignation was accepted, and the President has appointed Bill D. Moyers to succeed him."

Into the Limelight. Sordid in its details, tragic in its personal consequences, and of unmeasured significance in its political effects, the story was splashed atop front pages all over the country. Ironically, the man around whom the storm swirled had been the most self-effacing, quiet and publicity-shy member of Johnson's White House team. Quartered in Sherman Adams' old office in the southwest wing of the White House, he was the mysterious, slightly-out-of-focus fellow who seldom had his picture taken or got in the papers but who knew everything that was going on. A whiz at shorthand, he sat in on meetings of the Cabinet, on breakfasts with congressional leaders, and occasionally on sessions of the National Security Council. He had access to any national secret.

The senior White House staffer, Jenkins was the one to whom such other aides as Reedy and Jack Valenti went

when L.B.J. was busy. During the Democratic Convention in August, he was Lyndon's chief of staff in Atlantic City; when the summons finally came for Hubert Humphrey to be anointed the vice-presidential candidate, it was Jenkins who did the summoning.

Despite his aversion to the limelight, Jenkins was exposed to its glare on two notable occasions before last week. After the Billie Sol Estes scandal broke in 1962, it was learned that Jenkins, on behalf of then Vice President Johnson, had spoken to the Agriculture Department about Estes during the previous year. Jenkins requested information about any decisions involving Estes' cotton-acreage allotments, which were then being scrutinized for irregularities. But his involvement was at most peripheral, and no evidence was ever presented to prove that Jenkins or his boss ever tried to pressure the department in the Estes case.

Jenkins was more deeply implicated in the Bobby Baker scandal. During the Senate investigation, Maryland Insurance Broker Don Reynolds testified under oath that while he was trying to sell a \$100,000 policy to Lyndon Johnson, Jenkins forced him to buy \$1,208 worth of advertising time on Lady Bird Johnson's KTBC television station in Austin. Reynolds said he had no use for the advertising, but bought it anyway "because it was expected of me." "Who conveyed that thought to you?" asked Nebraska's Republican Senator Carl Curtis. Replied Reynolds: "Mr. Walter Jenkins."

Jenkins sent the committee an affidavit swearing that he "had no knowl-

* Others, around the table: then Press Secretary Pierre Salinger, Representative Hale Boggs, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Representative Carl Albert, Senator George Smathers, Presidential Aide Larry O'Brien, Speaker John McCormack, President Johnson and Senate President Carl Hayden.

edge" of such an arrangement. But when the three Republicans on the nine-member investigating committee demanded that Jenkins be subpoenaed to testify, the Democrats turned them down cold. After the Baker flare-up, Jenkins withdrew even deeper into the shadows.

"Little Brother." Born March 23, 1918, in Jolly, Texas, Walter Jenkins was the youngest of six children of a farmer. He grew up in nearby Wichita Falls. "Walter was the baby of the family, and they all doted on him," recalls Mrs. Macon Boddy, a rancher's wife who went to high school with Jenkins and used to date his older brother Bill, a veteran FBI agent now stationed in Amarillo, Texas. "We called him 'Little Brother.' He was a wonderful person, and a sort of child genius in school."

Jenkins finished high school at 15, junior college at 17, worked for a couple of years, and then entered the University of Texas. Just before he was to graduate in 1939, he quit and went to work for Lyndon Johnson, then a bright young second-term Congressman. He has worked for Lyndon ever since, except for a four-year stint in the Army, which he entered as a private and left as a Quartermaster Corps captain after serving in North Africa and Italy. Even when he ran for Congress, from Texas' 13th District in 1951, it was at Lyndon's behest. Jenkins finished second in a field of eight candidates, was probably hurt by the fact that though he was raised a Baptist, he converted to Roman Catholicism in 1947, two years after his marriage to Marjorie ("Babe") Whitehill, a Catholic.

Johnson's life became Jenkins' life. He was a stockholder in the LBJ Co., and its treasurer until December 1963. He handled many of Lyndon's personal and financial affairs, looked after the lobbyists for him, kept tab on the Texas

delegation in Congress. He named one of his six children Lyndon, and his daughter Beth, now at Marquette University, became one of Luci Baines Johnson's closest friends.

The Best Man. "There were two great devotions in his life," said a friend of Jenkins', "L.B.J. and his own family." But as Lyndon moved up from the Senate to the vice-presidency and to the White House, Jenkins saw less and less of the family. "The only time he could call his own was when he was driving home," says an old friend. "And then Lyndon had him put a phone in his car so he could talk to him on the way to and from home."

Lyndon repaid Jenkins' devotion with expressions of the highest regard. Talking with reporters one night not long ago, the President buzzed for Jenkins, said warmly as Walter trotted in with a worn folder full of political polls: "He's always here. He's the best man I've got." With his rather heavy humor, the President called Jenkins "the Pope," in reference to Jenkins' Catholicism. Once, standing beside the swimming pool at the L.B.J. ranch, the President confided: "I had this pool put in just for the Pope's kids."

But Johnson is a hard taskmaster, and in recent months friends noticed that the pressures seemed to weigh heavily on Jenkins. He grew increasingly nervous, last January was told by his doctor to lighten his load because of dangerously high blood pressure. He ignored the advice, kept working hard for Johnson. And the work always seemed to be piling up. After one lengthy meeting with the President, Jenkins rushed back to his desk, found 43 telephone calls waiting to be answered.

Two Peepholes. On Oct. 7, the evening of his arrest, Jenkins went to a party given by *Newsweek* magazine to celebrate its move into a new office, 1½ blocks down Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House. Jenkins was in good spirits. He had one or two highballs, chatted about his family, particularly nine-year-old Lyndon and his newspaper route. President Johnson, who usually discourages his men from attending cocktail parties, was away that night, barnstorming in Iowa and Illinois. Soon after 8 p.m., Jenkins left, ostensibly for the White House.

But Jenkins took a detour, headed instead for the Y.M.C.A. on G Street. Meanwhile, two plainclothes members of the Washington morals squad, Privates Lamonte P. Drouillard and R. L. Graham, walked through the front door of the "Y" into the lobby, then descended to the basement men's room. A 9-ft. by 11-ft. spot reeking of disinfectant and stale cigars, the room is a notorious hangout for deviates. During one five-hour period earlier this year, police arrested eight homosexuals there, including two college professors and several Government workers.

The two cops entered the room,

walked past two adjoining pay toilets and up four narrow steps leading to a shower room that has been padlocked for ten years.

Drouillard and Graham had a key to the lock. They entered the shower room and stationed themselves at two peepholes in the door that gave them a view of the washroom and enabled them to peep over the toilet partitions. (There are two peepholes in this and several other washrooms in the area because two corroborating officers are required in such cases.) On that night the cops spotted Jenkins in a pay toilet with Andy Choka, 60, a Hungarian-born veteran of the U.S. Army who lives in Washington's Soldiers' Home. Jenkins' back partly obstructed the detectives' view, but they figured they had seen enough to arrest the two men for a misdemeanor, if not for a more serious morals rap.

Back to Work. At the fifth-floor office of the morals division at police headquarters, Jenkins identified himself as Walter Wilson Jenkins, giving his rarely used middle name. He gave his address, birth date and birthplace correctly, but listed his occupation as clerk. Under questioning by Lieut. Louis A. Fochett, he admitted that he was indeed the President's aide. Fochett immediately telephoned Inspector Scott E. Moyer, chief of the morals division, for guidance. Moyer gave a two-word order: "Book him."

Jenkins and Choka were booked. Since the police had a full set of prints from Jenkins' arrest in 1959, only a thumbprint was taken. At the central

cell block in the basement, Jenkins paid a \$50 bond and was freed. Forfeiture of the bond is, in effect, a waiver of the right to trial but not a confession of guilt.

It was 10:10 p.m. when Jenkins left the police station. Incredibly, he went on to the White House, worked at his desk until midnight.

Real Trouble. Only two days after Jenkins' arrest, anonymous tipsters began advising newspapers that there was an interesting item on the Oct. 7 blotter of the morals squad. The tips were widely dispersed: a man from Pravda even showed up for a peek. At least one of the tips was traced to the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, and the Republican National Committee was known to be on to the story. Delaware's Republican Senator John J. Williams said he heard of the case several days before it got into print.

Early Wednesday, the Washington Star got the tip, called the White House to check it. With Lyndon and several top aides on the road, Liz Carpenter, Lady Bird's press secretary, was the only White House press staffer on hand. She took the call. Unbelieving and upset, she phoned Jenkins in his office. Within minutes a distraught Jenkins got in touch with Lawyer Abe Fortas,* an old Lyndon crony, and told

* The man appointed by the Supreme Court to represent Florida Convict Clarence Earl Gideon in his milestone battle to establish that any man who faces trial but cannot afford to pay a lawyer is entitled to counsel, even in state courts, for anything beyond a petty offense.



THE G STREET Y.M.C.A.
Twice in five years.



REEDY AT WALDORF
With red eyes.

him almost hysterically that he was in "real trouble." Fortas called Fellow Lawyer Clark Clifford, a top troubleshooter in the Truman, Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

Fortas and Clifford hurried to the Star. "They made what I would regard as a plea to have us not break the story," said Star Editor Newbold Noyes. "I agreed to go along at that time." Clifford and Fortas next called on Washington Daily News Editor John O'Rourke. "There was no pressure," recalled O'Rourke. "I agreed not to break the story—provided it wasn't in print elsewhere. But it couldn't be kept secret." The lawyers paid a third call, this one on the Washington Post's editors. Both Fortas and Clifford later insisted that they acted solely on Jenkins' behalf, and that the President did not even know what was going on.

Cryptic Statement. By 4 p.m., Jenkins, who spent the day at Fortas' home, was nearly out of control. His personal physician, Dr. Charles W. Thompson, summoned there earlier by Clifford and Fortas, concluded that Jenkins was "worn out," had him admitted for an "indefinite" stay at George Washington University Hospital for "high blood pressure and nervous exhaustion."

At about the same time, Republican National Committee Chairman Dean Burch, who had expected the Jenkins story to appear in Washington's Wednesday afternoon papers, was beginning to wonder why nobody had printed it. Figuring that someone had managed to suppress it, he issued this cryptic statement shortly after 6 p.m.: "There is a report sweeping Washington that the White House is desperately trying to suppress a major news story affecting the national security." Two hours later, at 8:09 p.m., United Press International broke the story, and

morning papers across the U.S. rushed it into print.

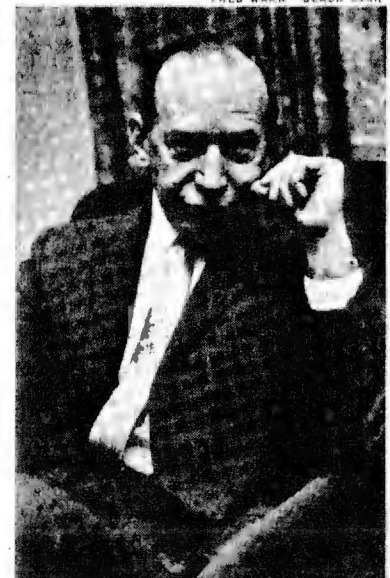
According to White House spokesmen, President Johnson went through the entire day's campaigning in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York without knowing what was afoot. But between 6 and 7 p.m., just before Lyndon was to call on Jackie Kennedy at her new Fifth Avenue apartment, a newsman called Press Secretary Reedy with details of Jenkins' arrest and hospitalization, and Reedy passed the news on to Johnson. After a few minutes, the President said simply: "We've got to have a resignation."

No Snare. The initial reaction among Jenkins' friends was utter disbelief, followed by dismay. "His worst enemy—if he has any enemies—could never have conceived of such a thing," said another Texan, Wichita Falls Postmaster Pat Hardage. Texas Governor John Connally, a member of Lyndon's court for as long as Jenkins, suggested that it might be a frame-up, that Choka had somehow entrapped Jenkins. But CBS newsmen, who picked up Choka at 1 a.m. Thursday and took him to an undisclosed spot, quoted him as denying entrapment. Choka, who is separated from his wife Lieslotte and their two children, said that he "neither asked nor was offered money to snare Jenkins."

Barry Goldwater, who heard the news as he arrived at Denver's Brown Palace Hotel, said, "I don't know what the hell this is about." Later he added, "I don't intend to comment on it at all." G.O.P. Vice-Presidential Candidate William Miller told a luncheon for Chicago's blue-chip Executives Club: "If this type of man had information vital to our survival, it could be compromised very quickly and very dangerously." Democratic Vice-Presidential Candidate Hubert Humphrey appeared shocked, refused to comment. But an aide said gloomily in Milwaukee: "It's bound to cost us votes."



CLARK CLIFFORD



ABE FORTAS

On a friend's behalf.

Point of Exhaustion. Lady Bird Johnson quickly issued a statement saying: "My heart is aching for someone who has reached the end point of exhaustion in dedicated service to his country." In the months since the Bobby Baker case was first aired, the President has made only one belated, curt and inadequate comment. This time he waited for 24 hours before saying anything publicly. Finally, accused by Dean Burch of having "covered up" Jenkins' earlier arrest "for 5½ years," he issued a statement in Washington.

"Walter Jenkins has worked with me faithfully for 25 years," it said. "No man I know has given more personal dedication, devotion and tireless labor. Until late yesterday, no information or report of any kind to me has ever raised a question with respect to his personal conduct." While expressing "deepest compassion for him and for his wife and six children," Johnson added that "on this case, as on any such case, the public interest comes before all personal feelings."

Johnson also ordered the FBI to assign 50 to 100 men "to make an immediate and comprehensive inquiry and report promptly to me and the American people." He instructed Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon to look into security procedures of the Secret Service, an arm of his department. And the Central Intelligence Agency quietly began probing the possibility that the Jenkins case might involve foreign espionage through blackmail.

"Q" Clearance. There was plenty to investigate, since there had obviously been serious security lapses. Before his first arrest in 1959, Jenkins had at least two security checks. In 1956 the Air Force gave him top-secret clearance in connection with his reserve status; he is a colonel in Capitol Hill's 9,999th Air Reserve Squadron, whose commander, of all people, is Reserve Major General Barry Goldwater. Two years later, the

Atomic Energy Commission asked the FBI to run a full field investigation because Jenkins would be handling atomic data in connection with L.B.J.'s work with the Senate Preparedness subcommittee. At that time, Jenkins was given a top-secret "Q" clearance, an AEC classification.

A few months later, on Jan. 15, 1959, Jenkins was arrested for loitering in the same Y.M.C.A. washroom where he was nabbed two weeks ago. At first he was booked on an open charge, photographed and fingerprinted. Inspector Roy E. Blick, then head of the morals division, quizzed Jenkins for 3½ hours, finally learned he was a top aide to Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson. He allowed Jenkins to list his occupation as "unemployed," apparently because he had previously run into trouble in cases involving important people. Blick, now retired, said last week that he had been "leary of talking to the Hill" because he had been "burned" in the past.

A duplicate card with Jenkins' prints was sent to the FBI the next day as a matter of routine; the agency receives some 23,000 such cards a day from all over the U.S. On that card, Jenkins was listed as "unemployed," and the charge was listed only as "investigation—suspicious person," the standard notation used by police for a misdemeanor of that sort until they decide on a more precise charge.

Later, the police listed the charge on the blotter, in black ink, as "disorderly conduct." Still later, in a different hand in blue ink, the word "pervert" was added in parentheses.

In on Everything. When, in 1961, Jenkins needed a White House pass, the Protective Research Section of the Secret Service fingerprinted him and sent a copy to the FBI for a check. Sure enough, the bureau turned up his old record, told the Secret Service about his having been arrested in 1959 on the vague charge of "investigation—suspicious person." As the Secret Service tells it, nobody checked further with the police about the arrest because it was only a misdemeanor and because Jenkins already had a "Q" clearance. According to all present accounts, nobody told Johnson about his aide's 1959 arrest. Jenkins got his White House pass.

Ten days after John Kennedy's assassination, a White House staff member phoned the CIA and requested immediate top-security clearance for four Johnson men who would be "in on everything"—Bill Moyers, Jack Valenti, George Reedy, and Walter Jenkins. The CIA, responsible for such clearances whenever intelligence documents are involved, suggested a full FBI field investigation for all four.

Such FBI field investigations were required by Dwight Eisenhower for all his presidential assistants. One check eliminated a possible appointee to Ike's personal staff on the ground of perversion just before Eisenhower's inauguration. Kennedy, in his turn, ran checks

on some aides, but not all. But in 1963, when the CIA suggested field investigations on Johnson Aides Moyers, Valenti, Reedy and Jenkins, there was a long, hostile silence on the White House end of the phone. The CIA, lacking legal authority to require investigations of presidential staffers, had no alternative but to give the four men top clearance.

Unquenchable Pentant. Though a preliminary, unpublicized check by the CIA has unearthed no evidence that either Jenkins or Choka was involved in anything worse than what they were caught at, it is axiomatic that sexual deviates are vulnerable to blackmail. Walter Jenkins could at any time have laid his hands on the most closely guarded secrets of the U.S., including the



PRESIDENTIAL AIDE MOYERS
With scriptural citations.

workings of the most advanced nuclear weapons. Any questions now to be asked of Jenkins, however, may take some time to be answered. In his dark, 8-ft.-square room on the hospital's second floor, he is under partial sedation and almost constant surveillance.

The Jenkins case raised new doubts about the effectiveness of U.S. security agencies. Are the FBI and the Secret Service, recently rebuked by the Warren Commission for their sloppy work before the Kennedy assassination, once again guilty of grave inefficiency? Should the CIA or any other security agency be denied the authority to check out White House staffers who handle the nation's top secrets? Just what kind of atmosphere prevails in Washington when local police would rather let a case rest than risk getting "burned" by Government officials or Congressmen?

One characteristic of Lyndon Johnson familiar to all Washington is his unquenchable penchant for intimate knowledge and gossip about everyone of importance in the capital. Was this one case where cops and security agencies—and who knows who else—were simply afraid to tell him about his aide?

The Replacement

With the departure of Walter Jenkins, the White House staffer who emerges as most important is Billy Don Moyers, 30, who, in addition to his own duties, now takes over those of Jenkins.

Bill Moyers (he was christened Billy but dislikes the diminutive) is a slim, pallidly handsome Baptist lay preacher who has directed the intellectual side of L.B.J.'s shop with quiet efficiency since Johnson moved into the White House. He supervises such speechwriters as Richard Goodwin, Douglass Cater and Horace Busby, tosses in the scriptural citations of which Lyndon is so fond. Better than any other staffer, he knows Johnson's mercurial moods, manages to assuage the boss with well-reasoned argument, never shouts or panics. Yet such self-control comes at a price: Moyers suffers from a chronic ulcer.

Against Moral Monopolies. The son of an odd-jobs man (truck driver, candy salesman, cotton picker), Moyers was a top student at high school in Marshall, Texas. At North Texas State College he was twice elected class president, twice named the college's outstanding student. His record came to the attention of Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson, who hired him as a summertime hand in his Washington office in 1954, later gave him a job as a news editor at Lady Bird's KTBC radio and television stations in Austin. At the same time—getting only six hours of sleep a night—Moyers also attended the University of Texas' Journalism School, racked up one of the best scholastic records in its history. He won a fellowship to study church-state history at Scotland's Edinburgh University. There he developed a lingering aversion to "moral absolutism," once explained: "No one has a monopoly on virtue or truth. Those who peddle this line, under whatever label, subvert the very thing they want to obtain."

Moyers later enrolled at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, also worked fulltime as its information director. He preached in rural churches, was ordained as a Baptist teacher but not a minister, intended to teach ethics at Baylor University, but changed his plans in 1959 when Johnson asked him to join his Senate staff. In a matter of months, Johnson hiked Moyers' salary from \$10,000 to \$15,000, made him executive assistant during his 1960 vice-presidential campaign.

A Matter of Age. After the election, Moyers left Lyndon and struck out as a New Frontier bureaucrat on his own. He helped Sargent Shriver set up the Peace Corps, became its director of public affairs at 27 and a deputy Peace Corps director at 28—one of the youngest officials ever to require Senate confirmation.

His age is one of the few things that Moyers gets emotional about. Said he in a speech: "This is a nation of youth—45% of the population of America is under 25 years of age. God save us

from that day when we must say to the young men and women of America: 'We cannot trust you. We cannot depend upon you. We cannot use you—except for fodder in the flames of war.'" Moyers also feels strongly about Texas. A television interviewer, noting Moyers' soft twang, asked: "Do I detect a Texas accent?" Replied Moyers quickly: "Not only in my speech, sir, but in my heart."

Moyers willingly responded to Johnson's call for help at the White House last November, served as a bridge between the Johnson and Kennedy men. But he still speaks wistfully of breaking away from the L.B.J. pace and of spending more time with his wife Judy and their three children.

In Pursuit of Details. The only White House staffer who now rivals Moyers in influence with Johnson on administrative and social matters is the omnipresent Jack Valenti, former Houston adman who married one of Johnson's secretaries in 1962, became his "special consultant" when he moved into the White House. Valenti was completely unknown to Washington a year ago. His power lies in the fact that he dogs Lyndon's every step, amiably complies with his every wish. He tirelessly pursues the sort of details that anyone except Johnson might consider trivia. When Johnson appears in public, Valenti acts as a combined prompter, prop man and scriptwriter, even counts the bursts of applause during a Johnson speech. Like most of the Texans around Johnson, Valenti is more of a technician than a thinker, remains eternally pleasant—and worshipful.

THE CAMPAIGN

Good & Bad

At times last week—but only at times—President Johnson sounded like his old, exhilarated self.

Embarking on a grueling 8,000-mile campaign tour, the President stopped off in his opponent's home town to go to church, made a stop-and-go trip through downtown Phoenix, and did a little of his own preaching along the way. "Let's go to church and thank the good Lord for the U.S., for sunshine and freedom in the world," he told a Phoenix street crowd. "Love thy neighbor!" In Reno, he struck out at Goldwater, drawing that "we here in the West aren't about to turn in our sterling silver American heritage for a plastic credit card that reads, 'Shoot Now, Pay Later.'" One candidate is roaming around the country saying what a terrible thing the Government is. He seems to be running against the office of President instead of for the office of President. Somebody better tell him that most Americans are not ready to trade the American Eagle in for a plucked banty rooster!"

"Forgive Them." In Northern New Jersey, Johnson proclaimed that the American people "are weary of those



LYNDON & LADY BIRD JOHNSON IN NEW YORK CITY
"The people are weary."

who preach that America is failing in the world and faltering at home. The people are tired of being told that their character is in question, that their moral fiber is riddled with rot and decay. The American people want leadership which believes in them, not leadership which berates them."

In Rochester, he extolled the virtues of bipartisanship in foreign affairs. "How can we unite the world and lead it if we divide among ourselves?" he demanded. "Let's say to these men of little faith, the doubters and the critics, who sometimes become frustrated, and other times become bitter—let's say, 'Let's turn the other cheek' and say, 'God forgive them, for they really know not what they do!'"

Security Scares. But by midweek the fatigue in Johnson's face was plain to see. His fingers had become bloodied and were bandaged from shaking so many hands. He had also gone through some security scares. In Phoenix, one young man had been arrested when police found him carrying a loaded .22-cal. revolver under his coat. Another young punk bashed the President with a Goldwater sign. The sign creased Lyndon's hat; the President thought it was an accident, but others were not so sure, and the fellow was arrested.

In the outskirts of Los Angeles, the President was standing on the back of his car, making a speech, when police got a tip about a man with a gun. Johnson abruptly got in and sat down; a Secret Serviceman jumped up, brandishing an automatic rifle in the rear seat of the presidential follow-up car, and the motorcade moved away. In Buffalo, police picked up a man holding a rifle at a place where the President was expected to pass.

"You-Know-Where." In New York City, Johnson got word of the Jenkins case, delivered his toneless speech and next night, after a day of upstate campaigning with Bobby Kennedy, went to

Madison Square Garden for another spiritless performance. Toward week's end, in Dayton, the President got a thunderous greeting from street crowds. But he also found people carrying crude signs alluding to the Jenkins story.

"I am not here to indulge in muck-raking or mudslinging," the President declared testily. "Those are always weapons of desperation and of fearful, frightened men. You can always tell them by their words if not by their signs. A campaign can tear open new wounds, and it can pour fresh salt on fresh wounds. It can divide America instead of uniting it!" Then he delivered an emotional defense of his Administration's program and added: "If you don't believe in it, you can go you-know-where!"

"The Curious Crew"

Republican Goldwater decided some time ago that his most effective issue was national "immorality" under Democratic Administrations. Thus, although the Jenkins case underlined the issue, it did not change Barry's tone. The only difference was that when he spoke—as he had been speaking for weeks—about the "curious crew" in the White House, he got a greater audience response.

Bobby Baker's name remained the one that Barry mentioned most often and most scornfully. Early in the week, while he was addressing some 15,000 people in downtown Des Moines, Iowa's Republican Senator Bourke Hicklenlooper handed him a slip of paper. Written on it was news of an announcement that a Democratic-controlled Senate committee, assigned to continue the investigation of the Baker case, had decided that it would hold no more hearings until after Election Day. Barry's face purpled.

"Now this is the kind of thing I'm talking about, folks!" he cried. "This is the kind of thing that bothers me. When the President of the U.S. has swept so

much dirt under the rug that you have to walk uphill to get to the Democratic platform; and when he can, by twisting the arm of any U.S. Senator or Congressman, call off an investigation that I am now convinced leads to the White House, then it is time for a change. This is a question of morals, it is a question of honesty or dishonesty, it is a question involving the White House—and that dark cloud has gotten darker. The American people don't like this!"

In Kansas City, Goldwater declared: "The man who now occupies the White House could stand on the side of truth. Instead, he is standing firmly and coldly on the side of deceit and cover-up . . . The White House remains silent in the face of scandal, grave suspicion, and a sense of national doubt unequalled in our time!" In Harlingen, Texas, he said: "The people have looked at the White House and have found it dark with scandal. The people have looked at the man who now occupies the White House and have found him shadowed by suspicions which no amount of handshaking and hurrah can chase away."

Goldwater's decision not to mention Jenkins, however temporary, was not shared by some other Republicans. G.O.P. Campaigner Dick Nixon raised the question of how it happened that Johnson's "two closest associates" should be "bad apples." Beyond that, Republicans are working up a TV film documentary showing stripteasers and wild teen-age parties, interlaced with shots of Bobby Baker and his pretty friend, Carole Tyler. Also on tap: G.O.P. sponsorship of an organization to be called "Mothers for a Moral America."



BAKER & FRIEND IN 1957
The people don't like it.

The Social Security Argument

A disembodied pair of hands rips a social security card in half as a television voice confides: "On at least seven occasions, Senator Barry Goldwater said that he would change the present social security system. But even his running mate, William Miller, admits that Senator Goldwater's voluntary plan would destroy the social security system. President Johnson is working to strengthen social security."

That Democratic TV commercial is evidence of the fact that the U.S.'s social security system, so long accepted by so many, has become a red-hot issue in a presidential campaign for the first time in 28 years. And it has badly hurt Republican Candidate Goldwater, even though he went out of his way to bring up the argument.

A Turkey in New Hampshire. Last November, in a New York Times Sunday Magazine interview, Goldwater said: "I think social security ought to be voluntary. This is the only definite position I have on it. If a man wants it, fine. If he does not want it, he can provide his own."

During the early weeks of this year's Republican presidential primary in New Hampshire, Goldwater reiterated this stand. It did not go over very well, particularly with the large segment of the New Hampshire population that depends on social security. Rival Nelson Rockefeller jumped on the Goldwater argument, charged that to make social security voluntary would be to make the system actuarially unsound, bankrupt it, and turn it into a "personal disaster to millions of senior citizens and their families." Somehow sensing that he had said the wrong thing, Barry backed away, started replying to those who asked him about his sentiments for voluntary social security: "I don't know where you ever got the idea. You must have been listening to the Governor of New York."

Damaging Cues. After New Hampshire, Goldwater came out with a paper insisting that he not only wanted "a sound social security system" but indeed hoped to see the system "strengthened." But right up to the time of the San Francisco convention, Rocky kept hammering away at Goldwater on social security, and so did Pennsylvania's Governor William Scranton, who termed Barry's voluntary scheme "the worst kind of fiscal irresponsibility." Since Goldwater's nomination, Democrats have picked up the issue, and President Johnson mentions social security in almost the same breath with "Peace and Prosperity." Said he to a Harrisburg, Pa., audience last month: "We do have a choice this year. It is the choice between the mighty voice of the American majority saying yes and the fading echo of the few who still say no. The majority said yes long ago to social security. The echo still says no."

As often as not, the Democrats take

their cue from Rocky and Scranton, and Goldwater recently complained: "Rockefeller and Scranton have done me more damage than the Democrats ever could."

Goldwater has charged that Johnson is no friend of social security, since the President insisted that medicare be attached to an already passed bill expanding the social security system and increasing its benefits. The whole bill, Goldwater says with some justification,



SOCIAL SECURITY TV COMMERCIAL
"On at least seven occasions."

died in conference committee because of the medicare rider.

The Controversy Rages. Just what are the merits of Goldwater's notion of voluntary social security? Most authorities, whether liberal or conservative, or whether in or out of government, agree that it is totally impractical. According to at least one expert estimate, if the system were to be made voluntary and only 15% of today's covered workers under 30 elected to drop out, the 1965 loss in contributions would amount to \$1.5 billion; by 1968 the loss to the retirement benefit fund would amount to \$8.5 billion, and by 1988 the social security program would be bankrupt.

Almost beyond argument, the social security system could be improved. As of now, improvement is all that Goldwater has made clear he wants; and it is plainly galling to him, as to many another American, to see the system misused as a vote catcher, as in the case of the medicare debacle. But Barry is not about to get well on this issue, especially so long as he fails to come up with a specific program of his own—a program that would keep the social security system going in one form or another.

Even though, since New Hampshire, Goldwater has virtually purged the word "voluntary" from his vocabulary, it has not done much good. Still the controversy rages, and the uncertainties over his true position abound. In Fort Dodge, Iowa, recently, a 500-signature petition was sent to the state's two U.S. Senators, asking that social security not be made voluntary. Like it or not, it seems that Barry is going to have a tough time convincing voters that he did not mean what he said before he was sorry he said it.

THE RACES FOR GOVERNOR

OF the 25 states holding gubernatorial elections this year, 18 now have Democratic incumbents, seven Republicans. Although most of the campaigns are being fought strictly on state issues, the results of the presidential contest nonetheless seem almost certain to make the difference in a number of states where the races are remarkably close. A state-by-state rundown:

Arizona: Republican Richard Kleindienst, 41, a Goldwater field director before San Francisco, is an effervescent, effective campaigner, while Democrat Sam Goddard, 45, a Harvard-educated Tucson attorney, seems ill at ease on the speaker's stand. Kleindienst is favored to succeed Republican Paul Fannin, who is now running for Goldwater's Senate seat.

Arkansas: Only a few days ago, the chances seemed as thin as one of his granddaddy's dimes, but Republican Winthrop Rockefeller, 52, could now upset five-term Democrat Orval Faubus, 54, if resentment over the Jenkins case builds up.

Delaware: After 26 years on the bench, Democrat Charles L. Terry Jr., 64, took off his robes as chief justice of the state Supreme Court and came out swinging in his first political campaign. Republican David P. Buckson, 44, peppery state attorney general and former Lieutenant Governor, accuses Terry of political inexperience, says that, as a judge, Terry only "second-guessed" state government. Terry has a narrow edge.

Florida: Republican Charley Holley, 39, former Florida house minority leader, last week unveiled "photocopies" of bank ledgers purporting to show that Democratic Candidate Haydon Burns, 52, Jacksonville's segregationist mayor, had \$1,215,690 stashed in Nassau. Burns denied it, flew with reporters to Nassau, proved to their satisfaction that Holley's documents were phony, came home a near cinch to replace outgoing Democrat Farris Bryant.

Illinois: Republican Charles H. Percy, 45, the former whiz-kid board chairman of Bell & Howell Co., is ahead of Democratic Governor Otto Kerner, 56, recently staggered by scandal in his first-term administration.

Indiana: Familiar as a witty speaker on the state's banquet circuit, Democrat Roger Branigin, 62, a prosperous Lafayette lawyer, is little known to voters in general, trails Republican Richard Ristine, 44, the state's smooth-working Lieutenant Governor.

Iowa: A reformed alcoholic who nonetheless put through a law allowing the sale of liquor by the drink, Democratic Governor Harold Hughes, 42, is popular, should win handily over Republican Evan ("Curly") Hultman, 39, state attorney general who backed William Scranton in San Francisco and has since been on the outs with Iowa's highly vocal Goldwaterite minority.

Kansas: Both U.S. Senators and all five Congressmen are Republicans, and Kansans seem likely to pick silver-haired Republican William Avery, 53, a ten-year congressional veteran, over Democrat Harry Wiles, 48, a St. John attorney.

Massachusetts: Complacent campaigning lost former Republican Governor John A. Volpe, 55, the 1962 election against hapless Democrat Endicott ("Chub") Peabody, who was dumped in the Democratic gubernatorial primary last month by his own Lieutenant Governor, Francis X. Bellotti, 41, father of twelve. Now working hard and aided by new corruption indictments of Democrats, Volpe holds a slim lead over Bellotti.

Michigan: Republican Incumbent George Romney, 56, speaks proudly of unprecedented state prosperity, generally ignores the ineffectual campaign attacks of Democrat Neil Staebler, 51, Michigan's Congressman at Large. Staebler's main pitch is to try to tie Moderate Romney to Conservative Goldwater, but it does not seem to be going over well. Romney appears to be pulling ahead.

Missouri: His age (68) and Goldwater's candidacy do obvious damage to Republican Moderate Ethan A. H. Shepley, a distinguished St. Louis lawyer and onetime chancellor of St. Louis' Washington University. Sharp-tongued Democratic Secretary of State Warren Hearnes, 41, who won a tough primary over the hand-picked candidate of outgoing Democratic Governor John Dalton, carps at Shepley as "a nice old man." Hearnes has a lead, although reaction to the Jenkins case could erase it.

Montana: Republican Incumbent Tim Babcock, 45, succeeded Governor Don Nutter, who died in a January 1962 plane crash. He campaigns on ultraconservative issues, boasts of rising employment and a decreased state deficit during his term. Babcock is the favorite, but Roland R. Renne, 58, former Montana State College president, has support from teachers, labor and the Farmers' Union, could come out on top if Montana goes strongly for Lyndon.

Nebraska: A cornfield campaigner from way back, Democratic Governor Frank Morrison, 59, plows political furrows all around colorless Republican Dwight Burney, 72.

New Hampshire: A lucrative sweepstakes law highlights the first term of well-liked Democratic Governor John King, 46. Though Republicans outregister Democrats 5 to 3 in the state, King's appeal to G.O.P. voters (he got 3,532 write-ins in the Republican primary this year) makes him a small-stakes bet to repeat his 1962 victory over former Republican Legislator John Pillsbury, 45.

New Mexico: Democratic Governor Jack Campbell, 48, is running for a second term against Republican Merle Tucker, 52, a past president of Kiwanis International and a radio-station owner who brought joy to local Indians by putting out Navajo-language broadcasts. But there are not enough Navajos around.

North Carolina: Walking a tightwire between party liberals and conservatives, Democrat Dan K. Moore, 58, a former state judge, recently gave lukewarm backing to Lyndon Johnson, but still maintains a precarious alliance with segregationists. Republican Robert Gavin, 47, an attorney who showed well in a 1960 loss for Governor, is expected to lose again unless Moore toples from the wire.

North Dakota: Traditionally Republican, North Dakota twice elected able Democratic Governor William Guy, 45. Republican Donald Halcrow, 51, a Drayton businessman, got off to a badly organized campaign start. Leaning to the popular Guy.

Rhode Island: Elected in a 1962 squeaker (a margin of 398 out of 328,000 votes cast), Republican John H. Chafee, 41, a Yaleman and ex-Marine, got medicare and aid to vocational-education bills through a Democratic-controlled legislature. But Rhode Island is generally Democratic, and Chafee appears to be slightly behind Democratic Lieutenant Governor Edward Gallogly, 45, an Irish Catholic who made a rung-by-rung political rise from precinct runner to gubernatorial nominee.

South Dakota: Polls show Goldwater trailing way behind Johnson, but ticket splitters abound. Most South Dakotans (59% to 35%) say they'll go for Republican Lieutenant Governor Nils Boe, 51, bachelor attorney from Sioux Falls, over Democrat John F. Lindley, 46, a

former Lieutenant Governor, in the race to replace outgoing Republican Archie Gubbrud.

Texas: No one heard much about Republican Candidate Jack Crichton, 48, a Dallas oilman, before his campaign against Lyndon's friend, first-term Democratic Governor John Connally, 47. Chances are, no one will hear much about him after the election, either.

Utah: For 16 years Utah has had G.O.P. Governors. But with Incumbent George Dewey Clyde quitting after a so-so record and with strong anti-Goldwater feelings stirring, Republican Candidate Mitchell Melich, 52, is plodding uphill despite his qualifications as a former state legislator, university regent, and uranium-firm president. The Jenkins case could hurt Democrats here, but Democrat Calvin L. Rampton, 50, a well-known Salt Lake City attorney, could still win going away.

Vermont: Big, blond Philip H. Hoff, 40, the first Democrat to be Governor of Vermont since 1854, cut the state deficit, ramrodded an improved state education bill through the G.O.P.-controlled legislature, lured new industry to the state during his first two-year term. But Republican Lieutenant Governor Ralph A. Foote, 41, has united support this year from a party that was torn by dissension in 1962, now has a slight edge.

Washington: Noted for wearing red roses in his buttonholes, Democratic Governor Albert ("Rosy") Rosellini, 54, is waging a vigorous backslapping campaign for a third term. But Republican Daniel Jackson Evans, 38, is a handsome, articulate state legislator, has a united G.O.P. behind him, is a slight favorite to defoliate Rosy's roses.

West Virginia: Aiming to be the first man in mountaineers' memory to serve two terms, former Republican Governor (1957-61) Cecil H. Underwood, 42, now a coal-company executive, attacks outgoing Democratic Governor W. W. Barron for hard times and bad roads. Democrat Hulett C. Smith, 46, Barron's state commerce commissioner, matches Underwood in good looks and able forensics, criticizes Underwood's old administration, defends Barron's. Underwood, in a cliffhanger.

Wisconsin: Democratic Governor John Reynolds, 43, got tangled up in party factional fights, angered voters by upping the state sales tax, looked for a while to be a sure loser. Republican Warren Knowles, 56, a former Lieutenant Governor, has conducted a colorless campaign, but is still ahead and could stay there because of the Jenkins case reaction.

MASSACHUSETTS

From Dazzling to Fizzling

In the murk of Massachusetts politics, Democrat Foster Furcolo, Yale-educated ('33) lawyer and sometime playwright, was a dazzler. When he was a Congressman (1949-52), a poll of Washington correspondents rated him one of the ten best on Capitol Hill.

Furcolo handily won the governorship in 1956 and 1958—the first person of Italian extraction to win the job. But Foster fizzled in the statehouse, lost a 1960 primary for the Democratic U.S. Senate nomination.

The Payoff. Last week Furcolo, 53, was indicted on charges of misconduct while in office by a 21-member Boston grand jury. In the eight months since it was impaneled at the request of Republican Attorney General Edward Brooke, the grand jury has charged 40 persons with various violations of public trust. It now accused Furcolo of conspiring to arrange a bribe while he was Governor.

The indictment claimed that in 1960 Furcolo wanted to guarantee the reappointment of his commissioner of public works, Anthony N. DiNatale. Under Massachusetts' archaic (1780) constitution, final approval for gubernatorial appointments must come from the nine-man Governor's Council, an elected board that treasures its control over some 1,000 state patronage jobs. The grand jury charged that Furcolo had conspired to pay off four council members so they would vote for DiNatale. In last week's indictment, the four council members—Democrats all—were charged with asking for and getting a bribe in a conspiracy with Furcolo. DiNatale had been indicted a week earlier on separate allegations of larceny, bribery and conspiracy.

"Obviously Political." Furcolo denied all, cried that the whole thing was "obviously political," demanded a trial before Election Day. Instantly, there was speculation about how his indictment might affect contests for state offices. Both gubernatorial candidates—Republican John Volpe and Democrat Francis X. Bellotti—are Italian-Americans, and thereby are presumably equally immune (or susceptible) to any bloc-vote protest. But there is to be a referendum on Nov. 3 on whether to curtail the powers of the Governor's Council—specifically abolishing its right to approve gubernatorial appointments. Volpe has favored it all along, while Bellotti is on record against curbing the council.

Republican Brooke, the U.S.'s top elected Negro officeholder, is also up for re-election as attorney general.

Would the powerful Italian bloc now rise against him and ruin his chances? Brooke's campaign managers were unworried, pointed out that he already has an enormous lead and added, almost as an afterthought, that Brooke's wife is a native of Italy anyway.

AWARDS

The Youngest Ever

Of all the leaders of the U.S.'s Negro revolution, none has become more respected by his own people or more reviled by segregationists than the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Last week King, 35, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1964. He is the twelfth American,* and the youngest person ever, to be so honored.

Following custom, the five-man Nobel Prize Committee, named by the Norwegian Parliament, did not explain its choice. But in a brief biographical note, the committee noted that King "follows the principle of nonviolence."

There were, of course, outraged howls from the U.S.'s Deep South. "They're



KING & WIFE AFTER HEARING NEWS
A tribute to restraint and courage.

scraping the bottom of the barrel," cried Birmingham's former Public Safety Commissioner "Bull" Connor. Said Leander Perez, long a Democratic spokesman for Louisiana segregationists: "That only shows the Communist influence. Shame on somebody!"

As for King himself, he was getting a routine checkup in an Atlanta hospital. Said he: "I do not consider this merely an honor to me personally, but a tribute to the discipline, wise restraint and majestic courage of the millions of gallant Negro and white persons of good will who have followed a nonviolent course in seeking to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this nation of ours."

King will go to Oslo to receive the award on Dec. 10. He plans to turn over "every penny" of the award—\$54,000—to the civil rights movement.

* The others: Theodore Roosevelt, 1906; Elihu Root, 1912; Woodrow Wilson, 1919; Charles G. Dawes, 1925; Frank B. Kellogg (Calvin Coolidge's Secretary of State), 1929; Nicholas Murray Butler and Jane Addams, 1931; Cordell Hull, 1945; Evangelist John R. Mott and Pacifist Emily G. Balch, 1946; Dr. Ralph Bunche, 1950; Gen. George C. Marshall, 1953.

THE WORLD

RUSSIA

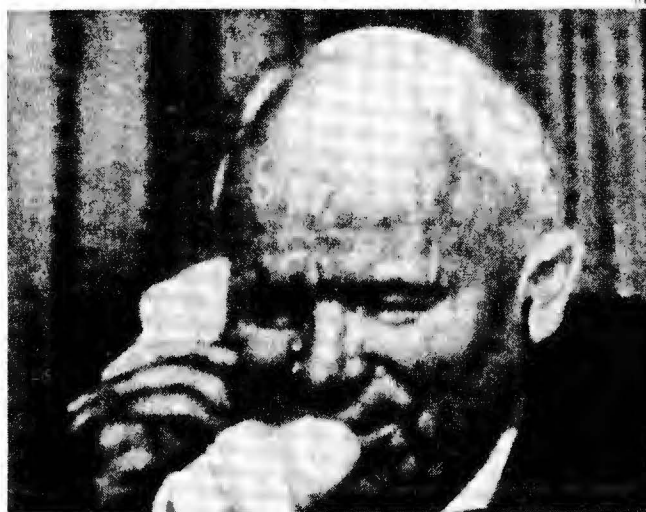
Revolt in the Kremlin

(See Cover)

Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev beamed his golden smile into the radiotelephone that connected him with the heavens. He was talking to Russia's latest space heroes, three cosmonauts whirling high above the Black Sea resort where their leader was vacationing. He congratulated them warmly, told them to keep in good shape for the huge reception planned on their return to Moscow, then uttered an eerily prophetic goodbye. "Here is Comrade Mikoyan," Nikita chortled. "He is literally pulling the telephone from my hands. I don't think I can stop him."

He couldn't. Nor could he stop the other comrades, whoever they might be, who were about to pull power from his hands.

Khrushchev had gone to the Black Sea, as he liked to, to relax, while also tending to a little business and receiving occasional visitors. Thus the West has a witness to at least part of the story. In the morning after his talk with the cosmonauts (see SCIENCE) and his prophetic crack about Mikoyan, Khrushchev received France's Atomic Science Minister Gaston Palewski. In the midst of their conversation, a messenger burst in. Nikita excused himself, as the minister later recalled, explaining that he had to return to Moscow "for the cosmonauts." Then he disappeared into



KHRUSHCHEV LAST WEEK TALKING TO COSMONAUTS
"He is pulling the telephone from my hands."

the dusk of a typically Byzantine-Communist blackout.

Most Fascinating Dictator. For outsiders, the next clue to Nikita's fate came three days later, when home-bound Moscow workers queued up before newspaper kiosks and were greeted with hastily scribbled signs: "There will be no Izvestia tonight." Something was definitely in the works. Shortly after midnight, Tass tersely announced it. Nikita Khrushchev had been "released" from all his duties "at his own request" for reasons of "age and deteriorating health." His successors were named and congratulated: Leonid Brezhnev, 57, Secretary of the Central Committee, and Aleksei Kosygin, 60, who had served as First Deputy Premier.

Brezhnev, a florid, clever politician who so far, however, has mostly performed ceremonial functions, inherited the more powerful of Khrushchev's jobs and the one that has been traditionally the key to Soviet power: the secretaryship of the Communist Party. Kosygin, a trained economist and business-minded technician who has had little political experience but may just be the smarter and deeper of the two, inherited the premiership. Both had been known as Khrushchev's protégés.

Thus, some time between the moment his French visitor saw Khrushchev's exit from his Black Sea home and the time Tass announced the news of his removal, Communism's

most raucous, most human, most infuriating, and in many ways most fascinating dictator had been deposed and replaced by two of his underlings.

Flimsy Reasons. Exactly how it happened might not be clear for weeks or months, or indeed ever, but the official announcements added up to this much: there had been two meetings, one of the powerful 170-member Central Committee, which usually convenes in a cramped Kremlin conference room, and the other next day of the 30-member Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The inference was that Khrushchev had been present at both sessions. At the Central Committee meeting, Mikhail Suslov, an ideologue who had once been a Stalinist but has more recently



MUSCOVITES READING THE NEWS IN RED SQUARE
"There will be no Izvestia tonight."

served as Khrushchev's polemical hatchet man in the fight with Peking, read a speech that contained the party's accusations against Nikita—nepotism, fostering a personality cult, and errors of policy toward China.

That is what happened. But why?

A great many possible explanations began swirling through the startled air. By the nature of things, no one in the West could yet be sure which of the theories or combination of theories was correct, but Kremlinologists peering into the weird logic and dark motivations of Communism were to a remarkable extent in agreement.

Even Moscow did not bother to support the flimsy official reasons—age and health. To be sure, Khrushchev at 70 was no longer the robust bullyboy who rolled in the roadside dust of Yugoslavia with Mikoyan nine years ago in an impromptu wrestling match. Lately he had been eating cabbage rather than meat on doctor's orders, and drinking mineral water rather than the vodka that once made him the life of the Party. But, in retrospect, the real causes of his downfall could be listed, and they were many.

► **CHINA.** Khrushchev had much sympathy in Russia and elsewhere in the Communist world in his joust with China, which involved deep national, racial and economic rivalries. But he had pressed the fight too far, or had allowed himself to be pushed too far. Specifically, he had insisted on a Dec. 15 Moscow "summit" meeting in which the Chinese were to be formally condemned as traitors to world Communism. Mao had jeeringly replied: "The day you call your so-called summit you will step into your grave." Of Khrushchev's 26 invitations, only 15 had been accepted, even those who agreed to come were leary of the result.

► **THE MESS ON THE FARM.** Despite his proud proclamations of expertise in agriculture (he devoted more speeches to crop yield, fertilizer and seed bulls than any 20 national leaders), Khrushchev's farm programs were disastrous. He fell for one oversimplified solution after another, kept reshuffling the administrative setup for agriculture, and dreamed of better fertilizer—all to little avail. His "virgin lands" scheme showed promise this year, thanks to a hopeful harvest, but it was too late.

► **"GOULASH" COMMUNISM.** Most of his people cheered when he announced that Communism must first give people a decent life and then think about world revolution. They cheered when he promised that the revolution would, in fact, be accomplished by beating the capitalists on the economic front. But many were also appalled—classical Marxists, managers of heavy industry ("metal eaters," he called them) and military men—all of whom thought that heavy industry, including armaments, must continue to have top priority, rather than switching more and more resources to

consumer goods. Some party economists were also shocked by Nikita's growing acceptance of the need for capitalistic incentives to achieve Soviet industrial growth.

► **FAILURES AGAINST THE WEST.** His adventure in Cuba two years ago ended in humiliation when the U.S. forced him to retreat. Where Stalin, armed with nothing tougher than tanks, had grabbed great swatches of territory and threatened other countries (Spain, Korea and Greece), Khrushchev, despite his ICBMs and thermonuclear terror, could gain nothing more than a small Caribbean island—and not even defend it. From the point of view of his critics, it was turning into a no-win policy, aggravated by ideological softness on capitalism. Military men also charged that he was relying on the nuclear deterrent too much, at the expense of conventional forces.

► **THE SATELLITES.** He proclaimed the right of each national Communist Party

a country regularly denounced as neo-fascist by Moscow propaganda.

► **THE "CULT OF PERSONALITY."** He condemned it in Stalin, but he erected one around himself. His clowning, boorishness, shoe-pounding and endless references to buffaloes, wolves, tigers and housecleaners could at first be refreshing, in a weird way. But gradually Khrushchev became, in the words of the French Communists, "too Grand Guignol." Besides, he was stubborn and intractable. There were growing signs that the comrades were getting desperately tired of him.

No More Airlift. All of these factors, to a greater or lesser degree, were present throughout Khrushchev's ten-year reign. Indeed, his leadership of Russian Communism was gravely threatened once before. In 1957, a group of Stalinist rebels led by Malenkov met in the turbulent wake of Nikita's 20th Party Congress denunciation, which took Stalinism apart. Khrushchev was then in

CARL MYDAMS—LIFE



U.S. DESTROYER WATCHES RUSSIAN FREIGHTER REMOVING MISSILES FROM CUBA
Was someone guilty of a no-win policy?

to self-determination, but he let this concept go too far, losing control and causing disarray in the Eastern alliance. Rumania, for instance, would not play ball with Russia's self-serving Comecon (common market); and Hungary, which Khrushchev brutally suppressed during the 1956 rebellion, became daring enough to allow scornful "political cabaret" acts to have free reign. All this illustrated the dictator's classic problem: once he loosens his grip, it is hard to know where, when, or if things will stop.

► **GERMANY.** Khrushchev scandalized many comrades by his planned trip to Bonn in January for conferences with Chancellor Ludwig Erhard. Coming on top of his offhand treatment of Walter Ulbricht's East Germany (the long-promised separate peace treaty has yet to be signed), this caused the suspicion that Khrushchev might want to make some sort of deal with West Germany.

Finland. The anti-Nikita faction actually mustered a majority in the Presidium, voting 7-4 to throw him out.

Always keenly sensitive to the political pulse—in those days at least—Khrushchev winged back to Moscow, called on Marshal Georgy Zhukov, then Defense Minister, who airlifted dozens of supporters into Moscow to back him in the subsequent Central Committee fight. That time he won; this time he didn't. Perhaps the opposition now was too solid; perhaps he could no longer find supporters in the armed forces; perhaps he was too weary to make the effort.

Whatever the reason, his failure in last week's struggle for power was not against neo-Stalinists—at least it did not appear that way—but against his own boys. Both Brezhnev and Kosygin were hand-picked by Nikita to buttress his domain, and consequently in the past they represented many of his own

ideas and methods. On the face of it, they now stand for "Khrushchevism" without Khrushchev—the same show run more smartly, more carefully, with the old irritant out of the way. But somehow things never stay that simple for long in Soviet Russia.

Hammer & Sickle. The Kremlin's two new rulers are well-traveled, well-educated professional men—Brezhnev a metallurgical engineer, Kosygin an economist. Both have given what to all appearances is their wholehearted support to the two fundamental policies that slowly were making Russia a less revolutionary place to live in: Khrushchev's "peaceful coexistence" with the West, and his ever greater emphasis on consumer production at the expense of heavy industry and armaments. They are members of the generation that has been labeled "Communists in grey flannel suits."

But neither man fits any past Kremlin mold for power. As technocrats, both are colorless politicians. And, unlike Stalin, Malenkov and Khrushchev—each of whom had to claw his way to the seat of power—both Brezhnev and Kosygin were the logical heirs to their new posts. They had been put in line by the fallen Khrushchev.

Brezhnev (pronounced *Brezh-nyoff*) is a suave, energetic Ukrainian who collects antique watches and rare songbirds, has high blood pressure, is rumored to have suffered two heart attacks. His daughter Galina, 20, is one of the prettiest—and best-dressed—girls in Moscow. Regarded by Kremlinologists as intelligent, potentially more flexible than Khrushchev, he nonetheless seems to lack the touch, originality and sense of purpose which the job of First Secretary demands.

But Brezhnev can hardly be accused of dogmatism. He rose to power by playing hammer to Khrushchev's sickle: whatever Khrushchev cut down, Brezhnev managed to drive in. Son of a steelworker, he first caught Khrushchev's eye in 1938 as an effective local boss in Nikita's Ukrainian party organization. In the Red Army during the war, they worked closely together as high-ranking political commissars. Only after Khrushchev became Premier did Brezhnev really show his worth.

In 1954, struggling for power with a faction led by Georgy Malenkov, Khrushchev staked his reputation on a project which Malenkov scoffed at as impossible, then detailed loyal Teammate Brezhnev to make it come true. The project: to make the shallow, wind-blown topsoil of Kazakhstan's vast virgin lands grow wheat. Brezhnev, on the strength of hordes of imported farm laborers and unusually heavy rains, produced bumper harvests—until 1959, when Malenkov's prophecies came true and the area turned into a dust bowl.

"Down with Protocol." Brezhnev moved on to seats on both the party's Central Committee and the powerful

Presidium. And, instead of being blamed for the Kazakhstan disaster, he headed the investigating committee that made his successor the goat. In May 1960, he replaced the 79-year-old Kliment E. Voroshilov as President of the Soviet Union, remained in that largely ceremonial role until last July, when Khrushchev installed him as his fulltime deputy on the Central Committee.

Brezhnev converted the presidency into a portable platform, made official state visits to 14 nations as Khrushchev's traveling salesman. He was a meticulous visitor, careful to learn the names, dates and statistics dearest to the hearts of his hosts, and always friendly to the precise degree demanded by the occasion. He slipped only once. Well



KOSYGIN & BREZHNEV*
Two's a crowd.

warmed by too many toasts of friendship during a state banquet in Iran last year, he rose, waved his glass high, roared triumphantly: "Down with protocol, long live freedom!"

Official Shadow. Aleksei Nikolaevich Kosygin, at 60, has been Khrushchev's economic czar since 1959. Pale, thin, and usually dressed in a baggy dark suit, he always seemed to be a kind of official shadow who was expected to mind the store for the ebullient proprietor. "He sits there and looks at you, and you can almost hear the wheels grinding," says one acquaintance. "Let's say he doesn't seem to have the greatest sense of humor. He isn't a funny fellow like Nikita."

* In 1963, at the Moscow monument to the conquest of the cosmos.

But Kosygin (pronounced *Koh-see-gain*) is full of surprises. For one, he is probably the most pro-Western of all Kremlin leaders, often shows up at U.S. embassy cocktail parties to chat amiably in German or Russian; he was the first member of the Council of Ministers to defend Khrushchev's great backdown in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. For another, he has been working openly to discard the production quotas and controls so sacred to his Communist predecessors, replace them with decentralized controls and added incentives to both worker and manager.

On his numerous trade missions to potential Soviet customers abroad, Kosygin heads straight for the business community, where he feels at home. He ignores the local Communist Party, where he does not. One Italian capitalist who knows him well says he is "more like a glorified businessman than a politician." Adds another: "I consider Kosygin a first-class businessman. He drives a hard bargain, but once he has reached agreement, he honors that agreement."

Cold Sober. Like Brezhnev, he rose through the ranks of Communist organization men, but faster. In 1948, he became Stalin's Finance Minister and the "baby" of the Politburo (he was 44), only to fall from favor shortly before the dictator died in 1953. Justifiably wary, Kosygin since his reinstatement on the Central Committee has steered so far from party politics that Khrushchev once chided him publicly for being a "bureaucrat."

His capacity for work amazes everyone who knows him. "He kills himself working," says a Western acquaintance. "All at the same time, he was Finance Minister, chief of the central bank and head of the chamber of commerce. It was a superhuman job." Adds former West German Ambassador Hans Kroll: "He always struck me as extremely competent. He is no *phraseur*, but one can talk with him. He is not cold, but he is sober. He is the very opposite of a fanatic and adventurer. To my mind, it would be quite wrong to underestimate him."

Bragging & Commandism. Actually, nobody was underestimating either Brezhnev or Kosygin. Sudden successions in Communist regimes usually result in tough leaders—witness Stalin and Khrushchev. But sudden successions also raise questions, and the first to come up was: How long will they last? As soon as correspondents noticed that Brezhnev had been missing from two official Kremlin luncheons, everyone wondered inevitably whether he, too, had been ousted. No, he was merely busy, was the word. But the rumors and doubts would continue.

The new regime was quick to promise a better, more efficient form of Khrushchevism to both the Russian people and the world at large. In so doing, it

outlined a few of the sins attributable to Nikita without actually naming him. Said a *Pravda* editorial: "Harebrained schemes, immature conclusions, hasty decisions, bragging and phrasemongering, commandism, unwillingness to take into account the achievements of science and practical experience are alien to the Leninist party." That was phrasemongering worthy of Khrushchev himself and, indeed, some of the phrases might well have been included in Nikita's earlier blasts against Stalin.

No sooner had Khrushchev been demoted than heads began falling all around him. First to hit the tumbril was *Izvestia* Editor Aleksei Adzhubei, 40, the pudgy, sneering, widely resented husband of Nikita's daughter Rada. Adzhubei had feathered his nepotistic nest with sports cars for his kids, and fouled it by betraying his trusting comrades in the Soviet Writers Union. Also canned were six of Khrushchev's closest aides, from private secretary to agricultural expert.

At the same time, Moscow's new leaders were busily reassuring the West that Khrushchev's basic policies were still in effect. Soviet ambassadors from Ankara to Tokyo proclaimed a continuance of "peaceful coexistence" and *détente*; and in Washington, Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin spent 45 minutes with President Johnson reaffirming Russia's desire for relaxation of international tensions, increased disarmament and support for the United Nations. Johnson, for his part, was willing to give the new regime a chance to prove itself, but would brook no sudden belligerence on the Soviet Union's part.

Warm Greetings. Such belligerence seemed unlikely—at least for the time being. Just as the triumvirate of Malenkov, Molotov and Beria bided their time during the transitional year after

Stalin's death, Brezhnev and Kosygin are not likely to rush in new directions until their feet are firmly planted. But every indication was that the new B. & K. team,* trying for better relations with Red China, would move to paper over the rift. The first step would probably be a postponement of the Dec. 15 summit (an immediate cancellation might result in too serious a loss of Russian face). Another area for appeasement could lie in taking a tougher line with the West, perhaps in Berlin, maybe in Laos, where stalemate can always be unbalanced with little repercussion. At the outset at least, Brezhnev and Kosygin were playing it for continuity. At week's end they issued a relatively mild "resolution," condemning Red China for its venomous behavior toward the Soviet Union. Halfheartedly, they asked Mao to be the first to apologize.

Mao had already weighed in with hopeful-sounding praise for Russia's



BREZHNEV & WIFE IN IRAN*
A portable platform.

over. That is, of course, still possible. But if Khrushchev talked or practiced peaceful coexistence, it was largely because he was forced to—by his own economic troubles at home and by the nuclear "balance of terror." Both factors will continue to apply to Russia's new regime.

Says one top Washington policymaker: "I have never subscribed to the view that anyone who comes after Khrushchev would be worse. Although Khrushchev at 70 was portrayed as the benevolent grandfather, at the age of 68½ he put missiles into Cuba." While the new rulers may very well have slowed down the disintegration of the Communist world, they may also have weakened Russian Communism even further—if only because of the continued power struggles that are likely to follow.

Thus last week's transition was largely on the surface. It has yet to be effected on the level that counts—with people and with policies. No one could predict whether Brezhnev and Kosygin could achieve such a change. The long history of changes within the Soviet leadership suggests that they will first have to fight it out for sole control of Russia with each other—or with some third contender who is still lurking in the woodwork. Such speculation was rife. It happened that way with Stalin, and again with Khrushchev. And meanwhile, the man who had set up the whole problem, Nikita himself, was out of sight, his whereabouts unknown. According to one rumor, he was still free, writing a rebuttal to the Central Committee's charges against him. But his chances of ever being heard were slim. Even in the liberalized Russia he had created, there was still no forum for the fallen.



GALINA BREZHNEV & RADA ADZHUBEI
A cult of personality.

new leaders: "May the Chinese and Soviet peoples win one victory after another in their common struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and for the defense of world peace!" It was entirely possible that Khrushchev had been sacrificed in order to bring about a *détente* with Mao. But even if that were so, Chinese and Russian interests would continue to clash in the long run. With the detonation of its first nuclear bomb, Red China may feel more impelled than ever to push for leadership of the Communist world.

Forum for the Fallen? One side effect of the Russo-Chinese split has been the widely heard argument in the West that if it were not for Khrushchev in the Kremlin, a tough, pro-Chinese, belligerently anti-Western faction might take



KOSYGIN & DAUGHTER IN VENICE
A glorified businessman.

* Also used for Bulganin and Khrushchev, before Khrushchev kicked Bulganin out in 1958.

* Inspecting crown jewels at Bank Melli.



WINNER HAROLD WILSON & WIFE
The computer grew folksy.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Taxicab Majority

(See Cover)

The election was a squeaker—and the government it produced would have to hang on for dear life. Labor won the election, but it did not win the country, and it only barely won control of the House of Commons. The outcome almost too neatly balanced growing dissatisfaction and boredom with the Tories against lingering distrust of the socialists.

All through election night, Labor's jubilation mounted as its margin seemed to rise. When counting ended for the night, Harold Wilson's party was 67 seats ahead. But next day, as the delayed rural results came in, Labor's lead began to dwindle sharply. By noon it was down to 37. An hour later it was only 19. In the end, with 630 seats at stake, Labor had won 317, or a majority of only four. The Tories carried 304 constituencies, down 56. The minuscule Liberal Party had nine, up two from the last Parliament, and Liberal Leader Jo Grimond promised, "under certain conditions," to support a Labor government. In the popular vote, Labor captured 44.2% of the ballots, Conservatives 43.4%, Liberals 11.2%, Communists .2%, others 1.0%.

Trying to run the government and pass legislation with that slim a margin will prove an immense strain—and, before too long, probably impossible. In 1950 Clement Attlee's Labor government won a majority of six, and Attlee was forced to call another election within 18 months, which Labor lost, starting the long Tory reign. During those 18 months, politicians used to crack: "Suppose there's an important vote in the Commons and a taxi carrying a full load of Labor M.P.s breaks down—out goes the government." As things

are now, the taxi need not even carry a full load.

Personalities. The Tories suffered particularly painful embarrassment in the defeat of several of their Cabinet members: ex-Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's son Maurice, who was Economic Secretary to the Treasury, lost in Halifax; Postmaster-General Reginald Bevins was beaten in Liverpool; Health Minister Anthony Barber fell at Doncaster; and Geoffrey Rippon, Minister of Works, was defeated at Norwich. But Labor had a bad local setback too. Patrick Gordon Walker, slated to be Foreign Secretary, was beaten in his constituency of Smethwick, a part of Birmingham where the race issue is raging because of heavy immigration by West Indians, Pakistanis and Sikhs from India, turning whole neighborhoods into slums. Because the Laborites originally opposed Tory-sponsored curbs on Commonwealth immigration (actually, they have since changed their stand), and because the party platform blames conditions on "landlordism" rather than on the immigrants themselves, a devastating local slogan arose: "If you want a nigger neighbor, vote Labor."

On balance, Tory Leader Sir Alec Douglas-Home fought a remarkable fight. A year ago, as an aristocratic amateur, he had inherited a party shattered by the Profumo scandal and enervated by a dozen years in power. They laughed when he sat down on the government front bench—but when he started to play politics, he very nearly led his party to victory. To a large extent, of course, it was a contest of personalities.

Wilson emphasized this again when he drove to the palace last week to "kiss hands" and formally accept the Queen's commission to head a new gov-

ernment. He turned that routine ceremony into a symbolic occasion by taking along not only his handsome wife Mary, but his two sons, Robin, 21, and Giles, 16, and his father Herbert, a retired industrial chemist who, a vigorous 81, had campaigned tirelessly for his son. Wilson was, in effect, proudly displaying his lower-middle-class origins. He is the first Prime Minister in British history who is a "grammar-school boy"—meaning he did not attend one of the country's select private schools.

While many Britons obviously still love a lord, many others saw Home as the only recently unbelted earl, millionaire, landowner, and symbol of everything old-fashioned and privileged in the Tory Party. Despite Britain's gradually fading class lines, class feeling is still strong—and perhaps at the bottom more so than at the top. Wilson told foot-stomping, cheering crowds that "we must get rid of established privilege" and ridiculed the "old-boy network." And he enjoyed the cut-and-thrust of argument with hecklers as much as Old Etonian Home abhorred it. When Wilson referred one Midlands heckler to a printed pamphlet, a Laborite cried, "He can't read!" Wilson rejoined, "Oh, yes he can. He went to a Yorkshire school, not to Eton."

Wilson also carefully set out to build a new Wilson—a warmer, folksier character than the arrogant and computerized type he has always appeared to be. How long the new image will last remained to be seen. Shortly after the election, the new Prime Minister snapped at photographers on a train: "I must tell you once and for all, I'm not a performing seal. I will not be photographed eating or drinking."

The Economy. Beyond personality, the central issue was—and remains—prosperity, its care and feeding. The Tories claimed credit for full employment and fat pay packets. British workers were vacationing in Spain and on the Balearic Islands; clerks and stevedores were moving into houses in developments and erasing bad old memories of the dole and Depression. Douglas-Home urged voters not to risk their jobs and their living standard by opting for the "officialdom run riot and red tape" of a Labor government.

Wilson countered that the British economy, while seemingly flush, is dangerously stagnant. There is much truth in this, so that yesterday's campaign issue is tomorrow's chief problem for the new government. The growth rate of British industry is one of the lowest in Western Europe and the balance-of-payments deficit rose alarmingly from \$266 million to \$310 million between August and September. Wilson insisted that "Britain will have just as much influence in the world as we can earn and deserve"—and that only Labor has the efficiency and the ideas that will make Britain earn and deserve more. The argument was somewhat dimmed by the fact that while no one

doubted Wilson's own brilliance, his team is composed either of old-line party socialists or of promising but untried intellectuals with little or no administrative experience (see box).

At the same time, while even Communism is admitting the need for capitalist-style incentives, many suspect that, as the London Times put it: "At the heart of much Labor thinking there is still the idea of an egalitarian society. There has been some move away from the old rigidity when £2,000 a year was envisaged as a maximum for anyone. But the old Adam is not dead."

Socialism. Just how socialist is Britain's new government likely to be? While Wilson indulges in some ritualistic patter about Wall Street operators and Ruhr barons, he stresses science more than socialism, efficiency as much as welfare. Besides, a great deal of Britain is socialist for keeps, no matter who is in power. Coal mines, railroads and a segment of steel are nationalized already; the gas and electric industries are run by public corporations, as are airlines, broadcasting, canals and atomic energy.

Labor is committed to nationalizing the rest of the steel industry and possibly the trucking business. Wilson has also promised to modify the private ownership of land so as to prevent speculation—and of course he has vast housing and pension schemes. To accomplish all this he intends to set up a super-ministry of planning, which will overshadow the established economic departments (Treasury, Board of Trade). But it is highly unlikely that Wilson will be able to accomplish much of this in the near future. Quite apart from his precarious parliamentary position, he has urgent problems to take care of, notably the balance-of-payments crisis and the weakening pound.

Foreign Affairs. In foreign and defense matters, Wilson creates some uneasiness in Washington. He wants to abandon Britain's independent nuclear deterrent, wants to renegotiate the Nassau agreement, which originally promised Britain Polaris missiles. This switch might not trouble Washington. But Wilson is also known to be cool, if not downright hostile, to joining M.L.F., the multilateral nuclear force that the U.S. is pushing hard, and he is sometimes regarded as a little too eager for a *détente* with Communism and for various disarmament schemes. But despite the lingering left wing, Harold Wilson's Labor Party is basically pro-Western and pro-NATO.

The worrisome part for Britain and its allies is not that the Conservatives lost—for their own good, they could use some time in opposition—but that Labor won by so narrow a margin. In Europe, in Anglo-U.S. relations, in defense and the cold war, Britain ought to make its influence felt through a strong and stable government. Instead, Britain is saddled with a regime that lacks authority and that will be con-

stantly hampered by close votes and surrounded by controversy.

Much of the controversy will be provided by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, who left No. 10 Downing Street within 24 hours after the polls closed and got ready to lead Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition—a job he says "will be comparatively easy." He added, with a characteristic mixture of *éclat* and cliché: "I enjoyed being Prime Minister, but

one must take the rough with the smooth." Harold Wilson appeared equally determined to enjoy his sojourn as Prime Minister. Despite the narrowness of his victory, Wilson insisted that Labor has a mandate to make "many changes." He added: "We intend to fulfill that mandate, and we are concerned to ensure that there should be a true partnership between the government and the people."

DONS & BROTHERS

THE new Labor Cabinet is divided between party veterans who still call each other "brother" and are belligerently proud of not being university men, and a group of donnish types with dazzling academic credits. The dons seem to predominate. Like Harold Wilson himself, five top Cabinet members took firsts at Oxford, and several of them have had teaching experience. Leading appointments so far:

George Brown, 50, Minister of Economic Affairs. The son of a truck driver, he began his political career at the age of eight by distributing Labor leaflets, put in a few years as a clerk and fur salesman before he turned to a career in trade unions and the Labor Party. He served as deputy leader under Wilson, his former rival for the top job. Easily emotional, Brown has been known to embarrass his colleagues and the public: Britons have not forgotten his display on television after the murder of John F. Kennedy, when tearfully he kept calling the dead President "Jack." But Brown has a marked instinct for survival, plus vision, drive and authority.

James Callaghan, 52, Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is the son of a chief petty officer in the Royal Navy, entered it himself as an ordinary seaman in the war, rose to lieutenant. He joined the civil service in 1929 as a tax collector. Next to Wilson, "Stoker Jim" Callaghan is the party's most skilled parliamentary debater, and though virtually self-taught in economics, he has a sound grasp of world finance. He has shown he can work well in tandem with Wilson, who plainly expects to be pretty much his own Chancellor.

Patrick Gordon Walker, 57, Foreign Secretary. One of the original staunch supporters of the late Labor Party chief Hugh Gaitskell, he has since loyally followed Wilson. The son of a judge, Gordon Walker was a history tutor at Christ Church, Oxford, for nine years, and, in the opinion of one observer, "could be mistaken for a Tory." The only member of Wilson's Cabinet to have held senior rank in the last Labor government, Gordon Walker is regarded as a bridge-figure between the academic and union sides of the Labor Party. He was the first Secretary of State to visit all Commonwealth countries.

Dennis Healey, 47, Defense Minister. Regarded as "an intellectual first and a politician second," he went to Oxford on a scholarship, was briefly involved with the extreme left, but is now considered notably pro-U.S. "Anti-Americanism," he says, "is a disgrace to Socialism and a danger to peace." Healey is thought by some of his colleagues to be too theoretical, but he has made a strong impression abroad with his deft performances at international conferences.

Lord Gardiner, 64, Lord Chancellor. Respected even by Tories as "the Prince of Lawyers," and noted for ruthless cross-examination in court, Gardiner has successfully defended such diverse cases as D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (obscenity) and Randolph Churchill (libel). He is a dedicated crusader against capital punishment. Son of a British shipping magnate and a German baroness, he is an unlikely Laborite who served for a time in the Coldstream Guards. As a young man he was so elegant and ennuied that his friends organized a group known as S.R.G.G.H. (Society for the Ruffling of Gerald Gardiner's Hair).



BROWN



CALLAGHAN



GORDON WALKER



HEALEY



GARDINER

RED CHINA

Fateful Firecracker

It was probably the most thoroughly anticipated explosion in history. For years Western experts had been predicting that the Chinese would perform the feat before long. Two weeks ago, Secretary of State Dean Rusk said so again. Last week, with consummate timing, less than a day after Nikita Khrushchev's downfall was announced, the Chinese finally did it. From a steel tower in the desert of western Sinkiang, north of the Himalayas, they exploded a crude nuclear device.

It had taken them 14 years, cost them more than \$200 million and the talents of 1,800 scientists and engineers—all of which were badly needed elsewhere in China's near-starvation economy. Western experts believe the blast was fueled by plutonium and was slightly smaller than that of the 20-kiloton bombs that the U.S. dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki 19 years ago.

The Red Chinese were triumphant. Peking Radio immediately began transmitting the news in all major languages, including English, Quechua and Swahili, that it had become the world's fifth atomic "power," demanded an immediate worldwide summit conference to "discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons." Added Peking smugly: "The mastering of the nuclear weapon by China is a great encouragement to the revolutionary peoples of the world."

Years & Efforts. The U.S. did not quite enter into that spirit. Said President Johnson: "This explosion has been fully taken into account in planning our own defense program and nuclear capability. Its military significance should not be overestimated." Most experts also believe that Peking shot its wad for a while, may not be ready to test another one for more than two years. But as a result, at least in part, of the defection of Western-trained scientists from such atomic centers as Caltech and France's Curie Institute, the Chinese have the scientific know-how to continue. Because of Russian aid from 1950 to 1959 (when the Moscow-Peking split first fissured), they also have a network of operating uranium mines, at least four nuclear reactors, a raft of Soviet-trained technicians, and a rudimentary basic industrial plant that can furnish most of the products needed to maintain a small atomic-bomb program. But China is woefully lacking in chromium and nickel, two elements basic to the operation of an atomic reactor.

According to top China experts, Peking can afford to spend a maximum of \$500 million a year on all phases of its nuclear program—unless drought or floods force it to spend hard currency to buy food. At this rate, it might take China between five and ten years to produce 30 bombs small enough to be lifted by an airplane or missile. But China has no long-range bombers or mis-

siles, and to create the air fleet that would deliver the bombs would take \$10 billion to \$20 billion and between 15 and 20 years—unless outside help comes along.

Anxiety & Distrust. Throughout the world, the China bomb was greeted with anxiety and distrust. Japan fired off an official protest—and it was refreshing for once to see Communist students demonstrate not in front of the U.S. but the Red Chinese headquarters. At the United Nations, the Indian ambassador said China's explosion of "this golf ball" was "in defiance of world opinion," dismissed its demand for a nuclear summit meeting as "a propaganda gesture."

In both Washington and Paris, diplomats feared that the most likely immediate result would be greater activity by



MAO TSE-TUNG
Reason for triumph.

Southeast Asia's Communist guerrilla armies, in the mistaken belief that Peking can now stand up to Washington with an atomic punch.

But far off as it may seem, the day when Red China can stand up to Washington—and to Moscow as well—has now drawn much, much closer. It was Mao Tse-tung, last of the oldtime Communists and master of Red China's 750 million, who had the clearest reason for triumph last week. It was far too early to conclude that Mao had won the struggle with Russia, which reaches beyond ideology into economic and national rivalry and beyond that into the whole question of Communism's future. But as the radiation glow faded in the Sinkiang wastelands, Mao Tse-tung could afford to gloat over his bomb—and over the sudden departure of his hated fraternal enemy Nikita Khrushchev, whom he had once scorned as the "laughingstock of the world."

Both the U.S. and Russia share one dilemma: sooner or later they must do something about the China problem.

SOUTH VIET NAM

Suggestions, Anyone?

Saigon last week wore the strained smile of a city denying reality. In the sensual half-light of the busy Tu Do nightclub, a chanteuse belted out "*Non, je ne regrette rien*," while in the harsh countryside the casualties totaled over 1,000 Vietnamese and a score of Americans in one of the worst weeks of the long war against the Viet Cong. Tall bottles of Krug champagne stood at attention next to Long John Scotch in the windows of shops filled with luxury goods, and the cafés and milk bars were jammed with clothes-conscious students oblivious to the squawk of loudspeakers in planes flying overhead commanding all males between 20 and 25 not yet under arms to register for the draft.

In the Eden Palace movie theater, *Judgment at Nuremberg* played to a packed house, while Saigon's 1,000-bed Cong Hoa military hospital overflowed with 3,000 war victims. The fashionable French high schools are desperate for teachers to satisfy the demands of wealthy Saigonese who want to enroll their children, and "curfew parties" start at midnight and end at dawn. Saigon is suffering from *Weltuntergangsstimmung* (an end-of-the-world mood), a local psychiatrist told TIME Correspondent James Wilde. "There's something of the feeling here that existed in the Middle Ages when the plague struck," he added. "You have big feasts and orgies."

Brief Reprieve. There was even a festive air at the trial of 13 officers and seven civilians charged with attempting to unseat General Khanh last month. The five-man military tribunal wore dress white and medals. As the accused entered the prisoners' box, they turned and smiled to their waving and applauding wives and children in the packed gallery. Although the defendants are all former friends or classmates of his, Khanh has insisted on the trial to discourage further coups and to satisfy Vietnamese Buddhists, who felt the "coupette" that failed was essentially anti-Buddhist. On the other hand—such are the balancing acts required in Vietnamese politics—if the accused were to draw overly severe sentences, much of the army would be antagonized.

For Viet Cong Terrorist Nguyen Van Troi, however, there was no tempering of justice. Troi, convicted of trying to kill Defense Secretary McNamara last spring had got a brief, bizarre reprieve when Venezuela's Castroite F.A.L.N. kidnaped U.S. Air Force Lieut. Colonel Michael Smolen and announced that it was Troi's life or Smolen's (TIME, Oct. 16). But last week Smolen was released unharmed in Caracas, while in Saigon, Troi was tied to a post in the garden of Saigon's Chi Hoa prison and executed by a Khanh firing squad.

Northern Threat. Meanwhile, Khanh and the High National Council of civilians, set up to give South Viet Nam a

April 5, 1999

In your recent letter you inquired about material in the Drew Pearson Papers dealing with the Hoey Committee and homosexuality in government and about telephone conversations dealing with Walter Jenkins' arrest in 1964. Although we do not have a name index for names appearing in the Drew Pearson Papers, I did search the folder title list for the names that you had highlighted on the list enclosed with your letter. This search would not have turned up names which are filed in folders with topical labels.

I found folders dealing with the following people; I have indicated citation and status of the folder next to the name:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Box</u>	<u>Status</u>
Robert Barrett	G 227, 1 of 3	unprocessed
James O. Eastland	G 212, 3 of 3	open
Homer Ferguson	G 233, 3 of 4	open
Lister Hill	G 285, 1 of 2	open
Joseph McCarthy	multiple folders	processed and unprocessed
John McClellan	G 261, 2 of 3	open
Karl Mundt	G 261, 2 of 3	open
Andrew Schoeppel	G 297, 2 of 3	unprocessed
Margaret Chase Smith	G 282, 2 of 3	open
Stephen J. Spingarn	G 298, 3 of 3	unprocessed
James Webb	F 33, 2 of 3	open

I did not find a listing for Senator Hoey or the committee. In addition to the above folders, I did notice a folder labeled "Witch Hunts 1947-1955," in box G 247, 2 of 2. It is unprocessed but sounded like something that might contain material on the investigation.

There is a substantial backlog of processing requests for material in the Drew Pearson Papers, and we will not be able to process the unprocessed material until next fall. I do not know

if the above files contain material that is relevant to the Hoey Committee investigations. I am enclosing a list of proxy researchers who are willing to do research for others on a contract basis. If you are not planning to visit the Library, you may want to consider having someone check through the processed material for you.

I am enclosing ordering information and descriptions of the telephone conversations dealing with the arrest of Walter Jenkins. When the archives staff processed the telephone conversations, we did not make transcripts of the conversations. Many conversations were transcribed in the White House by secretaries and in the post-presidential period by the President's staff. Many of the key conversations were not transcribed, and many of those which were transcribed were transcribed inaccurately. We strongly recommend that researchers use the recordings rather than the transcripts for their research.

We sell the tapes for \$6.00 each. There are 9 tapes which include conversations about the Jenkins arrest. Transcripts are \$.20 per page, and the enclosed descriptions indicate whether or not there is a transcript of a particular conversation.

You asked about Johnson securing a position for Jenkins in 1964. We do not have any information indicating that Jenkins worked at the LBJ Ranch. According to an article in the New York Times on March 12, 1965, Jenkins announced he was moving to Austin and had rented an office in the Brown Building. Letters from White House staff members to Walter Jenkins were sent to the Brown Building address in 1965. Obituaries published at the time of Jenkins' death say that he returned to Austin and became a management consultant. He also owned a construction company. Although one source that I consulted said that Jenkins worked for the Johnson radio and TV interests, we checked with Mrs. Johnson, and she said that Jenkins did not work for the station.

I hope this information is helpful. If you have any questions, you can call me at 512-916-5137, extension 259. My e-mail address is <claudia.anderson@johnson.nara.gov>.

Sincerely,

CLAUDIA ANDERSON
Senior Archivist

Enclosure

12

that meant was left to inference.

Some party leaders, such as former Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Senator Thurston B. Morton of Kentucky, have urged that Southern leaders give direct help to individual Negroes who want to register. They have urged Southern leaders to forget the notion that the Negroes are forever wedded to the Northern liberal Democrats.

Advice Meets Resistance

Most Southern Republican leaders are resisting this advice. They believe that, in place percentages, they will have faster political ways to register white people.

Southern Republicans as such are not directly represented on the coordinating committee but they are not remote from it either. Two members, Dean Burch, the retiring Republican National Chairman, and Representative John J. Rhodes of Arizona, are closely identified with the so-called "Southern strategy" that earned five Southern states last November. Former Senator Barry Goldwater, the defeated Presidential nominee, is also a member, but he was absent yesterday.

In the view of Mr. Nixon the statement was a break from the "Southern strategy."

"We are saying," Mr. Nixon remarked, "that we don't accept the Southern Republican view on civil rights any more than the national Democratic party accepts the views of Southern Democrats on this question."

Representative Gerald R. Ford Jr. of Michigan, the House minority leader, said he expected the statement would be "helpful in the North" and "not harmful" in the South.

Two Southern Republicans seemed to agree.

Representative James D. Martin of Alabama said, "Frankly I will support a bill that will strengthen the right to vote."

Representative Howard H. Callaway of Georgia said, "I think all Republicans believe all qualified citizens should be allowed to vote."

Javits Asks New Platform

HUNTINGTON, L. I., March 11—Senator Jacob K. Javits called tonight for a national conference of leading Republicans to replace the party platform adopted at the national convention last year.

The New York Republican told a dinner of the Long Tower Republican Committee at the Huntington Town House that the platform was not truly Republican in tone, style and policy.

Students Going to Mississippi

WINFIELD, Kan., March 11—At least 15 Southwestern College students will go to Mississippi during their spring holidays to assist in a National Council of Churches civil rights project, officials announced today. The group decided to make the trip to aid in a Negro economic survey despite an advisory vote by the student body.

forces into the National Guard will increase the United States military structure.

Banking subcommittee heard Commerce Secretary Connor say he would ask chief executive officers of about 600 corporations to estimate their potential contribution to 1965 balance of payments.

THE HOUSE

Joined the Senate in approving a joint committee to study ways of improving the operations of Congress.

Adjourned at 3:15 P.M. until noon Monday.

Foreign Affairs Committee heard Defense Secretary McNamara say that President Johnson was transferring \$50 million earmarked for economic aid to the military aid program in South Vietnam.

Judiciary subcommittee heard Secretary of State Rusk support the Administration's endorsement of repeal of the immigration law's four-year-old national-origins quota system.

DEPARTMENTS & AGENCIES

Attorney General Katzenbach held news conference on civil rights.

State Department spokesman issued statement expressing United States hopes that the Arab nations would maintain friendly relations with West Germany.

JENKINS TAKING UP RESIDENCE IN TEXAS

Special to The New York Times

AUSTIN, Tex., March 11—Walter W. Jenkins, former member of President Johnson's White House staff, has moved to Austin and plans to make it his home.

He said today that he had taken an office in the downtown Brown Building but he did not know yet what he would do for a living.

Mr. Jenkins has lived in Austin from time to time since joining President Johnson's staff soon after the President was first elected to Congress in 1967.

In 24 years with Mr. Johnson, Mr. Jenkins had become his top staff member, and the head of the White House staff.

He resigned last year after it was revealed that he had forfeited a cash bond on a mortgage charge in Washington. Since then he has been either in a hospital or on vacation.

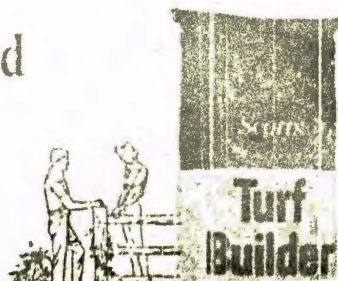
Mr. Jenkins said he had moved to an apartment but hoped to buy a home in Austin soon.

Mariner Half Way to Mars

WASHINGTON, March 11—Mariner 4, now in its 10th day of flight, is more than halfway to Mars, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration said today. Since its launching Nov. 28, on a 7½-month, 325-million-mile mission, Mariner has traveled more than 165 million miles.

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June 1

NEW MAN AT 10 DOWNING STREET: Harold Wilson, leader of the victorious Labor party, arriving yesterday as the Prime Minister at his official London residence.

Wilson Is Prime Minister; Labor Has 4-Seat Margin

New Leader Sees a Complete Mandate Despite Narrow Majority—He Names Defeated Aide Foreign Secretary

By SYDNEY GRUBSON
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Oct. 16—Harold Wilson became Britain's Prime Minister today. He immediately made it known that the new Labor Government felt it had a complete mandate despite the slender majority it won in yesterday's election.

When the last vote is counted tomorrow from Argyll in Scotland, a safe Conservative constituency, Labor's majority will be only four seats in the 630-seat House of Commons. The standing of the parties tonight, with only the Argyll result still to come, was:

Labor	317
Conservative	303
Liberal	9

After a swift and smooth transition of the Prime Ministership from Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the Conservative leader, to Mr. Wilson, the Labor leader moved quickly to squelch talk that his Government would be paralyzed by its razor-thin victory.

In a brief television address to the nation, Mr. Wilson said the electorate had given Labor a mandate for "many changes" over all of government.

"We intend to fulfill that mandate and we are concerned to insure that there should be

a true partnership between the Government and the people," he went on. The Government, he added, will not hesitate to do what it thinks fit.

"Nothing could be worse than failing both at home and abroad because of the Parliamentary balance of power," Mr. Wilson said.

Shortly afterward he announced his first Cabinet appointments. He named Patrick Gordon Walker as Foreign Secretary. The posts of First Secretary of State and Minister for Economic Affairs went to George Brown, deputy party leader, who becomes, in effect, Deputy Prime Minister.

Mr. Wilson named Herbert Bowden as Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons; James Callaghan as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Denis Healey as Minister of Defense, and Lord Gardiner as Lord Chancellor.

He also named Edward Short as Chief Whip, a parliamentary post. The Chief Whip, although not technically a member of the Cabinet, attends Cabinet meetings.

Mr. Gordon Walker lost his

threat to world peace.

While the test is a reflection of policies that do not serve "the cause of peace," the President said, "there is no reason to fear that it will lead to immediate dangers of war."

The President gave his views at the White House in confirming that Peking had exploded what he described as a crude nuclear device.

While the President's announcement said only that the explosion took place in "western China," it was learned that the test site was in Sinkiang Province, which borders on the Soviet Union.

The explosion was above ground and thus was the first test in the atmosphere since the signing a year ago of the treaty forbidding all but underground nuclear tests. Communist China did not sign the treaty.

U.S. Assesses Device

State Department officials dismissed as a "grandstand play" a Chinese proposal for a meeting of world leaders to discuss the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Based on their monitoring observations, United States detection experts estimated the explosion had had a yield of 10 to 20 kilotons—the equivalent of 10,000 to 20,000 tons of TNT.

This was a little less than had been expected by United States experts, some of whom had feared that Communist China would try for a larger nuclear explosion or perhaps set off a thermonuclear device on its first test.

The test was believed to have had a slightly smaller yield than the first atomic explosion by the United States in July, 1945, and the first two atomic bombs dropped on Japan—all of which were around 20 kilotons.

The Chinese test was no surprise to the Administration. As the President pointed out, Secretary of State Dean Rusk an-

According to reliable sources Communist China's successful atomic test had nothing to do with the United States decision to agree to the postponement of the Assembly session. But it was

Continued on Page 12, Column 5

SECRET SERVICE HAD JENKINS FILE

Knew in 1961 of His First Arrest but Told No One—Johnson Orders Inquiry

By TOM WICKER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16—The Secret Service knew in 1961 that Walter W. Jenkins had been arrested in 1959 but did not report it to anyone, the agency informed the White House today.

President Johnson immediately directed Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon to investigate the agency's procedures to learn if they needed strengthening or changing.

Mr. Jenkins was arrested in 1959 and again last week on morals charges. After the facts became known, he resigned Wednesday night from his post as special assistant to the President, touching off a political storm that has shaken the Democratic Presidential campaign.

Dillon to Head Inquiry

Republicans have charged—and Mr. Johnson has denied—that the President covered up Mr. Jenkins's 1959 arrest. Secret Service officials reported to the White House today that they did not inform anyone of the arrest when they learned of it in 1961 because it was not considered important and because Mr. Jenkins already had a "Q" clearance, dating from 1958, for access to top-secret information.

The Secret Service did not know, because of the wording of the report, that the arrest involved a morals charge.

Mr. Dillon will conduct the investigation of these procedures separately from a study of the Secret Service and other agencies already undertaken by a special committee he heads.

That committee was named by the President to follow up on the recommendations of the

Continued on Page 17, Column 2

future.

A communiqué stated that a nuclear test was successfully conducted at 3 P.M. Peking time (3 A.M. Eastern daylight time) in the western region of China. No details were disclosed. Washington, the test site was reported to be in Sinkiang, province bordering the Soviet Union.]

"The success of China's nuclear test is a major achievement of the Chinese people, the strengthening of their national defense and the safeguarding of their motherland as well as a major contribution by the Chinese people to the cause of the defense of world peace," the communiqué stated.

An accompanying Government statement declared the purpose of developing clear weapons was to protect the Chinese people "from the danger of the United States launching a nuclear war."

Excesses Bailed Out

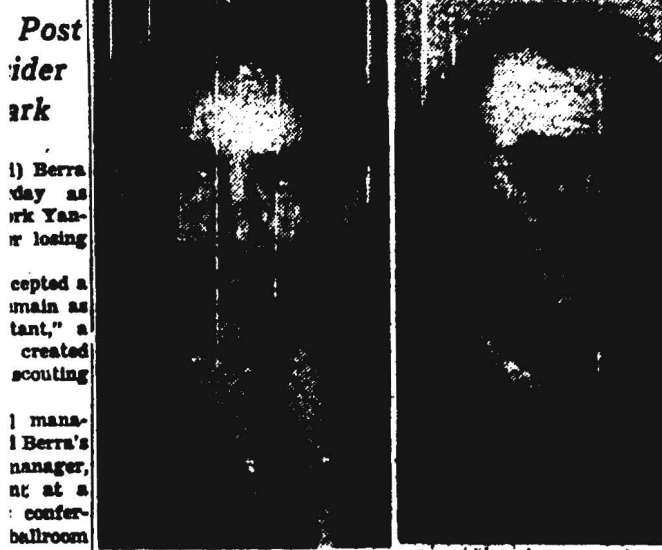
"On the question of nuclear weapons, China will commit neither the error of adventurism nor the error of capitulation," the statement said. "The Chinese people can be trusted. The Peking statement formally proposed to the governments of the world that a universal summit conference be convened to discuss the question of a complete prohibition on and the thorough destruction of nuclear weapons."

It said that as a first step the summit conference "should reach agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which will become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against nonnuclear countries and nuclear-free zones or against each other."

The proposal was dismissed by Western observers here as propaganda. The terms do allow for practical negotiations.

Continued on Page 18, Column 2

But as Manager; Keane Quits Cards



St. Louis Manager Turns In Notice Dated Sept. 28

By JOSEPH DURSO
Special to The New York Times

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 16 — Johnny Keane resigned as manager of the St. Louis Cardinals today, less than a day after the team had won the World Series from the New York Yankees.

The 53-year-old native of St. Louis ended 35 years in the Cardinal organization with a letter he had written on Sept. 28, at the beginning of the final week of the season, when his team was a game and a half out of first place.

Keane handed the letter to

The Secret Service did not know, because of the wording of the report, that the arrest involved a morals charge.

Mr. Dillon will conduct the investigation of these procedures separately from a study of the Secret Service and other agencies already undertaken by a special committee he heads.

That committee was named by the President to follow up on the recommendations of the

Continued on Page 17, Column 2

Signs About Jenkins Draw Ire of Johnson

By FENDALL W. YERKA
Special to The New York Times

DAYTON, Ohio, Oct. 16 — President Johnson, his voice edged, struck back from the speaker's platform tonight at

PAY PACTS SCORE BY TREASURY ALL

Accords 'Probably Too Early This Year, Rooks Say'

By EILEEN SHANAHAN
Special to The New York Times

HOT SPRINGS, Va., Oct. 16 — A high official of the John Administration said today that some of this year's union wage contract settlements had "probably been too big."

Robert V. Roosa, Under Secretary of the Treasury, told Business Council that the wage settlements threatened the continuation of the recent improvement in the United States balance of international payments.

"It has me worried," he said. He said he believed that

Secret Service Knew of Jenkins Arrest

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

Warren commission's report on the assassination of President Kennedy. The report of the commission, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, severely criticized the Secret Service and also questioned some of the procedures of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other agencies.

But Mr. Johnson decided that the Dillon committee should be exclusively concerned with its study of the safety of the President and the procedures of the agencies charged with that responsibility.

Thus, his order to Mr. Dillon today for a separate study of the Secret Service's procedures in the 1961 case amounted to a new blow at the prestige of that agency.

Mr. Jenkins attended a party shortly before his arrest. The party was given by *Newsweek* magazine to celebrate the opening of a new suite of offices in a building on Pennsylvania Avenue. The building is about three blocks from the Young Men's Christian Association where he was arrested. There were conflicting reports from those who attended the party as to whether Mr. Jenkins had had too much to drink.

Report Given to F.B.I.

Here are the circumstances of the 1961 incident as reported to the White House today by the Secret Service, the F. B. I. and the Washington Metropolitan Police:

On Jan. 16, 1959, one day after Mr. Jenkins's first arrest in the Young Men's Christian Association here, the F. B. I. received a report and a fingerprint card about him, forwarded by the Washington police. The case was numbered 168287 and the charge was entered as "Inv. Sup. Person" (investigation suspicious person).

That is a blanket phrase frequently used to cover a number of misdemeanors, such as the one the police charged Mr. Jenkins with at the time of his arrest — "disorderly conduct (pervert)."

The F. B. I. receives about 23,000 such reports daily from the police around the nation. The card on Mr. Jenkins excited no attention among all these.

It could not be cross-checked against the file on him that was compiled in 1953, when he sought the "Q" clearance, because the earlier file did not include his fingerprints. It was, instead, a written record of the investigation of 1953.

A "Q" clearance, so called for the identification letters on the security form, is required under the Atomic Energy Act for access to restricted information involving the design, manufacture or use of atomic weapons and the production of special nuclear materials for weapons.

In 1958 and 1959, Mr. Jenkins was a trusted assistant and valued friend of Senator

up Walter Jenkins's brush with the law in 1959. The F. B. I. reported that it had a record that he had been "arrested or received" by the Washington police on charge of "Inv. Sup. Person."

One day later, the Secret Service received another document from the F. B. I. — the report of the field investigation on Mr. Jenkins when he was given his "Q" clearance in 1953.

On May 5, the Protective Research Section issued a permanent White House pass to Mr. Jenkins, after making a review to insure that there had been a proper request from the White House and that "the subject" had a top-secret clearance.

Thus, when Mr. Johnson became President on Nov. 23, 1963, Mr. Jenkins was able to take up his duties as special assistant without requesting a White House pass. He already had it.

But when he was arrested again, on Oct. 7, 1964, again at the Y.M.C.A. and on a charge somewhat similar to the 1959 charge, the question of how the earlier arrest had escaped attention became one of political significance.

The Secret Service reported to Mr. Johnson today that it had not only issued the permanent pass in 1961 but that it had also informed no one of the incident on Mr. Jenkins's record.

It had followed that course, the agency reported, because:

"The F. B. I. field investigation of 1953 had disclosed no derogatory information on Mr. Jenkins."

"The F. B. I. fingerprint return on the 1959 arrest had not been evaluated as involving a serious matter."

Mr. Jenkins was already in possession of top-secret clearance.

White House sources also dis-

closed today the results of an interrogation of Roy E. Blick, a retired deputy police chief, who was in charge of the morals division of the Washington police in 1959.

Mr. Blick was with Mr. Jenkins at the police station from 11:30 P.M. to 2:45 A.M. The night of Jan. 15-16, 1959.

The sources said Mr. Blick told them he did not call Senator Johnson at the time for Mr. Jenkins's arrest because he was "leary of talking to the Hill."

He had previously been "burned," Mr. Blick was reported to have said, in police cases involving Senators or their families.

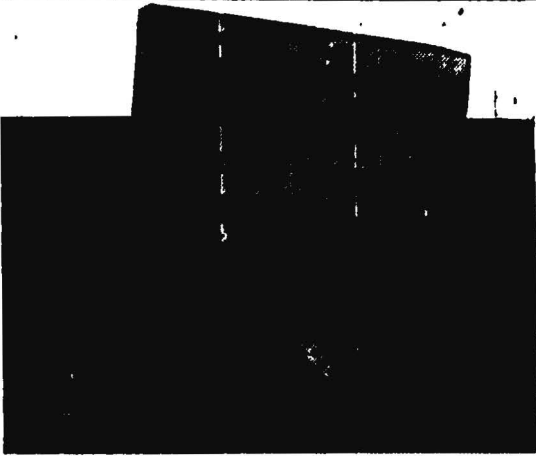
One explanation for the way in which the record of Mr. Jenkins's arrest in 1959 was handled by agencies that subsequently learned of it appears to lie in the police department's notation on the report sent to the F. B. I.

When arrested, Mr. Jenkins posted \$35 collateral and forfeited it—a method by which, in effect, he waived his right to a trial on the charge of "disorderly conduct (pervert)" and put an end to police proceedings in the matter.

In Mr. Jenkins's case, police officials speculated today, he was apparently charged with the broad phrase "investigation suspicious" while the arresting officers consulted with their superiors on the exact charge that their evidence would support.

Eventually the officials speculated, they settled on "disorderly conduct (pervert)" and entered that in the arrest book; but the duplicate fingerprint record taken earlier in the evening went to the F. B. I. with the notation "investigation suspicious."

Police officials insisted today that this was routine procedure.



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quently used to cover a number of misdemeanors, such as the one the police charged Mr. Jenkins with at the time of his arrest — "disorderly conduct (pervert)."

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A "Q" clearance, so called for the identification letters on the security form, is required under the Atomic Energy Act for access to restricted information involving the design, manufacture or use of atomic weapons and the production of special nuclear materials for weapons.

In 1953 and 1959, Mr. Jenkins was a trusted assistant and valued friend of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas. On Jan. 30, 1961, Mr. Johnson became Vice President of the United States and Mr. Jenkins moved with him into the new offices.

On April 5, 1961, William Hartigan, an assistant to F. Kenneth O'Donnell, who was President Kennedy's appointments secretary, notified the Protective Research Section of the Secret Service to issue a temporary White House pass to Mr. Jenkins. He informed the section that Mr. Jenkins had a "Q" clearance and that a written request for the pass was forthcoming.

That day, the temporary pass was issued.

On April 6, Mr. Jenkins was fingerprinted routinely by the Protective Research Section and the prints were sent to the F. B. I. with a request for a "subversive and criminal file search."

On April 7, the Secret Service received Mr. Hartigan's official memorandum, requesting a White House pass for Mr. Jenkins and stating that he had current top-secret clearance.

On April 18, 1961, the Protective Research Section received the F. B. I. response to the April 6 request for a "subversive and criminal file search."

The complex fingerprint checking machines had turned

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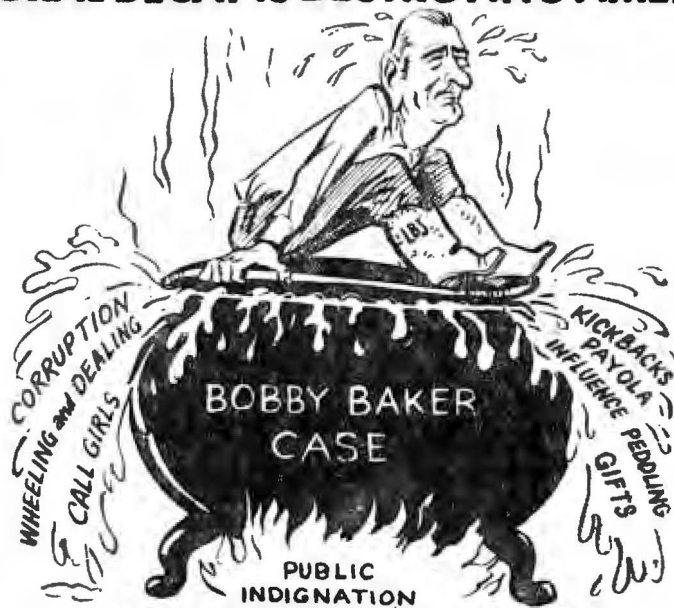
On the way to the office with some good company -- Homer Thornberry, Walter Jenkins, and W

Claudia: I found the original of this
from a California dealer.

Lee Gould

Do you want
Corruption or Character
in the White House?

MORAL DECAY IS DESTROYING AMERICA!



LBJ has kept the lid on.

And now a shocked America has
The Walter Jenkins Incident!

Jenkins, another top LBJ aide and long-time confidant, was arrested Oct. 7 in a Y.M.C.A. on a morals charge. A 1959 arrest and charge ("pervert") had been covered up.

SEX DEVIATES ARE BAD SECURITY RISKS

Yet in August, Lyndon proudly said:
"LET US CONTINUE."

DEMOCRATS CALM ON JENKINS CASE

President's Advisers Say
Issue Won't Be Decisive

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 17—President Johnson's political advisers, greatly concerned earlier this week, are now depreciating the potential impact of the Jenkins case on the Nov. 3 election.

These advisers said today that the disclosure of Walter W. Jenkins's two arrests on morals charges and his resignation as a Presidential assistant Wednesday did not appear to be developing into a decisive campaign issue.

Meanwhile, in a letter to Acting Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon confirmed that the Secret Service had first known, in 1961, of Mr. Jenkins's first arrest in 1949 but had failed to tell anyone about it because F. B. I. records did not indicate that Mr. Jenkins had been arrested on "a serious matter" involving a morals charge.

The revised appraisal of the possible political effects of the case was based, according to White House sources, on reports from Democratic field workers and first-hand observations by members of the President's campaign staff.

One staff member who accompanied Mr. Johnson as he campaigned Thursday and yesterday in New York City, upstate New York and Ohio made a point of sounding out politicians and others along the route about local reaction to the Jenkins case.

His observations and those of others relayed to the White House have eased the acute concern that was evident when Mr. Jenkins's police record first became publicly known.

Both arrests occurred at the Young Men's Christian Association here, the first on Jan. 16, 1949, and the second 10 days ago. The charge in 1949 was "disorderly conduct (pervert)." The recent charge was "disorderly (indecent gestures)." Mr. Jenkins posted and forfeited \$25 collateral after the first arrest and \$50 after the second.

He has been a patient since Wednesday at the George Washington University Hospital here. He is said to be suffering from hypertension and nervous exhaustion.

Republican attempts to equate the Jenkins case with immorality and corruption in high places in the Johnson Administration have apparently failed to stir voters to any appreciable extent. In the estimation of the President's political advisers.

"Our reports rather consistently indicate that the case is not going deep politically, that

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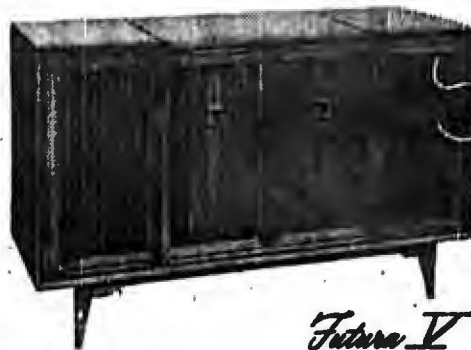
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people as it lacks any hard, clear or catastrophic kind of meaning," one said. "We are beginning to think it is something to talk about but not an issue."

Complacency Is Gone

He said the initial alarm of the party's political professionals dissipated a sense of complacency that had spread widely among Democratic candidates and workers in anticipation of an easy victory on Election Day.

Despite some relief over the political aspects of the case, the White House is still acutely concerned over an apparent breakdown in security procedures of the Secret Service in 1961.

Today, Mr. Dillon sent a letter to Mr. Katzenbach containing what were described by one source as "preliminary findings" of Mr. Dillon's investigation. The investigation concerns primarily the Secret Service procedures during the 1961 case. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, at the request of the President, is conducting its own investigation, which will go back to 1959.

Treasury aides indicated that Mr. Dillon would continue to transmit to Mr. Katzenbach from time to time material uncovered during the course of his own narrower investigation that he believed to be useful to the larger study.

Mr. Dillon's letter confirmed that on April 18, 1961, the Protective Research Section of the Secret Service, which had asked the F.B.I. to check its fingerprint files received a report from the bureau. The report had been requested by the Secret Service as part of a routine check before a White House pass was issued to Mr. Jenkins.

The report showed that Mr. Jenkins had been arrested Jan. 16, 1959. The F.B.I. report listed the charge as "inv sup person," meaning "investigation suspicious person."

Despite this report, however, the Secret Service issued the pass to Mr. Jenkins without further mentioning the report. Mr. Jenkins was at that time Mr. Johnson's principal aide.

In his letter, Mr. Dillon explained that the pass had been issued because the report, which he described as a "one line form report," contained no information regarding the "disposition of the charge" against Mr. Jenkins and "no further indication of the nature of the charge."

As a result, he said, the "Protective Research Section of the Secret Service, which has the responsibility for issuing White House passes, did not evaluate the F.B.I. criminal report as involving a serious matter."

Mr. Dillon also confirmed that the Secret Service had also requested from the F.B.I. a "subversive file check." This it received on April 19, one day after it had received the criminal file search.

According to Mr. Dillon, the "F.B.I. report on its subversive file check . . . consisted of a 1958 F.B.I. background investigation of Mr. Jenkins which disclosed no derogatory information."

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Mrs. Lyndon Johnson-Austin, Texas

Dear Lady Bird:

I hope you remember me from quite a while ago-I am Lela Belle, Jenkins O'Neal, sister to Walter Jenkins. In 1959 I visited Walter and Marjorie and you had a lovely luncheon in your home.

Then I had a Birthday Party in 1964 at the White House – So wonderful!

It was my birthday, and Walter told Lyndon he could not work that night as I was in town. Lyndon said “come up and we shall have dinner at the White House!” You can imagine my happiness. Then that same week I flew home to Oklahoma on Air Force One –as Lyndon was going to Oklahoma to campaign for re-election in 1964. Walter got me on the plane with thirty-three newsmen and I the only woman – what a thrill! – Walter put me in care of long ago friend, John Connally.

My stay was written up in *Ada News News* and *Oklahoman*.
September 1964.

What I am writing you about is the fact is that I have a book written in 1954 by Booth Mooney and dedicated to Walter Jenkins – the name of the book is “The Lyndon Johnson Story.”

Lyndon wrote the foreword and it was truly a wonderful story. I'm writing you to ask if there are people who collect memorabilia about Lyndon Johnson. The wonderful book is autographed by Lyndon Johnson and he did really autograph – but – he did autograph ___ the back page upside down and _____. backward –

On back page, he writes upside down and backward to Mrs. Preston O'Neal – the sister of one of the best, and great men I know!
Best Regards – Lyndon B. Johnson.

I feel the book is valuable, but I don't know what to do about it.

I am 95 years old and I live in a lovely retirement home here in Ada. I have been here five years and at three hundred a month you can ____ realize ? how fast an estate can be used up.

I would like to donate the book to the LBJ Library, but I am practically destitute.

If you have a solution for my problem, I hope you will help me.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Lela Belle J.
L.B.J.

1/28/06

Lela Belle O'Neal
% Sterling House
Ada, OK 74820

If you will make a suggestion, I shall be ever grateful!

Do you suppose that Christie's of New York would be interested?
Or the other famous house that purchases everything?

Thank you so much –

L.B.J.

1/28/06

Dear Liz Carpenter:

I am Lela Belle O'Neal (Jenkins), Walter's sister.

I wrote Lady Bird, but it came back. I want you to open it and read it. It is self-explanatory.

It may be you are the one to answer me about my puzzle Please let me know. I shall be most appreciative.

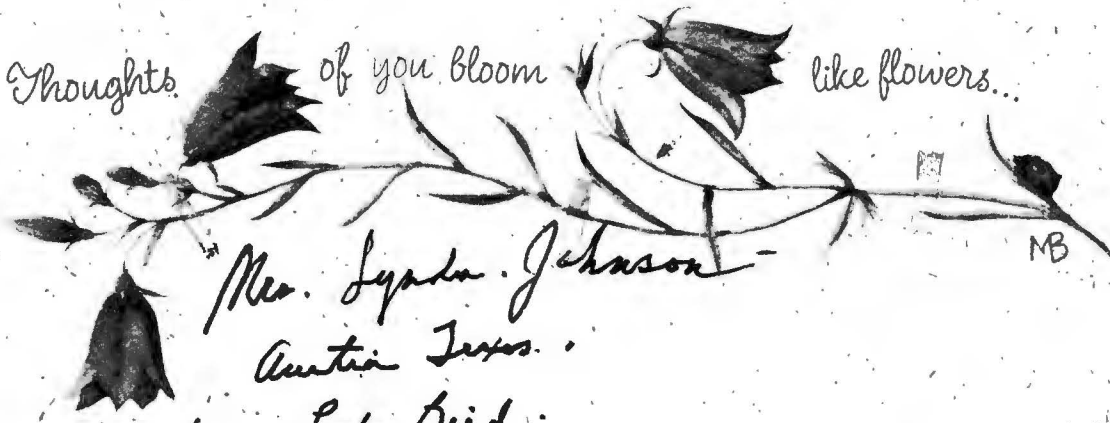
Lela Belle Jenkins O'Neal

2/6/06

Thoughts

of you bloom

like flowers...



Mrs. Lydia Johnson -

Austin Texas.

Dear Lady Bird.

I hope you remember me from
quite a while ago. I am Luke Bell
Jenkins O'Neal - sister to Walter Jenkins.
In 1959 I visited Walter + Maryann and you

had a lovely luncheon ^{at} your home.

Then I had a Birthday Party in
1964 at The White House - Solwindsford -!

It was my birthday + Walter told

Linda. He could not wait that night

as I was in town. Lydia said "come

up + we shall have dinner at

The White House!" You can imagine

my happiness - Then that same

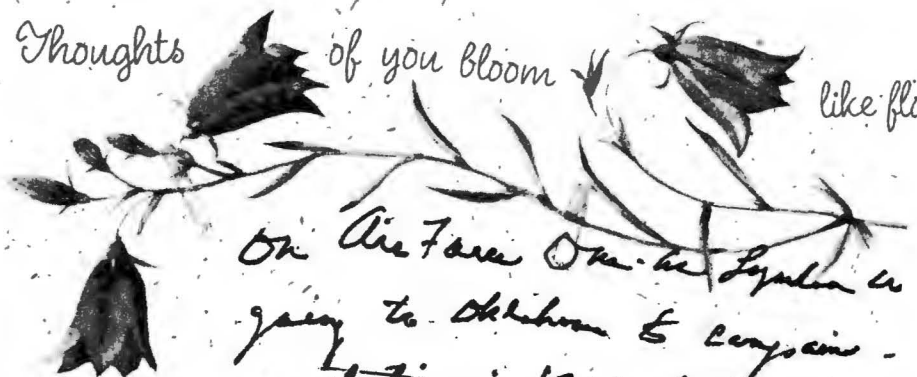
week I flew home to Oklahoma



Thoughts

of you bloom

like fle



On the 7th of October Lyndon is
going to Oklahoma to campaign
for election in 1964. Written just
on the phone from with thirty
newsmen around the only woman
what I thrill! - Walter put me
can I long ago friend, John
Connally -

My story was written in
the Texas & Oklahoma. So

What I am writing you
is the fact is that I have
book written in 1954 by Bob
Mooney & dedicated to Walter
Jenkins. The name is the book
is "The Lyndon Johnson Story".
Lyndon wrote the
foreword & it was truly a
task.



Thoughts

of you bloom

like flowers...



In writing you to ask if
there are people who collect
memorabilia about Lyndon Johnson.

The wonderful book is autographed
by Lyndon Johnson & he did really
autograph - but - he did autograph
the back page up side and ^{down} ~~down~~
and backward. backward.

On back page, he
writes up side down & backward.
To Mrs. P. Santa O back - the
sister? one of the best, and
great men I know! Best Regards.

Lyndon B. Johnson.

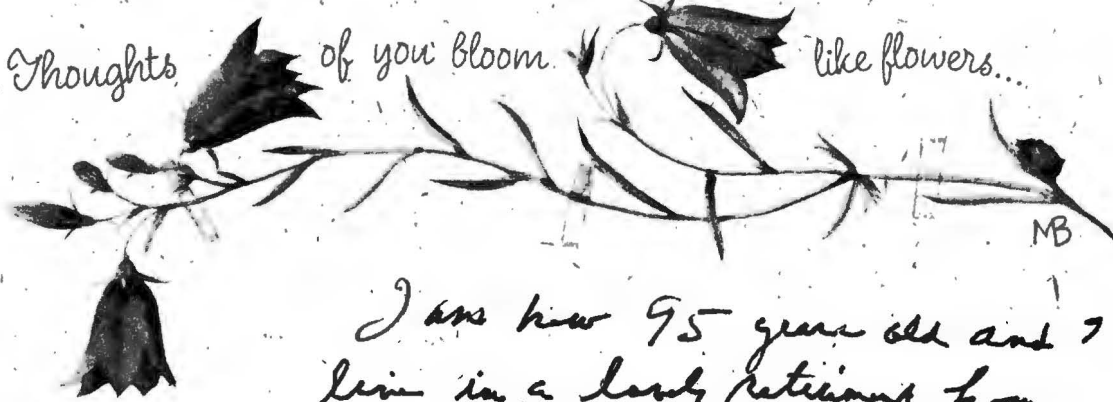
I feel the book is
valuable, but I don't know
what to do about it.



Thoughts

of you bloom

like flowers...



I am now 95 years old and I
live in a lovely retirement home
here in Ada. I have been here
five years and at three hundred
a month you can estimate
how overwise how far the
estate can be used up.

I would like to donate
the book to LBJ Library but I
am presently ~~destitute~~ destitute.

If you have a solution
for my problem, I hope you will
help me. Thank you so
very much.

Sincerely

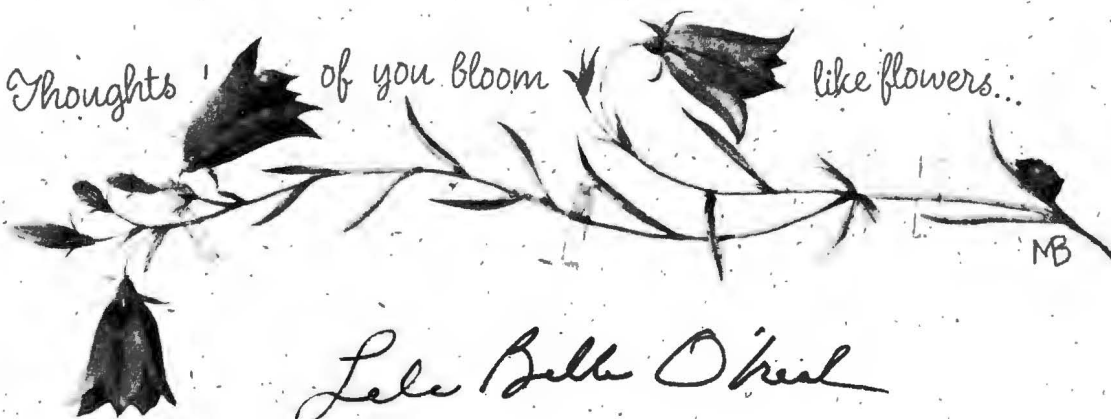
Letta Belle J.

L. B. J.

1-28-06



Thoughts of you bloom like flowers...



Lela Belle O'Neal

To Sterling House

~~Ada~~ Ada, Okla 74820.

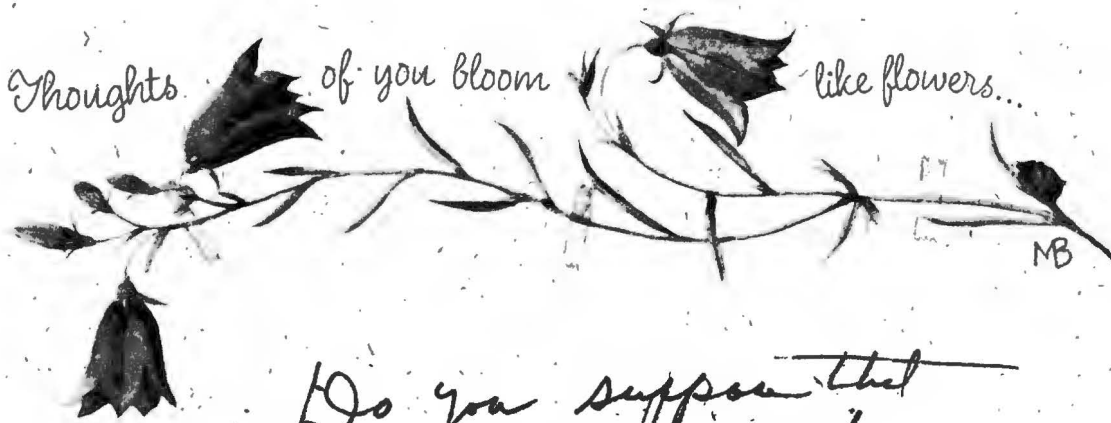
If you will make a
suggestion, I shall
be ever grateful!



Thoughts

of you bloom

like flowers...



Do you suppose that
Christian of N.Y. would be
interested? Or the other
fellow here that practices
every thing?

Thank you so

much-

L.B.J.

1-28-06



Dear Liz Carpenter
I am Lila Belle

O'Neil (Jenkins)

Waters Letter:

I wrote Lady
Bird, but it came back.
I want you to open it,
& read it. It is my
reply.

If may be you are
the one to answer me
about my ~~story~~
puzzle. Please let
me know. I shall
be most appreciative.

2-6-06

Lila Belle
Jenkins O'Neil



Local

Movie Review: When A

By DEREK FRAZIER
Staff writer

PG-13, 83 minutes.

To me, the scariest part of remade 1970s flick "When A Stranger Calls" is not when the infamous tag line, "Have you checked the children?" is whispered to the young babysitter, but rather the reason why she's having to babysit in the first place. Going over the anytime minutes allowed on her mobile phone plan by 800 minutes. Knowing that Jill is in the mail with your name on it? Terrifying.

"When A Stranger Calls"

is yet another remake for a new generation. And, if this particular generation has not watched the original (And I doubt they have), then they will have no problem swallowing the simple, if not slightly dated, plot.

A 11-year-old American high school teen Jill Johnson (Camilla Belle) has been sentenced to babysit on the night of her

school's bonfire/pep rally.

Driven by her father to the secluded destination, Jill enters the environment in which the majority of the movie takes place.

The house is sleek, modern and has an abundance of nifty technological gadgets, such as a remote control fireplace and room

sensors.

After a brief parents, Jill with the two live-in maid amazingly d phone calls building up J and filling up movie.

The finale of the plot, is played although it was to have a basic not some con line that tries thing up near last 10 minute

There are tactics in "When A Stranger Calls," although to be slower



Social

From left, Linda care coordina Belle O'Neal e ing in the di Alterra. Sterl O'Neal has Sterling House